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THE HISTORY OF  
BRITISH INDIA.

FROM 1805 TO 1835.

BY HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S.

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OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC., ETC.; AND HODEN PROFESSOR OF  
SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:

JAMES MADDEN, 8, LEADENHALL STREET;

PIPER, STEPHENSON AND SPENCE,

PATERNOSTER ROW.

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M.DCCC.LVIII.





LONDON  
PRINTED BY WERTHEIMER AND CO.,  
CIRCUS PLACE, FINSBURY CIRCUS.

23572 6

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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WHEN I consented to carry a new edition of Mill's History of British India through the press, I engaged to continue the History to the date at which the East India Company's charter was last renewed. The engagement was somewhat ill-considered. It was acceded to under an anticipation that the task could be accomplished with comparative facility, as a residence in Bengal, during nearly the entire interval, had made me familiar with the general course of the events which had occurred, and some of which I had, at various times attempted to record. It was soon evident that I had much miscalculated.

However lively the impression which had been made by the interesting and important character of the transactions I had witnessed, I felt it to be my duty, before undertaking to narrate them, to consult all the available authorities of an original and authentic description in which they were to be traced. Foremost among these



were the valuable but voluminous Records at the India House ; an unreserved access to which was readily granted by Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Controul, and W. B. Bayley, Esq., then Chairman of the Court of Directors. The obligation of making use of this privilege, however imperfectly, has caused an amount of labour and expenditure of time far exceeding my expectations.

Beside the manuscript volumes, to which the great bulk of the Records is necessarily confined, very extensive portions of them have been occasionally printed by order of Parliament, or under the authority of the Court of Directors. To these, also, it was necessary to refer, and the reference was not effected without incurring additional trouble and delay.

The third and last class of authorities to which extensive application has been made, consists of the published accounts of persons engaged or interested in the occurrences which they have related. There is a great body of contemporary evidence of this description, varying in merit and in weight, but exacting attention from all who wish to obtain an accurate knowledge of the origin and progress of events. The perusal in more or less detail of as many publications of this class as I could meet with has contributed to retard the completion of my task beyond the limits within which I had trusted that it would have been concluded.

I have thought it necessary thus to account for the delay which has occurred, and which is not yet at an end. It has been occasioned by an anxious wish to offer to the public an historical work in which they may place some trust. Whether that object has been attained, remains to be determined ; but the desire to merit confidence will, perhaps, be accepted as a sufficient excuse for the apparent tardiness of the writer.

H. H. WILSON.

LONDON,  
25th November, 1844.



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# HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

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## BOOK I.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE WITH THE MAHRATTAS,  
1805, TO THE RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S  
CHARTER, 1813.

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### CHAPTER I.

*General View of the Political State of India.—Relations of the British Government with the Native States.—Accessions of Territory.—Protection of Shah Alem.—Bundelkhand, Sketch of its History and Condition.—NATIVE PRINCES.—Mohammedans.—KING OF DELHI.—Conduct of Prince Jehangir.—NAWAB OF OUDE.—Vicious Administration of the Principality.—NIZAM OF HYDERABAD.—Discontent.—Determination of the British Government to maintain the Alliance.—Career of Raja Mahipat Ram.—Death of Mir Alem.—Hindus.—Mahrattas.—PESHTWA.—Attempts to recover his Political Consideration.—GAEKWAR.—Pecuniary Embarrassments.—British Interference.—Settlement of Kattiwar.—Intrigues at Baroda. RAJA OF BERAR.—Dissatisfaction.—Relinquishment of Sambhalpur.—SINDHIA.—Pecuniary Difficulties.—Decline of Power.—Quarrels at his Court.—Conduct to Bhopal.—HOLKAR.—Exactions from the surrounding States.—Death of his Nephew, Kandi Rao,—of his Brother, Kasi Rao.—Derangement.—Tulasi Bhai, Regent.—AMIR KHAN.—His Rise and Power.—Rajputs.—RANA*

BOOK I.  
CHAP. I.  
1805.

OF UDAYPUR.—RAJAS OF JODHPUR AND JAYPUR.—*Contest for the Hand of Krishna Kumari, Princess of Udaypur.*—*Mahratta Extortion.*—*Application of Jaypur for British Interference, refused.*—*Policy of Holkar and Sindhia.*—*Amir Khan joins the Rana.*—*Death of the Princess.*—*Other Rajput Princes.*—BIKANER, KOTA, BUNDI, MACHERI.—Játs.—RAJA OF BHURTPORE.—RANA OF GOHUD.—*Treaty with him annulled.*—Sikhs, *their Origin and Constitution.*—*Rise of Ranjit Sing.*—*Remarks.*

THE recent hostilities between the British Government of India and the chiefs of the principal Mahratta states had entirely altered the relative position of the contending parties, and had engendered the elements of still more momentous change.

The Mahrattas had occupied through the latter half of the eighteenth century the chief place amongst the native states of India: they had brought under their sway the widest and most valuable portions of Hindustan, and had possessed themselves of the name and person of the Emperor of Delhi. On the first occasion on which they had come into collision with the British arms, they had inflicted upon them discomfiture and discredit; and they had plunged into the late struggle, strong both in military resources and reputation, and confident that they should rid themselves of a dangerous and encroaching rival. The result had disappointed their hopes and accelerated the aggrandisement of that power which they had trusted to overthrow.

In the outset of the contest, native opinion had inclined to the Mahrattas; the close of the war had shaken belief in their superiority. Still, however, much of the prepossession in their favour survived their reverses, and the full consequences of the encounter seem to have been but imperfectly appreciated, even by those who had been engaged in the strife. Engrossed by the care of providing for immediate pecuniary embarrassments, the British Government overlooked all political considerations; and, in its impatience to relieve financial pressure, threw away some actual and some prospective advantages, shrunk from the commanding elevation to which it had been raised, and



by unseasonable moderation disseminated doubts of its vigour, and held out encouragement to future aggression. The Mahratta leaders, justly ascribing much of their adversity to internal disunion, misinterpreting the motives of their enemy's forbearance, and fretting under the losses and indignities they had sustained, accustomed themselves to undervalue the resources and energies of their conquerors, and to look forward to some favourable opportunity of repairing their reputation and recovering their territory. At the same time, with the improvidence inseparable from the character of Indian princes, they set on foot no adequate preparations for the realisation of their purposes. Instead of profiting by the experience of the past, and the respite which had been granted to them; instead of husbanding their means, consolidating their power, and cementing that union in which alone lay their safety, they wasted their strength in a petty and predatory warfare with the princes of Rajputana, or in intestine dissensions; and with territories almost depopulated, revenues utterly exhausted, troops wholly disorganized, and mutual animosities incurably exacerbated, they again provoked the resentment of the British Government when in the full exercise of its energies, and awakened to a clear perception of its true interests and of those of Hindustan. The last act of this extraordinary drama was then consummated. The Marquis of Hastings completed what Clive had begun, and all India acknowledged the supremacy of Great Britain.

As some time intervened before the predominance of the British power throughout India was finally established, we may, for the present, pause to contemplate the political condition of the country at the period at which the narrative recommences; and for a few years following; so as to form a correct notion of the extent of British dominion and authority, and of the circumstances and objects of the principal native states. We shall thus be better able to understand the character of those transactions which led to a renewal of the struggle, and to the final attainment of that commanding attitude which the British Government, after repeated proofs of forbearance, was at last compelled to assume.

The capture of Seringapatam and death of Tippoo

BOOK I. Sultan, in 1799, put an end to all fear of any formidable  
 CHAP. I. enmity in the south of India. Those events had added  
 ——— largely to the Company's territory in the Peninsula,<sup>1</sup> and  
 1805. had restored the principality of Mysore to the representative of its former Hindu Rajas, on conditions the avowed intentions of which were, the entire command of the resources of the country in time of war, and a general controuling power over its government in time of peace. Tribute under the denomination of subsidy was also imposed upon the Raja, and provision was made for appropriating the whole of the revenue, subject to a pension to be paid to him in the event of his failing to fulfil his obligations.<sup>2</sup> The Raja, Krishna Raja Udayavar, was a minor, and the administration of the affairs of the state was intrusted to a native minister named Purnia, a Brahmin, a man of ability and judgment who distinctly understood the position in which Mysore was placed, and its entire dependence upon the power to which it owed its existence. As long as he lived, the connexion was maintained in a spirit of sincere submission on the part of the inferior, and of implicit confidence on that of the superior; rendering Mysore virtually an integral portion of the British Indian Empire.

The western coast of the Peninsula was, with a few exceptions, British territory. At the southern extremity, the petty states of Cochin and Travancore were governed by their own Rajas. These princes had been rescued by the interposition of the British arms from the tyranny of Tippoo, and had agreed to pay a stipulated subsidy for the protection which they received.<sup>3</sup> The amount had however, been determined without an equitable regard to

<sup>1</sup> By the Partition Treaty of Mysore, July 1799, territory yielding an annual revenue of 13,74,000 Cantarai Pagodas was reserved to the Mysore Raja. To the Company was assigned a portion that was valued at C. Ps. 7,77,000; to the Nizam lands to the amount of C. Ps. 6,07,000, and of C. Ps. 2,63,957 to the Peshwa. The shares of the two latter were subsequently transferred to the Company.—Collection of Treaties and Engagements with Native Princes and States of Asia, published in 1812, p. 441.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with Mysore, 8th July, 1799, and supplementary treaties, 1803 and 1807.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 454, 243, 302.

<sup>3</sup> The Raja of Cochin was made to pay to the Company a lakh of rupees annually; treaty, 1791.—Collection of Treaties, p. 421. An agreement was made in 1788 with the Raja of Travancore, by which he engaged to subsidize two battalions of Sipahis. In 1795, he agreed to maintain constantly one battalion. This was extended, in 1797, to three battalions, and one company of European artillery. In 1805, the Raja was compelled to pay for a fourth battalion.—Collection of Treaties, pp. 174, 170, 233.

the advantages for which it was an equivalent, or to the sources from which it was derived.<sup>1</sup> The demand became an exaction, and the payment speedily fell into arrear. A perpetual and undignified interchange of requisition and evasion ensued, and mutual dissatisfaction was the unavoidable result. This was more especially the case with the Raja of Travancore, as, upon the plea of danger from the designs of France, an additional subsidy had been levied upon him subsequently to the capture of Seringapatam; and, as he neither understood nor dreaded the peril, the cost of arming against its occurrence was felt to be both onerous and unjust. Discontent and indignation were consequently brooding over the councils of Travancore, and their dictates shortly afterwards impelled the Raja to an unavailing effort to throw off the burden under which he laboured.

Proceeding along the Malabar coast towards the north, a few districts of limited extent were subject to petty Mahratta chiefs, feudatories of Poona; and Goa, and a narrow territory around it, still remained to the Portuguese: as amicable relations subsisted with the superior states, the subordinate character of these dependencies, as well as their insignificance, divested them of all political consideration. Goa, indeed, was occupied by an English garrison. Farther to the north, the coast belonged to the Gaekwar or ruler of Guzerat; whom a subsidiary treaty, and a connexion of the most intimate nature, attached inseparably to the interests of the British Government. Cutch, the adjacent country to the west, although independent, was distracted by civil broils, the chief parties in which appealed for assistance to the Presidency of Bombay. Sindh, the boundary province of India in this direction, was governed by independent princes, who had shown themselves disinclined to entertain any correspondence with the Company's authorities. They exercised little or no influence upon the politics of India, as their situation and circumstances restricted their inter-

<sup>1</sup> The gross revenue of Cochín was estimated at five lakhs of rupees, from which the charges of collection were to be deducted. The tribute was therefore about one-fourth of the net receipts. The total revenues of Travancore, in 1807, were estimated by the Resident at twenty lakhs of rupees: the Company's claim was nearly eight lakhs.—MS. Records.



BOOK I. course in a great degree to their western and northern  
CHAP. I. neighbours, the Baluchis and Afghans.

1805.

The whole of the eastern or Coromandel coast of the Peninsula was British, with the exception of a small tract occupied by the Danish settlement of Tranquebar. The Nawab of the Carnatic, and the Raja of Tanjore, had been deprived of territorial revenue and political importance, and had been reduced to the irrevocable condition of pensioners of the East India Company. The province of Cuttack, which, under the Mahratta government of Berar, had intercepted the communication between the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, now served to connect them; as it had been taken from the Raja in the late war, and had been permanently annexed to the Company's possessions, which now extended along the whole line of coast from the Gulph of Manar to the Delta of the Ganges.

Important additions to the British dominions in Hindustan had been effected by treaty or conquest during the administration of Marquis Wellesley. At its commencement, the Bengal Presidency was bounded on the north by the course of the Gandak river, and by the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. The cession of Gorakhpur by the Nawab Vizir, Sádát Ali, carried the boundary across the Gandak to the foot of the mountains of Nepal; and the transfer of the lower Doab, Furruckabad, and Bareilly, by the same prince, extended the British authority over the country of the Rohillas. The victorious career of Lord Lake rescued the upper provinces of the Doab from Mahratta spoliation, and brought them as far as to the north-west of Delhi under British influence or rule. Of the conquests on the west bank of the Jumna, a narrow strip of land alone had been retained; but its value was more than commensurate with its extent, as it included the important cities of Agra, Mathura, and Delhi,—the first celebrated for its reliques of Mogul magnificence, the second sanctified by the religious veneration of the Hindus, and the third selected in every age of the history of India for the capital of those Hindu and Mohammedan monarchs who aspired to the universal sceptre of Hindustan. Along with this imperial city, the British became possessed of the person and family of the representative

of the fallen dynasty of Timur, the venerable Shah Alem, alike distinguished by his descent and his misfortunes. Indebted to the British in the dawn of life for safety and support, he had passed through manhood to old age amidst an unvarying succession of danger, tumult, treachery, and disaster, and was happy to end his days in peace and security under the shelter of his early friends. However trifling the accession to the real power of the victors which might be thought to accrue from their holding in their hands the titular sovereign of Hindustan, and although the charge was not unattended by circumstances of anxiety and embarrassment, yet that the keeping of the person of Shah Alem was not devoid of political value might be inferred from the eagerness with which the prize had been disputed by military adventurers both Mohammedans and Hindus, and by the weight which chieftains the most lawless, and princes the most powerful, still attached to an order or a grant that bore the seal of the emperor, even though the document conferred but a nominal title to the honours and possessions which it purported to bestow. Shah Alem himself was an object of general sympathy, from the injuries or indignities which he had undergone from his own rebellious servants or his Mahratta allies; and the respectful and benevolent treatment which he experienced from his new guardians contrasted favourably with the conduct pursued towards him by their predecessors. There can be no doubt that the change was most acceptable to the Mohammedans of Hindustan, and contributed essentially to conciliate their good-will, and gain their allegiance.

The greater portion of the territory on the west of the Jumna which had been wrested from the Mahrattas was precipitately relinquished by Marquis Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow, but on the south-west the extensive province of Bundelkhand was permanently comprehended within the limits of the Presidency of Bengal. The district had been ceded by the Peshwa in commutation of territory in the south of India, which he had at first assigned to the Company in place of the amount which he had agreed to pay for a subsidiary force.<sup>1</sup> At the time

<sup>1</sup> The annual revenue of these lands was computed to be 26 lakhs of rupees. Treaty of Bassein, 1802. Portions to the value of 19 lakhs were restored to

BOOK I. when this exchange was effected, the authority of the  
 CHAP. I. Peshwa over any part of Bundelkhand was little more  
 1805. than nominal, and his claims were at best of a question-  
 able character, as will be evident upon a brief review of  
 the history of the province.

The Rajas of Bundelkhand pretend to trace their pedigree from the Solar dynasty of Hindu kings; Kusa, one of the sons of the mytho-heroic prince Ramachandra, having, it is said, migrated from Ayodhyá or Oude, and settled in Bundelkhand. The traditions of the Hindus in general do not countenance such a genealogy; and it seems not unlikely that the Bundela tribe were foreigners and conquerors, who immigrated into the country<sup>1</sup> in comparatively modern times. They long struggled, with varied success, to maintain their independence against the Mohammedan kings of Delhi; but they sunk under a vigorous effort made in the beginning of the reign of Shah Jehan, and were compelled to acknowledge, for a season, the supremacy of the Mogul. This state of things was of no long duration: encouraged by the distracted condition of the empire during the latter years of Shah Jehan's reign, a chieftain named Champat Rai<sup>2</sup> led the way to the reassertion of the national independence. The task was prosecuted with improved success by his more celebrated son Chatrasál, and a new dynasty was founded by the latter, which reigned over the eastern division of the province: the western division was restored to the representatives of the ancient Rajas, who, however, renewed their professions of fealty to the throne of Delhi.

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the Peshwa, in lieu of which he ceded territory in Bundelkhand of the estimated annual value of 36 lakhs. Supplementary treaty, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 233, 242.

<sup>1</sup> Bundel-khand, "the portion of the Bundela," is not named in any ancient writings or inscriptions. The country is denominated Chaidya, the land of the Chedi, or Chandel, the name still borne by the agricultural population. The term Bundela is confined to the military chiefs, who never condescend to engage in the cultivation of the soil, and of whom the first is said to have been Devada Bir, a Rajput, who invaded and occupied the country some time in the 14th century.—Memoir on Bundelkhand, by Capt. J. Franklin; Tr. Royal Asiatic Society, i. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Authorities differ with respect to the birth and station of Champat Rai. One account makes him an officer in the service of the Raja of Urcha.—Franklin, as above. Another affirms his being a member of the ruling dynasty, and Raja of Urcha himself.—Pogson, Hist. of the Bundelas, p. 44. This could scarcely have been the case, although he might have been a kinsman of the Raja.

The elevation of Chatrasál to the rank and power of Raja, took place towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb. The successors of that emperor, unable to make good their pretensions to supremacy, acknowledged the new Raja. In the reign of Mohammed Shah, however, Bangash Khan, the Afghan governor of Allahabad, fell suddenly upon Chatrasál with an overwhelming force, and dispossessed him of his dominions. Chatrasál had recourse to the Mahrattas, who, under the first Peshwa, Baji Rao, were at this time advancing slowly through Kandesli and Malwa to Hindustan. The opportunity of establishing their ascendancy in Bundelkhand, which was afforded by the application of the Raja, was promptly embraced; and Baji Rao, with a large force, surprised and defeated Bangash Khan, who was glad to escape with his life. The Mohammedan yoke was now thrown off for ever, but one not less oppressive was imposed, in the domination of the Mahrattas. In the first instance they replaced Chatrasál in his principality; but upon his death, which happened not long afterwards, the Peshwa, whom he had adopted as a son, succeeded by virtue of that adoption to one-third of the territory:<sup>1</sup> the other two-thirds were equally divided between the two sons of Chatrasál; one of whom, Hirdi Sah, became Raja of Panna; the other, Jagat Sah of Jetpur.<sup>2</sup>

It was a condition of the arrangement made in favour of the Peshwa, that the government of Poona should guarantee to the descendants of Chatrasál, the portions of the inheritance set apart for his sons. The stipulation was for some time faithfully observed; the sons of Chatrasál enjoyed their portions in peace, and parcelled them at their death amongst their posterity. Their example was imitated by their successors, subdivisions were infinitely

<sup>1</sup> The Mahratta records assert that this disposition of his Raj was the spontaneous effect of the Raja's gratitude.—Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, i. 515. It is more probable that the cession was the price of the Peshwa's assistance, as intimated in the *Seir Mutakherin*, i. 232. In the memoirs of Amir Khan, it is stated, that, after the expulsion of the Afghan, Chatrasál adopted the Peshwa, and at once divided his Raj into four parts, of which he retained one, and apportioned the other three between the Peshwa and his sons. Govind Pandit was nominated manager of the Peshwa's share, which included Sagár, Jhansi, and Kalpi, or a line of country in the centre of the province from the Nerbudda to the Jumna, by which the Mahrattas could readily march from the Dekhin to the Doab.—*Mem. of Amir Khan*, 55.

<sup>2</sup> The Raja of Panna, and the Rajas of Ajaygerh, Charkari, Bijawar, Jetpur, and Sarili, are respectively descended from these princes.



BOOK I. multiplied, and Bundelkhand was filled with a swarm of  
 CHAP. I. petty Rajas too weak to defend themselves against Mah-  
 1805. ratta aggression, and too turbulent to refrain from those  
 mutual hostilities by which their weakness was aggravated:  
 the state of confusion and anarchy into which the pro-  
 vince was thrown by the intestine divisions of its rulers,  
 offered it as a tempting bait to military adventure; and a  
 follower of Sindhia, Ali Bahadur, was induced to avail  
 himself of the favourable opportunity.

Ali Bahadur<sup>1</sup> was a Sirdar of some repute in the ser-  
 vice of the Peshwa when he was despatched by Nana  
 Furnavez, the minister of Poona, with a body of troops to  
 co-operate with Madhoji Sindhia in his incursion into  
 Hindustan. He bore an efficient part in the operations  
 which gave Delhi and Shah Alem to Sindhia, but was not  
 altogether satisfied with the requital which his exer-  
 tions received. Ali Bahadur,<sup>2</sup> therefore, quitted Sindhia,  
 and, at the instigation of Himmatt Bahadur, who was the  
 military leader and spiritual head of a large body of  
 armed Gosains, combining the characters of religious  
 vagrants and mercenary soldiers, and who had acquired  
 A.D. 1790. some territory in Bundelkhand, he marched into the pro-  
 vince with a considerable force, and in a few years reduced  
 under his authority the greater part of the territories  
 which had been distributed amongst the unworthy de-  
 scendants of Chatrasál. The stronghold of Kalinjar alone  
 resisted his impetuosity, and, after a siege of two years,  
 A.D. 1802. he died in camp before its walls.<sup>3</sup> He left two sons,  
 Shamshir Bahadur, and Zulfikar Ali. The former at the

<sup>1</sup> The father of Ali Bahadur, Shamshir Bahadur, was the son of the Peshwa Baji Rao, a Brahman, by a Mohammedan woman. Agreeably to the ancient Hindu law, he was of the caste, which in this case was equivalent to the religion, of his mother; a characteristic illustration of the laxity of manners of the Mahratta court, and of Hindu indifference to religious creeds.

<sup>2</sup> According to Malcolm, Ali Bahadur separated from Sindhia upon the advance of the latter to Delhi.—Central India. Grant Duff states the separation to have taken place after the capture of Delhi.—Hist. Mahr. iii. 75. The Memoirs of Amir Khan (p. 86) assert that he invaded Bundelkhand by command of the Peshwa. He no doubt professed to act as the Peshwa's officer, and hoisted the Zari Patka or regal standard of Poona.

<sup>3</sup> Ali Bahadur, to evince his determination not to relinquish the siege until the capture of the fortress, caused a house to be built near the fort for his residence. The Kiladar, not to be surpassed in bravado, sent him a present of some mango-seeds to sow in the garden to be attached to the new edifice, with an intimation that he might hope to take Kalinjar when the seeds should have grown to trees, and the trees should have borne fruit.—Pogson's Bundelas, p. 122.

date of his father's death was at Poona: the latter, who was an infant, was thereupon raised to the principality by his uncle Ghani Bahadur; but Shamshir Bahadur speedily arrived to vindicate his claim to the succession, put his uncle to death, and assumed the sovereignty over his father's conquests. He was not long able to maintain his authority.

BOOK I.  
CHAP. I.  
1805.

The exchange of territory accomplished by the Peshwa was a genuine exemplification of Mahratta diplomacy, for it transferred to the British government the trouble of enforcing claims of questionable validity, and granted to them districts over which the court of Poona had never exercised actual sovereignty. The cessions were taken chiefly from the recent conquests of Ali Bahadur, whose right had neither become confirmed by time, nor by the recognition of the subjugated people; and whose possessions, although, inasmuch as they had fallen to a subject and officer of the Peshwa, they might be considered as in some degree dependent upon the head of the Mahratta state, yet had never acknowledged such dependence, nor contributed in any manner to his power or resources. The attempt of Shamshir Bahadur to establish himself in the country which his father had conquered, was as much opposed to the pretensions of the Peshwa, as to the claims of the English founded upon them, and he was consequently treated as the enemy of both. His father's friend and coadjutor, the Gosain Himmat Bahadur, foreseeing the inability of Shamshir Bahadur to resist this combination against him, speedily made terms with the British, and joined their forces on their advance into Bundelkhand. After an ineffectual show of resistance, Shamshir Bahadur was content to desist from opposition, and to accept a pension for himself and for his family, with permission to reside at Banda.<sup>1</sup> Himmat Bahadur soon after died; his armed bands were dismissed upon the return of peace, and his descendants were settled upon a Jagir in the Doab.<sup>2</sup> So far, little difficulty was found in the introduction of British authority into those portions of Bundel-

<sup>1</sup> The titular Nawab of Banda is at present Zulfikar Ali, the brother of Shamshir Bahadur, who resides near Banda, and receives a pension of four lakhs of rupees.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Sekandra, in the district of Cawnpore. Ibid. p. 287.

BOOK I. khand which were nearest to the Jumna and the division  
 CHAP. I. of Allahabad.

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1808.

The establishment of a government in Bundelkhand that proclaimed order and insisted upon obedience was, however, no easy task. The feuds of the numerous petty Rajas, and the depredations of the Mahrattas, had filled the country with military adventurers, few of whom had other means of supporting themselves and their followers than levying contributions on the peaceable inhabitants, and plundering those who resisted their exactions. Nor did they respect the new acquisitions of the Company; and, as these had been left imperfectly guarded by the precipitate dismissal of the irregular battalions which, during the war, had been taken into British pay, and by the improvident reduction of the regular force below the necessity for its services, the leaders of the marauding bands were long suffered to disturb the tranquillity of the country, and prevent its return to order and good government. The inhabitants themselves, a bold and resolute race, habituated to the use of arms, and unaccustomed to legal controul, were little inclined to submit to civil jurisdiction or fiscal regulations; and, when unable to resist the enforcement of the laws or the collection of the revenues, they deserted their villages and augmented the ranks of the banditti. Where this was not the case, they not unfrequently entered into a compact with the predatory leaders to defraud the state of its dues, by paying to them a sum less than the public demand, and receiving in return an acquittance for the whole. With this evidence of their having been compelled to pay their revenue, they claimed exemption from farther payment, alleging, with sufficient plausibility, that a government, which could not defend them, could not claim fulfilment of their obligations, and pleading the impossibility of their paying double the amount at which they were assessed. The plea was admitted, until its collusive origin was detected, and the refusal to grant exemptions on this account tended to put a stop to the fraud; but not until a loss of revenue had been sustained, the amount of which would have economically defrayed the expense of a protecting military force. Both the marauding chiefs, and the refractory villagers, derived support in their resistance to government, from

the numerous small forts with which the province was studded: at the time of its occupation there were not fewer than one hundred and fifty within the limits of the Company's acquired territory, the greater proportion of which were eventually demolished, but not without opposition.

Amidst the many strongholds which were erected in Bundelkhand, two were remarkable for their position and strength. These were Ajaygerh and Kalinjar. They were both in the hands of adventurers who had risen to power by the usual methods of military rapine and violence, and who, by their own armed adherents, or the marauding hordes to whom they afforded shelter, spread desolation and alarm through the adjacent country. A vigorous effort, early made, might have planted the British standard on their walls with little difficulty; but as it was the policy of the Government to conciliate, where to suppress and overawe would be attended with expense, it was determined, in the councils of Calcutta, that "a certain extent of dominion, local power and revenue, would be cheaply sacrificed for tranquillity and security within a more contracted circle." It was argued, that "it was not to be apprehended that the furtive depredations of roving banditti could be supposed to have intimidated the military power which had overthrown the combined force of the Mahratta confederacy, and that there was every reason to believe that the concessions which were proposed were not calculated to excite a renewal of the disorders by which they had been obtained."<sup>1</sup> Upon these principles, falsified as they were by the history of all past ages, and opposed to the opinions and recommendations of the principal civil and military functionaries, and of the Commander-in-Chief,<sup>2</sup> the occupants of Ajaygerh and Kalinjar were left in possession of their fortresses; and to them<sup>3</sup> and to other usurping chiefs the Government granted

<sup>1</sup> MS. Records. Proceedings of Bengal Government, 10th July, 1806.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Lake, in a letter to the Government, recorded the 17th July, 1806, expressed his conviction, that, until Ajaygerh and Kalinjar were in possession of the Government, it would be impossible to maintain peace in Bundelkhand. Events fully corroborated the justice of his prediction.

<sup>3</sup> Lakshman Dawa, the Kiladár of Ajaygerh, was allowed to keep his fort for two years, upon payment of a small annual tribute, and to hold the district adjacent in perpetual farm. Darya Sing Chaubè, the Kiladár of Kalinjar, was confirmed in the occupancy of that fort and the adjacent district; 8th December, 1806.



BOOK I. sunnuds, formally recognising and confirming their right  
 CHAP. I. of occupancy, upon conditions of general submission and

1806.

allegiance. In like manner, but upon more legitimate grounds, the descendants of Chatrasál, who still retained portions of their patrimony, were confirmed in their possessions, but their promise of allegiance was not to entitle them to protection; and so far was the doctrine of non-interference carried, that they were suffered to decide by the sword those disputes amongst themselves, to which the complicated questions of proprietary right to lands that had repeatedly changed masters, could not fail to give rise. It was not until a change of administration in Calcutta had taken place, that "it was deemed essential, not only to the preservation of political influence over the chiefs of Bundelkhand and its consequent advantages, but also to the dignity and reputation of the British Government, to interfere for the suppression of intestine disorder, by compelling that submission which it had till then been found impracticable to conciliate or command."<sup>1</sup>

The western portion of Bundelkhand was distributed among the Rajas of Dattea, Tehri, and Sampthar. They were descended from the ancient Rajas. They were acknowledged by the British as independent princes, and were bound to them by treaties of amity and alliance. No submission was required from them, and care was taken to avoid any obligation to defend them against foreign aggression. They remained, consequently, many years exposed to Mahratta insolence and spoliation, and were reduced to the verge of annihilation, when the course of events, and altered political views, brought them finally within the pale of British protection.

Such were the principal accessions to the territory of British India during the administration of Marquis Wellesley, and the position in which it was placed at the close of that of Sir G. Barlow with relation to some of the neighbouring princes. The situation and circumstances of the more important native states it will now be necessary to describe.

The great distinction of the native ruling powers was two-fold. They were either Mohammedan or Hindu. The

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of Bengal Government, 8th September, 1807. Lord Minto had recently assumed charge of the Government.

latter comprised several varieties, and were mainly distinguishable as Mahrattas, Rajputs, Jâts, and Sikhs.

Although extensive and populous territories still acknowledged the sway of some of the descendants of the Mohammedan conquerors of India, yet their political power was, in every instance of any importance, extinct; and, with one or two exceptions of little note or influence, they were either directly or indirectly dependent upon the British Government. They were its pensioners, or its subsidiary allies: the former compelled to forego all the attributes of sovereignty, except an empty title; the latter obliged to sheath their swords for ever, and rely for defence upon troops whom they alienated their dominions to pay, but over whom they held no command. At the head of the former class was the Great Mogul himself, the descendant and representative of Timurlang.

The actual occupant of the throne of Delhi did not long survive his transition from a rigorous to a respectful state of captivity. Shah Alem died on the 18th of December, 1806. He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, who took the title of Shah Akbar the Second. The father had experienced the misfortunes inseparable from a powerless sceptre too severely to regret its resignation into hands able to wield it with vigour: the son, although no stranger to distress and peril, anticipated from the indulgence or indifference of his protectors, a greater share of real power than it was convenient or safe to permit him to exercise. His attempts to break through the limits prescribed to him were, for some time after his accession, frequent and persevering; but they were for the most part of little consideration, except as paving the way for pretensions of a more ambitious tendency, and they were checked without much trouble or the exhibition of severity.<sup>1</sup> On one

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<sup>1</sup> A principal object of his majesty's ambition was the presentation of *Khelats*, or honorary dresses, to the princes of Hindustan, and, above all, to the Governor-General. As the acceptance of such a compliment is an admission of inferiority, it was of course declined. Having, however, obtained leave to send an agent to Calcutta to represent to the Government matters of public and private interest, Shah Akbar endeavoured to carry the point of the *khelat* by a little ingenuity. His envoy was instructed to present to Lord Minto an old cloak, which the king himself had worn, as a mark of personal regard; but he was to contrive to do this at a public audience, when the present would have assumed the character of an honorary distinction conferred upon the Governor-General by the King of Delhi. The device was easily seen through, and as easily frustrated: the cloak was thankfully accepted as a private gift, but the bearer was compelled to transmit it through the usual channel of

BOOK I. subject alone it was necessary to act with energy ; and the  
 CHAP. I. manifestation of power and will, which was then called for,  
 1806. terminated the aspirations of Akbar the Second to become  
 a king in more than name.

The King of Delhi had several sons : of these, the eldest was considered to be entitled to the designation of heir-apparent, agreeably to the laws of succession upheld by the British Indian Government ; but, influenced by his favourite queen, Akbar Shah strove pertinaciously to obtain the recognition of his third son, Mirza Jehangir, of whom she was the mother, in that capacity. Although willing to withhold from the eldest son the immediate assumption of the title which it considered as his birth-right, the Government of Bengal refused to gratify the wish of the king ; and obliged him, on one occasion, to cancel and counteract honours and privileges which he had granted to Mirza Jehangir as indications of a purpose to raise him to the rank of heir-apparent.<sup>1</sup> Although obliged to give way for a season, the king, unable to resist female blandishments and tears, resumed his project ; and the subject of debate might have long continued to estrange him from his European advisers, had not the rashness and presumption of the prince given occasion to the British Government to act decisively, and remove Mirza Jehangir from Delhi altogether.

Mirza Jehangir, having been empowered by the injudicious liberality of his mother to take into pay a body of armed retainers, occasioned so much discomfort and alarm within the palace by the turbulence which he encouraged and the excesses of which he partook, that his parents were at last convinced of the necessity of subjecting him to some controul, and the king was prevailed upon to allow the Company's Sipahis to mount guard at the

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communication, through the office of the Persian secretary. Such were the strange vicissitudes of fortune, that the Great Mogul was reduced to the necessity of trying to trick the chief functionary of a trading company into the acceptance of the greatest honour in native estimation which it was in his power to bestow !

<sup>1</sup> These were, 1, the use of the Aftabi, a flat circular parasol, carried by an attendant, not over the head, but on the side of a person, or palankin, which is next the sun ; 2, the Tapach, a state cushion ; and, 3, the Nalki, open state palankin. They were conferred in full Durbar, with the customary solemnities. By desire of the Government, the Aftabi was discontinued, and the use of the other articles extended to all the princes, so as to deprive them of any specific significance.

palace gates. A guard was accordingly stationed at the outer gates, when the followers of Jehangir took up a menacing position at the inner gateway, and insisted that the Sipahis should be withdrawn. The British Resident, Mr. Seton, advancing to expostulate with them, was fired at and narrowly escaped being shot, as the ball struck the cap of a soldier who was close by his side. The Sipahis were then ordered to take forcible possession of the inner gates; and after a short conflict, in which some of the assailants were wounded, and several of their opponents were killed, the gates were carried, and the followers of the prince were dispersed. The prince gave himself up to the Resident, and was sent a state prisoner to Allahabad, where he resided until his death, abandoning all hopes of succession to a titular crown, and passing his days in indolence and indulgence.<sup>1</sup> The king gradually ceased to exhibit outwardly any concern for his fate, and abstained from all endeavours to interfere with the disposal of the throne, or to acquire a greater portion of authority than it was thought fit to intrust him with: this resignation was rewarded by an increase of his pension, which had been promised conditionally by Marquis Wellesley, and was granted by Lord Minto.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He was at first lodged in the fort of Allahabad, but was afterwards removed to a building that had been a Mohammedan mausoleum, part of the monument of Sultan Khosru, without the city. The author saw him here in 1820. He was allowed considerable personal liberty, and was treated with as much consideration as was compatible with his security. He seemed to be cheerful and reconciled to his situation, and was said to have both the means and the inclination to forget political disappointments in personal enjoyment. He was a man of small stature and delicate features, of a pleasing though very dark countenance, and of elegant manners. He wore no turban, nor any covering on his head, but let his long black hair, which showed symptoms of more than ordinary care bestowed upon it, hang full upon his shoulders. It was impossible not to feel some sympathy for his humiliation, although there was nothing in his character or conduct to inspire respect.

<sup>2</sup> The original pension was fixed at 76,500 rupees a month, to be provided for out of the revenues of certain lands in the district of Delhi set apart for that purpose; and a promise was made, that the allowance should be increased when the funds admitted of it. The extent of the increase was not specified. In 1809, the revenues of the assigned territory continued still short of the pension, but it was determined to increase the latter to one lakh of rupees per month, of which 7000 rupees were to be appropriated to the heir-apparent.—Governor-General's Minute, 17th June, 1809. Other augmentations have been since made, making the allowance, including stipends to members of the family both at Delhi and Benares, fifteen lakhs of rupees (150,000*l.*) per annum.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, ii. part 2. 362. His majesty has been long urgent for a farther increase, upon the plea that the revenues of the assigned lands have improved, but "it was never proposed either to limit the stipends by the amount of the produce of the territory, or to augment them to an extent equal to the revenue which the territory might eventually



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1806.

A prince, second only to the King of Delhi in Moham-  
medan estimation, and far superior to that sovereign in  
wealth and power, the Nawab of Oude, was connected  
with the British Government by a subsidiary alliance.  
The precise nature of the connexion will have been made  
known by the ample details and discussions relating to it  
inserted in the preceding pages. For all objects of exter-  
ior policy the Nawab was a nonentity, and even in his  
interior administration he was expected to refer questions  
of any moment to the consideration of the British Resi-  
dent and to adopt no measures of importance without the  
concurrence of the Governor-General. The reigning Nawab,  
Sádat Ali Khan, was far from easy under the bonds which  
attached him to the British; but he had been raised by  
them to the throne, and, being of a timid and inactive cha-  
racter, could scarcely have maintained his dignity without  
the support of his allies. Even under their guardianship,  
he lived in constant dread of domestic intrigue, and was  
perpetually haunted by unfounded suspicions that his  
nearest relatives were plotting against his throne and his  
life.<sup>1</sup> His chief gratification was the accumulation of trea-  
sure; and the curtailment of his revenues, consequent upon  
the enforced alienation of a valuable portion of his terri-  
tory in commutation of the subsidy, was the main-spring  
of his dissatisfaction with the relations in which he stood  
to the Government of Bengal. He felt aggrieved, also, by  
the immunity from transit duties claimed by trading  
boats on the Ganges where it formed the boundary of  
Oude under passes from the Company custom-offices on  
the opposite bank, and agreeably to a commercial treaty  
into which he had reluctantly entered. The interference

"yield: the obligation which the British Government had imposed on itself  
"was that of providing adequate means for the support of the king and his  
"household in a manner suitable to the condition in which he was placed,  
"while in policy it was inexpedient that the provision granted should exceed  
"an amount sufficient for that purpose."—Minute quoted by Captain Suther-  
land. The same authority states, that, if the civil and military charges upon  
what may be possibly meant by the assigned lands were deducted from their  
revenue, little would remain for the payment of the stipend of the King of  
Delhi. ~ Sketches of the Relations between the British Government of  
India and Native States; by Captain J. Sutherland, Calcutta, 1833.

<sup>1</sup> His own brothers, Mirza Mehdi and Shahámat Ali, were accused by him  
of having instigated attempts to procure his assassination. The charges were  
investigated by the Resident under orders from the Government, and were  
proved to be void of any foundation. To appease the fears of the Nawab, the  
princes were obliged to leave Lucknow, and take up their residence at Patna  
in the Company's territories.

of the Resident was not unfrequently a source of mortification to him. So far had his discontent proceeded that he renewed to Sir G. Barlow the proposition he had made to Lord Wellesley, to transfer the management of his dominions to his eldest son and make a pilgrimage to Mecca, When, however, the acquiescence of the Government was expressed, the project was apparently abandoned, as the proposal was never repeated. In his personal expenditure Sádāt Ali was meanly parsimonious, and the amount of the public revenue was more than adequate to the public disbursements. The landholders were nevertheless exposed to the systematic extortion of contractors, to whom the Nawab farmed the assessments, and whom he authorised to levy their demands by the most violent and oppressive means.<sup>1</sup> Their exactions were systematically resisted, and the Zemindars became habituated to refuse payment even of what was justly claimable, unless compelled by superior power. Their villages were not unusually fortified, and they resided in mud forts which were not easily captured by the unaided military of the Nawab. In this emergency it became necessary to have recourse to the subsidiary force, and the Company's battalions were employed to reduce refractory landholders and collect the revenue. As obvious objections to such a duty existed, the aid of the troops was always granted with reluctance; another subject of grievance to the Nawab, who considered himself entitled to command the services of a force which he virtually paid. The evil was not so serious in the early part of the reign of Sádāt Ali as it subsequently became, and upon the whole, the province of Oude was in a peaceable and improving condition; while the character and situation of the reigning prince ensured his entire subservience to the political views and interests of the British Government.

Another native Mohammedan sovereign, Sekandar Jah, titular Nizam, Subahdar, or viceroy of the Dekhin, pos-

<sup>1</sup> The contractors rarely benefited by their bargains, as Sádāt Ali was well versed in the art of squeezing the sponge when it had done its office. As soon as the contractors were thought to be sufficiently gorged, complaints against their oppression, which were never wanting, were readily listened to, and they were seized and imprisoned until they had poured into the Nawab's treasury the whole or greater portion of their spoils. Their incarceration depended upon their tenaciousness of the booty. In 1807, the Resident stated there were fourteen farmers of the revenue in prison in Lucknow, some of whom had been confined for years.—MS. Records.

## BOOK I.

## CHAP. I.

1806.

essed of equally extensive territories, was also a subsidiary ally of the Company.<sup>1</sup> The alliance was more distasteful to him than to the Vizir; and his capricious and violent temper, and the frontier position of his country in contiguity to independent states, rendered the preservation of the political relations which had been established with him a subject of solicitude and apprehension. He had succeeded to the principality upon the demise of his father Nizam Ali, in 1803, without opposition, through the support of the British authorities; by whose interposition the menaced competition of one of his brothers, who enjoyed much more extensive popularity with the nobles and people of Hyderabad, was prevented. The sense of gratitude for this obligation was soon obliterated by the consciousness of loss of independence; and the ill-concealed discontent of the Nizam gave courage to many of his followers to organize a system of opposition to the British councils, and still further estrange the mind of their master from the connexion: they even contemplated its dissolution, and persuaded the Nizam, and perhaps credited it themselves, that it was practicable to form a combination with the Mahrattas by which the British might be humbled, and perhaps expelled from Hindustan. These suggestions gratified the enmity and flattered the pride of the Nizam; but he was too fondly addicted to low and sensual indulgence, too irresolute in purpose and contracted in intellect, to be capable of prosecuting a dangerous design with the steadiness, determination, and foresight indispensable to its success. Fortunately also for the ultimate preservation of his throne, his prime minister, Mir Alem, who had grown old in the service of the state, and had been an actor in many of the great events which had occurred in the Peninsula during the reign of the late Nizam,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By the treaty with the Nizam, dated 12th October, 1800, the subsidized force was finally fixed at eight battalions of Sipahis, or eight thousand firelocks, and two regiments of cavalry, or one thousand horse, with their complement of guns, European artillerymen, lascars, and pioneers. For the payment of this force the territories acquired by the Nizam under the treaty of Seringapatam, 13th March, 1792, and that of Mysore, 22nd June, 1799, were given back to the Company, with the exception of some districts north of the Tumbhadra river, for which Adoni and others to the south of it were exchanged: the annual revenues of the whole were estimated at twenty-six lakhs of Canterai pagodas, about 874,000*l*.—Collection of Treaties, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Mir Alem was first employed in 1789 on a mission to Lord Cornwallis, and afterwards accompanied the Nizam's army to Seringapatam, where he conducted the negotiations for peace. In 1794 he was deputed to Poona, but

was well aware of the relative strength of the British and Mahratta powers, and accurately appreciated his sovereign's situation. He knew, in fact, that the government of Hyderabad subsisted only as long as it remained under British protection, and that, the moment such protection should be withdrawn, the principality would be defenceless against Mahratta ambition, and would, at no remote period, fall under their yoke; he therefore sedulously advocated British influence at the court of Hyderabad, and was in requital supported by that influence against the effects of his master's caprice and displeasure.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Mir Alem and of several of the most respectable members of the court of Hyderabad to preserve unimpaired the continued friendship of the British Government, the conduct of the Nizam so manifestly threatened its forfeiture and the dissolution of the alliance, that even Sir George Barlow deemed the occasion such as to justify avowed interference. Mir Alem was in danger of assassination, and obliged to seek shelter with the Resident: secret communications were opened with Sindhia and Holkar: all appointments of influence and trust were conferred upon individuals notoriously inimical to the British connexion, and considerable bodies of armed men were in course of assemblage at Hyderabad. It became a question whether the menaced separation should be anticipated, or prevented; whether the connexion should be spontaneously relinquished, or its continuation should be authoritatively perpetuated. The conclusion was, that it should be maintained at all hazards. "The alliance with Hyderabad," it was argued, could not be dissolved without subverting the foundations of the British power and ascendancy in the political scale of India, and without becoming the signal and instrument of the downfall of the remaining fabric of our political relations. If the subsidiary force were withdrawn, the territory alienated for its support would be required to be restored; and

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failed in his negotiation. In 1798 he negotiated with the British Resident, the treaty with the Nizam, and commanded the army which joined the British troops in the capture of Seringapatam. Some time after his return he fell into disgrace, and was unemployed between 1800 and 1803. In 1804, upon the death of Azim ul Omra, the prime minister, and at the recommendation of the British Resident, he was appointed to that office. He died in the 56th year of his age.



BOOK I. the power and resources which the British Government  
 CHAP. I. had a right to demand for its own support and security  
 1806. would be placed in the hands of a hostile party, avowedly  
 eager, not merely for the abolition of the alliance, but for  
 the destruction of the British Indian Empire: the weapons of which we were now masters would be turned against us; universal agitation, alarm, distrust, and turbulence would ensue; and elements of a renewed combination of hostile states against us would acquire an uncontrollable latitude of action and efficient means of success."¹ Sir G. Barlow, therefore, concluded that the Nizam had no right to depart from the obligations of the connexion, and that they must be vigorously enforced. The political wisdom of the conclusion was undeniable, however at variance with the doctrine of non-interference, which even in regard to the Nizam had not long before been inculcated by the Bengal Government. The arguments upon which the resolution was formed are applicable to all similar relations, indicating the true character of subsidiary alliances as well as the difficulty and danger of their dissolution. The question of right has different aspects, according to the different positions of the contracting parties. The British Government might have the right, as it had the power, to enforce obligations which it considered essential to its own security and support; but the Nizam had an equal right to claim their abrogation, if he regarded them as non-essential to his security, repugnant to his feelings, derogatory to his character, and detrimental to the happiness and prosperity of his dominions. It was not a question of right, but of power; and, as the Subahdar of the Dekhin was no longer in a condition to assert his independence, he was under the necessity of submitting to whatever terms his European masters were pleased to impose.

The Nizam was indeed thoroughly alarmed by the tone which the Resident was authorised to assume. A ready source of intimidation always exists in the minds of native princes in the indeterminate laws of succession, and the readiness with which the ties of relationship are sacrificed to the temptations of ambition. The Nizam, like the Nawab Vizir, had brothers of whom he stood in fear,

¹ Minute of the Governor-General.

and of whose promptitude to become the instruments of British vindictiveness no native courtier or politician could entertain a doubt. That he would be deposed in favour of his younger brother was the immediate suggestion of his own suspicions, and they were confirmed by the sympathising fears of his family and adherents. He therefore changed the tenor of his conduct, readily acquiesced in the conditions<sup>1</sup> to which his assent was required, promised to repose entire confidence in Mir Alem and in the Resident, and engaged to dismiss from their offices, whether of a public or personal nature, and banish from his capital, certain individuals known to be hostile to the British interest, and appoint to their duties persons in whom the Resident could confide. This last stipulation was not accomplished without the employment of military force for an object, and with results strikingly characteristic of the disorganised state of the native principalities, and which therefore it may be of use to describe in some detail.

The chief favourite and principal adviser of the Nizam was Raja Mahipat Ram, a Hindu, who was originally employed as Dewan, or man of business, by Monsieur Raymond the commander of the French brigades. In this situation he had formed an intimacy with the prince Sekandar Jah, and upon the dispersion of the French force was taken into his service and obtained his confidence. Upon the elevation of the prince to the throne, Mahipat Ram received the honorary title of Raja, and was appointed to the united civil and military command of the north-west or Berar Frontier. His public functions he discharged by deputy, and resided at Hyderabad, the intimate associate and secret counsellor of the prince. Aspiring to the supreme direction of public affairs, he became the opponent and enemy of the prime minister, and of those by whom he was upheld. His early con-

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<sup>1</sup> They were, the dismissal from his presence and from office of persons hostile to the minister and the British alliance; the separation of the military from the civil command on the northern frontier, and the appointment to both duties of persons in the confidence of the Resident; admittance of the Resident to an audience whenever he requested it, without any conditions; due attentions to the just claims of the British Government; the communication of all petitions and statements of a public nature without reserve to the minister; and, should any difference with him arise, the question should be referred to the British Resident.—MS. Records.

BOOK I. nexions, and the injury to his fortunes consequent upon  
 CHAP. I. the breaking up of Raymond's corps, had no doubt disposed  
 1808. him to cherish unfriendly feelings towards Mir Alem's  
 English friends ; and he may honestly have desired, how-  
 ever inconsiderately he may have proposed, to liberate his  
 sovereign from dependence upon a foreign power. What-  
 ever may have been his motives, he was known to be im-  
 placably hostile to the British alliance, and he was one of  
 those whose removal from the court was inflexibly insisted  
 on. He was also dismissed from his command, and ordered  
 to withdraw to his personal Jagir. However unpalatable  
 to the Nizam and to his favourite, Mahipat Ram, after  
 some ineffectual endeavours to obtain a milder doom, was  
 compelled to retire to his feudatory estates.

Raja Mahipat Ram was incapable of leading an inactive  
 life, or abstaining from turbulence and intrigue. He col-  
 lected a force of five thousand horse, whom he employed  
 to dispossess some of his brother feudatories of their ter-  
 ritories, and to levy contributions even upon the districts  
 immediately subject to the officers of the Nizam ; not, as  
 there was good reason to suspect, without the connivance  
 of his prince, who preferred the vexation and embarrass-  
 ment of his minister to the peace of his subjects and the  
 maintenance of his own authority. The remonstrances of  
 the Resident compelled the Nizam at length to send a  
 force against his vassal, but it was defeated ; and Mr. Gor-  
 don, an officer who commanded one of his disciplined bat-  
 talions, being wounded in the action and taken prisoner,  
 was put to death after the engagement in the presence of  
 the Raja. The Nizam's troops being either unable or un-  
 willing to suppress the insurrection, it became necessary  
 to adopt more vigorous measures ; and a considerable por-  
 tion of the subsidiary force,<sup>1</sup> under its commandant  
 Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor, marched against the Raja  
 at Shahpur, whilst other divisions moved from the north  
 and the south to intercept him in the event of his at-  
 tempting to retire into the adjacent Mahratta districts.  
 Unable to face the force sent against him, Mahipat Ram  
 retreated towards Berar with the utmost expedition, and  
 was followed by Colonel Montresor with equal celerity.

22nd Feb.  
 1808.

<sup>1</sup> Five companies H.M. 33rd. ; two battalions N.I. ; two regiments N.C. ; a  
 brigade of artillery ; and a body of the Nizam's troops.

The Raja contrived for three months to evade his pursuers, but with the loss of his guns, his baggage, and his infantry, His flight into Berar, where it was apprehended he would find numerous adherents, was prevented by the judicious movements of Colonel Montresor, and the advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton with a division of the subsidiary force from the frontier of that province. Thus foiled in his purpose, Mahipat Ram directed his course to Kandesh. Turning to the west he crossed the Godaveri, Tapti, and Nerbudda rivers; and threw himself into the territory of Holkar, whither his pursuers did not consider themselves authorised to follow him. The detachment under Colonel Doveton was left to guard the frontier, and the main body returned to Hyderabad. Raja Mahipat Ram was no longer formidable: he was now a mere military adventurer at the head of a party of roving horse, willing to be retained by any foreign prince by the promise of pay and the prospect of plunder. He was accordingly engaged by Holkar; but the situation of that chief, his illness, and the troubles that distracted his court, rendered the engagement of little other value than the personal protection which it afforded the Raja.

It was still thought advisable, in order to obviate the recurrence of mischievous intrigues at Hyderabad to obtain possession of the person of Mahipat Ram, and applications to that effect were made to Holkar. In reply, the Mahratta declared that it was, and had always been, the Raja's intention to proceed to Calcutta and appeal to the Governor-General against Mir Alem and the Resident, to whose personal animosity he attributed his misfortunes; professing himself ready to retire from public life and settle at Benares, if the liberality of the British Government afforded him the means. This arrangement had been proposed before his insurrection, but he was now held to have forfeited any claim to favour; and a pension, although granted to his family, was refused to himself: his unconditional surrender was demanded, with which he declined to comply. There is no reason to suppose he was sincere in his professions, as at the same time he was writing to the Nizam, offering, if his sanction was declared, to come to Hyderabad with fifty thousand horse, which he affirmed Holkar and Amir Khan were prepared



BOOK I. to despatch to his assistance to enable him to shake off the  
CHAP. I. English yoke.

1809.

It was not in the power, if it had ever been the practice, of Holkar, to observe punctuality in the payment of his soldiery; and the funds of Mahipat Ram, although assisted by secret contributions from the Nizam, soon fell short of the means of maintaining a corps of any strength. After repeated mutinies for arrears of pay, the principal part of his followers deserted him: with the remainder he attached himself to the party in Holkar's camp, which, after that chieftain's insanity aimed at the direction of affairs, under the guidance of Tulasí Bhai, his wife. The opposite faction, headed by a military leader named Dharma Koar, having acquired a temporary superiority, Mahipat Ram was ordered to quit the encampment. Delaying to obey the order, he was attacked by a party of Dharma Koar's troops, at a time when his own men were dispersed; and whilst he was remonstrating against the aggression, and professing his readiness to depart, he was shot in the tumult: his head was cut off, and cast like that of a common malefactor before the threshold of Holkar's tent. It was, however, given up to the entreaties of his friends, and burnt with the body; but his effects were confiscated, and the horses of his troopers were seized for the use of the state. Such was the fate of an individual whose influence had threatened to subvert the alliance between the Nizam and the British Government, and had endangered the tranquillity of India. He seems to have been a man of an active and enterprising character, whose chief error was embarking rashly in undertakings in which he had no possible chance of success.

The minister of the Nizam, Mir Alem, died on the 8th of January, 1809. A negotiation for the nomination of a successor ensued, which was not unattended with difficulties; the British Government professing to leave it to the Nizam, whilst stedfastly resolved to suffer no one unfriendly to its interests to exercise the administration, and the Nizam with equal insincerity pretending to defer to the wishes of the Bengal Government, whilst secretly striving to secure its acknowledgment of a favourite of his own. A compromise was at length effected. Monir ul Mulk, the choice of the Nawab, was appointed minister

under a written engagement to maintain the British connexion unimpaired; but, as he was incompetent to the duties of his office, the real administration was vested in the hands of Chandu Lal as his Peshkár or deputy, a Hindu of experience and talent, who had been employed by Mir Alem in a similar capacity, and who like him, was deeply impressed with the essential importance of the Resident's support, both to his own authority and to the integrity of the Nizam's dominions. The connexion with Hyderabad, after the brief interruption which has been described, was established on a firmer footing than before; and the growing habits of excess in which the Nizam indulged, as well as his natural timidity and indolence, enfeebled his own sentiments of aversion, and rendered them no longer objects of apprehension.

A subsidiary alliance<sup>1</sup> united the Peshwa also with the British Government of India, but the connexion was distinguished by some essential differences from those which had been formed with the Mohammedan princes: it was of more recent date and less stringent obligations: the Mahratta prince retained a much larger share of independence and power, and more consistently contemplated the opportunity of ridding himself of a controul which he equally felt to be intolerable, but which he had the policy to affect to submit to with cheerfulness and satisfaction.<sup>2</sup> Baji Rao had entered into the alliance in a moment of despair, when no other means were open to him of escaping from the violence of Holkar, but the treaty was scarcely concluded when he was busied in intrigues with the other Mahratta princes for its infraction. The unexpected close of the war with Sindhia and the Raja of Berar, disappointed his projects, the discomfiture of the confederates, showed him that it was vain to expect immediate release from his engagements and his next object was to

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1805.

1805.

<sup>1</sup> By this, commonly called the Treaty of Bassein, dated 31st December, 1802, the Peshwa agreed to receive a permanent subsidiary force of not less than 6000 regular infantry, with the usual proportion of field-pieces and European artillerymen; for the regular payment of which, certain districts in the Dekhin were at first assigned, but were, as already noticed, commuted for others in Bundelkhand by a supplemental treaty, December, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> For a time he appears to have imposed upon the Government of Bengal; as the satisfaction which he expressed was one of the arguments employed by Sir G. Barlow against the modifications of the treaty of Bassein, proposed by the Secret Committee.—Malcolm, Political History of India, i. 380.



BOOK I. turn them to his advantage: there, also, he encountered  
 CHAP. I. various disappointments, and these contributed to enhance

1807.

his discontent with the British Government, however veiled beneath the show of cordiality and good-humour. The Court of Poonah entertained heavy pecuniary claims upon the Gaekwar and the Nizam for arrears of tribute, or for payments stipulated by treaty:<sup>1</sup> these claims the British Government undertook to investigate and adjust, but the accounts were long and complicated, and the equity of the demand not unfrequently questionable. The investigation proceeded slowly, and adjustment was deferred until the patience of the Peshwa was exhausted, and he felt as a grievance that interposition which barred his attempting to realise at least a portion of his demands by a more summary process. Another subject of grievance was the decided refusal of the Government to allow the Peshwa to use the subsidiary force as an instrument for the establishment of an unprecedented controul over some of his feudatories, and for their forcible expulsion from their Jagirs: this was especially the case with regard to Parasuram Srinivás, the Pratinidhi or principal hereditary noble of the Mahratta state, between whom and Baji Rao an inveterate feud had for some time subsisted. The Peshwa advanced also unfounded pecuniary claims upon portions of Bundelkhand not included in the cessions he had made to the British; and demanded arrears of Chouth, the Mahratta tribute, from the independent Rajas of the province, as well as from the rulers of Jhansi, Kalpi and Sagar, which his relations with the British, that prevented him from engaging in hostilities or entering into negotiation with other princes without their participation, disabled him from asserting in the manner most agreeable to Mahratta policy. He likewise claimed a share of the contributions extorted by Holkar and Sindhia from

<sup>1</sup> The amount of the demand upon the Gaekwar was nearly three millions sterling; upon the Nizam about six hundred thousand pounds. As an instructive illustration of the nature of such claims, and the unfailing source of dispute which they furnished to the native states of India, the Peshwa's account with the Gaekwar is particularised in the Appendix. It is clear that such an account never could be settled, and that it provided a permanent plea of quarrel whenever the creditor thought himself strong enough to insist upon a partial payment, another name for a contribution; or whenever the debtor in the same belief of his power, thought fit to demand an abatement of the claim. The ascendancy of an umpire whose award is not to be disputed has put an end to all such grounds of contention.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Mahrattas, iii. 341.

the princes of Rajputana ; and attributing the difficulty of realising these demands to the non-appointment of such a representative in Hindustan as had been charged with the interests of the Peshwa anterior to the date of the British connexion, he was urgent with his allies to sanction the revival of the office of Sir-subha, or Peshwa's representative, in which character he proposed to send one of his principal officers into Bundelkhand. To this proposition an unqualified refusal was given, as it was obviously designed to replace the Peshwa in the position of titular head of the Mahratta confederacy, and to renew that system of combination which it had been the especial object of the treaty of Bassein to overturn. The nomination of an officer who should be acknowledged by Sindhia and Holkar as the Peshwa's delegate was also an infringement of the stipulation in the treatise with those princes, as well as with the Peshwa, by which internegotiation of a political tendency was prohibited. The British Government, therefore, required the Peshwa to desist from the appointment of a Sir-subha, offering at the same time to mediate between him and the chiefs of Bundelkhand for the recovery of his just demands. The firm opposition made by Sir G. Barlow to this insidious project, in which it was ascertained that both Sindhia and Holkar had secretly concurred, inflicted upon Bajī Rao severe disappointment and mortification. He professed, indeed, to place entire confidence in the wisdom and friendship of his allies, but it was evident that little reliance on his sincerity could be entertained ; nor were positive proofs wanting of his being concerned in negotiations incompatible with the spirit and letter of his engagements to the British ;<sup>1</sup> and it was obvious that his conviction of the

<sup>1</sup> The villages taken from Sindhia, and transferred to the Peshwa, after the war had been secretly suffered to remain in the possession of the former. The nomination of a Sir-subha, as mentioned in the text, was with the private concurrence of Sindhia and Holkar. When a quarrel had ensued between those two chiefs after the return of the latter to Hindustan, an envoy was sent by the Peshwa to mediate between them. As this was a palpable infraction of the treaty of Bassein, Bajī Rao was called upon for an explanation. He at once disavowed his agent, and, in proof of his fidelity to his engagements, produced what were also evidences of his intercourse with the other chiefs, letters from Holkar and Sindhia declaratory of their desire to renew their subordination to the Poona Government. Bajī Rao at the same time pretended a conviction that, although these proposals might have for their object the advantage of the writers, it was for his own advantage to adhere to the terms of the subsidiary alliance.—MS. Records ; also Hist. of the Mahrattas, iii. 333.

BOOK I. impossibility of forming an effective combination against  
 CHAP. I. their power, alone deterred him from new intrigues calculated to disturb the existing relations and endanger the tranquillity of India. The other members of the Mahratta confederacy were not in a situation favourable to their co-operation in his design.

1803.  
 1802. The bonds of union with the Gaekwar or Mahratta ruler of Guzerat were of the most intimate description; and the maintenance of his authority, his very existence as a political power, depended entirely upon the assistance and support of his English allies. The contest for the occupation of Guzerat, adverted to in a former page, terminated in the acknowledgment of Fattih Sing.<sup>1</sup> Upon his death, in 1793, Govind Rao was recognised by the Government of Poona as Raja. He died in 1808, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Anand Rao, a prince of weak intellect and indolent disposition, who was incapable of conducting an efficient administration. A struggle for the management of affairs ensued. Kanhoji Rao, the eldest illegitimate son of Govind Rao, a bold and ambitious young man, at first secured to himself and his partisans all the principal offices of the state; but after a short time he was dispossessed of them by one to whom the authority could be more safely and beneficially entrusted, Raoji Appa, who had been the minister of Govind Rao, a man of ability, whose exercise of authority was not incompatible with the continuation of Anand Rao as titular sovereign. Kanhoji had recourse to Mulhar Rao, a cousin of his late father, who held an extensive Jagir under the Gaekwar, and was a chief of talent and enterprise. Raoji Appa, unable to oppose this combination, made urgent application to the Government of Bombay for the formation of a subsidiary alliance. The proposal was acceded to, and Major Walker, with a military detachment, was sent to his succour.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> iii. 422.

<sup>2</sup> By the agreement entered into, the Gaekwar engaged to pay for the expenses of the military assistance granted to him, and for a permanent force to be furnished by the Company; and to cede in perpetuity the Pergunna of Chikli in the dependencies of Surat, with his share of the clouth or contribution levied on that city. These engagements were confirmed by a formal treaty in June, 1802. It was also provided that an assignment of territory should be made to the Company of the estimated annual revenue of 7,80,000 rupees, for the maintenance of 2000 native infantry; and, as the number was subsequently raised to 3000, with a company of European artillery, other lands were made over by a treaty dated in April, 1805, yielding with the former a total revenue of 11,70,000 rupees.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 565-594, and schedule A. p. 601.

Mulhar Rao and Kanhoji were defeated: the former declared his submission to the new order of things; but Kanhoji kept aloof, and for some time devastated the country at the head of a predatory body of horse. He was ultimately routed by a British division under Major Holmes, and driven out of Guzerat. Raoji Appa retained the functions of prime minister and virtual ruler undisturbed, and Major Walker was appointed Resident at Baroda, the capital of the Gaekwar.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK I.  
CHAP. I.  
1803.

When tranquillity was re-established, and opportunity was afforded for an inquiry into the condition of the Gaekwar's affairs, it was found that they were so irretrievably involved, that it was indispensably necessary, if it were thought desirable to continue the connexion, to extend the assistance to be afforded beyond military support, and to prop the rapidly declining resources of the principality with the funds and credit of the British Government. The annual disbursements greatly exceeded the annual receipts of the public treasury;<sup>2</sup> the revenues were intercepted by appropriations and mortgages, the fruits of former improvidence; heavy debts, bearing a ruinous rate of interest, were owing to the bankers and moneyed men; and long arrears of pay were due to the troops, the discharge of which was a necessary preliminary to their dismissal, and consequent diminution of public expenditure. The additional burthen imposed upon the state by the subsidy to be paid to the British force was quite incapable of being sustained; and it was evident not only that the engagement could not be fulfilled, but that national insolvency, general confusion and distress, and the dissolution of the Gaekwar's power, were unavoidable, unless vigorous means were promptly employed to administer present relief and ensure future amelioration. Fortunately the Resident was endowed with more than ordinary abilities, industry, energy, and judgment; enjoyed the unreserved confidence of his own Government; and speedily commanded the same implicit credit with the Gaekwar, his minister, his chief officers, and the moneyed and commercial members of the community.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of the Mahr. iii. 216.

<sup>2</sup> The revenue of Guzerat was estimated at 50 lakhs of rupees per annum; the expenditure exceeded 82 lakhs.—MS. Rec.

<sup>3</sup> This is strikingly expressed in the counterpart of the treaty of 1803, written by the Gaekwar himself, anticipating the possibility of his falling into



## BOOK VI.

## CHAP. I.

1803.

The first measure of reduced expenditure that was adopted, was, the discharge of the Gaekwar's troops, the need of whom was superseded by the subsidiary force; but for this purpose it was requisite to pay the arrears due to them, and the funds were to be raised. The British Government agreed to advance part of the sum required for this object, and to guarantee repayment of the remainder to opulent individuals, who, under that security, were willing to furnish what was requisite. The advances, in both cases, were to be liquidated out of assignments of territory, the revenues of which were to be collected and accounted for by the Company.<sup>1</sup> The money was supplied, but the reduction of the troops was not effected by pecuniary means alone.

The most efficient portion of the Gaekwar's army consisted of about seven thousand Arabs, a description of mercenaries whom it was formerly a frequent practice in the Peninsula to engage, and who bore a high reputation for fidelity and courage, but were equally characterized by turbulence and rapacity. These troops formed the garrison of Baroda, and were extremely averse to the loss of pay and privileges with which they were threatened.

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the hands of his rebellious subjects or mutinous troops. He enjoins that, "in such a situation, his subjects will pay no attention to his orders, but hear what Major Walker has to say, strictly following his instructions." And the document concludes with these provisions: "Conformably to Major Walker's suggestions and wishes, the articles contained in this declaration were written, and to them I have given my assent; but in the event of any evil-disposed persons attempting anything unfair or unreasonable against my person, my Dewan, Raoji Appaji, his son, his brother, nephew, or relations, and Madhu Rao Tantia Mazambar, or even should I myself, or my successors, commit anything improper or unjust, the English Government shall interfere, and see in either case that it is settled according to equity and reason. I have also required of Major Walker on the part of the Company to promise that my state and government shall be permanent, and shall descend to the lineal heirs of the Musnud, and that the Dewanship shall be preserved to Raoji Appaji. In the last place, I desire to form the most intimate connexion with the Company, and that all business with the Poona Durbar may be jointly managed by the English Resident and my Vakeel. Given at Baroda, 28th July 1802. (Signed) Anand Rao, Gaekwar; Sena-khás-khel, Shamshir Bahadur."—Coll. of Treaties, p. 569. These may have been the sentiments of the minister rather than of the Raja, but they were generally consistent with the conduct of Anand Rao.

<sup>1</sup> The amount required was 41,38,000 rupees (413,800*l.*), of which the British Government advanced 19,67,000 rupees (196,700*l.*): the rest was provided by different Sarafs or bankers at Baroda under the Company's Bhandari—a general assurance that they should be repaid, not an absolute surety for repayment. An annual territorial revenue of 12,95,000 rupees was appropriated to the liquidation of the principal, with interest at nine per cent. per annum, until the whole should be redeemed.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 601.



In order to evade their dismissal, they advanced the most extravagant demands, and, seizing upon the capital and person of the Gaekwar, refused to set him at liberty unless their claims were satisfied. Major Walker having endeavoured in vain to bring them to reasonable terms, Baroda was invested by the subsidiary force under Colonel Woodington, strengthened by a European regiment from Bombay. The Arabs defended themselves with spirit, and inflicted some loss on their assailants; but, after a siege of ten days, a practicable breach having been made in the walls, they capitulated, on the promise that all arrears justly due to them should be paid, and they engaged in that event to disband and leave the country.

This transaction, and the flight of Kanhoji, restored tranquillity to Guzerat, and enabled the minister and the Resident to proceed without interruption in their projects of reform. Raoji Appa died in January, 1803, and was succeeded in his office of Dewan by his nephew Sitarám, who professed the same principles, and for a time pursued the same policy, as his uncle. The reduction of the expenditure proved, however, no easy task, as extravagance and dishonesty pervaded every department, and little reliance could be placed upon the co-operation of the servants of the state, who were themselves the chief plunderers and defaulters. Sitarám soon became weary of a duty so troublesome and unpopular, and lent himself to the prevailing practice of profusion; so that the whole labour and odium fell upon the Resident. He was ably assisted by Gangadhar Sastri, an accountant in his employment, who acquired at a subsequent date a melancholy celebrity in the political history of the Peninsula, as we shall have occasion to relate. The Resident was also firmly supported by the bankers and public creditors, who had a deep personal interest in the success of his proceedings.

The avowed exercise of British controul over the internal administration of the Gaekwar, which commenced under the authority of Marquis Wellesley, was continued on the same footing by Sir G. Barlow, although an admitted departure from his policy of non-interference. "The peculiar situation," he observed, "of the affairs of the Gaekwar state, and the circumstances under which our

BOOK I. connexion with that state has been established, and has  
 CHAP. I. become in a manner interwoven with its internal concerns,  
 1807. distinguish our relations with Baroda from those which  
 subsist with the other powers of India, although the  
 general political relations and obligations are the same.  
 The interference, therefore, which we are called upon to  
 exercise, cannot be considered to constitute a deviation  
 from those principles of policy which in our intercourse  
 with other allies preclude our interference in the manage-  
 ment of their internal concerns. It is evident that the  
 alternative of our interference for the reform of the affairs  
 of the Gaekwar is not merely the loss of the advantages  
 to be derived from the efficacy of the alliance, but the  
 positive dangers to which the certain ruin of the state  
 would expose our most essential interests in that quarter  
 of the Peninsula." These observations were undoubtedly  
 just, but the spirit which they evince was eminently selfish,  
 and no consideration of the benefit accruing to the Gaek-  
 war was allowed to influence the maintenance of the  
 connexion.

At the same time that the right and policy of inter-  
 ference were thus explicitly recognised, the economical  
 timidity of the Bengal Government suspended the execu-  
 tion of a measure recommended by the Resident as essen-  
 tial to the realization of the resources of Guzerat,—the  
 enforced levy of the tribute due to the Gaekwar by his  
 tributaries in Kattiwar. The obvious necessity, however,  
 of rendering this source of legitimate revenue productive,  
 and the expectation that a judicious display of the British  
 power might prevent serious opposition, overcame the  
 reluctance of the Governor-General; and a military de-  
 tachment under the command of the Resident undertook  
 the performance of the Mulkigiri, or periodical collec-  
 tion of tribute by the march of troops through the  
 province.

Although correctly applicable to one division only, that  
 occupied by the Katti tribe, the term Kattiwar designates  
 the whole of the peninsula of Guzerat. The country was  
 distributed amongst various tribes, of whom the Rajputs  
 and Kattis were the most remarkable: subject to a num-  
 ber of petty chieftains of various degrees of power, and  
 possessing domains differing in extent and value; some-

times connected with their neighbours by affinity of descent, but all equally independent in their own lordships; exercising the privilege of private war, and paying little more than nominal obedience to the paramount sovereign; presenting, in many respects, a resemblance to the kingdoms of Europe during the worst periods of baronial anarchy. The province had been regarded as tributary successively to the Mohammedan Kings of Güzzerat, to the Mogul, and to the Mahrattas; but the tribute was never spontaneously paid, and its collection was only to be effected by a military progress amongst the states. Nor was this method always attended by success. The army of the Peshwa, or of the Gaekwar, even when amounting to twenty thousand horse, was not unfrequently resisted. The Rajas shut themselves up in their forts or castles, and from their battlements mocked the movements of cavalry. The villages, fortified by mud walls, impenetrable hedges, and the martial spirit of the population, were equally inaccessible; and the invaders were obliged to content themselves with laying the open country waste. Nor were they suffered to carry off with impunity such plunder as they might have gathered; hordes of Katti and Rajput horse hovered round their advance and harassed their retreat, and the expedition not unusually terminated in disaster and disgrace.

The diminished power and impaired resources of the Gaekwar had for several years prevented even such attempts at military coercion, and tribute accordingly had ceased. The spirit that now animated the counsels of the Government, and the means at its disposal, no longer permitted the chiefs of Kattiwar to resist its rightful demands with impunity. Having therefore received the sanction of his superiors, Major Walker marched with a division of the subsidiary force to Gotu, in the district of Murvi, to which place the several chieftains had been previously directed to send their representatives: the greater number complied with the requisition: the right of the Gaekwar's Government to levy a tribute was universally admitted, but it was not until after many attempts at delay and evasion that a settlement was accomplished, and the chiefs consented to pay the amount regularly, without waiting for the Mulkgiri process of coercion. The

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BOOK I. sum of nine lakhs and a half of rupees was promised in perpetuity, and security was given for a term of ten years, renewable at its expiration. The security was characteristic. The sureties were persons boasting neither rank nor wealth, but who derived from the usages of the country inviolable sanctity, and were entitled to implicit trust. They were selected from the tribe of Chárans or Bháts, the hereditary bards, genealogists, and chroniclers of the principal Hindu races of the West of India, whose sacredness of person had been received as a substitute for law in a condition of society which, whilst it felt the necessity of social obligations, could submit to none of the human restraints by which they are maintained and enforced. Superstition supplied the defect. The Cháran, if his pledge was violated, murdered himself or some member of his family; and the retribution for blood was believed to fall upon the head of him by whose default he had been impelled to make the sacrifice. The dread of such a destiny was generally of power to deter the least scrupulous from the violation of an engagement so guaranteed.<sup>1</sup> In some instances, additional securities were entered into by chiefs and persons of influence; and the rights of the Gaekwar, then established in Kattiwar, have never since been the subject of any serious contest. At the same time, the chiefs and people of the principal sea-ports of the Peninsula, all of whom were in the habit of committing piratical depredations on native commerce, were called upon to renounce piracy, to re-

<sup>1</sup> The following illustration of this usage is narrated by Lieut. Macmurdo:—"In the year 1806, a Bhát of Veweingaum, named Kunna, had become security on the part of Dossajee, the present chieftain of Mallia in Muchookanta, for a sum of money payable to the Gaekwar Government: the time specified for payment arrived, and Dossajee refused to fulfil his engagement. Government applied to the surety, who, after several fruitless attempts to persuade Dossajee to comply with his bond, returned to his house, and, after passing some time in prayer, assembled his family and desired his wife to prepare a daughter, about seven years of age, for *traga*. The innocent child, taught from her earliest infancy to reflect on the sacred character and divine origin of her family, and the necessity which existed for the sacrifice, required no compulsion to follow the path by which the honour of her caste was to be preserved. Having bathed, and dressed herself in her best clothes, she knelt with her head on her father's knee, and holding aside her long hair, she resigned herself without a struggle to the sword of this unnatural barbarian. The blood of a Bhat being sprinkled on the gate of the chieftain produced an instantaneous payment of the money: presents of land to the father, and a handsome mausoleum or *doree* to the daughter, marked the desire of the Rajput to avert the punishment supposed to await the spiller of a Cháran's blood."—Trans. Literary Society of Bombay, i. 281.



linquish their claims to vessels wrecked on their coasts, to allow the free resort of merchant-ships from the territories of the Company or their allies, and to assent to the permanent residence of a commercial agent at their principal harbours. They generally acceded to these stipulations.<sup>1</sup>

The only active military operation which it became necessary to undertake, was designed to adjust a difference between two chiefs of some consideration, and to demonstrate the ability as well as the determination of the Government of Guzerat to compel obedience. A body of Makránis, or mercenaries, natives of Makran, in the service of the Raja of Purbandar, mutinying for arrears of pay, seized upon the fort of Kandorna, belonging to the Raja, and sold it to a rival chief, the Jam of Noanagar. This transaction occurred after the arrival of the Resident and Gaekwar's minister in the province, and was held to be contempt of the superior authority, as well as disregard of private rights. The Jam was desired to restore the fortress; and, as he refused to comply with the requisition, the detachment marched against the place: batteries were erected, and in the course of a day, two practicable breaches being effected, the troops were drawn out for the assault, when the garrison surrendered. Kandorna had formerly sustained successfully a siege of three months by the Gaekwar's army, and was looked upon by the people as impregnable. Its capture on the present occasion in so short a time, impressed the native chiefs with a deep conviction of the uselessness of opposition to the British arms, and produced a sensible effect upon the progress of the negotiations.

The expedition into Kattiwar was considered as affording a favourable opportunity for asserting authority of a different description, and vindicating the outraged claims of natural affection. The Jhareja Rajputs of the province, and of the neighbouring principality of Cutch, were notorious for the murder of their female infants. Preferring the death of a daughter to a matrimonial alliance with an

<sup>1</sup> The sea-ports were Dhingi, Bate, Dwaraka, Amramra, Positra, Jooria, and Noanagar on the north coast, and different parts of Junagerh on the south. For the stipulations with them severally, and with other of the Kattiwar principalities, see Coll. of Treaties, p. 602, &c.



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inferior race, and looking upon most races as inferior, precluded by custom from marrying her to a husband of her own tribe, the Jharejas believed it to be more humane to nip the flower in the bud, than to await the risk of its being blighted in maturer growth. A female child was almost invariably put to death as soon as born. The Government of Bombay had for some time past been anxious to eradicate this cruel and unnatural practice;<sup>1</sup> and Colonel Walker was instructed to endeavour to obtain from the chiefs, a declaration of its incompatibility with the Hindu religion as well as with the laws of humanity, and a promise that they would desist from its perpetration. The negotiation was a subject of some delicacy; but the Resident, by the weight of his character, and a judicious employment of the influence with which the situation and interests of the several chiefs invested him, overcame all difficulties, and carried the instructions of the Government into effect. An engagement was signed by all the principal chiefs for themselves and their fraternities, by which they pledged themselves to renounce the usage of killing their female children, to expel from their caste any person who should be guilty of the crime, and to submit to any penalties which the Gaekwar's Government and the British Resident should inflict for breach of the obligation.<sup>2</sup> For some time they seem to have adhered to the terms of the engagement, but the Resident and the Government were somewhat too sanguine in their belief that female infanticide was suppressed in Guzerat. It was not possible that the illusions of deep-rooted prejudice and long-established custom should instantly vanish before the voice of humanity and reason; and fear of punishment, the only agent of adequate power to work so sudden a change, could exercise but little controul where the detection of an offence committed in the impenetrable secrecy of domestic privacy was obviously almost imprac-

<sup>1</sup> The head of the Bombay Government, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, had encountered, when Governor-General's agent at Benares, a similar custom among the Rajkumars, a Rajput tribe established in that province, and had succeeded in obtaining from them an engagement to abstain from the commission of the crime; this was in 1789.—Papers on Female Infanticide, printed by order of the House of Commons, 17th June, 1824, p. 22; the engagement is also printed, *Ibid.* p. 8.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Report of his proceedings by Colonel Walker, 15th March, 1808.—Parl. Papers, 31.

licable. Accordingly, at a long subsequent date, there were grounds for believing that the crime was almost as common as it had been before the interposition of the British Government.<sup>1</sup> The sentiments of that Government have, however, been sufficiently made known to insure its marked disfavour to any chief suspected of violating the spirit of the original contract; and a sense of individual interest, with improved principles of action, manners softened by the continuance of tranquillity, and extended intellectual cultivation, must ultimately effect the extinction of a practice which is not more inconsistent with reason than repugnant to natural instinct.<sup>2</sup>

The adjustment of the Kattiwar tribute tended materially to facilitate the improvement of the Gaekwar's finances, but their final settlement was retarded by the aversion which the new minister exhibited to the economical measures of the Resident, and the secret counteraction which he countenanced or practised. It became necessary, therefore, to re-model the administration. Sitaram was removed from the office of Dewan, the duties of which were assigned to his uncle, Baba Rao; whilst a general controuling and sanctioning authority was vested in Fatih Sing Gaekwar, the younger brother of the reigning prince, and heir to the throne. These ministers, holding their appointments by the tenure of the Resident's approbation, co-operated cordially with him, and results the most beneficial were speedily attained. In place of the seemingly hopeless condition of the public finances when the process of reform was commenced, when the expenditure nearly doubled the receipts, the revenue of the Gaekwar was raised in the course of six years to sixty-five lakhs of rupees, and his expences were reduced to fifty lakhs, leaving a surplus of fifteen lakhs applicable to the liquidation of his debts: perseverance in the same system for about a similar period was expected to ensure his liberation from pecuniary embarrassment, and the full command of all his resources.<sup>3</sup> The connexion which the Gaekwar

<sup>1</sup> In 1817, there were but sixty-three Jhareja females living in all Kattiwar, born subsequently to the engagement with Colonel Walker.—Parl. Papers, 110. In a village called Draffa, containing four hundred families, there was not a female child.—Ibid. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Note by Mr. Elphinstone when Governor of Bombay.—Ibid. 116.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Records.

BOOK I. had formed with the British, had been attended therefore,  
 CHAP. I. with unequivocal benefit to that prince, and, at the period  
 1807. at which we have arrived, was distinguished above all  
 the existing subsidiary alliances, by implicit confidence,  
 intimate union, and mutual satisfaction.<sup>1</sup>

The other Mahratta states, although they had acceded to relations of amity, had declined a closer alliance and the engagement of subsidiary troops. The most friendly chief amongst them was the Raja of Berar. A British Resident was admitted at his court, and exercised considerable influence in his counsels. Some of his ministers also were, with his knowledge and concurrence, in the receipt of pensions from the Government of Bengal, as compensation for private losses suffered from the late war. The Raja was, however, not altogether contented with his allies. His dominions had been heavily mulcted for his share in the recent hostilities.<sup>2</sup> He had been compelled to cede part of Berar to the Nizam, and the province of Cuttack to the Company, and he contrasted the penalties that had been inflicted on him with the undeserved forbearance which the British Government had shown to Sindhia and Holkar, notwithstanding the more prominent part which they had taken in the operations of the war, and the more inveterate animosity which they had manifested. He claimed, therefore, at least equally favourable treatment, and a similar restoration of his dismembered territories; and in justification of his expectations he pleaded an implied promise of Lord Cornwallis, who, in a letter addressed to the Raja, had assured him of his "intention of compensating his losses to the utmost practicable extent consistent with equity and public faith." The letter was unquestionably authentic, and the tenor was sufficiently obvious, although the expressions were vague: a liberal interpretation of them would have replaced the Raja in possession of Cuttack, if not of Berar; but, as this would have been inconvenient, it was necessary to explain away the precipitate generosity of of the noble writer. It was argued with some plausibility

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Walker left Baroda on account of ill-health in the beginning of 1809. He returned for a short time at the pressing solicitation of the Government of Bengal to superintend proceedings relating to the affairs of Cutch, but finally quitted India in 1810.

<sup>2</sup> By the treaty of Deogaum, 17th December, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, 261.

that it would be inconsistent with equity and public faith to resume the lands ceded to the Nizam, and it was maintained with less show of reason that it would be equally incompatible with justice to the British Government of India to deprive it of Cuttack. Ragoji Bhonsla's notions of justice were somewhat at variance with those of the Governor-General, and he not unnaturally demurred to the decision of a judge who sat in judgment on his own cause, and pronounced sentence in his own favour. He was obliged to submit, but acquiesced unwillingly. To fulfil in some degree the purpose of restitution intimated by Lord Cornwallis, it was proposed to cede to the Raja a tract of little extent or value west of the Wardá river, and the more considerable district of Sambhalpur on the east of Berar. The Raja declined to accept the former: the latter became, after a season, an unwilling and unprofitable dependency of Nagpur. Its cession was scarcely compatible with a strict observance of the obligations contracted with the people of the province when it came into British possession.

The countries of Sambhalpur and Patna, forming an extensive tract, were, for the greater part, overrun with jungle; but they afforded support to a scanty population scattered about in detached villages, and subject to the authority of a number of petty Rajput chiefs, loosely connected by affinity or allegiance, but not unfrequently disunited and at variance. The Mahratta Rajas of Nagpur had availed themselves of the opportunity offered by the dissensions of the chiefs to interpose, and set up a claim of supremacy and exacted payment of tribute; but they had never been able to establish any recognised influence or authority. The principle of the Mulkigiri of Kattiwar was therefore here also in practice: a body of troops was sent every third year into the province, which plundered the villages and devastated the fields, until its retreat was purchased by the payment of the sum demanded. This system of extortion, and the cruelty and spoliation with which it was enforced, had rendered the Mahrattas detested alike by chiefs and people, and they cordially welcomed and assisted the British division, which, in the late war, was sent in their direction. On that occasion they had readily promised allegiance to the British Government,



BOOK I. on condition that they should be permanently retained  
 CHAP. I. amongst its subjects. As, however, little advantage to the  
 1807. resources of the Company's dominions was to be expected  
 from so poor a dependancy, the pledge given to its inhabitants was disregarded, and it was resolved to consign them again to their Mahratta oppressors. With a show of attention to its engagements, the British Government, at the same time that it announced to the chiefs its determination to relinquish its occupation of the country, pretended to ask their consent to the transfer; offering to grant to those who might prefer the abandonment of their homes to submission to the Mahrattas, waste lands in the adjacent province of Cuttack.

The determination of the British Government to abandon them filled the people of Sambhalpur and Patna with consternation, and they protested against the measure in the most earnest and affecting terms.<sup>1</sup> Their remonstrances were unavailing; and, after some negotiation, they were prevailed upon to promise acceptance of the offer of compensation elsewhere, and agreed to quit the country within a given period, for the settlement which was proposed to them in Cuttack. When the time assigned for their emigration arrived, natural attachment to their native soil and the homes of their forefathers overcame their hatred and dread of the Mahrattas, and they refused to move, declaring it to be their resolution to remain upon their paternal lands, and defend them as they best might from the grasp of the spoiler. Advantage was immediately taken of their change of purpose: their tergiversation was held to exonerate the Bengal Government from the obligations of perpetual protection or equivalent compensation, and the recusants were abandoned to their fate.<sup>2</sup> One chief alone, Jujar Sing of Rai-

<sup>1</sup> A notion prevailed amongst the people that the province was ceded by the British Government in consequence of financial embarrassments. The head men of the villages thereupon assembled, waited upon Captain Roughsedge the commissioner, and offered on the part of their respective communities to make a free gift to him of half, or, if that were insufficient, of a still larger proportion of their property of every description, if the sacrifice would prevent their being abandoned.—MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> It is stated in a work which is in general of good authority, the Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. p. 312, "that Sambhalpur and Patna were restored to the Raja of Berar by General Wellesley, in ignorance of the intention of the Bengal Government to keep them as tributary dependencies; that many attempts were made to induce the Raja to forego the concession, and accept an equivalent; and that it was only upon finding him adhere per-



gerh, allowed his allies no such pretext to shuffle off their responsibility: he had consistently refused to be a party to the agreement to leave the country, and declared himself resolved rather to suffer any extremities, leaving to the British Government the odium of a breach of faith. They were, therefore, obliged to except Raigerh from the cessions to Nagpur, but they accompanied the exception with strict injunctions to the Raja to avoid giving offence to the Government of Berar, on pain of forfeiting his claim to British support. A Mahratta force was sent against the other Rajas, which, with some trouble, and more by treachery than force of arms reduced them to obedience.<sup>1</sup> At a subsequent era, and under a different system of policy, Sambhalpur was finally re-annexed to the Presidency of Bengal.

Although deeply disappointed and annoyed by the refusal of the Bengal Government to understand the letter of Lord Cornwallis in the sense in which he interpreted it, the Raja of Nagpur was not in a position to resent its conduct or dispense with its friendship. He was pressed for large pecuniary payments by Sindhia and by Holkar: the latter threatened to exact the discharge of his demands at the head of an army, and the threat was subsequently

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tinaciously to the promised restoration, that the Government consented at last to relinquish the provinces; at the same time, in order to reconcile the people to the proceeding, they were told, that, should events again bring them under British rule, they should become permanently subject to it." The statement does not seem to be correct. In the treaty of Deogaum, the 10th article confirms all treaties made by the British Government with the feudatories of the Raja; and the stipulation applies especially to the agreements with the Rajas of Sambhalpur and Patna, in which they had conditioned that they should remain permanently under British authority. Their districts were ceded to Nagpur by Sir G. Barlow in August, 1806, by a formal engagement, in the preamble of which it is stated that the Governor-General agrees to restore all the territory of Sambhalpur and Patna which was ceded by the Raja to the Company. It is clear, therefore, that up to the date of this restoration the provinces had been held by the Company; and no claim to them by the Raja, founded on a promise by General Wellesley, could have been preferred or recognised.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 261, 300.

<sup>1</sup> The fort of Sambhalpur was at the time of the cession in the hands of the Rani, the Raja being detained a prisoner at Nagpur. Finding himself unable to carry the place by force, the Mahratta general pledged his Government in the most solemn manner to release the Raja and acknowledge his authority, on the Rani consenting to a moderate tribute. Having thus thrown her off her guard, he took advantage of her confidence, in the course of the negotiations that followed, to surprise the fort before any defence could be offered. The Rani fled with a few followers; and having with great difficulty, and after much fatigue and suffering, escaped into the British territory: protection, and a small monthly pension, were granted her. She was one of those who at first entertained the proposal to emigrate into Cuttack, but who shrunk from its accomplishment.—MS. Records.

BOOK I. carried into act by Holkar's colleague, Amir Khan. Instigated also by other Mahratta princes and the Nawab of Bhopal, with whom the Court of Nagpur was at enmity, and impelled by their own habits of plunder, the confederated marauding bands known by the designation of Pindaris committed constant depredations on the frontiers of Berar, and on more than one occasion pillaged the country even in the vicinity of the capital. Ragoji Bhonsla and his ministers were well aware that his only security against the aggressions of his countrymen was the British alliance, and they were careful, therefore, to maintain it unimpaired. The connexion added to the strength and reputation of the British Government, as it was obvious to all the native states, that the most ancient and respectable branch of the Mahratta confederacy was indebted for all the political consideration which it retained, to the friendly relations established between it and the British power, unincumbered by a subsidiary treaty, and not incompatible with its independence.

Of all the Mahratta princes engaged in hostilities with the British, Dowlat Rao Sindhia had suffered the severest military and political inflictions. The organised battalions which had rendered him irresistible to the native powers, and formidable to his European adversary, had been almost annihilated;<sup>1</sup> and, although much of the territory conquered from him on the west of the Jumna had been restored, he had been deprived of extensive tracts in Hindustan, and of all the reputation and authority he derived from the guardianship of the Emperor of Delhi. He was precluded by positive engagements, as well as by his fear of the consequences of their infringement, from seeking to re-establish his ascendancy in the Mahratta confederation; and the sole object of his now humbled policy was to obtain money, on various prettexts, from the British Government, and from the neighbouring states.

<sup>1</sup> The regular infantry brigades in Sindhia's service at the beginning of the war consisted of seventy-two battalions, forming a disciplined force of 43,000 men in a highly respectable state of efficiency, with a large proportion of field artillery. — Malcolm's *Central India*, i. 138. After the war they were reduced to two brigades, under the commands severally of a Frenchman named Baptiste, and an Armenian of the name of Jacob; their discipline and organisation were greatly impaired. — Letters from a Mahratta camp. There were other bodies of troops under native leaders, but they were of a still more imperfect and irregular description. — Prinsep, *Transactions in India*, i. 26.

The equivocal behaviour of Sindhia in the interval that elapsed between the treaty formed with him in 1803, and that with Holkar in 1805, virtually annulled the existing engagements, and rendered their renewal necessary. A new treaty was accordingly entered into with him, by which some of the stipulations of that of Sirji Anjangaum were abrogated, others confirmed.<sup>1</sup> The intercourse that ensued in the period immediately following had principally for its object the fulfilment of the stipulations then provided: it did little credit to either of the contracting parties, turning mainly upon matters of pecuniary interest, in which it was the aim of the Mahratta to get as much, and of the Governor-General to give as little, as possible. The disputes were characteristic.

The treaty of Sirji Anjangaum permitted Sindhia to hold within the British possessions certain districts granted him in Jagir by the King of Delhi; and it secured to members of his family, and to some of his chief officers, compensation for lands held by them in the Doab before the war, either by a grant of similar Jagirs or of equivalent pensions, provided that the whole amount of revenue so alienated did not exceed the annual sum of seventeen lakhs of rupees. By the final treaty, Sindhia agreed to relinquish, from the 1st of January, 1805, pensions to the amount of fifteen lakhs of rupees a year. The Jagirs to individuals were continued, not merely as compensation for loss, but avowedly as bribes to purchase their voices for peace; or, as it was officially expressed, "to secure the support of influential officers in the councils of Sindhia, whose interests being affected by a war, they would oppose its occurrence." The same engagement contracted for a pension to the Maharaja himself of four lakhs of rupees a year, and a Jagir of two lakhs to his wife, and of one to his daughter. The Jagirs were eventually commuted to

<sup>1</sup> In the engagement now concluded, no notice was taken of the subsidiary treaty to which Sindhia had acceded in 1804. It might, therefore, be considered as virtually cancelled. It was in fact altogether nugatory. The force to be furnished by the British Government was not to be paid by the Raja, nor was it to be stationed in his territory. The arrangement amounted to no more than an agreement to furnish Sindhia with a body of troops whenever he should require them, if the purpose for which he required them was approved of by the Government of Bengal. It was very little probable that the latter would often give their sanction to Sindhia's military policy, and as little likely therefore that he would apply for troops. He never did make the application, and the treaty was a nullity.

BOOK I. pensions, which lapsed with the death of the pensioners.  
 CHAP. I. These grants and commutations were the subjects of long  
 and sometimes angry discussion.

1807. Another contested item was the balance of an account between Sindhia and the Company, in which the former claimed arrears of pension, and of revenue collections for two years prior to 1805; which the latter admitted to a limited extent, but met with a counter-claim for the public and private property plundered from the British Residency in 1804, and for moneys advanced and charges of collection. The sum claimed by Sindhia was nearly twenty-four lakhs of rupees; that demanded by the Company, nearly twenty-seven lakhs. They agreed, however, to forego a portion of their claim, and admitted a balance in favour of Sindhia of 63,000 rupees (6,300*l.*), an amount which was vastly inferior to his expectations and his necessities: for the relief of the latter he was therefore obliged to look to other quarters.

The quarrels of the Rajput princes, which will presently be more particularly adverted to, offered an ample field for the gratification of Mahratta rapacity, of which the Mahratta princes in Malwa were not slow to reap the harvest. The exhaustion of Sindhia's resources, and the impossibility of raising a revenue commensurate with his expenditure from his wasted and depopulated territories, crippled his movements, and disabled him from appropriating his full share of the spoil. His troops, still too numerous for his means, were repeatedly in a state of mutiny for arrears of pay, and had degenerated into a lawless horde of plunderers, who, in the realisation of their demands, made little difference between the country of friend or foe, and pillaged the districts of their own master and his allies as remorselessly as those of his enemies. The only prospect of providing them with an equivalent for pay, and of maintaining amongst them some degree of subordination, existed in the levy of contributions from the neighbouring princes; and from time to time considerable sums were exacted from the Rana of Udaypur, and the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaypur, as arrears of tribute due under former engagements to the Mahrattas, or as the price of plighted military service, which was at best but imperfectly rendered. But Holkar and Amir Khan had taken the disputes of



the Rajputs under their management, and Sindhia was unwilling or unable to interfere with effect. After a feeble attempt at interposition, he was contented to allow some of his principal officers to take occasional part in the contest, whilst he directed his attention more especially to the prosecution of designs against the independence of Bhopal.

The principality of Bhopal presented the singularity of a petty Mohammedan power in the very heart of the Hindu states. It was founded at the close of the seventeenth century by Dost Mohammed, an Afghan adventurer in the service of the Emperor of Delhi, who, from being the superintendent of the small district of Bersia, in Malwa, raised himself, by that mixture of courage, activity, treachery, and political cruelty, which is not uncommon in the character of his countrymen, and which in the latter days of the Mogul empire was the usual title to temporary elevation, to the command of a territory of some extent, and the appellation of Nawab of Bhopal. His direct line continued through his three successors. The two last of these devoted their lives to religious meditation and prayer, and left the conduct of public affairs to their ministers, men of various characters and fortunes; whose administration often excited, and sometimes justified, the opposition and violence of the turbulent nobles and officers of the court. At this period, the Dewan or minister of the Nawab was his kinsman, Vizir Mohammed, whose father had been slain in an unsuccessful insurrection, and whose youth had been spent in exile and predatory warfare: placed, after many vicissitudes, at the head of affairs, he brought to their administration the qualities of activity, courage, and prudence, which promised to restore the declining prosperity and reputation of Bhopal. He was not suffered to carry his projects to maturity. The son of the Nawab, Ghous Mohammed, jealous of his ascendancy, and apprehensive of his ambition, invited the Raja of Berar, and Dowlat Rao Sindhia, to invade the principality, in order to secure his succession to the throne. The invitation was readily accepted. The capital, Islam-nagar, was captured by the latter; and the city and fort of Bhopal were occupied by Sadik Ali, the general of the former. Little hope remained that the state would recover from the pressure of such a formidable combination.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

1807.



BOOK I. In this state of things, the old Nawab, Haiyat Moham-  
 CHAP. I. med, died. He was succeeded by his son, who, finding  
 1808. that his allies purposed the dismemberment of his territory, reconciled himself to Vizir Mohammed, and continued him in the office of Dewan, trusting to his talents for the extrication of his country from the grasp of his enemies. His expectations were not disappointed. Vizir Mohammed conciliated Sindhia, by promising to discharge the tribute which Ghous Mohammed had engaged to pay; and, with the assistance of the Pindaris, he repelled the forces of Berar. The ruin of his country was arrested for the time; but Vizir Mohammed was well aware of the inadequacy of his means to cope with such powerful adversaries, and, anticipating the repetition of their efforts for his destruction, endeavoured to interest the British Government in his favour. The system of policy then adopted, rendered his application ineffectual, and he was left to his own resources until a more auspicious period arrived, when the debt contracted to the Nawab of Bhopal, Haiyat Mohammed, for the assistance which he gave to General Goddard, and by which alone the British detachment was enabled to march unopposed from the Nerbudda to Surat, was repaid by the seasonable protection afforded to his descendant.

The counsels of Sindhia were likewise distracted by the conflicting views of his principal officers and advisers, and the struggles that prevailed amongst them for the management of his affairs. Ambaji Ingolia, after having been confined, tortured, and plundered, as has been described, was restored to favour, and became the leader of a party opposed to the former ministers. In order to strengthen his influence, he invited Sirji Rao Ghatka, whom the British Government had banished by express stipulation from Sindhia's presence to return to camp; and although the measure furnished his adversaries with a plea for alarming the prince, and inducing him once more to imprison and pillage Ambaji, yet, when the interdict was withdrawn by those who had pronounced it, and the Government of Calcutta no longer entertained an undignified apprehension of the intrigues of an individual, Sirji Rao resumed his place at Sindhia's durbar, and conducted, conjointly with Ambaji, the duties of the admini-

stration. Neither of them long survived the recovery of their authority. Ambaji Ingolia died early in 1809. Sirji Rao Ghatka was killed in an affray in the course of the same year.<sup>1</sup> Dowlat Rao, after Ambaji's death, seized on his fortress of Gwalior, and for the greater part of his life continued encamped in its vicinity, until his camp grew to be a considerable town, which is still the capital of his descendants. No other change ensued: the same pecuniary embarrassments continued to be felt, and the same means of relieving them to be employed: the fruits of robbery and spoliation were dissipated by the wasteful and unprincipled system under which they were gathered, and the hordes of licensed banditti which were let loose upon the surrounding states were a source of weakness, not of strength, to the prince whom they nominally served. The British Government, unable to rid itself of former impressions, continued to treat Dowlat Rao Sindhia with a guarded and timid policy for some time after his friendship had ceased to be an object of conciliation, or his enmity of fear.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

1809.

The power and resources of Jeswant Rao Holkar were in like manner for some time estimated rather by the mischief which he had inflicted, than any which he retained the ability to commit. The unmerited liberality which

1803.

<sup>1</sup> The importance attached to this individual by his special exclusion from Sindhia's presence as an article of treaty, gives interest to the following details of his death, derived from an authority on the spot:—"Sirji Rao had gone to the durbar and was earnestly pressing Sindhia to accede to some of his proposals; to which the Maharaja as usual returned evasive and unsatisfactory replies, and ordered his equipage to be got ready to go to an elephant-fight. As he was about to depart, Sirji Rao repeated his remonstrances, and at length had the temerity to seize the skirt of his robe and endeavoured to detain him forcibly in his seat. Some of the Huzuriyas (personal attendants) present, incensed at such an insult, thrust him back; and Sindhia escaped from the tent, giving an order to secure the minister's person. Sirji Rao drew his sword and resisted the execution of the order: a violent scuffle ensued, in which some individuals of both parties were killed, and several wounded. At length Sirji Rao effected his retreat to his own tent, but was followed by the enraged party from the Deūri, headed by Anand Rao and Manaji Phankra, two distant relations of the Maharaja's family. In one minute the ropes of the tent in which the unfortunate minister had taken refuge were cut, and he himself dragged from beneath it; and in the next he fell dead in the public streets, pierced with a dozen wounds inflicted by his pitiless enemies. Sindhia is said to have given orders, when he heard of the scuffle, to spare his father-in-law's life, and from the known lenity of his disposition it is probable he did so. His pursuers either wilfully or ignorantly mistook these orders, and in all probability rejoiced at an opportunity of getting rid of a man who was an object of hatred to themselves, of dislike to their master, of terror to the whole army, and apprehension to every court in India."—*Letters from a Mahratta Camp*, by Captain Broughton, commanding the Resident's escort, 1809, p. 223.

BOOK I. the British Government had evinced towards him had  
 CHAP. I. replaced him in the actual or prospective possession of an  
 1806. extensive and valuable territory,<sup>1</sup> and its selfish disregard  
 of inconvenient obligations consigned to his rapacity the  
 chieftains of Rajputana, particularly the Rajas of Bundi  
 and Jaypur.<sup>2</sup> The motives of this uncalled for generosity  
 were unintelligible to the native princes, and to Holkar  
 himself; and both ascribed it to dread of his military  
 talents, and incapability of providing longer for the exi-  
 gencies of war. The necessary consequence of this notion  
 was, the inflation of Holkar's ambition with the hope that  
 he should soon be able to reunite under happier auspices  
 the disjointed members of the Mahratta confederacy, and  
 exact a severe retribution for the mutilation which they  
 had suffered. So far was he from acknowledging the  
 extent of the leniency which had been shown him, that he  
 immediately preferred, in insulting language, new and  
 unreasonable claims; demanding the cession of additional  
 lands in the Dekhin, and of eighteen districts in Hin-  
 dustan, and the grant of Jagirs for his family and adhe-  
 rents.<sup>3</sup> Protracting his march southwards as long as he  
 could find any one whom he might plunder, he levied  
 contributions on his way from the petty chiefs whom the  
 British Government professed to protect, or to regard as  
 allies;<sup>4</sup> and he made no secret of his purpose to punish

<sup>1</sup> The treaty with Holkar of December, 1805, restored to him the possessions of the Holkar family in Mewar, Malwa, Harauti, and the Dekhin.—*Coll. of Treaties*, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> A declaratory article, added to the treaty by Sir George Barlow, abrogated the second article, by which Holkar had renounced all right to Tonk-Rampura and the districts north of the Bundi Hills. The abrogation was interpreted by him as a virtual withdrawal of the protection granted to the Bundi Raja. By the eighth article of the treaty, Holkar relinquished all claims of every description upon the British Government and its allies amongst whom the Raja of Jaypur considered himself included: his claim was not admitted, as is subsequently noticed in the text.

<sup>3</sup> In one of his first letters he declared peremptorily that the districts which he claimed in Hindustan must be restored to him, and he insisted that others should be assigned to Amir Khan. The Bengal Government sheltered its dignity under the plea of an erroneous translation of his expressions having been made by Colonel Malcolm, through whom the letter had been transmitted, but apparently with little reason; and there was no question as to the general tone of the epistle. The Governor-General determined to take no offence, ascribing Holkar's language "to the unbridled violence of his temper." The application was answered by Lord Lake, with an intimation that its repetition might lead to a renewal of hostilities; and, although this intimation did not silence Holkar's pretensions, it induced him to urge them in more decent phraseology.—*MS. Records*.

<sup>4</sup> On his way through Haryana, which had been given to Abdul Samad Khan, as a reward for his services in the war, Holkar levied contributions

the Bundi Raja expressly for the aid which he had given during the war to the British. He had scarcely returned to his own domains when he addressed letters, or dispatched emissaries, to the other Mahratta princes, urging them to renew their ancient connexions, and prepare for another conflict with their common foe.<sup>1</sup> They were suffering, however, too severely from their recent discomfiture to venture precipitately upon so dangerous an enterprise; and, whatever the opinion which they might at first have been disposed to entertain of Holkar's courage and conduct, it was speedily effaced by his outrageous behaviour and eventual derangement.

The first object of Holkar's policy after his return to Malwa, was, the maintenance of a military force far beyond his own unaided resources. The plunder of his neighbours offered the only means of filling his treasury; and the quarrels of the Rajput princes unhappily afforded to him, even in a greater degree than to Sindhia, an opening for pecuniary exactions. On his return from the Punjab, Holkar halted for about a month in the Jaypur territory; and, whilst his army laid waste its fields, he received eighteen lakhs of rupees from the Raja, as the price of his withholding his aid from the Raja of Jodhpur, with whom the Raja of Jaypur was at strife, and who, by giving shelter to Holkar's family when the Mahratta fled from Lord Lake, had established some claim to his gratitude. The money extorted from Jaypur precluded him from giving personal assistance to Jodhpur, but he evaded the strict fulfilment of the bargain by permitting his chief leader and intimate associate, Amir Khan, to carry his mercenary bands to whichever of the contending Rajas should bid most largely for their services. Holkar then occupied himself with the castigation of the Raja of Bundi, exacting from him heavy contributions, and with enforcing demands of a similar nature from Zalim Sing, regent of Kota. He then withdrew to Rampura-Bampur, where his health rapidly gave way to habitual intoxication and

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on the villages, and laid waste the lands. The Khan applied for military succour: this was refused; but in consideration of the recent date of the grant, and the impossibility of his having had time to organise his resources, pecuniary compensation for his losses was awarded to him.—MS. Records.

<sup>1</sup> Sindhia, the Peshwa, and the Raja of Nagpur severally communicated these letters to the Residents at their courts.—MS. Records.



BOOK I. unrestrained indulgence, the effects of which were exacerbated by the punctious visitings of conscience.

CHAP. I.

1807.

The animosity borne by the Peshwa to Holkar, augmented his dissatisfaction with the favourable terms granted to that chief; and he strongly objected to the treaty which the British Government had concluded, that it conferred upon him rights and possessions to which he had no claim. In truth, Jeswant Rao Holkar had become the head of his house, partly by accident, partly by his own exertions. Tukaji Holkar, his predecessor, left two legitimate sons, Kasi Rao and Malhar Rao. His third son, Jeswant Rao, was his son by a concubine. Kasi Rao, the eldest son, was deformed in body and infirm in mind, and his unfitness for the administration of affairs induced the chief officers of the state to give the preference to his younger brother Malhar Rao. Sindhia took part with Kasi Rao; and, in the contest that ensued, Malhar Rao was killed, and Jeswant Rao, who had upheld his cause, was obliged to seek safety in flight. After encountering many vicissitudes, Jeswant Rao, by a course of successful predatory devastation, in which he was deeply indebted to the companionship of Amir Khan, found himself strong enough to drive Sindhia's troops out of the territories of the Holkar family, and establish himself in their government in the name and on behalf of their lawful prince, Kandi Rao, the infant son of the murdered Malhar Rao, who was at the time in Sindhia's hands, as well as Kasi Rao, his uncle. The latter was allowed his liberty, and gave himself up to Jeswant Rao; and, when the war with the British Government was projected, Sindhia, in order to secure Holkar's co-operation, resigned to him the charge of the boy Kandi Rao. At the time of Holkar's return from the Punjab, Kasi Rao was living peaceably at Nimaur, under the charge of Jeswant Rao's Gooroo, or spiritual guide, Chimna Bhao: his nephew, Kandi Rao, had accompanied him on his march.

A body of Mohammedan horse in the service of Jeswant Rao having mutinied for arrears of pay, his nephew was delivered to them as a pledge for the promised liquidation of their demands. As the promises made to the mutineers were slow of accomplishment, it occurred to them to intimidate Holkar into more prompt compliance by proclaim-



ing Kandi Rao the lawful Raja, and threatening to depose Jeswant Rao as usurper.<sup>1</sup> The danger was imminent; the money was raised; the mutinous soldiers were paid and dismissed: they dispersed to their homes without any concern for the fate of the unhappy youth whom they had used as their instrument of intimidation, and abandoned him to those jealous apprehensions which they seem to have first excited. In a week Kandi Rao was no longer an object of fear. It was given out that he had died suddenly; but it was the universal belief that he had been poisoned, if not by the orders, at least with the acquiescence of Holkar.<sup>2</sup>

To this crime succeeded an event which in current belief was of an equally atrocious character—the death of Kasi Rao. The accounts of this transaction vary in some of the details, although they correspond in the outline. Kasi Rao resided in a stronghold in the province of Nimaur, of which the governor was Chimna Bhao, the Gooroo of Holkar, and known to be his ready counsellor and agent in every deed of infamy and guilt. An insurrection under some military leaders had broken out in the adjoining district of Kandesh, and one of their parties attacked Chimna Bhao with a view to obtain possession of the person of Kasi Rao, and place him at their head. To disappoint their design, and prevent Kasi Rao from falling into their hands, Chimna Bhao caused him to be put to death. There does not appear to be any conclusive evidence that Holkar himself had suggested a pretended attack upon his minister as a pretext for the murder of his brother, or any reason to infer that the act was not solely attributable to the unpremeditated and reckless cruelty of Chimna Bhao.<sup>3</sup> The imputation of being accessory to the

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Central India, i. 242. According to Amir Khan's account of the affair, this plan of enforcing payment was adopted by his recommendation, not without a suspicion on Holkar's part that the whole was a device of Amir Khan to obtain an adjustment of his own claims.—Mem. of Amir Khan, 290.

<sup>2</sup> Central India, i. 244. Amir Khan asserts unhesitatingly that Holkar caused poison to be administered to his nephew, and so destroyed him; Mem. 307.

<sup>3</sup> According to Malcolm, on the authority of Bangash Khan, one of the insurgent Patan leaders, a party under his confederate, Dadan Khan, attempted the release of Kasi Rao, who was confined at Kargond, in Nimaur; to prevent which, Chimna Bhao had him murdered in the thicket some distance from the fort. According to the evidence of a Sipahi, in the service of Chimna Bhao, present at the murder, Kasi Rao was killed in Bijaygerh, a

BOOK I. deed was however fixed upon Holkar by common consent,  
 CHAP. I. and popular belief regarded his insanity as a just retribu-  
 1809. tion for the murder of a nephew and a brother. He  
 became subject to fits of mental derangement shortly after  
 the death of Kasi Rao: they alternated with intervals of  
 reason for about a twelvemonth, when they subsided into  
 an unintermitted state of moody fatuity, which after a du-  
 ration of three years terminated in death.

The affairs of Holkar's dominions were conducted during  
 his incapacity by his favourite mistress Tulasi Bhai and  
 her minister Balaram Set; but their hands were too feeble  
 to maintain a steady curb upon the disorderly troops and  
 their aspiring captains, and the country speedily became  
 the scene of plunder and confusion. The party in Kandesh  
 under Dadan Khan and other Patan leaders acquired a  
 formidable consistency after the murder of Kasi Rao.  
 They placed at their head Mahipat Rao Holkar, first cousin  
 of Jeswant Rao, and proclaimed him sovereign. The troops  
 sent against them either joined their ranks or were de-  
 feated; and they had a fair prospect of success, when, un-  
 fortunately for their cause, they extended their depredations  
 into the territories of Poona and Hyderabad, and imposed  
 upon the British Government the duty of protecting its

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fort also in Nimaour, from which Dadan Khan had attempted to carry him off. The despatch from the Resident with Sindhia, reporting the transaction, agrees in making Bijaygerh the seat of the prince's detention; but states that, orders having been sent to bring him for greater security to Holkar's camp, Chimna Bhao was escorting him on the way, when he was attacked at night by Dadan Khan's men, and, in the affray that followed, Kasi Rao was accidentally shot. Amir Khan's story materially differs from the foregoing. He says, that the Bhils of Kandesh, being in insurrection, had got hold of the wife of Kasi Rao, and, she being pregnant, they declared that if the child were a boy they would make him Raja; that Chimna Bhao, being sent to quell the disturbance, took Kasi Rao along with him from Galna, where he had been detained; that on the march he set some of his own people to make a sham attack by night upon his camp, and, in the confusion thus occasioned, he pretended great alarm lest Kasi Rao should fall into the hands of the Bhils, and, to prevent it, ordered him to be put to death; the whole being in truth the device of Holkar. Although it is true that the Bhils were in a state of insurgency at this period, yet the policy of opposing a rival to Holkar was much more likely to have occurred to the Patans, and it was no doubt to guard against their availing themselves of the name of Kasi Rao that he was murdered by some such contrivance as is imputed to Chimna Bhao. Holkar denied that he had given orders to put his brother to death, and, ascribing it to accident, publicly expressed himself glad that it had occurred at a distance, as it might otherwise have injured his reputation. The varieties of the story afford a striking proof of the difficulty of coming at the circumstances of a fact even upon contemporary testimony. Mr. Prinsep hesitates to affix a date to this transaction; from the official correspondence it appears to have taken place about the middle of February, 1808.—Central India, i. 244; Mem. of Amir Khan, 313; MS. Records,

allies. The subsidiary forces of both states took the field. Colonel Wallace marched from Poona with one division, and Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton from Jálna with another. By a rapid cavalry movement of one hundred miles in forty-eight hours, Colonel Doveton came unexpectedly upon the insurgents whilst besieging Amalner, a fort belonging to the Nizam. Most of their horse, and part of their foot, were destroyed. The shattered remains took refuge amongst the hills north of Kandesh; they were vigorously followed thither by Colonel Wallace; and the leaders were seized and delivered to him by the Bhils, the inhabitants of the forests with which the hills are clothed. The Patan chiefs were conducted prisoners to Poona: Mahipat Rao escaped, but, separated from his military associates, he soon fell into obscurity and occasioned no further trouble.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

1809.

A different destiny awaited another of Holkar's Mohammedan captains, who, by a singular combination of enterprise, craft and good-luck, rose from the condition of a soldier of fortune to the recognised rank of an independent prince. Amir Khan was by descent an Afghan, whose grandfather had emigrated from Buner, and settled in Rohilkhand. From his earliest youth he had led the life of a soldier; seeking service, sometimes with a few followers, sometimes with a larger troop, in the armies of the various princes and leaders, who in the last days of the Mogul empire were ever ready to enlist adherents. For a considerable time his fortunes were precarious, and he was not unfrequently in want even of a meal; but he gradually became a captain of some note, and took a conspicuous share in different military and political transactions, of which Malwa and the valley of the Nerbudda were the principal field. He lent good aid to Vizir Mohammed in the defence of Bhopal; but the resources of that chief being exhausted, he listened to proposals from Holkar, and united himself thenceforth steadily to his interests. Holkar was then making his escape from Nagpur, where he had been detained by the Raja; and had no greater following than a rabble of two or three hundred men, ill-armed, undisciplined, and living by plunder. The junction of Amir Khan with a force respectable in numbers and

<sup>1</sup> MS. Records; Central India, i. 234.

BOOK I. equipment turned the tide of his fortunes, enabled him to  
 CHAP. I. possess himself of the territories of his family, and placed  
 1809. him in a position formidable to Sindhia, to the Peshwa,  
 and the English. Amir Khan shared in his prosperity,  
 and did not desert him in adversity. He accompanied  
 Jeswant Rao, as we have seen, in his flight to the Punjab,  
 and returned with him to Malwa. Although professing  
 allegiance to Holkar, and acting in his name, Amir Khan  
 retained the independent command of his own troops, and  
 held himself at liberty to provide for their support by  
 contributions levied at his pleasure from the princes in  
 whose dissensions he found it profitable to interfere. After  
 Holkar's insanity, he interposed occasionally in the disputes  
 that occurred at court, but large bribes secured his general  
 support of Balaram Set and the Bhai. The necessity of  
 raising funds for the payment of his soldiers after he had  
 drained the coffers of the Rajputs impelled him, shortly  
 after the date at which we have arrived, to turn his steps  
 in the direction of Berar, and brought him, as we shall  
 subsequently have occasion to notice, once more into colli-  
 sion with the Government of British India.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the utter prostration of the Mahratta confederacy upon the close of the war: the Peshwa, chafing secretly under the fetters to which he had rashly submitted, but impotent to break them, and affecting to wear them with cheerfulness; the Gaekwar, saved from insolvency and ruin by the tutelage of his allies; the Raja of Berar, unable without the same assistance to protect his country from Pindari pillage and Afghan arrogance; Sindhia, humbly begging a paltry pittance from the power he had lately encountered with almost equal arms; and Holkar, intoxicated and insane, with his country devastated by his own rebellious soldiery, and his court disgraced by the turbulence and profligacy of factious competitors for the authority which he was no longer in a condition to exercise. Yet, notwithstanding this abject state of the two last-named chieftains, the Bengal Government persisted in its purpose of conciliating their good-will, by leaving them

<sup>1</sup> Notices of the career of Amir Khan are to be found in Malcolm's Central India, Prinsep's Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, &c.; but the most authentic account is a kind of autobiography, or Memoirs of Nawab Mohammed Amir Khan, composed in Persian from his own dictation by Munshi Basawan Lal, translated by H. T. Prinsep, Calcutta, 1832.



unquestioned licence to prey upon their still more feeble and disunited neighbours, the princes of Rajputana.

That portion of Hindustan which extends from the districts bordering on the west bank of the Jumna to the desert that skirts the eastern borders of the Indus, and which lies between the Punjab on the north, and Malwa and Guzerat on the south, is collectively known as Rajawara or Rajasthan, as being in an especial degree inhabited by tribes allied by community of origin, institutions, and character, and claiming as Rajputs, or "sons of kings," to represent the military and regal caste of the primitive Hindus. The country was distributed, at the period in question, amongst a number of princes, some of whom were of comparatively little political importance, from the limited extent of their territory; whilst others, although ruling over more spacious tracts, were equally unimportant, from the sterility of the soil, and the scantiness of the population. Among these, three princes were acknowledged to be pre-eminent in rank and power, the Rana of Udaypur, the Raja of Jodhpur, and the Raja of Jaypur, so entitled from their respective capitals; but, more correctly speaking, the rulers of Mewar, Marwar, and Dhundhar, the names of their several principalities.

The Rana of Udaypur reigned over a rugged but not wholly sterile territory on the north-west of Malwa. He pretended to a direct descent from Rama, the mytho-historical monarch of Ayodhya, or Oude, through his son Lava, who migrated to the west. The Ranas of Udaypur are therefore regarded as members of the Suryavansa, or Solar dynasty of the Hindus; but, as Rajputs, they belong to the Sisodia branch of the Gahilote tribe. They are admitted to precedence over all other Rajput princes, who accept from their hands, upon succeeding to their principalities, an ornament worn upon the forehead, in confirmation of their accession.<sup>1</sup> From the time of the

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Tod remarks, that, whilst the genealogies of many of the Rajput princes are questioned, the Hindu tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the ruler of Mewar as the legitimate heir of the throne of Rama, and style him Hindua-Suraj, the Sun of the Hindus. He subsequently, however, adverts to the curious tradition mentioned by Abulfazl; *Ayin Akbari*, ii. 8, and repeated in fuller detail by Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, ix. 233, of the descent of the Ranas of Udaypur from Naosirwan, king of Persia, through his son Naoshirzad. He is said to have rebelled against his father, and, being defeated, to have fled into Hindustan, whence he returned to Persia with an army of



BOOK I. Mohammedan invasion of India, the Ranas of Udaypur  
 CHAP. I. were constantly engaged in warfare with the kings of Delhi,  
 1807. and repeatedly sustained fearful reverses. Driven from  
 their capital, Chitore, they transferred their residence more  
 to the west, where Udaya Raja built a city, named after  
 him Uday-pur, towards the end of the sixteen century;  
 and in the strong country in its vicinity they maintained  
 their independance.

Separated from Mewar by the Aravali Mountains on the north-west, lies the principality of Marwar, the capital of which is Jodhpur: great part of this country is a sandy desert, but it contains some fertile tracts, especially on its southern boundaries. The Raja of Jodhpur is a member of the Rahtore tribe of Rajputs, and traces his descent from the family that reigned over Kanoj at the period of the Mohammedan conquest; on which occasion two sons of the last prince, Jayadeva, fled to the west, and settled in the almost unpeopled districts of Marwar. From the elder brother descended the reigning dynasty; one of whom, Jodha, was the founder of Jodhpur in A.D. 1459: the younger is claimed as their ancestor by the chief Thakurs, or feudal nobles of the state. The Rahtores of Marwar, like the Gahilotes of Mewar, suffered many vicissitudes in their encounters with the Mohammedans; but, in the reign of Akbar and his two successors, their Rajas submitted to be treated as servants of the Mogul empire, holding high offices both civil and military, and becoming connected with the imperial house by giving their daughters in marriage to the Emperor or his sons. The bigotry of Aurangzeb forced them to take up arms in defence of their religion; and in a war of thirty years' continuance, although frequently defeated in the field, their spirit was unbroken, and their principality unsubdued. After the death of

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Indians: he was again defeated, and was slain in battle, but his issue remained in India, and from them the Ranas descended. Another legend traces the family to Maha-bhānu, daughter of Yezdegird, the last monarch of Persia.—Annals of Rajasthan, i. 233. Tod thinks it not improbable that there may have been a connexion between the Persian and Indian families. The late discovery in the west of India of coins of the general character of those of the Sassanian kings, and blending Indian and Persian portraits and inscriptions, establishes the fact that some of those princes exercised authority directly or through Indian feudatories on the confines of Hindustan, and render it possible that some such intercourse as that which subsequently united the royal house of Timur with the Rajput princes may have subsisted, and given rise to the tradition.—Ariana Antiqua, p. 400.

Aurangzeb, their friendly intercourse with Delhi was resumed, and they were seen taking a prominent part in the disorders that ensued. The decline of the empire freed them from all semblance of vassalage, but their own dissensions and crimes were more fatal to their power and reputation than their subservience to the Emperor.

The country of Dhundhâr, or from its capital, Jaypur, lies on the north and east of Mewar and Marwar, extending towards the Jumna. It is the territory of the Kachwâha Rajputs, who consider themselves to be the posterity of Kusa, another son of Rama. The origin of the principality dates no earlier than the tenth century, and its capital was built only in the beginning of the eighteenth.

From its eastern position, the principality lay exposed to the attacks of the Patân sovereigns of Delhi; but it was not until the accession of the house of Timur that its Rajas became feudatories of the empire. From the reign of Baber they acknowledged the supremacy of the Mogul, and were distinguished amongst the principal officers and nobles of his camp and court. They were early connected also with the imperial house by marriage, several maidens of the race becoming the brides of the Mohammedan princes.<sup>1</sup> Raja Jaysing, the founder of Jaypur, was actively concerned in all the stormy transactions of the disastrous period which followed the death of Aurangzeb; until observing the irretrievable ruin of the empire, and the irresistible progress of the Mahrattas, he made terms with the latter, and withdrew from the politics of Hindustan, to the cultivation of the arts of peace, and the improvement of his country. He died in 1743. After his death, Dhundhâr became a prey to intestine divisions and Mahratta spoliation.

At the close of the war with the Mahrattas, Rana Bhîm Sing was reigning at Udaypur; Mân Sing was Raja of Jodhpur; and Jagat Sing, of Jaypur. Neither of them possessed the qualifications which the times demanded; the patriotic sentiments which should have suppressed

<sup>1</sup> Bhagwan Das is said to have been the first Rajput who submitted to an alliance with a Mohammedan family: his daughter was married to the son of Akbar, Prince Selim, afterwards the Emperor Jehangir. Mân Sing, nephew of Bhagwan Das, was a great favourite with Akbar: and was successively viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, the Dekhin, and Cabul.—Annals of Rajasthan, i. 353.

BOOK I. selfish feelings and leagued them with their fellows, the  
 CHAP. I. judgment capable of estimating their own true interests,  
 1807. or the courage and energy necessary to maintain their  
 independence. Listening alone to the dictates of personal enmity, they paralysed by their dissensions the valour of their subjects, and aided and abetted the foreign robber in the work of mutual destruction. The cause of quarrel by which they were at this time exasperated against one another was peculiarly characteristic of the race, and to be paralleled only in the poetical traditions of distant ages.

Krishna Kumari, the daughter of Bhím Sing, Rana of Udaypur, was a maiden of reputed beauty and of undoubted rank, and was consequently an object of desire to the other Rajput princes. Whilst yet a child, the Raja of Jodhpur, named also Bhím Sing, had made overtures for her hand; but the alliance was prevented by his death. She was then solicited in marriage by Jagat Sing of Jaypur, and his proposals were accepted by the Rana. An escort of three thousand troops was sent to Udaypur to convey the princess of Jaypur for the solemnization of the nuptials, when the negotiations were interrupted by the rival pretensions of Mán Sing, the Raja of Jodhpur. He demanded the princess as the affianced bride of his predecessor, and declared that her marriage into any other family would bring indelible disgrace upon him and his tribe. Mán Sing is said to have been instigated to the assertion of his claims by one of his chief Thakurs, Sawai Sing, who, for purposes of his own, sought to involve his liege lord in hostilities with the surrounding states.

Bhím Sing, the preceding Raja of Jodhpur, left at his death his widow pregnant; and it was a condition of Mán Sing's accession, that, if the child should prove to be a boy, he should assign to the infant prince that portion of the royal domains which were regarded as the appanage of the heir apparent. A boy was born; but, fearing to intrust him to the care of the Raja, the mother kept his birth secret, and the infant was sent privily to Pokarna, the castle of Sawai Sing, where he was concealed. At the expiration of two years his protector, finding the chief feudatories of Jodhpur greatly discontented by the preference given by the Raja to certain of his favourites,

communicated to them the birth and existence of the prince, and secured their concurrence in the vindication of his claims. They repaired accordingly in a body to the Raja, and demanded the fulfilment of his engagement. Mán Sing, with some reason, required evidence of the genuineness of the pretended heir; but the Rani when appealed to, fearing, it was affirmed, for her own safety, denied that she had given him birth. The chiefs were silenced, but not satisfied; and Sawai Sing awaited a more favourable season for advancing the pretensions of the youth whose cause he had espoused. It was with this view that he urged Mán Sing to demand the hand of the princess of Udaypur, anticipating the series of difficulty and danger in which he would be consequently involved. The anticipation was speedily realized. The party sent to Udaypur by Jagat Sing was attacked and routed; and the Rana was compelled to retract his assent, and affianced his daughter to Mán Sing. His rival was furious at the disappointment and the insult; and a war broke out between the two Rajas, which was equally destructive to all the Rajput principalities.

From the time when the first Baji Rao established the ascendancy of the Mahratta power in Central India, the princes of Rajputana had been forced to pay the Chouth, the fourth part of their annual net revenue, or a sum arbitrarily estimated equivalent to a fourth, as a fixed tribute. The payment was at first made to the Government of Poona; but, as the authority of Sindhia and Holkar came to supersede that of the Peshwa, they claimed it as their right. The indefinite scale by which the tribute was measured, and the relative ability of the parties to enforce or resist the demand, rendered the actual amount payable undetermined; and it was no part of Mahratta policy to admit of a composition, as the vagueness of the sum afforded them a convenient plea for unlimited exaction. There was consequently a constant arrear due by the Rajput states, and a constant pretext for the desolating incursions of the Mahratta troops. In the division of the spoil, the Jaypur tribute was appropriated by Holkar; that of Udaypur and Jodhpur by Sindhia: but they had also conflicting pretensions each to a portion of the plunder of the other. The

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BOOK I. Peshwa had likewise his claims to a share, but his alliance  
 CHAP. I. with the British debarred him from their compulsory  
 enforcement.

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The Raja of Jodhpur lost no time in influencing the Mahratta chiefs to befriend his cause. Sindhia was already at variance with his rival, the Jaypur Raja having refused to pay some of his extortionate demands; and Holkar was indebted to him for protection which he had given to the family of that chieftain during his campaigns in Hindustan. The Raja of Jaypur disregarded the combination, in reliance upon the British Government, with which he entered into alliance;<sup>1</sup> and which, in the treaty of peace with Holkar, as concluded by Lord Lake, had cancelled the Mahratta's claims upon its allies, and dispossessed him of all territory north of the Bundi Hills. The declaratory article of Sir G. Barlow, as already noticed, annulled these stipulations, and virtually excluded the Raja of Jaypur from the benefits of the alliance upon which he had depended; and it was not to be wondered at that he should have remonstrated strongly against his desertion. His abandonment was wholly indefensible. It was not to be controverted that a treaty had been contracted with him, by which the enemies of one of the contracting parties were to be considered as the enemies of both; and the Raja, in the event of a dispute with any other prince, was entitled to British mediation and aid. When he required the fulfilment of the stipulations, he was told that "no treaty existed; it had been virtually abrogated by the non-performance of his part of the compact. He had recalled his troops from Monson's detachment during its retreat; he had not sent his forces to join the British army when it moved northwards, but despatched them to Udaypur; and had not only failed to cut off Holkar's supplies, but allowed him to march through the Jaypur territory. He had no longer, therefore, anything to expect from the British Government." The Raja denied the justice of the charges adduced against him. He affirmed that his troops had separated from Colonel Monson with that officer's consent, and by the orders of Lord Lake; that although his

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<sup>1</sup> The treaty is dated 12 Dec., 1803; the date of its ratification by the Raja is left blank.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 253.

forces were on their march to Udaypur, yet as soon as their services were required, they suspended their march, and joined the Bombay army under General Jones, and that General Jones and Lord Lake had both furnished him with their written acknowledgments of the promptitude and efficacy of his co-operation. Lord Lake had also given him strong assurance of the stability of the alliance. He represented, that, if the British Government had been dissatisfied with his conduct at any particular time, it should at that time have expressed its displeasure, and at once have declared the alliance annulled. To have continued to employ the services of the Raja until they were no longer needed, and reserved all expression of dissatisfaction until it could be used as a pretext for getting quit of an inconvenient obligation, was both disingenuous and dishonourable; to desert an old friend because the tide was setting against him, was ungenerous and unjust; and the powers of India could not but regard the conduct of the Government of Bengal as a departure from that good faith which it had hitherto been its pride to preserve inviolate. The argument was incontrovertibly in the Raja's favour: the Government had continued to exact and receive from him services to which he was bound by treaty after the commission of those acts which they subsequently held to have virtually annulled it. Admitting that the Raja had broken his engagement, the Government, by accepting his aid as if no such breach had occurred, virtually admitted its non-occurrence, and recognised the engagement as still subsisting. It was, however, the inflexible policy of the Governor-General to abstain from interference, and the remonstrances and reasonings of the Raja of Jaypur were unavailing.<sup>1</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> The remonstrances of the Raja were strongly supported by Lord Lake, as noticed in a preceding volume. The Court of Directors also, although they did not enjoin the renewal of the alliance, disapproved of its dissolution, conceiving its justice extremely questionable; "as although the Raja had failed in the performance of his engagements during the war with Holkar, yet he had furnished assistance towards its conclusion at the instance of Lord Lake, and under an expectation held out by his Lordship that the protection of the British Government would be continued to him; and they thought it necessary to enjoin the Government of India to take care, in all its transactions with the native princes, to preserve its character for fidelity to its allies from falling into disrepute, and to evince a strict regard, in the prosecution of its political views, to the principles of justice and generosity." The sincerity of these expressions would have been less liable to question if the policy which they condemned had been countermanded.—Malcolm's Political Hist. of India, i. 390.

BOOK I. was consigned to the equally inexorable policy of the  
 CHAP. I. Mahrattas; and the first-fruits of his desertion were the  
 plunder of his country by the disorderly bands of Holkar  
 as they returned from the Punjab, and the payment to  
 their leader of twenty lakhs of rupees as the price of  
 his withholding assistance from the Raja of Jodhpur.<sup>1</sup>

In the war that followed, Holkar so far adhered to the bargain he had made as to refrain from joining in person either of the rival Rajas. It did not, however, prevent him from permitting Amir Khan to enlist his mercenaries in their quarrel.<sup>2</sup> The Patán entered into the service of Jagat Sing: the Raja of Jaypur was also joined by Sawai Sing and the nobles of Jodhpur who supported the claims of the posthumous son of their last Raja, and Mán Sing was deserted at the moment of encountering his enemies by almost all his principal chiefs. He was compelled to fly, and seek refuge in the citadel of Jodhpur; while the confederates overran and ravaged the rest of the country. They then laid siege to the capital: but it suited not the policy of Amir Khan to suffer the Raja's extermination; and taking, or affecting to take, umbrage at want of punctuality in the payment of his troops by the Raja of Jaypur, he abandoned Jagat Sing, accepted money and promises from Mán Sing,<sup>3</sup> and, marching into the country of Jaypur, commenced a course of depredation which speedily compelled the Raja to break up the siege of Jodhpur, and hasten to the defence of his own dominions.

<sup>1</sup> Holkar's Vakeels expressed their master's acknowledgments to Lord Lake for the abrogation of the treaty with Jaypur as a personal favour intended to conciliate him. The act was viewed in the same light by the Peshwa and Raja of Nagpur.—MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> The Amir and Holkar got up a pretended disagreement as an excuse for the uncontroled proceedings of the former at the latter's suggestion: according to his own story, he makes Holkar say, "You must now separate from me in public as in quarrel, so that our enemies and the world in general may see that your continuing to raise troops is a source of dissatisfaction and displeasure to me, and not done with my concurrence or sanction. We may still understand one another in case of occasion arising for us to rejoin our forces. When the Amir took formal leave in open Durbar, harsh words passed between him and the Maharaj, and so to the time when the Amir mounted his palki, as in high displeasure. The Maharaj, running on foot some paces alongside, took hold of the feet of it, and made a show of endeavouring to soothe and appease the Amir. The Amir, however, pretended not to listen, but returned to his army;" p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> The terms of his compact with Mán Sing were, according to Amir Khan's statement, that he should pay four lakhs and fifty thousand rupees (£45,000) per mensem, besides taking a brigade into permanent service; and should further give the Amir a Jagir of four lakhs for kitchen expenses, and confer Jagirs also on his principal officers; p. 324.

A double game was in like manner played by Sindhia. In the first instance he befriended the suit of the Jodhpur Raja, and contributed to the defeat of the troops sent to escort the princess to Jaypur;<sup>1</sup> but, having received payment of considerable sums affirmed to be due to him from the Rana, he professed to remain neutral in the contest. His principal captains were, however, allowed to side with either of the competitors. They ranged themselves under the banners of Amir Khan, and assisted to ravage Jodhpur until the harvest was gleaned; when Ambaji Ingolia renewed his connexion with Mán Sing, and Bapu Sindhia and Baptiste extended their marauding expeditions to the districts on the west of the Jumna, with which the British Government had purposed to recompense the attachment of its adherents.

The services of Amir Khan were not confined to the relief of Jodhpur from the presence of a victorious army, or to the retaliation of the havock which it had committed. He engaged to rid Mán Sing of an enemy more formidable than his rival Raja, and put an end to the internal divisions that in a still greater degree endangered his security, by the murder of Sawai Sing, and the extinction of the faction of which he was the head. Simulating a quarrel with Mán Sing, Amir Khan quitted him in seeming anger, and marched to Nagore, where Sawai Sing and the pretender had fortified themselves. Here he induced the Rahtore chief to believe that he might be bought over to their cause; and the advantages resulting from his alliance blinded the Rajput to the peril of unguarded intercourse with so perfidious a confederate. With the assumption of entire confidence, Amir Khan visited Sawai Sing, and gave him the most solemn assurances of his sincerity; suspicion was completely disarmed, the visit

<sup>1</sup> Tod has two apparently contradictory accounts of this transaction. In one place he states that Sindhia was encamped in the territory of Udaypur in the course of enforcing pecuniary demands upon the Rana; and that, having at the same time been denied a contribution from Jaypur, he insisted upon the dismissal of the Jaypur embassy. Upon the Rana's refusal he advanced with his brigades, defeated the troops of Udaypur joined by the Jaypur detachment, which he dispersed; and, encamping near Udaypur, compelled the Rana to submit to his conditions.—*Annals of Rajasthan*, i. 461. In another place he says, Mán Sing assembled three thousand horse, and, joining to them the mercenary bands of Hcera Sing then on the frontier of Mewar, he intercepted the nuptial gifts of Amber; ii. 142. The first account is probably the more correct, as Tod was in Sindhia's camp; or it may be possible to reconcile the two.



BOOK I. was returned, and the Rajput was received in the tent of  
 CHAP. I. Amir Khan, with every demonstration of respect and cordiality. Inventing a plausible excuse for a short absence, 1807.  
 Amir Khan withdrew; the cords of one side of the tent were immediately let loose, and, whilst all within it were entangled beneath its folds, an indiscriminate fire of musketry and grape was poured upon them; Sawai Sing, his friends and attendants, those of Amir Khan himself, the dancing girls and musicians, all who had been present at the interview, were alike the victims of this murderous device. The death of his rebellious feudatory put an end to the dangers and fears of the Raja of Jodhpur.<sup>1</sup> Nagore was plundered, but Dhokal Sing effected his escape, and found a protector in the Raja of Bikaner; until a superior force besieged the Raja in his capital, and compelled him to withdraw his protection, and pay a heavy fine for his hospitality. The young prince then fled to the British territories and there remained in security.

The state of affairs in Holkar's camp having called Amir Khan thither, the Rajput princes were relieved awhile from his exactions. Jaypur enjoyed but a brief respite, as Sindiah presently demanded compensation for the services rendered by his troops; services which he had pretended not to sanction, and which, in truth, they had never discharged. The claim was not admitted; upon which he led his army across the Chumbal, and sat down before Dhuni, which he fruitlessly besieged. Foiled in this object, he listened to proposals from the Raja, and agreed to accept seventeen lakhs of rupees as the price of his retreat, having inflicted upon the country damage to an infinitely larger amount.

Although the Rana of Udaypur had taken no part in the war, and had therefore given less occasion than his neighbours, to any pretext for Mahratta extortion, he was obliged to drain his treasures in order to purchase the forbearance of both Sindhia and Amir Khan. The exhaus-

<sup>1</sup> According to Tod, the price of the crime was ten lakhs of rupees, and the two towns of Mundhiawar and Kuchilavas, each yielding an annual revenue of 30,000 rupees; ii. 150. Amir Khan states the sum at thirty-five lakhs of rupees, of which half was paid at the time. The conditions formerly agreed upon were renewed, with additional specifications; and Jagirs were promised to his son, his father-in-law, and others of his principal leaders. The Amir tells the story himself without any attempt at extenuation, and seems to regard it as an honourable exploit; pp. 347, 360.

tion of his resources was, however, less painful to him than the degradation which he felt in being obliged to treat them as equals, and the total want of deference which upstart adventurers and military robbers paid to his exalted rank and ancient descent. In his distress, he applied earnestly for the intervention of the British Government, and offered the cession of one half of his territory, if it would protect the other half from Mahratta spoliation. The same interposition was solicited by another Rajput prince, Zalim Sing of Kota, who, although he had wisely kept aloof from the contest between the rival Rajas, had nevertheless been repeatedly mulcted by Amir Khan and Sindhia ; and the contending princes of Jaypur and Jodhpur, made a similar urgent appeal to the Government of Bengal, pledging themselves to abide by its mediation, and to submit to any conditions it should please to impose. They depended upon its interference as an obligation which it was bound to fulfil, as inheriting the paramount sovereignty of Hindustan. The dignity and power of the imperial court of Delhi had been appropriated by the Governor-General and the Council of Calcutta ; and, along with the authority, the duties which the Emperors were accustomed to discharge, had devolved upon them. The weaker states of India, they argued, had a natural right to look up to the British Government for protection against the ambition and rapacity of the stronger ; and they denied that there was any valid excuse for its questioning the right, when it was fully capable of exercising the power. The Mahrattas, who were at that moment spreading terror and desolation from the Setlej to the Nerbudda, were wholly incompetent to offer any opposition to the arms and authority of the Company ; and the Governor-General had only to speak the word, and universal tranquillity would be restored. The policy of this course, they maintained, was equally obvious with its justice and humanity ; for the British territories would derive security and prosperity from the suppression of disorders, which excluded their population from all amicable intercourse with the surrounding countries, and kept their own frontiers in perpetual disquietude and alarm. To these representations the principle of non-interference was inflexibly opposed ; and Central India was allowed to

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BOOK I. fall into a condition of anarchy and ruin, which was accelerated rather than arrested by the removal of the innocent cause to which its present misery was ascribed.<sup>1</sup>

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When all hope of the protection of the British Government was resigned, the Rana of Udaypur was driven to the unpalatable measure of retaining the services of Amir Khan: a fourth of his revenues was assigned to the Mohammedan leader, as the hire of one of his brigades to be employed in collecting the revenues and guarding the frontiers of Mewar.<sup>2</sup> The influence thus obtained by Amir Khan in the counsels of Udaypur, afforded an occasion for a new display of his recklessness of human life, and added another victim to the many whom he had unscrupulously sacrificed to his interest or his policy. He instigated the Rana to put his daughter to death. He also hinted, that, as the ally and friend of Mán Sing, he should, if he found an opportunity, carry her off by force and deliver her to the Raja; and he promised, if the Rana followed his advice, to assist him in recovering possession of a district in the hands of Mán Sing, which he coveted. The natural reluctance of the father was overcome by the blended motives of policy, fear, and hope, and poison was administered to the princess.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So far was adherence to this policy carried, that when the Raja of Macheri, at the solicitation of the Rani of Jaypur, sent a party of horse to escort the women and children of the Raja to a place of safety in his country, he was enjoined by the Resident at Delhi, under the orders of the Government, to forego his purpose and recall his troops; and was told that any interposition whatever would be regarded as a breach of the alliance under which he claimed British protection, September, 1807.—MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> The Amir relates this arrangement with great self-complacency, remarking that the Rana and he exchanged turbans in pledge of friendship; p. 399. It must have cost the "the son of the Sun" many a bitter pang before he could stoop to such an interchange of marks of equality and fraternity with a Mohammedan trooper.

<sup>3</sup> Amir Khan relates this transaction without any reserve. According to his account, the Rana, after reflecting on his recommendation, said, "If you will pledge yourself to get rid for me Khali-rao, from Raja Mán Sing, I will in that case contrive to get rid of my daughter after you shall have gone, using such means as shall create as little odium as possible." The Amir agreed to the condition; and the Rana, after his departure, caused poison to be mixed with his daughter's food, and so administered it to her. It happened that what she took was not sufficient to effect the purpose, and the princess guessed the object of her father; whereupon she sent him a message, that, as it was a matter that concerned the good of the Raja and the honour of his family, and it appeared that her living longer was inconsistent with these in her father's opinion, there was no occasion for him to have gone secretly to work, for that she was prepared to die by her own act. Accordingly, having bathed, and dressed herself in new and gay attire, she drank off the poison, and so gave up her precious life, earning the perpetual praise and admiration of mankind.—Mem. 399. According to Malcolm and Tod, the death of the



The transactions in which the three principal Rajput states were involved with the Mahrattas for some years subsequently to the restoration of peace between the latter and the English, have been described at some length, not only on account of their importance in the general history of Hindustan, but of their connexion with subsequent events, by which they were brought within the pale of that protection which they now solicited in vain. A brief notice will suffice for the remaining chiefs of the Rajput tribes.

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The Raja of Bikaner, Surat Sing, was a member of the family which reigned over Marwar. His ineffective support of the pretender, Dhokal Sing, has been mentioned. After payment of the stipulated contribution he was left unmolested, the desert surface of his country offering little temptation to the marauder. The same circumstance, and the remoteness of its situation, protected the neighbouring state of Jesselmer, lying north-west of Marwar, and inhabited chiefly by the Bhatti tribe of Rajputs. Although secluded from the aggressions of the Mahrattas, domestic quarrels did their work as well.

In an angle formed between Jaypur and Malwa, the province of Hárávati, so called from its principal occupants the Hára Rajputs, was divided between Kota and Bundi. Kota was under the management of Zalim Sing, nominally minister, but exercising the authority of Raja; his sovereign being content to lead a life of ease and exemption from responsibility. By a remarkable association of craft, prudence and resolution, Zalim Sing, although obliged to pay tribute and occasional extraordinary contributions, contrived to remain on friendly terms with the Mahratta leaders, and to preserve his country from their ravages: he had also established a character for firm and faithful adherence to his engagements; and to his honour and integrity the chiefs of every nation and tribe were accustomed to intrust their families and their wealth.<sup>1</sup> The

princess, although suggested by Amir Khan, was pressed on the reluctant Rana by one of the Rajput nobles, Ajit Sing, whose memory on that account is execrated throughout Rajasthan. They both agree in the cheerful submission of the princess to the will of her father, and the grief of her mother, who died shortly afterwards.—Central India, i. 339; Annals of Rajasthan, i. 463.

<sup>1</sup> Ambaji Ingliá and Amir Khan both placed their families in the safe keeping of Zalim Sing; and the former deposited at Kota his treasures, which were of considerable amount.—Central India, i. 493.



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state of Bundi, which, in the reign of Akbar was one of the most considerable Rajput principalities, had been reduced to narrow limits by a series of misfortunes and the enmity of Jaypur.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of the latter, a former Raja had been dispossessed of his patrimony; but he had been reinstated by Malhar Rao Holkar, and had thence become a tributary of the Mahratta. His grandson, the ruling Raja at the time of Colonel Monson's retreat, had given the British detachment a free passage through his territories, and afforded every assistance within his means. Those whom he had befriended, abandoned him to the resentment which his conduct had provoked in their behalf; and for several years he was exposed to every species of insult and extortion, from the vindictive policy of Sindhia and Holkar.<sup>1</sup>

The only other Rajput principality of any consideration was that of Macheri, between the Jumna and Jaypur. Originally a feudatory of Jaypur, the Raja had taken advantage of the enfeebled condition of his liege lord, and had early in the Mahratta war placed his independance under the shield of British protection.<sup>2</sup> The engagement was concluded during the administration of Lord Wellesley, in conformity to his policy of interposing a chain of independent native princes between the Jumna and the Mahrattas. As this was contrary to the views of his successors, they would have thought it fortunate if the Rajas of Macheri and Bhurtpore, who were similarly circumstanced, could have been induced to seek the dissolution of the alliance: they were obliged to admit, however, that, as the engagements had been contracted, it would be inconsistent with the credit of the Government to refrain from granting them protection against the menaced aggressions of Holkar. Notwithstanding reiterated assurances to this effect, the Raja of Macheri, alarmed by the abandonment of Jaypur, continued to apprehend a like desertion, until the obvious change in the counsels of Calcutta dissipated his fears.

It is equally unnecessary to enter at any length upon

<sup>1</sup> Annals of Rajasthan, i. 501; Duff's Mahrattas, iii. 281, 311.

<sup>2</sup> Coll. of Treaties, 251. The treaty was a general engagement of defensive alliance: troops were to be sent to the aid of the Raja when required, after failure of mediation between him and any prince with whom he might be at enmity. No subsidy or tribute was imposed.

the condition of the Ját princes of Hindustan. Professing to descend from the illustrious tribe of Yadu, the Jâts on the Jumna had been transformed, by the necessity of self-defence, from a race of pacific agriculturists, into a nation of soldiers and conquerors. Forced into martial distinction by the distractions of Hindustan which followed the reign of Aurangzeb, they continued, under a succession of warlike chieftains, to take a prominent and profitable part in all the troubles which ensued, until the establishment of the authority of Sindhia at Delhi. In this interval their leaders acquired extensive and valuable possessions; and, although their power had been diminished by the superior resources of the Mahrattas, the representative of the original ruling family still retained a country of some extent, guarded by strong-holds, one of which was for many years a monument of British discomfiture. The Raja of Bhurtpore had become subsequently an ally of the British Government, and readily had recourse to its aid in moments of peril.<sup>1</sup> The successful defence of his fortress had, however, impressed him strongly with a mistaken estimate of his own importance, and in his intercourse with the protecting state he displayed equal arrogance and distrust.

The only other prince of this tribe, the Rana of Gohud, was descended from a Ját leader who rose to distinction in the time of the first Baji Rao, in the Peshwa's service. After the defeat of the Mahrattas at the battle of Paniput, he set himself up as independent ruler of the districts which had been intrusted to his charge; and his successor was allowed to retain them on condition of paying tribute to the Peshwa. The chiefs of Gohud were both by tribe and by position the enemies of the Mahrattas; and in this spirit the Rana, during the administration of Warren Hastings, joined the British, and rendered useful service to the detachment under Colonel Camac. After the peace he was left to his own unassisted means of defence, and these were insufficient to save him from the resentment of Madhoji Sindhia. His territory was invaded; the fort of Gwalior, which, after its capture from Sindhia by the British had been given to the Rana, was re-taken; and the

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Jâts, see Tod's *Rajasthan*, ii. 370; also a sketch of their history, *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine*, March, 1826.

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Rana was compelled to surrender himself a prisoner, upon a verbal assurance of personal immunity. In the late war with the Mahrattas, Ambaji Inglia, who governed Gohud on the part of Dowlat Rao Sindhia, went over to his enemies; and, as the reward of his desertion, a portion of the territory was guaranteed to him by treaty, whilst the Rana was replaced in the occupation of the remainder.<sup>1</sup> The policy of Sir G. Barlow, and his anxiety to conciliate Sindhia, led him to annul the treaty with the Rana of Gohud, upon the plea that he had not fulfilled its conditions, and that the agreement was therefore virtually cancelled. The territory was in consequence restored to Sindhia, and compensation was made to the Rana by the cession to him of Dholpur, which Sindhia had given up.<sup>2</sup> The stipulations of the treaty had pledged the Rana to efforts beyond his means; and his failure, as it proceeded from no defection on his part, was not a sufficient excuse for the violation of positive engagements. At the same time, it was evident that the British Government had formed an erroneous conception of the rights and power of the Rana of Gohud, and that Sindhia had good reason to complain of an arrangement which had converted a dependent of his government into an independent prince. The Rana himself, although not placed in the position which was at first designed for him, had no little cause for self-gratulation in his transformation from the condition of a prisoner and a fugitive, to that of a prince reigning in absolute sovereignty, under the security of British protection, over a portion of those domains the whole of which were held by his ancestors only through the sufferance of a Mahratta chieftain, subject to his exactions and liable to his resumption.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ambaji was allowed to retain territory yielding a revenue of nine lakhs of rupees a-year. The portion assigned to the Rana was estimated at twenty-six lakhs.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 256, 258.

<sup>2</sup> Second treaty with Kirat Sing, Rana of Gohud, 1806.—Coll. of Treaties, 298.

<sup>3</sup> The conduct of Sir G. Barlow in regard to the Rana of Gohud has been vindicated by high authority. In the debate on the India Budget in the House of Commons, 10th July, 1806, Sir Arthur Wellesley is reported to have asserted that Lord Wellesley had himself taken into consideration the expediency of restoring to Sindhia the territory of Gohud and the fort of Gwalior, and that the cession was not sooner made was owing to a want of confidence in the steadiness and consistency of Sindhia's counsels. Sir A. Wellesley states also that it had always been his opinion that Gohud and Gwalior ought to be restored to Sindhia. "Upon the whole," he concludes, "the committee



Although seceders in some respects from the orthodox religion of the Hindus, the Sikhs retain so many essential articles of the Brahmanical faith, that they may be justly classed among the Hindu races. In the original institution, the Sikhs were a religious community, who, in consonance with the benevolent objects of their founder, Nanak Shah, a native of the Punjab, proposed to abolish the distinctions of caste, and to combine Hindus and Mohammedans in a form of theistical devotion, derived from the blended abstractions of Sufyism and the Vedanta, and adapted to popular currency by the dissemination of the tenets which it inculcated, in hymns and songs composed in the vernacular dialects. These still constitute the scriptural authority, the *Grantha*, the *book* of the Sikhs. The doctrines and the influence of the teachers gave a common faith to the hardy and intrepid population of the upper part of the Punjab, and merged whatever distinctive appellations they previously possessed in the new general designation of "Sikhs," or "disciples," which thenceforth became their national denomination. As their numbers increased, they attracted the notice of the Mohammedan rulers, and were subjected to the ordeal of persecution. They had recourse to arms: under a succession of military leaders, the sword became inseparably associated in their creed with the book; and their ranks were recruited by fugitives from political disorder and fiscal oppression, who readily adopted a faith which made but trifling demands upon their belief, and differed in few material points from that which they professed. Community of danger became the bond of both a religious and a social organization, and a nation grew out of a sect. As the birth-place of their founder Nanak, and of the teacher who in a still greater degree gave to the Sikhs their characteristic peculiarities, Guru Govind Sing, was the Punjab, it was there that they congregated and became organised, in spite of the efforts of the viceroys of Lahore for their suppression, until they had become masters of the whole of the country from the Setlej to the Indus.

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will observe, that I consider Sir G. Barlow's treaty with Sindhia to have been consistent with the spirit of that which I was the instrument of concluding at the close of the year 1803; and that the late Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, intended to have carried into execution that part of its stipulations which refers to Gwalior and Gohud."—Hansard's Parl. Deb.



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The circumstances under which the Sikhs achieved their independance were unfavourable to the consolidation of their power. In their hostilities with the Mohammedans they acted without plan and without an acknowledged head, and adopted a desultory system of warfare, in which different leaders collected their relations and friends, and unexpectedly fell upon their enemies and laid waste the country. As the means of opposing their incursions declined, they were emboldened to undertake operations of greater importance requiring concert and combination; and, for this purpose, the different Sirdars assembled occasionally at a public diet usually held at Amritsar, the site of their principal shrine. When the Afghans supplanted the Moguls in the government of the Punjab, the Sikhs experienced some severe reverses from the military skill and activity of Ahmed Shah; but after his death they were at liberty to establish themselves as a political confederacy in the countries which they now occupy. The districts were divided amongst different associations termed Misals, implying assemblies of equals under chiefs of their own selection. The chief was to lead in war, and arbitrate in peace: he was treated with deference by the other Sirdars, but they recognised no obligation to obey his commands. Towards the end of the last century twelve principal Misals were formed, varying considerably in the extent of territory which they governed, and in the number of horse which they could bring into the field.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of time the inherent defects of a military federation of this description began to be manifested, and individual ambition and ability to assume that ascendancy which they were calculated to attain. Amongt the least considerable of the Misals was that of Surat-Chak, so called from the lands which the progenitors of the chief, Charat Sing, had originally cultivated. Charat Sing commenced a career of aggrandisement at the expense of his neighbours, which his son Maha Sing pursued with still greater success. The son of the latter, Ranjit Sing, had, however, surpassed both; and by a singular combination

<sup>1</sup> An interesting account of the Sikh federation will be found in the "Origin of the Sikh power in the Punjab," compiled by Mr. Prinsep chiefly from the report of Captain William Murray, Political Agent at Ambala; Calcutta, 1834.

of courage and cunning, he had brought most of the chiefs on the west of the Setlej under his controul. The chiefs on the east of that river, whose possessions were contiguous to the province of Delhi, professed, after the close of the Mahratta war, an undefined allegiance to the British Government; and some uncertainty with regard to the protection with which it was repaid compelled Ranjit Sing to proceed with caution in his project of extending his supremacy across the Setlej. That he was disappointed in his projects was attributable to the altered policy of the British Government upon the accession of Lord Minto to the office of Governor-General.<sup>1</sup>

From the review that has been thus taken of the political circumstances of India during the administration of Sir G. Barlow, it is evident that the supremacy of the British power was virtually established, although matters were not yet sufficiently ripe for its open avowal. Some unnecessary forbearance was no doubt exhibited, and some degree of blame deservedly incurred for apprehensions needlessly entertained, and engagements unjustifiably violated; but it may be questioned if the policy of the Government did not, however undesignedly, promote the consummation which it was intended to avoid. It would have been easy, and it would have been generous, to have interposed in defence of the Rajput princes and rescued them from Mahratta rapacity; but, had the tranquillity of Hindustan been restored by a further expenditure of the resources of Bengal, the latter would have required a longer period for the renovation of its exhausted vigour, whilst the former would have been earlier placed in a condition to provoke and defy its resentment. The continued contests of the native princes operated favourably for the extension of British ascendancy; they disposed the weaker to welcome the approach of foreign protection, and they disabled the stronger from offering effective opposition. On the other hand, the suspension of military operations of any magnitude for several years afforded the British Government opportunity to accumulate and

<sup>1</sup> A description of the religious tenets of the Sikhs will be found in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xvii. ; and a more general account of their origin and history is published in the eleventh volume of the same collection, by Sir John Malcolm. Mr. Prinsep's work, just referred to, describes their later progress and the rise of Ranjit Sing.

BOOK I. improve its resources, and, when again compelled to employ  
 CHAP. II. them, to put forth its energies with a might which made  
 1806. resistance to it hopeless, and elevated it to an eminence  
 from which it directed without dispute the destinies of  
 Hindustan.

## CHAPTER II.

*Sir George Barlow, Governor-General.—State of the Finances.—Retrenchments.—Supplies.—Judicial and Revenue Arrangements for Cuttack, the Doab, and Bundelkhand.—Revenue Settlements in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.—Separation of Judicial and Revenue Functions at Madras.—Murder of Europeans at Vellore.—Arrival of the Dragoons.—Fort retaken.—Military Inquiry.—Disposal of the Prisoners.—Causes and Circumstances of the Mutiny.—Its Origin in religious Panic occasioned by Military Orders.—Similar Alarms at Hyderabad, Walajabad, and Nandidrug allayed or suppressed.—Lord W. Bentinck and Sir John Cradock recalled.—Ultimate Decision of the Court of Directors.*

WHEN the provisional assumption of the government of India by Sir George Barlow, consequent upon the death of Marquis Cornwallis, was known in England, the Court of Directors determined to nominate him permanently Governor-General, and the nomination was acquiesced in by the Board of Controul. The principles of the policy which he pursued towards the native states have been sufficiently explained, and their consequences exhibited in the preceding pages. The other transactions of his administration were for the most part of inferior interest, though scarcely of minor importance.

The first cares of the new Governor-General were engaged by the state of the public finances, which had been seriously deranged by the expenses of the war. The charges had for some years past exceeded the revenues by a considerable amount, and the deficit had been supplied by loans contracted at a high rate of interest,<sup>1</sup> or by the

<sup>1</sup> A loan was opened in January, 1805, at 10 per cent., by which sicca rupees 2,12,47,000 (2,124,700*l.*) were raised.

application of the Company's commercial remittances to territorial disbursements. Heavy demands still remained for liquidation; the pay of the troops was seven and eight months in arrear; large sums were due on account of pensions to native chiefs and princes, and funds to meet these claims were for some time deficient.<sup>1</sup>

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The restoration of tranquillity admitted of economical retrenchments in the principal article of public expenditure, the charges of the military department, and in nothing more than the dismissal of the irregular troops which had been taken into the British service during the war: these were disbanded, in several cases with injudicious haste; and Jagirs were assigned to some of their leaders in commutation of pay or pension. A present inconvenience was thus in a great measure obviated, but the newly acquired districts were burthened with establishments which even in the present day in some degree diminish the revenue that might else be raised from them. Extensive reductions of the regular forces were at the same time effected.

The economical principles which guided the proceedings of the government of Bengal, were equally impressed upon the attention of the subordinate Governments, and the importance attached to the object by Sir G. Barlow, is fully shown by the language in which his views were communicated to Bombay and Madras. He reminded the supreme authorities at both Presidencies that, "the finances of the Company having been involved in extraordinary difficulties by the consequences of the late war, it had become the solemn duty of the different Indian Governments to establish a system of the most rigid economy through every branch of their civil and military expenditure;" and he therefore enjoined them "to abrogate all such charges as were not indispensable to the good government and security of the provinces under their controul. The extraordinary demands upon the public resources had arisen," he observed, "almost exclusively from the enhanced charges of the military departments; but the circumstances of India were now propitious

<sup>1</sup> The demands payable by the Bengal Government amounted in May, 1806, to ninety lakhs of rupees, to meet which not above forty lakhs were available.



BOOK I. to their retrenchment, as no danger was to be apprehended  
CHAP. II. from French aggression, and the condition of the native  
1806. states not in alliance with the Company precluded all apprehension of their possessing the means of making any impression upon the British power for a long course of years: that independently of this prospect of future tranquillity, derived from the preponderating power of the latter, the treaties which had been contracted with Sindhia and other princes had been drawn up with a view to remove all grounds of difference, and to conciliate them by concessions which would render it their interest to preserve the relations of amity so established inviolate." The Governor-General suggested various specifications of retrenchment, and concluded by confidently hoping that in a short time the reductions from those sources would relieve all pressure upon the finances, and restore depreciated public credit, leaving a surplus to pay off the public debt and provide the Company's commercial investment.

This last consideration, the provision of the investment of goods for sale in England, was, in fact, the main-spring of Sir G. Barlow's policy, as it was of that of the Company. It was the pressure upon their commercial credit and resources which the latter were most anxious to relieve; and, as their instructions to that effect found an obedient agent in the Governor-General, the necessary result was the sacrifice of all comprehensive political views to present commercial exigencies. The financial embarrassments of the Indian Governments were merely of a temporary nature: the return of peace necessarily reduced much of the immediate charge; and the revenues were rapidly increasing, from the valuable accessions of territory acquired during the war, and the certainty of their improvement under a regular and efficient system of administration. Nor was there any cause for alarm in the state of public credit, as, although it had been thought necessary to offer a high rate of interest, ten per cent. per annum, on a loan contracted in the early part of 1805, the rate was not unprecedented or unusual; and in the course of 1806 a loan was opened at eight per cent. per annum, with such entire success, as in the course of a few years to absorb all pre-

ceeding and more burthensome obligations.<sup>1</sup> The rate then negotiated commenced a series of reductions of the interest of the public debt, which has for some years past nearly equalised the interest paid in India with that which commonly prevails in the kingdoms of continental Europe.<sup>2</sup>

The exertions made by Sir George Barlow for the diminution of the public expenditure were not in vain; and by the end of April 1807, the close of the Indian official year, shortly after which he relinquished his office to his successor, he had reduced the excess of annual charge to less than a half of its amount in 1805, and had matured a system of economy, which, in the first years of Lord Minto's administration, transformed the deficit into a surplus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sicca rupees 26,65,00,000, or about 30,000,000*l.*, were transferred and subscribed to this loan between 1805-6 and 1810-11, when it chiefly merged into a loan at no higher a rate than 6 per cent.

<sup>2</sup> The rates of interest now borne by the public debt of India are 4 and 5 per cent.

<sup>3</sup> The statements appended to the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, printed in May, 1810, present the following comparative view of the relative revenues and charges of India from 1804-5 to 1807-8.

	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Charge.</i>	<i>Excess of Charge.</i>
1804-5 . . .	£14,949,395 . . .	£16,487,346 . . .	£1,537,951
1805-6 . . .	15,403,409 . . .	17,672,017 . . .	2,268,608
1806-7 . . .	14,535,729 . . .	17,688,061 . . .	3,152,322
1807-8 . . .	15,669,905 . . .	15,979,027 . . .	309,122

By a statement in the author's possession, compiled in the office of the accountant-general in Calcutta, the returns of the three first years in Sicca Rupees are as follows:

	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Charge.</i>	<i>Excess of Charge.</i>
1804-5 . . .	S.R. 13,06,49,241 . . .	S.R. 15,76,18,750 . . .	S.R. 2,69,69,509
1805-6 . . .	„ 13,58,28,952 . . .	„ 16,44,88,747 . . .	„ 2,86,49,795
1806-7 . . .	„ 12,97,16,627 . . .	„ 13,99,23,581 . . .	„ 1,02,06,904

and in the fourth year,  
1807-8 . . . 13,87,59,682 . . . 13,77,19,952 . . . 10,39,730

which surplus, calculating the rupee at 2*s.*, which is something less than its intrinsic value, is equal to 103,973*l.* These particulars agree with the statement given by Mr. Tucker; of which he remarks, that, as they were prepared from official and authentic documents, they may be received with confidence.

—Review of the Financial Situation of the East India Company, by H. St. George Tucker, p. 13. One source of difference in the two statements is the difference of exchange valuation. The old accounts of the East India Company were converted from Indian into English money at 2*s.* per current rupee (116 of which were equal to 100 Siccas) for Bengal, 8*s.* per pagoda for Madras, and 2*s.* 3*d.* per Bombay rupee: a valuation which, however correct according to the state of the exchange, was far above the intrinsic value of the coins; the current rupee at par being worth only 1*s.* 9*d.* 177, the pagoda 7*s.* 6*d.* 386, and the Bombay rupee 2*s.* 008.—Report of Select Committee on the Finances of the East India Company, August 1832, App. No. 20. In the above comparison of receipts and disbursements, the rate being the same on both does not very materially affect the result; but the excess conveys an exaggerated view of their amount to the extent of about one-seventh of the aggregate sums. Now, although the exchange value of the Indian cur-

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In order to provide for the most urgent and immediate demands, funds were raised by a loan in 1805-6; by which, in the course of that and the following year, about four millions sterling were supplied to the treasury: the deficit which remained was met by remittances from Europe which, during the three years from 1804-5 to 1806-7, exceeded by two millions sterling the supplies realised in England from the proceeds of the Company's trade.

Besides the measures adopted for the removal of financial difficulties the Indian Governments were occupied during the interval between the departure of Marquis Wellesley and the arrival of Lord Minto in extending and consolidating the revenue and judicial arrangements in various districts newly taken under their authority. Upon the annexation of the province of Cuttack to the presidency of Bengal, commissioners were appointed to effect a settlement of the revenue with the landholders; and, in September 1804, the latter were apprised that at the expiration of a twelvemonth a fixed assessment would be levied upon their lands, upon a just and moderate consideration of the receipts of former years. This announcement was confirmed by a regulation of the Government; and the same enactment recognised the principle of substituting a quit-rent for a land assessment in respect to certain petty Rajas and Zemindars residing in the mountains and thickets of Orissa. All other sources of revenue which had existed under the Mahratta Government were abolished, with the exception of an excise upon spirituous liquors, and a capitation-tax upon pilgrims to the temple of Jagan-

rencies might be properly taken as the standard for their conversion into English money in regard to all receipts and disbursements, whether commercial or territorial, occurring in England, yet such a standard was wholly inapplicable to revenues and charges beginning and ending in India itself. The intrinsic value of the currencies, as compared with that of the British coinage, was in such case the least variable and most correct measure. The statements in Sicca Rupees, converted into Sterling at 2s. the rupee, would therefore be preferable, as nearer the truth; but their use is inconvenient, as affording results different from those given in the Parliamentary and India House accounts, the authorities most readily available: these will therefore generally be followed. In the present case, besides the difference of valuation, there is a discrepancy in the relative statements which is not easily accounted for. The annual accounts must have been made up either on different principles, or for somewhat different intervals. The aggregate of the four years, adopting the conversion of the sicca into the current rupee, offer a near though not close approximation; the Parliamentary accounts making it 7,268,003*l.*, the Calcutta statements sicca rupees 6,47,86,478 (equal to current rupees 7,51,52,314, and, at 2s. the current rupee, to 7,515,231*l.*

<sup>1</sup> Bengal Regulations. Reg. xii. 1805.



nath. The latter was the subject of a further enactment<sup>1</sup> in the following year, by which the amount of the tax, the mode of levying it, and other circumstances connected with it, were defined, with a view to protect the pilgrims from the unwarranted exactions of the officers of the Government or of the temple, and to maintain order and security in the town of Jagannath-pur and its dependencies. At the same time, provision was made for the administration of justice in civil causes by the institution of a provincial court,<sup>2</sup> and a revision was effected of the system of police which had been previously in force in Cuttack. The duties of the police during the Mahratta Government had been intrusted to a body of armed men, termed Paiks, or footmen; who were commanded by their own Sirdars or chiefs, and occupied lands exempt from rent, in payment of their services. They were subject to the general controul of the landholders within whose domains they were located, and the landholders were responsible to the Government for the prevention of disorders and robberies within the limits of their respective estates.<sup>3</sup> This system was unchanged; but, in order to fix upon the landholders a better defined authority and more distinct responsibility, they were formally invested with the title and powers of Darogas, or head-officers of police, under the general superintendence of the magistrate of the province.

The introduction of the Company's judicial and revenue regulations in the territories lastly acquired in the Doab and in Bundelkhand had been accomplished by previous enactments.<sup>4</sup> Those affecting the revenue were based upon the principle of an ultimate settlement in perpetuity in the Upper provinces as well as in Bengal, but postponing its conclusion to the expiration of certain definite periods. Two successive settlements were to be made for a term of three years each, and a third was to be concluded for a period of four years. On the close of each of the

<sup>1</sup> Reg. iv. 1806.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. xiv. 1805. A striking instance is afforded by one of the clauses of this regulation of the high value of money under the Mahratta Government, and its anticipated reduction under the British. In all disputes concerning obligations bearing interest which originated before October, 1803, the court was authorised to recognise the following rates: on sums not exceeding 100 rupees, 30 per cent. per annum; on larger sums, 24 per cent. per annum. Subsequently to the date specified, the rate of interest was restricted to 12 per cent. per annum.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. iv. 1804.

<sup>4</sup> Regs. xxv. 1803; v. viii. ix. 1805.



BOOK I. two first periods, the assessment was to be revised and  
 CHAP. II. augmented according to the progressive improvement  
 1806. which it was anticipated would have taken place in the  
 value of landed property; and at the end of the three  
 terms, forming an aggregate of ten years, it was proposed  
 to conclude a perpetual settlement for all such lands as  
 might be in a sufficiently improved state of cultivation to  
 warrant the measure, on such terms as the Government  
 should deem fair and equitable. This last stipulation,  
 strictly interpreted, rendered the pledge of little worth;  
 for it reserved to the Government the determination  
 not only of the final rate of assessment, but of the  
 condition of the lands to be assessed. A still more im-  
 portant modification of the original enactment was, how-  
 ever, introduced by Sir George Barlow. On the termina-  
 tion of the first triennial period of the settlement of the  
 Ceded provinces, he added a clause to its renewal, which  
 Lord Wellesley either overlooked or considered super-  
 fluous; and enacted, that the proposed settlement of  
 the revenue in perpetuity in the Ceded and Conquered  
 provinces should depend upon the confirmation of the  
 Court of Directors.<sup>1</sup> Their confirmation was never con-  
 ceded.

The principal legislative enactment at Fort St. George  
 had for its object the discontinuance of the judicial powers  
 theretofore given to the collectors of the revenue in the  
 districts which had not been permanently assessed. Dis-  
 tinct courts of civil judicature were established in the  
 several Zillas, and the separation of the judicial from the  
 revenue department was completed in the territories of  
 the Madras Presidency as well as in those of Bengal.<sup>2</sup> At  
 the same time, the Supreme Court of Appeal was remo-  
 delled. It had hitherto been constituted of the Governor  
 and Members of Council, a board already fully occupied.  
 In their stead three Judges were appointed to the special  
 duty of hearing appeals from the courts below, in addition

<sup>1</sup> "The Governor-General in Council hereby notifies to the Zemindars and other actual proprietors of land in the Ceded and Conquered provinces, that the Jumma which may be assessed on their estates in the last year of the settlement immediately ensuing the present settlement shall remain fixed for ever, in case the Zemindars shall now be willing to engage for the payment of the public revenue on those terms in perpetuity, and the arrangement shall receive the sanction of the Court of Directors."—Reg. x. 1807. Sect. v.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. ii. 1806.

to a Member of Council not being Governor of Madras, who was to act as Chief Judge.<sup>1</sup> No enactment of any interest was promulgated during this period at Bombay.

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CHAP. II.

1806.

In the midst of their pacific occupations, the Governments of India were startled by the occurrence of an event unprecedented in the annals of British India, and inspiring fears for the solidity and permanence of the empire,—the massacre of the European officers and soldiers in the garrison of Vellore by the native regiments on duty along with them. This happened on the morning of the 10th of July, 1806.<sup>2</sup>

The fortress of Vellore, situated eighty-eight miles west from Madras, had been chosen, for the convenience of its position and the strength of its defences, as a safe residence for the family of Tippoo Sultan, which consisted of twelve sons and six daughters. The six elder sons were married, and had children; four of the daughters also were married, and the marriage of the fifth was in course of solemnisation when the mutiny broke out. Their families, with their connexions and followers, formed an assemblage of several hundred persons, all living in the former palace of the Nawabs of the Carnatic, within the fort. The princes had been treated with a degree of distinction and liberality better suited to their former dignity than their fallen fortunes. They were under no other personal restraint than the attendance of a guard when they moved out, and prohibition against going out of the fort without the written authority of the commandant of the garrison and the paymaster of their stipends. Their allowances not only provided amply for their wants, but enabled them to support some show of state, and to collect around them a swarm of needy adventurers and vagrant mendicants, the willing instruments of mischief and eager fomenters of discontent.<sup>3</sup> The general charge of the princes and payment of their

<sup>1</sup> Reg. lii. 1807.

<sup>2</sup> The chief authorities for the following narrative and observations are, the MS. Correspondence of the Madras Government; Papers printed for Parliament in 1813; a Memorial addressed to the Court of Directors, and afterwards printed in 1810, by Lord William Bentinck; and Sir J. Cradock's Address to the Court, printed in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1807.

<sup>3</sup> The four elder princes were allowed 50,000 rupees a-year each; the three next, 25,000 rupees; the two younger, 8,400 rupees; and the remaining three, 6000 each. There were above 3000 natives of Mysore in the fort and adjoining Petta or town, and above 500 Mohammedan Fakirs. The whole population of the town was about 8000.

BOOK I. pensions were consigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Marriott.  
 CHAP. II. No other officer was allowed to enter the palace without  
 permission of the princes, and no European sentinel did  
 1806. duty within its precincts. The native sentries were posted  
 only at the outer doors of the several dwellings. Colonel  
 Marriott discharged also the duties of superintendant of  
 police for the fort and the adjacent town of Vellore, the  
 population of which had largely increased. The garrison  
 of the fort consisted of four companies of his Majesty's  
 69th regiment, six companies of the first battalion of the  
 1st regiment of Native Infantry, and the 2nd battalion of  
 the 23rd. The Europeans were about three hundred and  
 seventy in number, the natives fifteen hundred. The whole  
 were commanded by Colonel Fancourt, the colonel of the  
 69th. Spacious barracks were severally appropriated to  
 the use of the European and native troops. The officers  
 occupied separate, and, for the most part, detached  
 houses.

About three o'clock in the morning of the 10th of July, the tranquillity of repose was broken by the sudden discharge of fire-arms, and the sound was speedily repeated in various directions. The Sipahis had been assembled silently in their quarters under arms by their native officers, and led to unexpected assaults upon the European posts. The few English sentinels on duty at the main-guard and the powder magazine were shot or bayoneted almost before they were aware of their danger, and the possession of the magazine secured to the insurgents the sole supply of ammunition. Their chief body beset the European barracks, firing through the open doors and windows volley after volley, and repelling every attempt of its inmates to sally forth, by a murderous discharge of musketry, and the fire of a field-piece which they had planted opposite to the doorway. As soon as these attacks commenced, detachments were stationed to watch the dwellings of the officers, with instructions to fire upon any one who should come forth : and, in pursuance of the order, Colonel Fancourt, as he descended from his house, received a wound which proved fatal ; and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kerras, commanding the 23rd, was shot as he was hastening to the parade. After the barracks were surrounded, parties of the native soldiers forced their way

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into the houses of the Europeans, and put to death with unsparing ferocity all whom they could discover. Thirteen officers were killed, besides several European conductors of ordnance. In the barracks, eighty-two privates were killed, and ninety-one were wounded. The mutineers did not venture to enter the building, where they would have had to encounter the bayonets of the soldiers, but contented themselves with pouring their fire into the apartments; in which the men, unable for want of ammunition to return it, screened themselves against its effects as well as they were able by the beds and furniture. Early in the morning, a few officers, who had collected in one of the dwellings and had successfully defended themselves, made their way to the barracks, and, placing themselves at the head of the survivors, forced a passage through the mutineers and ascended the ramparts, where they took post in a cavalier. Hence they reached the magazine, but were disappointed in their expectation of supplying themselves with powder, and were obliged to return to the ramparts, where they found cover above the main gateway and in a bastion at the south-east angle of the fort. In these movements they were exposed to a continued fire, by which all the officers were disabled and many of the men were killed; yet they maintained their ground with steadfast courage, and repeatedly drove back their assailants at the point of the bayonet.

During the whole of these transactions an active communication was kept up between the mutineers and the palace, and many of the servants and followers of the princes were conspicuously active in the scenes of bloodshed and plunder which followed the first success. By some of these a flag, which had once belonged to Tippoo and bore his insignia,<sup>1</sup> was brought out of the palace and hoisted on the flagstaff amidst the acclamations of the multitude; but it was speedily pulled down by the men of the 69th as they passed the flagstaff in their way from the barracks to the ramparts. The indications of regularity and conduct which marked the first proceedings of the insurgents soon disappeared; subordination was speedily at an end; the Sipahis and followers of the palace dispersed in quest of plunder; and many who had

<sup>1</sup> A sun in the centre, with tiger stripes on a green field.



BOOK I. been reluctant participators in the mutiny, who began to  
CHAP. II. fear its consequences, or who sought to secure the booty  
1806. they had obtained, availed themselves of the confusion to  
leave the fort. No arrangements had been made to hold  
the fortress, or to withdraw to any other position, when  
the alarm was given that retribution was at hand.

Arcot, the ancient capital of the Carnatic, and the scene of Clive's celebrated defence, was about nine miles distant from Vellore. It was a military station; and, among the troops cantoned there, was the 19th regiment of dragoons under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie. Information of the insurrection reached Arcot by six in the morning; and a squadron of the 19th, with a strong troop of the 7th Native Cavalry, with Colonel Gillespie at their head, was immediately on the road to Vellore, the galloper guns and remainder of the cavalry being ordered to follow without delay. By eight o'clock the first party was before the gates of the fortress: the outer two were open, a third was closed; but it was here that a few of the 69th had effected a lodgment, and some of the men, lowered by their comrades from the wall, opened the gate to the cavalry. There was still a fourth gateway, which was shut, and this was commanded by the mutineers so completely that it was necessary to wait for the guns to blow it open: they arrived about ten. Upon their approach, Colonel Gillespie caused himself to be drawn up to the rampart, where he put himself at the head of the party which had maintained the position, and descended from the post to charge the insurgents, at the same moment that the gate was blown open and the dragoons rushed into the fort. No resolute resistance was offered: after a feeble and straggling fire, the insurgents scattered in all directions, and were cut down by the cavalry, or bayoneted by the men of the 69th. Between three and four hundred were slain, many were taken, the rest escaped by dropping from the walls. In the course of ten minutes, the fort was again in the possession of the British troops, and an unsparing but not undeserved punishment had been inflicted on a great number of the mutineers. There still remained a multitude whose degree of participation in the mutiny and consequent destiny it was necessary to determine, and it

was also of importance to discover the causes of so alarming on outbreak.

The number of the prisoners was speedily increased by the apprehension of the fugitives in various parts of the country by the police or by the villagers, and by the spontaneous surrender of many who either were, or wished to be thought, innocent. Some of the latter were allowed to resume their military duties, but there were still above six hundred Sipahis detained in confinement at Trichanopaly and Vellore. A military tribunal had been in the first instance instituted for their trial, by which several of those whose guilt was substantiated were condemned to death.<sup>1</sup> The criminality of the rest was referred to a special commission, upon whose proceedings the Government long hesitated to pronounce a final sentence. Although little doubt could be entertained that most of the Sipahis, whether in confinement or at large, were deeply implicated in the mutiny, yet it was impossible to procure satisfactory evidence of individual guilt, and it was incompatible with justice to condemn the whole upon probable imputation. To restore them to their military functions, was to insure impunity to insurrection; to set them at liberty and dismiss them, was to disperse over the country a number of desperate and dangerous men, whose example and instigations might lead to greater mischief. To transport the whole to Penang or the Cape, would be expensive and inconvenient, even if it were just. The opinions of the Governor and the Commander-in-chief were at variance; the former advocating the more lenient, the latter the severer course. The former eventually prevailed. The officers and men who were absent at the time of the mutiny, or who had given proofs of their fidelity on the occasion of its occurrence, remained on the strength of the army: the rest were discharged for ever from the service, with the grant to the officers of small pensions for their support, and the numbers of the regiments were erased from the army list.<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Three native officers and fourteen non-commissioned officers and privates were executed by sentence of a native court-martial.—General Orders by the Government, Fort St. George, 14th January, 1807.

<sup>2</sup> Two new regiments were formed in their place, the 24th and 25th, to which the European officers of the 1st and 23rd regiments, and such native officers and men as were not discharged, were respectively transferred.—General Orders, 14th January, 1807.

BOOK I. disposal of the prisoners remained undecided until the  
CHAP. II. arrival of Lord Minto at Madras on his way to Bengal.

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It was then resolved that a final investigation should take place, and, with the exception of those against whom proof of plunder and murder could be adduced, and who were to be punished accordingly, the whole should be gradually enlarged, being dismissed from the service and declared incapable of being again enlisted. As by this time the agitation had subsided and the confidence of the native troops was restored, the decision was carried into effect without difficulty, and without being followed by any perceptible mischief. The ascertainment of the causes of the mutiny, and of the principal circumstances attending it, was equally a subject of prolonged deliberation and productive of conflicting opinions.

Although the storm had burst so suddenly upon the victims of its fury, indications of its approach had not been wanting; and careful and intelligent observation might have anticipated its violence and guarded against its consequences. It was known early in May that deep and dangerous discontent pervaded the troops in garrison, upon the subject of orders regarding their dress and accoutrements, and rigorous measures were resorted to for its suppression. They had the usual effects of ill-judged severity. They stifled the utterance but aggravated the feelings, and embittered dissatisfaction by forcing it to assume the mask of acquiescence. Secret associations were formed, not only to resist the obnoxious orders, but to brave the penalty which insubordination incurred, by contracting guilt of a still deeper dye; and the native officers and men were gradually drawn into a conspiracy to murder all the Europeans in the fort, and elevate one of the sons of Tippoo to the sovereignty from which his father had been hurled by foreigners and infidels. Notwithstanding the oath of secrecy by which silence was imposed on all who were enrolled amongst the conspirators, intimations of the plot transpired sufficient at least to have put the objects of it on their guard. Not only were dark rumours of an approaching tumult current in the fort and Petta, but in the latter a Mohammedan Fakir repeatedly proclaimed in the Bazar the impending destruction of the Europeans. Little regard was paid to his

denunciations, as they were uttered with a wildness of manner and vagueness of language which inspired doubts of his sanity. Information still more positive was equally disregarded. At midnight, on the 17th of June, a Sipahi of the 1st regiment, named Mustafa Beg, had come to Colonel Forbes, the commander of the corps, and communicated to him that a plot was concerted to murder the European part of the garrison. The agitation which the man exhibited, and the imperfectly understood purport of his statements, induced the Colonel not only to doubt the authenticity of his testimony, but to refer its investigation to a committee of native officers, who, being all more or less implicated in the conspiracy, reported of course that Mustafa Beg was unworthy of credence, and demanded his confinement as the punishment of his calumnious aspersions. He was accordingly placed under arrest, and so remained until the mutiny and murder which he had in vain announced had taken place.<sup>1</sup> The utter neglect of these intimations, and their vagueness and infrequency, might seem extraordinary, if there were not reason to believe that there prevailed at the time a more than even the usual estrangement between the European officers and the native troops, which is too often engendered by the contemptuous indifference entertained by the former for the feelings and opinions of the latter, and by their imperfect acquaintance with the native languages. Had there been any cordiality between the European officers and the native garrison,—had any of them deserved the confidence and attachment of his men, it is not to be credited that only a single individual should have been found faithful among the many who were privy to the conspiracy, and that Mustafa Beg should have stood alone in his communications. Had there not also been some want of vigilance on the part of the officers of the garrison, it is difficult to conceive that they

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<sup>1</sup> Mustafa Beg escaped during the tumult, but returned to the fort a few days afterwards, and was rewarded for his conduct by a pecuniary donation of 2000 pagodas and a Subahdar's pension.—G. O. Madras, 7th Aug. 1806. A European woman, who had resided some years in Vellore, also apprised Colonel Fancourt that secret meetings were held by the Sipahis in the Petta, at which seditious language was held. No attention was paid to her testimony, as her character was disreputable.—MS. Proceedings of Court of Inquiry.



BOOK I. could have been so wholly unprepared for such a widely  
 CHAP. II. extended and desperate insurrection.<sup>1</sup>

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The causes of this alarming occurrence necessarily engaged the attention of the public both in India and in Europe, and an acrimonious controversy ensued which can scarcely be said even yet to be at rest. Not that there was any sufficient reason for difference of opinion. To an impartial judgment the real cause was liable to no misconception; but its admission involved inferences which were pressed by one party beyond their due limits, and of which the grounds were therefore denied altogether by the other. The question of converting the natives of India to the Christian religion was supposed to depend for its solution upon the origin of the massacre at Vellore. By those who were unfriendly to missionary efforts, as well as those who were apprehensive of their effects upon native feeling, the transaction was appealed to as decisive

<sup>1</sup> Shortly before this transaction, Sir John Cradock, the Commander-in-Chief, addressed a letter to the adjutant-general for circulation to the army, in which he stated his regret to find that it was the prevailing practice of the service, to withhold from the native commissioned officers that respect and intercourse to which their situation and common opinion entitled them. The Court of Directors also remark, "We have too much reason to apprehend, that, to the neglect and disrespect manifested to the native officers by the European officers, the disposition to foment and conceal the disaffection of the men is principally to be attributed." They also observe, "It has been represented to us that the deficiency in the knowledge of the languages of the country prevalent amongst the officers of the army may have operated as another cause of the absence of confidence between the European officers and the native troops. We are aware of the injurious effects which this ignorance on the part of the European officers is likely to produce, and which we are informed prevails to a great extent." They proceed to suggest a plan for remedying the defect, but it has never yet been carried into operation. A general order of the Commander-in-chief, issued in August, 1806, announced that he would not recommend, nor would the Government approve of, any officer for a staff appointment who did not possess "means of distinct communication with the native army." A knowledge of Hindustani had previously been required from cadets as a condition of promotion, and from all officers as a qualification for the post of adjutant. Adverting to the disregard of Mustafa Beg's information, the Court observe, "We fear that Colonel Forbes's conduct upon that occasion proceeded from the same laxity of system, which, there is reason to suppose, prevailed at Vellore for a considerable period before the unfortunate mine was sprung."—Letter to Fort St. George, 29th May, 1807, printed for the House of Commons, 13th April, 1813. That the discipline of the garrison was relaxed, is proved by the evidence before the Committee as to a neglect of military duty on the very night of the mutiny; the punctual fulfilment of which might have detected something unusual amongst the native soldiery, and perhaps prevented the mischief. The European officer commanding the main-guard being summoned to go the rounds at midnight, declared himself indisposed, and directed the Subahdar to take his place. The Subahdar, in imitation of his superior, pleaded the same excuse, and delegated the duty to the Jemadar, who was one of the chief leaders of the conspiracy. His report was, of course, that all was well at the very hour when the mutineers were arming for the attack.—Proceedings of Committee of Inquiry; MS. Records.

of the reasonableness of their fears, and as justifying their opposition. No better reply could be devised by the friends and supporters of missions, than a denial that the Vellore mutiny had any connexion with the propagation of Christianity,—a denial in which they were undoubtedly wide of the truth.<sup>1</sup> The essential and main spring of the mutiny was religious principle, although its occurrence was influenced in the manner and season of its development by incidental and local excitement.

Towards the end of 1805, the new Commander-in-Chief at Madras, Sir John Cradock, had been led to adopt the project of reducing the regulations of the army to a systematic code. The article of dress, a favourite subject of consideration with military men, at least in time of peace, received all the attention which its importance demanded; and various regulations were drawn up regarding the regimentals and accoutrements of the native soldiery, with the avowed purpose of assimilating their appearance to that of the European troops. With this intention, the Sipahis were forbidden to appear on parade with ear-rings, or the coloured marks upon the forehead or face significant of sectarial distinctions; and they were commanded to shave their beards and trim their mustachios according to a standard model. The issue of these orders was suspended in a few instances by the prudence of commanding officers of corps; but they were generally known by the men, and almost universally interpreted to imply a design on the part of the Government to compel the native troops to assume the practices, and

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<sup>1</sup> The Reverend Dr. Buchanan thus writes to the Government of Bengal: 'I understand that the massacre of Vellore has been unaccountably adduced as some sanction to the principle opposing the progress of the Christian religion in Bengal. I had opportunities of judging of the causes of that event, which were peculiar. I was in the vicinity of the place at the time. I travelled for two months immediately afterwards in the province adjacent with the sanction of the Government, and I heard the evidence of Christians, Mohammedans, and Hindus, on the subject. That the insurrection at Vellore had no connexion with the Christian religion, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, is a truth which is capable of demonstration.'—Letter from the Reverend C. Buchanan to the Governor-General, 7th Nov., 1807; Parliamentary Papers relating to Missionaries, &c., 14th April, 1813. Dr. Buchanan undoubtedly believed in what he asserted so roundly, but he was strangely misinformed. The most zealous and able defenders of the cause, Lord Teignmouth in his Considerations on the Duty of diffusing Christianity in India, and Mr. Wilberforce in his speeches in 1813, afterwards published by himself, do not go to the same length: they only deny that the Vellore mutiny was connected with any unusual extension or activity of missionary proceedings.

BOOK I. eventually the religion, of Europeans.<sup>1</sup> Other innova-  
 CHAP. II. tions in their dress and accoutrements, such as a particular  
 1806. undress jacket, black leather stocks, and a turnscrew, which  
 some susceptible minds identified with a cross,<sup>2</sup> had previously occasioned wide-spread dissatisfaction; and the last drop of the cup was poured forth when a new pattern for a turban was devised, which in the apprehension of the Sipahis resembled a hat.<sup>3</sup> This confirmed their fears, and insubordination was the result.

The first overt exhibition of the spirit thus generated, took place in the second battalion of the 4th regiment of Madras infantry, quartered in Vellore, early in May. The grenadier company refused to make up the turban, stating their repugnance to it honestly, and at first respectfully and with calmness. Their representations were received by the commanding officer of the regiment with extreme intemperance, and his violence<sup>4</sup> provoked some disorderly

<sup>1</sup> It was commonly said by the Sipahis, "We shall next be compelled to eat and drink with the outcast and infidel English, to give them our daughters in marriage, to become one people, and follow one faith."

<sup>2</sup> It appears that Sir J. Cradock was not responsible for the two former; they were certainly, however, in use.—Lord W. Bentinck's memorial, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> It is not easy for persons unacquainted with the East to understand why so harmless a head-dress as a hat should have excited such horror; but, in the estimation of the natives, the hat is identified with the wearer, and, of itself, denotes a European and a Christian. The term *Topi-wala*, or hat-man, is a term that is commonly used for both. To substitute a hat for the equally national characteristic head-dress, the turban, was therefore considered to be a change of deeply significant import.

<sup>4</sup> According to the official report, the captain of the grenadier company of the second battalion of the 4th regiment informed the lieutenant-colonel commanding the corps, that several of his men had waited upon him and expressed strong objections to the new head-dress on the part of the whole company. The colonel called the men before him and questioned them regarding their repugnance; when they stated firmly, though respectfully, that they were well aware of the consequences of disobedience, but that they could not consent to wear the new turban, as it would disgrace them for ever in the eyes of their countrymen. Some of the superior officers expressed themselves prepared to waive their objections; but, as the non-commissioned officers and privates persisted in their refusal, the former were immediately reduced to the ranks, and the latter placed in arrest. In the evening, when the battalion was mustered for parade, the men attended without their side-arms and refused to put them on: on which, the colonel deprived even the superior officers of their swords, and dismissed the battalion; some of the men of which, as they dispersed, called aloud, "Dhurtt! dhurtt!" meaning "Away! away!" but with a somewhat uncivil import. Upon the occurrence being reported to Colonel Fancourt, the commandant of the garrison, he went to the barracks and expostulated with the men; but they unanimously refused to wear the turban, affirming that it was really a hat. Colonel Fancourt took no further steps in the business, beyond ordering their swords to be restored to the native commissioned officers. Some further excitement was manifested on the following day, but, as observed by the Court of Directors in their letter to Fort St. George, above cited, it was so obviously provoked by the injudicious conduct of the commanding officer that they would not have been surprised if a mutiny had immediately followed, attended with all the fatal consequences arising from the offended prejudice occasioned by so capricious and wanton an exertion of authority.—Parliamentary Papers.



and unmilitary conduct; in consequence of which nineteen grenadiers were arrested, and sent to Madras for trial, by order of the Commander-in-chief, who announced his resolution to have the turbans made up and worn, and insisted on prompt and unhesitating obedience. Of the prisoners sent to the Presidency, two were sentenced by a native court-martial to receive nine hundred lashes each, and seventeen to receive five hundred lashes each. The sentence was carried into execution in the two first instances;<sup>1</sup> in the others it was remitted, in consequence of the professed contrition of the culprits. The award showed that there was no hope of redress from temperate representation; especially as the Governor in Council took up the subject in the same unquestioning spirit as the Commander-in-chief, and published his determination to enforce the order, and to employ all possible means of suppressing any act of insubordination. This was the radical error of the whole proceeding: it proved to the native troops that they could expect no countenance from their European officers, no consideration for their feelings from the Commander-in-chief or the Government, and corroborated the suspicion that the latter was inflexibly bent upon the abolition of the distinctions of tribe and caste, and the compulsory introduction of an outward conformity at least to the practices of Christians.

In vindication of the course pursued by the Government, it was maintained that there were no reasonable grounds of objection to the turban; that it had been made up without hesitation in some corps; and that two respectable natives, a Mohammedan Syed and a Hindu Brahman, had given evidence that there was nothing in its construction that was incompatible with their religious faith. This was no more than true; but although particular influences might in some cases have overcome the objection felt by the troops, and, as is not at all unusual among the natives of India, a few individuals of acknowledged respectability might have been more free from prejudice than their inferiors, yet it was undeniable that a very strong and widely propagated repugnance to the turban did exist in

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<sup>1</sup> Lord W. Bentinck says, the two ringleaders only received punishment.—Memorial, p. 3. See also Madras General Orders by the Commander-in-chief, 2nd July, 1806.



BOOK I. the army, and it would have been more just and generous  
 CHAP. II. in the Government, as well as more politic, to have  
 ——— refrained from rating the shape of a cap at a higher value  
 1806. than the affections of the soldiery.

With regard to the order abolishing marks of caste on parade, and enjoining a particular cut of the beard and mustachios, it was urged in defence of the Commander-in-chief, that although not a part of the express military code, yet it had been introduced very generally in practice before the code was drawn up, and that similar prohibitions and injunctions had long been in force in several regiments. This also was no doubt true, but it evinced great ignorance of the native character, to infer that a positive and universally applicable order to that effect might therefore be promulgated with impunity. The commanding officer of a Sipahi battalion who has acquired the confidence of his men can do much, even in opposition to their inclinations, without exciting that dissatisfaction which may be engendered by a formal order of the Commander-in-chief; and it can scarcely be considered peculiar to the natives of India, although in an especial degree to be predicated of them, that prejudices, which soften and dissolve before gentle and judicious influence, commonly harden into intractable rigidity when abruptly and harshly denounced. The practice of particular regiments, therefore, afforded no safe principle for universal legislation; and the inference displayed little acquaintance with the character or sentiments of the native army.<sup>1</sup>

That the prejudices thus shocked, and the feelings thus exasperated, should have produced their fatal effects at Vellore, was no doubt attributable to an additional stimulus applied by the presence of the family of Tippoo Sultan. The followers and attendants of the princes, naturally ill-disposed towards the British Government, availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the prevailing discontent, and contributed by all means in their power to confirm the impression which the Sipahis entertained of the ulterior objects of the innovations commanded; taunting them with the badges of Christianity which had

<sup>1</sup> So much of the order as related to sectarial marks and ear-rings was, in truth, not Sir J. Cradock's. It was circulated by his predecessor, Major-General Sir J. Campbell, 11th January, 1805, shortly before Sir J. Cradock's arrival.

been imposed upon them in the turnscrew and the turban, and calling upon them to die rather than apostatise from their faith. It was established by the evidence before the court and commission of inquiry, that some of the confidential servants of one of the princes, Moiz-ad-din, had been present at the secret meetings which had preceded the mutiny, and had brought or pretended to bring, messages from the palace encouraging the mutineers; promising also, that, if the native troops would master the Europeans and hold the fort for eight days, they would be joined by other regiments, and by many of the principal Poligars, with whose aid the Mohammedan kingdom of Mysore would be re-established. The influence exercised by these instigations was the more immediate, from the circumstance that the first regiment of native infantry, which consisted principally of Musselmans, had been raised chiefly in Mysore, and many of the officers and men had served in the armies of Hyder and Tippoo. Former associations, therefore, as well as community of country and of creed, rendered them in a peculiar degree accessible to the persuasions of designing men, and hurried them into the perpetration of atrocities which the injury offered to their prejudices might not of itself have impelled them to commit. The source of the evil was still, however, the spirit which had been raised by the severity and inconsiderateness of the English authorities. Mischievous hands may have applied a torch, but no explosion would have ensued had not the material of conflagration been previously accumulated.

That the mutiny of Vellore was of a purely political character, and arose out of a conspiracy to replace a Mohammedan dynasty on the throne of Mysore,—an opinion that was strenuously advocated by those who wished to shut their eyes against the evidence of its religious connexion,—was wholly incapable of demonstration. Even with regard to the sons of Tippoo themselves, no proof could be elicited that they had been concerned in the conspiracy. There was no evidence that the communications made to the conspirators in their name had proceeded from them, and it was clearly established that prior to the mutiny they had never held personal intercourse with any of the insurgents. Although it appeared that during the

BOOK I. tumult some of the Sipahis received refreshments at the  
 CHAP. II. houses of two of the princes, Mohi-ad-din and Moiz-ad-din,  
 1806. and that the Mysore flag was brought from the residence  
 of the latter, yet it was also in evidence that they had  
 shrunk from the clamorous invitations of the crowd to  
 come forth and place themselves at their head, and that  
 they had carefully abstained from every word and deed  
 which might implicate them in the riot. No suspi-  
 cion whatever attached to the elder members of the  
 family; the younger were of too tender an age to be cogni-  
 zant of such a project; and the utmost criminality that  
 could be charged against some of the intermediate mem-  
 bers of the fraternity was the possibility of their being  
 aware of the agitation of a plot against the European part  
 of the garrison, and their omission to give notice of it to  
 the only European officer with whom they were allowed to  
 communicate, Colonel Marriott. Attachment to the Com-  
 pany was not to be expected from them, but there was  
 little to apprehend from their animosity. Their own  
 characters and habits were a sufficient security for their  
 harmlessness. They were bitter enemies to each other,<sup>1</sup>  
 and were uniformly destitute of activity, enterprise, and  
 courage. They had neither the spirit to conceive, nor the  
 daring to execute, a project that demanded both; and,  
 whatever may have been their own wishes or the partici-  
 pation of their adherents, there is ample reason to con-  
 clude that the sons of Tippoo were not personally the  
 originators or instigators of the mutiny. As, however,  
 their presence was calculated to keep alive the hopes of  
 their adherents, and furnish a rallying point to the dis-  
 affected, they were removed from the Madras Presidency  
 to that of Bengal, and placed under easy surveillance in  
 the vicinity of Calcutta.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was believed in the palace, that, on one occasion, Moiz-ad-din had attempted to poison the eldest of his brothers.

<sup>2</sup> They were removed from Vellore, on the 28th of August, 1806, amidst an immense concourse of spectators, who manifested no sympathy in their fate, nor was it apparently any object of anxiety to themselves. They arrived at the Sand-heads on the 12th September, where the second, Abd-ul-Khalik, died: the rest were placed in suitable residences near Calcutta, under official surveillance, but no personal restraint. Moiz-ad-din, against whom circumstances were most unfavourable, was kept for some time in confinement, but was eventually liberated. Some of the brothers, and a multitude of descendants, still survive. One of the brothers, Jami-ad-din Hyder, who at the time of the Vellore mutiny was about ten years of age, spent some years in England, and died here in 1842.

Still more untenable were the opinions of those who beheld in the transaction the evidence of a general plot among the Mohâmmedans of the Dekhin to restore the sovereignty of Islam and expel the unbelievers; yet the Government of Madras was at first inclined to adopt this view, and declared its impression that a widely diffused confederacy had been formed to subvert the British power and raise that of the Mohammedans upon its downfall. The calm and sound judgment of Sir George Barlow saw the business in its true colours, and questioned the reality of any extensive or secret combination of the natives, and Lord William Bentinck retracted his opinion. It was nevertheless persisted in by Sir John Cradock and several officers of the Madras Army, although no conclusive proofs were ever adduced, and probabilities were decidedly against them.<sup>1</sup> Of whom was such a confederacy to be composed? The Mohammedan princes of the Dekhin were not likely to feel any great sympathy for the descendants of a military adventurer whom, while living, they had despised, even while they feared him. The principal of them, the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Nizam, could not have entered into such an association without its coming to the knowledge of the English authorities; and no grounds, even for suspicion against them, were ever detected. It was still less probable that the Hindu Rajas and Poligars would engage in a scheme, the success of which must have brought back the days of Moslem bigotry, intolerance and persecution. In short, all the evidence examined tended to show, beyond the possibility of cavil, that there had been no intercourse whatever between the family of Tippoo and

<sup>1</sup> Much stress was laid upon information received from a native Subahdar of cavalry, who had been long in the service of the Company, and professed devoted allegiance to the Government; but all that was fairly deducible from his communications was, that the disaffection of the troops was more extensive than had been imagined. All the causes of this disaffection he declared it was difficult to state, but he expressed his belief that it arose principally from the intrigues of Tippoo's family and their adherents: he stated that a number of persons formerly in the Sultan's service, or their relations, were now serving in the native regiments, and that agents and friends of the family were employed all over the country in instigating discontent. That the Company's regiments had enlisted many of Tippoo's soldiers was well known, and that they and the Mohammedans generally were dissatisfied with the change of masters was highly probable; but there was no evidence of any agency set on foot by Tippoo's sons, and the discontent of the Hindu part of the army, much the most numerous, could scarcely be ascribable to intrigues in favour of a Mohammedan dynasty. The Subahdar's information was merely individual belief, unsupported by evidence of facts.—MS. Records; Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, 103.



BOOK I. any chief or princes out of the fort ; and, although some  
CHAP. II. of the mutineers talked vaguely of the support that was  
1806. expected from one or two insignificant Poligars, yet  
neither messenger nor letter had ever been interchanged,  
and no warrant had been given by them for such a  
misuse of their names. A conspiracy of the Moham-  
medan princes was a mere shadow, created by an alarm-  
ist imagination, or by a wish to shift the responsibility  
from the real cause, the military orders, to one wholly  
visionary.

But positive proof that the mutiny originated in no po-  
litical combination was afforded by occurrences in other  
quarters. The feelings that instigated the mutiny at Vel-  
lore were likewise entertained by the subsidiary force at  
Hyderabad, and consequences equally serious were appre-  
hended. There, however, the Resident, Captain Sydenham,  
and Colonel Montresor, the commandant, had timely notice  
of the agitation that prevailed amongst the troops, and  
justly appreciated the cause. They took upon themselves  
the responsibility of disobeying the general orders of the  
Commander-in-chief, and published a cantonment order in  
which the Sipahis were told that they were wholly mis-  
taken in supposing that any measures enjoined by the  
supreme authority could be intended in the smallest  
degree to infringe upon what the Government held so  
sacred as their religion ; but that, as they had so miscon-  
ceived the object of the order, the commanding officer of  
the subsidiary force had no doubt that the Commander-  
in-chief would countermand the obnoxious regulation, and  
in the meantime he directed the making up of the new  
turbans to be suspended. The effect of this judicious  
procedure was immediate, and calm and confidence at  
once revived among the troops. In the investigation  
which succeeded, it was found that some of the disaffected  
nobles of the court of Hyderabad had taken advantage of  
the existing discontent to foment the irritation, and that  
one or two of the native officers had so far listened to  
their own fears and the counsels of pernicious advisers as  
to declare that they were ready to put the Europeans to  
death rather than become Christians. No other com-  
munion with Vellore could be traced than that of similar

desperation, originating simultaneously from similar apprehensions.<sup>1</sup>

At Wallajabad, again, a like disposition was discovered, arising from a like cause. The order for the new turban was issued early in June, and was received with expressions of dissatisfaction. These were silenced for a while by the trial and dismissal of one of the ring-leaders; but, at the end of July, reports of a design of the men to murder their European officers excited the alarm of the latter.<sup>2</sup> The 1st battalion of the 23rd regiment of native infantry was marched out of the cantonments until the arrival of a party of dragoons from Arcot, when the corps was disarmed and all the native officers were put under arrest. The men submitted quietly to all that was required of them, and the investigation that took place showed that there had been great exaggeration in the tales which had inspired the panic; and although some of the native officers and a few men of bad character had been active in aggravating the irritation caused by the general order, yet the majority of the men were innocent of any intention to commit violence. The dismissal of the incendiaries, and the revocation of the offensive orders, restored tranquillity, and no further indications of disaffection were displayed.

It was not to be expected that a ferment so violent, and a catastrophe so dreadful, should at once have passed over and been forgotten; and, accordingly, some months elapsed before confidence and security were restored. The Sipahis were slow to credit the sincerity of the Government, and, still suspecting its having entertained sinister designs, attributed their frustration to the mutiny at Vellore; they therefore looked upon those who had fallen in the recapture of the fortress as martyrs for their faith, and in some places secretly solemnised their funeral

<sup>1</sup> Rumours the most extraordinary and incredible spread amongst the troops at this station; it was reported that the Europeans had a design to massacre the natives, that a hundred bodies without heads were lying on the banks of the Musa river, and that the Europeans had built a church which the heads of these decapitated trunks had been required to sanctify. There were other stories in circulation equally monstrous.

<sup>2</sup> Their discontent had been first manifested about the 24th July, in consequence of long drills and generally harsh or inconsiderate treatment. On one occasion, after a drill from sunrise till seven, they were kept in the barracks till twelve cleaning their arms and accoutrements. On being dismissed, some angry and menacing exclamations were uttered.

BOOK I. obsequies. This was the case at Nandidrúg, where part of  
 CHAP. II. the 18th N. I., a regiment raised in Mysore, was stationed;  
 1806. and, consequent upon the excitement thus occasioned, some wild and mischievous excesses were in contemplation: timely precautions prevented their commission, and, upon the discharge of some of those most deeply implicated, the rest expressed their contrition, and the agitation subsided. In truth, much of the excitement that prevailed during the latter months of 1806 was the work of the officers themselves: passing from one extreme to the other, they exchanged the supineness of security for the restlessness of suspicion, credulously listened to every whisper of insurrection, trembled at every idle tale of intended tumult and massacre, and kept both themselves and their men in a constant fever of aimless apprehension. The tranquillising operation of time, the repeated injunctions of both the local Government and that of Bengal to the officers to abstain from all manifestations of distrust, and the strongest assurances published to the troops that the British Government would ever respect their religious creeds, gradually allayed anxiety and re-established trust.<sup>1</sup>

Upon considering, therefore, the utter improbability of any combined co-operation of the Mohammedan princes of the Dekhin with the sons of Tippoo, the absence of all proof of its existence, the extension of the discontent to places where no political influence in their favour could have been exerted, the prevalence of disaffection among the Hindus as well as the Mohammedans, and, finally admitting the entire adequacy of the cause to the effect, there can be no reason to seek for any other origin of the mutiny than dread of religious change inspired by the military orders. Here, however, in fairness to the question of the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity, the nature of the panic which spread amongst the Sipahis requires to be candidly appreciated. It is a great error to suppose that the people of India are so sensitive upon the subject of their religion, either Hindu or Mohammedan, as to suffer no approach of controversy, or to

<sup>1</sup> "The panic wore away, the Sepoys forgot their fears of an attack upon their religion, and the officers no longer slept with pistols under their pillows."—Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, p. 40. For the Government proclamation, see Appendix.

encounter adverse opinions with no other arguments than insurrection and murder. On the contrary, great latitude of belief and practice has always prevailed amongst them, and especially among the troops, in whose ranks will be found seceders of various denominations from the orthodox systems. It was not, therefore, the dissemination of Christian doctrines that excited the angry apprehensions of the Sipahis on the melancholy occasion which has called for these observations, nor does it appear that any unusual activity in the propagation of those doctrines was exercised by Christian missionaries at the period of its occurrence. It was not conversion which the troops dreaded, it was compulsion; it was not the reasoning or the persuasion of the missionary which they feared, but the arbitrary interposition of authority. They believed, of course erroneously, that the Government was about to compel them to become Christians, and they resisted compulsory conversion by violence and bloodshed.<sup>1</sup> The lesson is one of great seriousness, and should never be lost sight of as long as the relative position of the British Government and its Indian subjects remains unaltered. It is not enough that the authority of the ruling power should never interpose in matters of religious belief; it should carefully avoid furnishing grounds of suspicion that it intends to interfere.

A subject of minor importance, but one that was agitated with no less vehemence, divided the chief civil and military functionaries at Madras; each endeavouring to get rid of the responsibility of having issued the obnoxious orders. Sir John Cradock urged in his defence

BOOK I.

CHAP. II.

1806.

<sup>1</sup> The opinion that the Government had some such project in view was not confined to the Sipahis. Mir Alem, the veteran minister of the Nizam, and, as has been seen, the staunch friend of the English, expressed his surprise that the British Government should think it just or safe to compel the troops to wear the semblance of Christians; and a like astonishment was manifested by the ministers of Nagpur.—Letters from the Residents; MS. Records. Of the universality of the feeling, there is also published an impartial testimony. Purnia, the Dewan of Mysore, gave it as his opinion that the Hindus were more alarmed and dissatisfied than the Mohammedans.—Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, 45. And Sir Thomas Munro writes: "However strange it may appear to Europeans, I know that the general opinion of the most intelligent natives in this part of the country is, that it was intended to make the Sepoys Christians."—Letter to Lord W. Bentinck, 11th August, 1806. This letter also shows, that, in a part of the Peninsula where the adherents of the family of Hyder were most numerous, there were no reasons for believing that any intrigues had been at work in their favour.—Life of Sir T. Munro, i. 363.



BOOK I. that he had acted by the advice of his official military  
CHAP. II. counsellors, the Adjutant-General and Deputy Quarter-  
Master-General, officers of experience and well acquainted  
1806. with the temper and character of the native troops, who  
had seen nothing unusual or exceptionable in the proposed  
arrangements ; and that, before the orders were embodied  
in the code, they had been submitted to the Governor in  
Council, and had received his sanction. To this Lord  
W. Bentinck replied, that it could not be expected that  
he or the members of Council were to read and comment  
upon every article of a voluminous code of military regula-  
tions compiled under the instructions of the Commander-  
in-chief, and for which he was responsible ; that accord-  
ingly they sanctioned the regulations as a matter of form,  
examining those only which were designated as novel, and  
passing over those to which their attention was not  
directed as innovations upon established practice. In  
this manner they were not aware of the order regarding  
the marks of sect, and the trimming of the mustachios ;  
although they did notice and authorise the alteration of  
the turbans. The Governor of Madras seems to make  
light of the latter, and attaches most importance to the  
former ; but certainly the shape of the turbans was the  
most immediate cause of the dissatisfaction of the soldiers,  
and Lord William Bentinck was as decidedly bent upon  
insisting on its adoption as was Sir John Cradock. Not  
only had he declared his determination to enforce obe-  
dience to the order, on occasion of the dislike expressed to  
it in May by the second battalion of the 4th ; but late in  
June, when the Commander-in-chief began to apprehend  
evil consequences from the measure, and solicited the  
advice and authority of the Governor in Council, in order  
to be relieved from the anxiety and embarrassment under  
which he laboured, in consequence of information he had  
received from several moderate and discreet officers, of the  
almost universal objection which prevailed against the  
new turban ; his willingness to rescind the order was over-  
ruled: the Government repeated their conviction that the  
pattern of the turban did not militate against any religious  
prejudice, and declared that they could not assent to give  
way to clamour arising from unfounded prejudice. It was  
proposed to substitute for the rescission of the order a

proclamation, which, while it announced the determination of the authorities to enforce obedience, disclaimed all purpose of religious interference; but in the mean time information of a different tenor from the preceding having reached Sir J. Cradock, he was led to believe that the dissatisfaction had subsided, and that the proclamation was unnecessary. It would have been, no doubt, of little avail, as it expressed the obstinacy of the authorities in persisting in the offensive innovation; but the inaccuracy of the intelligence which suspended its publication was presently afterwards demonstrated by actual occurrences, and a proclamation of a different purport was put forth. The reference of the Commander-in-chief, and the manner in which it was received, are decisive of the degree of responsibility which attaches to the local Government; and however injudicious may have been the conduct of Sir John Cradock in originating measures pregnant with such serious mischief, and however averse he may have been to acknowledge his error, the course pursued by Lord William Bentinck evinced an equal blindness to the consequences of the act, a still greater degree of inflexibility in its enforcement, and a similar ignorance and disregard of the feelings and prejudices of the native army. The spirit by which both functionaries were animated was the same—military absolutism,—a principle which, however just and necessary in the abstract, requires to be applied to practice with caution and judgment, and not without due consideration for the circumstances which may call for its exercise, the feelings which it may embitter, or the consequences which it may provoke.<sup>1</sup> Herein consisted the error of both Sir J. Cradock and Lord W. Bentinck, that they excluded every other view but that of military

BOOK I.  
CHAP. II.  
1806.

<sup>1</sup> That the same unbending rigour of discipline which may be necessary in the management of European soldiers, is not needed, or is injurious as applied to natives, we have had the testimony of competent judges: one of the latest, and not the least worthy of credit, says: "We are apt to fall into the error of measuring everything according to the standard of European discipline, forgetting the different characters of the native and the Englishman. There is an Asiatic sensitiveness and propriety in the conduct of the Sepoy, which renders the roughness and severity with which we treat English soldiers offensive and unnecessary towards him."—*Relations of the British Government and Native States*, by J. Sutherland, Captain 3rd Bombay Cavalry, p. 10. It seems extraordinary, that, after so many years' experience, the character of the native army should be imperfectly understood; but recent events have shown that it is not even yet accurately appreciated by the Indian Government.

BOOK I. subordination.<sup>1</sup> The Court of Directors considered their  
 CHAP. II. conduct equally unsatisfactory: they were accordingly re-  
 1806. called; and although at a subsequent period, and upon a  
 calmer review of the transaction, they acquitted Lord W.  
 Bentinck and Sir John Cradock of a wanton or needless  
 violation of the religious usages of the natives, yet they  
 retained their opinion that those officers had been defective  
 in not examining with greater caution and care into the  
 real sentiments and dispositions of the Sipahis before they  
 proceeded to enforce the orders for the turban. The deci-  
 sion seems to be fully justified by a dispassionate survey  
 of the transaction. A careful and considerate investiga-  
 tion of the objections to the turban, which were advanced  
 by the Sipahis in May, would in all likelihood have pre-  
 vented the mutiny of July.

It will now be convenient to advert to the proceedings  
 which during this period took place in Great Britain re-  
 lating to the administration of the affairs of the Indian  
 empire.

### CHAPTER III.

*Proceedings in England.—Refusal of the Directors to  
 concur in the appointment of the Earl of Lauderdale as  
 Governor-General.—Sir George Barlow recalled by the  
 King's Sign-manual.—Discussions in Parliament and  
 with the Board of Controul.—Lord Minto appointed  
 Governor-General.—Proceedings in the House of Com-  
 mons.—Impeachment of Lord Wellesley by Mr. Paull.—  
 Papers moved for.—Charges relating to the Nawab of*

<sup>1</sup> On receiving advice of the repugnance of the 4th regiment, Sir J. Cradock wrote to Colonel Fancourt to direct that those men whom the colonel had placed in confinement should be sent to Madras for trial, and that the non-commissioned officers of the 4th who had declined to wear the turban, and the commissioned officers, should immediately make it up and wear it, on pain of dismissal from the service. The officer commanding the 19th dragoons was ordered to march, if required by Colonel Fancourt, to Vellore, to assist in enforcing obedience. The Commander-in-chief would not admit of hesitation to the orders he had given.—Letter from the Commander-in-chief, 7th May; Memorial of Lord W. Bentinck, p. 92. Lord W. Bentinck justly observes of this letter, that military command never was expressed in higher or more imperious language. His own was something like it. "The opposition which has been experienced in the late change of turbans is destitute of any foundation in the law or usage of the Mohammedan or Hindu religion, and any persons who may persevere in that opposition cannot, in consequence, fail to be subjected to the severest penalties of military discipline."—G. O. by Government, 4th July; Memorial, p. 94.

*Oude.—Nawab of Furruckabad.—Zemindar of Sasnee and others.—Proceedings interrupted by Dissolution of Parliament.—Renewed by Lord Folkestone.—Impeachment abandoned.—Condemnatory Resolutions negatived.—Merits of the Oude Question.—Motion for an Inquiry into the Assumption of the Carnatic negatived.—Censure of Lord Wellesley's Policy by the Court of Proprietors.—Appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons.—Diminished Import Trade of the Company.*

BOOK I.

CHAP. III.

1806.

THE embarrassed state of the finances of the East India Company, attributed to the ambition and extravagance of Marquis Wellesley, and the countenance which he had shown to the extension of the private trade, and consequent encroachment on the Company's commercial privileges, had excited a strong feeling of hostility to that nobleman's administration in the Court of Directors, which awakened a corresponding sentiment in the majority of the proprietary body. Weakened in political influence by the secession of many of his adherents, disheartened by the gloomy aspect of affairs in Europe, and broken in physical strength, Mr. Pitt was not inclined to support the measures of Lord Wellesley in opposition to the views which were entertained at the India House; and although he resisted, through the Board of Controul, the expression of the Court's disapprobation, yet he had consented to give it full effect by the appointment of Lord Cornwallis, a nobleman of different character and principles. The death of that nobleman threatened to frustrate the purposes of his nomination; but the zeal with which his intentions were carried out by Sir G. Barlow, upon his assuming the government, forcibly recommended to the Court his continuance as Governor-General. They were at first allowed to hope that their wish would be complied with: but they were speedily disappointed, under circumstances which, as involving questions of some importance, merit to be detailed.

Information of the death of Marquis Cornwallis arrived in England at the end of January, 1806, upon the eve of the total change of ministers which followed the demise of Mr. Pitt. A proposal to pay a public tribute of respect to the memory of Lord Cornwallis was one of the last



BOOK I. measures of the retiring administration : it was readily  
 CHAP. III. acceded to by their opponents, and it was resolved that  
 1806. his statue should be erected in St. Paul's cathedral.<sup>1</sup> The  
 East India Company voted a grant to his heir of 40,000*l*.  
 The appointment of a successor devolved on the new  
 ministers, amongst whom Lord Minto was charged with  
 the superintendence of Indian affairs as President of the  
 Board of Controul ; and by him a communication was  
 made on the 14th of February to the Court of Directors,  
 conveying his impression of the importance, in the actual  
 state of affairs in India, of investing Sir G. Barlow with-  
 out delay with the fullest powers, and recommending that  
 he should be at once formally appointed Governor-General  
 of India. The recommendation was immediately com-  
 plied with, and the commission was made out and signed  
 on the 25th of February. It was therefore with no small  
 degree of astonishment that only ten days afterwards, on  
 the 7th of March, the Court was apprised that ministers  
 had determined to supersede Sir G. Barlow in favour of  
 the Earl of Lauderdale. It was in vain that the Directors  
 remonstrated against so abrupt a change of determination,  
 and urged the advantages of adhering to the original ar-  
 rangement ; until, finding that their remonstrances and  
 arguments were ineffectual, they positively refused to can-  
 cel the appointment. The ministry retaliated by a warrant  
 under the King's sign-manual recalling Sir G. Barlow ; and  
 the Court was finally compelled to agree to a compromise,  
 by which the Earl of Lauderdale ostensibly declined the  
 acceptance of the office, and Lord Minto was nominated  
 Governor-General.

The difference which had thus arisen between the Di-  
 rectors and the Ministers afforded to the parliamentary  
 adversaries of the latter a reasonable pretext for animad-  
 versions upon their conduct ; and, in the House of Lords,  
 Viscount Melville moved for copies of the correspondence  
 which had taken place between the Court of Directors  
 and the Board of Controul.<sup>2</sup> The course pursued by the  
 Administration was vindicated by Lord Grenville, and the  
 motion was negatived without a division.

In the correspondence with the Board, as well as in the

<sup>1</sup> Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd February, 1806.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Debates, 8th July, 1806.

debate in the House of Lords, it was manifest that there were two main points of difference between the contending parties; one of a private, one of a public nature. No exceptions to the Earl of Lauderdale were openly advanced by the Court; but, besides the preference of the individual in the instance of Sir G. Barlow, there is no doubt that the Earl of Lauderdale's known opinions in favour of free trade and popular government rendered him unacceptable to many of the members of the Direction.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, although Ministers were profuse in their professions of the high sense which they entertained of the merits of Sir G. Barlow, yet his line of policy was not in accordance with the views of the leading members of the Cabinet; Lord Grenville declaring that the grounds on which he was ready to admit those merits being Sir G. Barlow's zealous concurrence and effective co-operation in the measures and in the system of Marquis Wellesley, whose government was, in his opinion, the most splendid and glorious that India had ever known. The adoption of a totally opposite system by Sir G. Barlow must consequently have been utterly incompatible with his appointment to the office of Governor-General, in Lord Grenville's estimation. At the same time, the Directors complained with good reason of the inconsistency of the Cabinet in precipitately revoking an appointment which they had recommended, chiefly upon the grounds that it was necessary to arm Sir G. Barlow without delay with full authority to adjust and settle the various important matters which had been left undetermined or doubtful by the death of his predecessor. Intimation of his appointment would be so immediately followed by that of his supersession, that it was impossible he could have derived any additional power or consideration from an elevation so fleeting and delusive, or that in the interval he could have adjusted and settled any doubtful measures of public importance. Lord Minto maintained that he had distinctly apprised the Court that the arrangement was to be regarded as merely

BOOK I.

CHAP. III.

1806.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Lauderdale was a zealous supporter of Mr. Fox's India Bill, and an opposer of the Company's privileges. In politics his opinion were extreme, and led him to advocate the principles of the French Revolution. He made himself conspicuous in the House of Lords by affecting a costume supposed to characterise Jacobinism.—Obituary notice, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1839.

BOOK I. temporary, until there should be more leisure to give it  
 CHAP. III. that deliberation which its importance demanded. His  
 1806. letter, however, expressly stated that there was no intention of making any immediate change ; and the Court, naturally inferring that a much longer period than that of ten days was contemplated, resented the suddenness of the alteration as indecorous towards themselves, and unfair and unjust towards Sir G. Barlow. Intended disrespect to the Court was of course disclaimed ; and, in recognition of the admitted value of Sir G. Barlow's services, a hope was expressed that he would continue to be a member of the Supreme Council. The change of appointment was persisted in. It was evident that the first announcement of the purposes of the Ministry was premature, and that either Lord Minto had acted without consulting his colleagues, or that, in the novel position of the party to which he was attached, they had not been fully aware of the value of the patronage, or of the necessity of securing, by means of it, parliamentary support.<sup>1</sup>

A question of greater magnitude than the relative fitness of individuals was involved in the dispute ; and the result awoke the Directors to the first distinct perception of the virtual power of the Crown to dispose at pleasure of the highest offices in India. It had been hitherto argued, that the clause in the act of 1784<sup>2</sup>—Mr. Pitt's bill—which gave to the Crown authority to recall any of the Company's servants, civil or military, and to compel them to vacate whatever situations they might hold, was intended only to prevent any improper abuse of the patronage of the Court, by enforcing the return of persons whom the partiality of friends in the Direction, or the vehemence of partisans in the Court of Proprietors, might uphold in office, in spite of notorious incompetency or misconduct. In such an extreme case, the Crown was empowered by the act to interpose, but in no other ; for the same act had vested the appointment of their servants in India exclusively in the Directors ; and, although they had been in the habit of communicating with his Majesty's Ministers, in order

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fox admitted that the appointment of Sir G. Barlow was made before the Administration was fully formed.—Parl. Deb. 10th March, 1806.

<sup>2</sup> 24 Geo. III. cap. 25, sec. 22.

to preserve that good understanding which was essential to the conduct of public affairs, yet they denied that they had thereby relinquished a chartered right. "If," they enquired, "the removal of a high public functionary in India were to be combined with the appointment of a particular successor nominated by the King's Ministers, and the choice of the Court were confined to that person alone, then would not the absolute appointment to the important situations of Governor-General, or Governor of the subordinate Presidencies, devolve in fact upon the Crown?" The same arguments were repeated by Lord Melville. He affirmed, that it was alike the intention of the Legislature, and the sense of the public, in the act of 1784, that the Court of Directors should continue to enjoy, without interference, the patronage of India; and that the clause which gave to the Crown the power of recall could not be fairly construed as a transfer of the patronage, by enabling the Crown to negative appointments made by the Court: and he appealed to the recollection of Lord Grenville to bear him out in his understanding of the spirit of the act, in conformity to which alone its provisions should be interpreted. In his reply to the Court, Lord Minto confined himself to the question of right; admitting that of the Court to appoint, asserting that of the Crown to recall. Lord Grenville's answer to Lord Melville was, that laws were to be understood as they were expressed, and not according to the fancies or feelings of individuals; that the same objections which were now started had been made when the clause was enacted; and that it could not be contended, that, because the Crown had the power of negating an appointment, it followed that the whole of the appointments in India fell under the controul of his Majesty's Ministers. He granted, that, if it could be shown that the power had been exercised in the present instance merely for the purpose of procuring the appointment of a person whom Ministers wished to serve, it would be a violation of the law; but, although he denied that the measure originated in favour to Lord Lauderdale, he refused to assign any motives for the removal of Sir G. Barlow. He also denied that his removal was founded upon any systematic exclusion of the Company's servants from places of the highest authority in

BOOK I.

CHAP. III.

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1806.



BOOK I. India; and observed, that such an insinuation came with  
 CHAP. III. a peculiarly ill grace from the members of the late Admin-  
 1806. ——— nistration, who had exercised their patronage upon the  
 same principle, and had sent out Marquis Wellesley, Mar-  
 quis Cornwallis, and other noblemen to India. Lord  
 Minto replied in a similar strain to a like representation  
 from the Court of the injustice done to their civil servants  
 by their exclusion from the chief dignities in India; and  
 observed, that no disadvantage had resulted from the  
 nomination to the first stations in that country of persons  
 who possessed rank and influence in Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> He  
 further remarked, that it was indispensable that the Go-  
 vernment at home should have at the head of affairs in  
 India an individual in whom they could implicitly confide,  
 and of whose views they could feel assured: a principle  
 which, the Court justly observed, might make the Go-  
 vernor-General the mere creature of a party, taking and  
 leaving office with every change of Ministry, and regulat-  
 ing his proceedings in India, less by a disinterested regard  
 for the prosperity of that country, than by anxiety for the  
 retention of power and place by his colleagues in England;  
 and they maintained, with unanswerable justice, that the  
 Governor-General of India ought to be unfettered by

<sup>1</sup> The absolute exclusion of the Company's servants from the highest offices in India was never advocated; it was only asserted, that, with regard to the appointment of Governor-General, advantage had resulted from the preference of exalted station in Great Britain,—a proposition to which few of the Company's servants would hesitate to accede. With respect not only to the office of Governor-General, but to those of subordinate Governors, one of the most distinguished and respected of the Civil servants of the Company, the late Mr. Edmonstone, has left on record sentiments to which all who seek the real good of India will be inclined to subscribe. While admitting that there may be, and have been, splendid exceptions, Mr. Edmonstone observes, "My opinion has always been generally adverse to selecting the Governors from among those who have belonged to the service, because I think, that, with very few exceptions, an individual who has passed through the several gradations of the public service, and has consequently been known in the lowest as well as the highest grades, cannot assume that tone of superiority, nor exercise that degree of influence and controul, and attract that degree of deference and respect, which, in my judgment, contribute importantly to the efficient administration of the office of Governor, as regards both the European and native population. A person of eminence and distinction proceeding from England to fill that office, if duly qualified by character and talent, carries with him a greater degree of influence, and inspires more respect, than an individual who has been known in a subordinate capacity in India can usually command."—Evidence, Commons' Committee, 1832; Public Question, 1701. There are other obvious advantages from the appointment of a person of rank and connexion to the office of Governor-General in particular, that more than compensate for any want of stimulus to exertion which the possibility of attaining so elevated a station might be thought to afford to the servants of the Company.

party and Ministerial obligations. The qualification of BOOK 1.  
partisanship for the office of Governor-General of India, CHAP. III.  
although first avowed by the Whigs, is too congenial to  
the selfishness of that party spirit which governs the national  
councils of Great Britain to want advocates amongst  
their opponents also ; but it may be stated, in justice to  
those who succeeded to the short-lived Administration of  
1806, that the principle did not regulate their practice.  
Lord Minto, although selected from the ranks of their  
adversaries, was allowed to remain undisturbed in the  
discharge of his Indian duties until he was superceded by  
the Court of Directors.

1806.

The discussion that thus arose was not without ulterior consequences. Whatever were the ostensible motives of the disputants, however veiled by sophistical reasoning or unmeaning professions, there is no doubt that patronage was the prey contended for, and that which the original clause of the act of 1784 was intended unavowedly to appropriate. The true import of that clause was now brought to the test, and its meaning was proved to be the nomination of the Governor-General by his Majesty's Ministers. It had been proposed to effect this object in a conciliatory manner, by leaving the appointment with the Court of Directors, subject only to its contingent annulment by the Board through the power of recall : but, as on this occasion the Court manifested a disposition to assert a voice potential in the designation of a successor to the Marquis Cornwallis, the intimation was not disregarded ; and, on the first subsequent opportunity for the renewal of the charter, a clause was inserted<sup>1</sup> more distinctly enunciatory of the power of the Crown, by which the appointments to the offices of Governor-General, Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Commander-in-chief, which were made by the Directors, were declared thenceforth subject to royal approbation. The patronage has been since exercised upon this arrangement ; and, as the Court can appoint no persons save those of whom it has been previously ascertained that the Board approves, the nomination is virtually exercised by the Administration of the day.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 53 Geo. III. cap. 155, sec. 10.

<sup>2</sup> In the examination of Mr. Auler, the Secretary to the Court of Directors, before the Commons' Committee of 1832, the relative share of the Ministers

BOOK I. The attention of the House of Commons was called to  
 CHAP. III. other subjects connected with the Government of India ;  
 1806. and many of its deliberations were devoted, with little  
 advantage either to India or to Great Britain, to a futile  
 attempt to impeach the late Governor-General, Marquis  
 Wellesley.

Mr. James Paull had resided some years in the principality of Oude,<sup>1</sup> and had there carried on a lucrative traffic in the cotton manufactures of the country. His residence had necessarily the sanction of the British authorities ; and, according to his own account, he enjoyed the favour of the Nawab, until the period of a visit which he paid to England.<sup>2</sup> Upon his return, the Nawab strongly objected to his being domiciled in Oude ; but his objections were withdrawn in consequence of the intercession of the Governor-General,<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Paull repaired to Lucknow, "sensibly feeling the obligations he was under to his Excellency, for whom he had only sentiments of gratitude and profound respect."<sup>4</sup> These sentiments were short-lived. Mr. Paull, soon after Lord Wellesley's resignation, returned also to England : his first step was the purchase of a seat in the House of Commons ; his second, the institution of charges against his former patron and benefactor.

In the prosecution of this purpose, Mr. Paull moved, on the 25th June, 1805, for the production of papers intended to illustrate the nature of the connexion established with the Government of Oude under the administration of Sir John Shore, and the changes it had undergone during that of Lord Wellesley ; by which the Nawab, in defiance of justice, had been degraded and disgraced in

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and Directors in the patronage of the highest offices in India was a subject fully discussed. Mr. Auber contended stoutly for the power of the Directors, but was obliged to admit that no Governor-General or Commander-in-Chief had ever been named by the Court of whom the Crown had disapproved, being in fact nominated upon a previous communication with the Board, while several instances of disapprobation of inferior appointments and their consequent annulment had occurred. The Directors in fact may be said to exercise a kind of selection, but it must be from individuals who they are assured will be acceptable to the Ministers.

<sup>1</sup> He is noticed as agent for one of the Nawab's creditors in 1796.

<sup>2</sup> Private letter to Major Malcolm, Lucknow, 9th Feb., 1803 ; printed by Auber, *History of India*, ii. 387.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Persian Secretary to the Nawab Vizir, 17th Sept., 1802.—Papers printed by order of Parliament, 17th July, 1806, No. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Correspondence printed by order of Parliament, 16th June, 1806, No. 20.

the eyes of the world, and in the face of the most solemn treaties had been dispossessed of a territory which had a population of three millions of attached subjects, and yielded an annual revenue of nearly two millions sterling. Papers were also moved for, relating to the appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley as Commissioner for the affairs of Oude; which appointment, he not being a servant of the East India Company, was in defiance of an act of parliament and a violation of the law. No opposition was made to the production of the papers; and subsequently similar documents were granted relating to Lord Wellesley's treatment of the Raja of Bhurtpore, the Nawab of Surat, and the Nawab of Furruckabad. The first charge was submitted to the House on the 23rd of April, 1806.

The tone of the preliminary proceedings sufficiently indicated their eventual result. The individual who had undertaken to establish the criminality of Lord Wellesley was ill qualified for the task, even if he had been provided with more tenable grounds for his accusations. The intemperance of his language was not redeemed by any powers of eloquence, or extenuated by the nature of his facts, and argued more of personal malignity than public spirit:<sup>1</sup> he stood wholly unsupported in the House, even by the members of the Court of Directors who were present, and who in that character had concurred in the unqualified reprobation of many of those measures of the Governor-General which were now brought under Parliamentary investigation.<sup>2</sup> He was opposed by both the political parties in the Commons: by one as participant of Lord Wellesley's measures; by the other on the principle that, although the system might be reprehensible, yet Parliamentary inquiry was neither necessary nor

<sup>1</sup> He accused, in his charge with respect to Oude, Lord Wellesley and Mr. H. Wellesley of committing murder, when speaking of the employment of a military force against the refractory Zemindars in the Ceded districts; and, on a subsequent occasion, he calls upon the House to consider the situation of India, from the accursed day when Marquis Wellesley set foot there, until the day of his departure, during which interval it exhibited a constant scene of rapine, oppression, cruelty, and fraud which goaded the whole country into a state of revolt.—Hansard's Parl. Debates, 23rd May and 6th July, 1806.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thornton observed, that impeachment was a step much stronger than anything which he was prepared to think the conduct of Marquis Wellesley, improper as he esteemed it, could warrant him in adopting; and Mr. Grant, although he certainly judged inquiry to be necessary, did not deem it advisable to proceed to impeachment.—Parl. Debates.



BOOK I. expedient.<sup>1</sup> And he derived no weight from popular  
 CHAP. III. interest, as it was engrossed by considerations of nearer  
 and more vital importance.

1806.

The first charge brought forward, the prodigal expenditure of Lord Wellesley's government,\* took the House by surprise, as it was unconnected with any of the papers previously moved for. Even Mr. Fox felt it incumbent upon him to remark upon so irregular a course. He observed, that "the honourable member had not told the House what were the documents to be laid before it in support of the charge, nor when they were to be produced: he understood, in fact, that the mover had really no documents, although he had proposed a day for discussion; and if, when that day should arrive, he should be unprovided with means to substantiate his charge, he would find himself in a very awkward and unpleasant predicament." So ill concerted were Mr. Paull's proceedings, that, having moved that the charge be taken into consideration that day three weeks, the motion found no seconder. It was not until after some pause that Sir William Geary rose to second the motion; not, as he observed, from any conviction of the culpability of the accused, but because he thought that the dignity of the House required that the opportunity of proving charges of so grave a tenor should not be denied. The obvious necessity, however, of bringing forward written vouchers enforced an alteration. The motion was withdrawn, and, in its place, papers to show the relative expenditure of successive Indian administrations were moved for, and granted.

\* The sentiments of Mr. Fox are worthy of note, from the difference of his language on this occasion and that which he used during the proceedings against Warren Hastings. He said, "He, and others who agreed with him, had no wish to disparage the proceeding, or to throw obstacles in the way; but, because he disapproved of a system of measures, it did not follow that it was to be remedied by impeaching the individual. He and his honourable friend (Mr. Francis) had a good deal of experience on the subject: this was certainly not a proper time for inquiry; he might disapprove of, and strongly oppose systems, but he would not always think it necessary to resort to inquiries. Impeachment was a bad mode of proceeding, except in particular cases; and certainly it was not advisable to adopt it with regard to a Governor-General of India merely on account of his system. He could not be said to desert a person whom he never encouraged; but, since the trial of Mr. Hastings, they might say if they pleased, he shrunk from all India impeachments, or flew from them, or any other worse term might be employed, if worse could be found. To this he would make no answer."—Parl. Debates, 13th April, 1806.

A tangible charge was at length elicited. Reverting to the treatment of the Nawab of Oude, and the appropriation of the Ceded districts, it was affirmed that in these proceedings Marquis Wellesley had violated subsisting treaties, and every principle of equity and right; had been regardless of his duty to the East India Company, his Sovereign, and his country; had contemned the Parliament, the King, and the laws; had dishonoured the British nation and name; and had in these respects been guilty of high offences, crimes, and misdemeanours. A second charge was subsequently brought forward, accusing the Governor-General of having unjustly and violently compelled the Nawab of Furruckabad to give up his territory. Evidence was heard on the Oude charge, which closed on the 4th of July. On the 6th, Lord Temple moved that the charge should be taken into consideration; but the motion was resisted on the plea of precipitancy, and, as further papers were requested, the discussion was postponed. On the following day a third charge was adduced, relative to the treatment of the Zemindar of Sasnee and other Zemindars.

The end of the session put a stop to these proceedings; and, upon the dissolution of Parliament which ensued, Mr. Paull, having canvassed unsuccessfully the borough of Westminster, ceased to be a member of the House of Commons. The attack upon Lord Wellesley, however, was not abandoned: it was resumed by Lord Folkestone, but was urged in a more temperate strain, and for a different object; all purpose of impeachment being disavowed. A series of resolutions was proposed, condemnatory of the demands made upon the Nawab of Oude, in breach of the treaty of 1798, and the consequent sequestration of a considerable part of his dominions; but, after a prolonged discussion, the resolutions were rejected by a considerable majority. It was then moved by Sir John Anstruther, and carried by a majority equally numerous, that the Marquis of Wellesley, in executing the late arrangements in Oude, was actuated by an ardent zeal for the public service, and by the desire of providing more effectually for the prosperity, the defence, and the safety of the British possessions in India.

The character of the measures which were thus sub-

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CHAP. III.  
1807.

BOOK I. jected to Parliamentary investigation has been explained  
 CHAP. III. in a preceding volume.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, unnecessary to  
 do more in this place than to advert briefly to the principal arguments, which, amidst much irrelevant matter, were urged by either party. By those who sought to obtain a vote of censure on the Marquis it was maintained, that the Nawab of Oude was an independent prince, with whom, in that capacity, treaties had been contracted: that a treaty had been recently concluded with him (in 1798), by which his authority over his household, his troops and his subjects, had been recognised; and an amount of subsidy, fully adequate to the expense of the largest force ever raised for the defence of Oude, had been exacted from him: that the Nawab had punctually discharged all demands arising out of this stipulation; and that there was nothing in his domestic circumstances and conduct, or in the aspect of foreign affairs, which called for so violent a measure as that of compelling him to convert a money payment into a territorial concession, and to give up half of his dominions, in order to secure the fulfilment of his pecuniary obligations: that the demand had been submitted to by the Nawab solely through his conscious inability to resist it; and that the injustice thus inflicted upon a native prince, the ally and friend of the Company, was calculated to bring discredit on the British name throughout India: that the acquisition of territory thus obtained was in opposition to the sentiments of the Court of Directors as expressed in a despatch signed by them all, with one only exception; and was a violation of the declared sense of Parliament, which had expressly denounced territorial extension in India as contrary to the honour and wishes of the nation.

In opposition to these assertions, it was affirmed, that the Nawab of Oude was not entitled to be regarded as an independent sovereign; the military defence of his territories having devolved upon the British from their first connexion with Oude, and their interposition in its internal government having been repeatedly exercised. The reigning prince was in fact indebted to that interposition for the rank he held; his predecessor, Vizir Ali, having

<sup>1</sup> Mill, vol. vi. 136.

been deposed, and himself placed on the throne, by the Governor-General. That the treaty of 1798 had reference to the actual position of the Nawab, but did not preclude interference whenever circumstances should urgently call for it. That subsequently circumstances had occurred which demanded strong measures, the Nawab having intimated his apprehensions that the impoverished and declining resources of his principality would not long suffice to pay the stipulated subsidy: that such a failure was to be anticipated from the maladministration of the Nawab, and his inability to maintain subordination and realize his revenues: that, while the means of keeping up an effective subsidiary force were likely to be thus deficient, the necessity of augmenting its strength had been rendered imperative; first, by the absence of adequate provision for internal defence; and secondly, by the imminence of external danger. The troops of the Nawab were a disorderly and disaffected body, a source rather of peril than of safety, whose reduction was highly advantageous to the state. Repeated menaces of invasion had been put forth by Zeman Shah, the ruler of the Afghans; and the presence of Sindhia's disciplined brigades under French officers upon the frontiers of Oude menaced the integrity of the principality, and imperiously enjoined defensive preparations. Under these emergencies, the annexation to the British Indian empire of the districts in the Doab which were most exposed to foreign aggression was indispensably necessary for the security of both the protected and protecting power.

It cannot be denied, that the political interests of the British Government strongly recommended the appropriation of the Ceded provinces. Continued punctuality in the payment of the subsidy was an evident impossibility, from the diminishing resources of the Nawab; and the subsidiary force must have been reduced or disbanded, or kept up at the Company's cost. The condition of the districts in the Doab was also a subject of uneasiness, as, in the event of a collision with the Mahrattas, the movements of the British armies would have been embarrassed by the necessity of holding in check a disorganized and turbulent population. The readiest method of preventing such results was the establishment of the British autho-



BOOK I. rity in the territories in question, the maintenance of  
 CHAP. III. order, and the application of the revenues to the pay-  
 1807. ment of the subsidiary force. That the measure, whilst  
 it strengthened the British Government, would be conducive to the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the country, was to be anticipated ; and upon these grounds the appropriation was susceptible of vindication : but that it consulted the dignity and power of the Nawab, or could be acceptable to his feelings, it was absurd to pretend. He was helpless, and he acquiesced ; but he was not so blind to his own interests as to be deceived by the specious plausibility with which the mutilation of his authority was pressed upon him ; and there can be little doubt that the feeble efforts made in England to procure him redress, had their origin in the fallacious hopes which he had been led to entertain of the reversal of the sentence of spoliation by the justice of the British Parliament.

Notwithstanding the victory gained by the friends of Marquis Wellesley on this occasion, the ordeal which he had to undergo was yet incomplete. The minor charges relating to the Nawab of Furruckabad and the Zemindar of Sasnee were disposed of with the Oude charge, and no further notice was taken of the case of the Nawab of Surat. The charge of prodigal expenditure was also abandoned ; as it had all along been admitted that the personal integrity of the late Governor-General was unimpeachable, and that his profusion was exclusively instigated by considerations of public credit and advantage. There remained, however, a topic which had been formerly brought forward by Mr. Sheridan,—the treatment of the Nawab of Arcot. He had moved for papers relating to the inquiry in December, 1802, but had then allowed the matter to drop. He still declined to renew its agitation, but he declared himself prepared to support any member who should introduce the question. Accordingly, on the 17th May, 1808, after an interval of five years and a half, Sir Thomas Turton moved a series of six resolutions, as grounds for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the assumption of the Carnatic. After an adjourned debate, the resolutions were rejected ; and it was moved and carried, that it was the opinion of the House that the Marquis Wellesley and Lord Powis, in their conduct rela-

tive to the Carnatic, appeared to have been influenced solely by motives of anxious zeal and solicitude for the permanent security, welfare, and prosperity of the British possessions in India.<sup>1</sup> Thus ended the discussions in Parliament respecting Lord Wellesley's administration; having had no other effect than that of excluding him from a share in the administration of affairs at home, when his co-operation would have been of value to Ministers and to the country.

A very different result attended the proceedings of the Court of Proprietors. In May, 1806, a motion was there made for the production of the correspondence that had taken place with the Board of Controul on the subject of the late wars in India; the main object being to confirm the condemnation of many of Lord Wellesley's measures which had been expressed by the Court of Directors in the draft of a letter to Bengal, the despatch of which had been arrested by the Board of Controul. The documents having been printed,<sup>2</sup> a motion was made at a subsequent meeting, that "this Court, having considered the papers laid before it, most highly approve of the zeal manifested and the conduct pursued by the Court of Directors, and regard a firm adherence to the principles maintained by the Court to be indispensably necessary to preserve the salutary authority over the government of India vested by law in the Court of Directors, to restrain a profuse expenditure of the public money, and to prevent all schemes of conquest and extension of dominion,—measures which the Legislature had declared to be repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation; and this Court do assure the Court of Directors of their most cordial and zealous support, with a view to preserve unimpaired the rights and privileges of the East India Company. After a debate of some length, the resolution was submitted to decision by ballot, when a very large majority of the Proprietors expressed their concurrence in the views of the Directors.<sup>3</sup> It will not fall within the

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<sup>1</sup> The numbers, for the motion 98, against it 19; majority 79.

<sup>2</sup> Papers printed for the use of the Proprietors, 7th May, 1806.

<sup>3</sup> The numbers were, in favour of the resolution, 928, against it, 195. A majority of seven hundred and thirty-three Proprietors recorded their condemnation of Lord Wellesley's policy. — Asiatic Annual Register, 1806; Proceedings, India House.

BOOK I. limits of this work to describe the proceedings of the  
 CHAP. III. Company at a date long subsequent ; but it deserves to be  
 1808. noticed, as a remarkable instance of the inconsistency of  
 public bodies, that, thirty years afterwards, the resolution,  
 now so numerous and strenuously supported, was vir-  
 tually negated by the unanimous determination of the  
 same Court of Proprietors to make a pecuniary grant to  
 Lord Wellesley in recompense of his great services to the  
 Company, and to erect his statue in the Court-room ;<sup>1</sup>  
 thus testifying their approbation of the general policy of  
 his administration, and consequently of the principles of  
 subsidiary alliances and territorial aggrandisement.

The only other proceedings of importance at home  
 affecting the Company's interests were partly of a financial  
 character, and partly preliminary to the discussion of a  
 question, the determination of which was now not very re-  
 mote,—the renewal of the charter, which expired in 1813.  
 On the 11th of March, 1808, Mr. Dundas moved the appoint-  
 ment of a select committee to inquire into the present  
 state of affairs of the East India Company. A committee  
 was appointed accordingly ; and to it was referred a peti-  
 tion submitted by the Company, praying that 1,200,000*l.*  
 due to the Company by the Government might be repaid,  
 and a like sum be advanced by way of loan, to enable the  
 Company to provide for the deficiencies of their com-  
 mercial resources, which had been occasioned by con-  
 tinued remittances of goods and bullion to India, and the  
 suspension of investments in return, in consequence of  
 the political circumstances of India, and the pecuniary  
 wants of the Government of that country. On the 13th  
 of June, the report of the committee was presented, ad-  
 mitting a considerable balance to be due to the India  
 Company by his Majesty's Government ; and it was ac-  
 cordingly resolved that a sum not exceeding 1,500,000*l.*  
 should be paid to the Company.

It was at the same time shown, that a principal source  
 of the diminished profits of the Company's commerce arose  
 from the rapidly decreasing value of their imports, owing  
 to the failing demand for one of those articles which they  
 had hitherto, in great part, successfully inclosed against

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Journal ; Proceedings in the India House, 1st November, 1837, and  
 17th March, 1841.

the trespassing of private trade. The improved and improving cotton manufactures of England were beginning to exercise a sensible effect upon the similar products of Indian industry; and the import value of Piece-goods, which had hitherto formed a main item in the commerce of the Company, had fallen during the last ten years to one-sixth of its amount at the commencement of the term—from nearly three millions sterling, to less than half a million.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK I.  
CHAP. IV.

1808.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Lord Minto Governor-General. — Sir G. Barlow, Governor of Fort St. George. — Character and Policy of the Governor-General. — Determination to establish Order in Bundelkhand. — Description of the Hilly district of the province. — Colonel Martindell sent against Ajaygerh. — Affairs of Rajaoli. — Ajaygerh surrendered. — Lakshman Dawa sets off to Calcutta, — leaves it again suddenly. His Family put to Death by his Father-in-law. — Operations against Gopal Sing. — Nature of his Incursions. — His Submission. — Storm of Kalinjar, — repulsed. — Fortress surrendered. — Treaties with the Raja of Rewa. — Settlement of Hariana. — The Sikh Chiefs east of the Setlej taken under Protection. — Treaty with Ranjit Sing. — Embassy to Peshawar. — Revolutions of Afghanistan. — Disastrous Life of Shah Shuja. — Return of the Embassy. — Mission to Sindh. — Revolutions in the Government of that Country. — Failure of Negotiation. — Intercourse between France and Persia. — Ill-concerted Measures of the British Authorities. — Sir Harford Jones sent as Ambassador from England, — Sir John*

<sup>1</sup> Imports, Piece-goods.	1798-9.	1807-8.
From Bengal . . . .	£1,219,828	260,262
Coast . . . . .	1,560,470	136,177
Anjengo . . . . .	193,202	36,381
	<u>£2,993,490</u>	<u>£432,820</u>

Report of Select Committee, No. 1, printed by order of the House of Commons, 12th May, 1810.

The trade in piece-goods was deemed of such importance at the renewal of the charter in 1793, that it was stated by the Committee of Correspondence, that without it the Company could not liquidate their political debts, still less furnish the means of participation to the public to the extent which was proposed.—Resolution 8th, April 1st, 1793.



## BOOK I.

## CHAP. IV.

1808.

*Malcolm from India. — Unsatisfactory Result of the latter Mission. — Return of the Envoy. — A Military Expedition to the Gulph projected by the Bengal Government. — Sir Harford Jones departs from Bombay, — proceeds to Shiraz. — Prosecution of the Mission prohibited. — He perseveres, — reaches Tehran, — concludes a preliminary Treaty. — Disavowed by the Indian Government. — The Treaty confirmed. — Diplomatic Relations with Persia taken under the Management of the British Ministry. — Sir Gore Ouseley Ambassador. — Definitive Treaty concluded, — productive of little Advantage.*

THE nobleman on whom the government of India now devolved had been long engaged in public life, and had been for many years an active member of Parliament. Connected with the Whigs in political principle, and the personal friend of some of their great leaders, Sir Gilbert Elliot had been chosen as one of the managers for the Commons in the trial of Warren Hastings, and to him had been intrusted the conducting of the proposed impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey.<sup>1</sup> The knowledge he had thus acquired of Indian affairs recommended him, upon the accession of his friends to power, to the office of President of the Board of Controul; and, when it was found impossible to overcome the repugnance of the Court of Directors to the appointment of the Earl of Lauderdale, he was readily acknowledged by both parties as eligible for the situation of Governor-General of India. Lord Minto was accordingly appointed. He left England in the *Modeste* frigate, and arrived at Madras on the 20th June, 1807. There, as has been noticed, he stayed a short time to assist in determining the final disposal of the Vellore prisoners, and, resuming his voyage, reached Calcutta on the 3rd July. Lord William Bentinck having at the same time been recalled, Sir George Barlow was nominated Governor of Fort St. George, and repaired thither in December of the same year.

The sentiments which had been expressed at home, both by the Ministry and the Court of Directors, adverse to the system of policy followed by Lord Wellesley, necessarily imposed upon Lord Minto the obligation of adopting

<sup>1</sup> See vol. v. of Mill's History, p. 59.

principles of a less ambitious tenor, and of pursuing the measures which had been instituted by Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow for the retrenchment of public expenditure and the preservation of external tranquillity. The general tone of the new Administration was, therefore, moderate and pacific; and the character of the Governor-General, delighting in the milder glories of internal prosperity, the amenities of domestic society, and the cultivation of literature and the arts, accorded with the spirit in which it was expected that his government should be carried on. At the same time, Lord Minto was not of a disposition to shrink from expense or exertion when they were recommended or required by the interests of the state over which he ruled; and various important transactions, arising out of Indian and of European politics, signalised his career, and exhibited not unfrequent departures from the policy of imperturbable forbearance and scrupulous non-interference which had been followed by his predecessors.

The enforcement of submission to authority, and the final establishment of order in the provinces recently annexed to the British territories, were amongst the first objects of the Governor-General's attention. The avoidance of interference in the quarrels of the petty Rajas of Bundelkhand, and the attempt to secure their allegiance and good-will by conciliatory means, had entirely failed. The impunity with which some of the most notorious patrons of the bands of free-booters, by whom the province was overrun, were suffered to retain possession of the districts they had usurped, served only to perpetuate depredation; and the uncontrouled liberty which had been left to the Rajas, of asserting by arms their own real or pretended rights to each other's lands, was productive of interminable disputes, and a disorganising repetition of internal warfare. It was obviously necessary, if it was worth while to retain the province, to adopt a different mode of governing it; and a change of measures was resolved on. It was officially announced that the submission which milder means had failed to introduce should be established by force, and that the Government would compel, where necessary, obedience to its commands. The promulgation of these designs went far to effect their

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CHAP. IV.

1803.

BOOK I. fulfilment. The Rajas who had hitherto believed that the  
 CHAP. IV. interposition of the British agent would be limited to  
 1808. advice only, which they had hitherto ventured to treat  
 with utter disregard, hastened, when they found that  
 something more than mere advice was seriously contemplated, to refer their disputes to the decision of the  
 superior authority; and lands and villages, long and fiercely  
 contested, were awarded to those to whom it appeared  
 upon investigation that they rightfully belonged, in most  
 cases without any necessity for compulsive measures. It  
 was not found possible, however, to exterminate the  
 banditti who roamed through the country, as long as they  
 found shelter and support in its principal fortresses; and  
 it was rendered necessary, by the persevering contumacy  
 of the castellans of the forts of Kalinjar and Ajaygerh, to  
 employ a military force for their humiliation.

The province of Bundelkhand, which is generally a plain  
 where it is contiguous to the Jumna, is encompassed on its  
 southern and south-eastern confines by portions of the  
 great Vindhya chain of hills, which stretches across India  
 from the Ganges to the gulph of Cambay. The portions  
 of the chain which border upon Bundelkhand, or are  
 included within its limits, consist of four nearly parallel  
 ranges, running obliquely from north-east to south-west  
 distinguished as the Vindhychal, Panna, Bhandar, and  
 Thamian or Kaimur hills; they are not of great elevation,  
 but rise one above the other as they extend to the south  
 and west. They are separated by narrow valleys or table-  
 lands of limited extent, which, as well as the hills, are for  
 the most part rendered difficult of access, by underwood  
 and thick jungle. From the most northerly range, or  
 Vindhychal, isolated elevations are thrown out north-  
 wards into the plain, forming a characteristic feature of  
 this part of the country, and affording favourable positions  
 for the construction of hill-forts:<sup>1</sup> two of these had been  
 selected for the site of the forts above named, and  
 Kalinjar and Ajaygerh were regarded by the Bundelas as  
 impregnable, both from the natural difficulties of the  
 approach to them, and the fortifications by which those  
 difficulties had been enhanced.

<sup>1</sup> Memoir on Bundelkhand, by Captain Franklin; Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, i. 259.

The Kiladar of Ajaygerh, Lakshman Dawa, originally the captain of a band of plunderers, had become possessed of that strong-hold through the connivance of the officer who had been placed in command of it by Shamshir Bahadur, and who had been directed to give it up to the British authorities. Lakshman was permitted to retain the fort as a temporary arrangement, and to hold in Jagir the adjacent lands, on condition of paying a small annual tribute, and relinquishing the fortress at the expiration of two years, ending in 1808. The tribute was never paid, the term of occupancy had expired, and no intention of giving up the fort was exhibited. A body of troops was therefore assembled, and sent under Colonel Martindell against Ajaygerh.

No opposition was encountered by Colonel Martindell's detachment until they arrived at Rajaoli, a fortified hill about ten miles from Ajaygerh, which was occupied by a select body of Lakshman Dawa's troops. The ascent of the hill was by steep and narrow paths, overhung in many places by projecting rocks; from the shelter of which, parties of the enemy fired upon the slowly advancing troops. Driven from these stations they retreated to the summit of the hill, where they had constructed parapet walls, and behind them made a resolute stand. As no ladders could be brought up with which to scale the wall, the assailants were recalled, and preparations were made for resuming the attack on the following morning. The enemy evacuated the post during the night.<sup>1</sup>

On the following day Colonel Martindell proceeded to Ajaygerh, and batteries were raised against the fort. Operations were, however suspended, by repeated messages from Lakshman Dawa promising to deliver up the fortress, and negotiations were protracted until the 11th of February, in this expectation. Further delay was then refused, and the guns opened upon the principal gateways with such effect as in a few hours to lay three of them in ruins. On the two following days the firing was repeated, and early on the 13th a practicable breach was made. The Kiladar anticipated the assault by a timely surrender, and

BOOK I.  
CHAP. IV.

1809.

<sup>1</sup> The loss of the assailants was 28 Sipahis killed, and 115 wounded, including three officers, of whom Lieut. Jamieson of the light battalion died of his wounds.



BOOK I. Ajaygerh was taken possession of in the course of the day.<sup>1</sup>  
 CHAP. IV. Lakshman Dawa gave himself up to Mr. Richardson, the  
 1809. Governor-General's agent, and was allowed to remain at large upon parole. His family removed from the fort, and found a residence in the adjacent town of Naosheher, where a tragedy ensued, not unprecedented in the history of the Hindus, and characteristic of native sentiments of personal honour.

Lakshman Dawa, in surrendering himself, cherished a hope that the British authorities would reinstate him in the possession of his fort, and addressed a petition to the agent, praying either that he might be restored, or that he might be blown from the mouth of a gun, as life without reputation was not worth preserving. As Mr. Richardson declined a compliance with either alternative, the chief resolved to make a personal appeal to the Governor-General, and secretly quitted the camp for the purpose of repairing to Calcutta. He managed his flight with so much skill that no traces of him were discovered until his arrival at the Presidency. He was treated with kindness, and left at large under the supervision of the police ; but, as no hope was held out to him of recovering a possession to which his only titles were usurpation and fraud, he departed as unceremoniously as he had arrived, and endeavoured to effect his return to Bundelkhand : his flight was intercepted, and he was brought back to Calcutta, where he was detained until his death.<sup>2</sup>

Upon the disappearance of Lakshman Dawa from camp, it was considered advisable to place his family in greater security, as hostages for his conduct. They were ordered to prepare for removal into the fort, with assurances that they had nothing to apprehend from their detention ; and that one of their male relatives, who had not forfeited the

<sup>1</sup> Official Despatches and Government Orders ; As. Annual Register, vol. xi. ; Chronicle, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Lakshman Dawa died in the neighbourhood of Calcutta in November, 1828. He had from the first refused to accept any provision in place of the lands of which he had been dispossessed, and was for some time under the charge of the police. In 1811 his misfortunes affected his intellects, and he was placed under the care of the Company's medical officer at Aylpore, with whom he continued until 1822, when he appears to have recovered his understanding. He was not released from all restraint for two years longer, when he consented to receive a pension of 600 rupees a month. After his death the surviving members of his family were allowed to return to Bundelkhand.—MS. Records.

favourable opinion of the British Government, should be intrusted with their guardianship. Bajju Rao, the father-in-law of the absent chief, was instructed to conduct the party to their quarters. He undertook the office with apparent cheerfulness, and repaired for that purpose to the house in which the family resided. When a considerable interval had elapsed after his entrance into the house, and no person seemed to be coming forth, a native officer of the escort entered, and found the old man seated before the door of an inner room with a drawn sword in his hand. As the Subahdar approached, Bajju Rao retired into the chamber, and closed the door. Assistance being obtained the door was forced; when the mother, the wife, the infant son of Lakshman Dawa, and four female attendants, were discovered lying dead on the floor, having been killed by Bajju Rao, apparently with their own consent, as no cry nor any expression of alarm or suffering had been heard. As soon as the door was opened, Bajju Rao inflicted a fatal wound upon himself. The catastrophe was in entire unison with native feeling; and several of the Bundela chiefs in camp hesitated not to avow, that, under similar circumstances, they would have perpetrated a similar deed.<sup>1</sup>

A protracted course of desultory and harassing hostilities had some time previously been commenced against Gopal Sing, a military adventurer who had usurped the district of Kotra, the inheritance of Raja Bakht Sing, a descendant of Chatrasāl. The right of the Raja had been formally recognised by the British Government during the preceding administration, and he had been authorised to recover his lands; but, as he was not allowed to receive the assistance of British troops, the recognition and sanction were mere mockeries.<sup>2</sup> With the altered policy of the Government its grants became realities. A British detachment was sent to place the Raja in possession. The task was easily accomplished, and even Gopal Sing came

BOOK I.

CHAP. IV.

1809.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Records; also As. Annual Register, vol. vi.; History, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See the Ikrar Nama, or pledge of allegiance, and Sunnud granted to Raja Bakht Sing; Coll. of Treaties, p. 331. The documents are dated 8th June, 1807. The first article of the answer to the Raja's solicitation to be reinstated runs, "Little doubt can be entertained that you will be able to establish your authority, and to settle the Pergunnas, independently of the aid and support of the British Government: at the same time, every proper and necessary aid which you may require, *with the exception of troops*, shall be furnished to you."

BOOK I. into camp and professed submission. From motives which  
CHAP. IV. are unexplained, or from the instability of purpose which is  
1809. not unfrequent in the native mind, he seems to have  
speedily repented of his acquiescence, and, departing  
abruptly from the British encampment, he retired with a  
few followers to the thickets above the first range of hills.  
Sensible that direct resistance to the superior force of the  
supporters of Bakht Sing would be unavailing, he adopted  
a course of destructive irruptions ; rushing down upon the  
plains and spreading terror and devastation in all direc-  
tions whenever an opportunity occurred, and, when pressed  
by his enemies, taking refuge amongst the entangled and  
rugged country between the first and second ranges of the  
mountains. Although his parties were frequently over-  
taken and dispersed, they immediately re-assembled and  
renewed their depredations ; and it became necessary to  
provide a permanent check upon their ravages. A canton-  
ment was therefore established at Tiroha, at the foot of  
the first range, a few miles to the north-east of Kalinjar,  
from whence detachments were sent occasionally to guard  
the passes ; the unhealthiness of the climate preventing  
the presence of a force above the ghats throughout the  
year. The marauding attacks of Gopal Sing were in some  
measure counteracted by these arrangements, but they  
continued at intervals to disturb the quiet and delay the  
pacific settlement of the country.

Towards the end of 1809, the concentration of the  
British force in Bundelkhand under Colonel Martindell,  
in a different quarter of the province, having drawn off  
the principal part of the troops opposed to Gopal Sing,  
the protection of the districts was left to the unaided  
resources of the Rajas of Panna and Kotra. They proved  
utterly inadequate to the duty. Their united contin-  
gents were defeated in an engagement with their more  
warlike adversary ; and the country below the hills laid  
open to his attacks were remorselessly devastated, until his  
progress was stopped by a detachment under Major Kelly,  
which was sent from Colonel Martindell's camp at Chat-  
terpur. As the force advanced, Gopal retired above the  
third range of ghats ; in the vicinity of which the 1st  
battalion of the 16th native infantry, commanded by  
Captain Wilson, was stationed to keep him in check,

while the rest of the detachment rejoined the main army. BOOK I.  
CHAP. IV.

Gopal Sing, finding himself more than a match for the force which remained to oppose him, resumed offensive operations ; and being assailed in a strongly stockaded position near Kakarati in the Panna principality, by the detachment under Captain Wilson, repulsed the assailants after they had suffered considerable loss, and compelled them to fall back towards the plains.<sup>1</sup> The junction of Major Delamain, with a squadron of the 2nd native cavalry, restored the superiority to the British ; but Gopal, turning to the north amongst the hills, outstripped their pursuit, and coming suddenly down upon Tiroha, which was feebly guarded, he plundered and set fire to the cantonments, before troops, despatched from Ajaygerh as soon as the movement of Gopal Sing upon Tiroha was known, could arrive for its protection. Major Morgan, who commanded the detachment, followed the retreating enemy ; but whilst Gopal Sing, at the head of his horse, manœuvred so as to engross his attention, the infantry marched unperceived again upon Tiroha, where they not only completed such part of the work of destruction as they had left unfinished, but laid the adjacent town in ashes, after having first made themselves masters of much valuable booty. The audacity of this enterprise enforced the adoption of more vigorous measures, and Colonel Brown was detached from Colonel Martindell's camp, with the 1st native cavalry and one squadron of the 8th, to command the troops engaged in this harassing warfare. A battalion of native infantry under Major Leslie was also added to the force ; and Gopal, unable to encounter such an armament, and having been surprised and roughly handled by Colonel Brown at Bichaund near Ajaygerh, reascended the passes, and took shelter in an entrenched position at Jhargerh above the second range of ghats. Captain Wilson, with a squadron of native cavalry, the 1st battalion of the 16th native infantry, three companies of the 7th, and a company of pioneers, was sent forward

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1810.

<sup>1</sup> On this occasion, Gopal Sing showed that he united humanity with courage and conduct. Several of the wounded Sipahis having fallen into his hands, he had their wounds dressed, and sent them back to rejoin the detachment.



BOOK I. in pursuit. After a laborious march he ascended the  
CHAP. IV. hills unperceived, and arrived at Jhargerh almost before  
1810. his approach was discovered. The defences consisted of  
a rampart and strong stockades situated upon a rocky  
eminence in a valley overgrown with bamboos and brush-  
wood: they were accessible only on one face, the other  
sides being covered by almost impenetrable thickets;  
but the garrison, including Gopal Sing, were so much  
taken by surprise that their only thought was of escape.  
Guided by one of his prisoners, Captain Wilson effected  
his entrance into the main body of the works as they  
were evacuated by the enemy, who plunged into the  
thickets and disappeared. After burning the stockades,  
and levelling the fort, the detachment returned to its  
post at Kakarati. The setting in of the rainy season put  
a stop to further proceedings. Gopal retired to the  
south; and the troops were so stationed as to intercept  
his return to the north and west, and confine him to the  
rugged valleys between the Bhandar and Kaimur hills, to-  
wards the sources of the Sone and Nerbudda rivers.

As soon as the state of the country permitted, active  
measures were resumed; a division of the force under  
Captain Watson marched from Amghat on the 17th No-  
vember, and on the morning of the 19th came upon a  
strong body of Gopal Sing's troops at the village of  
Bhamori, commanded by some of his principal Sirdars.  
The party was posted in two divisions: one in the village,  
occupying a brick fort; the other and larger in an adja-  
cent grove, protected by a deep ravine. As soon as the  
ravine was turned by the native cavalry, the enemy's horse  
fled, and were pursued for some distance: the foot fol-  
lowed their example, and broke upon the first volley from  
the advancing column. The troops in the fort surren-  
dered at discretion. About two hundred were killed and  
wounded, and above one hundred taken prisoners, with  
little loss on the side of the British. At the same time  
Major Kelly advanced from Lohagong, and Colonel Brown  
from the neighbourhood of Banda. The latter, after a  
long and fatiguing march, crossed the upper course of the  
Sone at Hardi Ghat, and overtook Gopal Sing near the  
village of Killeri, whither he had retreated, after declining  
to accept an asylum offered him by the Raja of Rewa. His

followers, consisting entirely of horse, were completely routed; and Gopal Sing escaped, almost unattended, into the jungle. Here he continued, however, to maintain himself and followers for several months, and notwithstanding his repeated discomfiture, remained unsubdued.

In the month of June, Gopal Sing emerged from his retreat at Kshirgaon in the country of the Berar Raja, and once more descended from the hills. His movements were closely watched by the detachments of Colonel Brown's force; and, having been nearly surprised by Captain Watson in the vicinity of Komtara, he retreated to the protection of his former asylum. Having received intelligence of his position, Colonel Brown moved with great secrecy and expedition, and came by surprise upon him on the night of the 26th June. The enemy's camp was pitched at the head of the Dowani pass in the Marao hills, in the dry bed of a swamp, protected by thick wood on every side, and accessible only by steep and narrow defiles. Through one of these the infantry advanced, and first gave intimation of their presence by a volley fired upon the camp. The enemy fled without attempting resistance: many were killed, and much plunder was recovered. The nature of the country and the approach of the monsoon again suspended pursuit; but, on the 7th September, the fortified post of Kshirgaon was attacked and carried by a detachment commanded by Captain Watson. Gopal Sing, once more an almost solitary fugitive, fled into the district of Sagar; but, becoming now convinced of the hopelessness of so unequal a contest, he proffered his submission on the conditions of receiving a full pardon for his opposition, and provision being made for his family. The British Government, equally weary of a troublesome and unprofitable warfare, acceded to the terms, and granted him a Jagir of eighteen villages in the district of Panwari in Bundelkhand, which is still held by his descendants.<sup>1</sup> The transactions are worthy of record as an instance of the success with which personal activity and resolution, aided by a difficult country, but destitute of any other means than plunder and the devotedness of a slender band of adherents, baffled for a period of four years, and ulti.

BOOK I.  
CHAP. IV.  
1810.

<sup>1</sup> See the Sunnud granted to Gopal Sing on the 24th Feb., 1812; Report of Select Committee, Aug., 1832; Political Appendix, p. 561.

BOOK I. mately tired out, the resentment and the resources of a  
CHAP. IV. powerful antagonist.<sup>1</sup>

1812.

The final establishment of order and tranquillity in Bundelkhand was in a still greater degree dependent upon the reduction of Kalinjar; the strength of which fastness, and the vain attempts made in time past for its capture, impressed the natives with a univereal belief of its impregnability, and inspired its Kiladar, Dariao Sing, with confidence to persist in his opposition to British authority, and to continue his scarcely covert encouragement of every predatory leader. The mischievous consequences of allowing Dariao Sing<sup>2</sup> to retain possession of Kalinjar were vainly pointed out, when the British authority was first introduced into Bundelkhand; but the system of endurance having now given place to a policy of a more resolute character, it was determined no longer to overlook his contumacy: a force was accordingly assembled at Banda,<sup>3</sup> the command of which was given to Colonel Martindell, and on the 19th January Kalinjar was invested.

The fortified hill of Kalinjar is situated about twenty miles south-east of Banda, and about half that distance from the first range of hills. It rises from a marshy plain as an isolated rock to the height of above nine hundred feet, being at the base ten or twelve miles in circumference, and inclosing on the summit a table-land of more than four miles in circuit. On this plain were situated the residence of the Kiladar, the cantonments of the garrison, and several Hindu temples, apparently ancient: <sup>4</sup> the sides

<sup>1</sup> For the operations against Gopal Sing, see the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xii.; History, 40: Chronicle, pp. 9, 10, 61, 78: and Calcutta Annual Register, 1821; History, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 13, note.

<sup>3</sup> A squadron of the 8th light dragoons, five companies of the 53rd foot, a squadron of the 1st N. C. and three of the 3rd, with six battalions of N. I., three companies of pioneers, a detachment of European artillery, and a battering train of twelve and eighteen pounders.

<sup>4</sup> In some places, mutilated inscriptions were found in characters said to be the same as those on the staff of Firoz Shah at Delhi. They have never been collected or published. Cave temples also are described, one of which is dedicated to Nila-kantha, a form of Siva, as a Linga. Kálanjara, the correct appellation of the mountain, is also a name of Siva—he who sees time itself decay—and all the Hindu traditions relating to this hill, connect it with its worship. Kalbhiroop (or correctly, Kala-bhairava), whose colossal image is specified by Abulfazl as existing at Kalanjar, is an attendant of Siva, or one of his minor emanations. See the word Callinger, to which Kalanjara is commonly barbarously metamorphosed, in Hamilton's Gazetteer. A general description of the fort and its antiquities is given in Pogson's History of the Bundelas, but the latter have been but cursorily and imperfectly investigated.

of the hill are abrupt, and are covered with an almost impenetrable jungle of bushes and bamboos, the haunts of beasts of prey and of innumerable monkeys. The crest of the hill is formed of a ridge of steep black rock, which forms the base of a wall with loopholes and embrasures surrounding the whole of the summit. The Petta, or town, lies at the foot of the hill at the south-eastern angle; and the ascent thence to the fort is by a broad winding road cut along the eastern face of the rock, and defended by seven fortified gateways. Opposite to the north-eastern extremity, at the distance of about eight hundred yards, rises another detached elevation, the hill of Kálanjari, nearly as lofty as the main rock, but of much less extent: its sides are equally steep, and covered in like manner with a thick and entangled growth of low shrubs and bamboos.

After reconnoitring the defences of the fort, it was determined to erect batteries on the lesser hill, and by the 26th of January, a path having been cleared of the jungle, four iron eighteen-pounders and two mortars were hauled up by main force to the top. Another battery of two eighteen-pounders was formed lower down on the shoulder of the hill; and another of two twelve-pounders nearer the foot, opposite to the great gateway of the fort. Negotiations having failed, the batteries opened on the 28th, on which day also possession was taken of the Petta. No attempt was made to disturb the construction of the batteries, and not a shot was fired from the fort until they opened; it being a point of Indian honour, it is said, for a fort not to fire until fired upon. When the firing of the besiegers commenced, that from the fort was feebly maintained and did little execution; and it was expected, that as soon as a breach should be made, the fortress would fall an easy conquest: an anticipation that was fatally disappointed.

By the 1st of February, the batteries had effected what was considered to be a practicable breach, and at sunrise on the 2nd, the storming party advanced to the assault. The party consisted of the five companies of his Majesty's 53rd, and the flank companies of the native regiments commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Mawbey. As they ascended the hill, they were encountered by a brisk fire of match-



BOOK I. locks and volleys of heavy stones, until they made good  
 CHAP. IV. their footing to within fifty yards of the breach, where  
 1812. they halted, under cover of an old wall. The top of the  
 breach, and the wall on both sides of it, were crowded with  
 matchlockmen, regardless of the fire to which they were  
 exposed from the destruction of the parapet. Upon a  
 given signal the assailing column rushed forward, in spite  
 of the missiles with which they were saluted, and reached  
 the foot of the parapet. Here they were arrested by the  
 precipitous and mostly perpendicular rock on which the  
 wall had stood, and which it was necessary to scale before  
 they could arrive at the foot of the breach. Ladders were  
 applied, but the irregularity of the surface rendered it  
 difficult to fix them; and, as fast as the men ascended,  
 they were knocked down by heavy stones hurled upon  
 them by the defendants, or were shot by their match-  
 locks. Equal resolution was displayed on either side; but  
 the disadvantageous position of the assailants rendered  
 the conflict so unequal, that, after an unavailing struggle  
 of about thirty-five minutes, the storming party was re-  
 called. The loss they sustained was severe:<sup>1</sup> that suffered  
 by the garrison was not less. The attempt was not un-  
 availing; as the Kiladar, apprehensive of its repetition,  
 signified on the day following his acceptance of the  
 conditions which he had previously rejected. Lands were  
 assigned to him and the members of his family who held  
 a united interest in Kalinjar, and they agreed to cede the  
 fortress. This strong-hold, which had baffled Mahmud of  
 Ghazni,<sup>2</sup> which had seen Shir Shah perish<sup>3</sup> before its walls  
 and which had sustained a two years' siege by Ali Bahadur,<sup>4</sup>  
 was thus added to the trophies of British conquest, and  
 ceased to be the rallying point of lawless spoliation. After  
 a brief occupancy as a military post, it was dismantled  
 and abandoned. The chiefs who had once bid defiance  
 from its ramparts to the commands of the British Govern-

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Fraser, Lieut. Rice, one serjeant, and ten men of the 53rd, were killed; ten officers and one hundred and twenty men were wounded. Lieut. Faithful, commanding the pioneers, and nearly half his men, were wounded. The Sipahis had no opportunity of coming into action.

<sup>2</sup> Mahmud besieged it in A.D. 1023, but made peace with Nanda, its Hindu Raja, and left it in his possession.—Briggs' *Ferishta*, i. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Shir Shah laid siege to it in A.D. 1554, and was killed by the bursting of a shell, and consequent explosion of a powder magazine near which he was standing.—Briggs' *Ferishta*, ii. 123.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 10.

ment became peaceable subjects, and their descendants are still enumerated amongst the Jagirdars of the province.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK I.  
CHAP. IV.

1812.

The conduct of Jay Sing Deo, the Raja of Rewa, a small principality situated on the east of Bundelkhand, in countenancing Gopal Sing and other free-booters, had for some time past been unsatisfactory; and, very soon after the reduction of Kalinjar, a party of the plunderers known as Pindaris penetrated by way of Rewa into the British territory of Mirzapur, apparently with the connivance of the Raja. It was obvious, that he had either permitted their passage through his country, or that he had not the power to prevent it; and in either case the duty of self-protection suggested interposition. After some hesitation the Raja was compelled to accede to a treaty of friendship and alliance, by which his possessions were guaranteed, and his supremacy in the administration of his government acknowledged; but he was interdicted from communicating with foreign states, obliged to agree to the mutual delivery of enemies and rebels, and to promise co-operation in military affairs. The treaty was concluded in October, 1812.

These arrangements were scarcely concluded when the Raja manifested a disposition to violate them. He objected to the establishment of a military post within his boundary; opposed a communication through his country between the British districts which it separated; treated the British political agents with indignity; and either suffered or instigated the petty chiefs of Singrana, his dependants, to commit various acts of aggression on the adjacent country under British protection. To punish their ravages, and compel the observance of the stipulated treaty, Colonel Martindell marched into Rewa early in 1813. He had advanced near to the capital, when the Raja solicited a suspension of hostilities, and consented to enter into a new treaty, confirming the former stipula-

<sup>1</sup> Villages were assigned in perpetual Jagir, not only to Dariao Sing Chaubé, but to his coparceners, descendants equally of Ramkrishna Chaubé, to the number of eight.—See the separate grants, Report of Select Committee, August, 1832; App. Political, p. 562; also Bengal and Agra Gazetteer for 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 286. The Jagirs thus granted, as well as others of a similar class, to the number of twenty-seven, were exempted by a special regulation, xii. of 1812, from the operation of the general regulations, and from the jurisdiction of the courts of civil and criminal judicature.

BOOK I. tions, and engaging to pay the expenses of the military  
CHAP. IV. operations. He shortly afterwards abdicated in favour of  
his son.

1813.

During the suspension of hostilities with the Rewa Raja, a party of Sipahis escorting military stores, marching to join the main force, and proceeding in the confidence of the armistice which had then been agreed upon, were suddenly surrounded near the village of Sathani by a strong body of horse and foot, by whom some of the men were killed and the baggage was plundered. The Raja disclaimed all participation in this atrocity; and it appeared to have been the unauthorized act of some of his feudatories, particularly the Raja of Sathani and Sarnaid Sing, Raja of Entouri. A force under Colonel Adams took the field immediately after the rains to punish the aggressors. The fort of Entouri was stormed and carried, after an obstinate resistance. Sarnaid Sing, disdaining to survive its capture, strewed a quantity of gunpowder upon a cloth, which he tied round his body, and, setting fire to it, terminated his existence. Some other forts were taken and destroyed; and the chiefs, alarmed, came into camp and submitted. A third treaty was then concluded with the Raja of Rewa; by which, upon his renewing the stipulations previously contracted, he was placed in possession of some of the lands which the contumacious Zemindars had forfeited, with certain reservations, under strict promise that he would respect whatever guarantees the British Government had granted to any of his chiefs, and would refrain from molesting all such as had evinced towards it a friendly disposition. The Raja necessarily acquiesced, but the resentment felt by this petty court at an interference which it had provoked has perhaps scarcely yet given place to friendly feelings.<sup>1</sup>

These operations put an end for a time to all serious manifestations of the turbulent spirit by which the Bundelas have been long distinguished. A different race, but of a congenial temperament, in another portion of the western frontier, required, about the same period, similar coercion.

At the termination of the war, the extensive and fertile

<sup>1</sup> See the three treaties of the 5th Oct. 1812, 2nd June, 1813, and 21st March, 1814, with the Rewa Raja, in the collection of treaties printed by order of Parliament, 27th May, 1818; also in a collection printed for the Proprietors, Aug. 1824.—Administration of the Marquis of Hastings. The operations are related in the Calcutta Annual Register for 1821, p. 60.

but thinly peopled district of Haryana, lying immediately west of Delhi, had been taken within the range of British supremacy. The inhabitants of the province, who were of the Ját race, a resolute and high-spirited tribe, had some years before taken advantage of the enfeebled administration of affairs at Delhi to throw off the allegiance which they had previously professed to the Mogul. Collected together in village communities they formed so many petty republics acknowledging no head; and, although combining occasionally against a foreign enemy connected by no common tie of political interest or authority, and not unfrequently at deadly feud with each other. From time to time some Maratha or Mohammedan chieftain, or individual of their own body, established a military ascendancy over them to a limited extent, and for a brief interval; and, in one instance, George Thomas, an Irish adventurer,<sup>1</sup> rendered himself the lord over a part of the province, with Hansi, its chief town, for his capital. His reign was of short duration; but its overthrow was not effected by the discontent of his subjects or the rivalry of his equals, and it demanded the overwhelming force of Sindhia's disciplined brigades, commanded by General Perron, to dispossess him. Haryana was then governed by Perron in the name of Sindhia,

<sup>1</sup> George Thomas arrived in India as a sailor about 1781. At Madras he deserted, and entered into the service of some of the southern Poligars; thence he made his way through the heart of India, and reached Delhi in 1787: he there received a commission in the brigade of Begum Sumroo, and rose to high favour; but, being supplanted in the Begum's good graces by some other adventurer, he quitted her service in 1792, and joined Apa Khande Rao, one of Sindhia's discarded captains, who was endeavouring to form an independent state in the country west of Delhi. He succeeded in his project, but, dying in 1797, his power fell to pieces, and George Thomas, thrown on his own resources, determined to conquer Haryana for himself. He succeeded so far as to make himself ruler of a petty principality, extending about 100 miles from N. to S. and in its broadest part about 75 miles from E. to W., comprehending 900 villages and several small towns. Hansi, which Thomas found in ruins, was restored and fortified by him, and, becoming his capital, was soon tenanted by between five and six thousand inhabitants. George Thomas was Raja of Hansi for four years, and had little to fear from any of his neighbours, until Sindhia's authority extended to Delhi, and introduced a power far superior to that of the European potentate. Thomas was besieged in Hansi by Du Perron with a strong and well-organized force, and surrendered on condition of being conveyed to a British station. The stipulation was observed, and he was conducted to the British frontier in January 1802. He thence proceeded towards Calcutta, with the purpose of returning to his native land, but was taken ill, and died at Berhampore in August. His career is a striking illustration of the distracted state of a country in which a common sailor, with no other aid than European energy, personal strength, and intrepid resolution, could raise himself even to ephemeral sovereignty. —See Life of George Thomas, by Colonel Franklin.



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1809.

and, with the defeat of his troops, passed over to the British. The Government of the day, unwilling to retain the conquest, transferred it to several native chiefs in succession; but all found it impossible to establish their power without the assistance of British troops, and speedily resigned the unprofitable boon. The last of these, Abdul-samad Khan, a military leader of repute, who had joined Lord Lake early in the Mahratta war, and who had latterly received Hariana in recompense of his services, found himself compelled to follow the example of his predecessors, and the province was thrown again upon the hands of the British Government. As Hariana was continuous with the districts of Delhi under British administration, the danger arising from the predatory and unrestrained habits of its population was not to be disregarded, and it was determined to provide against the evil by undertaking the immediate regulation of the country, and bringing the people under the authority of British functionaries. With this design the Honourable Mr. Gardner, assistant to the Resident at Delhi, proceeded with a strong escort into the province. Little difficulty attended his proceedings: most of the head-men of the villages obeyed his summons, repaired to his camp, professed allegiance, promised the regular payment of a stipulated revenue, and engaged to desist from intestine broils and from the plunder of travellers and merchants. Whatever may have been their sincerity, the prompt display, in two instances, of the determination of the Government to suffer no infringement of the compact awed them into the observance of their engagements. The people of Baliali, a large village of Játs, who professed Mohammedanism, having robbed some traders almost in sight of the Commissioner's camp, a military detachment was sent against them. They fled into the adjacent country of Bikaner, and their village was destroyed. A more resolute resistance was encountered at another large village or town, that of Bhawani. The inhabitants of this place, notorious for the audacity of their depredations, carried off the camels and baggage of a party of Sipahis on their march to camp, and fired upon them as they approached the town. Immediate measures were taken to punish the aggressors. A force of four battalions of

native infantry, one regiment of cavalry, a corps of irregular horse, with a train of artillery, commanded by Colonel Ball,<sup>1</sup> marched against Bhawani, and appeared before it on the 27th August: batteries were opened, and the walls were breached by noon of the 29th. An assault was made in two columns: the right was met by a sortie of the inhabitants, who fought with courage, but were driven back and followed into the fort; the left column also forced its way into the town, and, after an obstinate conflict, in which severe loss was inflicted on the enemy, the place was carried.<sup>2</sup> The transaction was productive of the good effects expected from it. The lawless and turbulent tribes of Haryana were made to feel that they had now a master. Submitting to a yoke which they could not shake off, they became in due time an orderly and obedient people, and, devoting themselves to agricultural occupations, rendered the province one of the most valuable districts subject to the British Government.

A still more important departure from the principle of non-interference occurred in the same direction, and occasioned an extension of British supremacy to the frontier which still forms its north-western boundary, the left bank of the Setlej. The success with which the Sikh chief, Ranjit Sing had wrought his own aggrandisement at the expense of all his competitors on the west of the Setlej, encouraged him to pursue the same line of policy with respect to the Rajas on the east of the river, and to attempt to spread his influence and power across it to the Jumna. He was led to believe that he would not be obstructed in the execution of this project by the British; as, although the Government had accepted the proffered submission of the Sikh Rajas, it had required from them no positive stipulation of tribute or allegiance, and had contracted no formal engagement to protect them. He went to work, however, with his usual caution. A violent quarrel having taken place between the Rajas of Patiala

<sup>1</sup> 1st battn. of the 9th, 2nd of the 18th, 1st of the 22nd, and 2nd of the 23rd, besides some companies of the 1st of the 10th, and 2nd of the 24th, with the 6th regt. N. Cavalry, and Skinner's horse.

<sup>2</sup> One officer, Lieut. O'Brien, of the 1st batt. of the 22nd, was killed, six were wounded; eighteen privates were killed, and one hundred and fourteen wounded. The loss of the townsfolk was officially estimated at more than a thousand.—*Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. xi.; *History*, p. 7; *Chronicle*, p. 67.

BOOK I. and Naba, the latter called Ranjit Sing to his assistance.  
CHAP. IV. The call was promptly answered; and in October, 1806,  
1808. that chief crossed the Setlej with a strong body of horse, and dictated terms of reconciliation to the contending parties. Some apprehension of his ulterior objects was entertained at Delhi; but a letter was received from him expressing his profound respect for the British Government, and no notice was taken of his proceedings. The result of this experiment confirmed him in the belief that he had no opposition to dread from his more powerful neighbours in establishing his authority over the states between the Setlej and Jumna; but, having other designs in view, or not considering matters sufficiently mature for the consummation of his purpose, Ranjit Sing departed, and re-crossed the Setlej in the beginning of 1807.

In the course of that year, the wife of the Patiala Raja, who was at variance with her husband on account of her insisting upon an assignment of revenue for the use of her son, yet a minor, had recourse to Ranjit Sing, and he again crossed the Setlej into the Doab. The Sikh chiefs in this quarter now began to be seriously alarmed, and made an earnest application to the Resident at Delhi to defend them against the growing ambition of their countryman; protesting that they had ever considered themselves to be the subjects of the Company, and entitled to its protection. Before any reply could be received from Calcutta, the Raja and Rani had settled their dispute amicably, and had purchased the withdrawal of Ranjit by a valuable diamond necklace and a celebrated brass gun; but, before leaving the country, he levied contributions on some other petty Rajas, or seized upon their forts and confiscated their lands. His return was probably hastened by a knowledge of the negotiations going on at Delhi, and by a report, which the chiefs industriously circulated, that their application had been favourably considered. In order to discover the truth of this assertion, Ranjit addressed a letter to the Governor-General, stating that he had learned that troops were assembling on the Jumna, and requesting to be informed of the cause. He declared his wish to continue on friendly terms, but ventured to add, "The country on this side of the Jumna, except the stations occupied by the English, is subject to my authority. Let it remain so."

Although Lord Minto was resolved to resist the pretensions of Ranjit Sing to the exercise of any authority on the right bank of the Jumna, yet the policy of securing his concurrence in the scheme of defensive alliance, which it was sought to frame against the hostile designs upon India avowed by the Emperor Napoleon, suspended the announcement of the Governor-General's sentiments; and Ranjit was referred for a reply to Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Metcalfe, whom it had been determined to send on a friendly mission to the Sikh ruler. The envoy set out from Delhi in August 1808, and, crossing the Setlej on the 1st of September, reached the camp of Ranjit, at Kasur, on the 11th: his reception was at first courteous and cordial; but in a few days a different feeling was displayed, and much dissatisfaction was expressed that the British Government should hesitate to acknowledge the Jumna to be the boundary between the two states. Still further to evince his displeasure, and to induce the Rajas on the east of the Setlej to believe that the British envoy acquiesced in his designs, Ranjit broke up his camp, crossed the river with the envoy in his train, dispossessed the chief to whom it belonged of the fort of Farid Koth, seized upon Ambala, and exacted tribute from the Rajas of Shahabad and Thanesar. As Sir C. Metcalfe had refused to follow his extended march into the Doab, Ranjit retraced his steps, and returned to Amritsar, where the mission awaited him. The circumstances which had influenced the Governor-General's external policy had now in some degree ceased, and it was no longer necessary to temporise with the Raja of Lahore. Ranjit was consequently apprised that the Rajas between the two rivers were under British protection; that he might retain such acquisitions as he had made on this side of the Setlej previously to the existence of the relations which had been formed with the protected states, but that he must restore all that had been made subsequently; and that in order to guard against any future encroachments, a military post would be established on the left bank of the river. The Raja strenuously expostulated against this declaration; arguing, that he had repeatedly exercised acts of authority in the Doab of the Setlej and Jumna, without any objection having been started by the British

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1808.



BOOK I. Government ; that appeals made to the British Resident  
CHAP. IV. at Delhi by refractory chiefs had, to his certain knowledge,  
1809. received no countenance or encouragement ; that blood  
had been shed, and treasure expended, in asserting a supremacy which he claimed as his right ; and that it was as unfriendly as it was inconsistent to prevent his reaping the fruit of exertions which had been suffered to come to maturity in seeming acquiescence. He, therefore, requested a renewed consideration of the subject ; and in the mean time he assembled his troops, and appeared resolved to maintain his pretensions by arms.

Having come to the determination that the Setlej should be the limit of Ranjit Sing's acquisitions in that direction, with the exceptions above intimated, the British Government immediately commanded the advance of a sufficient body of troops to uphold their resolution. A detachment under Colonel Ochterlony crossed the Jumna, in the middle of January, and proceeded to Ludiana, whilst an army of reserve under the command of Major-General St. Leger was prepared to support the advance, should protracted operations become necessary. The troops of Ranjit Sing fell back as Colonel Ochterlony's detachment approached ; and an incident took place, under the observation of the Raja, which might have suggested to him their unfitness to encounter disciplined battalions.

During the stay of the British embassy in the vicinity of Amritsar the anniversary of the Moharram occurred, and the deaths of Ali and his sons, Hasan and Hosain, were commemorated by the Shia Mohammedans of the envoy's escort with the public demonstrations of passionate sorrow and religious fervour usual on the occasion. The celebration gave great offence to the Sikh population of Amritsar, which is the site of their most sacred temple ; and especially to the Akális, a set of Sikh fanatics who combine a religious and martial character. Headed by a party of these men, a numerous and infuriated mob attacked the envoy's camp : they were repulsed by the steadiness of the escort, although it consisted of but two companies of native infantry and sixteen troopers ; but not until several of the assailants were killed, and many of the Sipahis were wounded. Ranjit Sing came up at the

close of the affray, and assisted in quelling a tumult which it was strongly suspected he had in some degree fomented. The camp was removed to a greater distance from the town, and no further molestation was experienced.

The advance of the troops to the Setlej, and the experience of their quality which the affair at Amritsar afforded him, dissipated Ranjit Sing's dreams of conquest, and rendered him anxious to secure the forbearance and friendship of the British Government. Accordingly, on the 25th April, a treaty was concluded which stipulated that perpetual friendship should subsist between the British Government and the state of Lahore; that the former should have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward of the Setlej; that the Raja should never maintain on the left bank of the river more troops than were necessary for the internal duties of the territory acknowledged to belong to him, nor commit nor suffer any encroachment on the possessions or rights of the chiefs in its vicinity; and that the treaty should be null and void in the event of a violation of either of the preceding articles. Thus terminated all unfriendly discussions with the Sikh chieftain.<sup>1</sup> That he was deeply mortified by the result cannot be doubted; and there was reason to believe, that, if he could have relied upon effective support from Hindustan, he would not have submitted so peaceably to such a diminution of his power and disappointment of his hopes.<sup>2</sup> Nor did he for some time lay aside his distrust of the ulterior designs of his European neighbour. An exaggerated notion of his resources, and suspicion of his ambitious projects, continued also for a considerable period to regulate the policy of the British Government towards him, and to suspend the establishment of a cordial intercourse almost to the term of the Raja's existence. During the last five years of his life, his confidence in British faith, and reliance on the principles of non-interference which had been originally professed, were fully confirmed by the cautious abstinence which had

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<sup>1</sup> MS. Records; Prinsep's *Life of Runjeet Singh*, Calcutta, 1834, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> There was credible evidence, that, during these discussions, a communication was kept up between the Raja and Sindhia, and unavowed agents were resident on either part at Gwalior and Lahore: a correspondence with Sarji Rao Ghatka was also detected. Ranjit's sagacity, however, soon discovered the weakness to which the Mahrattas had been reduced.—MS. Records.

BOOK I. uniformly left him at liberty to extend his power over the  
 CHAP. IV. independent principalities and states north and west of  
 the Punjab without any interposition or even remark.<sup>1</sup>

1809.

The seasonable succour thus given to the petty Sikh chiefs between the Setlej and the Jumna<sup>2</sup> put an end to the vague character of the connexion which had hitherto united them with the British Government, and rendered it necessary to define the reciprocal relations which were thenceforward to subsist: accordingly, a general declaration was circulated to them, announcing that the territories of Sirhind and Malūa had been taken under British protection; that it was not the intention of the Government to demand tribute from the chiefs, but that they would be expected to furnish every facility in their power to the movements of British troops through their districts, and to join the British armies with their followers whenever called upon. The several chiefs were permitted to exercise, and were guaranteed, the rights and authorities which they possessed in their respective territories; but supplies of European articles for troops, and horses for cavalry passing through them, were to be exempted from transit duties. The declaration conveying these provisions became the charter of rights to which the Sikh chiefs have been accustomed to refer for the settlement of all questions that have arisen between them and the British Government; but <sup>3</sup>the mutual relations of supremacy and subjection, appeals from the inferior to the superior in disputes amongst themselves or in domestic

<sup>1</sup> Travellers in Runjit's territories complain, even to a late period, of obstructions to their proceedings thrown in their way by his subordinate functionaries and officers, and ascribe them to private instructions issued by the Raja, whilst ostensibly he gave them permission to go wherever they wished, and institute whatever inquiries they pleased. This might have been the case with some of the first visitors of the Punjab; but, latterly, whatever impediments were experienced were most probably ascribable to the ignorance or impertinence of the subordinates.—See the travels of Moorcroft, Jaquemont, Vigne, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The chief of these were Saheb Sing, Raja of Patiala; Bhye Lal Sing, of Kythal; Jeswant Sing, of Naba; Bhag Sing, of Jhind; Guru-Dayal Sing, of Ladia; Jodh Sing, of Kalasia; Gopal Sing, of Manimajra; Daya Kunwar, Rani of Ambala; Bhanga Sing, Raja of Thanesar; Sodha Sing, of Mahawat; Jawahir Sing, of Bharup. The Patiala Raja had a revenue of six lakhs of rupees, and a force of 2000 horse and 1000 foot. The revenues of the other chiefs varied from one to two lakhs, and their troops from 500 to 1000 horse. There were about twenty others of still inferior importance, but all claiming independent authority over their vassals; presenting in fact a state of things very similar to that of the early feudal anarchy of Europe.—MS. Records.

<sup>3</sup> Life of Runjeet Singh, 72.

dissensions, and the imperative necessity of maintaining public order and security, speedily multiplied occasions of interposition, and, after no long interval, compelled the British Government to proclaim the right and the resolution to interpose.<sup>1</sup> The regulation of successions was also a subject which from the first demanded the intervention of the protecting power;<sup>2</sup> and political expedience has dictated the enforcement of a principle recognised throughout the feudality of India, the appropriation of a subject territory in failure of lawful heirs by the paramount sovereign.<sup>3</sup>

There is no satisfactory proof that the Emperor Napoleon ever seriously contemplated the invasion of India. In an early stage of his career, before his path to greatness was distinctly visible, he seems to have entertained some vague and wild dream of founding for himself an empire in the East.<sup>4</sup> The conquest of Egypt, in addition to the purpose of establishing a French colony in that country which should divert the stream of commerce between India and Europe from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Bab-al-mandal, and thus annihilate one of the sources of British prosperity, had, according to Napoleon, for one of its objects, the formation of a basis from which to accomplish the invasion of India; but it is scarcely possible to believe that he could ever have gravely projected so impossible a scheme as that of sending sixty thousand troops upon camels across the deserts of Arabia, and barren

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<sup>1</sup> A public proclamation declaratory of the right and determination to interfere between the different Rajas in all cases of disputed territory, and at the same time repeating the resolution not to interfere in the internal administration of justice between the chiefs and their subjects, was issued on the 11th August, 1811.—See Report of Select Committee, House of Commons. 1832; Appendix Political, p. 560.

<sup>2</sup> In 1812, the Raja of Patiala, having rendered himself insupportable to his subjects by his insane oppression, was deposed in favour of his son, a minor, under the regency of the Rani, by the British Government. The measure was obnoxious to some of the Raja's adherents; and one of them, an Akali, attacked the Agent, Colonel Ochterlony, in his palanquin, and severely wounded him.—Life of Runjeet Sing, 76.

<sup>3</sup> Commonly to the exclusion of females, except in a few families where a contrary usage has prevailed. Some of the chiefships have so lapsed, the principal of which are Ambala and Thanesar.—Bengal and Agra Guide, 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 268. And, still more recently, Khytal.—Calcutta Journals, April, 1843.

<sup>4</sup> According to his own assertion, if he had taken St. Jean d'Acre, he would have brought about a revolution in the East, would have reached Constantinople and the Indies, and changed the destinies of the world.—Las Cases' Journal, i. 206; Scott's Life of Napoleon, ii. 104, 111.



BOOK I. wastes of Baluchistan, to the banks of the Indus.<sup>1</sup> The  
 CHAP. IV. subsequent mission of General Gardanne to Persia, and the  
 1808. influence acquired at Tehran, regarded Russia more immediately than India, and were suggested by the community of political interests, as Persia and France were simultaneously engaged in hostilities with the former empire. Such, however, was the impression produced by these demonstrations, and such the dread of Napoleon's power and resources, that a French invasion of India was reckoned amongst the possible contingencies of the time, and one against which precaution was indispensable. In this conviction, the Governor-General of India deemed it advisable to endeavour to establish amicable relations with the frontier principalities of the Punjab and Afghanistan, and to renew a friendly understanding with the king of Persia. The mission to Ranjit Sing, which originated in this policy, has been adverted to, and we have now to notice the measures adopted with respect to the two other states.

The political condition of Afghanistan was almost wholly unknown to the Government of Bengal. No English traveller had crossed the Indus<sup>2</sup> since Foster; and his journey was performed under circumstances of personal disguise and hazard, which restricted him to hasty and superficial observation. Little information was to be gathered from his narrative. It was known from original authorities, that, of the country occupied by the Afghan tribes, the eastern portion, including Kabul and Ghazni,

<sup>1</sup> L'expédition d'Égypte avoit trois buts : établir sur le Nil une colonie Française ; ouvrir un débouché à nos manufactures dans l'Afrique, l'Arabie, et la Syrie ; partir d'Égypte comme d'une place d'armes pour porter une armée de 60,000 hommes sur l'Indus, soulever les Marattes et les peuples opprimés : 60,000 hommes, moitié Européens, moitié recrutés des climats brûlants de l'équator et du tropique, transportés par 10,000 chevaux et 50,000 chameaux portant avec eux des vivres pour cinquante ou soixante jours, de l'eau pour cinq ou six jours, et un train d'artillerie de 150 bouches à feu de campagne, avec double approvisionnement, arrivaient en quatre mois sur l'Indus. L'océan a cessé d'être un obstacle depuis qu'on a des vaisseaux, le désert cesse d'en être un pour une armée qui a en abondance des chameaux et des dromedaires.—Mémoires de St. Hélène, ii. 214. Scarcely less insane was his speculation of invading India by sea, and sending round the Cape a force of sixteen thousand troops under convoy of thirty-two ships of the line.—Las Cases' Journal, ii. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Foster, a member of the Civil Service of Bengal, returned from India to England through the Punjab, Afghanistan, and Persia: he travelled on foot in the character of a pauper and garb of an Asiatic; and, although he communicates some novel information, yet his notices of the Afghans, amongst whom he was in much danger, are unavoidably meagre.—See his Travels.

had been usually dependent upon Delhi ; and the western, comprising Kandahar and Herat, ordinarily subject to Persia. Upon the murder of Nadir Shah, king of Persia, Ahmed Shah, of the Durani tribe of Afghans, a leader of distinction in the Persian army, took advantage of the distracted condition of both India and Persia to found a kingdom, independent of either, extending from the Indus to Herat, and ultimately including parts of Baluchistan and Sindh. Ahmed Shah was succeeded by his son, Timur Shah, who enjoyed a long and tranquil reign under the shadow of his father's fame. Upon his death the Durani monarchy speedily fell to pieces. He left a number of sons necessarily competitors for the sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> Zeman Shah, although not the eldest son of these, made good his pretensions with the aid and support of his younger brother, Shuja-al-mulk, and retained a precarious occupancy of the throne for seven years. The injustice and insolence of his favourite Vizir provoked a conspiracy against him among the principal nobles of his court. It was detected ; and one of the conspirators, Sirafrax Khan, chief of the Barikzei clan, to which Shah Zeman had been mainly indebted for his own elevation, was put to death. The act was fatal to the monarch ; for Fatih Khan, the eldest son of Sirafrax Khan, immediately devoted his abilities and influence, which were considerable, to the service of Mahmud, a brother and rival of the king. Shah Zeman, deserted by his troops, was taken prisoner, deposed, and blinded, and Mahmud was made Shah.

The character of Mahmud was unequal to the exigencies of his perilous position. Indolent and timid, he transferred the cares of the government to his ministers, and, as long as his own ease and enjoyment were provided for, was wholly indifferent to the prosperity of his kingdom. By his injudicious partiality to his Persian guards, and the unbridled license in which he suffered them to indulge, he

<sup>1</sup> They were more than thirty. Humayun, the eldest, after a feeble effort to maintain his right, was taken by Zeman Shah, blinded, and died in captivity. Zeman Shah, Mahmud, and Shuja-al-mulk, in their turns held temporary sway, and perished. Firoz-ad-din for some time occupied Herat, but was dispossessed, and fled to Persia, where he died. Shah Abbas, who was set up as king for a short time, also died in exile. These were the only members of the family who acquired notoriety.

BOOK I. offended both the religious prejudices and the national  
 CHAP. IV. feelings of his countrymen, and provoked them to insur-  
 1808. rection.<sup>1</sup> Shuja-al-mulk was called to head the insur-  
 gents; and, fortune abandoning Mahmud, his adherents  
 were defeated, and he himself was taken prisoner. Shuja  
 ascended the throne: a feeling of fraternal affection  
 induced him to refrain from inflicting upon Mahmud the  
 usual disqualification for sovereignty, loss of sight; and  
 this act of clemency, which was so unusual in Afghan  
 policy, proved ultimately his own destruction.

During the five succeeding years, Shah Shuja was nominal  
 monarch of Afghanistan; but his authority and life were  
 repeatedly endangered by the attempts of one or other of  
 his brothers to supplant him, and by the aid which they  
 received from the turbulent and factious nobles of his  
 court, especially from the powerful family of which Fatih  
 Khan was the head.<sup>2</sup> Towards the close of this period,  
 Mahmud escaped from confinement and fled to his son  
 Kamran, who had been able, during his father's detention,  
 to maintain himself at liberty on the western frontier of  
 Afghanistan. Although joined by the Barakzei chief, the  
 confederates were defeated by Shah Shuja, and his power  
 seemed to be finally established on a secure foundation.<sup>3</sup>  
 Instead, however, of following up his success, and extin-  
 guishing the last sparks of rebellion by the expulsion or  
 capture of Mahmud, he returned to enjoy his triumph at  
 Peshawar, and with singular imprudence despatched the  
 principal part of his army to recover the province of  
 Kashmir from the chief by whom the province was go-  
 verned, and who was in arms against his sovereign.<sup>4</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> The Gholam Sháhís, or Kazal-bashís, the king's Persian guards, were obnoxious to the Afghans, not only from their insolence and licentiousness, but their professions of the Shia form of Mohammedanism, which considers Ali as the rightful successor of Mohammed, and denounces imprecations on the first three Khalífs, Abu-bekr, Omar, and Othman, as usurpers. The Afghans are bigoted Sunís, and assert with equal zeal the lawfulness of the succession. An insurrection in Kabul, directed in the first instance against the Kazal-bashís, and ultimately against Mahmud as their patron, prepared the way for his deposal.—Elphinstone's *Kabul*, 8vo., vol. ii. 334.

<sup>2</sup> The sons of Sirafráz Khan, the hereditary chiefs of the Barakzei clan, were twenty-two in number: one of them, Dost Mohammed, the chief who has of late years acquired such extensive European celebrity, was then one of the youngest of the brethren.

<sup>3</sup> In August, 1803, the Resident at Delhi reported, that, according to the latest advices from Afghanistan, the authority of Shah Shuja was fully established.—MS. Records.

<sup>4</sup> For the latter history of the Afghans, See Elphinstone's *Embassy to Kabul*, vol. ii. p. 279, and Conolly's *Overland Journey to India*; *Afghan History*, ii. 233. See also the later accounts of Burnes, Vigne, &c.

was at this season that the mission from Bengal arrived at Peshawar.

The embassy to Kabul was fitted out in a manner intended to impress the Afghans with an exalted opinion of the power and dignity of the Company, and was intrusted to a member of the civil service, Mr. Elphinstone, whose conversancy with the language and manners of native princes, and whose abilities, judgment, and personal character ensured its success, as far as the state of affairs permitted. Mr. Elphinstone left Delhi on the 13th of October; and, as it was uncertain whether Ranjit Sing would assent to the passage of the mission through the Punjab, the route followed traversed the hitherto untrodden wastes of Bikaner and Jesselmer to the frontiers of Bahawalpur, then a dependancy of Kabul. Proceeding through Multan, the Nawab of which was also at that time, nominally at least, a feudatory of the Afghan monarch, the mission reached the Indus, and on the 7th of January crossed the river at Kaheri ferry. On the 5th of March, Mr. Elphinstone reached Peshawar, whither Shah Shuja had recently returned from Kandahar.

Although the envoy met with a courteous reception, and much cordiality prevailed between the members of the mission and the principal persons of the court, yet the objects of the embassy were never fully comprehended, nor was a feeling of distrust towards it ever entirely effaced. An alliance to resist a combined invasion of the French and Persians seemed to the Afghans to be a needless precaution, as the danger was avowedly contingent and remote, and as it was one with which they deemed themselves competent to cope. The circumstances under which the alliance was sought, showed that British rather than Afghan interests were at stake, and the court not unreasonably desired to know what benefit was to accrue to them from the confederacy. It was shrewdly enough argued by the diplomatists of Peshawar that they could not come to any decision upon an *ex-parte* statement, and that in justice to themselves they ought to hear what an ambassador from France might have to urge before they made common cause with either French or English. To a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance generally, they professed themselves to be willing to accede, as such an

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BOOK 1. alliance proposed a reciprocal advantage; but they objected  
 CHAP. IV. to enter into engagements intended solely for the protec-  
 1809. tion of British India. They saw clearly that the British  
 Government had a point to carry with the court of Kabul  
 for interests of its own; and, when they found that the  
 equivalent demanded was withheld, they concluded that  
 some ulterior and unacknowledged purpose was enter-  
 tained.

The importance of the object which Shah Shuja and his ministers had in view — the assistance of the British — was speedily enhanced by the course of events. The troops sent to Kashmir were so entirely defeated that not more than two thousand men, dismounted, disarmed, and wholly disorganised, escaped. Mahmud immediately resumed the offensive, occupied Kandahar and Kabul, and threatened Peshawar. The army was annihilated, the treasury was empty and the means of levying any considerable force were entirely deficient. In this emergency a pecuniary grant was urgently solicited from the British Government; and such was the state of popular indifference with regard to the contending parties, and the readiness of the chiefs to sell their services to the highest bidder, that a compliance with the application would in all probability have secured the ascendancy of Shah Shuja, and have seated him firmly and permanently in his dominions.<sup>1</sup> The measure was warmly advocated by the envoy; but unhappily for the Shah, and for the fate of Afghanistan, doomed to a long and still uninterminated course of civil dissension and domestic anarchy, the policy of the British Government had undergone a change. The invasion of Spain by Napoleon, and the commencement of the Peninsular war, had indefinitely suspended the execution of his designs upon India, and had made it no longer necessary to conciliate the good-will or purchase the co-operation of the natives upon the frontier. It was there-

<sup>1</sup> The people of the towns were in general well-affected towards Shah Shuja, who was recommended to them by his moderation and justice. The Hill tribes were indifferent, and followed their own chiefs, most of whom were ready to sell their services to the highest bidder. Ten lakhs of rupees would probably have turned the scale decidedly in favour of Shah Shuja, and have secured him a permanent ascendancy. The grant of pecuniary aid was advocated by Mr. Elphinstone, but the measure was not thought necessary by Lord Minto, expressly on the grounds that the change of affairs in Europe had indefinitely suspended, if not entirely defeated, the projects of France against British India.—MS. Records.

fore resolved to decline the grant of pecuniary aid in any form whatever, and to withdraw with unmeaning professions of amity from all intercourse with the Durani sovereign. The consequences of the ambition of the French Emperor thus vibrated to the heart of Asia; and his declaration, that the Bourbons had ceased to reign, precipitated Shah Shuja from his throne, consigned him to a life of exile and to a disastrous death, and ultimately led to the infliction of an indelible stain upon the military reputation of the British in the East.

Notwithstanding the disappointment of his hopes of realising an equivalent advantage from the proposed connexion, Shah Shuja agreed to the terms of a treaty in which it was stipulated, that if the French and Persians, who were in alliance, should endeavour to cross Afghanistan on their way to India, the Shah should, to the extent of his power, oppose their march; that the expense attending such opposition should be defrayed by the British Government; that friendship and union should continue for ever between the contracting states; that they should in no manner interfere in each other's countries; and that the King of Kabul should permit no individual of the French nation to enter his territories.<sup>1</sup> The treaty was sent for ratification to Calcutta: it was signed there on the 17th of June; but, before it could be returned to Peshawar, neither king nor ambassador remained to exchange its authentication. Mr. Elphinstone, who had left the city on the 14th of June to await the restoration of tranquillity, received on his route the order for the return of the mission, and proceeded accordingly to the British territory by way of the Punjab. Shah Shuja marched against his rival: on the 29th of June his army, whilst yet in disorder after its march through the mountains, was surprised by Fatih Khan, and completely routed. The Shah fled; and, although he made several attempts to recover his authority, was uniformly unsuccessful. He then became the guest, and finally the prisoner, of Ranjit Sing; but effected his escape from Lahore, and found an asylum for many years in Ludiana, under the protection and with the support of the Government of India. At the end of 1832 he left his residence, and, pro-

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<sup>1</sup> Coll. of Treaties, p. 301.

BOOK I. ceeding to the westward, raised a force with which he  
 CHAP. IV. defeated the troops of the Amirs of Sindh, and compelled  
 1809. them to pay him a pecuniary contribution. He then  
 advanced to Kandahar, which he besieged. The Barakzei  
 chiefs of that city having been joined by Dost Mohammed  
 issued into the field, and an action took place which ended  
 to the advantage of the Barakzeis. The Shah might,  
 however, have recovered the supremacy, as many of the  
 principal leaders of the enemy were prepared to desert  
 to him ; but he retreated precipitately from the contest,  
 and hastened back to his place of refuge, to be thence  
 conducted once more to Afghanistan,<sup>1</sup> under more propi-  
 tious auspices than had ever smiled upon his former  
 efforts,—the avowed co-operation of Ranjit Sing and the  
 Government of British India. The auspices were decep-  
 tive. The powerful support upon which he relied crumbled  
 beneath his feet, and left him helpless and alone amidst  
 inexorable foes and treacherous friends. The end of his  
 chequered career followed close upon his abandonment ;  
 and the hand of an assassin terminated the life of a prince  
 whose alliance the Government of India had once courted,  
 whose expulsion from his dominions it had pitied, and  
 whose distress it had relieved, and whom, as fatally for  
 him as for itself, it at last vainly engaged to replace  
 upon his throne.

The country of Sindh constitutes the most western  
 limit of India along the southern course of the Indus.  
 It was conquered by the Mohammedans in the commence-  
 ment of the eighth century, and was retained as a depen-  
 dency of Persia until its subjugation by Mahmud of  
 Ghazni. Upon the downfall of his dynasty, the Sumras,  
 a race of chiefs of Arab extraction, established themselves  
 as independent rulers of the country, until they were dis-  
 possessed by the Sumas, who were Hindus, and who pro-  
 fessed a nominal fealty to the Patan sovereigns of Delhi.  
 In the reign of Akbar, Sindh became more intimately  
 attached to the Mogul empire ; but the government of the  
 province was usually intrusted to native chiefs, whose  
 degree of subordination was regulated by the ability of  
 the court of Delhi to compel obedience. Towards the

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Papers relative to Shah Shujah's expedition into Afghan-  
 istan, 1833-34 ; printed 20th March, 1839.

close of the seventeenth century, the Kaloras, a race of religious teachers who pretended to derive their origin from the Abasside Khalifs, and who converted their reputation for sanctity into an engine of worldly aggrandisement, had become possessed of extensive territory in Sindh, and usurped an ascendancy in its government, which was legalised in the reign of Mohammed Shah of Delhi by the appointment of Nur Mohammed Kalora as Subahdar of Tatta. The vicegerent of Sindh was speedily relieved from his dependance upon Delhi, but was compelled to pay tribute to the conqueror, Nadir Shah. The death of that prince dissolved the connexion with Persia; but the new sovereign of Afghanistan claimed the like supremacy over the country, and Sindh became, nominally at least, subject to Kabul. Although confirmed by Ahmed Shah, the son and successor of Nur Mohammed, Mohammed Murad Khan was deposed after a reign of a few years by his disaffected nobles; and his brother, Ghulam Shah Khan, was placed on the musnud in his room. After a turbulent and distracted reign, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sirafrax Khan,<sup>1</sup> who in a few years was deposed by the heads of the Baluch tribes, who had now acquired a leading influence in the affairs of Sindh, and whose enmity he had incurred by putting Bahram Khan, the chief of Talpura, and one of his sons, Sobhdar Khan, for some offence to death. The confederates first placed a younger brother of Sirafrax Khan, and then a cousin, upon the throne; but, dissatisfied with their own choice, successively removed them, and seated Ghulam Nabi Shah, a brother of Ghulam Shah, on the musnud. Shortly after his accession, Bijar Khan Talpura, another son of Bahram Khan, returned to Sindh from Arabia, whither he had gone on pilgrimage, and undertook to revenge the death of his father. He was joined by his clan, and by their friends. Ghulam Nabi Khan immediately assembled his adherents; and a conflict ensued in which he was killed. Bijar Khan then marched against the capital, Hyderabad, where Abd-un-nabi Khan, the brother of the defeated sovereign, had fortified himself, and had put to death Sirafrax Khan, who had been confined there, and, along with him, other princes whose pretensions he thought likely to interfere with his own. Bijar Khan, unable to

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<sup>1</sup> He founded the present capital, Hyderabad, in 1782.



BOOK I. reduce Hyderabad, protested his readiness to acknowledge  
CHAP. IV. Abd-un-nabi as his sovereign, and faithfully adhered to  
1809. his professions. The Kalora prince was acknowledged to be the paramount prince, and the head of the Talpura tribe became his hereditary minister. The authority exercised by Bijar Khan was not of long duration. In little more than two years he was assassinated by agents of the Raja of Jodhpur, with the connivance, or at the instigation, it is said, of Abd-un-nabi. The belief that the latter was implicated in the murder of Bijar Khan roused the vengeance of the Talpura tribe; and Abd-ullah Khan, the son of the deceased, expelled Abd-un-nabi from Sindh. Abd-ullah assumed the sovereignty.

Although assisted successively by the chief of Kelat and by the Raja of Jodhpur, Abd-un-nabi Khan was unable to recover his authority, and was obliged to have recourse to the Afghan monarch, Timur Shah, the son of Ahmed Shah. A force was placed at his disposal which his enemies were unable to resist, and an apparent reconciliation was effected by the intermediation of the principal nobles. The reconciliation was insincere. The Talpura chiefs rebelled, were again defeated, and were again received into seeming favour, when either the dread of their renewed machinations, or resentment for the past, induced Abd-un-nabi Khan to perpetrate the murder of their leading men. Inviting Abd-ullah Khan, with two of his principal associates and kinsmen, to an interview on board his boat when upon an excursion on the Indus, he had them seized and immediately put to death. The crime was fatal to his dynasty; for the surviving chiefs of the Talpuras, led by Fatih Ali, the son of Mir Sobhdar Khan, the brother of Bijar Khan, who had been put to death along with their father Bahram Khan, rose in arms, and, assisted by the neighbouring chiefs of Khyrpur, Baha-walpur, and Daudputra, compelled Abd-un-nabi once more to seek an asylum at the court of Kabul. Circumstances were no longer propitious to his cause; and, although assistance was promised him, none of any magnitude was afforded. The representations of the Talpura chiefs, their professions of allegiance, the tribute which they promised, and the bribes which they distributed, retarded and ultimately frustrated the intentions, and baffled the efforts, of Timur Shah, and his successor Zeman Shah.

Abd-un-nabi, after residing some years upon Jagirs assigned him, first by the Afghan monarch, and afterwards by the Raja of Jodhpur, died an exile in the states of the former prince, in the reign of Mahmud Shah, and the Talpura chief finally established the authority of his family in Sindh. His personal elevation was not undisputed, even by his own relations; and the forces on either side were drawn out to decide the dispute by the sword. The counsels of the elders of the tribe, and the tears and entreaties of the women, arrested the strife upon the eve of its occurrence;<sup>1</sup> and an accommodation was effected, by which Mir Sohrab of Khyrpur and Mir Thara of Mirpur, both descended from a common ancestor, were acknowledged to be independent in their own districts, while Fatih Ali was recognised as chief ruler of Sindh. This power he shared with his three brothers, Gholam Ali, Karam Ali, and Murad Ali. At a period when a friendly connexion with the country became an object of the policy of the Government of India, Fatih Ali was dead, but the three surviving brothers jointly administered the affairs of Sindh.<sup>2</sup>

Imperfectly acquainted with the history and the resources of Sindh, and attaching to its commerce and alliance more value than belonged to either, the Government of Bengal had made several attempts to form relations with the court of Hyderabad. Its advances were received with coldness, or repelled with insolence, and although a commercial agent was at one time allowed to reside at Tatta and carry on trade there, yet little encouragement<sup>3</sup> was given to it by the ruling authorities; and the factory having been attacked and plundered in a popular tumult, for which no reparation or redress was procured, the agency was discontinued. Circumstances

<sup>1</sup> An interesting account of this transaction is given by Mr. Crow, in his report on Sindh, and is extracted in Captain Postans' account of Sindh.

<sup>2</sup> See Macmurdo's account of Sindh, *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, i. 223; Visit to the Court of Sindh, by Dr. Burnes; *Personal Observations on Sindh* by Captain Postans; and a Persian account, translated by Captain Pogson, and published in Calcutta. This latter differs, in some details, from the narrative, of the European writers, and is less favourable to the Talpuras, ascribing to the latter treacherous designs, which provoked, and in some degree justified, the treatment they experienced.

<sup>3</sup> Ghulam Shah Kalora granted perwanas in 1758 to a Mr. Sumption, in the service of the East India Company, exempting the goods he should import from all duties, and authorising him to build a factory at Aurangbunder, or at Tatta.—*Coll. of Treaties*, 488.

BOOK I. now appeared more promising. Alarmed by the menaced  
 CHAP. IV. interference of Shah Shuja on behalf of the expelled  
 1809. prince, Abd-un-nabi, the Amirs of Sindh had applied to Persia for succour, and a Persian army had been directed to march to their assistance. The death of Abd-un-nabi, and the embarrassments which Shah Shuja experienced at home, removed all ground of fear from Afghanistan, and the Amirs then became most apprehensive of peril from their allies. They thought it prudent, therefore, to oppose one powerful friend to another,—British India to Persia: they therefore began to conciliate the British Government, and sent an agent to Bombay to propose the renewal of the commercial intercourse that had formerly existed. The proposal was favourably entertained, and Captain Seton was sent as envoy to Hyderabad. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded by the envoy with the Amirs; but, as the stipulations pledged the British Government to a reciprocity that was deemed inexpedient, the ratification of the treaty was withheld, and Mr. Nicholas Hankey Smith, a Bombay civil servant, was deputed to explain the cause, and to contract a less comprehensive engagement. After many delays and obstructions opposed to his journey by the servants of the Amirs,—not, it was suspected, without their secret approval,<sup>1</sup>—Mr. Smith reached Hyderabad on the 8th of August; and on the 23rd of that month a treaty was signed, which engaged that there should be eternal friendship between the two Governments; that vakeels or agents should be always mutually appointed; and that the French should not be permitted to form an establishment in Sindh.<sup>2</sup> The apprehension of a French invasion of India had subsided, and there remained no motive of weight for cultivating the friendship of a semi-barbarous and arrogant court; while the Amirs were equally disinclined to maintain an intimate intercourse with a power which they feared, and with which they thought they had reason to be dissatisfied, not only on account of the annulment of the treaty entered into with Captain Seton, but because they were apprised that any aggression upon the

<sup>1</sup> A detailed account of the proceedings of the mission is given by Lieutenant (now Sir Henry Pottinger) in his *Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh*, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Coll. of Treaties, 306.

neighbouring state of Cutch, to the affairs of which we shall hereafter have occasion to recur, would be decidedly resisted. No beneficial result consequently followed the connexion formed at this period with the rulers of Sindh.

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Negotiations of greater importance and of more durable consequences were at the same period set on foot with the Government of Persia. They opened inauspiciously, but their complexion was changed by the influence of political revolutions in the west; and the course of events in Europe cleared the road from Bushir to Tehran, and subverted the influence which the French embassy had obtained at the latter city.

Napoleon had endeavoured at an early date to establish a connexion with the King of Persia; and when he projected the invasion of Egypt, the Directory, at his suggestion, sent secret agents to Tehran to prevail upon the reigning monarch, Aga Mohammed, to make a simultaneous attack upon the Turkish provinces on the Euphrates. The unavowed character of the French emissaries perplexed the Persian sovereign: his death shortly afterwards, and the accession of Fatih Ali, caused their proposals to meet with but little attention; and no disposition was evinced to adopt the views of France. This disappointment, and the successful mission of Sir John Malcolm to Tehran by Marquis Wellesley, excluded the influence of France at the Court of Persia for several years. An accredited agent, who was then sent, died shortly after having had an audience of the King, and all intercourse was again suspended.

In the beginning of 1806, Persia being engaged in hostilities with Russia, and dreading the advance of the Russian arms, gladly welcomed an agent from the French minister at Constantinople, and at his recommendation despatched one of the nobles of the court to Paris to negotiate a treaty of offensive alliance. A second envoy from Tehran accompanied Monsieur Pontecoulant, who had been despatched to Persia after the death of his predecessor, and who was now returning to France. This disposition of the Persian Court coinciding with the political interests of the French Emperor, met with the most cordial encouragement, and a splendid embassy was



BOOK I. sent to Tehran under General Gardanne, who arrived at  
CHAP. IV. the Persian capital towards the end of December, 1807.

1808. His suite consisted of twenty-five persons, mostly military, besides a number of artillery and engineer officers, and a considerable body of artificers. The draft of a treaty was speedily completed, and sent to Paris for ratification. It was stipulated that France should, either by force or negotiation, obtain from Russia, Georgia and other frontier provinces conquered from Persia; that the King of Persia should allow an army to march through his territories to invade India, should provide for its wants, and join it with all his force; that the Island of Kharak should be ceded to France, and French factories should be admitted at Gombroon, Bushir, and other places; and that, if the Emperor required it, the King of Persia should exclude all Englishmen from his dominions. During the negotiations, and the interval of the ratification of the treaty, many of the French officers attached to the embassy were dispersed through the country, and were actively engaged in making military surveys of it and ascertaining its resources; while those remaining at the capital were as busily employed in drilling the new Persian levies, and instructing them in European discipline.

The war between Persia and Russia originated in the invasion of Georgia by the former power, and consequent recourse to the latter by the princes of Georgia, Heraclius and his successor Gurgein, the second of whom promised perpetual vassalage to Russia as the price of the aid solicited. The Persians had been driven out of the country, and they had not only been foiled in every attempt to regain it, but had sustained many disastrous defeats, and had lost extensive tracts in Armenia and Daghestan. In the first moments of distress the court had applied to the Indian Government for aid, under the initiatory article of the treaty concluded in 1801, which pledged the two states to perpetual amity. This interpretation of the article was not concurred in by the Government of India, and armed assistance was declined. The refusal had alienated the court of Persia from the British connexion, and had thrown it into the arms of France. Unfortunately for its hopes, the peace of Tilsit, which was concluded before even the arrival of General Gardanne

at Tehran, had united the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander in bonds of personal friendship and projects of mutual aggrandisement. Although not immediately avowed,—although a show of regard was displayed, and offers of mediation were professed,—yet at the very moment when the King of Persia was assured that the strongest intercession in his favour should be addressed to the Czar, his cause had been utterly abandoned, and the integrity of his dominions sacrificed to Russia, in exchange for license to the French Emperor to pounce without check or hindrance upon Spain.

The presence of a French embassy at the Persian court had so far a beneficial operation, that it roused the authorities both in England and in India to a sense of the necessity of reacquiring some consideration at Tehran. Unluckily, their measures were taken without previous concert, and the result was an undignified and impolitic collision. The Government of England, in communication with the Court of Directors, resolved to send an ambassador to Persia, in the person of Sir Harford Jones, who had held for several years the office of Company's Resident at Bagdad. He was accordingly nominated his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary; although his allowance and the cost of the mission were to be defrayed by the East India Company, and the envoy was ordered to act under instructions from the Governor-General. The Governor-General had in the mean time determined to despatch his own representative; and Sir John Malcolm, who had concluded the former treaty, was again sent by Lord Minto in the same capacity to Persia.

The appointment of an ambassador to Persia was one of the last acts of the administration of Earl Grey; and his departure was delayed by the change of ministry which took place in March, 1807. From this and other circumstances, Sir Harford Jones did not arrive at Bombay until April in the following year, and on his arrival found that Sir John Malcolm had preceded him to Bushir. In compliance with the orders of the Governor-General, he remained at Bombay until it should be ascertained in what manner the mission had been received. Sir John Malcolm reached Bushir in May, and announced his arrival to the court, sending his despatches by one of his officers,

BOOK I. Captain Pasley. The letters were forwarded, but the  
 CHAP. IV. messenger was detained at Shiraz until instructions should  
 arrive from Tehran. After some delay, they were received.

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The King, still clinging to the hope that the intercession of France would procure the restoration of some of his lost frontier,—a hope in which he was strengthened by the assurances of a Russian agent, and the protestations of the French ambassador,—chose rather to brave the resentment of his former allies than give umbrage to both France and Russia. Affecting, however, an equal unwillingness to displease the British Government, he directed one of his sons, Hosein Ali Mirza, governor of the province, to carry on the negociations with its representative at Shiraz. To this Sir John Malcolm strongly objected, as derogatory to the dignity of his Government. Believing from the private information he received, that the French embassy had obtained too firm a footing at Tehran to be supplanted, and arguing that the connexion was a breach of existing engagements, and inimical to British interests, he abruptly sailed from Bushir, and repaired at once to Calcutta, where his representations induced the Governor-General to conclude that measures of intimidation or hostility were necessary; and orders were issued for fitting out a military expedition, which should occupy the island of Kharak, and hold the command of the navigation of the Persian Gulph.<sup>1</sup>

The first impression entertained by the Governor-General, founded upon the envoy's despatches, was, that the proceedings of Sir John Malcolm had been somewhat precipitate, and that no sufficient cause had been assigned for the total abandonment of the objects of the embassy. He had therefore authorised Sir Harford Jones, in the event of his predecessor's withdrawal, to prosecute his voyage "without a moment's delay, should the circumstances render, in his judgment, such a step advisable, without further reference to Bengal." The information which he subsequently received induced Lord Minto to believe that a representative of the British power would not be admitted to the presence of the King of Persia, and that a repetition of the attempt to obtain an audience would be incompatible with the dignity of the Govern-

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Political History of India, i. 415.

ment, while it would be productive of no advantage. Sir Harford Jones was consequently instructed to await the result of further deliberations. The countermand was too late. Before it reached Bombay, Sir Harford Jones, acting in the spirit of his first instructions, had sailed for Persia. He arrived at Bushir on the 14th of October. The aspect of affairs had changed. No progress had been made towards the restitution of any part of the Persian territory, and the court had begun to lose faith in the professions of the French. In this feeling of disappointment, regret for having given offence to the British Government, and apprehension of the consequences of its displeasure, found easy access to the Persian cabinet, and the arrival of his Majesty's ambassador at Bushir was regarded as a fortunate means of escaping from its embarrassments. Still, some reluctance seems to have been entertained to break so entirely with France as openly to sanction the advance of the mission to the capital; and, although an invitation to proceed to Shiraz was very soon forwarded, Sir Harford Jones consented to go thither upon no other security for his ultimate reception at Tehran than the assurances of a native agent that on his arrival there he would find the official invitation from the King and his ministers to continue his journey to the presence. Upon this information, the envoy accompanied the Mihmandar who was sent to conduct him to Shiraz, and arrived there on the 1st of January. Some faint attempts to inveigle him into negotiations with the local authorities were easily baffled; and, all difficulties being surmounted,<sup>1</sup> the mission departed from Shiraz on the 12th of January. Sir Harford Jones entered Tehran on the 14th of the following month, the French embassy having quitted the city on the preceding day. During the stay of the mission

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<sup>1</sup> Malcolm ascribes this to "the anticipated failure of the French to fulfil their extravagant promises, the alarm excited by the military preparations in India, and the cupidity of the Persian court, which had been strongly excited."—*Pol. Hist.* i. 415. Sir Harford Jones states, that Lord Minto accused him of having found his way to Shiraz by corruption.—*Account of the Mission to Persia*, i. 147. According to the Plenipotentiary's own account, the King's willingness to receive him was stimulated by exaggerated descriptions of a valuable diamond included amongst the presents intended for his Majesty, and of which he himself remarks, "I so managed, that, at the expense of £10,000 to the Company, the Shah of Persia considered he had received twenty or twenty-five thousand pounds from his Majesty's envoy."—*Account of the Mission*, i. 144.



BOOK I. at Shiraz, the despatches from Bengal arrived, recalling  
 CHAP. IV. the ambassador, and announcing the military projects of  
 the Government. The information speedily transpired,  
 1809. and excited great alarm ; to allay which, Sir Harford Jones  
 assumed, as the representative of the Crown, a power  
 independent of the Governor-General of India, and entered  
 into a solemn pledge that no aggression should be com-  
 mitted upon the dominions of the King of Persia as long  
 as his Majesty displayed a wish to preserve the amicable  
 relations by which he had been connected with the King  
 of Great Britain.

The appointment of an ambassador to Persia by the  
 home Government had been regarded by the Governor-  
 General as an injudicious departure from the practice of  
 negotiating with that country through India. He pro-  
 tested against the innovation. Lord Minto argued, that it  
 was inconsistent to expect from the Government of India  
 effective precautions against any dangers on the side of  
 Persia, without leaving to it the power of controuling the  
 minister deputed to the Persian court, and directing the  
 course and character of the negotiations to be carried on  
 with it: that such a minister appointed in England might  
 not only fail to appreciate the interests of British India,  
 but might act in direct opposition to them ; and might  
 not only pledge the faith of its Government to measures  
 unsanctioned by it, but even to such as were incompatible  
 with its honour and safety: that the Indian Government  
 was vested with the power of sovereignty within its own  
 limits, and had been recognised in that character by the  
 King of Persia. " It was in that character alone that we  
 had been able to obtain those manifestations of respect,  
 that regard to the claims of dignity, which amongst all  
 nations in the world, but in an especial degree amongst  
 Asiatic states, are essential to the maintenance of real  
 power in the scale of political interest : this acknowledged  
 character, as it constituted the basis, so it must form the  
 cement, of our external relations. To depreciate, there-  
 fore, that estimation of the power and dignity of the  
 British Government in India, which, under a just sense of  
 its importance, we have hitherto successfully laboured to  
 preserve among surrounding states, is to fix upon the  
 British Government the stigma of deceit, to affect the

reputation of our public faith, and to expose us to much of the danger arising from a real loss of power, by diminishing that awe and respect with which the Government has hitherto been contemplated, and on which the tranquillity and security of British India materially depend."<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the earnestness with which Lord Minto asserted the sovereign prerogatives of the Governor-General of India, the transfer of diplomatic relations with Persia from that officer to the Ministers of the Crown was persevered in, and ambassadors to Persia have ever since been sent directly from Great Britain alone. The destinies of Persia are, in truth, so much more intimately interwoven with the political interests of the parent country than of India, the consequences deprecated by Lord Minto as likely to affect the latter are so much more calculated to exercise an influence upon the former, that the relations established, or to be established, with Persia, can no longer be consistently confided to the arbitrement of a delegated and subordinate functionary however high his station or absolute his authority.

Until, however, the question was decided against him, Lord Minto showed himself resolved to exercise his power. Highly displeased at the determination of Sir Harford Jones to continue his journey from Shiraz, the Governor-General addressed despatches to the court of Tehran, disavowing the public character of the ambassador; and, to Sir Harford Jones himself, orders were sent, commanding him instantly to leave the country, with the intimation, that, on his failing so to do, any bills drawn by him on the Indian Governments after the date of such disobedience would not be discharged. His Majesty's plenipotentiary could not resist the weight of this argument, and signified his readiness to obey; but in the mean time he had pursued his negotiation with great activity, had accomplished the execution of a preliminary treaty, and had prevailed upon the King of Persia to send Abul Hasan Khan as his ambassador, in company with Mr. Morier, to England. The Governor-General consented to ratify the treaty, but peremptorily ordered Sir H. Jones

<sup>1</sup> Lord Minto's letter to the Secret Committee, as quoted by Malcolm.—*Pol. Hist.* i. 417.

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to quit Persia, making over charge of the mission to a medical officer of the Company until the arrival of Sir John Malcolm, whom he still resolved to employ. On the other hand, orders from England directed Sir H. Jones to remain until the arrival of another ambassador in the person of Sir Gore Ouseley ; and he continued in the country until after the winter of 1810, although not exercising apparently any ministerial functions. Sir John Malcolm arrived at Tehran in June 1810,—for no purpose apparently except to vindicate the dignity of the Governor-General of India, and put the Company to an unnecessary expense. His presence and services in Persia being speedily rendered unnecessary by the approach of Sir Gore Ouseley as his Majesty's representative at the Persian court, he left Tehran in the following month.<sup>1</sup> There were consequently, about the same period, three English ambassadors in Persia, whose relative importance it must have perplexed the Persians to determine, although they were astute enough to take advantage of so much competition for their friendship, and make the better bargain for themselves.

By the preliminary treaty concluded between Sir Harford Jones and the ministers of the King of Persia it was stipulated that the articles should form the basis of a definitive treaty without alteration ; that every treaty made by the King of Persia with any one of the powers of Europe, should become null and void ; and that he would not permit any European force to march through Persia towards India. That, should any European force invade or have invaded the territories of Persia, his Britannic Majesty would afford to the King of Persia a military force, or, in lieu of it, a subsidy and warlike ammunition ; the number of the forces and the amount of the subsidy

<sup>1</sup> A full account of the circumstances connected with Sir Harford Jones's embassy has been published by himself.—*An Account of the transactions of his Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia in the years 1807–11*, by Sir Harford Jones Brydges, Bart. A somewhat different view of them is given by Malcolm in his *Political History of India*. Some notice of the proceedings of the mission occurs in Morier's *First Journey through Persia*. Whatever may be the case with respect to the means employed, there is no denying that Sir Harford Jones effected his object ; that he made his way to Tehran, and negotiated a treaty which, in substance, was confirmed by the British Government ; and that the projected military expedition to the Gulf would have entailed a heavy cost, realised no solid advantage, and deeply, perhaps incurably, wounded the pride of the Persian monarch and the patriotism of his people.

to be regulated by a definitive treaty. Should his Britannic Majesty make peace with the invading power, he should use his efforts to negotiate a peace also between it and Persia; but, in failure of success, the military or pecuniary aid should be still supplied as long as the invading force continued in the Persian territory, or until the conclusion of peace. That, if the Afghans or any other power should attack India, the King of Persia should furnish a force to assist in its defence. That, if any British troops should have landed at Kharak, or in any other Persian port, they should not possess themselves of such places, but be at the disposal of the King of Persia, subject to the alternative of a pecuniary payment in their place. That, if war should take place between the Afghans and the King of Persia, the King of Great Britain should take no part in it, except as a mediator at the desire of both parties. That the object of these articles should be regarded as mutually defensive; and, finally, a hope was expressed, that the treaty might be everlasting, and produce "the most beautiful fruits of friendship between the two serene kings."

A definitive treaty, in conformity to these stipulations, was entered into by Sir Gore Ouseley; but some of the conditions underwent a modification in England, and the final arrangements were not completed till 1814, when the terms were conclusively agreed upon. The defensive character of the treaty was more explicitly stated, and Russia was specified as the power against which the Persian frontier was to be defended. The amount of the subsidy was fixed at 200,000 tomans, about £125,000 per annum; and it was further agreed, that the said subsidy should not be paid in case a war with any European nation should have been produced by an aggression on the part of Persia. The other modifications little affected the preliminary conditions; and, at a subsequent date, the Persian court was compelled to relinquish the stipulated subsidy.<sup>1</sup> Little ultimate advantage accrued to either power from the intercourse which it had been considered so essential to the political interests of both to maintain.

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<sup>1</sup> See the several engagements with Persia of 1809, 1814, and 1823, in the treaties printed by order of the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.



## CHAPTER V.

*Appointment of Sir G. Barlow to the Government of Madras,—unacceptable to the Settlement.—The State of Popular Feeling.—Commencement of Agitation.—Case of Mr. Sherson.—Proceedings of the Commission for the Investigation of the Debts of the Nawab of the Carnatic.—Trials of Reddy Rao,—his Conviction,—his Pardon and Death.—Affairs of Travancore.—Disputes between the Raja and the Resident.—Enmity of the Dewan,—sets on foot an Insurrection,—abetted by the Dewan of Cochin.—Troops ordered to Travancore.—The Resident's House attacked,—his Escape.—Operations of the Subsidiary Force.—Murder of Europeans by the Dewan.—Army sent to the Province under Colonel St. Leger.—Storm of the Arambuli Lines.—Defeat of the Nairs at Quilon.—Advance to the Capital.—Submission of the Raja.—Flight of the Dewan.—Sanctuary violated.—Death of the Dewan.—Seizure and Execution of his Brother.—The Body of the Dewan gibbeted.—Sentiments of the Bengal Government.—Disorganised Condition of Travancore.—Administration of Affairs by the Resident as Dewan under the Raja and his Successors.—Restoration of Prosperity.—Similar System and Results in Cochin.—Disputes between the Governor and Commander-in-Chief.—The latter refused a Seat in Council by the Court,—his Dissatisfaction and Resignation.—Discontents of the Officers of the Coast Army,—their Causes.—Tent Contract abolished.—Reasons assigned in the Quarter-Master-General's Report, offensive to Officers commanding Corps,—demand a Court-Martial on Colonel Munro.—The Commander-in-Chief places Colonel Munro in Arrest.—Government cancels the Arrest.—General Macdowall issues a General Order on the Subject, and embarks for England.—Counter Order by the Government.—Subsequent Severity.—Suspension of Major Boles.—Effect upon the Officers.—Orders of the 1st of May.—Violent Proceedings at Hyderabad.—Mutinous Conduct of the Garrison of Masulipatam.—Threatened March of the Troops to Madras.—Firmness of the Government.—Consequent Arrangements.—Test*

*proposed to the European Officers. — Appeal to the Native Troops. — Their Allegiance. — The Garrison of Seringapatam in open Rebellion. — Colonel Close sent to Hyderabad. — Officers of the Subsidiary Force sign the Test, — their Example followed. — Arrival of the Governor-General at Madras. — Courts-Martial. — Sir Samuel Achmuty Commander-in-Chief and Member of Council. — Proceedings in England. — Warm Disputes in the Court of Directors. — Officers restored to the Service. — Sir G. Barlow finally recalled.*

TO compensate Sir George Barlow for the disappointment which had been inflicted upon him by his supersession in the high office of Governor-General, the Administration in England consented to his eventual elevation to that dignity, and in the mean while concurred in his nomination to the government of Fort St. George.<sup>1</sup> He was accordingly appointed Governor of Madras, and assumed charge of his new duties at the end of December, 1807.<sup>2</sup>

Various circumstances conspired to render the appointment of Sir George Barlow unacceptable to the servants of the Company under the Madras Presidency. His being a member of a different service was one source of his unpopularity, and his well-known character as a rigorous advocate and unrelenting enforcer of measures of public economy and retrenchment produced a still more universal and profound impression adverse to his person and his government.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, he does not appear to have

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<sup>1</sup> "He (Sir George Barlow) is now subjected to the discredit of being superseded in the Government-General; to the succession of which, after having once actually filled that high office, he stood for the third time appointed." — Protests of Messrs. Parry, Astell, Smith, and Bell, against the recall of Sir G. Barlow in 1812. So Mr. Grant in a separate protest observes, "I come now to speak of the order rescinding the appointment made by Sir G. Barlow, in May 1807, to be Governor-General of Bengal in succession to Lord Minto." — Dis-sents, &c., published by Sir Robert Barlow. Murray, 1813.

<sup>2</sup> The occurrences of Sir G. Barlow's administration are fully detailed, not only in the numerous pamphlets published both by his friends and enemies, but in the official documents relating to the transactions themselves, and to the discussions which they occasioned in the Court of Directors, which were printed by order of Parliament at the following several dates, 25th May, 1810; 1st April, 1811; 3rd May, 1811; 13th June, 1811; 21st June, 1811, and 15th April, 1812.

<sup>3</sup> "I am under the necessity of avowing, with infinite regret, another very operating principle of these discontents, which have since matured themselves gradually, but without interruption, into the extremes of public disorder. I allude to the unjust but very general and vehement prejudices against, the

BOOK I. been qualified or disposed to dissipate the prejudices  
 CHAP. V. which anticipated his presence. His manners were reserved and unconciliating: a stranger at Madras, and of retiring habits, he gave his confidence too exclusively to the knot of civil and military functionaries by whom he was immediately surrounded: his notions of the claims of the executive powers of Government to prompt and unquestioning obedience were lofty and uncompromising; and in the stern exaction of acquiescence he undervalued apparently the necessity, which "every statesman ought to feel, of mutual accommodation and concession in the controversies and contentions of mankind, and was wanting in a liberal consideration for human feelings and infirmities." These defects were not counterbalanced, in the estimation of those whom he was set over, by the acknowledged merits of his public character, his conscientious sense of the importance of his duties, or his industry and ability in their discharge; nor was time allowed for the due appreciation of the excellence which, under an unattractive deportment, distinguished his private life. The state of society also at Madras, and the sentiments which had for some time pervaded the Coast army, had accumulated elements of discord which the slightest breath was sufficient to set in agitation: dissensions and discontents accordingly immediately burst forth, and rendered the administration of the new Governor of Madras a season of unprecedented private misery, and unexampled public peril and alarm.

The first occasion of offence occurred in the settlement of Madras, and followed closely upon Sir George Barlow's arrival. On assuming the reins of power, he found in progress an inquiry instituted by order of his predecessor, into the conduct of a Mr. Sherson, a civil servant of some standing, of a respectable character, and a person much esteemed in society; who had held the office of superintendent of the public stores of rice laid in by the

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person and character of Sir G. Barlow, which may have been in some degree the unavoidable, but were certainly the unmerited, consequences of his firm and faithful discharge of ungracious and unpopular, but sacred and essential duties, not sought or relished by himself, but cast by circumstances peculiar to the times on the period of his administration in Bengal."—Letter from Lord Minto to the Secret Committee, 5th Feb., 1810; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, p. 346.

Government of Madras, to be retailed in small quantities to the people, as a precaution against the recurrence of those famines which had frequently desolated the Presidency. Charges of fraud in this department were preferred against Mr. Sherson, and a committee was appointed for their investigation. That abuses in an arrangement so liable to be abused seemed probable; but their nature and extent were undetermined, and the participation or cognizance of the principal unsubstantiated. His accounts submitted to the civil auditor were pronounced correct; yet, as they did not tally with the native accounts of the office, Mr. Sherson, and Mr. Smith the auditor, were both removed from their situations, and the former was suspended from the service pending the pleasure of the Court of Directors. An opinion generally prevailed that both these officers had been harshly, if not unjustly, dealt with; and Sir George Barlow incurred much obloquy from having precipitately believed representations asserted to be interested or malicious.

That he too hastily adopted a decided opinion in the matter, and, in his intolerance of supposed official peculation, inflicted severe punishment before its justice was undeniably established, was shown by subsequent events. A prosecution was commenced in the Supreme Court of Madras against Mr. Sherson, and after considerable delays, during which a change of Government had taken place, the cause came on for trial. Mr. Sherson was acquitted, not only of legal, but, in the opinion of one of his Judges, of moral criminality.<sup>1</sup> It was accordingly resolved by the Court of Directors, "that the severe measures adopted relative to Mr. Sherson had been founded upon erroneous grounds;" and he was restored by them to the service, with a pecuniary indemnification of 20,000 pagodas for his losses. The resolutions were confirmed in terms still more emphatic by the Court of Proprietors.<sup>2</sup>

Animosities still more violent and extensive were engendered by the part which the Governor of Madras deemed it incumbent upon him to take in support of a

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Newbolt: the other Judges were Sir Thomas Strange and Sir Francis Macnaghten.

<sup>2</sup> Report of Debate in the Court of Proprietors, 28th April and 5th May, 1815, by Mr. Fraser; London, 1815. Report of Proceedings in the Supreme Court, Madras, 28th March, 1814; Honourable Company v. Sherson and others.



BOOK I. committee which had been appointed under an act of  
 CHAP. V. parliament for the investigation and adjustment of the  
 1808. debts of the Nawab of the Carnatic. The principles  
 which had been enjoined by the Board of Controul in 1784,  
 for the settlement of all claims upon the Nawab have  
 already been described ;<sup>1</sup> and, under this application, the  
 amount of debt admitted at that date without any scruti-  
 ny, and which was known as the Registered debt, had  
 been liquidated by May, 1804. But, besides the amount  
 of debt so discharged, claims to a much greater extent  
 had been advanced. These had been submitted to exami-  
 nation before a committee which was formed at Madras,  
 the operations of which continued from 1785 to 1791.  
 They allowed some of the demands brought before them,  
 but left the far larger number for further investigation ;  
 and there the matter rested. When the entire revenues  
 of the Carnatic were assumed by the Company's Govern-  
 ment, it was considered but just to take the incumbrances  
 along with them, and to pay off all valid demands upon the  
 former Administration. An engagement to this end was  
 concluded between the Company and the creditors in  
 July 1805, and commissioners to make a settlement were  
 nominated. In the year following, an act of parliament  
 was passed for enabling the commissioners acting in exe-  
 cution of an agreement made between the East India  
 Company and the private creditors of the Nabobs of the  
 Carnatic the better to carry the same into effect.<sup>2</sup>

The engagement thus legalized by the Legislature pro-  
 vided that a fixed annual sum (3,40,000 pagodas, or  
 £136,000) should be set apart from the revenues of the  
 Carnatic for the payment of all such debts as should be  
 admitted to be just and valid by commissioners appointed  
 in England for their adjudication, assisted by similar com-  
 missioners at Madras ; whose duty it should be to collect  
 information and evidence, both oral and documentary, for  
 transmission to the commissioners at home, in whom  
 alone the power of final admission or rejection was vested :  
 and, in order that the Indian commissioners might be as  
 free as possible from all motives of local interest or

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v. p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Parliamentary Debates, April 14th and 16th, 1806. In moving for leave to bring in the bill, Mr. Hobhouse gave a full and perspicuous history of the arrangements which had been made for the liquidation of these debts.

influence, it was agreed that they should be appointed by the Governor-General, and that they should be selected from the Civil service of Bengal. Accordingly, at the period under review, three commissioners, who were members of the Bengal Civil Service, were sitting at Madras to investigate the demands of persons claiming to be creditors of the Nawabs of Arcot, and producing bonds and other vouchers asserted to have been originally granted by those princes in acknowledgment of actual loans or real pecuniary obligations.

The long interval which had elapsed since the investigation of the Carnatic debts had been commenced, and the prospect which the present arrangement encouraged of their being ultimately paid, had not only protracted the existence of those vouchers which were of unimpeachable authenticity, but had prompted the fabrication of a vast mass of fictitious documents<sup>1</sup> in evidence of unreal transactions. It was not an easy task to discriminate between the false and the true bonds; and the former, having long passed from hand to hand without question, had become, in the ordinary course of transfer, the property of individuals wholly unconnected with the original fraud, and entertaining no doubt of the goodness of the security. Many bonds of large amount had come very honestly into the possession of persons of rank and influence in the society of Madras, who were naturally and excusably interested in establishing the validity of deeds upon which their fortunes mainly depended. When, therefore, the commissioners from Bengal, early in 1808, entered upon their office at Madras, they found the difficulties, inseparable from the nature of their duty and the novelty of their position, aggravated by the opposition which they encountered. In this situation they gladly availed themselves of any assistance which offered a reasonable chance of affording them the information they were appointed to obtain; and they were fully justified in attaching consideration to the advice and opinions of a native named Reddy Rao, as he had been the principal

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<sup>1</sup> The extent of these forgeries and fabrications is shown by the result. The final report of the Carnatic commissioners, dated March 1830, states the amount originally claimed to have been above thirty millions sterling (£30,404,919 1s. 3½d.) The amount allowed was little more than two millions and a half (£2,686,143 12s. 8¾d.)

BOOK I. accountant in the financial office of the late Nawab of  
CHAP. V. Arcot, and was fully informed of the extent and character  
1808. of the claims upon his master, and as he was a man of  
ability and had always been reputed respectable and  
honest.

Shortly after this selection had been made, a bond held by Reddy Rao himself came under the inspection of the commissioners. Its authenticity was challenged by Avadanam Papia, another native creditor. The commissioners, upon investigating the charge, pronounced the bond of Reddy Rao genuine, and prosecuted the witnesses Papia had brought forward for perjury. Papia had the start of them, and carried his accusation of forgery before a magistrate, who committed Reddy Rao for trial. Regarding the prosecution as a mere trick intended to deprive them of essential assistance, the commissioners appealed to the Government of Madras; and upon their representations, and at their request, the law officers of the Company were ordered to conduct the defence of Reddy Rao. This measure and the proceedings against Papia filled all classes of creditors with alarm, inasmuch as the appearance of Government as a party in opposition to their claims, was calculated to deter the natives from giving any testimony which they might think unacceptable to the superior authorities, and might deprive the claimants in many instances of the only means by which they could substantiate their demands. Great excitement spread throughout the settlement; and many individuals, of high rank in the service and much consideration in society, inveighed vehemently against an arrangement which was attributed to the partiality and prejudices of the Governor. The Government persisted, and with reason; for no good cause could be assigned why the commissioners should be debarred from the aid of the legal advisers of the state. But, not satisfied with a calm perseverance in a right course, measures of ill-timed and injudicious severity towards individuals were adopted, which had the appearance of a determination to substitute intimidation for inquiry. Indignant at the impediments which had been thrown in the way of the commissioners, the Government dismissed the magistrate, Mr. Maitland, by whom Reddy Rao had been committed; required Mr. Parry, a

merchant residing at Madras, who had taken a conspicuous part in the opposition to the acts of the commission, to return immediately to Europe; and removed Mr. Roebuck, a civilian of long standing, from the situation he filled at the Presidency, to an office of inferior rank and emolument in the provinces, where he shortly afterwards died. In these manifestations of the displeasure of the Government, undue and unnecessary rigour was exhibited. The opposition may have originated in interested motives, and may have been intemperate and indecorous; but some consideration might have been reasonably entertained for the feelings which the dread of loss of property could not fail to inspire, and the virulence of which would have been corrected by the steady perseverance of the commissioners in the calm and impartial performance of their functions. It was not in the power of any combination to defeat, however it might retard, the objects of the commission; and, although entitled to the support of the Government, it needed not its wrathful and vindictive interposition. The interference of authority also in this stage of the business, whilst proceedings in the highest court of judicature were pending, was, to say the least, exceedingly ill-timed, as it afforded a specious plea for accusing the Government of a design to obstruct the administration of justice.

The trial of Reddy Rao took place: the Chief Justice pronounced an elaborate judgment in his favour; the jury found him guilty. A new trial was moved for, but the decision was postponed; and in the mean time an indictment for perjury was preferred against a person named Batley, the English translator and secretary of the Nawab, and one of the witnesses on behalf of Reddy Rao. It was in fact a second trial of Reddy Rao, as it involved the question of the spuriousness of his bond. A verdict unfavourable to his cause was given by a special jury, in the conviction of the defendant.

A third trial was held: Reddy Rao was charged with having paid a debt due to another native with a forged bond, knowing it to be forged; and he was again found guilty by the jury. The Chief Justice, strongly persuaded of his innocence and of that of Batley, suspended delivery of the sentence, and referred the evidence through the

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BOOK I. Board of Controul to the King, recommending the defendants to his Majesty, "not as the objects of his mercy, but as suitors for his justice ; conceiving prosecutions to be the King's, and that a greater evil could scarcely happen to society than that they should be suffered to become, by whatever means, the successful engines of wrong."<sup>1</sup>  
 CHAP. V. 1808. Necessarily guided by the opinions of the Chief Justice, the pardon of the Crown was granted ; but before it reached Madras the chief actor in the scene had ceased to be amenable to human judgment : Reddy Rao poisoned himself in little more than a twelvemonth after his last trial. He had not long continued, after that event, to enjoy the confidence of the commissioners. Suspicion was awakened : it was discovered that he was deeply implicated in the issue of the fabricated securities, and in other frauds upon the Nawab's treasury ; and the very bond, the genuineness of which had been so tenaciously upheld by the commissioners, was reported by them to their fellow commissioners in London a forgery. The result was little calculated to gain credit or favour for the Governor of Madras, who, in his eagerness to maintain unimpaired the powers of the commissioners, had thrown the whole weight of his authority into the same scale with an impostor and a cheat ; and, in defence of a knave, had inflicted on men of character and honour penury and disgrace, because in protecting valuable interests they had been betrayed into indiscretion and intemperance.<sup>2</sup>

However inveterate the mutual ill-will which was engendered by these proceedings, they were far exceeded in intensity and importance by the dissensions which about the same time broke out between the Governor of Madras and a large division of the army. Before entering upon an account of the lamentable consequences attending them, it will be advisable to notice the political occurrences by which they were preceded.

<sup>1</sup> Two letters from Sir Thomas Strange, 27th Feb. and 4th May, 1809, to the Right Honourable R. Dundas.—Parliamentary Papers, Carnatic debts.

<sup>2</sup> The best authenticated accounts of these proceedings are to be found in the papers printed for Parliament, 3rd May and 11th June, 1811, relating to the Carnatic debts. Ex-parte statements, which agree as to the main facts, are to be met with in the Parliamentary papers referred to: also in Marsh's Review of Sir G. Barlow's Administration ; London, 1812: Exposure of the Misrepresentations and Calumnies in Marsh's Review ; London, 1813: Short Narrative of the Late Trials, &c.; London, 1810: Correspondence of Messrs. Abbott, Parry, and Maitland, with the Court of Directors ; London, 1813: and in other pamphlets.

The mutual dissatisfaction which had long subsisted between the Raja of Travancore and the British Government has been already adverted to. Towards the end of 1808, the subsidy which the Raja was bound to pay had fallen into a long arrear, and the Resident peremptorily demanded its liquidation. The Raja and his principal minister protested that the revenues of Travancore were incapable of supporting so heavy a burthen as the charge of four battalions of Company's troops, and required their reduction. The Resident replied by insisting on the dismissal of an imperfectly disciplined body of infantry in the Raja's service, called the Carnatic Brigade, as a useless and expensive corps, the discontinuance of which would obviate all difficulty regarding the subsidy. The Carnatic Brigade was looked upon by the Raja as an essential part of his dignity, and indispensable to his personal safety; and the proposal to disband it was treated as a preliminary step to the seizure of the Raja's person, and the annihilation of his authority. Appeals were made by the Raja to the Governments of Madras and Bengal, in which he asserted that the treaty of 1805 had been forced upon him; that he had been intimidated into its execution by the menaces of the Resident; and that the expense which it entailed upon the revenues of his principality was beyond their means of defraying it.<sup>1</sup> These assertions were denied by the Resident.

<sup>1</sup> An opinion seems to have prevailed that the difficulty in the realisation of the subsidy arose from the refusal of the Company's Government to receive payment in pepper, agreeably to the terms of the original treaty; but which having fallen in value, a money payment was demanded. In Sir Thomas Munro's examination before the Committee of the House of Commons in April, 1813, he was asked, "Have you not heard that the Raja originally entered into the treaty with great reluctance, and received our troops into his dominions, for the payment of which the pepper was agreed to be delivered?" his reply was, "I have not so heard." The notion may, perhaps, be traced to the Asiatic Annual Register for 1809, in which this account of the alteration from payment in pepper to that in money, is assigned as a cause of the discontent of the Raja and subsequent disturbances. The statement is nevertheless erroneous. In the first correspondence with the Raja in 1788, the option of paying the subsidy in pepper or money was offered to him: he chose the latter. In 1793, a contract was entered into with him for the purchase of pepper for eight years, wholly unconnected with the subsidy. In 1795, an article of the treaty provided for the perpetuity of the pepper contract, subject to such modifications as should from time to time be agreed upon; but there was no stipulation that its price should form part payment of the subsidy. No allusion to such payment is contained in the treaty of 1805. The original contract provides that the pepper shall be paid for in goods; and, should they leave a balance, that should be paid in money. The commercial and political engagements were throughout distinct, and no complaint occurs in the correspondence on this account. The main ground of contention was the Carnatic Brigade.

BOOK I. Besides the cause of discontent arising out of the subsidy, which was common to the Raja and his counsellors, his Dewan or prime minister, Vailu Tambi, had personal grounds for fear and resentment. Considering him to be the chief instigator of the Raja's backwardness in fulfilling his pecuniary engagements, the Resident had insisted upon his removal from his situation, and the appointment of a minister more submissive to British controul. The Dewan professed himself willing to resign whenever a successor should be appointed ; but, under cover of his pretended acquiescence in the Resident's will, he set himself to work to organise an insurrection of the Nairs, the martial population of Malabar, and to accomplish the murder of the Resident, whom he hated as the scourge of his country, and his own avowed and inexorable foe. He prevailed upon the Dewan of the Raja of Cochin to join him in the plot ; and, giving encouragement to some French adventurers from the Isle of France, who had landed from an Arab vessel on the coast of Malabar, spread abroad a report that a large French army was about to come to assist him to expel the English. He also wrote circular letters to the neighbouring Rajas to summon them to combine for the defence of their religion, which he affirmed the English designed to overthrow. His instigations were effectual : arms were collected, and the people were prepared secretly for their use. The popular excitement became known to the Resident, and at his request reinforcements were ordered to Travancore. His Majesty's 12th regiment and two native battalions were directed to move from Malabar ; and his Majesty's 69th, and three battalions of native infantry, with artillery, were commanded to march from Trichinopoly to his succour.

Alarmed apparently by these precautionary measures, the Dewan professed his readiness to resign immediately if his personal safety were guaranteed, and arrangements were made for his private removal from Alepi to Calicut on the night of the 28th of December. On that same night, a body of armed men surrounded the house of the Resident. He had retired to rest, but was awakened by the indistinct noise of the approaching multitude ; and, going to the window to discover the cause, was fired at by the assailants. Before an entrance could be forced,

Colonel Macaulay, with a confidential servant, had time to hide themselves in a lower chamber, the door of which could not be easily distinguished from the exterior wall. The insurgents, having broken into the house, sought for the object of their vengeance throughout the night in vain. At daybreak they beheld a vessel under British colours entering the port, and other ships were discernible at a little distance making for the harbour. They now thought only of their own retreat, and hastily quitted the premises; affording Colonel Macaulay an opportunity of making his escape and taking refuge on board the vessel, which proved to be a transport with part of the reinforcement from Malabar. The more important division from Trichinopoly had been countermanded, the Madras Government giving ready credence to the simulated submission of the Dewan. The news of the insurrection obliged them to repeat their first directions, and in the middle of January the Trichinopoly force commenced its advance under the command of the Honourable Colonel St. Leger.

Before he was joined by the principal reinforcements from Malabar, Colonel Chalmers, commanding the subsidiary troops cantoned at Quilon, had commenced offensive operations. On the 30th of December he learnt that great numbers of armed Nairs had collected at a residence belonging to the minister, at no great distance to the north of the cantonments; and that an equally numerous body had assembled at Parùr, about ten miles to the south. His measures were promptly taken. Five companies of the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment of native infantry, with a field-piece, were detached to occupy a low hill commanding the Dewan's residence. They had scarcely reached the spot when they were attacked by the enemy in numbers greatly superior, but they maintained their ground during the night; and, being strengthened by the two flank companies of the 13th N. I. at day-break, they advanced against the Nairs, defeated them, and took possession of the house, with two brass and four iron guns, with which it had been converted into a temporary battery. Information being received that a body of the enemy above four thousand strong, were advancing along the coast from the north, the detachment commanded by Major Hamilton proceeded to meet them. They were

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BOOK I. encountered at the estuary of the Kaladi river, where  
CHAP. V. some had crossed the bar, while the Carnatic Brigade was  
drawn up on the other side of the stream. Those who  
1809. had crossed were attacked and compelled to retreat, but  
the main body stood firm; while a strong division ascended  
the river, in order to pass it higher up and get into the  
rear of the British. At the same time news arrived, that  
the force from the south estimated at more than ten  
thousand men, was rapidly advancing, and it was judged  
prudent to recall the detachment to the cantonment. The  
retreat of the troops gave courage to the insurgents.

The increasing numbers and confidence of the Nairs obliged Colonel Chalmers to remain on the defensive at Quilon, where he was reinforced early in January by his Majesty's 12th regiment under Colonel Picton. On the other hand, the Dewan, having concentrated his forces, amounting to between twenty and thirty thousand men, with eighteen guns, advanced to Quilon, and on the 15th of January attacked the British lines, defended by one European regiment and three battalions of Sipahis. The action began at six in the morning; the enemy occupying a rising ground, from which their guns opened a fire on the British encampment. Leaving the 4th native infantry to cover the camp, Colonel Chalmers formed the rest of his troops in two columns, the right under Colonel Picton, the left under Major Hamilton, and led them against the Travancore force. A stout resistance was encountered, and a division of the enemy attempted at the same time to storm the camp. They were repulsed, and, after a conflict of five hours' duration, the whole were driven off the field, leaving seven hundred slain, and losing fifteen pieces of artillery. The British loss was comparatively trifling.

Thus foiled in his attempt upon Quilon, the Dewan directed a considerable division of his followers against what promised to be an easier prey,—the post of Cochin, which was held by Major Hewitt with two companies of the 12th regiment, and six of the 1st battalion of the 17th native infantry. The enemy advanced on the 19th of January to the attack, in three masses, each a thousand strong: the one on the left was met, charged, and routed. The victors then fell upon the other two bodies, which opposed a more resolute resistance, but were forced to

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give way. Desisting from further engagements in the field, they spread round Cochin on the land side, and covered the sea with their boats, so as to cut off all supplies. Before this manœuvre had produced serious distress, the Piedmontese frigate, with the Resident on board, anchored off the town; and her boats, with some small armed vessels belonging to Cochin, quickly drove the enemy's flotilla into the river, pursued, and set it on fire. The blockade was consequently raised; but the enemy still continued in overpowering numbers in the vicinity of Quilon and Cochin, and straitened the resources and checked the movements of the subsidiary force, until they were called off by the approach of danger in other directions. During this interval they disgraced their cause by acts of atrocity, which served no purpose except that of provoking retribution. An assistant-surgeon of the name of Hume, travelling at night on the 30th of January, was seized on his route, and led into the presence of the Dewan; who, although he knew the young man personally, and had benefited by his professional advice, commanded him to be conducted to the sea-side, where he was put to death and buried in the sand. About the same time a small vessel, with some of the soldiers of the 12th regiment on board, having touched at Alepi for supplies, the men were induced to land by the appearance of cordiality among the people, and assurances that part of the subsidiary force was in the neighbourhood. Unaware that hostilities had commenced, the men, thirty in number, disembarked, and as soon as they landed were made prisoners, and shortly afterwards murdered. This was also done by order of the Dewan, who thus effaced, by his perfidy and cruelty, whatever credit he might have claimed for zeal in the cause of his country and his prince.

Finding it no longer possible to avoid the cost of military operations, the Government of Fort St. George resolved to act with vigour, especially as the advancing season of the year admitted not of further loss of time. Colonel Cuppage, commanding in Malabar, was ordered to enter the province of Cochin, from the north, and join Colonel Chalmers, with his Majesty's 80th regiment and two battalions of native infantry; and Colonel St. Leger was directed to march immediately to Trichinopoly, with

BOOK I. a force composed of his Majesty's 69th regiment, a regiment of native cavalry, and three battalions of native infantry,<sup>1</sup> besides a detachment of Royal artillery, and the 3rd Ceylon or Kafri regiment, which was to join from Ceylon. Two divisions, consisting of a European regiment and a battalion of Sipahis, severally commanded by Colonel Wallace and Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs, were stationed in the Tinnivelly district and the vicinity of Wynâd, to keep the Travancoreans in check, and eventually co-operate with Colonel St. Leger's force. A proclamation was issued by the Madras Government, and distributed with Colonel St. Leger's advance, ascribing the necessity of military measures to the intrigues of the minister, and declaring that "the British Government had no other view than to rescue the Raja from the influence of the Dewan, to put an end to the power of that minister, and to re-establish the connexion of the two Governments on a secure and happy foundation.

The principality of Travancore is divided from the province of Tinnivelly by the southern portion of the mountain-chain which runs nearly parallel with the coast of Malabar, from the upper part of the Peninsula to Cape Comorin, and is usually known by the appellation of the Western Ghats. The mountains are lofty and covered with jungle, and present in general almost insuperable obstacles to the march of an army with baggage and artillery. The most practicable passes are situated near the southernmost extremity of the chain, where the mountains decline in elevation as they approach the sea; and through one of these, the pass of Arambuli or Aramuni, it was determined on this occasion to force an entrance into Travancore. The Arambuli pass was defended by formidable lines, consisting of a number of small redoubts, each mounting two or three guns, and connected by a strong wall of masonry. The whole extended about two miles along the sides of steep and rugged hills, and terminated at either extremity by a

<sup>1</sup> The force consisted of her Majesty's 69th; both battalions of the 3rd native infantry; 1st battalion and one company of the 2nd battalion of the 13th; five companies of the 2nd battalion of the 10th native infantry; 6th native cavalry; a detachment of artillery and pioneers; a detachment of Royal artillery; and 3rd Kafri regiment from Ceylon. But the last did not join till after the capture of the Arambuli lines,

strongly fortified mountain flanked by impenetrable jungle. The high road from Palamkota led through the centre of the works, by a gateway which was commanded by two large circular bastions armed with several pieces of ordnance.<sup>1</sup> Colonel St. Leger arrived at the foot of the lines on the 6th of February; and, as the division was unequipped with a battering train, determined to attempt to carry the pass by surprise. On the night of the 10th Major Welsh, with two companies of the 69th, four flank and five battalion companies of the 3rd native infantry, quietly climbed the hill on which the southern works were erected, and, after six hours' arduous ascent, reached the foot of the wall unperceived. The ladders were planted, and the ramparts scaled, before any effective resistance could be opposed; and although a short stand was made, which was attended with some loss of life,<sup>2</sup> the redoubt was quickly in possession of the assailants. As soon as the day broke, the guns of the bastion were turned upon the defences of the pass, which they enfiladed; and, reinforcements being sent to Major Welsh, he was strong enough to attack the rest of the lines, and the whole of the works were speedily cleared of their defenders.

Having thus secured his entrance into Travancore, Colonel St. Leger advanced on the 17th of February into the interior; and dislodged, after a short action, a body of troops strongly posted, with nine guns, on the bank of a river near the village of Nagarköil. The next march brought the troops to the forts of Udagiri and Papanavaram, which were abandoned: the gates were set open, the garrisons had fled, and ensigns denoting submission were seen flying in every direction. Communications were shortly afterwards received from the Dewan and from the King, breathing a pacific spirit, and deprecating the nearer approach of the troops to Trivandrum, the capital. Having referred the letter of the King to the Resident, who was at Cochin, Colonel St. Leger marched to a position half-way between Udagiri and Kalachi, on the coast, detaching a part of his force to occupy the latter, and open a communication with Colonel Chalmers at Quilon. This officer had continued to be hemmed in by the enemy

<sup>1</sup> Welsh's Military Reminiscences, vol. i, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Cunningham of the 69th was the only officer killed.



BOOK I. during Colonel St. Leger's advance ; but, having been  
 CHAP. V. reinforced by part of the 19th regiment, had, shortly  
 1809. before the communication now opened, rid himself of his  
 opponents. Marching out of cantonments on the 21st  
 February, in two columns, severally commanded by Colonel  
 Picton and Colonel Stuart of the 19th, he attacked the  
 enemy's position in front of his encampment ; and although  
 they were five thousand strong, and were defended by  
 batteries and entrenchments, he carried the works, cap-  
 tured their artillery, and dispersed their force. After the  
 action, Colonel Chalmers marched towards the capital,  
 and arrived at the high ground within twelve miles of  
 Trivandrum, much about the same time that Colonel St.  
 Leger took up a similar position on the opposite side.  
 About the same period also, the division under Colonel  
 Cuppage crossed the frontier on the north, without oppo-  
 sition, and advanced to Parúr. The country was now  
 completely in the possession of the British: the Nairs  
 disbanded, and retired to their homes ; the Dewan des-  
 pairing of forgiveness, fled into the thickets ; and the  
 Raja, left to himself, hastened to tender his submission,  
 and profess his readiness to conform to any conditions  
 which the Resident should please to dictate.

The troops being concentrated round Trivandrum,  
 Colonel Macaulay proceeded to the capital, and concerted  
 with the Raja the conditions on which tranquillity was to  
 be restored, and the prince allowed to retain possession  
 of his dominions. The terms were adjusted by the 1st  
 of March. The Raja consented to pay the arrears of the  
 subsidy and the expenses of the war, and eleven lakhs of  
 rupees were paid on the former account before the expira-  
 tion of the month.<sup>1</sup> The Carnatic Brigade, and some Nair  
 battalions in the Raja's service, were dismissed, and the  
 defence of the prince and of his country was entrusted  
 exclusively to the subsidiary force. A new Dewan, sup-  
 posed to be in the interest of the English, and recom-  
 mended by the Resident, was appointed. The invading

<sup>1</sup> The Madras Government proposed that the guns and stores captured by the troops should become public property upon the payment to the army of their value, which should be charged to the Raja. The Government of Bengal justly objected to this double penalty, and directed the stores to be paid for by the Madras Government.—Appendix 43, Second Report of Select Committee, May, 1810; and MS. Records.

forces were withdrawn immediately upon the conclusion of the treaty: a portion of the subsidiary battalions was permanently quartered in the proximity of Trivandrum; the rest returned to their former cantonments.

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The zeal of the new minister in the cause of his English friends was promptly evinced by the active measures which were instituted for the capture of his predecessor. Traces of him were discovered among the mountains; and means were devised for preventing his being supplied with the necessaries of life by the peasantry, who had hitherto ministered to his wants. Reduced to extreme distress, the Dewan made his way, as a last resource, to the Pagoda of Bhagwadi, which from ancient usage enjoyed the privileges of a sanctuary. The emissaries of the minister, although Hindus, disregarded the sanctity of the temple, forcibly entered it, and broke open the door of the chamber to which Vailu Tambi and his brother had retreated. As they entered the apartment, the Dewan was found expiring of wounds inflicted by his own hand, or, at his entreaty, by the hand of his brother, to save him from falling alive into the power of his unrelenting foes. The brother was seized, taken to Quilon, and hanged in front of the 12th regiment, drawn out to witness his execution, as an accessory in the murder of their comrades. The body of the Dewan was carried to Trivandrum, and exposed upon a gibbet, amidst, it was said, the acclamations of the people.

The vindictive measures which were thus adopted by the Resident were defended by him upon the plea of their being no more than a just retribution for the foul treachery and sanguinary cruelty of the Dewan and his brother.<sup>1</sup> The Government of Bengal admitted the defensibility of the summary execution of the latter, upon the understanding that he had been implicated in the murder of Mr. Hume and the British soldiers; but condemned, in terms of merited reprehension, the vengeance which had pursued the crimes of the Dewan beyond his life. The ends of justice and the purposes of public security were attained, the Governor-General remarked,

<sup>1</sup> Beside Dr. Hume, and the men of the 12th, Vailu Tambi was accused of having put to death three thousand native Christians, charged with no crime but their religion.

BOOK I. by the death of the Dewan ; and the prosecution of a vindictive policy, when the object of it had ceased to exist, was repugnant to the feelings of common humanity and the principles of a civilized Government. He further observed, that although ostensibly the act of the Raja, yet it would not be believed by the public that it had not the Resident's sanction, and did not originate in his advice ; and that had it been the Raja's act, with a view to impress upon the British Government the notion that he had not participated in the treachery of his minister, yet a sentiment of just abhorrence of the measure itself, and a regard for the reputation of the British Government, should have induced the Resident to prevent the exposure, or, if anticipated, to have publicly proclaimed his disapprobation.

The proceedings in Travancore were, in truth, among the least justifiable of the many questionable transactions by which the British power in India has been acquired or preserved. The protection of the Raja was, in the first instance, generous and politic ; the military command of his country, subsequently, was necessary for objects of British policy, and was not incompatible with the pacific interests of the Raja and prosperity of his limited dominion. To impose upon him the maintenance of a force infinitely more numerous than was necessary for the defence of the country, and the cost of which heavily taxed its resources ; to urge the exaction with unrelenting rigour ; and to resent with unpitying vengeance the passions excited by a deep sense of national wrong among a semi-barbarous and demoralised race,—were unworthy of the character of the British nation for justice and generosity, of the civilization it had attained, and the religion it professed.

Notwithstanding the severities exercised upon the leaders of the late rising, and the submission which the irresistible superiority of the British arms had compelled, the spirit of disaffection after a while revived, and in less than two years, the new Dewan was suspected of being concerned in a plot directed against the British authority. He had also suffered the payment of the subsidy again to fall into arrear, and improvement in this respect was not to be expected from the increasing infirmities and im-

becility of the Raja. Under these circumstances, the Government of Bengal considered itself empowered by the fifth article of the treaty of 1805 to assume the management of the country, but suspended the final adoption of the arrangement until it should become unavoidable. Its necessity became apparent at last even to the Raja; and the new Resident, Colonel John Munro, at his request and with the authority of the British Government, took upon himself the administration of the principality as the minister of the Raja, or Dewan.<sup>1</sup> The condition of Travancore unquestionably required the intervention of a stronger and wiser controul. The Raja was a cypher: the Dewan usurped the whole power, and employed it to defraud the prince and oppress the people. Inadequate as were the resources to the public exigencies, the country laboured under the severest fiscal exaction: justice there was none, and a general state of disorganization prevailed. The judicious regulations introduced by Colonel Munro restored order, secured the administration of justice, and, whilst they liquidated the debt, and discharged the stipulated payments with punctuality, they more than doubled the revenues of the Raja, and in a still greater proportion lightened the burthens of his subjects.<sup>2</sup> The Raja died in 1812. He was succeeded by his sister, such being the order of inheritance among the Nairs of Travancore. Under the government of this lady, and the regency of her successor, Colonel Munro officiated as Dewan until the year 1814; when he restored the

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<sup>1</sup> We have Colonel Munro's own statement, that he accepted the office of Dewan at the request of the Raja. In answer to questions put to him, he states, "The treaty authorized the general interference of the British Government; but I assumed the charge of the administration at the express request of the Raja, with the authority of the British Government." And to the question, whether it was completely voluntary on the part of the Raja, he replies, "It was at the earnest request of the Raja.—Evidence of Colonel Munro; Select Committee of House of Commons, March, 1832. Hamilton therefore is wrong in stating that the arrangement took place under the Raja's successor.—Description of Hindostan, ii. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence above referred to: also Extracts from Colonel Munro's Report to the Madras Government in 1818, quoted by Mr. Jones; App. Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons; Political, 4to. ed., p. 287. In three years, Colonel Munro, beside the current subsidy, "succeeded in paying eighteen lakhs of rupees due to the Company, and nearly six to individuals; in abolishing the most oppressive monopolies and taxes, and in settling the affairs of the country on the principles of justice and humanity." The land revenue was increased from nine to fifteen lakhs; the duty received from the tobacco monopoly, from five to eleven lakhs; and that on salt, from thirty thousand rupees, to two lakhs and thirty thousand: but, to the relief of the people, as many oppressive taxes and all illegal exactions were abolished.



BOOK I. management of the state to a native Dewan, extricated  
 CHAP. V. from its embarrassments, with a greatly augmented  
 1810. revenue, and in a situation of complete internal tranquillity.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Raja of Cochin had abstained from actual hostilities and died during their continuance, not without suspicion of having fallen a victim to his unwillingness to engage in them, yet the participation of his minister in the projects of the Dewan of Travancore, which was unequivocally established, subjected the Raja's successor to the displeasure of the British Government. The Raja was accordingly condemned to pay a third of the expenses of the war, and to sign a new treaty, which added to the amount of his tribute the cost of a battalion of Sipahis in the field in place of his own troops, whom he was required to dismiss, beyond such as might be necessary for the collection of the revenue. As the state of his country differed little from that of Travancore, a similar system of reform was extended to Cochin, under the more immediate management of Captain Blacker, the Assistant Resident. Upon his departure, Colonel Munro assumed the duty; and, under their joint superintendence, the like improvement was effected in Cochin which had been accomplished at Travancore.<sup>2</sup>

Whilst the Company's troops were thus employed in the coercion of refractory allies, and in extending the authority of the Government of Madras, the Governor and the Commander-in-chief engaged in a dispute which speedily involved a large portion of the Coast army in a contest with the civil power, and was productive of the most alarming and dangerous results.<sup>3</sup> Sir John Cradock

<sup>1</sup> For the military transactions in Travancore, see Secret Letter from Fort St. George printed in the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, App. 43; Madras Papers, 15th March, 1811, p. 15; Letter from the Court, 29th Sept., 1809, printed Parl. Papers, 22nd June, 1813, No. 10; Welsh's Military Reminiscences; the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xi. History, ch. 3; and the General Orders of Government in the Chronicle of Madras Occurrences. The MS. Records have also been consulted.

<sup>2</sup> By the treaty of 1791 the Raja of Cochin paid a tribute of 100,000 Arcot rupees per annum. By this of the 6th May, 1809, he was compelled to pay in addition 1,76,037 Arcot rupees; making a total of 2,76,037 Arcot rupees.—Coll. of Treaties, 472.

<sup>3</sup> "The East India Company, and, I may add, the British empire in all its parts, never, I believe, was exposed to greater or more imminent danger."—Letter from Lord Minto, 15th Sept. 1809. "The late revolt of the officers of the Madras army is the most remarkable and most important event that has occurred in the history of the British Administration of India since our first

had been succeeded in the command of the Madras army by Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall. The former had held, as Commander-in-chief, a seat in council: the Court of Directors had thought proper to refuse equal rank and emolument to his successors. The appeal of General Macdowall to the Court against this infringement of his dignities had been answered by the appointment of a civil servant to the vacant seat. The Commander-in-chief felt the exclusion as a personal grievance and affront, and, on the final extinction of his hopes, resigned his command; expressing his resignation in terms strongly indicative of the bitterness of his mortification and disappointment.<sup>1</sup>

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It has been mentioned, that, after the close of the Mahratta war, the Government of Bengal urgently pressed upon the subordinate Presidencies the necessity of extensive retrenchments. In conformity with these injunctions, various plans for reducing the military expenditure of the Presidency of Madras were suggested during the command of Sir John Cradock; some of which were acted upon, and deprived officers, in command of regiments or brigades, of different sources of emolument. These measures were naturally unpalatable to the army. The difference of military allowances between the Bengal and Madras services had long been a subject of discontent; and the assignment of commands to officers of his Majesty's regiments, in place of Company's officers, occasioned amongst the latter frequent murmurs. The personal feel-

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acquisition of territory there. It led to the commencement of a civil war in the Carnatic; it threatened to involve the whole Peninsula in anarchy and blood; to encourage the numerous adherents of the fallen families of Tippoo, and Mohammed Ali, to insurrection; to incite the native powers to fall upon us whilst in this state of internal convulsion; and to subvert a Government which had successfully resisted the repeated attacks of the neighbouring states."—Paper accompanying Reply of Messrs. Grant and Astell to the Dissent of several Directors, &c.; *Parl. Papers*, 1st April, 1811, p. 45. We may be permitted now to think that this language is somewhat exaggerated.

<sup>1</sup> "The decision of the Court of Directors has placed me in so extraordinary, so unexampled, and so humiliating a predicament, that the most painful emotions have been excited; and sixteen months' experience has convinced me that it is impossible to remain with any prospect of performing my duty with credit to the East India Company, of acquiring for myself any reputation, or for doing justice to those over whom I am called to preside; divested of the power of selecting for commands by the restriction of military patronage, or of requiting the meritorious officer; deprived of the respectability which attaches in this country to a seat in council, and abridged in the usual emoluments of office."—Letter to Sir G. Barlow from the Commander-in-chief, 15th January, 1809; *Parl. Papers*, 25th May, 1810, part i. p. 8.

BOOK I. ings of the Commander-in-chief heightened his sympathy  
 CHAP. V. with the grievances of those under his command, and fostered their discontents;<sup>1</sup> and a state of disquietude and dissatisfaction pervaded the minds of the officers, which, as compliance with their expectations was little to be looked for, required to be allayed by gentle management, and the avoidance of additional irritation. Unluckily, fresh occasions of excitement did occur, and that excitement was not gently dealt with.

1808. Among the articles of retrenchment put in force by the Government of Madras, was the abolition of what was known as the Tent Contract; an arrangement by which officers commanding native corps received a permanent monthly allowance, alike in cantonments as in the field, in peace as in war, on condition of their providing the men with suitable camp equipage whenever it might be required.<sup>2</sup> The retrenchment was originally suggested by Sir John Cradock; and he called upon Colonel John Munro, the Quarter-Master-General of the army, to report whether it was not practicable without detriment to the efficiency of the troops, and how it might best be accomplished. The report advocated the change, and submitted a mode of effecting it. The plan was approved of by Sir John Cradock, by Lord W. Bentinck, and by the Government of Bengal. It merely fell to Sir G. Barlow to carry it into execution. No share of the opprobrium was due to him, even if the measure deserved it; but, in fact, the contract was open to objections of so obvious a character, that no disinterested person could doubt the reasonableness of its abolition. The alteration was to be judged of,

<sup>1</sup> Memorial of the Officers of the Madras Army to the Court of Directors, forwarded by the Commander-in-chief, with a Letter to the Government of Fort St. George, 23rd January, 1809. The Madras Government, viewing the sentiments expressed in the paper with extreme disapprobation, declined to transmit it to the Court, until it had been laid before the Governor-General.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, No. i. p. 25. At an earlier date, 1st May, 1808, General Macdowall enumerates, as the seeds of discontent widely disseminated, the abolition of the Bazar Fund; the degradation of the military character, from the Commander-in-chief to the youngest ensign; the late reductions, and especially the abolition of the Tent Contract; and adds, "I much lament the expediency which occasioned these disgusting measures."—Extracts from Lord Minto's Letter to the Secret Committee, 5th Feb. 1810; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, p. 346. The same letter supplies instances, if not of "the deliberate intention of the General to make the army an instrument of opposition and disturbance," as affirmed by Lord Minto, yet of great disposition to foment and heighten the prevailing discontents.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Sir John Cradock to Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, 7th Feb. 1807; and his reply, 30th June, 1807: Parl. Papers, 3rd May, 1811, p. 94.



however, by those whose interests it effected, and in their estimation it was a grievous wrong; but, unable to deny the defects of the system, or the expediency of its reform, their dissatisfaction found an excuse for its display in some unguarded expressions which occurred in the Quarter-Master-General's official report.

The transaction of public business in India by written statements is not without its inconvenience; and one of these is, the temptation it offers to public functionaries to put upon record more than is always necessary or judicious. Such was the case with Colonel Munro. Not contented with indicating such objections as could not be disputed, he proceeded to specify others, which, although equally true in a general sense, were capable of individual application, and might be construed into an accusation that the officers in command of corps had consulted their own profit at the expense of the public service, and had appropriated the tent allowance without keeping up an adequate tent establishment.<sup>1</sup> The officers resented the imputation; and, although Colonel Munro earnestly disclaimed any intention of reflecting upon the honour and integrity of any portion of the officers of the army, they refused to be appeased, and called upon the Commander-in-Chief to bring him to a court-martial for aspersions on their characters as officers and gentlemen.

<sup>1</sup> In enumerating the objections to the system, the Report specifies one of them as follows: "By granting the same allowances in peace and war for the equipment of native corps, while the expenses incidental to that charge are unavoidably much greater in war than peace, it places the interest and duty of officers commanding native corps in direct opposition to one another: it makes it their interest that the corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service, and therefore furnishes strong inducements to neglect their most important duties." It would have been prudent to have omitted at least one half of this paragraph; but still, abstractedly considered, it was scarcely disputable. The measure no doubt, in theory, placed the interest and duty of the officers in opposition; but in practice it left it to be supposed that they did their duty, although their interests suffered. Unfortunately, the objections were preceded by the assertion, that "Six years' experience of the practical effects of the existing system of the camp equipage equipment of the army, and an attentive examination of its operation during that period of time, had suggested the objections." Here, therefore, was an assertion that, practically, the officers had preferred their interest to their duty: an assertion the more objectionable, as no proof was given; for, as the officers in their memorial justly replied, "If such a case had occurred, why was it not noticed at the time?" They had reason to be offended; but still, as the offence grew out of an indiscreet mode of propounding undeniable generalisations, and was evidently not designed to apply to any particular case, they might have been satisfied with a declaration to that effect, and would no doubt have been so contented, had not an infectious irritability perplexed their sober judgments. *Parl. Papers*, 3rd May, 1811, p. 96; ditto, 1st April, 1811, p. 65; ditto, 25th May, 1810, p. 13.



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Upon the receipt of the charges against Colonel J. Munro,<sup>1</sup> the Commander-in-Chief hesitated whether he should admit them, and referred the question for the opinion of the Judge-Advocate-General, who, after discussing the circumstances of the case, came to the conclusion that the charges were such as the accusers had no right to agitate or prefer.<sup>2</sup> The officers acquiesced in the decision, and solicited a suspension of the direct charge; substituting in its place a memorial to the Court of Directors, praying them to investigate the subject.<sup>3</sup> Previously, however, to his being apprised of their change of purpose, General Macdowall had also viewed the matter in a new light, and had determined that the charge should be entertained. On the eve of his quitting Madras, he placed Colonel Munro under arrest, to be brought to trial by the succeeding Commander-in-Chief;<sup>4</sup> having, as he declared, received an opinion of much importance, in expectation of which he had suspended his decision. From what quarter this opinion proceeded is nowhere stated.

It appears, however, that, in the interval that had elapsed since the charge was first brought forward, circumstances had occurred, which, in the state of the Commander-in-Chief's feelings, were possibly not without some influence upon his determination. Major Blacker, of the Quarter-Master-General's department, was ordered to join the force in Travancore. Another officer, Captain Macdowall, who had been formerly employed in the province, remonstrated against the arrangement, and urged his own preferable claims. His pretensions were supported by the Commander-in-Chief, who requested that the appointment might be reconsidered. This was on the 16th of January. On the 18th, the Government of Madras declined to revise the nomination, reprimanded

<sup>1</sup> See the charges, *Parl. Papers*, 25th May, 1810, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Colonel Leith, Judge-Advocate-General, to the Adjutant-General, 7th Nov. 1808; *Parl. Papers*, May, 1810, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> The memorial is printed, *Parl. Papers*, 3rd May, 1811, p. 79. The officers say, "Finding the mode (of court-martial) was considered by the Judge-Advocate-General to be irregular and ineffectual, they respectfully abide by that opinion for the present, and have solicited a suspension of the direct charge against the individual, whilst they have appealed to the candour and justice of the Court. The Government refused to forward it, as the question was considered to be settled: the Court disapproved of the refusal to transmit the memorial.—*Parl. Papers*, May, 1810, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Parl. Papers*, 25th May, 1810, p. 14.

Captain Macdowall for the tone of his application, and threatened to remove him from the office he held. On the 20th, Colonel Munro was placed under arrest ; the effect of which was to compel the Government to revoke Major Blacker's appointment, as the temporary removal of his superior rendered his presence indispensable at the Presidency.<sup>1</sup> The close concurrence of these events suggests the possibility of their connexion, and the likelihood that matters of comparative insignificance, magnified into mischievous importance by the passions of the individuals interested, contributed to occasion the transactions which ensued.

As soon as Colonel Munro was made aware of the decision of the Commander-in-Chief, he appealed to the Government, under whose authority he had acted, and by whom the measures he had recommended had been approved and adopted. This appeal was, in the first instance, forwarded through the Commander-in-Chief ; but, upon his refusing to be the channel of its transmission, it was addressed direct to the Governor in Council.

The subject of the communication was referred to the chief civil and military advisers of the Government, the Judge-Advocate-General, and the Advocate-General, and fortified by their joint opinions that it was bound to protect the advisers of measures which it had made its own, the Government exercised the power with which it was intrusted by the Legislature ; and, having first in vain requested, next commanded General Macdowall to release Colonel Munro from his arrest.<sup>2</sup> The tenor of the Commander-in-Chief's commission subjected him so explicitly to the authority of the Governor in Council, that he was under the necessity of yielding obedience, protesting against what he designated as an undue interference. Nor was he satisfied with this expression of his indignation : on the eve of his embarkation for England, he directed the publication of a General Order, in which he announced that his departure alone prevented him from bringing Colonel Munro to trial for disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the power of the Civil Government in defiance of the judgment of the

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See the whole correspondence, Parl. Papers, 25th May, pp. 12—24.

BOOK I. officer at the head of the army, who had placed him under  
 CHAP. V. arrest on charges preferred against him by a number of  
 1809. officers commanding native corps; in consequence of  
 which appeal direct to the Honourable the President in  
 Council, Lieutenant-General Macdowall had received a  
 positive order from the chief secretary to liberate Lieutenant-Colonel Munro from arrest: and the order proceeded to stigmatize the conduct of Colonel Munro as destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander-in-Chief, and a most dangerous example to the service. General Macdowall therefore thought it incumbent on him, in support of the dignity of the profession, and his own station and character, to express his strong disapprobation of Colonel Munro's unexampled proceedings, and reprimanded him accordingly.<sup>1</sup>

Thus far the Government of Madras had acted with a degree of calmness and forbearance which derived additional lustre from the contrast which it offered to the violence of the Commander-in-Chief. Instead of interposing to heal the wounds which the needless sensitiveness of the officers had suffered from the incautious but indefinite language of an official report, and which a few words of explanation from the writer, supported by their own good sense and the mediation of their common superior, must have convinced them were more imaginary than real, General Macdowall echoed and aggravated their complaints, and, mixing up their grievances with his own, employed them as instruments with which to assail the Government in the person of one of its most meritorious and efficient servants. For the Government of Madras to have allowed Colonel Munro to fall a sacrifice to interested clamour or personal resentment on account of its own acts, would have forfeited for ever its claim to the respect of its subordinates. The opinions of Colonel Munro had been called for by those who were entitled to demand them, and so enjoined, it was his duty to state his honest convictions without reserve. These convictions were pronounced by the Commander-in-Chief of the day to be his own; and the Madras Government, the Government of

<sup>1</sup> General Orders by the Commander-in-chief, head-quarters, 28th Jan. 1809.  
 —Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 28.

Bengal, and the Court of Directors, all concurred in their justice and truth, and took them as the principles of their public acts. The responsibility of the subordinate ceased when the supreme power — one acknowledging no responsibility to its own servants — determined to identify his counsels with its own decrees; and its decrees would have been issued in vain, if the counsels which suggested them were to expose any one of its instruments to be degraded and punished by another. There can be no question, therefore, that the Government of Madras was bound to shield the Quarter-Master-General from the anger of the Commander-in-Chief; and that it was legally empowered so to interpose, was substantiated by the enforced submission of the latter. His threats of what he would have done if he had remained, were like the fast-retiring wave of the Madras surf wasting itself in impotent foam and fury upon the beach.

It happened, unfortunately for the character of the Madras Government, and the tranquillity of the settlement, that, departing from the calm assertion of its own powers, and the dignified attitude it had hitherto held, the Government precipitated itself into a career of recriminatory and vindictive acts. Instead of regarding the general order of the Commander-in-Chief as the idle ebullition of an angry spirit, the influence of which was neutralised by its own intemperance; instead of taking time to weigh deliberately the probable results of engaging in an angry contest; the Government instantly promulgated a public order<sup>1</sup> of scarcely less exceptionable phraseology, charging General Macdowall with having given utterance to insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the Government, and subversive of military discipline and of the foundations of public authority, and with having on that and other recent occasions been guilty of violent and inflammatory proceedings, and of acts of outrage: accusations not wholly borne out by facts, even if it had been decorous to proclaim them. Taking advantage also of the non-reception of General Macdowall's formal resignation, the order cancelled his appointment, and removed him from the station of Commander-in-Chief of the forces of Fort

<sup>1</sup> The Commander-in-chief's order was not published till the 30th of Jan. The order of the Government is dated the 31st.



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St. George : a somewhat superfluous mode of displeasure, as General Macdowall was on board the ship which was to convey him to England ; a destination he was not permitted to reach, the vessel being lost at sea on the voyage.

If the Madras Government had vindicated its authority in more temperate language, and directed that the offensive order of the General should be expunged from the order-books of the army, it would have better preserved its consistency and secured its triumph. Had its indignation been allowed to expire with the cause which had provoked it, few would have been disposed to call its proceedings seriously in question ; and after a short period the superficial and inconsequential ferment, in the activity of which the Commander-in-Chief was so vital an element, would have subsided. Unhappily, it was thought that enough had not been done to vindicate the authority and dignity of the Government. Measures were adopted which irritated the passions of the army more than anything that had yet occurred, and infused into the quarrel feelings of personal rancour, by which it had not yet been generally embittered. The order of the Government, which has just been described, concluded by suspending from the service of the Company, Major Boles, the Deputy-Adjutant-General, for having signed and circulated the general order of the departing Commander-in-Chief in the absence of his immediate superior, who had accompanied General Macdowall on board ship. Colonel Capper, the Adjutant-General, avowed himself responsible for the circulation of the order, and was included in the same penalty.<sup>1</sup> It was to no purpose, that these officers pleaded the merely ministerial character of their duties, and the obligation, imposed upon them by military discipline, of executing the orders of the Commander of the forces. It was argued by the Government, that, by giving authenticity and currency to a paper which they could not but be aware was in the highest degree disrespectful to the Government, they were acting in direct violation of their duty to the latter, and thereby knowingly committed an illegal act, connected with views of the most reprehensible

<sup>1</sup> General Orders of the Government of Fort St. George, 31st Jan. and 1st Feb., 1809 ; Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 29.

nature, which no authority could justify, and that they therefore deserved the punishment they had incurred. Colonel Capper sailed for England, and, like his superior, perished on the passage. To Major Boles it was intimated, that if he acknowledged his error, the sentence might be mitigated; but he refused to admit that he had done wrong, and the penalty was enforced.

It is very possible, that the Adjutant-General and his deputy were more inclined to take part with their military than with their civil superior, that they shared in the prevailing discontent, and that they were not unwilling instruments in the issuing of the offensive order. Still, the plea of military subordination was a plausible excuse, and one which was calculated to find favour with military men. It might be correct, as afterwards argued by the Judge-Advocate-General, that, even in the case of military men, the illegal commands of a superior are invalid; but then comes the question, by whom is the illegality to be determined? Nothing can justify disobedience of orders but the most unequivocal and universal recognition of the illegality; and, wherever a doubt is admissible, obedience is the safer course. That General Macdowall's order was illegal is a proposition by no means so self-evident as to obtain immediate and implicit assent, and was little likely to be so esteemed in the actual state of military feeling at Madras. It was possible, therefore, that those who obeyed it did not consider it to be illegal; and, although they saw that it was disrespectful, they did not hold their interpretation of its tenor to that extent only to be a sufficient reason for disobeying the positive commands of the Commander-in-Chief.<sup>1</sup> At any rate, the plea was urged in extenuation

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<sup>1</sup> Major Boles avers, that he did not consider the order illegal or directed against the Government, and that many officers of rank and experience in the King's and Company's services concurred with him in concluding it to be exclusively applicable to Colonel Munro.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, i. 37. General Maitland, at the time Governor of Ceylon, in an elaborate examination of the subject, maintains that there was no proof of the ministerial officers being aware of the illegality of the order, and that, if Major Boles erred, he erred on the right side; that the military law was completely positive on one side, and perfectly indefinite on the other; and that he followed a course vindicated by many precedents, instead of one for which no precedent could be pleaded.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, No. vi. p. 158. Although the Supreme Government considered the general order of General Macdowall to be of a seditious character, and that the Adjutant-General and his deputy in issuing it had become thereby guilty of sedition, (Parl. Papers, 50th May, 1810, No. iii. p. 13.) yet the Governor-General avows that the suspension of those officers gave him great uneasiness, as he anticipated that it would furnish a

BOOK I. of the act, and it would have been prudent to have so  
 CHAP. V. accepted it; for it might easily have been foreseen, that  
 1809. to visit the offence with extreme punishment would excite  
 general commiseration for the victims and unpopularity  
 for the judge. The consequences were such as should  
 have been anticipated. Addresses were immediately for-  
 forwarded to Major Boles from all the divisions of the army  
 approving of his conduct, denouncing his sentence as  
 cruel and undeserved, and proposing to raise by subscrip-  
 tion an income equal to that of which the Government  
 had deprived him. The type of the contest was now for  
 the first time durably stamped upon it. Hitherto the  
 officers of the army had felt aggrieved by the public acts  
 of the Government: they now combined in hostility to  
 the Governor. It was henceforward a struggle between  
 men, rather than between principles; between Sir George  
 Barlow and a body of officers, rather than between the  
 Government and the army of Fort St. George.

An interval of three months had elapsed from the  
 suspension of the officers of the Adjutant-General's de-  
 partment, when another general order of the Government,  
 dated the 1st of May, announced a sweeping list of  
 removals, supersessions, and suspensions. Four officers of

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plausible, and to military minds a captivating, pretence for a more general  
 combination against the Government than any of the circumstances which  
 preceded it: that, although the merits of the question as an abstract point  
 were clear and confident, yet they were not less likely to be questioned; and  
 he felt assured that in the military world, which was the quarter of the  
 greatest authority in such a controversy, the sentiment was likely to be nearly  
 unanimous against the principle adopted by the Government of Fort St.  
 George, whilst other opinions would be much divided.—*Parl. Papers*, April,  
 1811, No. vi. p. 138.) The sense of the Court of Directors was still more  
 decidedly expressed; as, immediately after the arrival of the first intelligence  
 of the proceedings of the Madras Government, they ordered that Colonel  
 Capper and Major Boles should be restored to the service. "As those officers  
 were placed in a situation of difficulty, their removal from their respective  
 emoluments on the staff would have been a sufficient mark of your displeasure,  
 and we therefore direct that their suspension from our service be taken off.—  
 Letter from the Court, 15th Sept. 1809. When subsequent advice of the part  
 taken by the officers in favour of Major Boles reached England, they rescinded  
 the order and confirmed the suspension; "as it was to be inferred, that he had  
 become a rallying point for dangerous doctrines, with his own consent."—  
 Letter from the Court, 29th Sept.; *Parl. Papers*, May, 1810, p. 13. They after-  
 wards recur to their first view of the case, and state that they cannot discover  
 any such inherent and obvious illegality as could justify the Adjutant or  
 Deputy-Adjutant-General in refusing to obey the command they had received  
 from Lieutenant-General Macdowall that the said order should be circulated  
 to the army. "We therefore continue of opinion that Major Boles ought not  
 to have been suspended from the service."—*Military Letter from the Court of  
 Directors*, 5th February, 1811; *Parl. Papers*, April, 1811, p. 178.



rank were suspended the service ; an equal number were removed from their commands or staff appointments, and four were superseded in the command of battalions : among them were Colonels St. Leger, Chalmers, and Cuppage, who had recently performed such distinguished services in Travancore.<sup>1</sup> The officers thus punished were accused of having signed, and influenced others to sign, an address to Major Bowles of the purport above stated ; and of having signed, and influenced others to sign, a memorial which it was proposed to send to the Governor-General, in which the supposed grievances of the Madras army were detailed. Some of the offenders were also charged with having signed a statement in favour of General Macdowall, and forwarded it to him at Ceylon. Copies of these documents had come into the hands of Sir George Barlow, and were communicated by him to his council, with whose concurrence the order of the 1st of May was issued.<sup>2</sup>

Although it could not be denied, that the officers of the army had entered into combinations which were as decidedly incompatible with their military obligations as their subordination to the Civil Government, yet it is very questionable if the measures adopted were politic or necessary. The statement of General Macdowall's conduct, and the memorial to the Governor-General, had been drawn up under the influence of that excitement which existed at the time of the embarkation of the Commander-in-chief ; and the address to Major Boles originated in the occurrences immediately following. The feelings so vivid in the beginning of February had in some degree begun to cool even early in March ; for at that time a circular letter was addressed by the new Commander-in-Chief, General Gowdie, to the officers commanding the principal divisions of the army, desiring to know whether the memorial had been circulated amongst the officers under their command, and enjoining them to be vigilant in

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<sup>1</sup> General Order, 1st of May, 1809 ; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. p. 22. The officers suspended were Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Arthur St. Leger, Major John De Morgan, Captain Josiah Marshall, Captain James Grant. Removed : Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Bell, Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Chalmers, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Cuppage, Captain J. M. Coombs. Superseded : Captain Smith, Major Keasberry, Major Muirhead, and Major Haslewood.

<sup>2</sup> Minute of the President in Council, with enclosures, 1st May, 1809 ; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. 3,



BOOK I. bringing them to a sense of their duty ; and it is acknowledged by Sir George Barlow himself, that, with one exception, the replies were in general perfectly satisfactory.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the memorial never was sent ; and it is admitted that all intention of sending it had been abandoned, when it was made the ground of punishing those who were accused of having taken an active share in its signature and circulation.<sup>2</sup>

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Another objectionable feature in this proceeding was its being based on private information, a copy of the memorial having been forwarded to Sir G. Barlow through a channel which he did not wish to reveal. Its existence was farther substantiated by the testimony of some of the country-born clerks in the offices of the military department, who had been employed to transcribe various papers by some of the officers particularised. Their depositions were taken privately. Their testimony was never communicated to the accused, and might or might not have been true.<sup>3</sup> That papers such as were described had been in circulation, was not improbable ; but to what extent some of the individuals condemned were implicated in their distribution, had not been clearly established.<sup>4</sup> Several of them denied the justice of the charge ; but denial was useless, and proof would have been too late. Accusation and condemnation were simultaneous ; the officers so summarily punished were allowed no opportunity of excuse or justification. They first heard of the charge against them when they read their sentence. No wonder that such treatment should have added fuel to flame.

A further unfortunate circumstance distinguished this general order of the 1st of May. With singular ignorance of the extent to which the same sentiments pervaded the Madras army, and with a strange unconsciousness of the sympathy which fellowship in service and in fortunes is so apt to inspire amongst classes of men, and particularly

<sup>1</sup> Minute last cited.

<sup>2</sup> Minute ditto,

<sup>3</sup> The examinations are appended to the President's minute.

<sup>4</sup> The officers of the artillery, under Colonel Bell's command, made "a solemn and unequivocal declaration that he had neither directly nor indirectly countenanced or influenced the circulation of any paper of the tendency alluded to in the order of Government." Colonel St. Leger and Major De Morgan denied having taken an active part in the circulation of the memorial, or influenced others to sign it. See their memorials in the Parl. Papers.

amongst the members of the military class, the Government thought fit to compliment the subsidiary force at Hyderabad for its satisfactory and exemplary conduct in having resisted all participation in the improper and dangerous proceedings which the order described. Nothing could have been more mischievous.<sup>1</sup> The officers of the Hyderabad force instantly and indignantly repudiated the distinction, and, in their eagerness to show that it was undeserved, plunged headlong into a career far more violent and indefensible than any which had yet annoyed or alarmed the Government. They immediately published a letter to the army and to the officers suspended, in which they declared their entire disapprobation of the suspension and removal of so many valuable officers from the service and from their commands; their willingness to contribute to the support of those officers; and their determination to co-operate with the army in all legal measures for the removal of the cause of the present discontent, and the restoration of their brother-officers to the honourable situations from which they had been removed.<sup>2</sup> This was followed by an address to the Governor in Council, signed by a hundred and fifty-eight officers of the divisions of Jalna and Hyderabad, urging strenuously the restoration of the removed officers as the only measures likely to prevent the possible and probable consequences which they else apprehended; namely, the separation of the civil and military, the destruction of all discipline and subordination amongst the native troops, the ultimate loss of a large portion of the British possessions in India, and the dreadful blow it would inflict on the mother country.<sup>3</sup> In the course of the following month an address was presented to Colonel Montresor, commanding the Hyderabad force, by his officers, of a still more outrageous description.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> General Orders of the Government; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 B. p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> On the 21st of July they presented to Colonel Montresor a paper which they styled their ultimatum, but pledging themselves to remain quiet until a reply from Government should be received. In this they demanded the repeal of the orders of the 1st May, the restoration of the officers suspended or removed, the removal from their staff appointments of the officers who had been the principal advisers of the Government, and the grant of a general amnesty to the discontented. The signatures of all the officers except those on the staff were affixed to the paper, and a joint movement from Jalna and Hyderabad on Madras was projected in case their demands were not complied with.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 C. p. 29.

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 1809. overt act of mutiny was committed by the Company's  
 European regiment quartered at Masulipatam. The officers of this corps had partaken in the general feelings, and had been further irritated by the indiscreet harshness with which their commanding officer had visited some imprudent expressions of those feelings in a moment of conviviality. The men were also out of humour at being occasionally drafted to serve as marines on board of the ships of war in the Bay of Bengal. A report was current amongst them that the whole corps was to be broken up in this manner ; and, when an order was issued for three companies to prepare for marine duty, the men refused to obey, and the officers placed their own colonel under arrest. The command was assumed by the next in rank ; a managing committee of officers was instituted, and a correspondence was opened by them with the Hyderabad and other mutinous divisions. Colonel Malcolm, who was at Madras, preparing to proceed on his mission to Persia, was despatched to Masulipatam to restore order and subordination : he was treated with courtesy, but returned to the Presidency without accomplishing the object of his mission, and strongly impressed with the persuasion that the revocation of the Government order would alone prevent a general and fatal insurrection.<sup>1</sup> In fact, on the 3rd of August, garrison orders directed the regiment to hold itself in readiness for field service ; a plan having been concerted for the junction of the troops from Masulipatam with those from Jalna and Hyderabad, and their united march to Madras, where they threatened to compel the restoration of the officers, and to depose Sir George Barlow from the post of Governor. Luckily for all concerned, these wild and criminal projects were arrested by the seasonable interposition of the Governor-General, and the return of the most violent and rash to a recollection of their duty.

The Government of Madras had thus, by unquestionable deficiencies in temper and discretion, brought matters to a

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 B. p. 33, and 2 C. p. 1. Colonel Malcolm subsequently published "Observations on the Disturbances of the Madras Army," in two parts ; London, 1812.



position from which it was equally dangerous to advance or recede. Several of the most distinguished of its military servants counselled the rescission of the obnoxious orders, and the restoration of the suspended officers to the service.<sup>1</sup> Such a concession might have moderated the violence of the tempest, but its efficacy in producing a continued calm was more than doubtful. It would have been an acknowledgment that the Government had acted with inconsiderateness and injustice, and possessed neither the strength nor the spirit to assert its legitimate rights; and it would have established a dangerous precedent, and encouraged, in time to come, those who felt or fancied a grievance, to resist the will of all future administrations, and seek redress by force and intimidation. There was an end of all civil government,—of all government,—if military combination was allowed to set aside constituted authority; if the army was suffered to dictate its own laws and choose its own officers; if the weapons, with which it was intrusted to defend the state against external aggression, were aimed against those functionaries who had been appointed to guide and govern in India the civil and military servants of the Company and subjects of the Crown. Justice demands that full weight should be given to these considerations in appreciating the conduct of Sir George Barlow at this crisis. His determination to uphold at every risk the rightful claims of the Government to the obedience of the army was defensible on the grounds of the responsibility, imposed upon him by his station, of preserving undisturbed the social relations of the civil and military power under his authority, of asserting the superiority of law over force, and of maintaining inviolate the principles of the constitution, which had been assigned to the various members of the Indian empire by the Legislature of Great Britain. Nor was the hazard of actual collision so imminent or so great as it seemed to be from the menacing attitude which a part of the army had assumed. It was but a part; and a considerable portion had not yet taken any share in their proceedings. The Commander-in-chief, and the great majority of those officers who were highest in rank and most

<sup>1</sup> By Captain Sydenham, the Resident at Hyderabad; by Colonel Montresor, commanding the subsidiary force; and by Colonel Malcolm.—Parl. Papers.



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 1809. staunch advocates of the principles of order and military  
 subordination; many, who had been involved in the pro-  
 ceedings by the vehemence of those around them, were  
 known to be averse to the extremes to which they were  
 urged; and it was to be expected, that, even of those who  
 were loudest in their denunciations, many would pause  
 before they incurred the guilt of actual rebellion. The  
 Government of Madras was assured of the decided support  
 of the Government of Bengal, and had the command of  
 the resources of that Presidency, as well as of Bombay  
 and Ceylon. The King's regiments steadily adhered to  
 their duty; and there could be little doubt that the  
 native soldiery, when the case was explained to them  
 would prefer the cause of the Government, from whom  
 they derived their subsistence and hopes of promotion,  
 to that of their officers, whose objects they imperfectly  
 understood, and from whose triumph they could anticipate  
 no advantage. Relying on these considerations, the Go-  
 vernment of Madras entered upon the contest with  
 promptitude and vigour.

In order to ascertain its own strength, and discover  
 what proportion of the officers were well-affected, and at  
 the same time to remove the disaffected for a season from  
 situations where they might exercise influence or autho-  
 rity, the officers generally were called upon to sign a test  
 pledging themselves to support the measures of the Go-  
 vernment. Letters were addressed to the commanding  
 officers of stations, furnishing them with the proposed  
 form of the test, and instructing them to procure to it  
 the signatures of the officers under their command, on  
 penalty of being removed from their regiments to stations  
 on the sea-coast, where they would be required to reside  
 until the situation of affairs, and the temper of men's  
 minds, should allow of their being again employed.<sup>1</sup> As  
 the removal was avowedly temporary, and the recusant

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 C. p. 41. The test or declaration ran thus:  
 "We, the undersigned officers of the Honourable Company's service, do in the  
 most solemn manner declare, upon our word of honour as British officers, that  
 we will obey the orders and support the authority of the Honourable the  
 Governor in Council of Fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of the commis-  
 sions which we hold from that Government."—Ibid. 2 B. p. 9.

officers were not to forfeit their pay, all appearance of unnecessary harshness was avoided, and a reasonable plea for remaining neutral was supplied to the least violent. At the same time, the commanding officers of corps were, ordered to assemble the native officers, and explain to them, and through them to the Sipahis, that the discontents of the European officers were entirely personal; that the Government had no intention to diminish the advantages which the men enjoyed, but, on the contrary, was anxious to improve them, and that it confidently relied upon their attachment and fidelity.<sup>1</sup> A general order to the same effect was also promulgated, and active measures were taken to secure its circulation. The Company's troops were also so distributed in connexion with his Majesty's, as to render the latter an efficient check upon the former, and all the availing corps of the central division of the army were concentrated in the vicinity of the seat of Government.

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The majority of the officers, even of those whose loyalty and moderation had never been doubted, declined to sign the test, and were consequently removed from their stations.<sup>2</sup> The appeal to the native officers and men was very generally successful. Wherever the orders of the Government reached them, they expressed their resolution to remain faithful to their vows of allegiance, and to obey no commands but such as they should receive from Government direct, or from officers whom the Government should set over them. This separation of the men from their officers was calculated to relax the reins of discipline, and sow the seeds of disorganization in the native army; but the Indian soldier is of a plastic nature, which, where his own immediate interests or prejudices are not concerned, soon takes and soon parts with impressions. The only situations in which the agitation was not suppressed without recourse to more stringent correctives, were Mysore and Hyderabad.

In the former of these districts, the officers of the garrison of Seringapatam, rendered desperate by the measures

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 C. p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Observations of Sir John Malcolm, p. 32. Colonel Bannerman states that the published returns show but one hundred and fifty signatures, out of thirteen hundred officers on the strength of the Madras Army.—Dissent, Parl. Papers, April, 1811, 4. 23.

BOOK I. of the Government for separating the native soldiers from  
 CHAP. V. their officers, rushed into unbridled violence and open  
 1809. rebellion. Compelling a small detachment of his Majesty's troops to withdraw from the fort, they seized upon the public treasure, drew up the bridges, and placed themselves in an attitude of defiance; disobeying the orders of Colonel Davies, commanding in Mysore, and disregarding the remonstrances of the Political Resident, Mr. Cole. A detachment consisting of the 25th dragoons, a regiment of native cavalry, with a regiment of his Majesty's foot, and a native battalion, commanded by Colonel Gibbs, marched to Seringapatam, where they encamped; while a corps of Mysore horse, which had been supplied by the Dewan, was detached to intercept the advance of two battalions which were on their way from Chittledroog to reinforce the garrison. The Mysore horse met the battalions at some distance from Seringapatam, about the 7th of August. No forcible opposition was offered until the 11th, when the Chittledroog force was in sight of the walls of Seringapatam, and of the camp of the detachment by which the fortress was observed. Encouraged by the proximity of the latter, the Mysoreans began to harass the march of the battalions, and were fired upon. The resistance was, however, feeble; for, upon the approach of the dragoons, the Chittledroog battalions broke and dispersed. The greater part effected their escape into the fort, the garrison of which had made a demonstration in their favour. The officer who commanded was wounded and taken prisoner; another died of fatigue and anxiety after reaching the fort. More than two hundred Sipahis and followers were said to have been killed and wounded.<sup>1</sup> Of the dragoons, one officer was wounded slightly. During the night the fortress cannonaded the encampment; and, although no great mischief was done, it was necessary to remove the tents to a safer distance. No further hostility was offered by either party.

<sup>1</sup> The returns give nine killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, and two hundred and eighty-one missing. The officers of the Chittledroog battalion affirm that the men were ordered not to fire upon the Europeans, but only to defend themselves against the Mysore horse. The absence of all casualties among the dragoons, with the exception of one officer wounded, which was possibly the consequence of a misunderstanding, is a strong corroboration of this assertion.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 O. p. 40; also 2 F. p. 33, &c.; also Trial of Colonel J. Bell; Parl. Papers, April, 1811.



Hoping that the personal character of Colonel Close, the Resident at Poona, and his great popularity with the native soldiery, might enable him to exercise a salutary influence over the troops at Hyderabad, the Government called him from his political duties to take the command of the subsidiary force. He arrived at Hyderabad on the 3rd of August; and, notwithstanding some opposition, made his way to the cantonments, where he expostulated with such officers as were present, and with such of the native officers and men as showed a disposition to listen to his observations. Little effect was produced apparently by his intervention; and, having cause to apprehend personal restraint, he thought it more consistent with his own dignity and the intentions of the Government to withdraw from the cantonment to the Residency, and there await further instructions. Immediately upon his departure, the committee of officers summoned the divisions at Jalna, Masulipatam, and in the Northern Circars. The former made two marches in advance, and the latter were under orders to take the field, when, fortunately, the determinations of the officers at Hyderabad underwent a change. On the 11th of August they addressed a penitential letter to Lord Minto, who was expected to arrive at Madras; signed the test proposed by the Government of Fort St. George; and circulated to the several stations of the army a paper wherein they stated that imperious circumstances and mature reflection had induced them to sign the declaration, and they earnestly entreated their brother-officers to follow their example.<sup>1</sup> The defection of

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<sup>1</sup> The motives which influenced the officers are recapitulated by Lord Minto in his letter of the 12th October, 1809, to the Secret Committee, par. 72. "They represent themselves to have proposed at no period anything beyond intimidation as a means of controuling Government, and exacting the concessions they required: they advanced from faction to sedition, from sedition to revolt, confident that each step they made towards further violence would be sufficient for their purpose. In this course they gradually arrived at the last narrow boundary which they had yet to pass before the commencement of civil war; and, while they yet hesitated on the last decisive step, the measures of Government convinced them that intimidation would fail, and, if they advanced further, the contest was actually to be maintained. They then describe their sense of the public evils incident to such a conflict, and their compunction at becoming the immediate instruments of such calamities; sentiments which terminated in a resolution to sacrifice their own objects and feelings to the public safety, and to submit themselves implicitly to the discretion of Government." Although Lord Minto doubts, to its full extent, this account of their reasons for so suddenly stopping in their course, and ascribes it, in part at least, to a seasonable fear of failure; yet he admits that very many must have been urged onwards, against their own better judgments, by the impulse of example, and that these must have rejoiced at the first overture of retreat.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv. p. 9.



BOOK I. the Hyderabad force arrested the progress of the mutiny.  
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 1809. of August the garrison at Masulipatam tendered their ad-  
 hesion, and gave up the fort to General Pater; and on the  
 23rd the garrison of Seringapatam submitted uncondi-  
 tionally, and evacuated the fortress. The declaratory test  
 was universally signed, and a calm as profound as the agi-  
 tation had been alarming was at once restored.

The causes which induced this seasonable reaction are sufficiently obvious. The officers had hitherto rushed forward in the blindness of their anger, without seeing whither it was likely to lead them; but they now arrived at the very verge of the precipice, and another step would have consigned them to irretrievable infamy and ruin. It is impossible to believe that the most daring and desperate did not at this moment wish for an excuse to go no farther. The senior officers in almost every command had throughout acted with so much moderation and judgment as to have secured the respect, although they had not always been able to repress the violence, of those subordinate to them; and their representations contributed to awaken in the minds of their younger brethren a truer perception of the perilous situation in which they stood. It is also little to be doubted that the disposition to retract derived confirmation from the apprehension of failure in advancing, and from a general belief that the native soldiery would fall off from their officers if the quarrel with the Government were urged to actual warfare.<sup>1</sup> These reflections had been for some time at work. Even in the almost universal rejection of the test, the indication of a returning sense of duty was manifested; as the chief ground of refusal was not its general purport, but the possibility of its placing those who signed it in open hostility to those with whom they had been so far engaged in a common cause. Most of the officers declared themselves from the first willing to sign it, with the reservation that they should not be required to take up arms against

<sup>1</sup> In several of the pamphlets published by the friends of the officers, it is asserted that "the Sipahis adhered to the officers to the last." Lord Minto observes, that "the officers never allowed themselves to doubt of the adherence of the Sepoy battalions."—Letter, 12th October, par. 16; Parl. Papers, May, 1810. p. 2. In general, however, the native officers and troops manifested little inclination to support their European officers against the Government.

their brother-officers. The readiness with which they acquiesced in their removal from their regiments and stations evinced a similar state of feeling; and it wanted only a beginning, an example of sufficient weight, for the change of sentiment to be universally and unequivocally exhibited. This was supplied by the conduct of the Hyderabad force, which had been foremost and most vehement in its opposition, and, having therefore the greatest sacrifice of personal feeling to make in yielding obedience, was the more deserving of imitation. With regard to the officers of the subsidiary force, they were of course influenced by the same motives as their companions in arms; and there is every likelihood that the arguments and advice and the character of Colonel Close materially affected their feelings, aided their judgment, and decided their determination. Another and very important circumstance came opportunely to alleviate the pain and efface the discredit of such a departure from their previous declarations. It had been known for some time past that it was the intention of the Governor-General to repair to Madras,<sup>1</sup> and assume in person an investigation into the proceedings of the army. It was now ascertained that he was on his way. To his justice and impartiality the officers looked with confidence, and felt assured that they had nothing to apprehend in him from personal resentment. Although they signed the test of the Madras Government, yet it was to Lord Minto, and not to Sir George Barlow, that the officers at Hyderabad, Masulipatam, and Seringapatam addressed their submission.<sup>2</sup>

Not that the officers of the Madras army had any reason to anticipate from the Governor-General a favourable award. His sentiments were known to be in accordance with those of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George. Communications of their proceedings, from the latter to the former, had drawn from the Supreme Government a review of the whole of the discussions, an elaborate vindication of the course pursued by the Government of Madras, and an unqualified condemnation of the insub-

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<sup>1</sup> General Orders, Fort William, 20th July, 1809.

<sup>2</sup> Address from the officers at Hyderabad to Lord Minto, 11th August; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 F. 1. Declaration of those at Masulipatam; *ibid.* p. 12. Address of those at Seringapatam, 21st August; *ibid.* p. 46.

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ordinate, and seditious spirit, which the officers had displayed.<sup>1</sup> The letter had been published at Madras, and circulated to the army; but, notwithstanding its general tenor, there was a calmness in its tone, and a reasonableness in its arguments, which opened a prospect of considerate as well as just decision. Whatever might be the sentence of the Governor-General, the sting of personality was removed; and it was the functionary, not the individual, who was expected to pronounce judgment.

It had been the purpose of Lord Minto to have sailed for Madras before the end of July; but his departure was delayed by the assurance, which the Madras Government, with that singularly imperfect knowledge which it had on other occasions evinced of the real state of things, conveyed to him, that the agitation was rapidly subsiding, and that a fair prospect existed of the army's returning to a sense of duty.<sup>2</sup> As soon as he ascertained that the information was incorrect, he embarked, and reached Madras on the 11th of September. All parties anxiously waited his fiat. It was not long delayed.<sup>3</sup> On the 25th of the same month a general order announced to the army the Governor-General's reprobation of their past conduct, and his resolution to inflict such punishment as might be commensurate with the offences committed. This determination was expressed in language designed and calculated to assuage all irritated feeling, and it was too evidently grounded upon the nature of the past transaction for its justice to be called into question. The necessity of vindicating the authority of the Government was based entirely upon abstract and incontrovertible principles, and the manner in which that vindication was to be exercised was qualified with the utmost possible leniency. The decision of the Governor-General was also distinguished by one remarkable peculiarity,—the more remarkable from the contrast which it presented to the whole course of Sir George Barlow's proceedings,—the non-exercise of absolute power; the abeyance of the right of the Governor-

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Supreme Government to the Governor in Council, Fort St. George, 27th May, 1809; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 10th October, 1809, par. 37; also Minute of Governor-General, 15th July, 1800; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv.; and MS. Records.

<sup>3</sup> Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv. p. 14.



General to decree punishment of his own will and pleasure ; and the reference of those who were charged with the highest degree of culpability to the judgment of their peers. A few only of the offenders were selected ; such as officers in command of stations or of bodies of troops, commandants of corps, and individuals conspicuous for violent and forward behaviour. For the two first, courts-martial were ordered ; to the others, the alternative was offered of investigation before the same tribunal, or dismissal from the service. The whole of the officers of the Hyderabad force were pardoned, in consideration of the important example which they had set of submission. Only three officers came under the first class, eighteen only under the latter ; a general amnesty tranquillised the rest. The order wound up with expressions of affectionate solicitude for the character and welfare of the Coast army, which sunk deep into minds that had so long been used to the language of unbending sternness and unqualified reproof, and which now laboured under the humiliating consciousness that personal resentment, however provoked, was no excuse for a dereliction of the first principles of military duty,—obedience to constituted authority, and allegiance to the state.

Shortly after the promulgation of this order, the trials commenced. Lieutenant-Colonel John Bell, the commandant of the garrison of Seringapatam, was charged with joining, and with heading, the mutiny of the troops. The defence set up was, that he had consented to take the command only to prevent excesses ; that he exercised no real authority in the fort ; that he had signed the test without hesitation himself, and that it was through his influence the officers also finally signed it, and that the garrison finally surrendered the fort in a peaceable manner. He was pronounced guilty, and sentenced to be cashiered. A like charge and sentence characterised the trial of Major Storey, who had consented to hold the command at Masulipatam, upon the arrest, by his brother-officers, of Colonel Innes, their common superior. A similar defence was offered, and the prisoner was recommended to the mercy of the Commander-in-chief. In both cases, the sentences were held to be too lenient, and were sent back for revision ; but they were adhered to



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 CHAP. V. Colonel Doveton was charged with having moved his  
 detachment from Jalna with a mutinous and seditious  
 design against the Government of Madras. The defence  
 was the same. Colonel Doveton, it was affirmed, had only  
 ostensibly participated in a movement which he could  
 not hinder, with a view so to controul it as to render it  
 inoffensive: he also produced a private letter from the  
 Resident at Hyderabad, sanctioning his accompanying  
 the troops, if he could not prevent their march. He was  
 consequently fully and honourably acquitted. This sen-  
 tence also was disapproved of by the Commander of the  
 forces, but was confirmed by the court. Colonel Doveton  
 was nevertheless suspended by the Governor-General from  
 the service pending a reference to the pleasure of the  
 Court of Directors. Of the second class of officers, two,  
 Lieutenant-Colonel Munro and Major Kenny, stood a trial,  
 and were cashiered: the rest accepted the alternative of  
 dismissal.<sup>1</sup> Until the termination of the trials, Lord  
 Minto continued at the Presidency of Madras; and when  
 he quitted it, early in 1810, his authority was in some  
 measure replaced by the presence of General Hewett, the  
 Commander-in-chief of the Bengal army, who assumed  
 the command of the army of Madras. At the end of  
 1810, General Sir Samuel Auchmuty relieved General  
 Hewett from his duty, and, with the command of the  
 army, took his place as member of Council; the Court of  
 Directors having learnt too late from the recent dissen-  
 sions how essential was the possession of dignity, so  
 vainly coveted by General Macdowall, to the cordial co-  
 operation of their chief civil and military functionaries.

Thus terminated a struggle which at one period was  
 thought to threaten the constitution of the Madras Pre-  
 sidency, and endanger the existence of the British empire  
 in India. The danger, though not visionary, was perhaps  
 exaggerated. The quarrel was less between public bodies  
 than between individuals; and the army readily yielded  
 to Lord Minto the allegiance which it had withheld from,  
 and ultimately conceded with an ill grace to, Sir George

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Trials; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, No. vii. Letter  
 from Lord Minto to the Secret Committee, 15th April, 1830; *ibid.* No. ix.  
 p. 353.

Barlow. However unreasonable the aversion thus cherished, and however indefensible the extremities to which it hurried unthinking men, it cannot be affirmed that the feelings so widely spread were wholly without extenuation, or that the measures and character of the Governor were not calculated to provoke, although not to justify, disobedience. The Indian Governments of Sir George Barlow's day were wholly unaccustomed to have their proceedings canvassed or their wisdom impugned, and they were intolerant of opposition. This had been particularly the case in Bengal, where the imperious rule of Lord Wellesley, relieved by the brilliant results of his public policy, had been long accustomed to demand and receive prompt and unquestioning submission. Brought up in his school, it is not to be wondered at that Sir George Barlow carried with him to Madras the same exalted notions of the authority entrusted to him; and when, from the concurrent causes which have been adverted to, he found, both in the civil and military branches of his government, contravention and resistance, he not unnaturally referred them to unworthy motives, and stigmatised them as personal and factious. That much of the opposition which he encountered was personal was undoubtedly true; but it was not at first personal in a sense relating to him, so much as to the individuals themselves, advocating their own interests, and smarting under mistaken, perhaps, but not the less bitter, feelings of injury and injustice. These feelings might have been soothed, and their mischievous consequences prevented, by kindly consideration and temperate forbearance. General Macdowall had no right to complain of the Government of Madras for his exclusion from the Council; that was the act of the Court of Directors: but he had reason to feel aggrieved when Government gave that exclusion practical effect, constructing the plan of a campaign without consulting him; or consulting him tardily and reservedly, and encroaching upon his pretensions to military patronage. Had he been treated with the same deference as if he had filled a seat at the council-board, all cause of offence would possibly have been removed; for, although warm and precipitate, his temper does not appear to have been unsusceptible of conciliation. When

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CHAP. V. Macdowall had placed himself in the wrong by his unjusti-  
fiable violence in the case of Colonel Munro, the cancelling  
1809. of the arrest was so necessary and so sufficient a vindica-  
tion of the authority of the Government, that it must  
have ensured, after the first heats were allayed, the  
concurrence of the whole army. The annulment of the  
General's parting order was also a measure the propriety  
of which would have been little questioned, although the  
language of the order was undignified and intemperate.  
But the measures that ensued bore a different character,  
and were hasty and imprudent, and in some respects  
unjust. The suspension of the officers of the Adjutant-  
General's department for obeying the commands of their  
military superior; the condemnation of officers without  
charge or trial, upon private information; and their severe  
punishment for an unperpetrated offence — the intended  
transmission of a memorial which was never sent; all  
originated in that spirit of official despotism which con-  
ceived that its own judgment superseded all need of  
hesitation, all occasion for inquiry or trial. That Sir  
George Barlow conscientiously considered the station in  
which he was placed to be endowed with such preroga-  
tives; that it was the dignity, not so much of his own  
person or power, as of that of the office of Governor in  
Council of Fort St. George, may be granted: but the  
removal of Major Boles was regarded even by the Govern-  
ment of Bengal and the Court of Directors as unjust;  
and no less so were the orders of the 1st of May, which  
pronounced sentence upon meritorious officers for an  
uncommitted crime, upon private intelligence and without  
a trial. That they were most impolitic was proved by the  
irritation which they excited; and which, from a smoul-  
dering fire that might have burnt itself out among its  
own ashes, was thus fanned into a fierce and formidable  
flame. In the subsequent transactions, although the army  
was most deeply to blame, yet the Government was not  
exempt from fault. The stern unfeeling tone of its gen-  
eral orders, and the absence of all attempts at explanation  
or conciliation, were preserved in stoical consistency to  
the last; until the Government of Bengal introduced a  
new style, and did not disdain to blend the language of



affectionate and paternal solicitude with the assertion of authority ; and until, which was still more important, it condescended to lay aside the sword of justice, and send the accused to those tribunals to which they acknowledged themselves to be amenable. That a profound sense of public duty was the chief moving principle of Sir George Barlow's conduct it was impossible to doubt ; but he trusted too exclusively to one only method of discharging that duty,—the exercise of absolute power.

Although anticipating the course of events, yet, in order to dispose finally of an unpleasant subject, it will be advisable to advert in this place to the proceedings in England, to which the transactions at Madras gave rise. The public was speedily inundated by the statements of the opposite parties ;<sup>1</sup> but the interest excited was inconsiderable, as attention was absorbed by the great interests of European politics. Several motions for papers were made in the House of Commons, and the documents were printed ; but no ulterior proceedings were based upon them. It was rather different at the India House. The Court of Directors first upheld the measures of the Government of Madras, and still more cordially approved of those of the Governor-General ; but when the alarm had subsided, and the transactions were more calmly considered, a serious difference of opinion respecting the merits of Sir G. Barlow, urged with no little warmth and acerbity, divided the Court. The first struggle took place upon the appointment of the new Commander-in-chief to a seat in Council, which involved the question of displacing one of the actual members. After several days of debate, on one of which the Court was so equally divided, that, agreeably to law, the Treasurer determined the question by lot, Mr. Petrie, who had been opposed on many important points to Sir George Barlow, was removed. The dissents of those members of the Court who disap-

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to the publications of Mr. Marsh, a gentleman of the legal profession, who, while at Madras, had been generally the adviser and advocate of Sir George Barlow's opponents, and of Colonel Malcolm, with the observations and replies which they produced, the principal authorities on either side are the following : 1. A View of the Policy of Sir George Barlow ; in a series of Letters by Indus, 1810. 2. Letter from an Officer, at Madras. 3. An Accurate and Authentic Narrative of the Dissensions at Madras. 4. Narrative of the late Trials, &c. 5. Account of the Discontents of the Madras Army. The two principal Reviews, also, took different sides of the question.



BOOK I. proved of the decision, and the reply of those who supported it, took a review of the whole of the transactions, and with equal ability and earnestness commended or condemned the policy of Sir George Barlow.<sup>1</sup> Similar discussions attended the appeals made by the dismissed or suspended officers; and at different dates their dismissal was both confirmed and cancelled. The milder counsels at last prevailed, and all who had been suspended or dismissed were pardoned or restored to the service.<sup>2</sup> In July, 1811, a motion was made for the recall of Sir George Barlow, but it was defeated under strong protests from some of the Court.<sup>3</sup> The same motion was renewed and carried at the end of the following year, and was equally the subject of a protest by those members of the Court who had uniformly supported his measures and vindicated his reputation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The proceedings and the dissents of Messrs. Bannerman, Baring, Inglis, Huddleston, Elphinstone, and Patterson, with the reply of Messrs. Grant and Astell, are printed in the *Parl. Papers*, 1811, No. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the suspended officers were restored in 1811; those cashiered or dismissed, at subsequent dates.

<sup>3</sup> The dissents of Messrs. Parry, Smith, Astell, Bebb, and Grant were published by Sir Robert Barlow, the brother of Sir George. Murray, 1813.

<sup>4</sup> Little occasion now exists, perhaps, for an appeal to authority to determine the character of the proceedings of the Madras army; but there is very high military authority on the subject, that of the Duke of Wellington, who, amid the anxieties of his position in Spain at the end of 1809, felt a warm interest in the troops whom he had so often led to victory. The following passages occur in a letter, dated Badajoz, 3rd December, 1809, addressed to Colonel Malcolm.

"You cannot conceive how much I have felt for what has passed on the Madras Establishment. I scarcely recognise in those transactions the men for whom I entertained so much respect, and had so much regard, a few years back; and I can only lament that they, and the army, and the affairs of that Presidency in general, have been so mismanaged. These transactions, and their causes, prove that it is not always the man who has the character of being the best natured, and one of the easiest disposition, who will agree best with those placed in authority over him, or those with whom he is to co-operate. They owe their origin to the disputes of the persons in authority in India, that is to say, between the Governor and the Commander-in-chief. Both, but principally the latter, looked for partizans and supporters; and these have ended by throwing off all subordination, by relinquishing all habits of obedience, and almost by open resistance. Nothing can be more absurd than the pretext for this conduct.

"Colonel Munro's opinion might be erroneous, and might have been harsh towards his brother-officers; but not only ought he not to have been brought to a court-martial for giving that opinion, but he ought to have been brought to a court-martial if he had refrained from giving it, when he was called upon by the Commander-in-chief to make him a report on a subject referred to his official consideration. The officers of the army are equally wrong in the part they have taken in the subsequent part of the question, which is one between the Governor and the Commander-in-chief, whether the former had a right to protect Colonel Munro from the acts of the latter, upon which question no man can have a doubt who has any knowledge of the constitution of Great Britain, and particularly of that of the Indian

## CHAPTER VI.

*Foreign Policy of Lord Minto's Administration.—Invasion of Berar by Amir Khan.—A Force sent to the Aid of the Raja.—Amir Khan's Defeat by the Berar Troops,—Retires before the British.—Disputes between the Peshwa and the Southern Jagirdars.—Compulsory Adjustment.—Suppression of Piracy by the States of Wari and Kolapur.—Expedition against the Pirates of the Persian Gulph.—Joasmis—their Ferocity.—Destruction of Ras-al-Khaima and other Pirate Stations.—Expedition to Macao.—Operations against the French and Dutch Colonies in the Indian Seas.—Successful Depredations of the French Cruizers.—Expedition against Rodriguez,—its Occupation.—Descent upon Bourbon.—Garrison of Rodriguez reinforced.—Second Descent upon Bourbon, and Capture.—Naval Transactions at the Isle of France.—French Frigates in the Harbour of Grand Port attacked by the English Squadron.—Destruction of the English Vessels.—Naval Actions off the Islands between the Blockading Ships and the French Frigates.—Arrival of the Armaments from Bengal and Madras.—Landing of the Forces in Grande Baye,—march to Port Louis.—Capitulation with the French Governor.—Blockade of*

Governments. I, who have arrived pretty nearly at the top of the tree, should be the last man to give up any point of military right or etiquette. But I have no doubt whatever, not only that it was the right, but that it was the duty, of the Governor in Council to interfere to save Colonel Munro; and that if he had not done so, and the public had sustained any loss or inconvenience from his trial, or if the public attention had been drawn to the injustice of his trial, the Governor would have been severely responsible for the omission to perform his duty.

“So far for my opinion upon the main points of the question. As for the others, the conduct of officers upon the addresses, the orders issued, the resolutions entered into, the resignations of their offices, &c., &c., they are consequences of the first error; that is, of persons in authority making partizans of those placed under them, instead of making all obey the constituted authorities of the state. This conduct in the officers of the army would have been wrong, even if the cause had been just, and the Commander-in-chief had wished to screen Colonel Munro from the persecution of the Government; and it is really not worth while to take up my time in describing, or yours in perusing, a description of the folly, the inconsistency, or the breaches of discipline and subordination contained in all those documents. I have so much regard for the Madras army, to which I owe much, that I would sacrifice a great deal to have it in my power to restore them to that state of discipline, union, and respectability in which I left them in the year 1805; and I assure you that I shall rejoice most sincerely when I shall hear that their good sense and good temper have predominated over their feelings of party and their prejudices.”—Despatches of the Duke of Wellington; Supplementary volume to the three first Parts, p. 231.

*the Dutch Islands. — Expedition against the Moluccas. — Capture of Amboyna, — of Banda, — and of Ternate. — Expedition against Java, — accompanied by Lord Minto. — Difficulties of the Voyage — overcome. — Former Operations. — Destruction of Dutch Vessels at Gresik. — Measures of General Daendels and of his Successor, General Jansens. — Arrival of the Fleet in the Roads of Batavia. — Landing of the Troops. — Occupation of Batavia. — Advance to Weltevreden. — Strength of Fort Cornelis. — Assault. — March of Colonel Gillespie's Column, — Surprise of the Outwork, — Defences Forced. — Explosion of a Redoubt, — the Fort taken, — the Pursuit and Dispersion of the Enemy. — Churbon and Madura occupied. — Final Defeat of General Jansens. — Surrender of Java and its Dependencies. — Mr. Raffles appointed Governor. — Colonel Gillespie Commander of the Forces. — Capture of Yodhyakarta. — Expedition against Palembang. — Sultan deposed. — Views of the Court of Directors. — Beneficial Results of the British Administration in Java.*

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NO events of any great political importance took place on the continent of India, the occurrence of which was likely to aggravate the anxiety experienced by the British Government from the dissensions that prevailed at Madras ; but, during the same period, various occasions of minor moment had arisen for the exercise of its interference and the manifestation of its power. Of this character were the proceedings consequent upon the conduct of Amir Khan, of whom mention has been made in our preceding pages, and who provoked at this time the hostility of the Government of Bengal. Left without controul by the insanity of Holkar, and keeping together a numerous body of troops, for the payment of which he possessed no means of his own, Amir Khan, after exhausting the resources of the Rajput princes, was compelled to look abroad for plunder, and enlarge the field of his depredations. The Raja of Berar was selected as the victim of his necessities.

In the commencement of his political career, Jeswant Rao Holkar had been detained for some time as a prisoner at Nagpore, and according to his own assertions, was pil-



laged by the Raja of jewels of very great value. Amir Khan now demanded, in the name of Holkar, the restitution of the jewels<sup>1</sup> or their price ; and, as the demand was not complied with, he moved, in January 1809, to the frontiers of Berar with all his force, swelled to a large amount by the accession of the predatory or Pindari bands,<sup>2</sup> who had long spread terror through the dominions of the Bhonsla Raja by their daring and devastating incursions. No serious opposition was offered to Amir Khan's advance : he crossed the Nerbudda and proceeded to Jubbulpore, a considerable city of Berar, of which and of the surrounding country he took possession.

Although not bound by the terms of the existing treaty to give military aid to the Raja of Nagpore against his enemies, yet the aggression of Amir Khan was considered by the Bengal Government to demand its vigorous interposition. There were grounds for suspecting that his movements were not unconnected with the discontent of the Subahdar of Hyderabad : and although the assertions of his envoys at Nagpore, that their master had been induced to invade the country by the invitation of the Nizam, who had offered to defray the cost of a still more formidable armament, might not be deserving of implicit credit, yet the known sympathies of the parties rendered such a league between them far from improbable. The interests of the British power were therefore implicated with those of the Raja of Berar. "The question was not," as Lord Minto observed, "whether it was just and expedient to aid the Raja in the defence and recovery of his dominions, although in point of policy the essential change in the political state of India which would be occasioned by the extinction of one of the substantive powers of the Dekhin might warrant and require our interference ; but whether an enterprising and ambitious Mussulman chief, at the head of a numerous army, irresistible by any power except that of the Company, should be permitted to establish his authority on the ruins of the Raja's dominions, over territories contiguous to those of the

<sup>1</sup> MS. Records. Amir Khan mentions the manner in which Holkar became possessed of these jewels ; but states that they were sold, and the produce was expended in raising troops, when he was seized by the Bhonsla Raja. — Life, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> He states his force at 40,000 horse and 24,000 Pindaris.



BOOK I. Nizam, with whom community of religion, combined with  
 CHAP. VI. local power and resources, might lead to the formation of  
 1809. projects probably not uncongenial to the mind of the  
 Nizam himself, and certainly consistent with the views  
 and hopes of a powerful party in his court, for the sub-  
 version of the British alliance. Of such a question there  
 could be but one solution ;"<sup>1</sup> this was, the determination  
 to defend the Raja of Nagpore : and Colonel Close was  
 ordered to march with a competent division to expel Amir  
 Khan from the Berar territory. As the objects of the  
 expedition were in an essential degree British, the assist-  
 ance was wholly gratuitous, no compensation being de-  
 manded from the Raja. Amir Khan protested vehe-  
 mently against the interposition ; and appealed with  
 unanswerable justice, although with no avail, to the stipu-  
 lations of the existing treaty with Holkar, on whose behalf  
 he pretended to act, which engaged that the British Go-  
 vernment would not in any manner whatever interfere in  
 his affairs : and, in a letter addressed by him to Colonel  
 Close, he argued that the conduct of the Government was  
 a manifest infraction of the treaty, and a breach of the  
 solemn promises made to Jeswant Rao, that it would not  
 meddle with his claims upon the Raja of Berar, nor oppose  
 his exaction of contributions from any princes not in  
 alliance with it. These representations were no longer  
 likely to be of any weight. It was not at present a matter  
 of deliberation whether a helpless Raja of Jaypur should  
 be abandoned to the grasp of the spoiler, rather than a  
 passing inconvenience should be encountered ; but whether  
 the desertion of a friendly power might not involve an  
 injury to British interests, and a still greater injury to  
 British reputation.

An army was accordingly assembled towards the end of  
 1809 on the eastern frontier of Berar, composed chiefly of  
 the subsidiary troops from Jalna and Hyderabad ; and  
 another, of sufficient strength not only to protect the pro-  
 vince from danger, but to undertake offensive operations  
 if necessary, was collected in Bundelkhand. Before either  
 force, however, could be fully formed and brought into  
 action, the invader had been checked by the unaided troops

<sup>1</sup> Minute of Governor-General, Oct. 1809 ; Malcolm's Political History, i. 402.

of Nagpore. Whilst yet halting at Jubbulpore, Amir Khan was threatened by the approach of a considerable force, under Sadik Ali Khan, to Srinagar, within twenty miles of his encampment. Placing more confidence in intrigue than in arms, the Nagpore general entered into a negotiation with Amir Khan, and engaged to pay him thirteen lakhs of rupees as the price of his retreat. The Raja, emboldened by the promised support of the British Government, refused to ratify the disgraceful bargain, and commanded Sadik Ali forcibly to compel Amir Khan's departure. And at the same time a letter was delivered to that chief from the Governor-General, announcing his purpose of despatching an army against him unless he immediately quitted Berar. Although not disposed to relinquish his prey without a struggle, yet Amir Khan found himself unable to contend with the Berar force brought against him. The Pindaris, who had been dismissed for the rainy season, had not rejoined; and part of his troops had been sent to the rear, under the impression that a pacific arrangement was about to be made. Hostages had been given him as a security for the payment of the stipulated contribution; and it was so confidently believed by several of his principal captains that part of the money also had been paid, that they had insisted upon their shares, and refused to fight unless they obtained a portion of the spoil. Weakened by their defection and the reduction of his force, Amir Khan attempted to retreat to Bhopal. He was pursued by Sadik Ali, and overtaken, on the 17th of November, in a disadvantageous position at Jabra Ghat, when an engagement of several hours' duration took place; in which, after the loss of several of his best officers, and exposure to imminent personal peril, Amir Khan was completely defeated. He effected, however, his escape to Bhopal.

Being joined by Vizir Mohammed, and reinforced by the Pindaris, Amir Khan was soon in a condition to resume the offensive: he accordingly marched against Sadik Ali, who had fallen back to the strong post of Chouragerh, one stage to the south-west of Jubbulpore. The Berar troops were drawn up, with the fort of Chouragerh in their rear and a rivulet in their front, the approach to which was rendered difficult by deep ravines and much

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BOOK I. thorny jungle. Disregarding the advice of Vizir Moham-  
 CHAP. VI. med to turn the position, Amir Khan attacked the enemy  
 1809. in front. Their line was defended by a numerous artillery,  
 the fire of which told heavily upon the assailants as they  
 slowly toiled to make good their way over the rough and  
 broken ground. After suffering severely from this cause,  
 Amir Khan was compelled to desist from the attack, and  
 to retire once more into the friendly territory of Bhopal.  
 Sadik Ali refrained from following up his advantage, being  
 probably little desirous of its prosecution.<sup>1</sup> This was of  
 no consequence, as the contest was virtually at an end.  
 Foes more formidable were now approaching the scene of  
 action; Colonel Close had arrived at Amravati on the 1st  
 of December, and Colonel Martindell had moved to the  
 confines of Bundelkhand; the former crossed the Nerbud-  
 da early in January. Well aware of his inability to cope  
 with such enemies, Amir Khan divided his army, and  
 sending off his main body by a different route, marched  
 from Bhopal to Bhilsa and Seronj. He was followed to the  
 latter town by Colonel Close, but to no purpose. Pretend-  
 ing that his presence was urgently required by Tulasi Bai,  
 Amir Khan abandoned his troops and set off hastily for  
 Indore. All danger of a further invasion of Berar had  
 therefore evidently ceased; and although for a season it  
 was in contemplation to continue military operations until  
 the complete destruction of Amir Khan's power should  
 have been effected, yet the probability that the prosecu-  
 tion of this policy might lead to a protracted and expen-  
 sive series of hostilities induced the Governor-General to  
 depart from his original design, and content himself with  
 the accomplishment of the main object of the armament.  
 The troops were therefore recalled to their several sta-  
 tions in the Company's territories or those of their allies;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Amir Khan, p. 368. According to his own shewing, he re-  
 turned to Chouragerh after his second defeat; and so closely blockaded the  
 Hyderabad force in its entrenchments there, "that the enemy could not breathe  
 or scratch his head;" at the same time the Pindaris scoured the country in all  
 directions. The descriptions of the different actions are animated, and, with  
 some allowance for Amir Khan's personal exploits and perils, are in the main  
 apparently accurate.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Close was invested with a discretionary power of acting upon his  
 first instructions, but he was not disposed to take upon himself a responsibility  
 from which the Governor-General shrunk. The Court of Directors were  
 "not satisfied with the expediency of abstaining from disabling any power,  
 against whom we may have been compelled to take up arms, from renewing  
 its aggressions."— Letter from Secret Committee; Malcolm, Pol. Hist.  
 i. 405.



the campaign having served to display the power and the spirit of the Government, and the necessity of its interference for the preservation of a state, once held to be of primary consideration in the political scale of Indian potentates, against the attacks of a mere soldier of fortune and his predatory cohorts.

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The state of affairs at Poona demanded also about the same period the demonstration of the military power of the British Government. A spirit of reciprocal aversion had long subsisted between the Peshwa Baji Rao and the members of the Putwurdun family, who held extensive Jagirs in the southern portion of the Mahratta country on the frontiers of Mysore. These Jagirdars were the sons or relatives of Parushram Bhao, the distinguished officer who commanded the Mahratta army in the first war with Tippoo; and who, as the friend and colleague of Nana Furnavese, had borne a leading part in the expulsion of Baji Rao's father, Raghunath Rao, from the Peshwaship, and had been an active agent in a plot for the exclusion of Baji Rao himself from the succession.<sup>1</sup> A reconciliation had been effected, but little cordiality had been restored; and, after the death of Parushram, his descendants, engaged in constant and destructive hostilities with their neighbours, ascribed their sufferings to the continued animosity and intrigues of the Peshwa.<sup>2</sup> On the advance of the British army to reinstate Baji Rao, the elder brother, Apa Saheb, was induced, by his regard for General Wellesley, to accompany him to Poona, and to contribute to the Peshwa's re-establishment.<sup>3</sup> A seeming renewal of friendly intercourse was in consequence effected under Sir Arthur Wellesley's mediation; but the reconciliation was as insincere as before. It was not in the nature of Baji Rao to forgive an injury, and the Putwur-

<sup>1</sup> In 1796; Grant Duff's Mahratta History, iii. 134.

<sup>2</sup> "Since 1800, when I was in this country before, it has been one continued contest for power and plunder between the different chiefs who have armies under their command: between the Putwurdun family and Gokla in the countries bordering on the Toombuddra, the Werda, and Malpoorba; between the Putwarduns and the Raja of Kolapore in those bordering on the Gutpurba and the Kishna."—Wellington Despatches, i. 124. At this time, the beginning of 1803, the heads of the family were three brothers, sons of Parushram, Appa Saheb, Baba Saheb, and Dada Saheb, and their cousin, Chintaman Rao; each of whom commanded a force of about seven thousand horse and foot, with some guns. — Ibid. i. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Wellington Despatches, i. 145, 173, 174.



BOOK I. duns were too well acquainted with his character to place  
 CHAP. VI. any faith in his professions. They accordingly remained  
 neutral in the following war, declining to send their contingents upon the Peshwa's requisition ; but their neutrality was considered by General Wellesley to have been an important object for the Company's possessions, and to have been capable of extenuation by natural and excusable sentiments of nationality. This omission was made one ground of an application from the Peshwa after the war for the assistance of the British troops to dispossess the Putwurduns, and transfer their lands to one of his own officers, Bapooji Gokla ; but Sir Arthur Wellesley firmly opposed the application, not only on account of the claims of the family to the regard of the British Government for the many proofs of attachment which they had exhibited, but on account of its manifest impolicy and injustice.<sup>1</sup> In conformity to his suggestions, the principles to be followed in adjusting the differences between the Putwurduns and the Peshwa were, to interfere in a certain degree, to ascertain the extent of the service to which the Peshwa was entitled from the southern Jagirdars, to oblige them to afford it ; and, on the other hand, to protect them from the oppression of the Peshwa's government, and to guarantee to them their possessions as long as they should continue to serve the Peshwa with fidelity.<sup>2</sup> Both parties were interested in preventing the practical adoption of these principles, and the final adjustment of the differences between them was long delayed.

1811. The interposition of the British Government had at once been effectual in arresting the attempts of the Peshwa to crush the Jagirdars : the subsidiary force afforded his only hope of accomplishing his purpose ; and, its employment as the mere instrument of his revenge being prohibited, his power was paralyzed. It was not so easy to bring the Jagirdars to reason ; especially as they were required to surrender certain lands which were not comprised in their original grants, and to which they were not legally entitled. Their obstinacy was only overcome by

<sup>1</sup> See the conference with Bapooji Gokla ; Wellington Despatches, ii. 121 : and afterwards with the Peshwa's ministers, on the 1st March, 1804 ; ii. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Wellington Despatches, ii. 149.

the movement of the subsidiary force to the Krishna ; when, finding that the British Government was determined to uphold the rightful claims of the Peshwa, the chiefs consented to meet the Resident and Baji Rao at Punderpur, and attended them to Poona, where everything was definitively settled. The result was less satisfactory to Baji Rao than to the Putwurduns, as he had long hesitated to accede to any proposition which did not comprehend the entire resumption of their Jagirs, and the annihilation of a powerful and obnoxious family.<sup>1</sup>

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1812.

The presence of the troops in the field afforded a favourable occasion for the suppression of the piratical practices of the two petty Mahratta states, Wari and Kolapur, both possessing ports on the coast of the Concan, from which their vessels were accustomed to commit depredations on native commerce. Their lawless proceedings had been imperfectly repressed by the occasional presence of one of the Company's ships of war ; but it was now resolved to put an end to the system, by depriving their rulers of the harbours which gave shelter to the pirates. The approach of the British troops soon awed them, however turbulently disposed, to submission ; and the Desai of Wari was compelled to cede the fort of Vingorla, with its port and limits ; while the harbour of Malwan, which included the forts and island of Severndroog and its dependencies, was given up by the Raja of Kolapur. Both states were bound to renounce piracy and to permit no armed vessels to issue from their ports.<sup>2</sup>

It had been found necessary at a previous period to undertake operations for the suppression of piracy of a more formidable description, and in the year 1809 an armament was despatched from the western side of India to the Persian Gulph. Oman, the south-eastern province of Arabia, forms a triangle, the base of which borders upon the deserts ; whilst one arm extends along the Indian ocean to Cape Musendom, and is met at that point by the other, which lies within the gulph. The former or eastern coast is subject to the Imam of Muscat, and is occupied

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<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Political History of India, i. 396.

<sup>2</sup> Grant Duff's Mahratta History, iii. 350 : also Treaties with the Rajas of Kolapore and Sawant Warce ; Collection of Treaties, 27th May, 1818.

BOOK I. by a well-disposed and commercial people. The inhabitants of the latter or western shore, thinly scattered from Cape Musendom through a distance of nearly four hundred miles, had, from a remote period, been so notorious for piratical habits, as to have secured for their territory the denomination of the Pirate coast. Among these tribes the Joasmis were distinguished by their audacity and cruelty. They had recently embraced the reformation which Abd-ul-wahab had some years before introduced into Mohammedanism, and united to the fierceness of their lawless trade the ferocity of fanaticism. Profession of the faith of Islam, or instant death, was the fate of their captives. Their vessels, known as daos or bugalas, varying from one hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty tons' burthen, and carrying from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men, were clumsily built, with a single mast, and mounted but a few guns. Singly, they were little formidable; but they usually sailed together in small fleets, from which a merchant-vessel was rarely able to extricate herself. For a considerable period they refrained from molesting English ships. The Company's armed vessels were instructed to exercise similar forbearance, and to confine themselves to repelling aggression. Emboldened by this policy, and impelled by their religious ardour, the Joasmis departed from the caution they had hitherto preserved, and no longer paid any respect to the British flag. In 1808, the *Sylph*, a small ship of only one hundred tons, having on board the native Persian secretary of Sir Harford Jones, was attacked and captured in sight of the *Nereide* frigate; by which she was retaken, and the pirate vessels were sunk. In the next year the *Minerva*, a large merchant-ship, fell in with a fleet of daos, and, after a running fight of two days, was carried by boarding. The resistance and loss they had suffered had so exasperated the pirates, that every male Christian on board was murdered. It was no longer possible to permit the perpetration of such outrages; and it was determined to seek the Joasmis in their chief port, Ras-al-Khaima, inflict upon them a deserved punishment for their past crimes, and impair, if not annihilate, the means of future mischief.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Account of the Wahabis, by Sir Harford Jones, p. 211; Travels in Arabia,

The expedition consisted of two of his Majesty's frigates, the *Chiffonne* and *Clorinde*, and six of the Company's armed vessels, in which nine hundred European soldiers and five hundred Sipahis were embarked. The flotilla was commanded by Captain Wainwright of the *Chiffonne*; the land division by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, of his Majesty's 65th. The armament left Bombay on the 4th September. Off Cape Musendom, it fell in with a fleet of twenty-seven daos: one was sunk, the others were dispersed. The force then proceeded to Muscat, the Imam of which, equally hostile to the Joasmis as pirates and as Wahabis, gave prompt assistance to the objects of the expedition. The squadron arrived off Ras-al-Khaima on the 12th of November. Notwithstanding its designation of Ras or head-land, the town was found to be situated on a low sandy peninsula, nearly a mile in length. The neck of the isthmus was defended by a wall, and the sea-face by batteries and entrenchments. It was also secure from the near approach of vessels of war by the shallowness of the water.

In consequence of this difficulty, the bombardment of the town was impracticable, and it was determined to carry it by assault. By a skilful disposition, the landing of the troops on the neck of the isthmus was effected at daybreak on the 13th of November; and, in spite of a vigorous resistance, the wall was escalated. Guns were then brought up, and, under the cover of their fire, the troops penetrated into the town. All the principal houses, as usual in Asiatic cities, were flat-roofed; and from their roofs, and loop-holes in their walls, a murderous fire of matchlocks checked for a while the progress of the assailants. Their perseverance, however, triumphed: the town was abandoned by its surviving defenders, and by two o'clock Ras-al-Khaima was in the possession of the British. Although the place was filled with valuable merchandize, the spoil of piratical expeditions, no plunder was per-

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by Lieutenant Wellsted of the Indian navy, i. 243. Both mention that the prisoners, not Mohammedans, were brought singly to the gangway, where one of the pirates cut their throats, with the exclamation, Allah Akbar! God is great! According to Lieutenant Wellsted, the name, properly Johasmis, was derived from Johasm, a Mohammedan saint, who had pitched his tent on the promontory where their chief port was built, hence called Ras-al-Khaima, the Cape of Tents, i. 256.



BOOK I. mitted: the dwellings and magazines were set on fire, and  
 CHAP. VI. the whole was consumed, together with forty-eight large  
 1809. daos and a number of smaller vessels. Several towns of  
 inferior note along the pirate coast shared the same  
 fortune. Some escaped it by the sacrifice of their boats;  
 but in general the Arabs exhibited striking proofs of their  
 national spirit. At the attack of the castle of Shinas, in  
 particular, the most determined resistance was encountered.  
 After a breach had been made, and the place was  
 carried, the garrison retiring into two of the towers  
 refused to surrender. Offers of quarter were made repeatedly  
 to them in vain. They maintained an unceasing fire  
 upon their enemies, and tossed back with the most deliberate  
 resolution the hand-grenades and fire-balls showered  
 upon them without giving them time to explode. Guns  
 were brought to bear upon their defences, and the towers  
 soon became a mass of ruins. At length one of the  
 number gave himself up, and through his agency his  
 companions were induced to believe that their lives would  
 be spared, and to desist from a resistance which had been  
 animated by a notion that no more mercy would be shown  
 to them than they were accustomed to exercise towards  
 their captives.<sup>1</sup> Above four hundred were killed. The  
 others were protected with difficulty from the fury of the  
 troops of the Imam of Muscat, of whom four thousand  
 had joined the detachment, and who mostly belonged to  
 a tribe which was at deadly feud with the Joasmis. The  
 place was delivered to the Imam. At Luft, also, on the  
 island of Kishme, a desperate opposition was experienced,  
 by which an officer and ten men were killed, and many of  
 the men were wounded.

The success of these operations struck a salutary terror  
 into the pirate tribes of the coast of Oman, and procured  
 for some years security for the commerce of the Persian  
 Gulph. The habits, the native daring, and the fanaticism  
 of these barbarians, gradually, however, resumed their  
 influence, and impelled them to the revival of their pre-

<sup>1</sup> "After the destruction of one of their forts, several of the Arabs were brought on board our ships as prisoners: while uncertain of their fate, and before their wounds were dressed, they were asked what fate they anticipated. 'The same immediate death as we should have inflicted on you had your fortune been ours,' was the stern and characteristic reply."—Wellsted's Travels, i. 219.

datory courses, which provoked a severer chastisement and more effectual suppression. This will be the subject of a future narrative. The armament employed on the present occasion returned to Bombay, and received the merited acknowledgments of the local and supreme Governments.<sup>1</sup>

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While thus busily and anxiously engaged in appeasing internal dissension, and in asserting the ascendancy of the British empire of India over the nations of Asia, the attention of Lord Minto was earnestly fixed upon objects of European as well as of Indian interest growing out of the war which raged in the Western hemisphere. Upon the occupation of Portugal by the French, and the flight of the Prince Regent to Brazil, the Bengal Government received orders from England to take military occupation of the Portuguese settlements in the East, to prevent their following the fate of the parent country. Goa had some time previously been partly under the protection of the British troops, the civil administration being left entirely to the Portuguese authorities; and it was deemed expedient to provide in a similar manner for the security of Macao. A small expedition was accordingly embarked in June and July from Madras and Calcutta, the troops of which were commanded by Major Weguelin of the Bengal European regiment, and the ships by Rear-Admiral Drury.<sup>2</sup> The Madras division, with the Admiral, arrived off Macao on the 11th September. Their coming was unexpected, and by no means acceptable to their allies. Reluctant to part with any portion of their brief authority, and fearful of giving offence to the Chinese, the Portuguese authorities availed themselves of the absence of instructions from their own Court, to resist as long as they could the disembarkation of the troops. Fortified with the sanction of the Viceroy of Goa, and determined to execute the instructions of the Government of Bengal, Admiral Drury dis-

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Annual Registers, vol. xi. Chron. 161, and vol. xii. Chron. 122; Account of the Expedition against the Pirates of the Gulph of Persia in 1809; Asiatic Monthly Journal, vol. ii. 341.

<sup>2</sup> The troops from Madras consisted of two companies of his Majesty's 30th regiment, and were embarked on the Russell and Greyhound ships of war: the former of which carried the Admiral. From Bengal, two companies of the European regiment and six hundred Sipahis were embarked in transports, and his Majesty's vessels Dover, Phaeton, Jaseur, and Dédaigneux.

BOOK I. regarded the remonstrances and procrastination of the  
CHAP. VI. Governor of Macao; and, by landing the troops without  
his acquiescence, extorted from him a reluctant assent to  
1809. the military possession of the defences of the town.

There was, however, a still more potential voice to be consulted—that of the Chinese. In some measure instigated by the intrigues of the Portuguese, but still more by becoming feelings of national dignity, the provincial Mandarins immediately objected in the strongest terms to the landing of the British troops. The Select Committee of Supracargoes had induced the Governor-General to believe that the Chinese would be indifferent to the temporary occupation of Macao, and would consider it immaterial whether it was guarded by the troops of Portugal or Great Britain. They had not, however, ascertained the sentiments of the Chinese, and their conjectures were erroneous. The local officers were still more vigorously upheld by their principals at Canton; and the Viceroy, declaring that the unlicensed entrance of foreign soldiers into the territories of the Celestial dynasty was a violation of the laws of the empire, commanded their immediate withdrawal. It was in vain urged that Macao had been ceded to the Portuguese, that the English came as their allies, and that their only purpose was to defend it against the attacks of their common enemy, the French. The Viceroy replied, that Macao was in all respects a part of the empire, that the British should have applied for permission to the Emperor before they landed their troops, and that it was as absurd as it was disrespectful to presume that their aid was required to protect any part of the Emperor's dominions from foreign aggression. He repeated his orders for the re-embarkation of the troops; and, finding that obedience was delayed, first put a stop to the trade with the Company's ships, several of which were at the time taking in cargoes, and then prohibited their being furnished with provisions and supplies.

Thinking that the objections of the Government might be overcome by persisting in the course pursued, the supracargoes prevailed upon the Admiral, against his own judgment, to repeat his applications, and to repair in person to Canton, and demand an interview with the Viceroy. That functionary, though he declined to receive

the Admiral, sent some Mandarins of rank to confer with his officers, and wrote a reply to his letters. The tenor of his declarations was unchanged: the withdrawal of the troops was insisted on as preliminary to all other discussion. The Admiral returned indignantly to his ships, and, still acting upon the suggestions of the supracargoes, threatened to blockade the port, and commanded all the Europeans to leave Canton. These measures were unavailing. An order arrived from Peking, whither information of the transaction had been despatched, approving of the Viceroy's conduct, and commanding him, if necessary, to expel the intruders by force. The imperial commands were communicated to the Admiral: troops began to collect in considerable numbers along the shores of the Canton river, boats passing to the ships were fired upon, and everything indicated hostile proceedings unless the armament was withdrawn. Major Weguelin, who, with the Bengal detachment, had joined on the 20th October, concurred with the Admiral in conceiving that they were not warranted in carrying their instructions into effect, in direct contravention of the commands of the Emperor; and the supracargoes, sensible that further obstinacy might lead to more serious consequences than they had anticipated, at last counselled acquiescence. The troops were accordingly re-embarked on the 23rd December, after three months had been expended in the vain attempt to overcome the reasonable opposition of the Chinese to the unauthorized establishment of foreign troops upon their coasts. The reason of the case was not only clearly on their side, but their conduct exhibited a remarkable combination of firmness and forbearance. However unyielding in their resolution, no violence was resorted to; and, as soon as the ships and troops had departed, the trade was resumed, and carried on as quietly as if no interruption had occurred.

The failure of the expedition to Macao was more than redeemed by the success which attended the employment of the resources of British India in the furtherance of other objects of greater national importance; and it was reserved for Lord Minto's administration to accomplish the extirpation of those remains of the colonial possessions of France in the Eastern hemisphere, that had so



BOOK I. long been suffered to inflict humiliation and injury upon  
 CHAP. VI. the subjects of a power which had only to will their  
 1809. extinction, and they ceased to be. The measures which  
 led to the conquest of the Isles of France and of Java,  
 have now to be described.

It has been already noticed, that, notwithstanding the presence of a powerful naval armament in the Indian ocean,<sup>1</sup> armed vessels issuing from the French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon had throughout the war preyed upon the maritime trade of India almost with impunity: occasionally, indeed, they fell victims to their audacity,<sup>2</sup> and were made to feel the superiority of British skill and prowess; but although they swept the seas from Madagascar to Java, and sometimes carried their depredations to the immediate vicinity of the British harbours,<sup>3</sup> they were for the most part singularly fortunate in avoiding the track of English frigates and men-of-war.<sup>4</sup> Their principal spoil arose from the capture of the merchant-ships employed in the trade of the Eastern seas, whose cargoes, often of considerable value, they carried for sale to the ports from which they had sallied; but they also inflicted serious damage upon the Company's commerce, and from time to time valuable Indiamen fell into their hands.<sup>5</sup> The equipments of these vessels, which were well

<sup>1</sup> In 1807, Admiral Pellew had under his orders, in different parts of the Indian seas, six ships of the line, sixteen frigates, and six sloops.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst the most gallant actions was one fought in the Balasore Roads in February, 1798, between *La Forte*, a frigate of the largest class, and the *Sybill* of forty-four guns, Captain Cooke, which ended in the capture of the former, although Captain Cooke was killed; and one between *La Piedmontaise* and *San Fiorenzo*, of about equal force, in March, 1808. In this also, which was a desperately contested engagement, renewed for three days successively, and terminating in the capture of *La Piedmontaise*, the commander of the English frigate, Captain Hardinge, fell. *Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. ii. Chron. 87, and vol. x. Chron. 191. The official reports are given in both.

<sup>3</sup> The Kent East-Indiaman, Captain Rivington, was captured at the mouth of the Hoogly river by the *Confiance* privateer, M. Surcouf, in October, 1800, after an action of an hour and forty-seven minutes: her captain was killed. M. Surcouf for several years was distinguished for his intrepidity and successful enterprise: most of his prizes, and they were numerous, were taken in the upper part of the bay and along the Madras coast.—*Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. ii. Chron. 141.

<sup>4</sup> The merchants of Calcutta presented a petition to his Majesty's Government, imputing to the navy some degree of disinclination to exert themselves for the protection of the trade.

<sup>5</sup> It was computed in October 1807, that in the course of six weeks the losses by capture to the port of Calcutta alone exceeded thirty lakhs of rupees (£300,000). Between 1792 and 1810, the Company lost thirty vessels by capture: the cargoes of twenty-four of the number are stated to have been worth above £800,000.—Commons' Committee, 1830; First Report, App. vi.

armed, and on the outward-bound voyage well manned, enabled them sometimes to resist successfully the attacks of their enemies; and, on one memorable occasion, a fleet of merchant-ships returning from China, under its senior captain, Captain Dance,<sup>1</sup> beat off a French squadron of vessels of war commanded by Admiral Linois. In some actions between single vessels a similar result reflected honour upon the Company's officers: but in general the merchantmen were unequal to contend with a French cruizer of respectable force; especially on their homeward voyage, when they had been weakened by the impressment of many of their best men on board his Majesty's ships of war. Latterly cases of this nature had become more frequent. In 1809, the Company's regular Indiamen, *Europe* and *Streatham*, were taken on their homeward voyage by the French frigate *La Caroline*; and the *Charlton* and *United Kingdom*, by *La Venus*. In the following year, the *Windham*, *Ceylon*, and *Astell*, outward bound, were met off the island of *Johanna*, by the French frigates *Bellone* and *Minerve*, and *Victor* corvette, and after an action which lasted from 2 P.M. until dark, the two former struck. The *Astell* escaped under cover of the night. It was high time to rescue the commerce of India from the risk and peril to which it was exposed, and to vindicate the pretensions of the British navy to the undisputed sovereignty of the ocean.

The most obvious means of paralysing the energies of the naval power of France, which still lingered in the East, was to take from her ships those places in the Indian ocean where they found a shelter and obtained supplies. This might have been effected at a much earlier date; but, for reasons not easily comprehensible, the Company's Governments had been interdicted from engaging in any expedition against the islands, as involving a certain expense both for their reduction and maintenance:<sup>2</sup> a piece

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<sup>1</sup> The China fleet, consisting of sixteen ships, on the 14th of February, 1804, off *Palo Aor*, in the Straits of *Malacca*, fell in with the French squadron under Admiral Linois, consisting of the *Marengo* of seventy-four guns, two frigates of forty-four guns each, and two brigs. On the 15th, after some manœuvring, and the exchange of a short fire between the French line and the headmost ships, Admiral Linois stood off under all sail, deterred from a closer contest by the gallant bearing of the China ships.—*Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. vi. Chron. 102; *Brenton's Naval History*, iii. 336.

<sup>2</sup> "At the commencement of the present war, intimation had been given to the East India Company to guard them against expending large sums in expe-

BOOK I. of parsimonious prodigality, in which even the pecuniary  
 CHAP. VI. saving bore no ratio to the pecuniary loss; as the value of  
 1809. the captured ships, and the charges of their convoy and equipments, far outbalanced in the end the cost which, in the beginning, would have been incurred by the conquest of the colonies. The views of the home administration at this period underwent a change, and the Government of Bengal, and the chief naval officers in the Eastern seas, were authorized to adopt arrangements of a more enterprising description. It was at first proposed to attempt nothing more than a rigorous blockade of the Isle of France and Bourbon, by the squadron at the Cape of Good Hope, under Admiral Bertie; but, as this was impracticable, as long as the blockading ships depended upon the distant settlements of the Cape or of Bombay for their supplies, it was determined to occupy the small island of Rodriguez, lying about one hundred leagues east of the Isle of France, and establish upon it magazines, with stores and provisions, for the refitting and revictualling of the blockading squadron. A small force of two hundred Europeans, and an equal number of natives, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, was despatched from Bombay, under convoy of his Majesty's ship *Bellicieux*, Commodore Byng. They arrived off the island on the 4th of August, and found upon it only three Frenchmen, engaged in growing vegetables for the use of the larger islands. Rodriguez was about fifteen miles long, from east to west, and seven from north to south. Wood and water were plentiful, and various vegetables were raised. The stores were landed, and additional supplies were sent for; and Colonel Keating adopted all necessary precautions in order to strengthen himself in his position. The captures made in 1809 and 1810, however, showed that, whatever benefits might ultimately result from the occupation of Rodriguez, it was not followed by that of an effectual blockade of the French islands. French frigates had continued to sail from their ports, and returned to them with splendid and valuable trophies of victory.

Although the position thus taken up proved inadequate

to the entire prevention of maritime depredation, yet it had the advantage of enabling the English men of war to remain more steadily and continuously in those seas, cramping the enemy's operations, occasioning frequent distress in the islands for want of supplies, and affording a salient point from which to harass and annoy them by occasional demonstrations or actual inroads. With this purpose, as well as to determine how far ulterior and more definite measures were practicable, the forces at Rodriguez, both military and naval, were strengthened, and in September, 1809, an expedition proceeded from Rodriguez to the Isle de Bourbon.

A body of four hundred European and native troops were embarked in his Majesty's ships *Nereide* and *Otter*, and the Company's cruizer *Wasp*. Off Port Louis, in the Isle of France, they were joined by his Majesty's ships, the *Raisonnable*, Commodore Rowley, and the *Sirius*, Captain Pym. The whole proceeded to Bourbon, off the eastern extremity of which they arrived on the morning of the 20th of September. In the evening, a detachment, raised to six hundred men, by the addition of seamen and marines, was disembarked to the southward of Point de Galotte, about seven miles from St. Paul, the chief town on the western side of the island. The disembarkation was unperceived by the enemy; and the troops had marched, and were in possession of two of the principal batteries on the east of the town, commanding the shipping, before their approach was apprehended. On the advance of a column to storm a third battery, they came upon the garrison, now collected, and reinforced by a hundred men of the troops of the line, serving on board the frigate *La Caroline*, then lying in the bay with her prizes. The position of the enemy was strong, and was supported by eight pieces of artillery. Their defence was resolute; and it was not until the main body of the assailants was concentrated, that they gave way. By half-past eight, the whole of the batteries, and the town and magazines, were in the hands of the English; and, the escape of the ships being prevented by the squadron, they were obliged to surrender. The French ships taken were the *Caroline* frigate, of forty-six guns, and some small trading vessels; but, besides a gun-brig, and some

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BOOK I. small traders, two Indiamen, the Streatham and Europe  
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Upon hearing of this attack, a body of troops, under the command of General Des Bruslys, the Governor of Bourbon, marched from St. Denis, and made their appearance on the hills on the evening of the 23rd. Finding St. Paul in possession of the English, they retired during the night, rendering it useless to continue the preparations which had been made for the relanding of the troops. A convention was then concluded between the English commander and the commandant of St. Paul, for a suspension of hostilities for three days, during which the English were to remain unmolested in the occupation of the town. The death of Des Bruslys, who destroyed himself,<sup>1</sup> occasioned the prolongation of the armistice; during which the public property was, agreeably to the stipulated convention, put on board the ships; and, the objects of the expedition having been accomplished, the squadron, with the captured vessels, returned to Rodriguez.<sup>2</sup>

The success which had attended the proceeding of so feeble an armament confirmed the determination of the Government of Bengal to attempt, without waiting for specific instructions from home, the complete reduction of the French islands; and, in the beginning of 1810, a reinforcement of sixteen hundred European, and as many native troops, was despatched to Colonel Keating, to enable him to undertake the complete subjugation of the Isle de Bourbon. The expedition arrived at Rodriguez on the 20th of June, but, from the unfavourable state of the weather, they were unable to proceed to their destination until the 3rd of July. They were then conveyed to Bourbon, under convoy of a strong squadron of his Majesty's navy, consisting of the *Sirius*, the *Iphigenia*, the *Magicienne*, and the *Nereide*, commanded by Commodore Rowley, in the *Boadicea*, and arrived off the point of debarkation on the 6th. Colonel Keating on this occasion had determined to proceed at once against St. Denis, the

<sup>1</sup> He left a paper intimating his having committed suicide, to avoid death on the scaffold; and recommending his wife and children to Providence, and those who could feel for them. His family, at the request of his widow, was sent with a cartel to the Mauritius.

<sup>2</sup> Official report, and other details; Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xi. Chron. 155.

capital, in the hope of preventing protracted operations in the interior of the country, consisting chiefly of rugged, and in part inaccessible, mountains. The squadron accordingly sailed to the northern coast, where the forces, previously distributed into four brigades, were appointed to land at two different points: the first brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, being directed to debark at Grande Chaloupe, and proceed by the mountains against the west side of the town; whilst the other three brigades, under Colonel Keating himself, were intended to land on the east of it, at Rivière de Pluies, and to cross the rear of the town to the river St. Denis.

About two o'clock, on the 7th of July, the ships having reached their stations, the landing of the principal divisions was commenced, and about three hundred men of the 3rd and 4th brigades, under Colonels Campbell and Macleod, with a party of seamen under Captain Willoughby, of the *Nereide*, were landed. The weather, which had hitherto been moderate, became suddenly tempestuous: the surf rose with such violence, that the boats were stove in pieces on nearing the shore, and the disembarkation of the rest of the troops became impracticable. The division on shore was necessarily left without support; but, after a communication from the Commander-in-chief,<sup>1</sup> Colonel Macleod advanced to a battery on the Breton river at Ste. Marie, which he carried, and where he was unmolested during the night.

The attempt to land at this spot was seen from the town, but the debarkation was considered to be impossible, from the fury of the surf; and the principal attention of the enemy was directed to the division under Colonel Fraser. His brigade, which was composed of his Majesty's 86th regiment, and part of the 6th regiment of Madras native infantry, with a small detail of artillery and pioneers, on board of his Majesty's ship *Sirius*, had been more fortunate. They reached their destination off Grande Chaloupe early on the forenoon of the 7th July, and immediately effected a landing without loss, although exposed to a harassing fire from the light troops of the enemy. As

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Foulstone, of his Majesty's 69th, volunteered to be the bearer of Colonel Keating's orders: he was carried in a boat to the edge of the surf, and then swam through it to the shore.

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 CHAP. VI. pushed on with his Europeans alone to the vicinity of the  
 1810. town, and occupied the heights above it to the westward,  
 so as to cut off all communication between the capital and  
 St. Paul. In the meantime, the *Magicienne* and *Boadicea*,  
 with the 2nd and 4th brigades, and the chief military  
 stores and artillery, finding little chance of effecting a  
 landing at *Rivière*, sailed to *Grande Chaloupe* in the night,  
 and early on the 8th landed the troops on board. Before  
 they could move forward in force, the business had been  
 decided. The courage and activity of Colonel Fraser's  
 division had reaped the full harvest of that good fortune  
 which had given them the lead in the attack upon St.  
 Denis.

Having been joined during the night of the 7th by the  
 rest of his force, Colonel Fraser, on the morning of the  
 8th, leaving the *Sipahis* to protect his rear, descended  
 from the hill with the Europeans, and soon fell in with  
 the enemy, drawn up in two columns, each with a field-  
 piece, on the plain, supported by the heavy cannon of a  
 strong redoubt upon their flank. On reaching the plain,  
 the regiment was ordered to charge, when they immedi-  
 ately rushed upon the enemy with the bayonet, and broke  
 them. The French attempted to form behind the parapet  
 of the redoubt; but they were pushed so closely that they  
 were unable to make good their footing, and left the re-  
 doubt in the possession of the British, who turned some  
 of the guns found in it against the town, and were en-  
 abled more effectually to reply to the batteries by which  
 the latter was defended. At four o'clock in the afternoon  
 a flag of truce was sent out from the town to negotiate  
 for its surrender. By that time the bulk of the expedi-  
 tion, which had been sent on to *Grande Chaloupe*, had  
 arrived, and advanced to St. Denis, whilst the 3rd brigade  
 had also come up from the east to take its part in the  
 assault.<sup>1</sup> Dispositions for storming were made, when it  
 was prevented by the submission of the Commandant,  
 Colonel St. Susanne. By the terms of the capitulation

<sup>1</sup> There is a slight difference between the report of Colonel Keating and that of Colonel Fraser: the latter says that Colonel Drummond joined him at four with the 2nd brigade; the former, that he himself arrived at that time, and commanded dispositions to be made for a general attack.

which ensued, the whole of the island was ceded to the British with all public property; the troops of the line surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to be sent to the Cape or to England. Colonel St. Susanne was allowed to proceed to the Isle of France on parole; and Mr. Farquhar, of the Bengal Civil service, who had been appointed by Lord Minto in the confidence of success to the government of the island, assumed charge of its administration. Proclamations were issued by him, assuring to the inhabitants the secure possession of their property on their remaining peaceable and obedient, and promising them the provisional observance of the established forms of law and government, and the maintenance of the established religion of the colony. This important acquisition was effected with little loss; or eighteen killed and fifty-nine wounded. One officer only, Lieutenant J. S. Munro, of his Majesty's 56th, was amongst the former.<sup>1</sup>

The capture of Bourbon, so creditable to both the military and naval forces employed, for the judgment by which it had been planned and the spirit by which it had been accomplished, was followed by a series of singular disasters suffered by the navy, ascribable to no deficiency of courage or conduct, but to an imperfect acquaintance with the scene of action, and the want of sufficiently experienced pilotage. The achievements which were projected would no doubt have been successful, could they have been executed with the promptitude with which they were conceived.

The operations against Bourbon had been carried on without any attempt at interruption from the Isle of France, in consequence of the absence of the principal naval strength of the French. On the 20th of August, the *Bellone*, *Minerve*, and *Victor* returned, bringing with them the captured Indiamen, the *Windham* and *Ceylon*. Finding Port St. Louis blockaded, they made for the harbour of Grand Port, also called Port Impérial, on the south-eastern or windward side of the island. On nearing the Isle de la Passe,<sup>2</sup> a small islet with a fort lying off the mouth of the harbour about three miles from the

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xii; Official details, Chron. pp. 27, 117.

<sup>2</sup> It had been taken on the 14th of August by the boats of the *Sirius* and *Epigénia*, and was garrisoned by one hundred and thirty men from Bourbon.



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land, which had been taken, and was now occupied by a small detachment from Bourbon, the French squadron was surprised by a hostile fire from the guns of the fort, and of the *Nereide* frigate which had been stationed off the island. With some loss, the French vessels made their way into the harbour; but their prize, the *Windham*, not keeping up with the rest, was recaptured by Captain Pym with the boats of the *Sirius*, which was cruising in the neighbourhood in maintenance of the blockade. Sending off his prize to Bourbon, Captain Pym, in communication with Captain Willoughby of the *Nereide*, determined to attack the French ships in the harbour, and on the 22nd of August the two frigates stood in for that purpose. Unfortunately the *Sirius* grounded, and could not be got off until the next day, when the *Iphigenia* and *Magicienne*, under Captains Lambert and Curtis, arrived to take part in the engagement. The delay that had occurred had afforded the governor, General Decaen, time to reinforce the crews of the vessels with seamen and soldiers, and to strengthen the batteries which had been erected on this part of the coast since the capture of the *Isle de la Passe*, and which mounted sixty guns. These were fully manned, and were supported by all the troops that could be assembled, and a numerous body of militia and volunteers.

The firing commenced at a little after 5 P.M. on the 23rd. The *Nereide* anchored within half pistol-shot of the *Belone* and *Victor*. The *Magicienne*, in following her, grounded in such an attitude that very few of her guns could bear upon the *Minerve*, to whom she was opposed; but the *Iphigenia* anchored on her larboard quarter, and relieved her of her antagonist. The *Sirius* again unluckily took the ground nearly out of gun-shot, and was disabled from rendering effectual aid. The French ships were soon driven out of their line, but into a position which enabled them to work their guns with advantage. Their loss of men was constantly repaired by troops from the shore; and the batteries and musketry on land poured a galling fire upon the British vessels, which were incapable of management.

The contest was nevertheless continued until after dark. At ten o'clock, the *Nereide*, which also had previ-

ously grounded, having most of her guns disabled, the greater part of her crew killed or wounded, and being exposed to the fire of the land-batteries as well as of the shipping, struck her colours;<sup>1</sup> but the French, not noticing or not perceiving that this was the case, continued firing upon her for some hours, until not a man on board remained unhurt. The firing continued with occasional interruption through the night. On the morning of the 24th, all hope of success being necessarily abandoned, it was determined to endeavour to retreat. The *Magicienne* being unmanageable, and on the point of sinking, was quitted by her crew, who set her on fire and retired on board the *Iphigenia*. On the 25th, the *Iphigenia* warped out of the action, and attempted to extricate the *Sirius*; but finding this impracticable, she also was set on fire in the evening, and exploded. The *Iphigenia*, the sole remaining ship, contrived by extraordinary exertion to get back to the Isle de la Passe, where she landed the surviving crews of the other vessels. In this situation, without provisions, and surrounded by a vastly superior force of the enemy—the *Astrea*, *Venus*, and *La Manche* frigates, with the *Entreprenant* sloop, having on the 27th come round from Port Louis, whilst those recently engaged were rapidly refitting—Captain Lambert found himself under the necessity of capitulating, and surrendered to Captain Hamelin, the commodore of the French squadron. It was stipulated that the crews should be prisoners of war, but to be sent immediately on parole or in exchange to one of his Britannic Majesty's forts. The convention was ratified by General Decaen, the governor of the Isle of France, so far, that he consented to send the prisoners, after the expiration of a month, to England or the Cape of Good Hope upon condition of their not serving again until exchanged.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The report published by order of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta Government Gazette, 18th Oct. 1810, states that the *Nereide* drifted on shore, and was taken possession of by the enemy: the account in the text is from the *Nereide's* log.—Brenton's *Naval History*, iv. 468. The French account asserts that her colours were flying at daybreak, but that information of her helpless situation had been previously received from a French prisoner on board, who made his escape and swam to the *Minerve*, and that from that time she was not fired on.

<sup>2</sup> *Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. xii; *History*, p. 8, *Chron.* 65: Brenton's *Naval History*, iv. 465. A translation of General Decaen's official proclamation after the action is published in the Calcutta Government Gazette Extraordinary,

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The only British ship of war now left of the blockading squadron was the *Boadicea*; and Commodore Rowley was unable to prevent the blockade of the Isle de Bourbon, which was established by the French frigates, *Astrea* and *Iphigenia*, who intercepted several of the transports arriving with troops and stores for the destined expedition against the Isle of France. On the 12th of September, however, the *Africaine* frigate, Captain Corbett, arrived from England; and Commodore Rowley, thus reinforced, immediately put to sea. The French frigates fled, and the English gave chase. The *Boadicea* being a heavy sailer, the French vessels soon shot far a-head, followed closely by the *Africaine*. Captain Corbett, apprehending the escape of the enemy, brought them to action, whilst the *Boadicea* was five miles astern. The wind died away. the *Africaine* was overpowered: the captain was killed, and the senior lieutenant was obliged to strike his colours. The balance of strength again turned in favour of the French; but the *Boadicea*, being joined by the *Otter* sloop and *Staunch* gun-brig, continued the chase. The enemy's frigates were little inclined to renew the contest; and, having taken out such of her crew as were unhurt, they abandoned the *Africaine* in a crippled condition. Rowley returned with her to St. Paul on the 18th of September.

Commodore Rowley had not been many hours at anchor when three sail appeared in the offing, two of which had suffered in their masts and rigging. He immediately made sail in pursuit of them, attended by the *Otter* and *Staunch*. The vessel that appeared not to be disabled had another ship in tow, which she cast off, to save herself by flight. The third, having no top-masts, bore up to assist her consort, but was soon obliged to strike to the superior force of the *Boadicea*; whilst the crippled vessel yielded at once to the *Otter*. The former proved to be the French frigate *Venus*; the latter, the *Ceylon*, an armed Indiaman

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25th November, 1810. Some gasconading was excusable on such an occasion, but in the main the account is candid and temperate: the loss of the French is probably undervalued at four officers and thirty-three men killed, and one hundred and twelve wounded; the latter included M. Du Perrée, the captain of the *Bellone*. In the *Néréide* alone, one hundred and sixteen were killed, and many of the wounded died on landing. Captain Willoughby was wounded, but recovered with the loss of an eye.

from Madras, which had been captured that morning, after a smart engagement, by the *Venus* and the *Victor* corvette, the vessel that had escaped. The resolute resistance made by the *Ceylon*, and the damage she had inflicted upon the *Venus*, were the main causes of her own recovery, and of the capture of the *Venus*. On board the *Ceylon* was Major-General Abercrombie, who commanded the expedition now on its way from India.

The struggle thus far honourably maintained by the French was now soon to terminate ; and an effort proportioned to the object was about to put an end to their maritime depredations in the seas of India. Shortly after the action last noticed, or early in October, Vice-Admiral Bertie in the *Nisus* frigate arrived from the Cape of Good Hope in the bay of St. Paul. Great exertions had been made to refit and equip the vessels which had been captured ; and eleven days after the Vice-Admiral's arrival he was able to put to sea with the *Boadicea*, *Nisus*, *Africaine*, *Venus*, now named the *Nereide*, and the *Ceylon*, well manned and supplied. With this squadron he proceeded to Port Louis, off which he arrived on the 19th October. Finding that of the enemy's vessels lying in the harbour, not more than two were ready for sea, he left the *Boadicea*, *Nisus*, and *Nereide*, to maintain the blockade, and resumed his voyage to Rodriguez, to join the expedition which had been directed to rendezvous at that island. On his way he fell in with the squadron from India under Rear-Admiral Drury, proceeding to the same destination, and in company with them arrived at Rodriguez on the 3rd of November. The division from Bombay was already present, and that from Madras made its appearance three days afterwards. It was not until the 21st October that the armament from Bengal arrived. As the season was far advanced, and the period was approaching when the winds in these latitudes become variable, and violent hurricanes occur, the commander of the expedition considered it of the utmost importance that no further time should be lost ; and accordingly preparations had been made for the embarkation of the troops that had previously arrived, and for the supply of the vessels from Bengal with such stores as they might require without their dropping anchor. As soon as this operation was effected, the whole

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BOOK I. of the fleet was under weigh, and early on the 29th November came to anchor off the point selected for debarkation in Grande Baye, near the north-east extremity of the island, about fifteen miles north from the capital, where

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it had been previously ascertained that a fleet might be anchored in the narrow passage between a small island called from its outline Gunner's Quoin, and the main-land, and where openings in the reefs allowed many boats to enter abreast. A landing in force at this place had been deemed impracticable, as it was supposed that vessels of burthen could neither make their way through the reefs of rocks which formed the exterior barrier of the bay, nor find anchorage outside, from the great depth of water close to the rocks. It had been, however, ascertained by the officers of the navy, that a passage between the rocks could be accomplished, and that a fleet might lie at anchor in the situation to which it had been actually conducted. No opposition was experienced, and the whole of the force was landed by three o'clock in the afternoon. The troops had been distributed into five brigades.<sup>1</sup> The first, under Colonel Picton, consisted of his Majesty's 12th and 22nd regiments, and the right wing of the Madras volunteer battalion; the second, under Colonel Gibbs, of his Majesty's 59th, with three hundred of the 89th and a company of the 87th, and of the left wing of the Madras volunteers; the third brigade, under Lieutenant Colonel Kelso, was formed of the 14th regiment and the second battalion of the Bengal volunteers; and the fourth, commanded by Colonel Macleod, of the 69th regiment, of the Madras native flank battalion, with three hundred marines; the fifth brigade was composed of his Majesty's 65th, a troop of the 26th dragoons, and the first battalion of the Bengal native volunteers. There was also a reserve division, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, comprising the 84th regiment, the flank companies of some other

<sup>1</sup> The European force was composed of his Majesty's regiments, the 12th, 14th, 22nd, 56th, 59th, 65th, 69th, 84th, and 89th, the Bengal and Madras artillery, and a company of the 26th dragoons; six thousand three hundred strong: and two thousand seamen and marines. The native troops from Bengal and Madras consisted of four volunteer battalions and a party of Madras pioneers, three thousand men: altogether, eleven thousand three hundred. The squadron consisted of the *Illustrious* 74, and the frigates *Cornwallis*, *Africaine*, *Boadicea*, *Nisus*, *Clorinde*, *Cornelia*, *Menelaus*, *Psyche*, *Ceylon*, *Nereide*, *Phœbe*, *Doris*, and *Vesper*, besides sloops and gun-brigs.

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corps, and the Bombay native troops. These, with the artillery and a large body of seamen, formed a force of about eleven thousand men. To oppose them General Decaen had not more than two thousand Europeans, including the crews of the ships of war, a considerable number of colonists, and a body of African slaves, without discipline, and badly armed.

As soon as the troops could be formed, the force moved towards Port Louis. The road followed the direction of the coast for the first five miles, passing through a thick wood much entangled with brushwood, through which the men made their way with great difficulty and fatigue. No enemy was seen until, on clearing the wood, the heads of the columns were fired upon by a small picquet, by which Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, Lieutenant Ashe, and some men of the advance, were wounded. The enemy were quickly dispersed, and greater injury was inflicted by the excessive heat of the weather and want of water. Several of the officers and men employed in the laborious duty of bringing on the artillery and stores sunk under their exertions, and fell dead on the march.<sup>1</sup> After clearing the wood, the army bivouacked for the night.

On the following morning the march was resumed, with the purpose of reaching the capital; but the excessive heat and scanty supply of water compelled General Abercrombie to halt, about five miles short of Port Louis upon the bed of the Pamplémousse river. On the 31st, the force again advanced, and, soon after it had moved, came upon the enemy, who had taken up an advantageous position in front with several field-pieces. The European flank battalion, which formed the advance, was led against them by Colonel Campbell of the 33rd; and, by a spirited charge, put them to flight, with the loss of their guns. The success was dearly purchased; Colonel Campbell, and Major O'Keefe of the 12th regiment, being killed whilst gallantly leading their men to the charge. After the repulse of the enemy, the army resumed its march, and drew up in front of the lines defending Port Louis, preparatory to an assault on the following morning, whilst the ships of war, which had now come round to the

<sup>1</sup> Among those who perished from heat and fatigue were Lieutenant Dove of his Majesty's 14th, and Captain Yates of the City of London Indiaman.

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harbour, should cannonade the town from the sea. This catastrophe was prevented by the offer of General Decaen to capitulate; and, the terms of his surrender being agreed upon, the Isle of France became subject to the British crown. The advanced period of the season rendering it unadvisable to protract the contest, terms more favourable than were merited, although less so than those demanded,<sup>1</sup> were granted. The troops of the garrison and crews of the ships of war were to be conveyed in English ships to European France, instead of becoming prisoners of war; taking with them all property declared to be private. The ships in the harbour, with all stores and public property, fell to the captors. The inhabitants were secured in the continuance of their religion, laws, and customs.<sup>2</sup> Thus instantaneously disappeared the fancied strength of the Isle of France when once the vigour of British India emancipated itself from the visionary obstacles which the selfish fears of the British Cabinet had opposed, and the imperfect information of the Indian Government had encouraged. The very effort that was ultimately made evinced the strength of the misconception that had invested the capture of the Mauritius with such unreal danger; and the conquest, although creditable to the spirit with which it was undertaken, reflected but little honour on the British arms. The Isle of Bourbon was restored to France at the peace. The Isle of France, or the Mauritius, as it was originally designated, is still subject to Great Britain.

The settlements of Holland in the Eastern Archipelago had never, even after their enforced submission in common with the parent country to France, afforded to any great extent the means of harassing the trade of India. French privateers only occasionally haunted the roads of Batavia or cruized amongst the islands of the Archipelago. Still,

<sup>1</sup> Decaen had the effrontery to demand that the French frigates, with all their crews and appointments, should be relinquished for the conveyance of the troops to France. "Que pour ce transport je conserverai les quatre frégates de S. M. l'Empereur, La Manche, La Bellone, L'Astrée, et La Minerve, ainsi que les corvettes La Victoire et L'Entrepreneuse, avec leurs officiers et équipages, armements et munitions, et approvisionnement." He must have expected the reply, "Altogether inadmissible."—Calcutta Government Gazette, February 9, 1811.

<sup>2</sup> Asiatic Annual Register, xii.; History, p. 15: Calcutta Government Gazette, February 9th, 1811: London Gazette Extraordinary, February 13, 1811.

however, they constituted a rallying point, which was likely to become of more consideration after the destruction of those asylums which lay more in the route of the Indian trade; and it was incompatible with the interests of India and the policy of England longer to permit the presence of an enemy in any part of the Eastern hemisphere. The first measures for this purpose that were sanctioned contemplated only a rigorous blockade of Java and the Spice islands; but it was soon found that the instructions of the home authorities, issued in ignorance both of the localities of the islands and political relations of India with the principalities on the east of the bay of Bengal, were impracticable and mischievous. The numerous and intricate channels among the islands of the Archipelago could be effectually blocked up only by the employment of the whole of the naval armament in the Indian seas; and the enforcement of laws so unintelligible to the plain sense of the Burmese and Malays as those of blockade, could have no other effect than that of irritating and alarming them, and interrupting their traffic with our own settlements, even if it did not lead to a piratical warfare against the country trade. It was judged, therefore, by Lord Minto and Admiral Drury to be the more safe as well as more honourable plan, to adopt a decided course, and, instead of confining their attempts to an unavailing blockade of the Dutch islands, attempt their annexation to the Crown of England. No great difficulty in accomplishing this object was anticipated; as, although reinforcements had arrived at Java from Europe, and the island was commanded by an officer in the interest of France, yet the Moluccas it was known were indifferently prepared for resistance, and among the Dutch colonists at Batavia there existed a strong party who preferred open conquest by Britain to their insidious subjugation by the Emperor of France.

In conformity to these views, an expedition on a small scale was fitted out from Madras against the Molucca islands, consisting of his Majesty's ships *Dover*, *Cornwallis*, and *Samarang*, having on board part of the Madras European regiment and a small body of artillery: the troops were commanded by Captain Court, the squadron by Captain Tucker of the *Dover*. They left Madras on the

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BOOK I. 9th October, 1809, and by the middle of the following  
CHAP. VI. February arrived off the island of Amboyna, the most  
1810. considerable of the Dutch Spice islands and seat of government. The vessels anchored off the town, situated at the bottom of a small bay, beneath a line of low hills and defended by batteries along the beach as well as on some of the neighbouring heights, and by Fort Victoria, mounting a number of heavy ordnance. As the elevations on the left and in the rear of the town commanded its defences, it was determined to carry them ; and, whilst the squadron occupied the attention of the enemy by a vigorous cannonade, the troops, aided by seamen and marines, were landed on the right of the bay unnoticed. The party consisted of about four hundred men, and were divided into two bodies ; one led by Captain Phillips, the other by Captain Court. The first stormed a battery erected upon an elevation near at hand, the hill of Wanitu, and carried it after a resolute resistance, in which the Dutch officer commanding the post was killed. Captain Court's party had to make a circuitous détour to the south of the town, and were further delayed by the rugged surface of the country. By sunset they reached their destination, a height above Fort Victoria, surmounted by a redoubt, which was abandoned as they entered it from the rear. During these operations, the ships had kept up a brisk cannonade on the sea-face of the town, and had been exposed to a cross-fire from the batteries in front, or on either side of it, from which the evening land-breeze enabled them to draw off. On the following morning, the batteries in the possession of the British opened on the town and fort, and soon silenced their fire. A summons to surrender was thereupon sent to the Dutch governor, and was promptly obeyed. A capitulation was entered into, by which the garrison, composed of more than thirteen hundred Europeans and Malays, laid down their arms to a third of their number. The Dutch troops were sent to Java, where the commandant was tried and shot by order of General Daendels. The Malays were taken into the British service, and were advantageously employed in some of the succeeding operations. Amboyna, once the scene of British disgrace and suffering, acknowledged their authority during the remainder of the war.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Annual Register, xii. ; History, p. 21.

During the winter and spring months succeeding the conquest of Amboyna, Captain Tucker reduced the smaller islands in its vicinity. In the commencement of the year, the *Caroline* and *Piedmontaise* frigates, and *Baracouta* brig, under the command of Captain Cole of the *Caroline*, with additional details of the Madras European regiment, commanded by Captain Nixon, were despatched to reinforce the troops at Amboyna, and provide for its security. Captain Cole was authorised, if he saw a reasonable prospect of success, to make a descent upon the *Bandas*, a cluster of small volcanic islands south-east of Amboyna; the principal of which were Great Banda, or Banda proper, and Banda Neira, separated by a narrow strait. The latter was selected for attack, although defended by two forts—Forts Belgica and Nassau, by batteries mounting one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, and by a force of above seven hundred regular troops besides militia. These were stationed towards the northern extremity of the island, where a landing had been effected in 1801, when the place was taken by Admiral Rainier, and where it was expected the disembarkation would be repeated; but Captain Cole landed, with a party of two hundred seamen and soldiers, on the eastern side during the night, in a heavy squall of wind and rain, which effectually concealed his movements. A battery close to the landing-place was surprised, and its defenders made prisoners, without firing a shot; and, a guide having been procured, Captain Cole directed his march to Fort Belgica, about half a mile distant. The men advanced in profound silence, reached the foot of the ramparts unperceived, applied their scaling-ladders, and cleared the wall. The greater part of the garrison had been drawn off to strengthen the main body of the troops of the island, and but few men with the Governor had been left in the fortress. These, after a feeble resistance, endeavoured to escape by the gate, but they were met by a party of sailors; and, in the conflict which ensued, the Governor and several of his men were killed. When the day dawned, the British flag waved over Fort Belgica, which completely commanded the town and its defences. Upon the threat of Captain Cole to lay the former in ashes, the officer who was second in command agreed to surrender the island.

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BOOK I. A valuable booty rewarded the intrepidity and conduct  
 CHAP. VI. which had so brilliantly achieved a valuable acquisition  
 ——— without suffering any loss.

1810. At the same time, Ternate was taken by Captain Tucker with a detachment of Europeans, the seamen and marines of the *Dover*, and some of the newly enlisted Amboyna corps. Captain Tucker arrived off the island on the 25th August; but light and baffling winds kept him off the shore, and a landing was not practicable before the 28th. A hundred and seventy men were landed in the night with intent to surprise the forts and batteries which guarded the bay. The difficulties of the approach frustrated the scheme, and the men were re-embarked. Early in the morning they were again put on shore; and, whilst the frigate engrossed the attention of the enemy, they proceeded unobserved to an eminence supposed to command the Fort of Kayomaira, the principal Dutch post. They arrived on the hill at noon; but to their great vexation they found that the fort was screened from their view by an intervening forest. They then endeavoured to proceed by an inland route, but, after incessant exertion throughout the day, it was found impossible to disencumber the path of the immense trees which had been cut down and piled across it. Turning to the right, they followed the course of a rivulet which led to the beach, and brought them about ten o'clock within eight hundred yards of the fort before they were discovered. Disregarding a smart fire of grape and musketry, they rushed forward, escalated the walls, and carried the fort. On the following morning the combined operations of the detachment and frigate overpowered the other defences of the bay, and by the evening the town and island were surrendered. Few casualties impaired the exultation of the victors. Their conquest completed the reduction of the Moluccas, and Java with its dependencies alone remained in the possession of the Dutch.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to the Departure of Lord Minto for Madras, the practicability of the subjugation of Java had been brought under his consideration by Mr. Raffles, originally a member of the Penang Government, but who had attracted

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Annual Register, xii.; History, 27; Chronicle, 80; Official Despatches.

the notice of the Governor-General by his acquaintance with the languages, and political circumstances of the tribes of the Archipelago, and had been in consequence appointed the Governor-General's agent at Malacca. After Lord Minto's return to Bengal, the subject was resumed : Mr. Raffles came round to Calcutta for the sake of its more commodious investigation, and his statements so entirely satisfied the Governor-General of the feasibility of the measure, that he determined to undertake it upon his own responsibility. Its execution was, however, deferred until the result of the expedition against the French islands should be known ; and in the interval the design received the prospective sanction of the authorities in England. No time was lost in preparing for the expedition. The King's regiments, which had returned to Madras<sup>1</sup> from the Mauritius, were immediately re-embarked, with the addition of the 78th regiment of foot and a portion of the 22nd dragoons ; whilst in Bengal his Majesty's 59th, four battalions of Sipahi volunteers, the 20th, or marine regiment, details of pioneers, and artillery, horse and foot, with the Governor-General's body-guard, were assembled under the command of Colonel Wood. The command of the whole was vested in Sir Samuel Auchmuty, the Commander-in-chief at Madras. The Bengal troops sailed early in March, and reached the appointed rendezvous at Malacca by the end of April. Lord Minto accompanied them in the *Modeste* frigate, in the capacity, as he expressed himself, of a volunteer. The Madras force sailed in two divisions : the first, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, on the 18th of April ; and the second, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs, on the 29th. At the same time Sir Samuel Auchmuty embarked in the *Akbar* frigate, and Commodore Broughton commanding the fleet sailed in the *Illustrious*. It was fortunate that their departure had not been delayed, for on the 3rd of May a tremendous hurricane set in at Madras, in which a great number of vessels, including the *Dover* frigate, were driven ashore and lost. The fleet had reached the outer edge of the vortex, and felt but little of the violence of the storm. The whole of the expedition was collected at Malacca by the 1st of June : but this was

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<sup>1</sup> The 14th, 69th, and 89th : the Madras pioneers were also re-embarked.



BOOK I. much later than had been intended, the period having been  
 CHAP. VI. delayed by the necessity of awaiting the return of the  
 1811. troops and transports from the Mauritius; and it now  
 became a question of some anxiety whether and by what  
 route the fleet could proceed.

The setting in of the south-west monsoon rendered it highly inexpedient to attempt the usual navigation through the Straits of Banca. Besides the danger to which the ships might be exposed from tempestuous weather, it was certain that the passage would be tedious; and the commencement of military operations in Java could not take place earlier than the rainy season of October and November, when the climate would become unhealthy, and the troops be disabled by sickness. The same objections applied to the track round the north-east of Borneo; and there remained only the passage along the south-west coast of that island, in which the fleet would be sheltered from the fury of the monsoon, and would be assisted on their way by the breezes from the land. This route was accordingly strongly recommended by Mr. Raffles, upon the authority of Captain Greigh, of the *Minto* brig, by whom it had been surveyed. It was as strongly objected to by the chief naval authorities, who pronounced it to be impracticable; but Lord Minto, confiding in the information of Mr. Raffles, decided the controversy in favour of the inner passage, and led the way in the *Modeste*. The difficulties were easily surmounted under Mr. Greigh's skilful pilotage. In six weeks the fleet cleared the intricate channels, through which it had passed without a single accident, crossed the sea from the point of Sambas, and anchored on the 2nd of August on the north coast of Java. Had not the presence of the Governor-General decided the question, we have his own testimony that the enterprise must have been suspended until the following year.<sup>1</sup>

The island of Java had for some time been almost lost sight of amid the convulsive revolutions which had shaken the parent country. The last of these pretended to ex-

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Debates, 10th January, 1812; Thanks to the army and navy, and to Lord Minto. *Life of Sir Thomas S. Raffles*, p. 90. Lord Minto remarks in a letter to the Court, "The attempt must have been abandoned for the present year, if I had yielded to the predicted difficulties of the passage."

tinguish the national integrity of Holland, and reduce it to an integral department of France. Such a degradation could not fail to excite deep dissatisfaction both at home and abroad; and the inhabitants of the Dutch colonies more removed from the influence of the French Government than their countrymen in Europe, were in general more abhorrent of the alteration. Apprised of the prevalence of these feelings, and of the weakness of administration of Java, Sir Edward Pellew had, in 1807, urgently pressed Sir George Barlow to sanction an expedition against the island; for the reduction of which he required no more than a thousand Europeans, and as many native troops, in addition to the resources of the vessels under his own command. The economical policy of the Bengal Government was, however, averse to any undertaking which involved expense; and the disinclination was fortified by the prohibitory orders of the Court of Directors against embarking in enterprises which possibly they regarded as affecting the interests of the nation more immediately than those of the Company. The Admiral was permitted, however, to amuse himself with a simple demonstration. Taking on board five hundred men and some artillery at Madras, Sir E. Pellew sailed on the 20th of October, 1807, with his squadron,<sup>1</sup> for Gresik, a harbour on the east coast of Java, where it was known that several Dutch vessels of war were laid up. He arrived off Point Parko on the 5th of December, and pursued his course with little opposition to Gresik, where he burnt three line-of-battle ships and an Indiaman, and destroyed the fort and batteries. By a convention with the Council of Surabaya the fleet abstained from doing further damage, on condition of being furnished with supplies, which were accordingly provided. The facility with which this success was achieved demonstrated the feebleness of the Dutch force in Java, and the favourable disposition of the inhabitants.

The impunity with which the demonstration had been followed, awakened the attention of the French Emperor to the condition of Java; and he immediately ordered

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<sup>1</sup> The squadron consisted of the Culloden and Powerful seventy-fours, Caroline and Fox frigates, and Victoria, Samarang, Seaflower, and Jaseur sloops.

BOOK I. arrangements to be instituted, in order to place it in a  
CHAP. VI. state of greater security. Reinforcements were sent out ;  
1811. and General Daendels, an officer of tried activity and resolution, was appointed governor. Unchecked by any respect for private rights, and unscrupulous in the means by which his ends were attained, General Daendels studied only how to improve the military attitude of the island, and prepare it for a contest of which he anticipated the approach. Every consideration gave way to this design, and the inhabitants were compelled to submit to enormous exactions, in order to raise funds by which the army might be reorganized and recruited, the existing fortresses repaired, new and formidable works erected in the vicinity of the capital, and ample provision made for a vigorous defence against future invasion. He was not, however, allowed to test the efficiency of his foresight : on the eve of the arrival of the expedition, he had been recalled to France, and was succeeded by General Jansens, who had been governor of the Cape of Good Hope when it was taken by the English, and had recently arrived at Batavia with a reinforcement of several frigates, and a body of one thousand European troops.<sup>1</sup> The whole of the troops on the island were estimated at seventeen thousand men, natives and Europeans, of whom thirteen thousand were concentrated in the lines of Cornelis, a position strong both by nature and art, about eight miles from Batavia.

The fleet, the command of which had been assumed by Rear-Admiral Stopford, in the *Scipio*, and which with transports and brigs mustered above ninety sail, having on board about twelve thousand troops, European and Indian, in nearly equal proportions, anchored in the bay of Batavia on the 4th of August. A landing was immediately effected at Chilingyi, a village ten miles east of Batavia. No opposition was met with, disembarkation at this point not having been anticipated. The army was moved forwards two miles, in two divisions ; one on the

<sup>1</sup> The removal of Daendels was a source of great mortification to him, and he was urgent with his successor to abstain from the assumption of authority until after the expedition should have arrived, and been, as he confidently asserted, defeated. Although it is possible that his military talents might have enhanced the difficulty of the conquest, and delayed its accomplishment, yet the number and equipment of the invading force, and the resources at the command of the Government of India, ensured ultimate success.

road to Cornelis, the other fronting that to Batavia. No effort of any importance was made to disturb them ; and, the horses and guns having been landed on the 5th, a general advance was ordered towards the capital. On the night of the 7th, the van, commanded by Colonel Gillespie, crossed the Anjole river by a bridge of boats, and by dawn halted near the suburbs. In the course of the day a small detachment was sent into the city ; by whose presence the work of plunder commenced by the Malays and Javanese was arrested, and large stores of colonial goods were saved from the flames. Many of the principal inhabitants had been compelled by General Jansens to quit Batavia ; but those who remained, readily submitted. In the evening, a large part of the advance was quartered in the town. During the night an attempt at surprise was made by the enemy ; but, finding the place occupied in greater force than they expected, they speedily retired.

On the morning of the 10th of August, the advanced division marched out of Batavia towards the cantonments of Weltevreden, which they reached by daybreak. The cantonments were abandoned ; but a division of the Dutch army, under General Jumel, the second in command, had taken up a strong position about a mile from Weltevreden, on the road to Cornelis. Their right was protected by a canal called the Slokan : their left was exposed ; but the approach both in front and on the flank was embarrassed by pepper plantations and marshy ground, as well as defended by an abattis, with which the enemy had blocked up the road. From behind this entrenchment they opened a fire of four horse-artillery guns with grape ; whilst the infantry, posted in two villages, kept up a brisk fire of musketry on the advancing columns. The guns were answered with effect by those of the British artillery, and the musketry was replied to by the skirmishers, whilst an attempt was made to turn the enemy's left flank. After some delay, arising from the nature of the ground, the attempt succeeded. The villages were set in flames, and the British troops rushed forward to the charge. The enemy broke, and were pursued with vigour until they took shelter under the guns of Cornelis.<sup>1</sup> The main body

<sup>1</sup> Their loss was severe ; that of the British was inconsiderable : but several officers were wounded ; of whom Lieutenant Duffield of the horse



BOOK I. of the army came up towards the close of the engage-  
CHAP. VI. ment, and took post at Weltevreedden; having secured a  
1811. free communication with the town and shipping, a healthy  
and commodious station for the troops, and the command  
of the resources of the country. Three hundred guns  
were found in the arsenal at Weltevreedden, besides great  
quantities of ammunition and military stores.

Preparations were immediately made for an attack upon  
Cornelis, which General Jansens expected to be able to  
maintain against all assaults until the rainy season should  
set in, and sickness should compel the retreat of the in-  
vaders. His post was an entrenched camp between two  
rivers, the Slokan on the east, and the river of Batavia on  
the west. The latter was unfordable, and the banks were  
steep and overrun with jungle: the former was more  
practicable, but it was defended by powerful batteries and  
redoubts; one of which was on the near side of the river,  
for the protection of the only bridge that had been left  
standing. The space between the rivers in front, above  
six hundred yards, was guarded by strong entrenchments  
and redoubts, and was difficult of access from the rugged-  
ness of the ground. A like space in the rear of the works  
was still more strongly fortified. The whole circum-  
ference of the lines extended nearly five miles, and was  
defended by two hundred and eighty pieces of cannon.

Although the necessity of an ultimate assault was an-  
ticipated by the Commander-in-chief, yet he thought it  
expedient to try the effect of regular approaches; and a  
battering train having been landed, and batteries con-  
structed, the army broke ground on the night of the 20th  
of August. It was not till the morning of the 24th that  
the batteries could be opened with effect, and during the  
interval a furious cannonade was kept upon the works by  
the enemy, by which some loss was sustained. On the  
24th the guns opened upon the enemy's lines, and, not-  
withstanding the greater number of their ordnance, with  
much more decided effect. The principal redoubt was re-  
peatedly silenced, and many of the guns in their bat-  
teries were dismounted. On the 25th the cannonade was

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artillery died of his wounds. Lieutenant Munro of his Majesty's 78th was  
killed.

resumed, and returned with spirit: but although the enemy suffered severely both in men and guns, yet it was evident that no practicable breach could be made until the batteries were considerably advanced; an operation involving delay, and demanding from the seamen and troops an amount of exertion to which, from the heat of the weather and the excessive labour they would have to undergo, they were unequal. In the mean time, the enemy were daily adding to their defences, and using every means to render them impregnable. The period therefore had arrived at which the place must be carried by storm, or a protracted and exhausting course of warfare would become inevitable.

The comparative facility of an approach on the enemy's right by the Slokan, and the possibility of carrying by a *coup de main* both the redoubt which was on this side of the river, and the bridge by which the river was crossed, recommended the principal attack to be made in that direction. The assault was intrusted to Colonel Gillespie, having under his orders the infantry of the advance, and a part of the right brigade of the line commanded by Colonel Gibbs. At the same time two other attacks were to be made upon the enemy's line; one, under Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, against the principal redoubt in the angle of the enemy's front and left; and the other, under Major Yule, upon the bridge leading to the rear: whilst the main body of the army threatened the front.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Gillespie's column marched soon after midnight on the 26th. The troops had to make a considerable détour through a difficult country, intersected by ravines, and parcelled out in pepper plantations and betel gardens. The darkness of the night aggravated the intricacy of the

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<sup>1</sup> The troops under Colonel Gillespie were the two flank battalions, consisting of the grenadiers of the 78th regiment, and of the 5th and 6th native volunteer battalions, the light companies of the 14th, 59th, 69th, 78th, and of the light infantry battalion and 4th native volunteers, the rifle companies of the 14th, 59th, and 78th, five companies of the 89th, dismounted dragoons and body-guard, a body of marines, and Madras pioneers. Colonel Gibbs' column was formed of the grenadiers of the 14th, 59th, and 69th, first battalion of the 59th, and 4th and light infantry volunteer battalions. Colonel Macleod led the 69th regiment. Major Yule had under his orders the grenadiers of the 20th native infantry, two companies of his Majesty's 69th, the flank battalion of the reserve, with a detachment of the Madras pioneers and artillery, and a troop of the 22nd dragoons.

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CHAP. VI. had approached near to the works, information was brought

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to Colonel Gillespie that the rear division had fallen behind. A short halt was ordered ; but as it was impossible to remain unobserved after daybreak, and a retreat in the presence of the enemy might hazard the success of the expedition, Colonel Gillespie determined to make the assault at once, trusting that the strayed column would be guided aright by the firing, and would be in time to support him before he was seriously engaged.

The morning dawn showed the enemy's videttes at hand, and the column was challenged. The men, as commanded, reserving their fire, rushed forward with the bayonet ; and the picquets were destroyed, and the advanced redoubt was carried as soon as the alarm was given. At the same moment, the grenadiers of the 78th, under a heavy fire from the enemy, carried the bridge over the Slokan, a slight structure which might with ease have been demolished. As soon as the passage was effected, Colonel Gillespie, turning to the left, stormed a second redoubt, which was within the lines ; and notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy, and a spirited resistance, which caused the loss of many brave officers and men, carried it at the point of the bayonet. Each of these redoubts mounted twenty eighteen-pounders, besides several twenty-four and thirty-two-pounders.

The division of Colonel Gibbs having, as was anticipated, been guided to the scene of action by the cannonade, had hastened on to take their share in the conflict ; and, having crossed the Slokan, the grenadiers of the 14th, 59th, and 69th regiments moved against a redoubt on the right, which they stormed, and carried with the bayonet in the most gallant manner. They had scarcely gained possession, when the powder magazine,<sup>1</sup> attached to it, exploded with a stunning sound, and scattered piecemeal the mutilated limbs of both defenders and assailants. This awful occurrence was followed by a momentary pause ; but the batteries of the enemy soon opened again upon the attacking column. The assailants had, however, now

<sup>1</sup> It was said to have been purposely fired by some of the enemy's officers, who perished in the explosion. No advantage accrued to the enemy from the catastrophe.

gained a firm footing within the lines, and proceeded with renewed spirit to storm the remaining redoubts to their right and left.

In the meantime an active cannonade had been maintained on the front, where the enemy had erroneously expected the main attack would have been made; and under this persuasion had refrained from reinforcing their troops on the right. The column directed to the rear was unable to cross the river, as the bridge was burnt, and obliged to remain contented with firing upon the enemy from the opposite bank. The detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod carried the redoubt against which they had been sent, but, unfortunately, with the loss of their commander. The success of the assault on the right, however, soon opened a free access to the entrenchment, and the British entered Cornelis in every direction.

When most of the redoubts had been stormed, and daylight rendered objects distinct, the enemy's reserve, composed of several battalions, with twenty pieces of horse artillery, besides heavy guns, and a large body of cavalry, was seen drawn up on the plains in front of the barracks and lesser fort of Cornelis, the guns of which commanded the approach. The duty of dispersing these was consigned to the 59th, and was gallantly effected by that corps, who not only drove them from their position, but captured the fort. The dragoons and horse artillery then coming up, Colonel Gillespie placed himself at their head, and pursued the fugitives for ten miles, cutting off great numbers, and completing the disorganization of their army. Those who sought refuge in the thickets, were killed or dispersed by the 14th regiment and detachments of the Bengal volunteers. The efforts of their officers to keep them together as far as Beutenzorg, where entrenchments had been thrown up, and a second stand was to have been made, entirely failed, and the fate of Java was decided. Six thousand prisoners were taken, mostly European troops, including a regiment of voltigeurs recently arrived from France. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was likewise very considerable. The victory was not won without loss also to the assailants. In the previous operations, and in the assault of Cornelis, the



BOOK I. killed and wounded amounted to nearly nine hundred, of  
 CHAP. VI. whom eighty-five were officers.<sup>1</sup>

1811.

Although the dispositions of the Commander-in-chief rendered the fall of Cornelis little doubtful, yet that it was accomplished so quickly, and with a loss which, though severe, was disproportionate to the strength of the position and the importance of the capture, was mainly attributable to the decision and activity of Colonel Gillespie. Had he paused for the junction of the rear division, had he delayed an instant to attack the exterior redoubt, and make good his passage over the Slokan, the difficulties of the attempt would have been immeasurably enhanced, and success would have demanded infinitely greater sacrifices. The same promptitude and courage characterised his subsequent movements. The defeat of the reserve and the pursuit of the flying foe ; the final dispersion of the enemy's troops, and the impossibility of again concentrating a force of any consideration, were mainly attributable to his exertions. That the troops he commanded were worthy of their leader is an additional proof of his military merit.

After the annihilation of his army, General Jansens, with a small body of horse, retired to the eastern districts of Java. A squadron of frigates, with the marines and a Bengal battalion under Colonel Wood, was immediately dispatched to Cheribon, and arrived there two days after General Jansens had passed. The place was immediately surrendered. Another expedition proceeded to Madura, off the north-eastern extremity of Java, and occupied that island. On the 5th of September, Sir S. Auchmuty proceeded against General Jansens, who had assembled a force, consisting chiefly of native horse, and taken up a strong and fortified position at Jatu, about six miles from Samarang. The vessels arrived off the latter port on the 12th, and the troops were landed on the following day, the town being abandoned. On the 16th, they came in sight of the enemy, about eight thousand strong, princi-

<sup>1</sup> The officers who were killed, or who died of their wounds, were Lieutenant-Colonel C. Macleod, his Majesty's 69th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, 78th ; Captains Kennedy, 14th ; Oliphant, 59th ; and Ross 69th ; Lieutenants Hutchins, 22nd dragoons ; Waring, Lloyd, Litton, and Macpherson, 59th ; Hipkins, 69th ; Coghlan, 14th ; Macdonald, 5th battalion volunteers ; and Murrall, ditto 6th ; and Ensign Wolfe of his Majesty's 59th.

pally natives, with twenty pieces of cannon, drawn up on some high and rugged hills, forming the southern boundary of a valley across which lay the road. The troops with Sir S. Auchmuty were not above one thousand in number, consisting of the 14th and 78th regiments, with the grenadier company of the 3rd volunteer native battalion, and details of artillery and pioneers, with six field-pieces. Having established his guns on the heights facing the enemy, so as to keep down their fire, Sir S. Auchmuty directed the troops to cross the valley and ascend the hills opposite. The advance was made with the greatest alacrity and firmness; the valley was traversed with little loss; and, as soon as the heights were ascended, the enemy retreated in confusion. As they consisted chiefly of cavalry, they easily outstripped pursuit; but on learning that they showed an inclination to rally under the cannon of the small fort of Onarang, about four miles from the field of battle, Sir S. Auchmuty marched thither without halting, again put them to flight, and occupied the fort. This was the last effort made by General Jansens. Finding that no dependance could be placed on the only troops he was now able to collect, he proposed immediately after the action to treat for a capitulation. A cessation of arms for twenty-four hours was allowed him; and, after some hesitation on the part of General Jansens, a treaty was signed. By this it was stipulated, that Java and its dependencies should be surrendered to Great Britain; that all the military should be prisoners of war; and that the British governor should be left unfettered in regard to the future administration of the island, the guarantee of the public debt, and the liquidation of the paper money.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, as Lord Minto observed, an empire, which for three centuries had contributed greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected states of Europe, had been wrested from the short usurpation of France and added to the dominion of

BOOK I.  
CHAP. VI.  
1811.

<sup>1</sup> General Jansens had been formerly governor of the Cape of Good Hope when it was taken by the English. Adverting to this disaster, the French Emperor, on his departure for the government of Java, significantly remarked, "*Souvenez-vous, Monsieur, qu'un Général François ne se laisse pas prendre une seconde fois.*" He had little reason to look for much favourable consideration on his return to France.

BOOK I. the British crown, and converted from a seat of hostile  
CHAP. VI. machination and commercial competition into an augmen-

1811.

tation of British power and prosperity. The reduction of Java left the Eastern seas without an enemy, and the merchant-vessels of Great Britain and of British India were at liberty to pursue their peaceful and beneficent course without dread of molestation or fear of plunder. The value of the conquest was perhaps inadequately appreciated in England, but the acknowledgments of the Prince Regent were conveyed to the army and navy.<sup>1</sup> Medals were bestowed upon the King's and Company's officers who had distinguished themselves in the expedition, and Lord Minto was raised to the dignity of Earl of Minto.

After the reduction of Java, the government of the island was placed in the hands of Mr. Raffles, with the designation of Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its dependencies, and the command of the troops left on the island was conferred upon Colonel Gillespie. Some time elapsed before the authority of the new government was established. The Dutch colonists, who could have no particular affection for the French, and who had experienced the overbearing and extortionary spirit of that military rule which was modelled upon the despotism to which France was subject, were for the most part well pleased with the change; but some of the native chiefs, deeming the season propitious for the subversion of all European ascendancy, manifested a hostile disposition which it became necessary to suppress. Among these chiefs, one of the most powerful was the Sultan of Yodhyakarta, who declared open war against the British, and called upon his countrymen to join him for their expulsion. Having in vain attempted to come to a friendly understanding with the Sultan, Colonel Gillespie conducted a force against his capital, and carried it by storm. The Sultan was taken prisoner and exiled to Penang, and his son was placed on the throne. The capture of Yodhyakarta, a place of great extent and some strength, defended

<sup>1</sup> In the debate in the Commons on the vote of thanks to Lord Minto and the army and navy for the reduction of the Isles of France and Java, Sheridan and Whitbread professed to doubt if the acquisitions were worth the cost of money and life by which they had been made. These doubts were clearly the mere effusions of party spleen.

by one hundred thousand troops, who, although defective in arms and discipline, were not wanting in intrepidity and fierceness, added another laurel to the wreath won by British valour, and intimidated the native princes into a peaceable submission to a government whose conciliatory policy they had subsequently occasion to compare with the oppression which they had been accustomed to suffer from the Dutch.

Previously to the contest with the Sultan of Yodhyakarta, it had been found advisable to despatch an expedition against the Sultan of Palembang, a state on the north-east coast of Sumatra. Shortly after the conquest of Java, commissioners had been sent to the Sultan to renew the engagements in which he was held by the Dutch. They had been obliged to return without effecting their object: the Sultan denied that any such engagements had ever existed, and asserted that the Dutch factory had been abandoned before the reduction of Java. To remove living evidence of the falsehood of this assertion, he razed the Dutch fort and factory, and caused the members of the factory of Palembang, now become the subjects of the British Government of Java, to be murdered. To punish this atrocity, and enforce the stipulation which had long been maintained in regard to the trade with Banca especially, a force was sent against the Sultan in March, 1812, commanded by Colonel Gillespie. He arrived off the Palembang river on the 18th of April, and the troops ascended the river in boats. No resistance was offered; and, upon the approach of the detachment to Palembang, the Sultan fled, leaving his capital and principality at the disposal of the victors. Colonel Gillespie with a small party landed on the night of the 25th of April; and, being joined by the principal part of his force on the following morning, commenced an investigation into the character and behaviour of the fugitive prince. The process seems to have been summary. Upon the depositions of two natives who had been sent to Palembang by the British Government of Java, and who accused the Sultan of the murder of the Dutch, he was declared to have forfeited his sovereignty by various acts of rapine, treachery, and barbarity, contrary to the laws of nations and his existing engagements with the Dutch,



BOOK I. to whose right the English Company had succeeded in  
CHAP. VI. virtue of the cession of Java and its dependencies. A

1812.

proclamation to this effect in the Malay language was read. At the same time it was announced that the Commander of the forces had selected Pangerang Adipati, the Sultan's brother, in consideration of his virtues, and the love, esteem, and veneration with which he was regarded by the people of the country, to fill the vacant throne. This person was accordingly declared true and lawful Sultan of Palembang and its dependencies, under the title of Sultan Ratu Ahmed Najam-ud-din. The first use made of his power by the new Sultan was to enter into a treaty by which he ceded the island of Banca, a dependency of Palembang, valuable for its mines of tin, in absolute and perpetual sovereignty and possession to the English. On the 18th of May, Colonel Gillespie, leaving with the prince whom he had crowned a hundred men for his defence, returned to Java, taking possession of Banca on his way. The measures thus adopted by Mr. Raffles were approved of by the Governor of Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Court of Directors had sanctioned the expedition against Java, their views did not go beyond the expulsion or reduction of the Dutch power, the destruction of their fortifications, the distribution of their arms and stores to the natives, and the evacuation of the island. Lord Minto, however, was not prepared to expose the Dutch colonists without a government or without arms to the vindictive passions of the Javanese;<sup>2</sup> to consign a rich and prosperous island to an indefinite perpetuation of the elements of disorder and bloodshed; or to throw away the advantages, both commercial and political, which the occupation of Java ensured to British India and to Great Britain. He therefore recommended to the Court a reconsideration of their orders; and, upon the conquest of the island, committed it to a government composed partly of the civil and military officers of the Company, and partly of respectable colonists well affected to the English. Under their combined administration Java soon came to enjoy an

<sup>1</sup> Most of the particulars given in the text are derived from Thorn's Conquest of Java. Major Thorn served as Deputy Quarter-Master-General to the forces in Java.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Lord Minto to Mr. Raffles, February, 1811; *Life of Raffles*, p. 23.

unprecedented amount of tranquillity and prosperity. The country was divided into districts, each of which was placed under the management of a European Resident, who was charged with the general collection of the revenue, and the distribution of justice according to such laws as were in force, and which were unexceptionable in principle. The infliction of torture and mutilation was at once abolished; and natives were admitted to juries, from which they had under the Dutch regime been excluded. The farming of the revenues and imposts was abandoned, and the collections were made directly by the officers of the Government according to fixed rates. The arbitrary exaction of an undefined proportion of the crops was discontinued, and a settlement of a specified amount for a given period entered into with the occupants of the land. All forced requisitions of labour were prohibited, transit duties were abrogated, and the duties on external trade equalised. It were foreign to the scope of this work to dwell longer upon the improvements effected in Java whilst under British authority; but the prevalence of undisturbed internal order and peace, concurrently with the improving resources of the state, evinced a material advance in the productive industry of the people, and an amelioration<sup>1</sup> of their condition.<sup>1</sup>

The question of retaining Java as a colony of the Crown, or of leaving it under the government of the East India Company, had been left undetermined by the British Administration, amid the mighty transactions which at this period involved the destinies of the world. One of their results was the re-establishment of the Netherlands as an independent monarchy, and the revival of those relations of amity, which had at various intervals united Great Britain and Holland. In the spirit of the connexion thus re-established, the British Government, without weighing with sufficient deliberation the circumstances which the altered political condition of Europe had created, and with a dereliction more liberal than politic of its own interests, hastened to replace the Dutch in their ancient Eastern

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<sup>1</sup> The revenues of Java realised, in 1805-6, rupees 492,128. General Daendels, in 1809, raised them to 800,000. In 1814 they amounted to 5,368,065. For this and other facts, see "Substance of a Minute recorded by Sir Thomas S. Raffles, with Appendix: printed (not published) by Black and Co., London 1814: also his Life, and History of Java.

BOOK I. possessions; and by a convention with the United Nether-  
 CHAP. VI. lands, dated 13th of August, 1814, engaged to restore all  
 1813. the colonies, with exception of the Cape of Good Hope  
 and some places in the West Indies. Java was conse-  
 quently among the cessions. The more pressing calls at  
 home upon the attention of the Batavian Government,  
 delayed its availing itself immediately of the generosity  
 of its ally; and Java did not reassume the character of  
 a Dutch colony until the end of 1816, five years after it  
 had been conquered by the armament from Bengal. Sir  
 T. Raffles was spared the pain of resigning his power to  
 the Dutch commissioners, by the appointment of Mr.  
 Fendall, of the Bengal service to the government of Java  
 in the beginning of the same year.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER VII.

*Return of the Governor-General from Java.—Internal Administration.—Indications of future Hostilities.—Relations with Hyderabad and Nagpore.—Misgovernment of Oude.—Interference of the Government of Bengal. Differences between the Nawab and the Resident.—The latter supported by Lord Minto.—Defects in the Judicial and Revenue Systems of the British Government.—Mohammedan and latter Hindu Systems.—Concentration of Functions.—Judicial officers.—Circumstances counter-acting defective Administration.—State of Civil and Criminal Justice.—Consequences of establishing Civil Courts,—Multiplication of Suits,—Arrears of Decisions,—no Effective Remedy applied.—State of Criminal Judicature,—Similar Arrears.—State of Police—Classes of Robbers,—Prevalence of Dakoiti, or Gang Robbery,—*

<sup>1</sup> Some measures of the administration of Mr. Raffles had been disapproved of by the Court of Directors, particularly his alienation of the public domains in order to raise funds, in place of re-issuing a greatly depreciated paper currency, under an emergent demand for money, and the inexpedience of drawing on Bengal. Charges implicating his integrity had also been preferred against him; which, although acknowledged in most unqualified terms by the Court to be utterly unfounded, seem to have produced a bias unfavourable to him in the mind of Lord Moira, and to have had some influence in his supersession. His provisional appointment, by Lord Minto, to be Resident at Bencoolen was confirmed, and he repaired thither after a visit to England, where he received the honour of knighthood in the end of 1817.—Life, p. 290.

*Atrocities Perpetrated, — Difficulty of Detection and Conviction. — Evils of Excluding Native Co-operation, — Attempts to recover it, — Failures. — Superintendents of Police and Special Magistrates appointed. — Employment of Informers. — Diminution of Dakoiti. — Revenue System, — Review of. — Proprietary Right of the Sovereign not of Hindu but of Mohammedan Origin. — Doctrines of the latter. — Notions of the People. — Nature and Extent of Public Demand under the Hindus and Mohammedans in Earlier and Later Times. — from whom demanded. — Variety of Proprietary Rights. — Village Communities, — their Origin, — Legislation, — Colonisation, — Conquest. — Traces of Property Extinguished by the Exactions of the Government, and Village Communities destroyed, — in some Provinces, — not in all. — Variety of Organization, different Rights of the Members, — Peculiarities of Constitution, — General Identity. — Classes of Tenants. — Perpetual, — Temporary. — The Public Revenue how realized. — Revenue Officers. — Head-men of Villages, — Modifications of the Office. — Function of Zemindar, — Degree of his Proprietary Right, — Contingent Advantages, — Consideration among the People. — Course adopted by the British Government. — Permanent Zemindari Settlement ordered for Madras. — Commencement of Ryotwar Settlement. — Principles of Assessment urged by Lord W. Bentinck, — Abandoned by the Government of Madras. — Village Settlements formed. — Perpetual Settlement at Madras prohibited by the Court of Directors. — Settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces of Bengal. — Commission of Inquiry, — Recommend Delay of a Permanent Assessment, — Recommendation disregarded by the Government. — Expected Advantages of Permanency, not Realisable, — Illusory Nature of the Provision, — Moderate Assessment all that is essential, — Principle discountenanced in England. — Permanent Settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces forbidden. — Regulations for the Protection of the Ryots. — House-tax, — Resistance at Benares, — Repealed. — Religious Riot at Benares. — Missionaries in Bengal, — Established at Serampore, — Checked by the Government. — Lord Minto's Encouragement of Oriental Literature, — Interest in the*



*College of Fort William.—Financial Operations.—  
Close of Lord Minto's Administration.*

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THE Governor-General returned from Java to Calcutta towards the end of 1811; and the remaining period of his administration was occupied with the resumption and prosecution of measures affecting the welfare of British India in its amicable relations with the neighbouring states and its allies, and in the promotion of its internal prosperity.

The peace of India remained undisturbed; but various indications occurred of an approaching necessity for departing from the pacific principles which had generally regulated the policy of the Government. On the north the Court of Nepaul had asserted claims to territory within the Company's boundaries which were questioned or denied; and had instigated, or allowed its subjects to commit, encroachments and outrages which demanded serious notice. In the south, the style assumed by the officers of the King of Burma in their intercourse with the English functionaries at Chittagong, arising out of insurrections in the intermediate province of Aracan lately conquered by the Burmese, revealed an arrogant and usurping spirit which it would probably require force to repress. On the western frontier, the banditti known as Pindaris, were becoming daily more confident and daring; and in 1812 a party of them violated the integrity of the British dominions, broke through the boundaries and advanced to the wealthy commercial city of Mirzapore, which they threatened to plunder. The approach of troops saved it from destruction, and the Pindaris retired. To prevent the repetition of a similar irruption treaties were formed with the Rajas of Tehri and Rewa, by which they were bound to close the passes in their several principalities against the Pindari incursions, and a cordon of troops was stationed along the frontier from Bundelkhand to Midnapore. At the same time that these precautions were taken, it was foreseen that they would be mere palliatives; and a time was contemplated when

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with Raja Bikramajit of Tehri, 23rd December, 1812. The treaties with the Rewa Raja have been previously referred to.—Treaties with Native Chiefs, xlix.

it would be necessary to undertake a system of military and political operations calculated to strike at the root of this great and increasing evil.<sup>1</sup> The period was not long deferred: but the arrangements adopted belong to a different administration. The same was the case with the course that was ultimately pursued with respect to Nepaul and Burma; and we may therefore suspend their consideration until the power of the British Government was exerted to place its rights beyond dispute, to secure its confines from aggression, and to eradicate the predatory pestilence which had so long preyed upon the strength, and wasted the energies, of Central India.

The subsidiary alliance with Hyderabad had undergone no material alteration since the interference of the Government of Bengal in the appointment of a minister. The Nizam, discontented and sullen, took little concern in public business, and sought consolation for wounded pride in sensual indulgence. His minister, Munir-al-Mulk, equally indolent and incapable, followed his sovereign's example; and all the labour, but with it much of the authority, devolved upon the Hindu subordinate, Chandu Lal. Strong also in the assured support of the Resident, the Dewan made but an indifferent use of his responsibility, and to his own purposes and emolument sacrificed the interests of the prince and the prosperity of the people. At the recommendation of the Resident, Chandu Lal consented to the reorganisation of the military contingent which the Nizam was bound by treaty to furnish, and, instead of a body of irregulars, to maintain a standing disciplined force under British officers. This was gradually increased to above twelve thousand men, horse and foot, and proved itself of eminent service in the subsequent war. Its chief value in the estimation of the minister was the weight which it gave him in his dealings with the Court, and the coercive means it enabled him to employ against refractory landholders, and farmers of the revenue, on occasions when the aid of the subsidiary brigades was withheld. The sanction of the Government was given to the arrangement. A similar plan was recommended to the Peshwa, and he

BOOK I.

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<sup>1</sup> Secret Letter from Bengal, 2nd October, 1812; Papers, Pindari War, p. 14.

BOOK I. also assented to the formation of a disciplined brigade  
CHAP. VII. under British officers.<sup>1</sup>

1812.

The necessity which has been described of interfering for the defence of the Raja of Nagpore, naturally directed the attention of the Government to the permanent maintenance at his expense of a military force. Negotiations with this view were opened; but the objections of the Raja to a subsidiary alliance were not to be overcome, and the arrangement was deferred.<sup>2</sup>

A long, and occasionally an uneasy, discussion with the Nawab of Oude, engaged at this time in an especial manner in the deliberations of the Government and the Court of Directors. The frequent applications made by the Nawab for the services of the subsidiary force in the compulsive collection of the revenues of Oude had occasioned extreme dissatisfaction in the minds of both the local and the home authorities, as they were well aware that the troops were in this manner often employed on duties incompatible with their military character, and were converted into instruments of extortion and oppression. Supported by the sanction and injunctions of the Court of Directors, the Governor-General determined, towards the close of 1810, to express to the Nawab in an unqualified manner, the sentiments with which his fiscal administration was regarded, and the conclusions of the Bengal Government that a change of system was indispensably necessary. A letter was accordingly addressed to him by Lord Minto earnestly recommending to him to institute a reform which should be based upon the fundamental principles of a moderate assessment, to be made by the officers of the Government immediately with the landholders, without the intervention of a contractor or farmer of the revenue. The settlements were to be made for a fixed term of years and the occupants of the land were to be guaranteed in their occupancy as long as the amount of the assessment was regularly discharged. Other reforms, relating to the police and the administration of justice, were suggested at the same time; and the Resident was instructed to use an urgent and decided tone in pressing these recommendations upon the consideration of the Nawab.

<sup>1</sup> Report, Select Committee, 1832; Political Appendix, pp. 133, 266.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 227.

The interference which was thus exercised by the Government of Bengal in the internal regulation of the affairs of Oude, was grounded upon the article of the treaty of 1801, in which the Nawab "engaged to establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and that his Excellency would always advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsel of the officers of the Honourable Company." The explanation subsequently given by Lord Wellesley to the Nawab of the principles which were to regulate the intercourse between the two states amplified the expressions of this article; and whilst it declared that the Resident was to be the representative of the Governor-General, and the channel by which the sentiments and counsels of the British Government were to be communicated, enjoined that functionary to treat the Nawab with the utmost degree of respect, conciliation, and attention, and to maintain cordial union and harmony in all transactions.

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How was this to be accomplished when the sentiments of the Nawab differed from those of the Resident? what security was provided for the acquiescence of the former in the counsels of the latter? who was to determine whether the counsels of the British Government and of its representative were really calculated to promote the interests of the prince and his people? and by what means compliance was to be enforced consistently with the degree of independence which the Nawab was allowed to retain? were questions which the vague and indefinite phraseology of both treaty and explanation left for the embarrassment of Lord Wellesley's successors.

On the present occasion, all these sources of perplexity occurred. Professing himself willing and desirous to defer to the advice of the British Government, the Nawab entertained insuperable and not unreasonable objections to the propositions submitted to him. It was recommended to him to take as a model, the arrangements introduced into the Ceded provinces with, it was affirmed, entire success; to relinquish the practice of farming the revenues; to institute an inquiry into the productiveness



BOOK I. of the lands ; and, upon a determination of their value, to  
CHAP. VII. settle with the proprietors a moderate rate of assessment  
1812. for a period of three years. To these recommendations  
the Nawab at first gave his assent ; but he started doubts  
as to the practicability of their execution, the delays and  
difficulties which would attend the valuation of the lands,  
and the impossibility of finding functionaries qualified  
and fit to form settlements with the landholders. On the  
other hand, the Resident, Major Baillie, sanguine in his  
expectations of success, treated the Nawab's doubts as  
evasive, and, instead of observing the conciliatory course  
prescribed by Lord Wellesley, pressed the reform with a  
degree of positiveness and importunity which furnished  
the Nawab with a fresh cause of alarm, and led him to  
apprehend that the Resident's objects were to take into  
his own hands the nomination of the revenue officers and  
an inquisitorial scrutiny into his revenues. Each charged  
the other with a virtual infraction of the treaty ; the Re-  
sident accusing the Nawab of disregarding the advice of  
the British Government, and the Nawab complaining that  
he was not permitted to judge what measures were con-  
ducive to the prosperity of his people, or carry them into  
effect through the agency of his own servants. There  
were several other sources of disagreement, arising chiefly  
out of the advocacy by the Resident of the rights and  
claims of the members of the Nawab's family, or of in-  
dividuals taken under his especial protection, in opposition  
to the wishes of the Nawab. In most of these cases the  
conduct of the Resident might be defended, either by ex-  
isting or implied engagements with the British Govern-  
ment ; but it necessarily reminded the Nawab of the  
unreality of the independence with which Lord Wellesley  
had pretended to invest him in all matters of a private  
and domestic nature.

After much lengthy correspondence and various per-  
sonal conferences, in which the Nawab under the operation  
of fluctuating feelings repeatedly promised acquiescence,  
and as often evaded the fulfilment of his promises, the  
Government of Bengal, then administered by General  
Hewett as Vice-President during Lord Minto's absence at  
Java, determined to refrain from urging the question of  
reform further. They argued that it would be of little

avail to enforce the Nawab's adoption of a plan, the execution of which he could easily, and would most certainly, frustrate; that his objections to any particular scheme of reform could not be construed into a systematic disregard of the counsels of the British Government, for which, on the contrary, he professed the utmost deference; and that, consequently, to have recourse to the only method of compulsion which could be contemplated, that of denying him the services of the subsidiary force for the suppression of insubordination and resistance to his authority, would be an unjustifiable departure from the conditions of the alliance. Whilst expressing, therefore, extreme dissatisfaction with the Nawab for the insincerity and prevarication which he had displayed, the Resident was instructed to relinquish for the time all further efforts to obtain his consent to the proposed reform.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the employment of British troops against refractory Zemindars at the requisition of the Nawab's collectors, the Government confirmed a resolution to which they had previously come, of not allowing their employment without an investigation by the Resident of the occasion which demanded it.

The question of reform remained unagitated during part of 1812; but causes of disagreement were not wanting. In the commencement of the year, an application was made by the Nawab for troops to put down an insurrection; but the Resident, ascertaining that the disturbance was of no importance, and was connected, as usual, with the exactions of the farmers of the revenues, insisted on the prior investigation of the merits of the case, or the deputation of his own agents for the purpose. The Nawab declined compliance, and no troops were sent. Shortly afterwards, some of the Nawab's proceedings encroaching on the rights of the Bhao Begum of Fyzabad, the widow of his father, were opposed to the Resident, as these rights had been guaranteed by treaty. This interference in his domestic concerns was a source of severe mortification to

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors, 15th October, 1811, in which the negotiations with the Nawab are detailed: Report Select Committee, 1832; Political Appendix, 414. The correspondence between the Nawab, the Resident, and the Government are printed also in the "Oude Papers," printed for the proprietors of East India Stock, June, 1824.

BOOK I. the Nawab, and he strenuously denied the right of the  
 CHAP. VII. Resident to interpose. Towards the close of the same  
 1813. year, the Government of Bengal had its attention called to outrages and robberies committed on the British frontiers by marauding gangs from Oude, whom the Nawab's officers were either unable or unwilling to restrain. As this evil had been the frequent topic of unavailing representation, it was now announced to the Nawab that the plunderers would be pursued into his country by the British troops without his permission if his acquiescence were withheld. All these sources of vexation produced a formal complaint of the Nawab against the Resident for insolent and arrogant behaviour: the charge was met by the Resident's denial, and a recriminatory accusation of an improper want of respect to the British representative in the tone and style of the Nawab's correspondence. The Government pronounced their entire approbation of the Resident's conduct, and required the Nawab to adopt a more deferential style of address.

These proceedings for a while intimidated the Nawab into professing his resolution to conform to the wishes of the Government in all things: but the imperfect execution of his promise drew from Lord Minto,<sup>1</sup> in July, 1813, an address of remonstrance and expostulation, reminding him that the British Government had a right, founded upon the basis of the subsidiary treaty, to propose such reforms in his internal government as it deemed essential, and that he was held by the same treaty under an obligation to follow such advice; that he had admitted the necessity, and both verbally and in writing had given assurances of his acquiescence in a manner little less authentic and formal than if they had been reduced to the form of a treaty, and equally binding on his honour and good faith; notwithstanding which, he had retracted his consent, and opposed the most determined resistance to the efforts made by the Resident, acting under the positive orders of the Government, to induce him to abide by the terms of his engagements. Lord Minto declared also, that, upon receiving the Nawab's acquiescence, the British Government would have been entitled, and was

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Governor-General to the Nawab Vizir, 2nd July, 1813; Oude Papers, p. 506.

perhaps required, to insist on his carrying the proposed plan into effect at once; and instances the patience and respect with which his objections had been listened to and refuted, as undeniable proofs of its forbearance and moderation. Not a single argument against the plan had been adduced, but had been respectfully entertained, deliberately examined, and successfully combated; and the doubts and fears still professed by the Nawab could be ascribed to no other motives than a decided resolution to oppose the introduction of reform altogether, in the vain hope that the Government would ultimately abandon the question in despair. The Nawab was assured that no lapse of time, no change of circumstances, would ever induce the British Government to relinquish a measure which it considered essential to the happiness and prosperity of Oude, the ease and reputation of the Nawab, and the best interests of both states. He was also warned, that, if he persisted in his refusal, he would violate an express stipulation of the treaty; and he was requested seriously to consider the consequences in which he might involve himself by such a course of conduct. Lord Minto therefore expressed his confident expectation that the reform recommended would be carried into effect without further opposition or delay. The Governor-General explained his views upon the other points under discussion in a like peremptory strain.

Fortified with the decision of the Government, the Resident proceeded to insist upon the Nawab's immediate adoption of the measures proposed, and, in his ardour and impatience, demanded for the British Government a degree of participation in the ordinary administration of Oude scarcely warranted by the spirit or letter of the existing engagements, when he maintained that every act whatsoever—the lease of a district in farm, the institution of a court of justice in the capital, the change of any police regulation,—without the previous concurrence of the Governor-General, was a direct violation of the treaty, for which the Nawab might be made responsible; or, in other words, might be divested of all authority whenever it pleased the Government to call him to account. That such minute and vexatious interference was intended by the original contract, may be reasonably questioned; but



BOOK I. the present discussions showed the extreme difficulty of  
 CHAP. VII. defining the just limits of interposition, and the unavoidable tendency of all such political associations to render the will of the controuling power the sole standard of the necessity of its interference. The Nawab became alarmed, and, in the month of September, he announced his final determination to give immediate operation to the project of reform, by despatching officers to adjust an equitable assessment; and he instituted arrangements for affording satisfaction on the minor topics of dispute. Before any important results could be realized from these preliminary measures, the Government of India passed into other hands, and different views influenced the counsels of Lord Moira.

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Although the countries which had been brought under British sway had derived from it the benefits of exemption from foreign invasion and internal disorder for some years, yet the progressive amelioration of the condition of the people had failed to keep pace with the expectations and hopes of their rulers. This was and is still to be ascribed to radical defects in the systems of judicature and revenue which had been introduced; and which, although they were based upon just and benevolent principles, were too entirely of a European complexion to be readily identifiable with the very different aspects of society which existed in Hindustan. They had been framed upon insufficient inquiry, and had been brought in abruptly, without having been suffered to grow up gradually and spontaneously with the continuance of the new and anomalous constitution of things to which they owed their origin. They were still only in the course of adaptation to circumstances; and it was, and has since continued to be, the anxious object of both the local and home authorities to provide a remedy for those defects which their development displays.<sup>1</sup> The subject has been already treated of at some length; but as the observations made in a former volume were in some degree anticipatory, and the facts on which they were founded belong to the period

<sup>1</sup> In 1813, the Court of Directors circulated queries regarding the working of the Judicial system in India, to several of their most distinguished servants then in England. The questions and replies are printed in the Selections from the Records at the East India House printed by order of the Court, vol. ii.

now under review, as also they were restricted to the Bengal provinces, some further notice of them here may not be superfluous or out of place.

BOOK I

CHAP. VII

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Whatever may have been the case when the Mohammedan and Hindu governments were in full vigour, it was undeniable that, for a considerable time before the establishment of British supremacy, the people of India had been unaccustomed to any regularly organised and administered system of law or justice. In Upper India, Mohammedan domination had left few and obscure traces of Hindu institutions; and those which they had substituted, never very pure or perfect, had almost equally disappeared in the anarchy by which Hindustan had long been distracted. The same was very much the case with the territories under the Madras Presidency that had been subject to the Mohammedans; and, if Hindu usages lingered in the Mahratta states, they had lost much of their primary character amid the irregular and arbitrary practices of the ruling authorities. The main principle that everywhere regulated the administration was the concentration of absolute authority; and the same individual was charged with the superintendence of revenue, justice, and police, with little to guide or restrain him except his own perceptions and sentiments of equity, and a prudent consideration for his own safety and advantage. Even in the best of times the sovereign, whether King or Raja, was the fountain of law and justice; and the Subahdar, the Nawab, the Jagirdar, all holding delegated or usurped authority, claimed the same prerogative. The Kazi, or Nyayadhipati, Mohammedan and Hindu expounders of the law, were sometimes retained in principal towns as judges of civil and criminal law; but their authority was ill defined, their labours were ill paid, and justice received little profit from their nomination. The police of cities was also in some places under the authority of an appointed officer, the Fojdar or Kotwal, who was responsible to the governor of the district or city; but in the villages and in the country, the village head-men, or Patéls, where such existed, and in other parts the Zemindar, who combined the character of landholder and collector of the revenue, claimed the charge of the police, and the decision of civil and criminal suits. The leading

BOOK I. object of the native governments was the realisation of  
 CHAP. VII. the largest possible amount of revenue; and all persons  
 1813. engaged in this duty, whether as fiscal officers or as  
 farmers and contractors, were armed with plenary powers  
 both as magistrates and judges: a pertinacious appeal  
 from those whom they oppressed might sometimes reach  
 the ears of their superiors, but in general this resource  
 was imperfectly available, and the people were left to the  
 uncontrolled will of individuals.<sup>1</sup>

Incompatible as such a state of things must be with  
 the feelings and principles of Europeans, its effects upon  
 the condition of the inhabitants of India were not wholly  
 subversive of their happiness. The persons placed over  
 them belonged to themselves, were assimilated in religion  
 and language, conversant with their usages, and not  
 regardless of their good opinion. Their decisions, although  
 not guided by a code of laws, were founded upon an ac-  
 curate knowledge of persons and things; and, when not

<sup>1</sup> All the Bengal civilians concur in stating, that, according to their belief no remains of ancient institutions existed in Bengal. Of the state of law and justice among the people, the following are some of the results of their observations: "The people had no idea of being protected by law against abuses of power. When an Aumil (a native revenue or executive officer) was guilty of gross injustice and oppression, they might endeavour to get rid of him by a clamorous remonstrance in a body to the authority to which he was accountable for his conduct; but, generally speaking, they were quite at his mercy. Probably they had no conception of a more safe and rational system until they saw the effects of the judicial regulations of 1793. The spirit of the old institutions of Hindustan survived their formal abolition as long as the Company's servants united the offices of collector, judge, and magistrate."—Ernst, Records, p. 27. "During the Mohammedan government, in Bengal, in the large Zemindaris, consisting of several pergunnas, it was usual to have pergunna Cutcheris (courts), and the Tehsildar (collector) of the pergunna, who was the Zemindar's agent, decided in civil suits; village Gomashitas (agents) also exercised the same authority, and recourse was frequently had to arbitration by their orders. The Zemindars and their Dewans also decided civil suits according to the ancient Hindu custom. In cities and large towns and in each pergunna, Kazis were appointed, who decided in civil suits. They appear to have been the judicial officers on the part of the Nawabs, but the Zemindars never gave up their right of deciding in civil suits."—Cox, *Ibid.* p. 47. "Every province in India is divided into small tracts called villages: the affairs of every village are managed by two head-men, the Potail and the Curnum; the Potail is the chief of the village and acts in it as judge, magistrate, and collector."—Munro, *ibid.* 106. "The authorities by whom civil justice was administered were the following: in the country, the Potail; over him the Mamlutdar (district collector), and Sirsu-bahdar (head of a large division); and above all, the Peshwa, or his minister. Jagirdars administered justice in their own lands; the great ones with little or no interference on the part of the Governments. In some towns, there was a judicial officer called the Nyáyádesi (the same as Nyáyádhpati, superintendent of Nyáya—justice), who tried causes under the Peshwa's authority; and any person whom the Peshwa pleased to authorise might conduct an investigation, subject to his highness's confirmation."—Elphinstone's Report on the Mahratta Provinces; Selections from the Records, iv. p. 189.



distorted by sinister influences, were commonly conformable to equity and good-sense. The proceedings of these self-constituted courts were simple, and their sentences summary; they were not embarrassed or retarded by complicated forms and technical pleadings; and they escaped the tax upon their money and time, which more elaborate judicature imposes. Another advantage contributed to counteract the defects of the system. In the absence of courts of justice provided by the state, the people learned to abstain from litigation; and, when disputes among them arose, submitted them to the arbitrement of judges chosen among themselves.<sup>1</sup> This expedient had probably descended from ancient times, in which it had been a recognised element of Hindu judiciary administration under the denomination of Pancháyat;<sup>2</sup> but it had fallen into desuetude in most parts of India, and subsisted, in any degree of efficiency, only in the south.<sup>3</sup> Although the Panchayats were not inaccessible to personal bias or corruption, and their proceedings were occasionally irregular and tedious, yet they were suited to the circumstances and congenial to the feelings of the people, and supplied the place of better organised and more solemn tribunals.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "With all these defects, the Mahratta country flourished, and the people seem to have been exempt from some of the evils which exist under our more perfect government: there must, therefore, have been some advantages in the system to counterbalance its obvious defects, and most of them appear to me to have originated in one fact; that the Government, although it did little to obtain justice for the people, left them the means of procuring it for themselves."—Elphinstone; *Selections*, iv. 194.

<sup>2</sup> From the Sanscrit word *pancha*, or *puncha*; *πεντε*, quinqve, five: the court being originally, perhaps, formed of that number, but in common practice it was exceeded. Mr. Elphinstone says, "The number was never less than five, but it has been known to be as great as fifty."—Elphinstone; *Selections*, 189.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Henry Strachey says, "I do not recollect any remains of ancient Hindu institutions, not even the Panchayet; but, the term being well known in Bengal, it is probable that the thing exists in some parts of the Bengal provinces, and that it is occasionally resorted to voluntarily by the Hindus in disputes concerning caste, and perhaps in matters of village accounts and boundary disputes. I remember no instance of parties in a suit proposing a reference to the Panchayet. Our civil courts never discourage any kind of arbitration; they constantly recommend it to the parties, who will never agree to it."—Answers; *Selections*, p. 53. All the Bengal civilians state the same. Mr. J. A. Grant, of Bombay, says of the Panchayats on that side of India, "They direct their attention chiefly, I believe, to matters of discipline and ceremonial observance, connected with the customs and usages of their several sects. They exercise no judicial authority."—*Selections*, ii. 192.

<sup>4</sup> It was especially in the Mahratta provinces that "the Panchayet might be considered as the great instrument in the administration of justice."—Elphinstone. Mr. Elphinstone, Colonel Munro, and Colonel Walker speak favourably of their operation, although, from the details specified, they seem to have



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Upon the establishment of regular courts of justice under the government of the East India Company, the novelty of a channel exclusively dedicated to the hearing and determining of complaints, and a belief that they would be investigated in an upright and impartial spirit, produced inconveniences which had not been foreseen. Every one who had, or fancied he had, a wrong to redress, resorted to the court; and the numbers of the suitors speedily became so numerous, that the means of hearing and adjudicating their cases were wholly insufficient.<sup>1</sup> The jurisdiction of each court comprehended an extent of country and an amount of population vastly beyond the powers of a single establishment. The very qualities which constituted the peculiar recommendations of the new courts added to their insufficiency.<sup>2</sup> As little as possible was left to individual discretion. Deliberate forms and prescribed modes of procedure, whilst they secured exactness, impeded despatch. Reference to the regulations of the Government, and to the written authorities of Hindu and Mohammedan law, retarded decision; and the multiplication of opportunities of appeal from one tribunal to another encouraged and perpetuated litigation. The unavoidable deficiencies of laws which, whether Hindu, Mo-

been clumsy instruments. The members were selected by the parties, and were not uninfluenced by the hope of presents from one or both: the attendance of the members was very irregular, and there seem to have been no efficient means of compelling punctuality; "it was generally effected by the intreaties of the parties interested." Proceedings were seldom recorded: "in villages the Panchayet was often conducted in the way of conversation, and nothing was written but the decision, and not always that." "Throughout the whole proceedings the Panchayets appear to have been guided by their own notions of justice; they consulted no books, and it was only on particular points of Hindu law that they referred to a Sastri (one learned in the law) for his opinion." The Panchayat had no power to enforce its decrees; they required to be confirmed and executed by an officer of Government, to whom "for this cause frequent references were required, and he exercised a considerable influence on the progress of the trial." Notwithstanding these imperfections, the Panchayat must have exercised a beneficial influence, as it enjoyed great popularity; as is proved by the current phrase, "Panch-Parameswara," Panchayet is God Almighty.—Elphinstone; Selections, iv. 191.

<sup>1</sup> In 1797, the number of suits instituted was 330,977, although the western provinces had not been acquired: they began to decrease from 1803, and in 1813 were only 184,790.—Selections from the Records, iv. 34.

<sup>2</sup> In the Bengal Presidency the population subject to a Zilla court was generally about a million. The Zilla of Midnapore was one hundred and thirty miles long by forty to fifty broad.—Sir Henry Strachey and others. At Madras the Zillas were more compact, and generally contained about half a million inhabitants.—Cockburn. "The Ceded districts, at first divided into three, since into two, Zillas, contain about twenty-nine thousand square miles,—about the extent of Scotland, but more populous."—Thackeray; Answers to Queries. Selections.

hammedan, or English, were devised for wholly different conditions of society, and had not yet become adapted to the changes still in progress, with the unfitness of some of the European judges, from their imperfect knowledge of the languages of the country and the habits of the people,<sup>1</sup> as well as their ignorance of the principles of law and their occasional negligence, contributed to aggravate the defects of the system, and to obstruct the course of judgment. Arrears became in consequence so numerous, and decisions were so long delayed, as to amount to a virtual denial of justice. Attempts were made from time to time to remedy these imperfections : charges and fees were imposed, in order to render justice more expensive and discourage litigation ; additional courts were established, at a cost which became burthensome to the state ; additional powers were given to the judges, and the privilege of appeal was subject to new limitations ; — measures in some respects exceptionable, and in all inoperative ; and the accumulation of arrears, although to a less extent, still continued to constitute a serious evil.<sup>2</sup> To the most obvious remedy, the multiplication of courts and judicial functionaries in an equally progressive ratio, was opposed the heavy expense of adding to the number of European magistrates.<sup>3</sup> Any considerable augmentation of native judges, who were employed to a limited extent, and whose services were much more economical, was resisted by a violent prejudice against their agency. Their fitness for the office, as far as it required ability and knowledge, was generally admitted ; but it was maintained that their notorious want of integrity rendered it impossible that justice could be distributed to the people through so corrupt and impure a channel.<sup>4</sup> The imputation was not

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<sup>1</sup> " There is a want of something like professional knowledge, that is, knowledge of the general principles of law, in both the Zilla and provincial judges ; and part of the persons in the judicial line are not fit for that part of the service."—Dorin ; Selections.

<sup>2</sup> The suits depending in Bengal at the end of 1802 were 170,706 ; at the end of 1813, 145,163 : for the clearance of which it was estimated that three years would be required in the Zillah, and four in the provincial courts.—Commons' Committee, 1832 ; Judicial ; Appendix, vii. 479.

<sup>3</sup> The annual expense of the judicial establishment in Bengal was calculated by Lord Cornwallis at 306,000*l*. In 1809-10 it had risen to 806,000*l*. The whole cost at the three Presidencies was at that time 1,260,840. In 1813 it was 1,572,492.

<sup>4</sup> " I think it quite out of the question to trust the natives with any principal part in the administration of justice. I am not aware that they want the

BOOK I. perhaps wholly unmerited, but the charge was much too  
 CHAP. VII. unqualified, and the evils anticipated were greatly exaggerated. Nor was it sufficiently considered by what  
 1813. means they might be remedied: whether they might not be checked, if not prevented, by better pay, higher dignity, vigilant superintendence, and occasional disgrace; whether natives might not be influenced as well as Europeans by the hope of reward and fear of punishment. Corruption could not be universal. The temptation could not in every case outweigh the risk; and no account was made of the force of public opinion, to which the natives of India are not insensible. It seems also to have been forgotten, that, for centuries prior to the introduction of European agency, law and justice had been administered solely by natives; yet society had been held together: and there had been times when, according to the testimony of travellers and historians, India had been populous and flourishing, the people thriving and happy. This was

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ability sufficient to decide ordinary questions with tolerable skill, but even the better sort of them are notoriously open to corruption; there is scarcely any thing like principle among them. I know there are some who think these native judges do more harm than good, and should be dispensed with altogether."—Dorin. "The natives can rarely, I fear, be exclusively trusted with the administration of justice; and, in any part of the judicial system allotted to their execution, they must be superintended by Europeans."—Falconer. Sir Henry Strachey, Colonel Munro, and Colonel Walker entertain different views. "It is my opinion that all the judicial functions of Bengal might gradually be thrown into the hands of natives, and that the business would be as well conducted under our regulations by the natives as Europeans; in some respects better, and at one tenth of the expense." And again: "I am of opinion that, with respect to integrity and diligence, the natives may be trusted with the administration of justice. I think no superintendence of Europeans necessary." "We place the European beyond the reach of temptation; to the native we assign some ministerial office with a poor stipend of twenty to thirty rupees a month: then we pronounce that the Indians are corrupt, and that no race of men but the Company's servants are fit to govern them."—Sir H. Strachey. "In a civilized populous country like India, justice can be well dispensed only through the natives themselves. It is absurd to suppose that they are so corrupt as to be altogether unfit to be entrusted with the discharge of this important duty: if they were so, there would be no remedy for the evil; their place could never be supplied by a few foreigners imperfectly acquainted with their customs and language. Again: "Give a native judge from five hundred to one thousand rupees a month, he will decide thrice as many causes as a European. He might be corrupt; turn him out and try another, and another. Make it worth his while to retain his post, and he will cease to risk its forfeiture. If we pay the same price for integrity, we shall find it as readily amongst natives as Europeans."—Munro. "The aim of the preceding observations has been to show that the natives of India may, in respect to integrity, be trusted with the administration of justice; and that some of the civil offices of government may be confided to them with safety and advantage."—Walker; *Answers to Queries; Selections*, vol. ii. There will be subsequently occasion to advert to later opinions on this subject.



still the case in some parts of the country ; and, if it was not so more generally, the cause was to be found in the absence of good government and the prevalence of internal disorder, in which all institutions had been overturned, and principles as well as the practice of justice had disappeared. It was taking a narrow and ungenerous view of the question to draw a conclusion unfavourable to the native character from the state in which it had been left by the recent times of trouble, and, overlooking what it had been in better days, deny the probability of its amelioration under more propitious circumstances. The truth was beginning to be discerned ; and, amid the prevalence of a contrary opinion, some few of the Company's servants warmly advocated the extended employment of the natives in the administration of justice as the only practicable means of proportioning the supply to the demand. The question continued in suspense, and little advance was made in the improvement of the judicial system in Bengal during Lord Minto's government. Measures were, however, in progress which were brought to maturity under his successor. Changes of more considerable magnitude took place at Madras, but they also underwent important modifications at a shortly subsequent period.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bengal Regulation xlii. of 1808 enacted that the origination of civil suits of five thousand rupees and upwards should be transferred from the Zilla to the provincial courts ; and Regulation xlii. of 1810 provided that decrees might be passed by one judge in sundry cases where two had been necessary, and that the fees on the institution of suits should be partly or wholly returned when the parties settled the cause by arbitration. At Madras, in 1808, Regulation v. enacted the payment of fees on the institution and trial of suits. Regulation vi. empowered the senior judge of the courts of circuit and appeal to take his tour of circuit duty. Regulations viii. to xiii. effected a new arrangement of the jurisdiction of the Zilla courts in the different divisions of the Madras provinces, and established four courts of appeal and circuit. In 1809, Regulation vii. provided for the occasional appointment of Zillah judges, extended the jurisdiction of the registers, limited appeals, and provided head native commissioners in certain cases. Regulation viii. defined the duties and powers of judges of the provincial courts acting singly. Regulation x. increased the number of powers of native commissioners ; and Regulation xii. limited and regulated the right of appeal. Up to the year 1808, the Regulations of the Bombay Presidency were framed as nearly conformable to those of Bengal as circumstances would admit, with the exception that, while the Mohammedan law was there alone applicable to the decision of criminal trials, the Hindus under the Bombay Presidency were allowed the benefit of the laws of their religion in all trials, of whatsoever description, wherein they were the defendant or accused parties. At this period the Government of Bombay exercised the right, with which it was invested by the 47th of George III. sect. iii. chap. 68, of making Regulations of its own authority ; and in this and subsequent years, the following Regulations provided for the more effective administration of civil and criminal justice : 1808, Regulation ii. ; 1812, Regulations iii. to xi. ; 1813, Regulations ii. iv. vii. ix.



BOOK I. Delays of a similar nature, although not to a like extent  
 CHAP. VII. were found to prevail in the administration of criminal  
 1813. justice; and, in a great measure from a like cause, the inadequacy of the provision made for its distribution. An evil of a still more pernicious tendency originated in the assignment of the duty of magistrate to the city or district judge. If as judge he devoted his attention to the civil suits in arrear, the business of the magistrate was necessarily interrupted, and an interval might intervene between the apprehension of a prisoner and his commitment, which sometimes subjected the innocent to the punishment of the guilty, and detained for an indefinite period a person in confinement against whom no charge could be substantiated.<sup>1</sup> The same remedy that was applicable to the former case was here also obvious, and the separation of incompatible duties was a necessary preliminary to their effective discharge. For this purpose, the Bengal Government associated the Zilla and city judges in some instances with magistrates having a special or joint jurisdiction in criminal matters only, or gave them the aid of assistant magistrates, acting in general subordinately to, but upon emergencies independently of, the judges. Other enactments were passed for the more effective conduct of previous investigation by the local officers, for admission to bail upon charges not of a heinous nature, for the dismissal of frivolous complaints, and the avoidance of all unnecessary delay between the apprehension of a person accused and his examination before the magistrate.<sup>2</sup> The criminal, as well as the civil judicature, was the object of progressive legislation.<sup>3</sup>

The state of the police formed in Bengal a more immediate subject of solicitude than even the defects of the administration of civil or criminal justice. The Lower provinces of the Presidency were infested by the increasing numbers and audacity of various classes of robbers, who,

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Regulation xvi. of 1810.

<sup>3</sup> Regulations ix. 1807, and iii. 1812. Madras Regulation i. 1810 provided for the apprehension and punishment of persons resisting or evading the processes of the courts: Reg. i. of 1811 directed quarterly jail deliveries to be held in certain Zillas: Reg. iv. of 1811 had for its general scope the objects of the Bengal Regulations: Regs. iv. of 1807, and iii. of 1812, the more speedy trial and punishment, or acquittal, of persons charged with offences not of a heinous nature; this also enjoined the Zilla magistrates to furnish an annual report of all cases depending on the 31st of December before them or their assistants. The Bombay Regulations are cited above.

under the designations of Dakoits, Choars, Kuzzaks, Budhuks, or Thugs, infested the country, and not unfrequently added murder to robbery. The Kuzzaks were mounted robbers, who occasionally singly beset the high roads, or, having collected in parties, attacked and plundered whole villages. The Budhuks and Thugs were distinguished by their practice of strangling unsuspecting travellers, with whom they contrived to fall in upon a journey. The Dakoits and Choars were robbers who assembled in gangs, and, entering the villages by night, attacked the house of some one person reputed to possess valuables or money. These last were the most formidable. Their depredations were first noticed in 1772, when they were described by the Committee of Circuit as individuals not driven to such courses by want, but robbers by profession, and even by birth, following the profession from father to son. But, however true this may have been at the period of the report, there was no doubt that latterly many of the members of the several gangs were not professional banditti, but were urged by necessity to enlist in the gangs, or sometimes were compelled by force or fear to join them.<sup>1</sup> Aided by such recruits from the peasantry, the Dakoits acquired greater strength and confidence, and from 1800 to 1810 kept the country in perpetual alarm.<sup>2</sup> Extraordinary efforts became necessary for their suppression.

<sup>1</sup> "In accounting for Decoity or robbery in a Zilla, our first step ought to be to examine the condition of the Ryots, and we shall always find in their poverty and oppression the chief cause of this evil."—Tytler, *Considerations on the State of India*, i. 374. "A gang of Decoits does not consist entirely of professed robbers: many of the party are poor honest industrious people who are seized for the service of the night."—Letter from E. Strachey, Judge of Rajshahi; Fifth Report, App. 588.

<sup>2</sup> In the language of Lord Minto, "a monstrous and disorganised state of society existed under the eye of the supreme British authorities, and almost at the very seat of that Government to which the country might justly look for safety and protection. The mischief could not wait for a slow remedy; the people were perishing almost in our sight; every week's delay was a doom of slaughter and torture against the defenceless inhabitants of very populous countries."—Minute, 24th Nov. 1810; *Parl. Papers*, 1st July, 1819, p. 23. His lordship's language, and that which was generally employed on this occasion by the members of the Government and by the judges, is liable to the charge of exaggeration. At this very time, when it was said by the judicial secretary that "there was no protection of person or property to the people of India," it was very possible for an individual unconnected with the judicial department to be scarcely aware that such a crime as gang-robbery existed. In dwelling upon the absolute amount of crime, its proportional ratio to the population is imperfectly adverted to. According to official returns, the total number of murders, including those committed by Dakoits, in the Lower provinces, was in the year 1813 two hundred and ten, the population being above thirty-seven millions.—Commons' Committee, 1832; App. Judicial, p. 506.

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The Dakoits, although in their aggregation and in their following acknowledged leaders or Sirdars they bore an analogy to the brigands of the south of Europe, or the banditti of the middle ages, yet resembled more nearly some of the illegal confederations which have been organised in modern days and more civilised communities in Europe, in their assembling by night only, and dispersing and following peaceable occupations during the day, most of them being engaged in the cultivation of the soil or following mechanical trades. Individuals among them were well known as Sirdars, by whom their expeditions were projected, and by whose orders the gang was assembled at an appointed spot, generally a grove near the village to be attacked. The members of the gang, who were secretly known to the Sirdars, and sometimes to each other, repaired to the place, variously armed, chiefly with swords, clubs, and pikes, and some with matchlocks. Their numbers varied from ten or fifteen to fifty or sixty. When collected, their marauding excursion was usually preluded by a religious ceremony, the worship of the goddess Durgá, the patroness of thieves, typified by a water-pot or a few blades of grass. The ceremony was conducted by a Brahman of degraded condition and dissolute life. Having propitiated the goddess by the promise of a portion of their spoil, they marched with lighted torches, and little attempt at concealment beyond disguising their faces by pigment, or covering them with masks, to the object of their expedition, usually the dwelling of some shop-keeper or money-changer, in which it was expected to discover treasure. Occasionally the motive of the attack was vengeance; and information given by the householder, or some of his family, against any of the members of the gang, brought upon him the resentment of the whole fraternity.<sup>1</sup> Upon entering the village it was customary to fire a gun, as a signal to the inhabitants to keep within their dwellings: the house against which the operation was designed was then surrounded; and, whilst some of the gang forced an entrance, others remained as a guard without. Unless exasperated by resistance, or instigated by revenge, the Dakoits did not

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell's Report, Sept. 1809. Of the three cases of which he gives the trials in abstract, one of which has been cited by Mr. Mill, v. 390, two originated in revenge.—Fifth Report, App. 604.



commonly proceed to murder; but they perpetrated atrocious cruelties upon such persons as refused, or were unable, to give them information regarding property which they suspected of having been concealed, burning them with lighted torches or blazing straw, or wrapping cloth or flax steeped in oil round their limbs and setting it on fire, or inflicting various tortures, which caused immediate or speedy death.<sup>1</sup> The object being accomplished, and the booty secured, the gang retired before daylight, and the individuals resumed their daily occupations. Such was the terror inspired by their atrocities, and such the dread of their revenge, that few of their neighbours ventured to inform or give evidence against them, although well aware of their real character and proceedings. The police, intimidated or corrupt, rarely interfered until the robbery was completed and the perpetrators had disappeared; and their interposition was far from welcome to the people, as their unprofitable and vexatious inquiries had frequently no other purpose in view than the extortion of money as the price of forbearing to drag the villagers, unwilling witnesses, before the European magistrate, or even of falsely accusing them of being accessory to the crime.<sup>2</sup>

The Zilla judge, who according to the existing system administered, as has been mentioned, both the criminal as well as the civil law, and was charged also with the duty of police magistrate, necessarily resided in the capital town of his jurisdiction, which might be a hundred miles remote from the scene of a robbery. Fully occupied with his other duties, it was impossible for him to pay frequent visits to places at any considerable distance from his station; and not only was local investigation therefore impracticable, but it was impossible for him to exercise a vigilant personal

<sup>1</sup> In one hundred and four houses attacked by Dakoits in the course of thirteen months, eight persons were wounded, three were tortured, and five killed.—Dowdeswell's Report, *ibid.* 606. In 1813, the whole number of Dakoits under the Bengal Presidency was six hundred and ninety; in which seventy-one persons were killed, two hundred and forty-six tortured and wounded. The returns show characteristic differences between the Lower and Upper provinces:

	<i>Dakoits.</i>	<i>Murdered.</i>	<i>Tortured and Wounded.</i>
Lower provinces . . .	505	31	149
Upper provinces . . .	185	40	97

In the latter more were murdered and fewer wounded in little more than one third of the robberies; proofs of more fierceness but less cruelty.—Commons' Committee, 1832; App. p. 506.

<sup>2</sup> Dowdeswell's Report, and Letters of the Judges preceding.



BOOK I. supervision over the officers of the police. The police jurisdictions were originally intended to include tracts of about twenty miles square; but they were of greater or less extent, according to circumstances, and usually embraced a numerous population. Each of these was under a head officer or Daroga, who had at his disposal from twenty to fifty armed men, a very inadequate force in many cases to maintain order amongst the inhabitants of the district. To render them still more ineffective, the pay of the whole, the Daroga included, was barely sufficient for their support, and they were almost of necessity corrupt. Little or no assistance was to be expected from the people. Their ancient institutions had been broken up either directly or indirectly by the regulations of the Government. The Zemindars had been formerly charged with the management of the police, and were held accountable for all acts of robbery or violence committed within their Zemindaris. They abused their power, and neglected their duty in some cases; and they were relieved of the one, and deprived of the other, in a summary manner,<sup>1</sup> and they were little inclined to interest themselves in a troublesome and thankless office. The instruments employed under them had been of two classes: one, under the term Paiks and Chokidars, attached to them and their agents personally; the other, known as Pasbans, Nigahbans, or Hâris, connected with the villages: the former were the police of the whole district; the latter, the watchmen of their respective hamlets. Both were paid chiefly by allotments of land rent-free, or held at a low quit-rent under the Zemindar.<sup>2</sup> When he ceased or was forbidden to have any concern with the police, he had no inducement to keep up a police establishment; and, when it was intimated that the allowances formerly made to him for the expense were withdrawn, he either levied the same rent upon the allotments of the watchmen and Paiks as on any other of his Ryots, or he

<sup>1</sup> By Reg. xxii. of 1793; on the grounds that the clause in their engagements which had formerly invested them with the authority had not only been found nugatory, but in numerous instances proved the means of multiplying robberies and other disorders, from the collusion which subsisted between the perpetrators of them and the police-officers entertained by the Zemindars and farmers of the land.

<sup>2</sup> Their numbers may be estimated from those of one district. In Burdwan, in 1788, there were two thousand four hundred Pasbans or village constables, and nineteen thousand Paiks.—Judicial Letter from the Court of Directors, Nov. 1814; Parl. Papers, 1 July, 1819, p. 48.

resumed the land. The Paiks were generally dismissed : the village watchmen lingered, but in a state of poverty and inefficiency which rendered them worse than useless. It was of little avail, therefore, to place them by law under the authority of the new Darogas, and to enact that they should be kept up and duly registered : the enactments were disregarded, and the native police establishments ceased to exist, or were in no condition to give effectual aid in preserving the public peace. They were much more likely to be in concert with its disturbers.<sup>1</sup>

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The evil consequences of having so completely excluded native co-operation, had long been urged upon the consideration of the Government by many of its ablest officers ; and one of its first remedial measures was to re-invest the Zemindars with a portion of their former authority. Regulations were accordingly enacted, by which respectable inhabitants of the several provinces were commissioned to act as Amins or superintendents of police : they were authorised to receive written charges of all offences of a heinous nature, issue warrants for the apprehension of offenders, and send the persons so apprehended to the police Darogas ; to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, without warrant, persons engaged in the actual commission of a heinous crime or flagrant breach of the peace, and have them conveyed to the nearest police thanna ; they were enjoined to assist the Darogas on all occasions ; to send them information, and see that the village watchmen did their duty ; to obey the magistrate's orders in instituting any inquiry, and to furnish him with a monthly report of the persons whom they had apprehended ; and they were declared liable to prosecution in the criminal court for any act of corruption, extortion, or oppression, done by themselves, or any person acting under their authority.<sup>2</sup>

In these regulations for enlisting persons of credit and influence in the preservation of the public peace, there were several radical defects which ensured their failure.

<sup>1</sup> Reg. i. 1793 reserved the option of resuming the whole or part of such allowances as had been made to the Zemindars for keeping up police thannas, or the produce of any lands which they might have been permitted to appropriate for the same purpose. "Extensive resumptions were made under this clause ; resumptions were also made by the Zemindars ; and the effect of both was to reduce the native police to a state of want, which drove them to a life of robbery and plunder for a subsistence."—Letter from the Court ; Parl. Papers, 1819, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Bengal Regs. xii. and xiv. 1807.

BOOK I. These police Amins were not only to give their services  
 CHAP. VII. without pay, but, "considering the description of persons  
 1813. from whom they were to be selected, it was not expected  
 that they would require any distinct establishment of  
 public officers at the charge of Government to enable  
 them to perform the duties required of them." They  
 were, in fact, to pay a police as well as to perform its  
 functions. It is not surprising that few should have been  
 willing to accept the office. Even had these unreasonable  
 stipulations been omitted, it was not to be expected that  
 many persons of respectability would have been ambitious  
 of a post which made them subordinate to the police  
 Darogas. The regulations were rescinded in a few years;<sup>1</sup>  
 and the penalties of fine and imprisonment were then  
 imposed upon the Zemindars, and all holders of land,  
 if they failed to give early and punctual information of  
 the commission of any public offences, or the resort of  
 robbers in any place within their estates; and if they  
 afforded to such offenders food, or shelter, or concealment,  
 they were liable to forfeit their lands to the Government.<sup>2</sup>  
 Similar penalties had been previously denounced; but to  
 so little purpose, that it was doubted if a single instance  
 was known of their having been enforced.<sup>3</sup> With respect  
 to the inferior agents, Paiks, Chokidars, and the like, they  
 were made liable to corporal punishment by the magistrate  
 if proved guilty of misconduct or neglect:<sup>4</sup> no provisions  
 were enacted at this time for replacing them in the occu-  
 pancy of their lands, to obviate the necessity which made  
 them, according to Mr. Dowdeswell, alternately watchmen  
 and robbers.

Actuated by that spirit of exclusive reliance upon  
 European agency which had been engendered by the  
 institutions of Marquis Cornwallis, the Government of  
 Bengal strengthened the department of the police by the  
 appointment of two superintendents of police, one for the  
 Lower and one for the Western provinces. These officers,  
 acting in concert with the magistrates, or, as occasion  
 required, independently of them, were not restricted to  
 any particular station or defined district, and were enabled

<sup>1</sup> Bengal Reg. v. 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Bengal Regs. ix. 1808; iii. 1812.

<sup>3</sup> Dowdeswell's Report; Fifth Report, App. 614.

<sup>4</sup> Reg. iii. 1812.

to exercise a more immediate supervision over the Darogas and police establishments, and to apprehend and punish offenders in a more prompt and vigorous manner.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement was beneficial. But, besides these officers, magistrates were appointed with special powers to suppress the crime of gang-robbery in the districts adjacent to Calcutta, which were its principal seats. Selected for their personal intelligence and activity, and for their knowledge of the languages and customs of the people, at liberty to devote their whole energies to their particular duties, and armed with large discretionary powers, they speedily arrested the mischief; but in their zeal they had recourse to unjustifiable rigour, and were almost as severe a scourge to the country as the Dakoits themselves. The inhabitants of the villages were indiscriminately apprehended upon insufficient evidence: many of them were acquitted upon trial after having been long detained in prison: some died in confinement.<sup>2</sup> It was argued in defence of this procedure, that, although the acquitted persons might not have been concerned in the actual offence, yet they were cognisant of its perpetration, and neither took any steps to prevent it, nor to bring the perpetrators to justice; that violent diseases required strong remedies; and that it was better that a few inno-

<sup>1</sup> Regs. x. 1808; viii. 1810.

<sup>2</sup> At Muddenpore, some treasure having been plundered by Dakoits, one hundred and ninety-two persons were apprehended upon the charge of an informer: one hundred and forty-two were released upon examination, forty-six were committed, six were pardoned upon a pretended confession; for it turned out on the trial of those committed, who were detained in prison above a year, that the whole were innocent, the charge having been a fabrication. Three of the prisoners died in jail.—Sir H. Strachey; Answers to Queries; Judicial Records, ii. 70. At Nadiya, two thousand and seventy-one persons were apprehended as Dakoits from the 20th May, 1808, to the 31st of May, 1809; of whom no less than one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight had been taken up as men of bad character and on vague suspicion, forty-four only had been convicted before the Court of Circuit during two sessions, three hundred and sixty-nine had been released by the magistrate, two hundred and sixty-eight acquitted by the court. Of those who remained in jail after the first sessions of 1809, the greater part had not been brought up for trial at the two sessions which followed, but still remained in confinement. On the 31st of May, 1809, there were no less than one thousand four hundred and seventy-seven prisoners in the Nadiya jail who had not been examined. Besides the two thousand and seventy-one prisoners above specified, a considerable number of persons had been apprehended as Dakoits during the same period by Messrs. Blaquiere and Leyden, the magistrates of the twenty-four Pergunnas and joint magistrates of Nadiya, and by their Goyendas, who, instead of being examined and tried, were sent down to the Presidency, and there kept in confinement.—Judicial Letter from the Court, 1st Oct. 1814; Parl. Papers, June 1819, p. 25.



BOOK I. cent persons should suffer than the whole community live  
CHAP. VII. in alarm and danger. Equally exceptionable was the  
1813. subordinate agency by which the objects of the magistrates were in most instances obtained — the employment of hired spies or Goyendas: it was admitted that the system was liable to abuse; that the Goyendas were unprincipled miscreants, who made their power the means of extortion, and who hesitated not to sacrifice innocent individuals to their cupidity or their revenge. But it was maintained, that their instrumentality was absolutely necessary; that no efficient police could be established in any country except upon the basis of espionage; that without the aid of hired informers the most notorious leaders of the Dakoits would not have been apprehended at all; and that the improvement manifested in the districts round Calcutta was proportionate to the skill with which this powerful engine had been wielded.<sup>1</sup> These were the sentiments of many of the most confidential advisers of the Government, and they predominated in its counsels. Notwithstanding this view of the case, and admitting the efficacy of the Goyenda system in the districts which were most disorganised, and in hands better adapted to a harsh than delicate handling of a public nuisance, it was shown by contemporary experience that such extreme and mischievous methods were not indispensable, and that the evil was susceptible of alleviation by a milder treatment. In one district at least, that of Burdwan, gang-robbery, once as prevalent there as in other places, was nearly extinguished in the course of a twelvemonth by very different measures. The instruments employed were the neglected and undervalued institutions of the country animated by skilful superintendence and encouragement: the landholders and headmen of the villages and of various trades were called upon to enter into engagements for the performance of those duties, which it was personally explained to them they were expected to fulfil; and the village watchmen were punished for neglect or connivance, and rewarded for courage and good conduct. Attempts to deprive them of their service-lands were sedulously resisted, and the villagers were encouraged to give them more liberal sub-

<sup>1</sup> Dowdeswell's Report, p. 615.

sistence. In this instance it was unequivocally shown that the co-operation of the people was to be had, and that when had it was efficacious.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding this evidence of the feasibility of a different system, no attempt was made to act upon it on a more extensive scale; and the only enactments of the Government, in addition to those already adverted to, placed the rewards which had been given for the apprehension of Dakoits upon safer principles. The amount payable upon conviction was augmented: it was made payable wholly, or in part, where conviction could not be established, if circumstances justified the apprehension of the prisoner; and it was to be withheld, even where conviction ensued, if it appeared that improper means had been pursued by the informer. Rewards for meritorious exertions, and remuneration for expense incurred in cases not specified, connected with the discovery and apprehension of offenders, were also authorised. The combined operation of the measures of the Government was not without effect: the crime of gang-robbery, although not wholly eradicated, was materially checked, and during the latter part of Lord Minto's administration, it became much less frequent, and was less marked by cruelty and bloodshed.

Shortly prior to the appointment of Lord Minto, a

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<sup>1</sup> In the year 1810, Mr. Butterworth Bailey was appointed to the office of magistrate of Burdwan. In Feb. 1811, the Circuit judge reports that "gang-robbery, formerly so prevalent, had become nearly extinct; and a regular system had been introduced which promised fair to secure the co-operation of the community in the detection and apprehension of offenders." The causes of improvement are thus detailed by Mr. Bayley; "The uniform punishment and dismissal from office of the village watchmen wherever there was any appearance of neglect or connivance on their part in robberies, and the rewards which were constantly given to them for any proof of bravery, activity, or good conduct in opposing or apprehending Dakoits; the exertions made by him for obtaining a more adequate subsistence for the village watchmen, by carefully preventing all attempts on the part of the Talookdars to resume any part of the Chakeran lands, and by encouraging the head villagers to subscribe a more liberal remuneration for the support of their Chokidars than had before been customary." The Mandals, who were the principal fixed residents, and were vested by long usage with considerable local authority and immunities, and the Chokidars under them, were the chief classes upon whom Mr. Bayley relied for information and aid in the improvement of the police. He however took Moochulkas not only from them, but also from the landholders, gomashas, vendors of spirituous liquor, pawnbrokers, gold and silversmiths, &c., explaining to them personally the duties they were enjoined to perform, and the practices from which they were expected to refrain.—Letter of Court, 9th Nov. 1814; Parl. Papers, June, 1819, p. 53. In this letter the Court take a general review of the past and actual state of the police in Bengal.

BOOK I. controversy had commenced between the authorities in  
 CHAP. VII. England and in India respecting the course to be pursued  
 1813. with respect to the final settlement of the revenue from  
 the land in those parts of the British territory where a  
 settlement was yet to be effected, comprising the Ceded  
 and Conquered provinces under the Presidency of Bengal,  
 and the provinces in the south of India which had been  
 annexed to the Madras Presidency by the humiliation and  
 downfall of the Mohammedan Government of Mysore.  
 Opinions at home had undergone a material change.  
 Principles, which but a few years before had met with  
 universal assent, were now called in question; and mea-  
 sures, which had received the sanction and commendation  
 of the Court of Directors, the Board of Controul, and of  
 successive administrations, and which had been eulogised  
 by high authorities as the result of consummate wisdom  
 and enlightened disinterestedness,<sup>1</sup> were now stigmatised  
 as improvident and precipitate, as originating in defective  
 knowledge and erroneous analogies, and as equally detri-  
 mental to the prosperity of the state and the happiness of  
 the people. The leading members of the Bengal and  
 Madras Governments, trained in the school of Lord Corn-  
 wallis, and, with the exception of the Governor-General  
 himself, the instruments and coadjutors of that nobleman  
 in framing the perpetual settlement of Bengal, and in  
 extending its provisions to Madras, tenaciously adhered  
 to the principles of that settlement, and strenuously urged  
 its universal adoption. The principal authorities of Eng-  
 land, on the contrary, influenced by the proceedings and  
 sentiments of some distinguished revenue officers of the  
 Presidency of Madras, first suspended, and finally pro-

<sup>1</sup> "The distinguished character of Lord Cornwallis, and the authority which the permanent settlement derived from the approbation of Mr. Pitt, of Mr. now Lord Grenville, and the late Lord Melville, justly clothed it with an awful veneration, which for many years precluded the agitation of any question as to its merits."—Commons' Committee, App. p. 67; Observations on the Revenue System of India, by the Right Hon. John Sullivan. In the Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, 9th April, 1813, Lord Wellesley observed, "Every Governor of India had acknowledged the justice and policy of the principle of the permanent settlement, and he was satisfied that every person qualified to be a Governor of India must do the same. It formed the corner-stone of the Government of India, and the extension of the principle to the Conquered provinces would found a solid basis for that Government to rest upon." On the same occasion, Lord Grenville urged the insertion of a clause in any charter to be granted to the Company declaratory of the adherence of the Indian Government to the principle of permanency.

hibited, the conclusion of an assessment in perpetuity in those provinces to which it had not been extended.<sup>1</sup> To render this change of purpose intelligible, it will be necessary to take a brief survey of the condition of the agricultural population of India, and the principles upon which the realisation of the revenue derived from land was founded, previously to the establishment of the British Government, as well as of the proceedings of the British Government subsequently to those which have been already described in connexion with the permanent settlements made by Lord Cornwallis.

Land is the main source of the revenue of the British Government in India. That Government follows in this respect the principles and practice of its predecessors, both Mohammedan and Hindu; and, while it avails itself of a convenient and profitable means of making provision for the public charges, it consults the advantage, and conforms to the notions and feelings, of the people.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Select Committee of the House of Commons, in their celebrated Fifth Report, printed July, 1812, first publicly called the principle in question, employing what Marquis Wellesley termed ambiguous words, tending, according to Lord Grenville, if not to discredit the original measure, at least to discountenance its proposed extension. The Report is known to have been the composition of Mr. Cumming, at that time superintendent of the revenue and judicial department in the office of the Board of Controll, who was an implicit believer in the excellence of the Ryotwar settlement as advocated by Sir Thomas Munro.—Commons' Committee, 1832, App.; Revenue remarks by Mr. Sullivan. We have also the testimony of Mr. Courtenay, between fifteen and sixteen years secretary to the Board of Controll, that the opposition to the permanent Zemindari settlement originated in the Board, not in the Court: "I may here mention, that the system known by the name of Sir T. Munro's system was the work of the Board, and in many parts of it was opposed by the Court. The same observation applies to many matters concerning the revival or maintenance of ancient native institutions, and the employment of natives in public functions." And again: "When I said that Sir T. Munro's system was the work of the Board, I meant that it was taken up and countenanced by the Board rather than the Court."—Commons' Com. 1832, App.; Public answers, 292. 1885.

<sup>2</sup> "In India the land has always furnished the chief revenue of the state, and taxes are immediately imposed upon it."—Minute of Lord Teignmouth, Fifth Report, App. 205. "By the ancient law of the country the ruling power is entitled to a certain proportion of the produce of every beega of land, demandable in money or kind, according to local custom, unless it transfers its right thereto for a time, or in perpetuity."—Preamble to Reg. xix. 1793. "Any change from established custom in India gives rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction. The land-rent is what the people readily pay; and, although it may appear exorbitant, it is a revenue that is paid without much difficulty. A tax in any other shape, however small, is comparatively disliked."—Christian. Evidence, Lords' Committee, 1830; Question 848. "Nine-tenths probably of the revenue of the Government of India is derived from the rent of land, never appropriated to individuals, and always considered to be the property of Government: and to me that appears to be one of the most fortunate circumstances that can occur in any country; because, in consequence of this, the wants of the state are supplied really and truly with-



BOOK I. But this fact being stated, there occur sundry questions, which, although repeatedly and earnestly investigated, have not yet been answered in such a manner as to secure universal acceptance. They may be briefly resolved into the following: 1. In what character did the native Governments claim a revenue from the land? 2. What were the nature and extent of their demands? 3. By what class or classes of the people were those demands discharged? 4. Upon what principles were the demands of the British Government regulated? We shall endeavour to elicit a reply to these queries from the mass of conflicting statements by which the subject has been obscured; but, as the space which can be devoted to the inquiry is unavoidably disproportionate to the quantity of unmethodised materials which have been accumulated with a view to its elucidation, it will be necessary to select for description only a few of the most important points, omitting many of less moment, though of scarcely inferior interest.<sup>1</sup>

I. The demand made by the Sovereign has been commonly referred to his character of proprietor of the soil. It has been maintained that it is by his permission only, and with his sanction, that the land is occupied, and that the occupant sows his seed and reaps his crops; that whatever produce is in excess of the bare subsistence of the cultivator and cost of cultivation, is the property of the king; that it is rent, not revenue, to which he is entitled, for he is the one universal landlord; that this is

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out taxation. As far as this source goes, the people of the country remain untaxed."—Mill, *Evid.*, Select Committee of House of Commons, 1831; Question 3134. The proportion was overrated, as was subsequently remarked by the Committee; it was about six-tenths: nor, as there will be occasion to remark, was it quite correct to say that the rent of land was never appropriated to individuals.

<sup>1</sup> The principal authorities consulted for the following passages in the text are, The Fifth Report of the Select Committee of 1816, printed 1812, 1 vol. folio; Selections from the Revenue and Judicial Records at the India House, printed by order of the Court of Directors, 1820-1826, 4 vols. folio; Reports of the Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament in 1830-1831, and 1832, with evidence and appendices, reprinted by order of the Court of Directors, 16 vols. 4to.; Colonel Wilks's *History of the South of India*; Sir J. Malcolm's *Central India*; Mr. Elphinstone's *History of India*; Rouse on the *Land Tenures of India*; General Briggs on the *Land-tax of India*; General Gallo-way on the *Law and Constitution of India*; Mr. Tucker on the *Financial Situation of the East India Company*; Colonel Sykes on the *Land Tenures of the Dekhin*; Mr. Thomason on the *Revenue Settlement of Azimghur*; and a variety of tracts and papers.

the character in which the sovereign appears in the laws and institutions of the Hindus, in the laws of the Mohammedan conquerors of India, and in the practice of all modern native governments, and in which he is recognised universally by the people.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the positiveness with which it has been affirmed that the proprietary right of the sovereign is indissolubly connected with the ancient laws and institutions of the Hindus, the accuracy of the assertion may be reasonably disputed. In adducing the authority of Hindu writers in favour of the doctrine, two sources of fallacy are discernible. No discrimination has been exercised in distinguishing ancient from modern authorities; and isolated passages have been quoted, without regard to others by which they have been qualified or explained.<sup>2</sup> If due attention had been paid to these considerations, it would have been found that the supposed proprietary right of the sovereign is not warranted by ancient writers; and that, while those of later date seem to incline to its admission, they do not acknowledge an exclusive right

<sup>1</sup> See Mill, *History of India*, i. 212, and notes; also Grant's Reports on the Northern Circars and the Revenues of Bengal; and the Minute of Lord Cornwallis, Fifth Report, App. 473. Colonel Munro says, "Nothing can be plainer than that private landed property has never existed in India except on the Malabar coast."—*Revenue Sel.* i. 94. And the Board of Revenue observe, "We concur with Colonel Munro in thinking that Government is virtually the proprietor of the soil."—*Ibid.* 486. Such also is Mr. Fortescue's opinion with respect to the Western provinces; and at a long subsequent date, "As to the proprietorship, my belief is, that the Government is the proprietor of the land, and that the person occupying it is well satisfied with the occupation, paying the rent."—*Lords' Committee*, 1830, *Evid.*, Question 511. And on the opposite side of India, Colonel Barnewall asserts that the people in Guzerat claim no property in the soil. Government is vested with the property in the lands; and, as landlord, entitled to the rent, or a share of the produce equal to it.—*Commons' Committee*, 1832, *Evid.* 1755.

<sup>2</sup> As observed by Mr. Mill, i. 213 and note, the Digest of Hindu law compiled by the desire of Sir William Jones, and translated by Mr. Colebrooke, favours the proprietary right of the sovereign, particularly in stating, that, if no special engagement for a term of occupancy has been made, the occupant may at any time be dispossessed by the Raja in favour of a person offering a higher revenue.—i. 461. Colonel Wilks accuses the Pundits, who compiled the Digest, of falsifying the law; but the charge is undeserved. The original passages of the Digest are not the law, they are the opinions of the compiler as to the meaning of the law; and it is open to any one to contest or admit the interpretation according to the purport of the ancient texts, which are also given. It is also necessary to collate this passage with what follows; it will then be found that Tarka-Panchánana, the compiler, does not deny proprietary right in the subject, he only infers the co-existence of concurrent rights: "There is property," he says, "of a hundred various kinds in land:" and, when treating of sale without ownership, he observes, "The property is his who uses the land where he resides, and while he uses it; and thus, when land belonging to any person is sold by the king, it is sale without ownership."—i. 475. The sale is illegal.

BOOK I. but one concurrent with the right of the occupant ; they  
 CHAP. VII. acknowledge a property in the soil, not the property of  
 1813. the soil. In the older jurists, we find, indeed, the right  
 of kingly power over the whole earth asserted : and the  
 right is based, with every semblance of historical truth,  
 upon conquest : but there is no attribution of ownership  
 to the king, nor is there any trace of a royal property or  
 estate.<sup>1</sup> Proprietary right is vested in the individual who  
 first clears and cultivates the land ; it is therefore referred  
 to colonisation ; a source which, as regards India and the  
 Hindus, is probably in a great degree historical. The  
 King may occupy unclaimed or uncultivated lands, as well  
 as a subject ; he has no preference : if he appropriates  
 them, he must give away half to the Brahmans ; if they  
 are appropriated by a subject, the king claims only the  
 share of the produce assigned to him by law. Concurrent  
 and not incompatible rights and claims are thus clearly  
 recognised ; and the king's dues are based, not upon any  
 indefeasible right of property, but in the first instance  
 upon conquest, and in the second upon protection.

The notion of the proprietary right of the sovereign is

<sup>1</sup> The texts of Menu, which have been cited in proof of the proprietary right of the Raja, have been misunderstood. In B. viii. v. 39, the phrase rendered by Sir W. Jones "lord paramount of the soil," is *Bhumer-adhipati*, supreme ruler of the earth : the title *Adhipati*, "over-lord," no more implies ownership in this text than when it is used to denote the head-man of a village, *Grámádhpati* ; or governor of a district, *Désádhpati*. In another text, in which the authority of a king is intimated to be analogous to that of a husband over a wife, the sources of property in subjects are also enunciated : "Ancient sages have called this earth (*Prithivi*) the wife of *Prithu* ; they have called the field his who has cut down the thicket ; the wild beast his whose shaft has slain it."—B. ix v. 44. The subjection of the earth by *Prithu* is clearly an allegory of its conquest by the military caste, see *Vishnu Purana*, p. 103. The compiler of the Digest expressly states that the king's proprietary right is "denied by some, because Menu has only declared that subjects shall be protected by the king."—i. 471. Menu then, even according to the Pundits, is not authority for this doctrine. Another ancient lawgiver, *Yājñawalkya*, is quoted in the Digest to show that the king has no particular property even in unclaimed or uncultivated ground ; if a subject choose, he may occupy it without leave, giving the Raja his due.—i. 461. Another writer of antiquity, *Jamini*, the author of the *Mimansa*, also denies the king's ownership : "The kingly power is for the government of the realm and the extirpation of wrong, and for that purpose he receives taxes from husbandmen and levies fines from offenders ; but the right of property is not thereby vested in him, else he would have property in house and land appertaining to the subjects abiding in his dominions. The earth is not the king's, but is common to all beings enjoying the fruit of their own labour."—*Colebrooke on the Mimánsá Philosophy*, Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, i. 458. Mr. Elphinstone justly concludes, from the Hindu laws on this subject, that as the king's share was limited to one-sixth, or at most to one-fourth, there must have been a proprietor for the other five-sixths, or three-fourths, who must obviously have had the greatest interest of the two in the whole property shared.—*History of India*, i. 42.

rather of Mohammedan than Hindu origin. The doctrines of the Mohammedan jurists are somewhat at variance on this matter. Those who belong to the school which has been chiefly followed in India, maintain the right of individual ownership: yet they do so with considerable reservation, for they restrict the appropriation of all uncultivated land to the king; assign to him the property of all except arable land; authorise him to dispossess any occupant who neglects to cultivate his land, and transfer it to another;<sup>1</sup> and entitle him to claim the whole of the net produce of cultivation. Other Mohammedan lawyers assert unequivocally, that in all conquered countries, and India is in their estimation a conquered country, although the inhabitants may be suffered to retain the occupancy of their lands, the property of them is vested in the sovereign.<sup>2</sup> It is apparently to these doctrines, to the long continuance of Mohammedan domination over a large portion of India, and to the influence which it indirectly exercised over the states that remained subject to Hindu princes, that the notion of the proprietary right of the sovereign owed its general and popular acceptance.

For upon whatever system of law that impression was founded, and whether erroneous or just, there is little reason to doubt that in later times at least it has prevailed very widely amongst the people,<sup>3</sup> and regulated the

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<sup>1</sup> The Hindu law, as it appears in Menu, does not go this length: it provides only, that, in case of neglect to cultivate, the owner shall be fined ten times the amount of the king's share, if his own fault; five times, if that of his servants. — B. viii. v. 243. There is not a word of confiscation or transfer.

<sup>2</sup> Galloway on the Law and Constitution of India, p. 101. According to this writer, a high authority in matters of Mohammedan law, the school of Abu Hanifa was that which was chiefly followed in Hindustan; and this jurist affirms that in conquered countries the people paying the legal impost preserved their proprietary rights. General Galloway also states that this is denied by the Shafia and Malikia schools; according to which the lands, although retained by the people, become the property of the sovereign. — Ibid, 45. It is worth observing, that all the authorities cited by Mill, i. 214 note, with exception of Diodorus and Strabo, whose testimony is not entitled to very great deference, derive their opinions from their observation of the state of things under the Mohammedan governments.

<sup>3</sup> The belief of Mr. Fortescue with regard to the opinions of the people of the Western provinces has been already cited, note, p. 295. The Abbé Dubois is a good representative of the popular notions prevailing in the Dekhin, and he says, "The lands which the Hindus cultivate are the domain of the prince, who is sole proprietor: he can resume them at pleasure, and give them to another to cultivate." — Description of the People of India, p. 496. The author has heard the same sentiment expressed repeatedly by well-informed Hindus from the Upper provinces. They have admitted the full right of the Government to dispossess any occupants whatever, although, if the customary



BOOK 1. practice of the native governments. This gives the ques-  
 CHAP. VII. tion its importance. Abstractedly considered, it signifies  
 1813. but little whether the king be called the lord of the soil,  
 or by any other title ; but, when in this capacity he  
 superseded all other rights, it became no longer a matter  
 of mere speculation. Acting upon this principle, the  
 native rulers required that a formal grant should legalise  
 the occupation of all waste land, and sequestrated estates  
 of which the cultivation was neglected or the revenues  
 unpaid : fixed at their pleasure from time to time the  
 proportion of the produce which the occupant was to pay,  
 claiming indeed the whole of the net produce as the rent ;  
 and turned out actual occupants in favour of others  
 offering a higher amount of payment. The almost uni-  
 versal practice of recent times transferred these rights  
 and powers to contractors and farmers of the revenue,  
 from whom the prince exacted as much as he could obtain,  
 and then left them at liberty to extort all they could, and  
 by whatever means they could, from the people. His  
 right to do so was not questioned, but its exercise through  
 such instrumentality was resisted where resistance was  
 thought likely to succeed ; and the consequences of the  
 system were such as might have been anticipated — the  
 decline and disorganisation of the country.

The proprietary right of the sovereign derives then no  
 warrant from the ancient laws or institutions of the  
 Hindus, and it is not recognised by modern Hindu lawyers  
 as exclusive, or incompatible with individual ownership.  
 It is the doctrine of one of the schools of Mohammedan  
 law ; it has influenced the practice of the later native  
 governments, and it had obtained a very general belief  
 among the people. The popular belief was, however,  
 modified by the remembrance of original rights and the  
 remains of primitive institutions ; and while in theory  
 the people admitted the right of the prince to the lands  
 they tilled, yet in practice they very commonly regarded  
 them as their own as long as they paid to the sovereign  
 his undisputed share of the produce. Unhappily for  
 them, this share was of late rarely regulated by any other

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demands were paid, such act would be considered harsh and oppressive. In  
 Bengal the notion has probably been effaced by the Company's regulations :  
 the Zemindars have been taught a different lesson.

standard than their ability to comply with the exactions of their rulers.

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II. The ancient Hindu law enacts that the demand of the Raja shall be levied in kind. The king is to have a proportion of the grain; a twelfth, an eighth, or a sixth.<sup>1</sup> It is also declared, that in time of war, if he should take one-fourth, he would commit no sin.<sup>2</sup> A fourth of the actual crop constituted therefore the utmost limit of demand, and that only in time of war, under the ancient Hindu system; and this proportion evidently left such a share to the cultivator as was equivalent to a profit upon his cultivation, or to a rent, enabling him at his will to transfer the task of cultivation to tenant farmers, and placing him in the position of a landed proprietor as far as ownership of rent is evidence of such a tenure.<sup>3</sup> The Mohammedan law established a totally different proportion. It extended the claim of the Crown to the whole of the net produce; assigned to the cultivator only so much of the crop as would suffice for one year's subsistence of himself and his family, and for seed; and reduced him to the condition of a mere labourer on his own land. The whole of the profit or the rent went to the sovereign, who thus became the universal landlord.<sup>4</sup> The more

<sup>1</sup> Menu, B. vii. v. 30. The commentator explains the several rates to depend upon the quality of the land, and the labour required to bring it into cultivation; the highest rate being levied on the best, the lowest on the worst sort of land: the assessment was therefore irrespective of the actual crops.

<sup>2</sup> It has been argued, that this would furnish a plea to the Raja to exact a fourth at all times, as a case of necessity could always be made out; but this is not possible consistently with a due regard to the language and obvious intention of the law. The passage should be thus rendered: "A Kshatriya, in time of calamity, protecting his subjects to the utmost of his power, is liberated from sin although taking a fourth part." The verse occurs in the section which treats of the conduct of the different castes in times of distress, and is detached from the passages concerning revenue. That the distress here indicated means time of war is clear enough from the passage that immediately follows: "for battle is his duty; he should never turn his face from fight; protecting the cultivators with his sword, let him levy taxes in a lawful manner."—v. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Such Mr. Mill considered it, and remarked, that there was no ownership of rent in India as in Europe. — Commons' Committee, 1831; 3288. The assertion was incorrect: there was ownership of rent as long as the native Governments suffered it to continue; and there still is such ownership under the British Government, where the assessment is light.

<sup>4</sup> "When the Imam conquers a country, if he permits the inhabitants to remain on it, imposing the Kharāj on their lands and the Jezia on their head, the land is their property." Not very valuable property it should seem, for "Imam Mohammed has said, regard shall be had to the cultivator: there shall be left for one who cultivates his land as much as he requires for his own support till the next crop be reaped, and for that of his family, and for seed.

BOOK I. equitable spirit and sounder judgment of Akbar limited  
 CHAP. VII. the demand of the sovereign to one-third of the average  
 1813. produce of different sorts of land ; the amount to be paid preferably in money, but not to be increased for a definite term of years.<sup>1</sup> Under more modern Governments, whether Hindu or Mohammedan, the demand seems to have fluctuated from a third or half of the gross produce, to the whole of the net produce, or even to have exceeded those proportions ;<sup>2</sup> leaving to the cultivator insufficient means of subsistence, and not unfrequently compelling him to abandon in despair the cultivation of the lands which his forefathers had tilled, and to which his strongest affections chained him, extortion being thus punished by dearth and depopulation.

III. According to the principles of the Mohammedan law, and the consequences to which they led, the classification of the parties interested in the produce of the soil

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This much shall be left him; what remains is Kharáj, and shall go to the public treasury." This is the dictum of a great lawyer of the Hanifia school, Shams-ul-Aima of Sarakhs; and a firman of Aurangzeb directs his officers to levy the Kharáj according to the holy law and the tenets of the Abu Hanifa. — Galloway, 40, 43. Here is evidently the origin of the sovereign's claim to the whole of the rent. The unhappy "infidel" cultivator had to pay a capitation tax besides.

<sup>1</sup> Ayin Akbari, i. 306, 314. The term was fixed, in the 24th year of the reign, for ten years; but the general assessment, or Jama-bandi, of Toral-Mal was apparently intended to last for an indefinite period. — Ibid. Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> In the south of India, Harihara Rai, of Bijnagar, one of the latest independent Hindu principalities, fixed the rate at one-fourth of the gross produce, fixing it on each field, and requiring a money-payment. The Mohammedan Governments exacted half the gross produce of the irrigated lands, and a money-rate equal to from thirty to forty per cent. of the value of the unirrigated and garden produce. — Revenue Selections, i. 895. According to the Parásara Madhaviya, a work on law by the minister of Harihara, the king's share was one-sixth. — Wilks, i. 154. In the Western provinces the Government share was considered to be half the net produce. — Fortescue; Lords' Committee, Evidence, Question, 531. Or even half the gross produce. — Ibid. 532. "But the rule authorizing the exchequer to take as revenue one-half of the produce into the hands of Government is in a great manner nominal; for in the unsettled districts we do not, I believe, on an average, get more than one-fourth." — Mackenzie; Commons' Committee, 1832, Evid., Question 2671. Mr. Mill also thinks it impossible that such a proportion should ever have been taken. — Commons' Committee, 1831, Evid., Question 3887. But he observes, correctly enough, with regard to the practice of later times, "According to all I can gather from the practice of former Governments, the Government demand was never less than the full rent, in many instances probably more; not unfrequently as much more as could be raised without diminishing the number of inhabitants and desolating the country." — Ibid., Question 3114. The state of many parts of India, when first reduced to British authority, showed that these checks had not always operated; and that the exactions of improvident and arbitrary princes, enforced through the agency of farmers of the revenue, had thinned the population, and consigned extensive and fertile districts to the denizens of the forest.

was exceedingly simple. Two only were recognised, the Ryot or cultivating tenant, and the Raja, or rent-owning landlord; <sup>1</sup> the first earning a scanty support by his labour, the second claiming the whole of the surplus return on his property. Such were the conclusions of the first inquirers into the tenure of lands in India. There were found, indeed, persons intervening between the state and the cultivators, but these it was affirmed were in every case persons to whom the state had delegated its powers or transferred its rights: they were not—and this was in some important respects quite true—proprieters of the soil: there were no such persons,—at least, there were no persons who had a right to intercept, without a special grant to that effect, any portion of the rent or profit of cultivation. Further investigation shewed that the latter propositions were not altogether accurate: the structure of agricultural society in India was not so exceedingly simple; a variety of proprietary rights and privileges had survived the disintegrating operations of foreign conquest, foreign laws, oppressive government, and popular misconception, and required to be carefully studied and correctly understood before it could be safe or just to come to any unalterable conclusion. Traces of individual proprietary rights, of personal ownership of rent, were extensively discoverable; and, where they were faint or extinct, it was because the rapacity of the ruling power had dimmed or extinguished them.

A peculiarity in the disposition of landed property in India, which was early observable, was its distribution among communities rather than among individuals. The earliest records describe the agricultural population as collected into groups, villages, or townships, having attached to the particular village or town in which they resided an extent of land the cultivatable portion of which was sufficient for their support, and which was apparently cultivated in common.<sup>2</sup> The internal administration of

<sup>1</sup> So General Galloway: "The truth is, that between the sovereign and the *Reb-ul-arz*, (master of the ground,) who is properly the cultivator, no one intervenes who is not a servant of the sovereign."—p. 42. "The land has been considered the property of the *Circar* and the *Ryots*; the interest in the soil has been divided between these two, but the *Ryots* have possessed little more interest than that of being hereditary tenants."—Thackeray, Fifth Report, App. 992.

<sup>2</sup> Menu, vii. 120. and viii. 237. The Madras Revenue Board affirm the



BOOK I. the affairs of the village was left, in a great measure, to  
 CHAP. VII. the people themselves, under the general superintendence  
 1813. of an officer appointed by the Raja, by whom the police  
 was regulated, the government revenue was collected, and  
 justice was administered, in communication with the  
 principal persons of the village. The general scheme of  
 these village corporations has been repeatedly described.<sup>1</sup>  
 Besides the officers of the government, and the individuals  
 who composed the community strictly so called, the  
 village comprised a varying number of persons who re-  
 ceived small portions of the crops as the hire of services  
 rendered to the whole, and persons also not members of  
 the original establishment, but who were allowed to reside  
 within the village as independent artificers and tradesmen,  
 or even as cultivators of the lands bought or rented from  
 the proprietors. Establishments of this nature were  
 found in their greatest completeness in different parts  
 of the south of India, where Hindu principalities had  
 been longest preserved: but they were also met with in  
 the western provinces of Hindustan, where their organi-  
 sation had assumed something of a military character;  
 and vestiges of them were not wholly obliterated even in  
 Bengal.

The circumstances which led originally to this distribu-  
 tion of the lands among detached communities, are now  
 beyond the reach of history. It may have been the result

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village system is as old as Menu: "That venerable legislator alludes to disputes about boundaries just as they occur at present, and directs a space of four hundred cubits wide, round small villages, and twelve hundred round large ones, to be left for pasture. This could not have been done if the land had been exclusive private property, for in that case the owner would have made the most of his land, and not left it waste for the public use of the inhabitants; and boundaries of fields and farms, rather than of villages, would have been disputed." — Revenue Selections, i, 487.

<sup>1</sup> See the description in the first volume of Mill, p. 217, from the Fifth Report; Elphinstone, History of India, i. 120, and App. 476; and Wilks, Southern India, i. 117. In a deed of gift by the minister of Bukka Raya, king of Vijayanagar, dated 1109, Saka (A.D. 1187), the following list of village officers is given: — 1. Reddi, or Pedda Reddi, head-man. 2. Karnam, accountant. 3. Purohit, priest. 4. Blacksmith. 5. Carpenter. 6. Money-changer. 7. Kavel, village watcher or police officer. 8. Potmaker. 9. Washerman. 10. Barber. 11. Barikudu, messenger or menial. 12. Chekâri, shoemaker or worker in skins and leather. These are essentially the same as the Bara-ballowati of other authorities, though some of the names differ; and, in place of the leather-worker, some places have a water-carrier. — Ellis on Mirasi right, App. p. 36. Traces of village institutions were found by General Briggs in Bengal; Land-tax, Supplement: although there, as in other places, the corporation, or association of persons constituting the proprietary and governing body, had disappeared.

of a legislative provision, devised for the ready realisation of the revenue and convenient administration of the civil government; but there is no record of its institution or its author. Tradition ascribes it to the spontaneous agreement of mankind in an early stage of society,<sup>1</sup> and it may have been suggested to the first Hindu settlers in India by the necessities of their situation. Whatever may have been its origin or antiquity, there is no reason to believe that the village communities now in existence can boast of any remote date or legislative creation. They represent with differing degrees of fidelity the primitive forms from which they are copied; but they have deviated in various respects from the original type, and are in many instances, probably in all, of comparatively recent date. They are most commonly the growth of modern colonisation or conquest, and the peculiar features which they present have been modelled by the occurrences from which they have sprung.

The political revolutions of later times, and probably of earlier days also, have occasioned frequent migrations of the people of India from one part of the country to another. Centuries have elapsed since the region was fully peopled; perhaps it never was wholly occupied: at any rate, abundance of waste land has for a long time past been available, and parties from the neighbouring or from distant tracts have located themselves upon unoccupied spots, with or without the cognisance of the ruling power, not likely to throw obstacles in the way of those who purposed to convert an unproductive wilderness into a source of revenue.<sup>2</sup> The settlers would of course be either of the same family, the same caste, or the same tribe; and would be linked together through succeeding generations by community of origin, as well as of property. There is an active spirit of aggregation at work in Hindu society: the very institution of caste, which disjoins the people as a whole, combines them in their subdivisions; like the process of crystallisation, which destroys the uniformity of the mass by the condensation of the particles. But this is not the only source of reintegration;

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<sup>1</sup> Vishnu Purana, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> See the instructions of Aurangzeb to his collectors, as cited by General Galloway, 55.

BOOK I. there prevail other combinations of tribe or avocation  
 CHAP. VII. some of which would be sure to influence the movements  
 1813. of a body of settlers on a new soil, and unite them into a village community or corporation. The necessity of combination, in order to protect themselves against the financial oppressions of the state, or against unauthorised plunderers and assailants, would further contribute to cement their union, and would give it consistency and duration.<sup>1</sup>

In like manner, when the occupation of the new country was an act of violence and aggression committed against their neighbours, or against the barbarous tribes inhabiting extensive tracts in different parts of India, identity of kindred, caste, or tribe, as well as of interest, would unite the first assailants, and would extend a bond of union to their successors. Such transactions are known to have occurred within very recent periods.<sup>2</sup> In some instances one village community has fallen upon another, and ousted it from its possessions: in others, a military adventurer has assembled his kinsmen and followers; and, having conquered an extensive tract, has parcelled it out amongst his chiefs, very much upon the plan of a military fief. Time, the fiscal measures of the Government, and the partition of inheritance among the descendants of the

<sup>1</sup> Instances of recent colonisation are specified by Mr. Thomason. "A family of Chandel Rajputs emigrated from the Jonpur district, and settled at Purgunna Natherpur, where they acquired much land." "The rise of some Ahir (shepherd) communities illustrates the formation of such bodies by sufferance. Familiar with the forest (in the Azimghur district), they fixed their residence in some favourable spot, and began to cultivate; and, when a settlement (of the revenue) came to be made, appeared to be the most convenient persons with whom to enter into engagements for the land."—Account of the Settlement of Azimghur, by J. Thomason, Esq.; Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. viii. p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thomason supposes the original conquest of Azimghur by Rajputs, some time prior to the twelfth century, to have been the general foundation of the existing proprietary right of the soil; and recently "Achar and its dependent villages were held by a tribe of Kaut Rajputs. The Dhunwars, (another Rajput clan), of the neighbouring estate of Khulsa, were more powerful: they attacked and massacred most of the Kauts. This took place only a few years before the cession. Some of the family fled into the neighbouring district of Ghazipur, then in British possession, and have since in vain attempted to recover their rights."—J. B. As. Society, viii. 96. During the course of the inquiry preceding the permanent settlement, it was found that the Pergunna of Mongir was divided among the descendants of two Rajputs, to whom the family tradition ascribed the first settlement of the country under grants from the Emperor Humayun, having taken it from the wild inhabitants of the wilderness, which it then was, without the smallest vestige of cultivation.—Letter from Mr. Davis, Assistant Collector on Deputation, 11th August, 1790; Fifth Report, 238.

conquerors, have loosened the original compact; and the village, once held by an individual upon condition of military service to a chief, may have assumed the form of a village municipality, or it may still retain many features of its original feudal character.<sup>1</sup> In some places the original occupants have been driven away or exterminated: in others they appear as serfs or slaves attached to the soil and accompanying its transfers, or being sold independently of the land.<sup>2</sup>

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From these sources, — legislation, colonisation, and conquest, — and from the two latter, especially in modern times, may be derived the origin of the village communities of India, or confederations of a definite number of individuals claiming a certain extent of land as their common property, and a right to all advantages and privileges inherent in such property, subject to the payment of a proportion of the produce to the state. When that proportion absorbed all the profits of cultivation, the members of the commune who claimed the ownership of the lands were reduced to the condition — which has been ascribed, incorrectly it may be thought, to all the agricultural population of India — of persons cultivating the ground with their own hands and by their own means.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such is the case with the greater part of the Zemindaris along the western frontier of Bengal, where, while the peasantry are mostly of the wild forest tribes, Koles, or Gonds, the proprietors of the villages are Rajputs. That these latter came as conquerors as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is well known amongst themselves, and the origin of their possessions by allotment from the chief on the tenure of military service is also admitted. The relation between the holders of the several lots, and the representatives of the first leader, or the Rajas, is more or less perfectly preserved, but it retains almost universally some impress of its origin. See the remarks on tenures in Sambhalpur, Mill, i. p. 215, note. A similar state of things prevails in the Pergunnas of Palamu, Sirguja, Chota Nagpur, and others in the same direction. An interesting account of the origin and progress of the feudal Zemindari of Palamu was printed, but not published, by the late Mr. Augustus Prinsep, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Prinsep was disposed to find similar feudal institutions in many of the Zemindaris of Bengal and Behar.

<sup>2</sup> In Malabar and Canara, where the land was very generally divided and occupied as separate and distinct properties, the labourer was the personal slave of the proprietor, and was sold and mortgaged by him independently of the land. In the Tamil country, where land belonged more to communities than individuals, the labourer was understood to be the slave of the soil rather than of any particular person. In Telingana, where it was difficult to trace the remains of private property in the land, the labourers, usually of the degraded or outcast tribes, were free. — Minute, Board of Revenue, Madras, Jan. 1818; Revenue Sel. i. 887. Mr. Thomason, describing the agricultural labourers of Azinghur, speaks of them as having been, under former Governments, predial slaves, who were beaten without mercy for misconduct, and were liable to be pursued and brought back if they attempted to escape. — J. B. Asiatic Soc. viii. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Mill; Commons' Committee, 1831, Evid. 3114.



BOOK I. When the further exactions of the officers of the state, and  
 CHAP. VII. the usurpations which in the absence of all government  
 1813. they perpetrated, reduced the proprietors to extreme distress and insignificance, the village corporations were broken up, and the traces of proprietary right so completely obliterated as to suggest a belief that it had never existed. Such seems to have been the state of the peasantry in Bengal and Telingana. In other places, in Canara, in the Dekhin, in Bundelkhand, and the Western provinces,<sup>1</sup> the right of property was better preserved. Where either the demands of the Government had been more moderate, or the villagers by union and courage, or combination and craft, had resisted or evaded extortion, they retained their character of proprietors, living upon the profits of their own lands.<sup>2</sup> The state of the country,

<sup>1</sup> Thus in Canara and Sonda, where the lands had, until a late date, been lightly assessed, the Government demand having been as low as one-tenth of the produce, and never more than a third, the lands were generally sub-let, the proprietors sometimes cultivating a portion: none of them held any large estates; few averaging, in the best of times, a rent of more than fifty pagodas (or about twenty pounds) a-year. The respective rights of the Government to the land revenue, and of the proprietor of the land, were well known: an ancient grant to a temple specified the grant to be the Government share of the rent, because the land belonged to the proprietor, and could not therefore be given away by the state.—Fifth Report, 803; Life of Sir Thomas Munro, iii. 161.

<sup>2</sup> The term village Zemindars has been generally applied to these proprietors in Hindustan.—Fortescue; Thomason, &c. Janankars, or birthright holders, is their name in Malabar.—Board of Revenue, Madras. Amongst the Mahrattas they were called Thalkaris, holders of the Thal, (Sthal, or land), or Watan-dars (holders of the country); Coates on the Township of Lony; Trans. Literary Society of Bombay, iii. 226: and in the Tamil countries of the Peninsula, Mirásis, or Mirásdars (inheritors). Of the latter Mr. Ellis observes, "Miras, originally signifying inheritance, is employed to designate a variety of rights differing in nature or degree, but all more or less connected with the proprietary possession or usufruct of the soil or of its produce."—Ellis on Mirasi right; Selections, 810. The Selections have injudiciously omitted the Appendices of this valuable document, full of important historical illustration, which no one but Mr. Ellis was competent, from a profound knowledge of the languages and literature of the South of India, and from enlightened experience, to furnish. In the Appendix, which with the text was printed at Madras in 1818, we find the following concluding view of Mirasi tenure. "The Cani-sudantram, or proper Mirasi right, though founded on the principles of the general law, implies peculiar privileges, and an independent enjoyment of landed property by the actual cultivator, unknown in other parts of India, and confined, in fact, to those provinces of the South which formerly constituted the dominions of the ancient Tamil princes: this mode of holding landed property, and several of the incidents appertaining to it, are not in resemblance only, but in fact, the same as those which prevailed among our ancestors previously to the introduction of feudal tenures into Europe, and which is usually designated by the term allodium, with which the word Canyatchi (entire and absolute possession) in derivative meaning intimately corresponds. One of the most remarkable incidents in Mirasi is, the periodical interchange of lands, which, in Tonda-mandalam at least, was anciently universal; the holding of them in severalty being a modern practice. Now this was also a practice common to the nations among whom the allodial posses-

the habits of the people, and the subdivision of property by the laws of inheritance, prevented the aggregation of large estates, or the formation of a landed aristocracy; and the agricultural proprietors were therefore little else than petty farmers, employing, superintending, and not unfrequently assisting the labourers: but they were in a position to preserve their hereditary rights, and to perpetuate the organisation of the village communities. Much variety, however, prevailed in that organisation, not only in proportion to the degree of entireness in which it had been preserved, but from circumstances connected with its history which were no longer to be verified. A village or villages had sometimes a single proprietor, more commonly a greater number; but these were associated under a variety of conditions. Sometimes they held in common, sometimes in severalty; and the rights which they claimed were of various descriptions. They were mostly reducible to two chief classes, the rights of property and the rights of privilege: they were both hereditary, but the latter only were indefeasible, and subsisted where the former had been lost. In their capacity of joint proprietors of village land, the members of the association generally inherited rather a definite proportion of the whole than any specific spot of ground. Sometimes the same family cultivated the same fields for successive generations; but it was more usual to arrange amongst themselves for fresh allotments from time to time, and to distribute different parcels of land in distant parts of the village estate to the same individual, according to the qualities of the soil, and in conformity to regulations sanctified by prescription. In their character of parties responsible to the Government for a portion of its demands they sometimes paid it individually, in proportion to their shares; but it was more usual to make the apportionment amongst themselves, and pay the whole

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sion of land primarily obtained, and from whom it passed to their Frankish and Saxon descendants; as Tacitus observes, 'The fields are occupied, in proportion to the number of cultivators, in turns by all, and are then divided among them, according to the rank of each: the extent of the plains facilitates this partition. The cultivated fields are interchanged every year, and yet land remains.'—*De Mor. Germanorum*, c. 26. Were I to endeavour to describe the mode of periodical repartition practised in every Arudicadei village in Southern India, I could not convey my meaning in more appropriate or precise terms."—p. 85.

BOOK I. collectively through their head-man or head-men. The  
 CHAP. VII. shares, or the land where the land was cultivated separately, might be mortgaged, or let, or sold; but the act  
 1813. ordinarily required the concurrence of the other members of the community, in whom also the right of pre-emption was vested. The alienation of the land to a stranger did not carry with it of necessity his admission to the municipality, or give him any voice in the management of the affairs of the village; neither did it divest the person to whom the share or land had belonged, of his right to interfere in the counsels of the community, to assist in auditing the village accounts, or to receive his portion of any emoluments which were derivable from the fees paid for permission to exercise any trade or calling in the village by persons not originally belonging to it, or from any other source. Should he at any time become able to resume his land, he was at liberty to do so. A variety of minor regulations diversified the village constitution in different parts of India; but the general plan and most characteristic features were everywhere essentially alike, and established the virtual existence of a proprietary right in the soil, enjoyed by certain classes of the people, wherever it had not been infringed or abrogated by the usurpations or exactions of arbitrary rule.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally an entire village might have become the property of a single individual; Minute, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Selections, iii.; but in general the lands were divided into an indeterminate number of subdivisions amongst the descendants of the original stock, or those holding in right of them. Their right to a certain number of shares was fixed, but adjustments took place from time to time according to the pleasure and convenience of the parties interested: the divisions were effected either by integral allotment, or by fractional parts of each description of the land, to be divided according to its quality. By the former method the shares were compact; by the latter they consisted of many particular spots situated in different quarters. In some villages, although comparatively few, the lands are undivided; yet this circumstance neither alters nor affects in any way the right of property in them. When the lands are undivided, each sharer usually continues to cultivate the same fields. A proprietary share is considered large at two hundred and fifty bégas, an ordinary one about seven bégas; some are as small as two bégas.—Fortescue on Tenures in the District of Delhi; Selections, iii. 404. The proprietary right may rest either in a single individual or in a community: the latter may divide among themselves the profits of the estate, either according to their ancestral shares, or some arbitrary rule having reference to the quantity of land which each member cultivates.—Thomason; J. B. Asiatic Soc. viii. 98. In various places, what was considered the original number of shares remained unaltered; but the distribution came to the same thing as their multiplication, it being in fractional parts: thus, some members might have a whole share, some a half, or some a hundredth part. This was the case in the Tamil countries; and the Thals of the Mahratta villages, and Péns and Thokas of the Western provinces, seem also to have represented the original shares, and indicated the number of persons among whom the land was first divided.—Cole-



The existence of proprietors of the soil not depending upon manual labour involved of necessity the existence also of a class or classes of persons willing to undertake the task of cultivating the land, paying a rent for the occupancy transferred to them for that purpose. Such persons accordingly were found in all places where the proprietors themselves had not been reduced to the level of a labouring peasantry; as was the case in much of the territory of the Peninsula, in the Mahratta provinces, and in Hindustan. They were not wholly wanting even in Bengal.<sup>1</sup> It would occupy too much space to specify the various tenures by which they hold, and it will be sufficient to advert to them as distinguishable into two principal classes: the one possessing a right of perpetual occupancy as long as the stipulated rent was paid; the other having only a temporary possession, either for a definite number of years, or being tenants at will. The former might have tenants under them, and sub-let the land, remaining themselves responsible to the individual

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brooke, Sykes, &c. In the South of India the lands are of two kinds, privilege and proprietary: the former belong to the whole village, and a member can sell his share only; the latter may be cultivated collectively or separately. In the former case shares only are subjects of sale, in the latter the land is saleable.—Minute, Board of Revenue, Madras; Selections, i. 904. The other statements of the text rest also upon these authorities.

<sup>1</sup> In the Western provinces there were the Kudeem, or ancient Ryot; the Pahl, the itinerant or temporary Ryot; and the Kumera, or labourer: there was also the Kamín, or partial cultivator, an artizan or the like, cultivating a few bigas at his leisure.—Fortescue; Selections, i. 406. In Azimghur there were the three classes, but generally resolved into two; Ashraf, respectable; and Arzal, low.—Thomason; J. B. As. Society, viii, 112. In Bengal the cultivators were long since distinguished as holding Khud-kasht and Pai-kasht lands; the former cultivated by a permanent and resident, the latter by a temporary and migratory, tenant.—Harrington, Analysis B. Regulations; Introduction. The Zemindari Regulations have merged the proprietor into the Khud-kasht cultivator, who was probably the permanent tenant. But there are other designations, less known, which preserve the distinctions; the Praja, (or subject), having the right to sell; the Kalpa, paying him rent, and, while so doing, having the right of occupancy; and the Patti-dar, holding of the same by annual lease.—Briggs, Land-tax of India, Supplement, 500. In the South of India, in the Tamil countries, tenants are termed Paya-karis, cultivating persons: the permanent, Ul-kudi Paya-karis; the temporary, Para-kudi Paya-karis: in Malabar, Patom-karis, rent-payers: in Canara, Gahinis, literally tenentes; Mulagahinis, radical or permanent tenants; Chali-gahinis, moveable tenants.—Madras Revenue Board; Selections. In the Mahratta countries the tenant is termed Upari, an "over" or "outer" man, an alien; Sukhwas, an abider at ease; a Mahiman, or guest: but the only tenure here known seems to be that of a tenant by agreement or lease.—Sykes, Land Tenures of the Dekhin. Of these denominations, some are Sanscrit, some Arabic, some vernacular, but they are all significant; and, had their significations been properly understood, little doubt could ever have been entertained as to the character of the persons to whom they were applied.



BOOK I. or community of whom the land was held ; they were also  
 CHAP. VII. allowed to mortgage, but not to sell. The tenants for a  
 1813. term were bound of course by the tenor of their agree-  
 ments : the tenants at will were often little better than  
 mere labourers, and sometimes were degraded to the con-  
 dition of slaves.

From this sketch of the distribution of landed property in India, it follows that, whatever might have been the law or the theory, individual proprietary right, identifiable with ownership of rent, had a very extensive existence even to the latest periods of native administration. The precise nature of the title under which it was enjoyed was not always the same, nor was it always perhaps easy of verification ; but, whether originating in ancient institutions, in colonisation, or in conquest, it had a real and substantial vitality, and animated the exertions of the great body of the cultivating population, until it was destroyed or wrested from them, partially at least, by the progress of events, and by the extortion, injustice, and ignorance of their rulers.

IV. The produce of cultivation being divided between the proprietor or cultivator and the sovereign, it was necessary that the latter should provide agents to determine and realize his share. With this view, under the Hindu system an officer was placed, as has been noticed, at the head of every village or township, who was accountable to a superior in charge of ten villages ; he again was responsible to the superintendent of one hundred villages, and he to the head of a thousand villages.<sup>1</sup> This last, the governor in fact of a province, paid the revenue into the royal treasury. The Mohammedan Governments adopted divisions, corresponding in a great measure with those of the Hindus, but the organization was less definite :<sup>2</sup> and in the anarchy of the declining empire, and in the general employment of the agency of revenue contractors, little trace was left of the primitive institutions beyond the head-man of the village, and the chiefs of one or two

<sup>1</sup> Menu, vii. 119, 123 ; Elphinstone's History of India, i. 39.

<sup>2</sup> In Bengal we have the Gráma or Gaon, the village ; the Taraf, the Parganna, and the Taluk or Zemindari, for the larger divisions.—Harrington's Analysis, ii. 67. Among the Mahrattas, the Patel, the Désmukh, and Sir-dés-mukh, for the gradation of officers.—Sykes ; Journal Royal As. Society, ii. 208.

large but undefined portions of territory ; the former designated in various parts of India as Mokaddam, Mandal, or Patel, the latter known chiefly in Bengal and Hindustan as Talukdar or Zemindar.

The head-man of a village was the only functionary that was identified with the primitive institution, and who had lived on with it through all the revolutions which India had experienced.<sup>1</sup> Although, however, the office subsisted, it had not escaped alteration. The tendency of all public employment in India, from the office of the prime-minister to the function of village watchman, to become hereditary, is familiarly known. The station of head of a village followed the prevailing bias. From being an officer nominated by the sovereign,<sup>2</sup> he came to claim the post in virtue of his descent: the family became permanently grafted upon the village, and the representative of it regarded the superintendence of its affairs as his right. It is not unlikely that from the first the duty was entrusted to a leading member of the community, who, while he was acceptable to his townsmen, would be most competent to promote the interests of the state by his influence and responsibility. Time wrought other changes: the family decayed or disappeared; new men usurped the authority, or were elected by different portions of the community. The notion of property as well as privilege became attached to the succession; and the person holding the office sold or mortgaged it, or a part of it, and introduced a colleague.<sup>3</sup> Different castes found admission into the

<sup>1</sup> "In every village, according to its extent, there are one or more headmen, known by a variety of names in various parts of the country, who have in some degree the superintendence and direction of the rest. I shall confine myself to the term 'Mandal:' he assists in fixing the rent, directing the cultivation, and making the collections." — Minute by Lord Teignmouth; Fifth Report, 193. He particularises the Mandals of Birbhūm, Purnia, and Rajshahi, districts of Bengal. "Amongst the crowd of proprietors, the managers and leaders of the villages are the Mocuddims. These have been from time immemorial the persons through whom the rents of the village have been settled and collected, and who have adjusted the quota of each sharer." — Fortescue; *Selections*, i. 408.

<sup>2</sup> In the Mahratta countries, the confirmation of the head of the state continued to be regarded as essential to the validity of the Patel's authority. "The Patels about Poona say that they hold their Patelships of the Emperor of Delhi, or one of the Sattara kings; but many of them must hold of the Peshwa." — Township of Lony; *Bombay Trans.* iii. 183.

<sup>3</sup> The Patelship is hereditary and saleable, but the office is looked upon as so respectable, and the property attached to it is considered so permanent, that there are few or no instances of its being wholly sold, although part of it has been so transferred. This has given rise to there being two Patels in many villages, and in some three or four. — *Bombay Trans.* iii. 184.

BOOK I. village society, each having its own head ; or different  
 CHAP. VII. branches of the same family chose to be severally represented.<sup>1</sup> The headship was thus divided amongst fewer  
 1813. or more individuals. Nor was this a partition of a barren title or a post of honour : it was an apportionment of shares in certain fees, perquisites, and profits attached to the situation, founded upon the provision made originally for the remuneration of the head-man, but extended to a variety of objects not contemplated in the primary institution. From these and other sources of pecuniary benefit, the office became in some parts of India a means of acquiring wealth, and an object of competition.<sup>2</sup>

The officers to whom the Mohammedan designations of Talukdars and Zemindars applied, indicated less distinctly their Hindu original. They differed in little except in a greater extent of authority and amount of collection, and not always in that ; and it will be sufficient in this place to confine our inquiries to the latter.<sup>3</sup> Conflicting speculation has confounded our conceptions of the character of the Zemindar : some of the perplexity has arisen from the application of the term to different classes of persons, and some to the combination of different characters in

<sup>1</sup> General Briggs found in a village near Calcutta, peopled by Mohammedans and Hindus, four Mandals ; three for the former, one for the latter. — Supplement, Land-tax. And in a village near Madras, three Pedda-kars, or headmen ; one for each caste of the population. — Supplement, Coll., &c. Colonel Sykes gives an amusing and instructive account of the solemn arbitration of the dispute in which two Patels of a village had sold a third of the office to a third party, for money wherewith to pay the public revenue. They subsequently contested the full advantages which the transfer was maintained to convey : a verdict was given against them in a Panchayat of Patels, who apportioned to each his separate share of precedence and emolument. Among other things it was decreed that each was to have a pair of shoes a-year from the village shoemaker, two bundles of fire-wood on festival-days from the village menials, three pots of water daily from the watchmen, and a third of all sheep's heads offered to the goddess Bhaváni. What was still more valuable, a similar partition was enacted of the rent-free lands attached to the office, and of all lands that might lapse from families becoming extinct. — Tenures of the Dekhin ; Journal Royal Asiatic Society.

<sup>2</sup> The founder of the family of Sindhia was a Patel : Madhaji affected the title, whence the popular saying, " Madhaji Sindhia made himself master of India by calling himself a Patel." — Malcolm, Central India, i. 124. Holkar, the Bhonsla Raja, and others, took not only the title, but claimed the office and its emoluments in particular villages. — Sykes, Land Tenures.

<sup>3</sup> A Talook comprehended only a few villages or a small tract of ground. The Talook-dar, or holder of a 'dependancy,' sometimes held under a Zemindar, sometimes immediately under the Government, to whom his collections were paid. In the language of the Company's Regulations the latter is called an independent Talookdar. The Hindu name, Choudri, (a word of uncertain etymology, but apparently derived from Chaturtha-dhari, the receiver of a fourth part,) was sometimes applied to a Zemindar. — Harington's Analysis, ii. 63.

the same class of persons. In some places the title Zemindar signifies the proprietor of the soil, either as landlord or cultivator, in his individual capacity, or as a member of a village community: in some places it denotes a sort of feudal proprietor, either paramount or subordinate: and in others, an individual responsible to the Government for its share of the revenue of a district of greater or less extent; deriving this responsibility from inheritance, and claiming also as a hereditary right an allowance out of the Government share for maintenance, and as compensation for the trouble and responsibility of collection.<sup>1</sup> It was in this latter capacity that the Zemindar became first conspicuous in the fiscal arrangements of the Governments of British India, and was regarded as having a claim to property in the soil.

Nor was this notion altogether without foundation. The whole of the district for the revenues of which a Zemindar was accountable, or any very considerable part of it, might not be his absolute property; but there is reason to believe that he was rarely a mere functionary of the Government, having no property nor interest whatever in the soil. In his case, as well as in that of the head of a village, individuals were no doubt appointed to represent the Government in a particular locality, because they had extensive possessions in it, which conferred upon them local authority and influence on the one hand, and on the other afforded to the state a substantial security for the realization of its demands. The additional power which his relation to the Government placed in his hands was

<sup>1</sup> Of the first class are the Zemindars of the Western provinces, as already noticed; and of the second, the Zemindars of the border districts of Bengal, also adverted to. The Zemindars of Orissa, according to Mr. Stirling, are also the representatives of feudal chiefs, holding their lands by the tenure of military service; Asiatic Researches, xv. 229. So are the ancient Zemindars of the Northern Circars, and the Poligars of the Dekhin appear to have had the same origin. The last class were found chiefly in Bengal, but also in Hindustan. Their claim to a portion of the Government revenue only is clearly expressed in various Sunnuds or grants of the Mogul Government. One of these, quoted in the original by Mr. Thomason, dated 1609, is a grant made by Jehangir to a converted Hindu, and his descendants for ever, of twenty-four Purgannas in the province of Allahabad; from the Jumma or annual revenue of which he is to deduct one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees for his Nankar or subsistence, and one per cent. for Zemindari dues (Abwáb-i-zemindari).—J. Bengal Asiatic Society, viii. 91. Mr. Shore (Lord Teignmouth) refused to admit a Sunnud to be a foundation of Zemindari tenure; Fifth Report, 204: but that was because he maintained the Zemindars to be proprietors of the land. Mr. Grant refers their origin to the time of Akbar.—Ibid. 632.



BOOK I. liable to be used by the Zemindar for his own advantage,  
 CHAP. VII. and opportunities were not likely to be wanting which  
 1813. enabled him to appropriate to his own uses the rights  
 both of individuals and the state. The latter not unfrequently waived its own claims in his favour by grants of waste land, or by the assignment to him of the rent of different places in perpetuity for its subsistence; the right to the hereditary possession of which was admitted even when the Zemindar was relieved from all share in the collection of the revenue, was incapable by reason of age or sex of performing the duty, or when he declined to engage for the amount of the Government claim.<sup>1</sup> Besides this assignment, the Zemindar received a per-centage upon the actual collections, or what were understood to be the actual collections; and he was authorized to impose, for his own benefit, taxes upon the industry of the people,—an authority of which he amply availed himself.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> For this the term is Nānkār, literally source of bread; General Galloway explains it "bread for work:" it is much the same thing, meaning subsistence-money. In the Sunnud last referred to, it was a specified sum to be deducted from the whole rent, but it was more usually the rent or Government share of the produce of certain tracts of lands within the Zemindari set apart for the support of the Zemindar. — Harrington, ii. 65; and Fifth Report, 633. Mr. Trant identifies Nankar with Nijot, the own proper cultivated land of the Zemindar. — Evid. Com. Committee, 1832; Question, 2037. Agreeably to the tenor of the Sunnud quoted in the preceding note, the Nankar was a pension assigned upon the revenue without specifying any obligation to collect the revenue, and hence the foundation, probably, of all such claims. It was rather a special grant to individuals than to the Zemindars as a class, and consequently was retainable where the duty of collecting the revenue was resumed or declined. There was another allowance, the Malikana, the origin of which is not obvious: properly, it denotes the right of the Malik or owner; but, until the Zemindars were acknowledged to be owners by the British Government, it did not belong to them. It not improperly originated (as General Galloway supposes) in the reservation to the owner of a part of his proper share, amounting to ten per cent. of the estimated rent where the whole land had been oppressively assigned away from him — p. 91. In the course of time it seems to have been appropriated by the Zemindars, and to have been converted by them into an hereditary claim for ten per cent. on the Government collections: and, finally, it was secured to them professedly in the capacity of proprietors of the soil, and therefore independently of official function, by the imperfect knowledge of the British Government. — Regulation viii. 1793, clause xlv. The same Regulation secured to recusant Zemindars their Nankar lands also, as long as the joint amount of Malikana and Nankar did not exceed ten per cent. — Cl. xxxvi. Certainly the Zemindars had no right to Malikana independently of employment in fiscal duties; and their right to Nankar depended upon the nature of the original assignment under which it was held, or the degree in which it was their Nij or own property.

<sup>2</sup> The unwarrantable exactions of the Zemindars are alluded to in the instructions of the Bengal Government of 1769; and some striking illustrations are given by Mr. Sisson in his report, dated April, 1815. "One man buys a house, and celebrates his occupation of it by a religious ceremony; more than double the cost is exacted from his Ryots: the birth of a grandson costs him twelve hundred rupees; he collects from them on this account five

distracted state of public affairs, and the imbecility of the native Governments, left the Zemindars still more at liberty to pursue schemes of personal aggrandizement and profit, to encroach upon the rights of the people, and withhold the dues of the Government ; until, in some instances at least, they raised themselves to the station of petty princes, levied troops and built forts, and defied the sovereign and his immediate representatives. To the people, the encroachments of the Zemindars upon the Government claims were either acceptable or indifferent, and they were not without equivalent advantages, which reconciled them to a curtailment of their own rights. As long as they were allowed to remain upon their lands, it made no difference to them whether the rent they paid went to the Zemindars, or the viceroys of the Sultan. The former lived and died among them, generation after generation ; they mixed with them on a variety of occasions ; they expended money upon public festivals, and supported public institutions ; they kept up a large following and an expensive household, and, through many different channels, refunded to the peasantry of the country the money which had been extorted from them. The revenue was spent among those from whom it was raised. When, therefore, the Zemindar was not more than usually oppressive and extortionate ; when he was satisfied with the proportion of the produce which usage had established to be his due, and with the occasional imposts or cesses which experience had taught the cultivators to anticipate ; he was looked up to with respect, or even with affection, and the people were ever ready to take up arms in defence of his person and possessions. It was not surprising, therefore, that he should have been confounded, by those

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thousand. Another has his house burnt ; he not only extorts more than the value, but makes it an annual permanent charge to the Ryots. A third makes an annual progress through his estate, travelling in great state ; the Ryots are taxed with the cost. A Zemindar buys an elephant ; the Ryots pay for it. Every public or private religious ceremonial is an occasion of taxation : not a child can be born, not a head shaved, not a son married, not a daughter given in marriage, not a member of the family dies, but it is a plea for extortion."—Sisson, Report on Rungpore ; Selections, i. 390. This was the state of things in Rungpore, so late as 1815, and under the British Government. It could not have been much worse under the native Governments. It was the same in the South of India, although there these extra cesses are said to have been brought to the credit of the Government, no doubt very imperfectly.—Com. Committee, 1832 ; Col. Sykes, 1957.

BOOK I. who first contemplated him in this condition, as the hereditary landlord of a large estate and the proprietor of the soil; although, had they duly considered the limited amount of his acknowledged share of the proceeds of that estate, it might justly have inspired doubts of the validity of his claims to the produce of the whole. It had that result with some; and hence arose one argument in favour of the proprietary right of the sovereign, upon which the measures of the British authorities in 1793 were founded.

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V. The proceedings of the Marquis Cornwallis, recognising the Zemindars of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, as proprietors, and fixing for ever the amount to be paid by them, have been already detailed; their results also, as far as they had been then ascertained, have been described.<sup>1</sup> The early arrangements adopted for the settlement of the revenue of the Ceded and Conquered provinces have also been adverted to; and it only remains to notice the course of proceedings which had been followed at Madras. The territory subject to Bombay was still too circumscribed to require separate notice.

Immediately after the conclusion of the perpetual settlement in Bengal, the home authorities directed its extension to the Presidency of Madras: its introduction was delayed by the difficulty of discovering individuals with whom the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v. 366. It may be convenient here to refer to the following authorities. The proprietary right of the Zemindars was advocated at an early date by Mr. Francis, in opposition to Warren Hastings, who urged in favour of a proposed commission of inquiry, that it would tend to secure to the Ryots the perpetual and undisturbed possession of their lands. Mr. Francis replied, "The state does not consist of nothing but the Ruler and the Ryot; nor is it true that the Ryot is the proprietor of the land. The true landlord is the Zemindar."—Minutes of Hastings and Francis, Nov. 1776. Mr. Shore says: "I consider the Zemindars as proprietors of the soil, to the property of which they succeed by right of inheritance."—Fifth Rep. 203. The doctrine was next advocated by Mr. Rouse, in a dissertation on landed property in Bengal, 1791. On the other hand, it was stoutly contested by Mr. Grant: "There is not in the Northern Circars, any more than within the rest of the wide circle of the British dominions in India, with the exception of a few instances, a single individual among the native Hindoos, calling themselves Rajas or Zemindars, who have the smallest pretension, in form, right, or fact, to an inch of territorial property."—Fifth Rep. 633. But he erred in confining the right of property exclusively to the sovereign. Mr. Place, at a somewhat later date, 1799, took up the claim of the Ryots or husbandmen, at least, in the neighbourhood of Madras.—Fifth Report, 714. Most recent evidence is adverse to the claim of the Zemindars in any other character than that of hereditary collectors or farmers of the public revenue; but, inasmuch as it is exclusive, it is just as erroneous as all that has preceded it. Mr. Tucker's definition is also applicable in many instances, though not universally: "The Zemindar was the hereditary administrator, I should say, of the revenue, with a beneficial interest in the land."—Commons' Committee, 1832; Evid. 1813.

engagements were to be concluded, for the intervention of persons analogous to the Zemindars of Bengal between the cultivating population and the Government was generally unknown. The reiterated injunctions of the Court of Directors, and the positive orders of the Bengal Government, caused Zemindars to be discovered or created; and several regulations were passed in the course of 1802, declaratory of their proprietary right, and announcing the principles of a perpetual settlement, which, after some interval, was effected in the districts that had been longest subject to the authority of the Madras Government.<sup>1</sup>

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Whilst these arrangements were in progress, a settlement on entirely different principles had been commenced in the territories latterly conquered from Mysore. As their circumstances and resources were imperfectly known, it was deemed prudent, before forming any assessment in perpetuity, to institute a detailed survey with a view to the determination of its amount, and in the interval to conclude temporary arrangements with the actual occupants of the lands. These proceedings, undertaken for the ultimate purpose of effecting a permanent Zemindary assessment, gave rise to a new system of revenue administration, since designated Ryotwar, or a settlement individually and immediately with the Ryots, meaning by the term the actual cultivators of the soil. The survey was conducted by Colonel Reade, having for his assistants Lieutenants Munro, Macleod, and Graham; the former of whom, afterwards Sir Thomas Munro, became subsequently more especially identified with the system.<sup>2</sup> The objects they were directed to determine were, the extent of the land in cultivation, the quality of the different sorts of land, the tenure by which it was held, the value of the different crops, and the share of the produce to which the Government could justly lay claim. An annual adjustment was to be made with

<sup>1</sup> The Northern Circars, the Jagir, part of Salem, Madura, and Tinevelly.

<sup>2</sup> Military collectors were appointed to this duty by Lord Cornwallis expressly because "few of the civil servants were acquainted with the country languages, and were therefore obliged, both from habit and necessity, to fall into the hands of Dubashes (interpreters). — Letter to the Court of Directors, May, 1792; Fifth Report, 744. It appears that the implied rebuke was not without effect, as in the subsequent settlements several civilians were employed; although this was the effect of positive orders from Marquis Wellesley, repeatedly confirmed by the Court of Directors, that civilians only should be so employed. — Commons' Committee, 1832. Public App. (M.)



BOOK I. each cultivator for the land he cultivated, at a maximum  
 CHAP. VII. money rent for each field, according to the circumstances  
 1813. and capability of the land, whatever might be the produce ;  
 the amount to admit of reduction where the necessity of  
 reduction was shown, and to vary from year to year, until  
 the inquiry should be sufficiently matured to allow of its  
 being determined for ever.<sup>1</sup>

The proceedings of the revenue survey were first directed to the districts of the Baramahal and Salem. They were extended to the Ceded Provinces above the Ghats, after the capture of Seringapatam, under the conduct of different officers who had been mostly trained under Colonel Reade. There was some variety in their methods of discharging the duty,<sup>2</sup> and still more in the rate of their assessments ; but their operations were equally based upon the measurement of the lands, both cultivated and waste ; the determination of their fitness for particular crops ;<sup>3</sup> the money valuation of the estimated produce of the land in cultivation, and its partition between the cultivator and the Government ; the rate varying from one-third of the supposed value of the gross produce to little less than a half, or forty-five per cent.<sup>4</sup> The measurements and valuations

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Colonel Munro to the Board of Revenue, 30th Nov. 1806, with instructions to the surveyors, &c. — Fifth Report, 783.

<sup>2</sup> "The revenue surveys under the Madras Presidency were not regulated by any uniform rule, and in some respects were, perhaps, defective in principle. The most ample discretion was vested in the local officer on whom this duty was imposed in each district; and the details naturally varied with the particular views of the individual."—Campbell on the Land Revenues of India; Commons' Committee, 1832, App. 44. See also the Reports from the collectors Munro, Ravenshaw, Hurdis, Garrow, Wallace, &c.; Fifth Report, 745.

<sup>3</sup> In the first instance, the land was distinguished into three sorts: Nanja, wet, or that which was supplied with water by irrigation; Panja, which depended wholly upon rain: in these, rice and various other grains were reared. The third kind of land was that fit for miscellaneous products other than grain—tobacco, pepper, cotton, and vegetables. Each of these was subdivided into a variety of species, according to their fertility: as many as twenty distinctions of each class are enumerated in Colonel Munro's instructions to his assessors; but they were directed to restrict their specifications to ten kinds of dry land, eight of wet, and six of garden ground. — Instructions, &c. as above cited.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Munro observes of the Ceded districts, and of the Dekhin, that the mode of assessment in force there, limits the Ryots to two-thirds of the gross produce, but reduces it in fact nearly to a half. His own assessment was forty-five per cent., but as a permanent rate he proposed to reduce it by one-fourth; so that the total being

Deduct Government share	45	
Less one-fourth	11½	
Final deduction		33½

Leaving to the Ryot per cent. . 66½.—Fifth Report, 342.

were made in the first instance by native surveyors, but the final assessment by the head collector himself in personal conference with the Patels and principal Ryots of every village. Reference was also had to the recorded collections of the native Governments; and, where the total of the survey assessment exceeded it materially, some remission was granted. Remissions were also made upon the realisation of the year's revenue, if the season had proved unfavourable or the crops defective.

The incidents of the Ryotwar settlement attracted the attention of Lord William Bentinck during his administration of the government of Madras, and led him to the conclusion that the Zemindari system was incompatible with the true interests of the Government and the community at large. The right of private property in the soil, ascertained by Colonel Munro to exist in Canara, satisfied him that, although similar rights might elsewhere have been trodden down by the oppression and avarice of despotic authority, yet they still existed, and were to be discovered in every village. To create Zemindars, and invest them with a property to which they could have no claim but the arbitrary will of the state, was neither calculated to improve the condition of the people, nor provide for the future security of the Government.<sup>1</sup> The Zemindary settlements were in consequence arrested, and the principle of the formation of a permanent settlement with the Ryots was thenceforth to regulate the revenue arrangements at Madras. The determination was of short duration.

The survey assessment of the Ceded provinces above the Ghats was scarcely completed<sup>2</sup> when the Government of Madras was induced to entertain a doubt whether it was not desirable to relinquish the Ryotwar system, and substitute for it some plan of settlement approximating more nearly to that of estates permanently assessed. The Board of revenue to whom the subject was referred, adopted a view unfavourable to the continuance of the Ryotwar system, chiefly on the grounds of its incompatibility with the judicial regulations recently introduced at Madras, by which all questions of revenue were removed

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<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Lord W. Bentinck, and Memoir of Mr. Thackeray; Fifth Report, 912.

<sup>2</sup> It commenced in 1802, and was finished in 1807.

BOOK I. from the cognizance of the revenue authorities to regular courts of justice.<sup>1</sup> As long as a country was unsettled, and great discretional authority was vested in the collector, the Board admitted that a survey settlement with the Ryots was well calculated to develope the capabilities of the country, and detect and remedy abuses; but when the settlement was effected, and regular courts of law were established, the power of discretionary and summary decision was necessarily withdrawn from the collector, and all disputes were referable to legal tribunals, which could not possibly provide for the numerous cases that so many and such minute disputes, as must arise under the Ryotwar system, would bring under their cognizance. The permanence of the Ryotwar system depended also upon the reduction of the assessment, as proposed by Colonel Munro, by one-fourth of its amount; a sacrifice which the exigencies of the Government did not allow it to contemplate. The Board therefore recommended, and the Government resolved, that the Ryotwar plan should be abandoned,<sup>2</sup> and that of village leases substituted; the villages being let to the head of the village, or principal cultivator, for a term of three years, for the annual payment of a sum determined by the aggregate collections of former years, or the survey rent where it could be depended on. The regulations of the Government, it was asserted, were fully adequate to protect the Ryots against the oppression of the renter. The course thus pursued was sanctioned by the Court of Directors, who at this period seem to have been persuaded that no advantage was to be expected from the further prosecution of the Ryotwar assessments.<sup>3</sup> In finally approving of the arrangement

<sup>1</sup> The question was first brought forward and was fully treated by Mr. Hodgson, who had been a member of a committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the failure of the permanent settlement in Dindigul. — *Selections*, i. 581. It is also worthy of remark, that at this date Colonel Munro had gone to England, and Sir George Barlow had succeeded Lord W. Bentinck at Madras. The great advocate of the Ryotwar system was absent, and the head of the Government was naturally biassed in favour of a system, "a large portion of which had engaged his attention for twenty years, and which he had deliberately resolved on accelerating in the Ceded and Conquered provinces" of the Bengal Presidency. — *Minute of Mr. Colebrooke*, *Sel.* i. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Revenue Letter from Fort St. George, 24th Oct. 1808; *Selections*, i. 483.

<sup>3</sup> Extracts of Despatches from the Court, 30th August, 1809. The Court also dwell upon the obvious defects of the system, — the minuteness of investigation which it involves, the necessary employment of countless native agents, the impossibility of effectually preventing their malpractices, and the difficulty of adjusting the rents to all the varieties of seasons and public

however, they intimated that they were not anxious for the early extension of the principle of permanency into any of the territories into which it had not been introduced, and restricted the Madras Government from concluding such a settlement in any district without the previous sanction of the Court.<sup>1</sup>

The prohibition against concluding a settlement in perpetuity in any of the Madras territories was announced scarcely in time to prevent the Government of Fort St. George from pledging itself to the measure. The results of the triennial settlement, although in several instances unfavourable, were considered sufficient guides to the determination of the utmost capabilities of the land, and the consequent limitation of the Government demand. The benefits of the measure required, it was affirmed, no discussion; and the only points for consideration were the time and mode of carrying it into operation. With regard to the former, it was concluded that the period had arrived at which the Government might proceed to a final settlement of the land revenue without any risk of compromising the public interests; and, with regard to the latter, that the preferable method was that of the Mouzawar or village settlement. It was resolved, therefore, to proceed at once to conclude a settlement for ten years with the heads of the villages singly, or with any respectable inhabitants of the village or district, or, in the event of their refusal, with any responsible individuals, conditioning that the amount of revenue to be paid by them should become a permanent settlement at the end of ten years if approved of by the Court.<sup>2</sup> Their approval was not to be expected: and, in the reply of the Court, the grant of the proposed decennial leases was prohibited, or, if already granted, they were to be declared terminable at the end of the ten years: the principle of permanency was discarded, and positive orders were given for an

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events; and conclude, that, "although the plan intelligently followed up might be well calculated to discover the resources of a country, yet it was not to be preferred for constant practice; and the doubt which Lieut.-Col. Munro has properly stated, whether it be equally well fitted for the improvement of a country as for the discovery of its resources, would, they were strongly inclined to believe, be resolved in the negative."—*Selec. i.* 598.

<sup>1</sup> The date of this letter, Dec. 1811, accounts for the change of opinion which it expresses. — *Selections, i.* 600.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Fort St. George, 29th Feb. 1812; *Sel. i.* 513.



BOOK I. immediate return in all possible cases to annual and individual settlements with the cultivators—to the Ryotwar assessments. The orders were complied with. Sir George Barlow was presently afterwards removed from the government of Madras, and the revenue discussions terminated for the present at that Presidency.<sup>1</sup>

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The discussions in Bengal turned principally upon the question of permanency. With whom the settlement should be made had scarcely yet become a subject of consideration with the Government, which looked everywhere for Zemindars; but among its functionaries, and particularly in the unsettled districts, a conviction had begun to spread that the question of tenure was still to be investigated. The fact was brought to the notice of the Government more distinctly than it had hitherto been by the members of a special commission which had been appointed to superintend the engagements that were to be concluded with the landholders in the Ceded and Conquered provinces upon the approaching expiration of those which were in force.<sup>2</sup> It was at the same time announced to the Zemindars and other actual proprietors of land in the Ceded and Conquered provinces, that the revenue which might be assessed on their estates in the last year of the settlement which was now to be made should remain fixed for ever, in case the Zemindars were willing to engage for the payment of the public revenue on those terms in perpetuity, and the arrangement should receive the sanction of the Court of Directors.

The commissioners, Messrs. Cox and Tucker, entered upon their duties at the end of 1807. Early in the following year they submitted a report of their proceedings,<sup>3</sup> and a description of the several collectorates in the districts which they had visited; and they came to the conclusion that a permanent settlement of the revenue of the Western provinces was at that moment premature, and might be injurious to the people, while it would be necessarily attended by a material sacrifice of the public resources. The right of property in the cultivated lands

<sup>1</sup> The letter of the Court is dated 16th December, 1812; Sel. i. 525. In the following August, a long and able minute of the Board of Revenue is recorded in vindication of their views and proceedings. Ibid. 577.

<sup>2</sup> Regulations x. 1808; vi. 1808.

<sup>3</sup> Selections, i. 45.

was in many cases contested. It remained to be determined with what parties a settlement should be effected. Lands were held free upon tenures the validity of which required proof, and there were extensive waste lands of which the rightful appropriation was to be ascertained. At least a fourth of the arable land was yet uncultivated, and neither the resources of the provinces nor their means of improvement were known. Although, therefore, professing to be fully aware of the advantages which might be expected from a perpetual limitation of the Government demand, the commissioners recommended that the announcement of a permanent settlement should be suspended, and that the period for which the engagements were to be renewed should be devoted to the diligent accumulation of the information essential to its establishment on safe and equitable principles. Their recommendations were at variance with the established opinions of the Supreme Council. Mr. Colebrook, one of the members, objected to their reasonings, that they were the same which had been overruled or refuted in the discussions preceding the permanent settlement of Bengal; and that experience had confirmed their fallacy, as the design of the permanent settlement of 1793 had been fully accomplished in that part of India. The same advantages were therefore to be expected from the application of a like measure to other places; and the Government was pledged, by the terms of the preceding regulations, to its immediate adoption in the Ceded and Conquered provinces.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lumsden, the other member of Council, although differing in some respects from his colleague, came to the same conclusion; and Lord Minto, after a deliberate consideration of all the proceedings, declared himself satisfied of the sound policy, or rather the urgent necessity, of no longer delaying to settle the revenue assessment of the Western provinces in perpetuity.<sup>2</sup> The determination of the Government was disapproved of in England. The Court of Directors declared, indeed, that they neither meant to undervalue the advantage of the permanent settlement in Bengal, nor to desert the principle on which it was formed; but it was evident that the

<sup>1</sup> See the purport of the regulations referred to in a former place, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Revenue Letter from Bengal, September, 1808.

BOOK I. principle was reluctantly entertained, and that doubts  
 CHAP. VII. began to be suggested whether its consequences were not  
 1813. embarrassing to the Government, without yielding an  
 equivalent benefit to the people.<sup>1</sup>

The expense of any scheme of administration must be proportionate to the advance of a state in wealth and power. The more numerous the people, the more extensive the territory, the more complicated the internal and external relations, the more costly must be the machinery of the Government. The golden age has not yet come back; and from time to time all countries must be placed in situations in which an unusual application of all availing resources is indispensable for their safety. It were most impolitic, therefore, if it were possible, to fix for ever impassable bounds to the public revenues, in ignorance of the possible extent of future exigencies. Such a limit was of course never in contemplation: but it was anticipated that the restriction of the Government demand upon the land would be followed by a proportionate improvement of the estates of the landholders; that capital would accumulate, expenditure increase, and the people be placed in circumstances favourable to an augmented consumption of articles both of necessity and luxury; that a system of indirect taxation, like that which is the main source of revenue in Europe, might be introduced into India; and that in the end the revenue of the Government would augment with the augmented affluence and prosperity of the country. These anticipations had been indulged in without a due consideration of the obstacles which impeded their realisation; without a due regard for the manners, the wants, and the feelings of the people. It would be scarcely prudent to predict that those obstacles will never be overcome; but many and great changes must take place before they can be so far surmounted as to justify a Government of India in ceasing to look to the land as the principal feeder of the public exchequer. It were an act of suicidal improvidence prematurely to divest itself of so commodious and productive

<sup>1</sup> Revenue Letters to Bengal, 1st Feb. and 27th Nov. 1811; Sel. iii. 5. These and similar despatches are referred to as the letters of the Court of Directors, as they are so designated in the Records. Agreeably to the evidence cited in a former note, they would with more propriety be termed the letters of the Board of Controul.

a source of revenue to any extent which may not be in excess of the fair claims and reasonable expectations of the agricultural population, and which is consistent with their own usages and opinions.

With respect, also, to the interests of the agricultural population, the advantages of a permanent settlement are in a great measure illusory. The basis upon which it rests is a proportion of the produce, a third or a half; and this is then determined to be a definite and unvarying quantity. But it is universally admitted that it is almost impossible to ascertain with precision the absolute total produce of any given portion of land; and the proportional produce must be fixed therefore in most cases by conjecture, involving one of the well-known evils of the permanent settlement—great inequality of assessment. The total produce, indeed, cannot be fixed by regulation: it must vary both in quantity and quality with the amount of labour and skill bestowed upon its production, and upon the recurrence of favourable or unfavourable seasons. The proportion, however, being a fixed unvariable amount, does not fluctuate with the causes of fluctuation; and, in the event of peculiarly unpropitious circumstances, this amount may be equal in quantity, not to a half, but to the whole of the crop. In answer to this it may be said, that in favourable times the fixed rate may bear a lower proportion to the whole, and that a bad year consequently is compensated for by a good one; but what then becomes of the principle of permanency, for the cultivator pays at different periods a different rate of rent? To have to make provision, whilst he prospers, against a possible reverse, subjects him to uncertainty as much as if his payments varied from year to year: and to suppose that the Indian cultivator will exercise such foresight, is to expect a total revolution in his character and habits. The futility of such an expectation was shown in the immediate effects of the permanent settlement,—the ruin of the greater number of the Zemindars, and the sale of those lands of which they had been constituted proprietors, for arrears of revenue.

If a variable ratio is unavoidable when calculated upon the produce in kind, it is still more obviously inevitable where, as in the case of the permanent settlement, the

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BOOK I. Government demand has been calculated upon the estimated money value of that produce. That this value should remain unaltered for ever is as impossible as that society should stand still; a stagnation less to be looked for in India than in any other part of the world amid the elements of incessant change that are daily springing up from the novel ascendancy of European principles and forms of civilization. A fall in the price of silver, and augmentation in the prices of labour and commodities, are a virtual abatement of the revenue assessment: a rise in the value of silver, and fall in the price of grain, are a virtual enhancement. The same might be the result of an extraordinarily abundant harvest, and consequent diminution of demand; by which prices might be so depreciated, that the sale of a farmer's whole produce might fail to realise the fixed money value of the Government share.<sup>1</sup> It is evident, therefore, that a permanent settlement, or an unvarying amount of revenue derivable from a money valuation of an unchanging quantity of produce, is invariable or permanent only in terms.

It does not follow, that because a Government refrains from declaring that it will at no time, and on no occasion, raise its demand, that it is therefore to discourage the industry of the agricultural population, or obstruct the accumulation of capital, by constantly keeping up its demands at a maximum rate. There is a principle of permanency which is more essential to the prosperity of the country than that of a nominally perpetual assess-

<sup>1</sup> In the assessment made by Colonel Briggs in Kandesh, the people were at first highly pleased with the settlement, which was formed with the villages upon the average collections of ten years. At first it fell lightly; but, the assessment being paid in money, it became heavy when the price of grain declined. When the country was first taken under British management, the price of grain was about four shillings a bushel; in four years, in consequence of increased cultivation and diminished demand, from the absence of troops and other circumstances, it had fallen to sixteen pence the bushel: it was quite impossible, therefore, the villagers could pay the same amount in money in the fourth year as they had done in the first. The public revenue of Kandesh, notwithstanding increased cultivation, therefore, was reduced from sixteen lakhs of rupees to eleven, and eventually to six lakhs. — Lords' Committee, 1830; Evidence, Question 4049. So also Colonel Barnewall, speaking of Guzerat, observes, that in consequence of the continuation of tranquillity, and the reduction of public establishments, the bulk of the population has become agricultural, and the supply of grain so far exceeds the consumption, that agricultural produce is no longer saleable at its former prices: the profits of the farmer are consequently diminished, and he is unable to pay the revenue demand of the Government. — Commons' Committee, 1832; Evid. Political, 151.

ment,—the invariable recognition of the right of the proprietor of the soil to a rent from his estate. As long as the Government constitutes itself sole landlord, and appropriates the whole, or nearly the whole, of the rent, there can be no accumulation of capital, no advance in wealth, no creation of collateral resources among the mass of the population, for whatever period the assessment may be fixed. A moderate, rather than a perpetual settlement, is the real want of the people. Speculators in revenue, middlemen, Zemindars, may be anxious for a permanently definite amount of the Government demand; which, while it limits what they are to pay, permits them, as did the settlement of Lord Cornwallis, to crush the cultivator under exorbitant exactions: but there is every reason to believe that the actual occupants and cultivators think and care little about the question of permanency.<sup>1</sup> It may be convenient to all parties to adjust the assessment for a term of years; but as long as the amount is not extortionate, and a persuasion exists that it will not be increased without an adequate cause, the agricultural population of India will be contented; for they will be as prosperous as they can become under the universal institution of infant marriages, the equal partition of inheritance, the few wants which the nature of the climate and the condition of society impose, and the entire absence of the countless objects of needless expenditure which in part disgrace and in part dignify society in Europe. Upon these, and similar grounds, the authorities in England had learned to question the advantages of a permanent settlement as affecting the interests either of the people or the state.

<sup>1</sup> The evidence of Mr. Fortescue on this subject, as regards the people of the Upper provinces, is conclusive. According to him, the Ryots or cultivators know little or nothing about a permanent settlement, and have no desire for its introduction: some dislike the notion from fear of its affecting their local interests, and such as are desirous of it are so from the representations which interested persons have made to them of its advantages; that is, Zemindars of the village engaging for the revenue as landholders, and who expect to derive from it the authority which they are told that it confers upon the Zemindars of the Lower provinces. — Commons' Committee, 1832; Questions 2330-340. Mr. Mackenzie observes. "If not hated by the people (of the Upper provinces), we are without the slightest hold on their affections. This seems, it may be proper to remark, to have no connexion with the permanent settlement, on which the very few who were interested never probably relied, and of which the great body of the landholders never heard. Of some thousand petitions which I received when in the Western provinces, and of many tens of thousands of petitioners whom I saw and talked with, not one touched upon this point." — Commons' Committee, 1832; General App. 212.

BOOK I. In addition to the objections which might be urged to  
 CHAP. VII. the measure generally, there was undoubtedly ample reason to question the propriety of its immediate adoption in the particular case of the Ceded or Conquered provinces. The experience acquired in Bengal had established the mischievous consequences of precipitancy. Even Mr. Colebrooke, who asserted that it had answered the objects proposed by it, was obliged to admit that the persons whose benefit it was intended to promote,—the Zemindars, whom it was designed to enrich,—had not profited by the beneficence of the Government; the greater number of them were in fact utterly ruined. Wholly unaccustomed to punctuality in their payments to the state, and bred up in habits of prodigality and improvidence, they speedily fell into arrears; for the recovery of which, under the stringent enactments of the Government, their estates were immediately and absolutely disposed of by public sale. In the course of a few years, many of the Zemindars, whom the settlement of 1793 had proposed to transform into a landed aristocracy, had been reduced to indigence, or had utterly disappeared; and families, which had survived the successive revolutions of the native Governments, vanished before the inflexibility of the Company's regulations.<sup>1</sup> Nor was the situation of the Ryots bettered by the change. Originally left to the arbitrary will of the Zemindars, the exactions to which they were exposed were tempered by the beneficial influence of a long-established intercourse with their ancient landlords. To the new purchasers of the Zemindaris, who were mostly men who had grown rich in the service of the English, and were residents of Calcutta or other commercial towns,

<sup>1</sup> "My impression is, that a very small proportion of those with whom the permanent settlement was made are now owners of the land, very great alienations of the land being made in the first year of the settlement."—Mill, Commons' Committee, 1831; Question 3210. In Question 3997 allusion is made to the statement of the Fifth Report, that in 1796 one-tenth of the whole of the lands in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, were put up to sale. Mr. Tucker and several other well-informed officers of the Company affirm, that the number of estates put up for sale is no evidence of the number of sales; but Mr. Tucker admits, that of the three largest Zemindaris, those of Rajshahi, Nadiya, and Burdwan, the whole of the first, and part of the second, had been sold prior to 1799, and that a very considerable number of estates passed into the hands of the merchants and bankers of Calcutta.—Evid. Commons' Committee, 1832; Revenue. Question 1861. Even as late as 1821-2, when the sales were much fewer than in the years immediately following the settlement, the number of estates sold for arrears of revenue was 396.—Ibid. Q. 2603.

their tenantry were merely objects of speculation, from whom they proceeded to extort the largest possible return for the capital which had been invested in the purchase. Under such task-masters the cultivators were soon reduced to the state of a pauper peasantry, scarcely gleanng a subsistence from the soil, and in no condition to swell the coffers of the state by their consumption of taxable commodities.<sup>1</sup> To disregard the lesson, and repeat the same errors elsewhere, would have been wholly indefensible; and it was so obviously the duty of the Government to guard against the evils which could not fail to follow the conclusion of a perpetual settlement upon imperfect information, that it is difficult to comprehend how the measure should have found advocates among men of tried ability and mature knowledge. Their advocacy was fruitless. The Court of Directors persisted in their prohibitions;<sup>2</sup> and the Government of Bengal was compelled to rescind a regulation which had enacted that the amount of revenue levied in the last year of the temporary settlement then subsisting should be fixed for ever.<sup>3</sup> At the same time in conformity to previous enactments, it was provided, that, with respect to those estates which the commissioners should think sufficiently improved to justify such an arrangement, the assessment on them should be revised, and a rate be fixed in perpetuity. The provision was inoperative, as was probably expected. No estates were found that had reached the utmost limit of improvement.<sup>4</sup>

A difference of opinion also prevailed with respect to the method by which the resources of the unsettled provinces were to be ascertained. To the suggestions of the Court that the scheme of the Ryotwar assessment fol-

<sup>1</sup> The injurious operations of the permanent settlement of Bengal upon both the old Zemindars and the Ryots are detailed in the Fifth Report, 60: see also Mill, v. 366, 369. Sir Charles Metcalfe observes of the Bengal permanent settlement, that it was an experiment, in the results of which he can discern no benefit that should induce its repetition. It not only sacrificed the prospective rights of the Government for ever, but, by declaring those to be proprietors who were not proprietors, it in effect destroyed the rights of all the proprietors and cultivators. — Commons' Committee, 1832; App. 469. Mr. Mackenzie states, that the Bengal assessment led to the greatest possible inequality, and left everything in a state of utter darkness and confusion. — Ibid. Evidence; Q. 2581.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Government of Bengal, 11th July, 1812. — Selec. i. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Regulations x. 1807; and ix and x. 1812. — Selec. i. 162.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from the Court, 16th March, 1813; Sel. i. 136.



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lowed at Madras should be applied to them, the Government of Bengal justly objected its inapplicability to a territory where the lands were jointly occupied and cultivated by numerous owners, held together by a community of tenures imperfectly understood. To form engagements with individual occupants was quite as likely to invade and overturn the rights and privileges of the landed proprietary as the Zemindari settlement had done; and to deal separately with individual cultivators tended to disorganise and dissolve the village communities,—thereby depriving the people of the salutary habit of regulating their own concerns, and the Government of a ready and economical channel by which the revenue might be realised.<sup>1</sup> Instead of forming engagements with the associated proprietors, represented by respectable persons of their own election, it would be necessary to let loose upon the land a swarm of locusts in the shape of numberless subordinate collectors and assessors, whose exactions from the people it would be impossible to check, and whose frauds upon the state it would be equally impossible to discover. Whether, therefore, the interests of the Government or its subjects were considered, a Ryotwar assessment was regarded, and with reason, as alike objectionable.<sup>2</sup> There was less reason in the objections urged against the preliminary measure of a survey of the lands to be assessed. It was affirmed that the plan had been repeatedly tried, and had been attended with so much inconvenience and such unsatisfactory results, that the Government felt satisfied the most experienced and capable of its revenue officers would deem the revival of it an evil burthensome and oppressive to the people, and unproductive of any substantial benefit to the pecuniary interests of the state. In preference to such a mode of

<sup>1</sup> Sir C. Metcalfe, although friendly to the principle of Ryotwar assessment, objected to its introduction into the Western provinces, because it appeared to him that it must tend to loosen and ultimately dissolve the ties which bind the village communities together. Instead of all acting in union with a common interest as regards the Government, and adjusting their own separate interests among themselves according to established usage, each would have his separate independent arrangement directly with the Government, and could hardly fail to be thereby less linked with his fellows. The village constitution, which could survive all outward shocks, might be easily subverted with the aid of the Government regulations and the courts of justice. — Commons' Com. 1832; App. p. 471.

<sup>2</sup> Revenue Letter from Bengal, 17th July, 1813; and Second Minute of Mr. Colebrooke; Sel. i. 179.

obtaining a knowledge of the resources of the country, it would be advisable to rely upon the Zemindari and village accounts, although it was admitted that they were not unfrequently false or fabricated. Such a preference was evidently dictated by strong and unfounded prejudice. Revenue surveys may very possibly be conducted in such a manner as to be vexatious to the people and unprofitable to the Government: the conclusions to which they lead may not be entitled to unqualified credit: but experience has demonstrated that they can be carried on without giving any offence to the people; while, although they may not be exempt from error, they furnish the only safe means of making an approach to accuracy in determining the productive value of the land.<sup>1</sup> At this point the discussion ceased. Different views influenced the measures of the succeeding Administration.

BOOK I.  
CHAP. VII.  
1813.

Some attempts were instituted by the Government of Bengal to repair the evil which had been occasioned by the long neglect of the Government to exercise that interference which at the time of the permanent settlement it had avowedly retained the right to exert in protection of the equitable claims of the Ryots.<sup>2</sup> At first some intention was manifested of acting upon the power so reserved; and the Zemindars had been in the same year prohibited from imposing any new imposts, from cancelling leases legally obtained, or refusing to grant others for a specific amount of rent.<sup>3</sup> The main object of the Government in the regulations then and subsequently passed was, however, evidently its own security, originating in an apprehension that the Zemindars might plead the difficulty of realising their demands from the Ryots in extenuation of

<sup>1</sup> The exceedingly defective sources of information on which, prior to the establishment of surveys, assessments were based, are thus enumerated by Mr. Mackenzie, "Our settlements were made in haste, on general estimates or surmises, on accounts never believed to be accurate, and never brought to any clear test of accuracy, on the offers of speculators, on the biddings of rivals, on the statements of candidates for employment seeking credit with Government, by discoveries against the people, on information of all kinds generally worthless."—Letter to Mr. Villiers, Commons' Committee, 1832; Evidence, 417.

<sup>2</sup> Section 8. Reg. 1. of 1793, declares, that "it being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of the people, and more particularly those who from situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent Talookdars, Ryots, and other cultivators of the soil."

<sup>3</sup> Reg. viii. 1793.

BOOK I. their failing to pay the demands of the state. Under  
 CHAP. VII. these impressions, it was enacted that no leases should be  
 1813. granted for a period longer than ten years; and that  
 when a Zemindari was sold for arrears of revenue, all  
 existing engagements should be void from the day of  
 sale, the purchasers being entitled to collect from the  
 renters according to the undefined rates and usages of the  
 country.<sup>1</sup> Finally, a power was vested in the landholders  
 of summarily distraining for rent.<sup>2</sup> The result of these  
 measures was to place the Ryot completely in the hands  
 of the Zemindar, and to enable the latter to raise his  
 rents at pleasure. It was therefore found necessary to  
 interpose, and a regulation was subsequently enacted<sup>3</sup> by  
 which the limitation of the leases was abrogated: they  
 were authorised to be granted for any period, and on any  
 terms to which the parties should mutually agree, in the  
 hope that they would thus be obliged to come to some  
 definite understanding, instead of leaving the door open  
 to oppressive fraud and endless litigation, which the ap-  
 peal to so vague a standard as that of usage rendered  
 perpetual. It was also decreed, that, in the event of an  
 attachment or sale of a Zemindari, the leases should not  
 be annulled within the year in which the attachment or  
 sale should have taken place; that where the collections  
 were regulated by pergunna or district rates, and those  
 rates were not fixed by anything more precise than cus-  
 tom, they should be of the same amount as those which  
 were actually paid in the neighbourhood upon lands of  
 like quality, or they should not exceed the maximum  
 rate paid upon the same land during any one of the three  
 preceding years. No enhancement of existing rates was  
 to take place, except under an engagement to that effect,  
 or a formal and written notice of the specific amount to  
 be required during the ensuing year being served upon  
 the tenant. Process of dstraint was prohibited, except  
 after due notification in writing having been given; and  
 agricultural implements and cattle were exempted from  
 seizure. Process was also to be suspended where the de-  
 faulters engaged by bond or sufficient security to institute  
 a suit for the trial of a contested demand within a rea-

<sup>1</sup> Regs. xlv. 1793, and iii. of 1796.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. vii. 1799.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. v. 1812.

sonable period. The latter clauses of this enactment were beneficial; but the liberty given to the Zemindar to frame engagements for an indefinite period, and on such conditions as the parties might agree to, was speedily interpreted into an authority to dispossess even the Ryots claiming hereditary occupancy, if they refused to accede to his demands, however exorbitant.<sup>1</sup> The limitation of the Government assessment in the Western provinces rendered it necessary to limit also the engagements between individuals in those provinces;<sup>2</sup> and in the same districts the collectors were authorised, under the Board of Commissioners, to investigate the titles by which la-kharáj or rent-free lands were held. Rules were also passed for the occasional subdivision of estates held in common, so that the holder of a joint undivided property might have his share verified and separately assessed.<sup>3</sup>

BOOK I.  
CHAP. VII.  
1813.

In order to extend the public resources of the Government, it was thought advisable to impose a tax upon houses in the several towns and cities of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares:<sup>4</sup> religious buildings were exempted. Such a tax had been levied for some years without any difficulty or obstruction in Calcutta, and it was not expected that any serious opposition would be offered to it in other cities. The Government was mistaken. The measure was regarded as an innovation, and was vehemently opposed. At Benares especially the resistance was most violent, and was curiously characteristic of the peculiarities both of the place and the people.

As soon as the intentions of the Government became known, great excitement prevailed throughout the city, and meetings of the different castes and trades were held to determine upon the course to be pursued. No obstruction was offered to the persons employed to assess the houses; but the shops were closed, every kind of occupation was abandoned, and such numerous crowds assembled on the outskirts of the town, that it was judged expedient by the magistrate to call to the assistance of the police a detachment of troops from the neighbouring cantonments. Their services were not needed, as the people quietly dispersed; but on the same day a solemn engage-

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Government of Bengal, 15th Jan. 1819; Selections, i. 360.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. xiv. 1812.

<sup>3</sup> Regs. viii. and ix. 1811.

<sup>4</sup> Reg. xv. 1810.



BOOK I.  
CHAP. VII.

1813.

ment was taken by all the inhabitants to carry on no manner of work or business until the tax was repealed. Everything was at a stand: the dead bodies were cast unceremoniously into the river, because there were none to perform the obsequial rites; and the very thieves refrained from the exercise of their vocation, although the shops and houses were left without protection,—the people deserting the city in a body, and taking up their station halfway between Benares and Secrole, the residence of the European functionaries, about three miles distant. A petition was presented to the magistrate, praying him to withdraw the odious impost, and declaring that the petitioners would never return to their homes until their application was complied with: a reference to Calcutta was all that was in the magistrate's power.

Whilst awaiting for a reply from the Government, the people of Benares continued assembled, and were joined by many persons from the surrounding districts: the number was computed at more than two hundred thousand, comprehending the aged and infirm, women and children. They were supplied with food regularly at the expense of the opulent classes, and were actively enjoined to unanimity and perseverance by their religious guides and teachers. Their conduct was uniformly peaceable; passive resistance was the only weapon to which they trusted. They continued in the open air throughout the day, but many returned at night to their homes.

In this manner about a fortnight passed.<sup>1</sup> The Government somewhat misconceiving the character of the assemblage, and at any rate deeming it impolitic to yield to any semblance of intimidation, ordered the enforcement of the tax, and the dispersion of the multitude, if necessary, by force. A sufficient strength had been collected for the purpose; but, before the receipt of the orders, time, reflection, and discomfort had enfeebled the vigour of the opposition, and the people had for the most part returned to their dwellings. The determination of the Government caused them to reassemble, with the avowed determination of marching in a body to Calcutta to petition the Governor-General personally for redress; but this was a much more arduous undertaking than a bivouac in the

<sup>1</sup> From the 26th December, 1810, to the 8th January, 1811.

immediate vicinity of Benares, and could not be prosecuted with the same unity of purpose. Every householder engaged, indeed, either to go himself, to send a representative, or contribute his quota to the expense of the journey; and a number of persons met, and made one march towards Calcutta: but the defaulters were so numerous, and so many of those who had set out deserted by the way, that the leaders were sensible of the futility of the scheme, and wanted only a decent excuse for its relinquishment. This was furnished by the interposition of the Raja of Benares, who, at the desire of the Government officers, repaired to the party, overtook them, and counselled them to turn back, and rest contented with the renewed representation of their grievances through the usual official channel in a quiet and respectful manner. His advice was followed, and a second petition was presented, to which in due time attention was paid.<sup>1</sup>

In consequence of this opposition, and the universal unpopularity of the tax, it was repealed.<sup>2</sup> In the following year it was revived in a modified form, and limited in its application to the cities of Dacca, Patna, and Murshedabad. In those towns it was to be applied to the payment of a municipal police, to be appointed and maintained by a committee of natives chosen by the inhabitants of each ward in the presence of the magistrate: to these committees also was intrusted the office of assessing the different shops and dwellings of their respective wards, the whole not to exceed a maximum average rate.<sup>3</sup> Some opposition was made to the arrangement at Dacca, but it was finally carried into operation.

Although not connected with any of the financial measures of the Government of Bengal, nor resulting from any of its acts, yet it may be useful to advert in this place to a formidable tumult by which the tranquillity of

<sup>1</sup> Personal information and MS. Records. The public petitions proceeding from native communities in India which are much intermixed with Europeans are rarely of a genuine native character. They betray more or less European, and particularly professional, prompting. At Benares there were few Europeans, no lawyers; and the petition of the inhabitants was, most probably, of their own unaided dictation. It is a document not without interest, as it not only expresses the sentiments of the people on the occasion on which it was presented, but shows that they were well informed of the proceedings and views of their rulers. It is therefore given in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. viii. 1812.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. xiii. 1813.

BOOK I. the city of Benares was interrupted in the year preceding  
CHAP. VII. that in which the house-tax excited the discontent of its  
1813. inhabitants: as the disturbance was characteristically  
illustrative of the peculiarities of one of the most remarkable towns in India, and of the discordant elements of Indian society, which are alone restrained from frequent and destructive conflict by the vigilance, vigour, and impartiality of the ruling power.

Benares is *the* holy city of the Hindus: it is crowded with celebrated shrines: pilgrimage to it is an atonement for all sin: to die within its precincts is a certain passage to eternal felicity. Such advantages ensure it a large resident population, and attract to it a numerous resort of Hindu pilgrims. The character of both classes is in general accordance with the reputed sanctity of the place: its efficacy in expiating crime, and purifying from iniquity, could be of little benefit to any but the wicked and the profligate, and those who tenant or frequent the city are for the greater part such as stand most in need of its expiatory virtues. The population is, however, not wholly Hindu. Benares is a town of extensive commercial and manufacturing activity, and has always comprised a considerable body of Mohammedans engaged principally in manufactures. Its convenient situation had also, at the period under review, recommended it as the residence of several Mohammedans of high rank, members of the reigning family of Oude, or the Imperial house of Delhi; and their servants and retainers were numerous and disorderly. Religious differences could not fail to find in such a mixed multitude ready instruments of quarrel, and the mutual animosity which at all times animated the followers of Brahmá and Mohammed was at this time more than usually inveterate. It had unfortunately happened that some of the moveable feasts of the Mohammedans had occurred simultaneously with some of the most popular Hindu festivals; and the multitudes which were collected, and the feelings which were excited, threatened a violent collision. The precautions of the English functionaries suspended the season of its occurrence, but were unable to prevent it from eventually taking place, and towards the close of 1809 an open rupture could no longer be delayed.

During the sovereignty of the Mohammedans, Aurangzeb and other bigoted princes had forcibly taken from the Hindus of Benares several of their temples to transform them into mosques, and had allowed and encouraged the Mohammedans of the city to erect religious edifices in the immediate neighbourhood of those places which were esteemed most sacred by the Hindus. In this manner, in one part of the city an Imam-bara, a building for the occasional devotions of the Musselmans, was built in immediate proximity to a Lât or stone column typical of Bhairava, one of their subordinate deities, but held by the Hindus in peculiar veneration. As the Lât and its neighbour were both much frequented by the followers of the different religions, their encounters gave frequent rise to angry feeling and reciprocal objurgation. On the morning of the 21st of October, a number of both parties having been assembled, they proceeded from abuse to blows; and, in an interchange of missiles which ensued, part of the ornamental architecture of the Imam-bara was injured, and a hut serving as a temporary temple to the deified monkey Hanumán was demolished, and the idol was knocked over. The intervention of the police prevented further mischief on the spot; but the affray was renewed in another part of the town, and, swords and clubs being had recourse to, several persons were killed or wounded before the disturbance could be suppressed.

The presence of the magistrate and a small detachment of Sipahis restored the appearance of tranquillity; but they were no sooner withdrawn than the tumult recommenced. The Mohammedan weavers assembled in the evening in great numbers, and, repairing quietly to the Hindu Lât, heaped a quantity of combustibles round it and set them on fire, and, when the stone was hot, threw cold water upon it, by which it was split to pieces.<sup>1</sup> Intelligence of this profanation reached the Hindus late in the evening, and filled them with horror and fury. Measures were taken to prevent the effects of their resentment on

<sup>1</sup> In the memorial addressed by the Hindus to the magistrate, extenuating their own conduct and calling for redress against the Mohammedans, they gravely averred that the Lât resisted every effort for its demolition, until the Mohammedans killed a cow and a calf, and threw the blood upon the column. It then trembled and broke. Some of the fragments were afterwards collected, purified by immersion in the Ganges, and enshrined in a hollow copper cylinder which was set up where the stone column formerly stood.



BOOK I. the following morning ; but, before a sufficient force could  
CHAP. VII. arrive, an enraged multitude had set fire to the Imam-  
1813. bara, killed four or five of the persons attached to it, and  
sprinkled with the blood of a hog the tombs of those who  
had been interred in its consecrated vicinity. From thence  
they moved to destroy the Mohammedan tombs at a  
burial-ground of reputed extraordinary sanctity, adjacent  
to a shrine dedicated to Fatima the wife of Ali ; and,  
although defended by a Sipahi guard and a number of  
Mohammedans, the mob partly effected their purpose  
before reinforcements arrived in sufficient strength to  
render their attempts unavailing. Other armed bands of  
Hindus had at the same time assailed the quarters of the  
town occupied chiefly by the Mohammedans, murdering  
all who came in their way, and plundering and setting fire  
to their houses, until their excesses were arrested by the  
military dispositions which the magistrate and the com-  
mander of the troops were able to effect. The Sipahis,  
although of both persuasions, discharged their duties with  
perfect impartiality and military steadiness : the police,  
equally mixed, had early taken part in the conflict accord-  
ing to their respective creeds. The extent of the mischief  
inflicted, or of the loss of life, was imperfectly ascertained ;  
but the disturbance was not suppressed until about twenty  
Mohammedans had been killed and seventy wounded.  
The principal actors in the tumult were the Rajputs and  
Gosains : the Brahmans and principal inhabitants sat  
fasting upon the steps by the river-side, night and day,  
during the continuance of the disorder, and were with  
some difficulty prevailed upon to return to their dwellings  
on the afternoon of the 23rd. On the following day, the  
temples which had been closed were re-opened, and this  
event was followed by the opening of the shops and the  
bazaars, and the restoration of tranquillity. Some of the  
most active and violent of the ringleaders were appre-  
hended and punished, and arrangements were adopted to  
prevent the recurrence of a like popular commotion. The  
resort of persons of all descriptions from every part of  
India, and the dissolute and riotous conduct of a large  
proportion of its inhabitants or visitors, rendered the  
maintenance of order and tranquillity in the sacred city of  
Benares, for some time at least, a troublesome and imper-

fectly accomplished task; but the unrelaxing firmness of British rule, a better knowledge of the British character, and the improving intelligence of the people, gradually lightened the labour, and, ten years after the transactions described, Benares was regulated with as much facility as any other city in the territories of the Company.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK I.  
CHAP. VII.

1813.

Among the various objects of internal administration at this season which deserve notice as marking the first steps of important changes still in progress, and likely at some future period to exercise a momentous influence upon the destiny of the British Indian empire, must be comprehended the efforts which were made in Bengal to promulgate the truths of Christianity. The South of India had for many years been the field of missionary labours. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the church of Rome had sent thither men of extraordinary ability and energy, who, by completely discarding all the indulgences of European civilisation, living among the natives as natives, applying themselves with intense diligence to the study of the languages and literature of the country, and acquiring a mastery over the vernacular dialects which has perpetuated the writings of several European authors as standard Tamil and Telugu compositions, obtained a widely extended influence over the people, and formed a numerous body of professed believers in Christianity.<sup>2</sup> The political agitations of Europe severed the teachers from their congregations, and the latter remained Christians in little except the name. To the Jesuit missionaries succeeded those of the Lutheran church: they were sent to India, in the first instance, not by Great Britain, but by Denmark;<sup>3</sup> but the example was not lost upon the former, although it was for some time but feebly imitated. Some pecuniary assistance was granted to the Danish mission; and at last missionaries were sent direct, at the expense of the Society for Promot-

<sup>1</sup> In 1820 the writer was in the habit of traversing every part of Benares without fear of molestation or insult. The materials for the beautiful map of Benares, executed not long afterwards by his lamented friend, Mr. James Prinsep, were collected by him in the city, in fearless reliance upon the good disposition of the people, which he invariably experienced.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres Edifiantes*; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv.; Hough's *Christianity in India*, ii. 400. See also his evidence, Commons' Committee, 1832, Public. He estimates the Roman Catholics in 1823, at between three and four hundred thousand. — Question 1852.

<sup>3</sup> Pearson's *Life of Swartz*, i. 12.

BOOK I. ing Christian Knowledge. One or two individuals found  
 CHAP. VII. their way to Bengal,<sup>1</sup> and instituted missionary operations  
 1813. there; but the chief field was long confined to Madras, and other stations on the Coromandel coast. The persons employed were natives either of Denmark or Germany. They were for the most part men of learning and talent, of simple habits, and kindly temperaments; and, although their success in the conversion of the heathen was not very encouraging, they were objects of general esteem and respect to both natives and Europeans, and wrought an impression favourable to the ultimate reception of the doctrines which they taught.

At length, at the close of the eighteenth century, a private individual, a member of the Baptist communion, with zeal as fervent as that of the German missionaries of the South, and inferior to them only in a less scholastic education, William Carey, the son of the master of a small free-school at Paulerspury, a village in Northamptonshire, by trade a shoemaker, and subsequently a preacher in the chapels of the society of which he was a member, early conceived the project of undertaking a mission to Bengal; and, in the face of the most disheartening difficulties, succeeded in its execution. Being unable to obtain permission to proceed to India in a Company's vessel, he procured a passage in a Danish ship, and arrived in Bengal destitute of money and friends at the end of 1793. After a short interval of want and anxiety, he obtained employment as superintendent of an indigo factory in Dinajpur, and remained in that situation for some years; pursuing, as far as circumstances permitted, his missionary calling, labouring assiduously in the study of the Sanscrit and Bengali languages, and applying his acquirements to the translation into them of the Holy Scriptures. The sufferance of the Government permitted his unauthorised residence in the country, averse as was

<sup>1</sup> A Mr. Kiernander went from Madras in 1758, and, notwithstanding many difficulties and discouragements, he laboured there for some years with exemplary piety and diligence, and with considerable success. — *Life of Swartz*, i. 126. It was to him that Dr. Buchanan probably alluded, when he stated that the Protestant mission in Bengal commenced in 1758. Before 1770, religious tracts were translated into the Bengali language; and Hindu converts preached to their countrymen in the time of Hastings, in the town of Calcutta. This mission continued its labours till about the year 1790 when the supply of missionaries from Europe failed. — Letter to the Government of Bengal printed in Parliamentary Papers, 14th April, 1813.

the policy of the day to the admission of Europeans ; and his diligence, his learning, and piety secured him friends. His communications with his correspondents in England, the prospects of success which his hopes rather than his experience dictated, and the example of his ardour and his perseverance, animated their zeal ; and a society was formed, and funds were raised, for the purpose of sending other missionaries to his assistance. They arrived in 1799 ; but, having come to Bengal without the licence of the Court, were not suffered to remain in Calcutta. The Danish settlement of Serampore offered them an asylum ; and there they fixed themselves, with the permission of the Governor, and subsequently with the express sanction of the King of Denmark. They were immediately joined by Mr. Carey, and a fraternity was organised which set to work upon a definite system ; and by preaching in the native languages, by forming schools for native children, by the composition of tracts and translations of the Scriptures, commenced a pious warfare against the false doctrines of the Mohammedan and Hindu religions, which has been carried on ever since with unrelaxed vigour, and with improving prospects of eventual triumph.<sup>1</sup>

The administration of Lord Wellesley, although it avoided giving direct encouragement to the Baptist missionaries, or recognising them in that capacity, was upon the whole propitious to their exertions. The learning of their principal was one of their chief recommendations to the favour of the Marquis, and Mr. Carey was appointed one of the professors of the College of Fort William soon after its institution ; thus obtaining a place of distinction in the recognition of the Government, and a certain and liberal means of subsistence. The establishment of schools for European children, and of a printing-press and paper-manufactory at Serampore, evinced the industry, and added to the resources of the missionaries : they were further aided, not only by the funds of their own community, but by those of other religious bodies, at whose expense, especially at that of the British and Foreign Bible Society, versions of the Scriptures into a great variety of the Indian dialects were executed ; and they

BOOK I.  
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<sup>1</sup> Memoir of William Carey, D.D., by Eustace Carey ; London, 1836.



BOOK I. grew daily in wealth, consideration, and confidence under  
CHAP. VII. the countenance of the Government.

1813.

The immediate successor of Lord Wellesley, Sir George Barlow, looked upon the proceedings of the Serampore missionaries with a less favourable regard. Entertaining, in common with most of the Company's servants of that day, a dread of the multiplication of uncovenanted European residents in India, he was disinclined to relax any of the restraints which the Legislature had imposed, and refused to sanction the continued presence of the new arrivals who had not provided themselves with a licence from the Court. The teaching of the missionaries had also begun to excite some uneasiness among the natives of Calcutta, and the connexion of the mutiny at Vellore with their religious apprehensions imposed upon the Government the obligation of setting the minds of their native subjects at ease with respect to the designs of their rulers, by the public prohibition of those expedients resorted to by the missionaries which were most likely to offend the religious sentiments and exasperate the feelings of the people.<sup>1</sup> The missionaries were allowed to retain the dwelling which they occupied as a chapel in Calcutta, and perform divine service in it in the Bengali language as usual, and no restriction was imposed on their private instructions or scriptural translations; but they were forbidden to preach in the public streets, to send itinerant native preachers through the villages, or to distribute gratuitously controversial and religious tracts. They considered it prudent to yield to the storm, and to conform to the wishes of the Government in all respects in which they could conscientiously acquiesce.<sup>2</sup>

The degree of the conformity rendered did not, however, satisfy the Government of Bengal; as one of the first acts of Lord Minto's Government was a renewal of the injunctions which Sir G. Barlow had been obliged to adopt, and the menace of still more rigorous restrictions.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Buchanan acquits the Governor-General of any hostility to the dissemination of Christianity: on the contrary, he says of him, "Sir G. Barlow has often expressed his approbation of the means used for the diffusion of Christianity in India, and sincerely desires its success."—Letter to Government; *Parl. Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoir of Dr. Carey*, 483.

Pamphlets in Bengali and Persian had been published, which, in the judgment of the Governor-General in Council, were calculated to excite among the native subjects of the Company a spirit of religious jealousy and alarm, which might eventually be productive of the most serious evils. The distribution of such publications, and the public preaching of the missionaries and their converts at the very seat of Government, might be supposed to have received the sanction and approval of the supreme authority; and the prevalence of such an impression would both augment the danger, and render more difficult the application of a remedy. Whatever might be the propriety of exposing the errors of the Hindu or Musselman religion to persons of those persuasions who sought instruction in the Christian faith, it was contrary to the system of protection, which the Government was pledged to afford to the undisturbed exercise of the religion of the country, to obtrude upon the great body of the people, by means of printed works, exhortations involving an interference with their religious tenets. The obligation, therefore, to suppress within the limits of the Company's authority in India treatises and public preachings offensive to the religious persuasions of the people, was founded on considerations of necessary caution, of general safety, and national faith and honour. Accordingly, it was deemed necessary to direct that public preaching in the mission-house of Calcutta should be discontinued, and to renew the prohibition of the issue of religious tracts; and, in order to bring the missionary press more immediately under the controul of the officers of the Government, the missionaries were commanded to remove it from Serampore to Calcutta.<sup>1</sup>

To the orders and injunctions of the Government the missionaries proffered a temperate and judicious reply. They disowned and condemned the language of a pamphlet which had given the greatest offence,—a scurrilous account of Mohammed, which had called forth the remonstrances of the most respectable Mohammedan inhabitants of Calcutta,—and attributed it to the intemperance of one of their converts, who had translated it into Persian:

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Bengal to the Secret Committee, 2nd Nov. 1807, with its enclosures; Parl. Papers, 14th April, 1813.

BOOK I. they pledged themselves for greater caution in future,  
 CHAP. VII. but deprecated the removal of their press, as subjecting  
 1813. them to great inconvenience and ruinous expense. The  
 tone of their representations disarmed the Government  
 of its rigour; and they were allowed to continue their  
 preaching in their chapel, and to remain at Serampore,  
 on condition that every work that issued from the press  
 should be submitted to the inspection of the secretary  
 to Government. The condition was acceded to; and, as  
 the general conduct of the missionaries was more guarded,  
 no further interference with them ensued. The alarm  
 of the Government was perhaps more violent than the  
 occasion called for, but the check opposed to precipitate  
 and indiscreet zeal was not detrimental to the ultimate  
 extension of Christianity. Little benefit had accrued or  
 was likely to accrue from street preaching, and virulent  
 language was ill calculated to convey conviction. The  
 attention of the Serampore missionaries was thenceforth  
 more entirely given to the establishment of schools and  
 the translation of the Scriptures; means more safe and  
 certain, although their fruits might more slowly come to  
 maturity.<sup>1</sup>

Although a sense of public duty imposed upon the  
 Governor-General the obligation of checking the over-  
 zealous haste of the missionaries of Serampore, his per-  
 sonal feeling ensured to their literary efforts his constant  
 and warmest encouragement. The associate in early life  
 of some of the most distinguished ornaments of the  
 literary society of Great Britain, Lord Minto brought with  
 him to India an enlightened and cultivated taste, and a  
 generous sympathy with every indication of intellectual  
 excellence. His liberal aid was therefore given to the  
 works published at Serampore, whether translations of  
 the Scriptures, or publications tending to make the  
 language and literature of India more generally known  
 and more easily acquired.<sup>2</sup> The same feelings led him to

<sup>1</sup> In the representation of the Government made by the missionaries, which  
 is dated in September, 1807, they state that they had baptized upwards of one  
 hundred natives. — *Parl. Papers*. No great number in eight years, reckoning  
 from 1799 only: if from 1794, a still more inconsiderable proportion.

<sup>2</sup> Several Grammars and Dictionaries, and other rudimental books, in  
 Bengali, Telinga, Mahratta, and Sanscrit, were printed at Serampore, chiefly  
 at the cost of the Government. Pecuniary assistance (ten thousand rupees)  
 was afforded to the Malay translation of the Scriptures; and aid was liberally

befriend those natives of India who professed the literature of their country; and the first printing-press, established and conducted solely by native enterprise and skill, and for the purpose of substituting the productions of the press for the manuscripts hitherto in use, owed its existence to his patronage. But it was in his connexion with the College of Fort William that his sentiments were most especially manifested; and one great object of his administration was to carry into full operation, as far as the orders of the home authorities allowed, the views of the illustrious founder of the institution.<sup>1</sup> The result was highly beneficial: the junior servants of the Company were animated to honourable exertions, which formed the foundation of their future distinction; their seniors were induced to apply their knowledge and acquirements to the instruction of their younger brethren: and a number of natives of talent, exercising over their countrymen the combined influence of learning and religion, who were engaged in the service of the college, derived from their employment some compensation for that neglect to which the decay and extinction of native patrons of rank had subjected them, and learned to identify their interests with those of a foreign and intrusive race. To them, and to their European associates, were owing a variety of useful works in the languages and literature of the East, intended to facilitate their acquirement, and bring within the reach of the Oriental student the means of becoming familiar with the laws and institutions, the religion and character of the people. Every attempt so directed was encouraged and aided by Lord Minto.<sup>2</sup>

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given to the Serampore translation of the Ramayana, the works of Confucius, and other literary publications. — Roebuck's *Annals of the College of Fort William*.

<sup>1</sup> It was not mere official phraseology, for Lord Minto was not addicted to its use, when in his last annual address he observed, "No part of my public duties have excited in my mind a more cordial concern or more lively interest than those which are attached to the office of Visitor of this College." — *Annals of the College of Fort William*, p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst other arrangements, a plan was proposed by the Governor-General for the foundation of Hindu colleges at Nadiya and Tirhoot, to counteract the want of public encouragement afforded to native literature by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native Government, who had lost both the means and the inducement to continue their patronage under the British Government. He had also in contemplation to found similar institutions for the cultivation of Mohammedan literature. — *Minute by Lord Minto*, 6th March, 1811: *Commons' Committee*, 1832; *Public*; App. p. 325.



BOOK I. The last class of measures to which we shall advert,  
 CHAP. VII. regard the financial condition of India during Lord Minto's  
 administration.

1813.

The necessity of as rigid a pursuance of the system of economy commenced by Sir G. Barlow as was consistent with the interests and honour of the empire was equally impressed upon his successor; and during the whole term of his government a careful avoidance of expenditure was adhered to, carried in some cases perhaps to a hurtful excess. The occasions which called for military demonstrations, the extraordinary embassies which were fitted out, and the expeditions undertaken against the maritime possessions of France, disturbed the equable tenor of financial retrenchment, and involved unusual demands upon the public treasury; but these interruptions were only temporary; and the general result was an augmented amount of the revenues of British India, a diminution of its burthens, and no enhanced rate of charge.

It has been already mentioned that the arrangements effected by Sir G. Barlow secured for the first year of Lord Minto's administration, according to one system of computation, a surplus receipt, or, according to a different set of accounts, reduced the excess of charge to an inconsiderable sum: the same diversity of result, arising from the same cause, prevailed the following year; but from thence to the close of the period both statements agree in showing a considerable net local revenue after providing for the interest of the public debt: the surplus of the last year amounted to little less than two millions sterling.<sup>1</sup> A considerable proportion of this arose from the improved revenues of the unsettled provinces under the Presidency of Bengal, and the imposition of new taxes at Madras: the rest, from the reduction of the rate of interest which the Government was enabled, by the flourishing state of its finances, to effect.

The history of the Indian debt presents a singular picture of the growth of public credit along with the

<sup>1</sup> According to the statements furnished to the Committee of the House of Lords, the surplus was £1,988,000. In Sicca rupees, it was S. R. 1,45,33,190, which, at two shillings to the rupee, is £1,453,319. For a more particular comparison between the two periods as expressed in the home accounts, see Appendix.

increase of financial embarrassment, and of the increase of embarrassment with the augmentation of the public resources. In proportion as the British Indian empire has extended its boundaries, and added to its revenues, so have the means at its command been found inadequate to extraordinary emergencies, and it has been obliged from time to time to apply for aid to the funds of individuals; and, notwithstanding the additions thus made to its incumbrances, its credit has never failed to procure the assistance that was needed, on terms much lower than the ordinary profits of capital, or the rates of interest prevailing in transactions between individuals. In fact, the amount of the public debt is far from burthensome on the state; and the inconveniences which it occasions is fully compensated by the connexion which it maintains between the Government and the fundholders, a large proportion of whom are natives of the country, and who are thus interested in the stability of the ruling power.<sup>1</sup>

In 1792, the Indian debt, bearing interest, little exceeded seven millions sterling: the interest exceeded six hundred thousand pounds, bearing a proportion of eight and six-tenths per cent.<sup>2</sup> In 1799 the debt had risen to ten millions; and in the short interval of five years, the season of Lord Wellesley's conquests, it was more than doubled, amounting in 1805 to nearly twenty-one millions, with an annual interest of £1,791,000. During the two following years, the continued effects of the previous period of prodigality were still felt, and the debt went on increasing; so that in 1807 it amounted to more than twenty-six millions, bearing an interest of £2,228,000. In 1813-14 the amount of debt remained much the same, being twenty-seven millions; but the interest amounted to £1,636,000, being a permanent diminution annually of £592,000.<sup>3</sup> This was effected by the successful opening of loans in August and December, 1810, at an interest of

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CHAP. VII.

1813.

<sup>1</sup> Calcutta Annual Register, 1821; Historical Sketch, 18.

<sup>2</sup> This was the average rate. Loans opened in 1790-1, 1796-7, and 1798-9, bore twelve per cent.—Government Notices; Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. part ii. 459.

<sup>3</sup> Second Report, Commons' Committee, 1810, App. 8. It must be borne in mind that these sums are higher by one-seventh than they should be, according to the intrinsic value of the Indian currencies. The real debt of 1806-7, in Sicca rupees, was 23,15,30,125, say £23,153,000; and the amount of interest, Sa. rs. 1,97,13,929, or £1,971,000.—Official Documents; Lords' Committee, 1830, App. C. No. 3.

BOOK I. six per cent., to which the whole of the outstanding obligations were transferred; the capital of British India, and  
 CHAP. VII. the credit of the Government, having thus gone on improving, so that in about twenty years the rate of interest on public securities was reduced from twelve per cent. to half that proportion.

1813.

Another important change followed the flourishing state of the finances, and the payment in England of the principal as well as of the interest of loans contracted in India ceased to form one of their conditions. When this provision was first introduced, it was thought likely to lead to the transfer of the whole of the Indian debt to Europe, where it might either be discharged out of the profits of the Company's trade, or by money borrowed at a much lower rate of interest. For these purposes, the Indian Government of 1785 was authorised to grant bills at eighteen months' date on the Court of Directors, for the principal of the debt then owing, to the extent of six crores of rupees, at the exchange of 1s. 8d. the current rupee, at the option of the lenders; and in the first year they took advantage of it to the extent of about a fourth of the principal sum. In the following year, the amount applied for was so trifling, that the arrangement was looked upon as a failure; a result ascribed by the Government to the low rate of exchange, the remote date at which the bills were payable, the advantages made in India by holding Government securities, and the more advantageous means of remittance through foreign channels.

On the renewal of the charter in 1793, the principle of the plan was recognised, and it was provided that the Indian debt should be in this manner gradually transferred to England, until it was reduced to two millions sterling, the exchange being fixed at 1s. 11d. the current rupee. For some time the amount transferred reached the prescribed limit of the bills to be drawn, or £500,000; but it ultimately diminished, and in 1803-4 ceased altogether. The demand for funds in India, the existence of profitable means of remittance by the extension of the private trade, and the conditions of new loans granting for the interest, bills at 2s. 6d. the Sicca rupee, payable six months after sight, and ensuring similar payment of the principal when due, held out inducements even to the

European fundholders to leave their capital in the Indian treasury. With the return of peace in India, capital was less in demand there ; while the political state of Europe, the high price of bullion, and the depression of the public funds, rendered its transmission to England highly advantageous. The consequence was a run upon the home treasury, which was productive of much embarrassment ; and the pressure was aggravated temporarily by the measures adopted under the orders of the Court for its relief,—the resolution of the local Governments to pay off all the debts the principal of which was demandable in England, in the event of the lenders declining to transfer the security to a new loan opened in 1810, which offered no such condition. The arrangement was so far successful, that of twenty-three millions to which the home treasury was liable, more than thirteen were transferred to the new loan ; rather more than three were paid in cash by the local Governments ; and six millions and a half remained to be discharged by bills upon the Court. It was for the purpose of meeting this demand that the Company had recourse to Parliament for aid. The inconvenience was gradually surmounted ; and, although in 1812, under the terms of a new six per cent. loan, the option of demanding payment of the principal by bills on England was partially restored, the home funds were not again exposed to so severe a demand.<sup>1</sup>

Nor had the resources at home been subjected to these heavy demands without corresponding efforts having been made in India to provide for them. During the three concluding years of Lord Minto's administration, the supplies remitted from India exceeded the value of the Company's investments to the extent of nearly ten millions sterling.<sup>2</sup> Of the amount so remitted nearly two

<sup>1</sup> Petition of the Company to Parliament ; Second Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, May 1810, App. 6-10 ; Bengal and Agra Gazeteer, 1841, vol. ii. part. ii. 454 ; Details of Public Loans ; Report of the Commons' Committee, 1832, article Finance.

<sup>2</sup> Excess of supply to London :

in 1811-12	Sa. rs. 3,46,49,832 at 2s. 6d.	£4,331 229
1812-13	2,71,49,075	3,393,634
1813-14	1,60,00,000	2,000,000

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£9,724,863

— Financial Letter from Bengal : Papers relating to Finances of India, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, March, 1824, p. 18.



BOOK I. millions were in bullion;<sup>1</sup> a circumstance which was unprecedented in the history of the commerce of India, and  
 CHAP. VII. intimated an approaching change in the terms of its  
 1813. intercourse with Europe. The transaction was also of peculiar importance at the season of its occurrence: the movements of the vast armies which were working out the deliverance of Europe from military despotism depended in a great measure upon the wealth of England. The occasion called for and deserved the application of all her resources; and, although bearing but a small proportion to the extent of her efforts, the treasuries of her Indian empire furnished a not inconsiderable nor unimportant contribution.<sup>2</sup>

The close of Lord Minto's honourable and successful labours was now approaching. The influence of party spirit, so long suspended, was at length allowed to operate; and the continuance in office of an administration based upon principles opposed to those of the ministers by whom the Governor-General had been nominated, was found incompatible with the longer duration of his power. Circumstances had also imposed upon the ministers the duty of conferring office upon another distinguished personage; and the endeavours of the Earl of Moira to carry into effect the wishes of the Prince Regent for the formation of a ministry which should connect the actual servants of the Crown with his early friends, however unsuccessful, entitled him to the consideration both of the Prince and of his advisers. It was consequently proposed to reward his exertions by his appointment to the government of India, and to make way for him by the removal of the Governor-General. A resolution was accordingly moved by the Chairman, under the dictation, no doubt, of the Board of Controul, that Lord Minto should be recalled. No reason for the measure was assigned; but it was adopted in opposition to the tenor

<sup>1</sup> Bullion remitted to England:

in 1811-12	Sa. rs. 40,42,407 at 2s. 6d.	£ 505,301
1812-13	85,44,983	1,068,123
1813-14	22,82,359	285,295

£1,858,719

As the price of bullion was high in England, the remittances realised more than even the exchange value.

<sup>2</sup> Alison's History of Europe, viii. 63, ix. 701.

of a letter received from Lord Minto's friends, expressing his wish to be relieved in January 1814. This letter was assigned as the reason for the immediate appointment of Earl Moira; but, as objected by one of the opponents of the arrangement, Mr. Charles Grant, the plea was delusive, as no one could pretend to assign it as a sufficient reason for proceeding to the choice of a Governor-General, in November, 1811, whose presence at Fort William could only be necessary in January 1814. On the same occasion it was determined to supersede Sir George Nugent as Commander-in-chief, Lord Moira uniting both the civil and supreme authority; and not only to rescind the conditional appointment of Sir G. Barlow as Governor-General, but to remove him from the government of Fort St. George. These several measures were made the subject of strong protests by several leading members of the Direction;<sup>1</sup> but the objections were over-ruled by the predominating spirit of ministerial obligations, and the change took place. Earl Moira was appointed Governor-General in India, and Commander-in-chief; and General Abercromby, the commander of the forces at Fort St. George, was nominated for a time Governor of Madras. Lord Minto survived but a short time his return to his native country; he died in the course of the same year. Few Governors-General have stronger claims upon the gratitude of those over whom or for whom they ruled. No one ever more conscientiously or disinterestedly laboured for the happiness of the people of India, for the prosperity of the East India Company, or the honour and advantage of Great Britain. Other administrations may have been signalised by more stirring events and more splendid triumphs; but British India never enjoyed a more healthy and contented condition, never made a more sure and steady though an unpretending advance in social improvement, than during the government of Lord Minto.

The term of Lord Minto's government was coeval with a material change in the character of the superior authorities under whom the power of himself and his predecessors

BOOK I.

CHAP. VII.

1813.

<sup>1</sup> See Dissents of Edward Parry, W. Astell, George Smith, and John Bebb, Esqrs., 20th Dec.; and separate Dissent of Mr. Charles Grant, 30th Dec, 1812: published by Sir Robert Barlow, 1813.

BOOK I. had been immediately held. The East India Company  
 CHAP. VII. ceased to retain the monopoly of the East India trade.  
 1813. The circumstances which led to this event we shall now  
 proceed to detail.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

*Embarrassed Finances of the Company.—Application to Parliament for Assistance.—A Loan granted.—Inquiry into abuse of Patronage.—Renewal of the Charter.—Previous Correspondence with the Board—Demands of the Court.—Propositions of Mr. Dundas—Objections of the Court—Communication suspended—revived.—Determination of Ministers to open the Trade with India resisted, but finally acceded to by the Company.—Claims of the Outports.—Change of the Ministry.—Lord Buckinghamshire President of the Board.—Consequences of Delay.—Resistance to the Claims of the Outports.—Appeal to Parliament.—Resolutions proposed by Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons; by Lord Buckinghamshire in the House of Lords.—Application of the Company to be heard by Counsel granted.—Questions at issue—political—commercial.—Trade with India and with China, Peculiarities of the latter—secured to the Company.—Struggle for the Trade with India.—Arguments of the Company—of the Merchants.—Company consent to take off Restrictions from the Export, not from the Import Trade.—Financial and Political Evils anticipated and denied—Attempt to substantiate them by Evidence.—Opinions of Warren Hastings and others respecting the unrestricted Admission of Europeans—Extension of Trade—independent Resort of Missionaries, &c.—Debates in the House of Commons—first and second Resolutions carried—Debate on the third.—Debates on the Report of the Committee.—Thirteenth Resolution adjourned—Debate on it resumed—carried.—Other Clauses suggested.—Bill finally passed in the Commons.—Debates in the House of Lords—previous Discussions.—Bill passed.—Proceedings in the Court of Proprietors.—Charter accepted.—Remarks.*

THE appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1808 to inquire into the state of the affairs of the East India Company has already been adverted to; as have the measures which, in compliance with their recommendation, were adopted by the Parliament for the relief of the financial embarrassments of the Company, by the discharge of a portion of the debt due to them by the public. The Committee continued, with occasional modifications, to sit through the four succeeding years, and presented to the House in that period different reports, which were drawn up with remarkable diligence and ability, and furnished a mass of authentic information upon every important subject relating to the internal administration of the Indian empire.

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CHAP. VIII.  
1813.

The relief afforded to the Company in 1808 by the sum of £1,500,000 received from the Government, together with more than usually favourable sales of merchandise, enabled the Court of Directors to provide for the wants of that and the following year without requiring further assistance. This state of prosperity was of no long duration, and in the beginning of the session of 1810, the Company were again obliged to apply to Parliament for pecuniary aid.<sup>1</sup> A deficit of two millions was anticipated in the receipt of the year ending March, 1811, as compared with the receipts; arising from the excessive and unexampled drafts made upon the Court, amounting to nearly five millions, from India, in discharge of the Indian debt, and from the unexpected losses sustained in the Company's shipping;<sup>2</sup> many of their vessels having, in the course of the last two years, been taken by the enemy, or perished at sea. As the state of the money market rendered it unadvisable to increase the Company's capital stock, as empowered by law, the Court applied to the House for such aid as it should see fit to grant, the property of the Company being offered as ample security for the repayment of a loan from the public. The petition was referred

<sup>1</sup> See petition of the East India Company for relief; Parl. Debates, 13th April, 1810.

<sup>2</sup> In the years 1808-9 and 1809-10, fourteen large vessels, chartered by or belonging to the Company, were captured or were lost at sea: their cargoes alone were valued at more than a million sterling. — First Report, Commons' Committee, 1830, App. iv.



BOOK I. to the Committee, by whom the correctness of its purport  
 CHAP. VIII. was confirmed.<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards, a second petition  
 1813. was presented,<sup>2</sup> praying for a further settlement of the  
 amount due by the public to the Company: it was also  
 referred to the Committee, but does not seem to have  
 been made the subject of any special report. The time  
 was unpropitious to the Company's application, as the  
 Government was straining the resources of the country  
 to the utmost to provide for the magnitude of the national  
 expenditure, and was floundering amidst the intricacies  
 of the Bullion question. The urgency of the case, and  
 the vital importance of maintaining unimpaired every  
 form of public credit, gave irresistible weight to the  
 appeal; and, after some discussions, a bill was passed on  
 the 14th of June, 1811, for a loan of one million and a  
 half to the Company.<sup>3</sup> In the following year the Company  
 petitioned the House of Commons for permission to raise  
 two millions upon bond; and a bill was brought in for  
 the purpose, which, after some slight opposition, was  
 passed. In June, 1812, a second application for a loan of  
 two millions and a half was made to the House of Com-  
 mons, and, although strenuously opposed by Mr. Creevy,  
 complied with.<sup>4</sup>

Transactions affecting the moral credit of the Court of  
 Directors had also, shortly before this period, been brought  
 under the consideration of Parliament, and an alleged  
 abuse of patronage was made the subject of inquiry. It  
 was brought forward by the members of the Court them-  
 selves, in consequence of a report having prevailed, that  
 appointments in the service of the Company in India had  
 been sold. On the 10th February, 1809, it was moved by  
 Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Grant, that a Committee of  
 the House of Commons should be nominated to inquire  
 into the existence of any corrupt practices in the dis-  
 tribution of the patronage of the Court of Directors. A  
 Committee was accordingly appointed, which, in the course  
 of a few weeks, reported the result of the investigation.  
 The report exonerated the members of the Court from  
 any imputation of a violation of the oath by which they

<sup>1</sup> Report from Select Committee, ordered to be printed 11th May, 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Debates, 14th May, 1810.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 10th May, 1811.

<sup>4</sup> Parl. Debates, 9th and 15th June, and 3rd and 7th July, 1812.

BOOK I.  
CHAP. VIII.  
1813.

were solemnly pledged, neither directly nor indirectly to accept any pecuniary consideration whatever on account of the appointment or nomination of any person or persons to any place or office in the service of the Company:<sup>1</sup> but it appeared in evidence that the persons to whom they had given appointments had, in some instances, sold them to third parties; and that a traffic had been carried on for situations in their India service without their participation or knowledge.<sup>2</sup> Three civil and twenty military appointments were traced as having been sold. The obtaining of such situations by purchase being prohibited under penalty of their forfeiture, the appointments were cancelled; but, as the punishment fell heaviest on those who were not the offending parties,—the young men holding the appointments,—much sympathy was excited for their situation, and other appointments were given to them by different members of the Court.<sup>3</sup>

The main question, however, which occupied the attention of the Court of Directors and his Majesty's Ministers was the renewal of the Company's charter. The term for which this had been granted in 1793, expired on the 10th April, 1814. It had been provided that notice of the cessation of the charter should be given to the Company three years before it expired; and accordingly, on the 4th of March, 1811, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, and it was ordered, that the Speaker should signify in writing to the Directors of the East India Company, that the Company's commercial privileges would cease and determine on the date above specified.

The renewal of the charter had for some time previously been the subject of a correspondence between the Board of Controul and the Crown.<sup>4</sup> On the 30th of Sep-

<sup>1</sup> This formed part of the general oath to be taken by each Director according to clause 100 of the 33rd of George III.

<sup>2</sup> It appeared that the price of a writership was about £3,500; that of a cadetship varied from £150 to £500.—Report of Committee, p. 2 to 8; and Evidence.

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the existence of abuses in the disposal of the patronage of the East India Company; printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, March, 1809. See also Parl. Debates, vol. xiii.; and Asiatic Annual Register, Proceedings India House, vol. xii.

<sup>4</sup> The several communications with the Board, and various documents connected with the discussion, from 1808 to July 1813, were printed by order of the Court of Directors, for the information of the Proprietors, in a series of fifteen papers, entitled, "Papers respecting the Negotiation for a Renewal of the East India Company's exclusive Privileges," London, 1812-1813.

BOOK I. tember, 1808, Mr. Dundas addressed a letter to the Chair-  
CHAP. VIII. man and Deputy Chairman, suggesting that it was now  
1813. advisable to ascertain whether the Court of Directors were  
desirous to agitate the question, and submit it to the early  
consideration of Parliament. Early in the month follow-  
ing, the Chairs, after consulting with the Secret Committee  
of Correspondence, expressed their concurrence, consider-  
ing that the interests of the public and the Company  
would be best consulted by an early renewal of the charter:  
they professed at the same time the readiness of the Court  
to pay due attention to any modifications that might be  
proposed, if they were compatible with the main princi-  
ples of the existing system, for the conduct of the trade  
and the political administration of the Government of  
India. The views of the Directors were more fully de-  
veloped in a letter addressed to Mr. Dundas on the 16th  
December, consequent on a personal conference which had  
been held with him. In this document they asserted the  
right of the Company to their territorial possessions, and  
stated their expectation that in a new charter the Pro-  
prietors would be permitted to benefit by an enhanced  
rate of dividends on their stock, proportioned to the im-  
provement of the revenues of India; that the aid of the  
British public would be contributed towards the liquida-  
tion of the Indian debt; and that arrangements would be  
devised for an equitable apportionment of the military  
expenditure incurred in the prosecution of interests of  
purely British origin, and not fairly chargeable to India.  
Twenty years were required for the term of the new  
charter. The tone of the address was bold, particularly  
at a moment when the Company was a suppliant for pe-  
cuniary aid; and the eagerness to extract an augmented  
dividend out of the anticipated improvement of revenue,  
instead of proposing to apply such additional revenues  
either to the reduction of the public debt or the benefit  
of the people of India, savoured more strongly of the  
little selfishness of a trading company than of the libe-  
rality becoming a great and enlightened Government.

In his reply, dated the 13th Jan. 1809, Mr. Dundas,  
although admitting in substance the advantage of ad-  
hering to the system of commerce and administration  
which had been sanctioned by the existing charter, de-

clined to acknowledge the claim of the Company to a right to the territory of India, and considered it premature to discuss the proportion of benefit that was to be derived by the Company or the public from any improvement in the finances of India until the debt should be discharged. In like manner, the liquidation of the debt must be contingent on the appropriation of the revenues; as, if the disposal of them should be assumed by the public, it would be impossible to disregard the fair claims of the Company, or their creditors, to a reimbursement of the expenses incurred in the acquirement of the territory. He admitted that the Company had also a right to expect that the public should defray the cost of all hostile operations growing out of a state of war in Europe, whether India became the scene of them, or was likely to be their aim.

In the letter from the Chairs of the 16th Dec., all specific allusion to the Company's exclusive commercial privilege had been carefully avoided. The phrase employed, "a regulated monopoly of the trade,"<sup>1</sup> implied of course that the commerce was to be left on its actual footing,—the assignment of a certain amount of tonnage to private merchandise in ships taken up by the Company, and the sale of private import goods through the Company's establishments. Mr. Dundas was more explicit: he announced to the Court that his Majesty's Ministers would not concur in an application to Parliament for the renewal of any privileges which should prevent the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain from trading to and from India, and the countries within the limits of the Company's exclusive trade, the dominions of the Emperor of China excepted, in ships and vessels hired or freighted by themselves. He also intimated that it was thought advisable to adopt some plan for the consolidation of the Indian army with the troops of the Crown serving in India, in order to put an end to the jealousies and divisions which had so repeatedly occurred between the two

BOOK I.  
CHAP. VIII.

1813.

<sup>1</sup> "The system by which the Legislature has continued to the Company the government of the territories acquired by it in the East, with a regulated monopoly of the trade, has been held by the most eminent persons acquainted with that quarter and its affairs, to be the most expedient both for the foreign and domestic interests of this country."—Letter from the Chairs to the Right Honourable Robert Dundas, 16th December, 1803; Papers, p. 9.



BOOK I. branches of the military service in that country, and to  
CHAP. VIII. the divided responsibility which had hitherto impaired  
the efficiency of both. He thought this would be found  
1813. practicable without interfering with actual arrangements,  
or weakening the authority of the local Governments or  
of the Court over his Majesty's regiments employed in  
the Company's possessions. These intimations were any-  
thing but acceptable to the Court ; and they replied, that  
if the suggestions were acted upon to the extent which  
the terms seemed to convey, they would effectually super-  
sede and destroy not merely the rights of the Company,  
but the whole scheme of Indian administration established  
by the previous acts of the Legislature, and consequences  
fatal to the Company, and most detrimental to the nation,  
would infallibly ensue. Although, therefore, willing to take  
into consideration the means of supplying the trade of pri-  
vate merchants with more beneficial and extensive accom-  
modation as far as was consistent with the preservation of  
the Company's rights, the Court declared that they could  
not recommend to their constituents to seek a renewal of  
the charter upon conditions which would despoil it of all  
its solid advantages, deprive the Company of their most  
valuable privileges, and incapacitate them from perform-  
ing for themselves and the nation the part hitherto  
allotted to them in the Indian system.

The negotiation here came to a pause, and the Ministers,  
unwilling to engage in a contest with the Company, whilst  
heavily embarrassed by the state of public affairs, and  
finding that the notice of the House was not likely to be  
yet attracted to the question of the Company's charter,  
determined not to press the subject. At the end of 1809,  
the Court announced their readiness to resume the discus-  
sion ; but no notice seems to have been taken of their  
challenge until the end of 1811, when the President of  
the Board, now Lord Melville, apprised the Directors that  
his Majesty's Ministers could not recommend to Parlia-  
ment the continuance of the existing system, unless they  
were prepared to assent that the ships, as well as goods of  
private merchants, should be admitted into the trade with  
India under such restrictions as might be deemed neces-  
sary. If the Court would agree to the enlargement of the  
trade, he was prepared to discuss the measures it might  
be necessary to devise.

In their reply to Lord Melville, the Court consented, however reluctantly, to propose to the Proprietors the opening of the trade ; repeating their opinion, that, whilst it would be productive of serious inconvenience to the political administration of India, it would not realise to the nation the benefits which were expected from it. In support of their assertions, they referred to the accounts of the trade which had been submitted to the Select Committee. Influenced too, no doubt, by the measures which they understood to be in contemplation by the merchants of the commercial and maritime towns in various parts of the British islands, they expressed their confident belief that no intention was entertained by his Majesty's Ministers of trying the hazardous experiment of dispersing over all the ports of England and Ireland a trade now brought with so much advantage, both to the Company and the public, to the single port of London. The letter also entered into details exhibiting the magnitude of the Company's transactions, and vindicating the Company from the accusations which had been urged against it, and from the objections to the continuance of a system which they believed to rest, not upon the grounds of individual interest, but upon the firm basis of national advantage.

On the day preceding the date of this letter, a paper of propositions to be submitted to Lord Melville had been approved of by the Court of Directors, and was accordingly communicated to him on the 6th of March, 1812. To these propositions, or hints, as they were denominated, his lordship replied on the 12th ; and as the main object of the propositions had been to secure the continuance of the arrangements of the act of 1793, proposing only to adopt such modifications as should give greater facilities to the private trader, but no greater extension to the trade, they met with no favourable reception. The President of the Board of Controul told the Court plainly, that, as far as related to the Indian trade, they did not appear to have succeeded in showing that any detriment would accrue to the public interests either in this country or India, or ultimately even to the interests of the Company, from the introduction of private adventure ; and he refused to acquiesce in any arrangements which imposed a restriction upon an improved commercial intercourse with

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BOOK I. India, approving of such only as were intended to restrain  
 CHAP. VIII. unauthorised settlements in that country, and to secure a  
 1813. strict monopoly of the trade with China. A petition, framed in consonance with the views of the Board, was accordingly prepared, and, being concurred in by a Court of Proprietors held on the 2nd of April, was presented on the 7th to the House of Commons, praying for a renewal of the charter.

The announcement of the cessation of the East India Company's exclusive privileges was, we have contemporary evidence, received at first with very little interest. Men's minds were engaged with mighty events, by which the interests of commerce were overshadowed ; and it seemed scarcely worth while to dispute for the profit of any particular branch of trade, when the independence of nations was at stake. By degrees, however, attention was drawn to the topic ; and the Parliament had no sooner met than a deluge of petitions poured upon the House, assailing the principle of monopoly, condemning the career of the India Company, calumniating the motives of the Directors, and advocating the abstract right of all British subjects to a participation in every branch of external commerce. The language of the petitions was prompted by the same spirit against which it was levelled. The petitioners looked only to their own anticipated advantages, and in their selfish eagerness would have trampled upon all prudent precaution and opposing claims. A quarrel speedily sprung up amongst themselves for the spoils at which they grasped ; and the merchants and ship-owners of London found, with no small dismay, that the unavowed monopoly which they had enjoyed under the protection of the Company's privileges, of a portion of the trade and the whole of the shipping, was no longer to remain uninvaded. Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and many other outports had merchants, vessels, docks, and warehouses ; and demanded not merely to be permitted to send goods to India, but to bring back its products to their own doors in their own ships, and to be liberated from all dependence whatever upon the metropolis.<sup>1</sup> Not only were petitions to this effect presented,

<sup>1</sup> Resolutions of the Buyers of Piece-goods, 21st April, 1812 ; Merchants, Manufacturers, Traders of London, 25th ditto ; Petition ditto ; Papers respecting the negociation, p. 133, &c. See also petitions to the House of Commons

but delegates from the outports were sent up to London and formed into a committee empowered to act for the mercantile communities of the several places, and watch over their interests. Besides the outports, almost every trading and manufacturing town of any consideration joined in petitioning against the renewal of the Company's charter.<sup>1</sup>

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Up to the beginning of 1812, the pretensions of the outports had excited apparently but little attention, and had received little countenance from the Ministers. Although Lord Melville had resisted the attempt of the Court to restrict the export trade to the port of London, he had nowhere intimated any inclination to extend the imports in a similar manner. On the contrary, he had concurred in the sixth proposition of the Court, which provided that the whole of the Indian trade should be brought to London, and that the goods should be sold at the Company's sales and under the Company's management, as likely to secure and facilitate the collection of the duties upon articles imported from India and China. Had, therefore, his propositions been acceded to in the first instance, it seems not unlikely that the Ministers would have been pledged to support the sale and warehousing system of the Company, and the advantages realised therefrom would have been preserved. The delay which the repugnance of the Court had caused, had given the opponents of the Company an opportunity to advocate the claims of the outports; and the change of administration which occurred at this season, and which placed the Earl of Buckinghamshire at the head of the Board of Controul, was another event which was unpropitious to their pretensions.<sup>2</sup> It was soon evident that the Company must forego all hope of profit derivable, directly or indirectly, from the trade with India.

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from the Merchants, Shipowners, &c. of London, and others, interested in the trade with India, and in the tea-trade; Parl. Debates, 6th May, 1812.

<sup>1</sup> See Parliamentary Debates, Session of 1812; Petitions from Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Nottingham, Blackburn, Paisley, Dundee, Perth, Belfast, and many other places in the three kingdoms.

<sup>2</sup> This nobleman, as Lord Hobart, had been Governor of Madras from 1794 to 1798. He had experienced the inconvenience to which the Indian Governments had been exposed in having to provide, amidst the financial embarrassments resulting from expensive warfare, for the Company's Investments.—See Memoir of the late Earl of Buckinghamshire, *Monthly Asiatic Journal*, January, 1817.



BOOK I. The conferences and correspondence with the Board  
 CHAP. VIII. still continued ; and, as the opinions of the new President  
 1813. of the Board of Controul were in favour of the claims of  
 the merchants of the outports, the proceedings that had  
 taken place were reported to the proprietors at large. The  
 sentiments of the Directors could not fail to find an echo  
 in such an assembly, and a series of resolutions was moved  
 and carried in a General Court, held on the 5th May, to  
 the following purport :—That the measure of opening the  
 outports to vessels of all descriptions from India was  
 fraught with consequences ruinous to the Company, and  
 to the long train of interests connected with it: the  
 removal of the trade from London would render large  
 and important establishments useless, and throw many  
 thousand persons out of bread. That a departure from  
 the course of public sales would be injurious to the  
 trade ; and, by dispensing with the interposition of the  
 Company, smuggling to an unlimited extent would be  
 uncontrollable, to the great detriment of the public revenue.  
 That the consequences must be, the destruction of the Com-  
 pany's China trade, the failure of their dividends, the depre-  
 ciation of their stock, and their inability to perform the  
 functions assigned to them in the government of British  
 India. That, if the constitution of the British Indian empire  
 were subverted, the civil and military services would be  
 broken down ; the tranquillity and happiness of the people  
 of India, the interests of Britain in Asia, and the consti-  
 tution at home, would be imminently endangered. That  
 the object for which these evils were to be risked, the  
 increase of the commerce, was illusory ; as all experience  
 had shown that it was not capable of increase. That the  
 cause of the Company had been deeply injured by preju-  
 dice, ignorance, erroneous assumption, and, latterly, by  
 extensive combinations, and by unfair representation, can-  
 vass, and intimidation. And finally, the Court, trusting  
 that Parliament would decide, not on the suggestions of  
 private interests, but considerations of national policy,  
 approved of the firmness with which the Directors had  
 maintained the interests of the Company, and enjoined  
 them to persevere in the negotiation with his Majesty's  
 Ministers on the same principles.

Although unappalled by the dark catalogue of imaginary

terrors which the interested fears of the East India Company had conjured up for the salvation of their monopoly, yet the obvious evils attending the transfer of the details of an extensive trade from one class of persons to others, and the confidence with which disappointment and ruin were predicted to those who sought to benefit by the transfer, compelled the Government to proceed with deliberation and caution, and prevented them from bringing the decision of the question before Parliament during this session, notwithstanding it was one of the topics adverted to at the opening of the session in the speech from the throne. Previously to its introduction, another attempt was made by the Ministers to obtain the acquiescence of the Company in the proposed extension of the import trade, as preliminary to any other arrangements; and, as the attempt was unsuccessful, they intimated that it would be for Parliament to determine whether, if the Company still thought the extension of the commerce incompatible with their administration of the government of India, measures might not be devised that would effect the opening of the trade, and at the same time provide for the administration of the government of India by some other means than the intervention of the Company, upon principles consistent with the interests of the country and the integrity of the British constitution.<sup>1</sup> This intimation closed the discussion on the part of the Administration. The Court of Directors were equally resolute, and they were supported by the great body of the Proprietors. After a meeting of the latter, which was repeatedly adjourned, a series of resolutions was adopted,<sup>2</sup> which recapitulated the principal arguments in favour of the continuance of the present system, approved entirely of the firmness of the Direction in regard to the vital question of admitting the outports to share in the import trade of India, expressed their opinion that on no consideration whatever should this point be conceded, and declared their conviction that they might approach Parliament with confidence, persuaded that the wisdom of that enlightened body would never consent to the sacrifice of

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Earl of Buckinghamshire, 4th Jan. 1813; Papers, 181.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings of a General Court of Proprietors, 26th Jan. 1813; Papers, 194.

BOOK I. the clear and positive interests of one class of men to the  
 CHAP. VIII. contingent advantages of another, nor demolish a mighty  
 1813. practical system which had been raised by such immense  
 exertions, in order to place its materials at the disposal of  
 interested speculation. Conformably to these resolutions,  
 a petition was presented to the House of Commons on the  
 22nd February, 1813, in which the Company prayed for  
 the renewal of the privileges granted in 1793, and depre-  
 cated any interference with the China trade, or any exten-  
 sion of the import trade from India to the outports of  
 Great Britain. Another petition was submitted at the  
 same time, soliciting from the nation payment of a debt  
 claimed by the Company of 2,294,426*l*.<sup>1</sup> A similar petition  
 was presented to the House of Lords.

On the 22nd March, 1813, the subject was introduced  
 into the House of Commons, in a Committee of the whole  
 House, by Lord Castlereagh, who, after some general ob-  
 servations, in which he bore testimony to the excellence  
 of the Company's Indian government, declared it to be the  
 wish of the Government not to interfere with the political  
 system unless compelled so to do, although circumstances  
 imperiously demanded the relaxation of their commercial  
 privileges. He accordingly submitted to the House a  
 series of resolutions, which proposed to renew the charter  
 of the Company for a further period, to continue to them  
 during that term the exclusive right of trading with  
 China, but admitting to the trade with India, under  
 certain restrictions, the mercantile community of Great  
 Britain. Some general discussion of the principles on which  
 the resolutions were founded ensued, but the Committee  
 agreed that the resolutions should be read *pro forma*, and  
 taken into consideration at an early date. In the House  
 of Lords similar resolutions were laid on the table by the  
 Earl of Buckinghamshire, and on the motion of the Earl of  
 Liverpool they were referred to a Select Committee.  
 It was agreed by the Lords that the petitioners should be  
 heard by their counsel, with permission to examine evi-  
 dence, should it be deemed necessary, in compliance  
 with an application to that effect from the Company.  
 The same indulgence was accorded by the House of Com-  
 mons, and evidence was heard at the bars of both Houses

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Debates, 22nd Feb. 1813; see also Papers, p. 252.

in support of the Company's objections to the measures proposed by the Administration.<sup>1</sup> In order to form an accurate notion of the tenor and character of the testimony thus adduced, it will be convenient here to offer a summary recapitulation of the objects and arguments of the conflicting parties.

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In the first instance, two great questions were involved in the consideration of the renewal of the charter — first, the political, and secondly, the commercial claims of the Company. The Court of Directors claimed the territory of India in the Company's possession as theirs by right of conquest, achieved originally with money derived from the profits of their trade: they had paid for it, and it was theirs. But then came the question, What was the Company? of whom was it composed? And the answer was necessarily that it consisted of the dutiful and loyal subjects of the King of Great Britain: and a further doubt inevitably followed, how they could reconcile the duties of obedience to their sovereign with the regal powers which they pretended to exercise in India. This anomalous position was a sufficient confutation of their claims, without advertng to the conditions and circumstances under which an association of merchants had been permitted to acquire extensive dominions. Waiving the question of right, however, the Administration was not only disinclined to put down the Company's authority, but was anxious to leave them in the undisturbed enjoyment of the privileges and advantages which it conferred. The public was either indifferent to this branch of the discussion, or preferred that the territory of India should be administered through the Company; as the distribution of the patronage which it secured to those that had the nomination to the greater portion of the Indian appointments was safer in their hands than in those of the Ministers, more likely to be innocuously distributed, and not in danger of being used as an instrument of parliamentary corruption — an article of barter exchangeable for a vote.

The second question, the commercial privileges of the Company, was also distinguishable under two heads — the trade with China, and the trade with India. Both of

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of Court of Proprietors, 24th March, 1813; Papers, p. 305.



BOOK I. these their mercantile antagonists sought to wrest from  
 CHAP. VIII. them ; but the Ministers came to their rescue, and were  
 1813. disposed to listen to the arguments of the Court in defence  
 of the monopoly of the trade with China. This trade was  
 carried on under peculiar circumstances. The Chinese  
 Government entertained a violent jealousy of foreign in-  
 tercourse, and confined the trade not only to a single port,  
 but to a single society,—to a certain number of native  
 merchants of Canton incorporated under the designation  
 of Hong,—interdicting the rest of its subjects from traf-  
 ficking with strangers. There was no field, therefore, for  
 competition ; no possibility of multiplying demand by  
 reduced prices, as the people at large were excluded from  
 the market ; and the only effect of the increased resort of  
 English merchants would be to place them more entirely at  
 the mercy of the Chinese Hong. Prompt to take offence,  
 and affecting, possibly entertaining, utter indifference for  
 foreign trade, the Government of Canton upon every  
 petty disturbance or cause of alarm was ready to place an  
 embargo upon all shipments whatever ; and it had often re-  
 quired the experienced judgment, local knowledge, and per-  
 sonal influence of the members of the Company's factory at  
 Canton to prevent or remedy occasions of umbrage, and  
 preserve the trade from suspension, or restore it when in-  
 terrupted. There was great reason to apprehend that  
 from the ignorance or incaution of British traders and  
 sailors, subject to no national controul, and setting the  
 Chinese authorities at defiance, frequent interruption, if  
 not a total stop to the trade, would occur ; to the serious  
 discontent of the people of England, to whom tea had  
 become a necessary of life, and to the irreparable injury  
 of the revenue, which realised nearly four millions a year  
 of duty upon this article of import.<sup>1</sup> It was maintained,  
 indeed, that there were no just grounds for apprehending  
 such a catastrophe. The Americans had traded largely with  
 China without supercargoes or factory, yet had never given  
 offence ; and the appointment of a British consul would  
 provide sufficiently a local authority, to which the resident  
 merchants and the crews of British vessels might be made

<sup>1</sup> Considerations on the China Trade, by Sir G. Staunton, Bart., communi-  
 cated in the first instance to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and subsequently to  
 the Court of Directors ; Papers, &c. p. 281.

amenable. The salutary effects of this latter measure were regarded, however, as doubtful; and it seemed not improbable that the immunity of the American trade from obstruction was in part attributable to the Company's establishment, which without actual authority exercised an influence over all the foreign trade at Canton favourable to its prosperity. It was also argued, that, if an unlimited intercourse with China were permitted, it would be impossible to prevent smuggling, by which the revenue would be injuriously affected; and although the impossibility was denied, yet undoubtedly this argument had great weight with the Administration, who were unwilling, amidst the enormous pressure upon the finances of the country during the momentous transactions of this period upon the Continent, to hazard the diminution of a resource so valuable and so easily realised as the duty upon tea paid by the Company. Accordingly from the first they declared their determination to uphold this part of the monopoly, and to exclude private traders from the China seas.

The struggle therefore was for the India trade. The advocates of the mercantile interest assailed the Company with the anti-monopoly doctrines, which, started by Adam Smith, were now received as axioms in the new and growing school of political economists: and although it was undeniable, that, had not the Company possessed originally an exclusive trade with India, that trade would never have been established on a secure and permanent footing, and not a rood of land in India would have owned the rule of Great Britain; yet the necessities which fully justified the monopoly for many years had gradually disappeared before its continuance, and no sufficient reasons could now be assigned for excluding the merchants of Britain from a commercial intercourse with British India, especially as that intercourse was open to the people of America and to all foreign nations. The Court of Directors were unable to offer any valid objections of a commercial nature. Their only argument was, that admission to the trade would end in disappointment; that the merchants who so eagerly sought to be allowed to engage in the commerce would find they had miscalculated the benefits they derived from it. The experience of two

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BOOK I. centuries, they affirmed, had fully determined the nature  
 CHAP. VIII. and extent of the trade with India ; and proved past  
 1813. questioning that it could not be carried beyond the bounds  
 to which it had attained, and which yielded so little profit,  
 that the trade was scarcely worth the company's retaining.  
 The imports from India were of a limited description,  
 and were either on the decline in competition with the raw  
 produce of America, as cotton ; or with the products of  
 home manufacture, as cotton goods ; or they were inca-  
 pable of more than a fixed and circumscribed consump-  
 tion, as was the case with indigo and various drugs and  
 spices. The same applied to the exports : they could not  
 be increased ; the climate, the religion, and the usages of  
 the people were all opposed to the consumption of British  
 goods and manufactures ; and nothing English that could  
 be sent to India was likely to find a sale, except among  
 the few British residents in the country. The interval  
 that had elapsed since the renewal of the last charter had  
 given to these conclusions the sanction of experience ; as  
 the amount of tonnage then provided for the private trade  
 had never been fully occupied, and not a single new article  
 of export had suggested itself to the interested enterprise  
 of the individual trader.

The more ardent of the advocates of free trade denied  
 the justice of the conclusions drawn by the Court. The  
 little profit attending the Company's trade they ascribed  
 to the prodigal expense of the Company's operations, the  
 want of good management, and the absence of judicious  
 speculation. The delays and expences to which the pri-  
 vate trade was subjected under the Company's controul  
 sufficiently accounted for the limited demand that had  
 been made for the tonnage : yet, notwithstanding these  
 obstacles, the Court's own returns showed that the private  
 trade was on the increase ; and, notwithstanding the as-  
 sertion that no new article had been introduced, it had  
 been found profitable to send out cotton manufactures to  
 India. They treated as monstrous and untenable the as-  
 sertion that no extension of trade was possible amongst  
 the millions of the Indian population.<sup>1</sup> The more mode-

<sup>1</sup> It was stated by Lord Castlereagh, that in the last twenty years the export  
 of cotton manufactures to India had increased from £2000 to £108,000, and  
 was clearly a growing trade.—Debates, June 2, 1813. See also Evidence of

rate argued, that, although it was very possible that such an extension as was sometimes anticipated, might not be effected in India itself, or amongst the Hindus, yet there was a considerable body of Mohammedans whose habits were less unpromising; and in the Indian Ocean, the Gulph of Persia, and the Eastern Archipelago, new channels of trade might and would no doubt be opened out by the activity and enterprise of the private trader: that, at any rate, the experiment was worth trying, as it could only leave the trade as it found it; and if, as was pretended, it yielded little or no profit to the Company, that was a reason the more why they should not be unwilling to part with it. The exigencies of the commerce of Great Britain probably weighed more with the Ministers than the arguments or assertions of either party. Excluded from the Continent by the decrees of Napoleon, the merchants and manufacturers were labouring under alarming difficulties; and the country was menaced with severe distress unless some new vent for the issue of its industrial products could be discovered, some new hopes could be held out to animate and encourage the drooping energies of manufacture and trade. To this great state necessity the interests of a single corporation were bound to yield; and the Company, with however bad a grace, were compelled to consent that vessels from any of the ports of Great Britain should be allowed to export British produce and fabrics to the territories of India under their authority. They still, however, insisted on the condition that the cargoes which the merchants imported from India should be brought to London, deposited in the Company's warehouses, and sold at the Company's sales. Upon this point, they resolutely resisted the wishes of the Government.

The arguments with which they opposed the extension of the imports from India to the outports of Great Britain were, the injury that it would inflict both upon the Company and the metropolis, rendering the extensive and valuable docks and warehouses appropriated during many

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Mr. Brown and Sir Robert Peel, App. First Report. Mr. Sullivan, 3rd June, says, the average export of manufactured cottons from 1792 to 1796 was £730, whilst between 1807 and 1811 it was £96,980: the amount of the exports of private trade had doubled within the period of the charter.



BOOK I. years to the India trade no longer available, and throwing  
CHAP. VIII. out of employment thousands of persons hitherto dependent upon their establishments; the impossibility it would involve of regulating the supplies by the demand, which was the effect of the Company's sales,—the Company keeping back, even to their own loss, the goods they imported, when they found that the market was overstocked. But the chief points upon which they rested their objections were, the impossibility of preventing smuggling in Britain, and checking the unlicensed and unlawful navigation in the Indian seas, which must result from extending the trade to other ports than that of London. The replies of the representatives of the outports were, either of a general tenor, the same with which the principle of the Company's monopoly had been assailed; or they were specially urged against the limitation of the import trade to the port of London, which they denounced as unnecessary, unjust, and impolitic. It was not necessary for the protection of the revenue, for experience had shown that the Government duties could be levied elsewhere with as much regularity and security as in London: it was unjust, because every mercantile place was entitled to the same protection as the capital; and it would be only a transfer of the monopoly from the East India Company to the merchants of London, to give them alone the privilege of importing goods from India: and it was impolitic, because the superior despatch and economy of the outports were requisite to secure an equality in the market with foreign nations. With regard to the duties, the Ministers also took the care of them upon themselves, their realisation being more the business of the State than of the Company; and they would not admit that any greater danger could accrue to the Company's authority in India from the homeward than the outward trade, as the increased resort of Europeans to India was quite as likely to be the consequence of the one as of the other. The Court of Directors had also impaired the force of their own objections on this ground, by acceding to the unlimited extension of the outward-bound trade to any of the ports of the United Kingdom. Notwithstanding this palpable objection to the arguments of the Court, the dangers resulting from the opening of the trade to their

political interests were pressed upon the Ministers with still more urgency than the peril of their commercial ; and their tenure of the sovereignty of India was declared to be contingent upon the preservation of their mercantile privileges. The dangers were of two kinds,—one financial, one political.

The revenues of British India, it was affirmed, had never been equal to the territorial charges : the deficit had been made good partly by money borrowed either in India or in England, and partly by the profits of the Company's trade. Large payments on account of Indian loans, and of expenses growing out of the Indian system — such as, the supplies of stores and the pensions of retired officers, civil and military — had also to be made in England : for which the commercial capital of the Company was wholly insufficient, and for which the sums required were raised by remittances of goods from India or China, and the proceeds of the sales at the India House. Should these sources of supply fail in consequence of the diversion of the trade to private hands, money would be wanting for current disbursements : and, should the profits of the trade be taken away, the excess of the charge of the Indian territory, the interest of the debt, and the dividends on the stock could no longer be provided for ; in which case the Company's stock would be valueless, and their obligations could not be discharged. The business of the Indian administration could no longer be carried on by them, and the rescission of their commercial privileges was therefore equivalent to the annihilation of their political existence,—to the subversion of that system which the sense of the nation, the testimony of all preceding Administrations, and the professions of the present Ministers, agreed to recognise as that which was best fitted to maintain the British dominion in India. These arguments were, however, disposed of in a great measure by the continuance to the Company of the monopoly of the tea-trade, from which it was admitted that their commercial profits were principally, if not wholly, derived. How far their territorial expenses had been defrayed by their commercial gains, was also a matter of some uncertainty, as the accounts of both had been hitherto blended in such a manner as to render it difficult to distinguish to

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BOOK I. which head many of the charges correctly appertained.  
CHAP. VIII. According to the Company's adversaries, the Company's  
1813. investments were largely indebted to the territorial revenue.

Thus driven from all the disputed posts,—most of which, to say the truth, were utterly untenable,—the Company had recourse to their last great stay, the danger of an unlimited resort of Europeans to India. It was asserted that merchants and agents would of necessity follow the trade, and that great numbers of persons would settle in the country, upon whose steps craftsmen and labourers would necessarily follow ; and European colonization, however slowly, would surely take place. Once established, it would, after the example of the American colonies, lead to independence, and India would be lost to Great Britain. Even before this consummation took place, extreme embarrassment and no small peril would be encountered. The weak and timid natives of India would be the victims of European fierceness and brute force. If they failed to resist, they would be subject to cruelty and oppression, which the Company's functionaries would be unable to prevent: if, taking courage from their numbers they ventured at resistance, scenes of tumult and bloodshed must follow, which could not fail to menace the stability of British rule. In either case, there was an immediate or a remote danger that the loss of India would follow the opening of the trade.

These apprehensions had, as above remarked, been partly neutralized by the assent which the Court had actually given to the extension of the trade in India, and it was not difficult to show that they were exaggerated and visionary. The resort of Europeans growing out of the agency of commerce could neither be numerous nor mischievous. It would be necessarily confined to the principal settlements, where alone trade could be largely and profitably carried on, and where the persons engaged in it would be immediately under the eye of the most efficient and powerful officers of the state. The class of persons who would take up their abode there would be peaceable merchants, factors, and agents ; not classes amongst whom matter deep and dangerous to the Government was likely to be fostered. Labour in India was too plentiful and too

cheap to hold out any inducement to the most numerous and disorderly classes of the community at home to emigrate, and all danger of popular commotion from such a source was therefore imaginary. But, it was argued, some of the settlers would attach themselves to the soil, and a class of agricultural as well as commercial colonists would be formed, by whom ultimate independence would be achieved. To the objection, that the land was fully occupied, that there was no room for new cultivators, the answer was, that the new colonists would displace the natives; but this could be effected only in one of two ways — by violence, or by purchase. The former implied that there was neither law nor government in the country, and counted vastly too much upon the non-resistance of the natives, who have everywhere been found ready to fight for their lands, and who in many parts of India are destitute neither of strength nor spirit. Purchase involved the transfer of capital from England to India, to be invested in property of very equivocal advantage at least, and little likely to be attended with profit under European management and the Company's revenue enactments. The climate and the habits of the two people rendered it utterly impossible that a European should compete with a native farmer in the cultivation of crops of rice, and the claims of the state to three-fifths of the net produce held out little prospect to the European cultivator of realising a fortune. It was not to be doubted also, that the climate, in some parts of India at least, was unfavourable to the full development of the European organisation; and, with diminished physical energy, would engender an inferior degree of intellectual vigour: so that the children of Europeans born and bred in the country would sensibly degenerate; and the course of a few generations would, in all probability, find them rather below, than above, the level of the native population. These were facts, however, unknown, or kept out of sight, by those who held out colonization and independence as bug-bears to the advocates of free-trade; and the phantoms had so far an influence upon the determinations of the Government, that it was thought advisable to take precautions to prevent their substantial existence. It was agreed that no persons, except those in the Company's employ, should

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BOOK I. be allowed to go to India as residents, without a license  
 CHAP. VIII. either from the Company or the Board of Controul; and  
 1813. that the Indian Governments should retain authority to  
 send out of the country any individual from whom they  
 might think it advisable to withdraw the licence to  
 reside in India. This was considered a sufficient conces-  
 sion to the real or affected panic of the Court. And with  
 regard to any embarrassments that might arise from the  
 diminished remittances from India to meet the demands  
 upon the Company, the Ministers engaged that, if it  
 should arise without any fault of the Company, they  
 would use their influence with Parliament to afford the  
 necessary relief, as far as equivalent means might exist in  
 India.<sup>1</sup>

The improbability of the extension of the trade, and  
 the great risk attending the attempt to effect its exten-  
 sion, were the especial points which the Company endea-  
 voured, by the witnesses whom they called, to impress  
 upon the Parliament; and with this view several of their  
 most distinguished servants were interrogated before the  
 House. The first person called was Warren Hastings;  
 and, as if impelled by a sudden conviction of the unde-  
 served severity with which he had been treated by a  
 former House of Commons, and by a spontaneous wish  
 to offer him such atonement as a unanimous tribute of  
 personal respect could render, the members rose, as one  
 body, upon his entrance into the House, and stood until  
 he had assumed his seat within the bar. Similar indica-  
 tions of veneration accompanied his withdrawal. The  
 House of Lords received him also with marked courtesy  
 and attention. The contrast between his position now  
 and that which he held in the same presence twenty-seven  
 years before, when he was arraigned of atrocious crimes  
 and misdemeanors before both Houses, must have been

<sup>1</sup> The arguments in favour of the continuance of the Company's exclusive privileges are to be chiefly found in the letters from the Chairs to the Board of Controul, and the petitions of the Company to Parliament, printed in the Papers respecting the negociations, &c. Those of the advocates of free trade, in the petitions of the several towns, and in a shoal of contemporary pamphlets: among which may be noticed *Considerations on the Trade with India*, London, 1807; and *Letters on the East India Company's Monopoly*, published at Glasgow. Nor was the Company without its supporters; amongst whom one of the most respectable was Mr. Robert Grant, the author of the "*Expediency of continuing the System of the Trade and Government of India*, 1813."

some, though a tardy and insufficient compensation for the unmerited neglect in which he had since passed his unobtrusive life.<sup>1</sup> His evidence was confirmatory of the assertions of the Company. He expressed it as his opinion, that if Europeans were admitted generally to go into the country, to mix with the inhabitants or form establishments amongst them, the consequence would certainly and inevitably be the ruin of the country: they would insult, plunder, and oppress the natives, and no laws enacted from home could prevent them from committing acts of licentiousness of every kind with impunity. A general feeling of hostility to the Government would be excited; and although the armed force might be of sufficient strength to suppress any overt acts of insurrection, yet the stability of the empire must be endangered by universal discontent. The opinions of Lord Teignmouth, Colonel Malcolm, Colonel Munro, and other distinguished servants of the Company were of a similar tendency, and deprecated strongly the unrestricted admission of Europeans to the interior of the country. Experience had proved, they affirmed, that it was difficult to impress even upon the servants of the Company, whilst in their noviciate, a due regard for the feelings and habits of the people; and Englishmen of classes less under the observation of the superior authorities were notorious for the contempt with which, in their national arrogance and ignorance, they contemplated the usages and institutions of the natives, and for their frequent disregard of the dictates of humanity and justice in their dealings with the people of India. The natives, although timid and feeble in some places, were not without strength and resolution in others; and instances had occurred where their resentment had proved formidable to their oppressors. It was difficult, if not impossible, to afford them protection, for the Englishman was amenable only to the courts of British law established at the Presidencies; and although the local magistrate had the power of sending him thither for trial, yet, to impose upon the native complainants and witnesses the obligation of repairing many hundred miles to obtain

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<sup>1</sup> Of his reception he merely remarks, in a letter to a young friend, "I have lately received two most convincing and affecting proofs of my having outlived all the prejudices which have during so many past years prevailed against me." — *Life of Warren Hastings*, iii. 458.

BOOK I. redress, was to subject them to delay, fatigue, and expense,  
 CHAP. VIII. which would be more intolerable than the injury they had  
 1813. suffered. There was in fact, therefore, no redress ; and  
 the only security that the natives enjoyed was the power  
 vested in the Government of removing a troublesome and  
 mischievous European from the provinces to the Presi-  
 dency, or even, if necessary, of sending him altogether  
 out of India. As long as those powers continued to be  
 vested in the local Governments, and as long as the resort  
 of Europeans to India was regulated by licences granted  
 by the authorities either in England or in India, it was  
 thought by some of the witnesses that no great danger  
 was to be apprehended. According to Colonel Malcolm,  
 However, the restrictions could not be too stringent or  
 severe.<sup>1</sup>

In all the questions, however, to which these replies  
 were given, it was assumed that not only an unrestricted  
 but an unlimited and numerous influx of Europeans would  
 follow the opening of the trade, and that the Europeans  
 would settle as colonists. Admitting the inferences to be  
 legitimate, the premises did not appear to all the witnesses  
 to be equally indisputable. Thus Colonel Munro, in par-  
 ticular, stated his opinion that, although in the first  
 instance the number of Europeans might be considerably  
 augmented, yet by degrees that number would be limited  
 by the amount of the trade, for the regulation of which  
 alone their residence would be advantageous. They would  
 not become manufacturers, on account of the superior  
 skill and economy of the natives ; they could not hold  
 land, as that was prohibited by the Company's regulations :  
 and, supposing it to be desirable that the law were repealed,  
 it was not likely that Europeans could colonize to any  
 extent ; they would be borne down by the superior popu-  
 lation of the natives, more industrious and economical  
 than themselves.

The several witnesses agreed also as to the improbability  
 of the trade with India being susceptible of any material  
 extension. The simple habits of the people, taught them  
 by the nature of the climate and the condition of society,

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committees of both  
 Houses of Parliament in 1813, printed by order of the Court of Directors for  
 the information of the Proprietors.

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rendered them, even where able to purchase superfluities, little inclined to provide them. A few opulent natives at the chief cities occasionally purchased articles of European furniture and apparel, in compliment to their European friends, but commonly put them aside and made no use of them.<sup>1</sup> Their superfluous wealth was expended in the marriages of their children or at religious festivals, in domestic indulgences or on the ornaments of their women. The vast majority of the people were, however, devoid of the means of buying European manufactures, even if there existed amongst them any propensity to make use of them.<sup>2</sup> Here, again, the same sagacious officer, Colonel Munro, placed the question in its true light. Although he admitted that the Hindu was as unalterable in his habits as it was possible to be, and had in all probability adhered to them ever since he was first known to the Greek invaders of his country, yet he denied that the people of India entertained any invincible prejudices against foreign fabrics: it was entirely a question of price: whenever we could undersell the Hindus in any article which they required, it would find its way into the interior of the country without much help from the British merchant, and in spite of all regulations to prevent it. At the same time, he did not conceive it likely that there would be such a reduction of price as could bring British manufactures into competition with those the

<sup>1</sup> A fourth of the second share of the prize-money of Seringapatam was to be paid to the Nizam, and, with a prudent regard for the interests of British trade, the Government of Madras thought it expedient to convert the amount into broad-cloth, plate, china, glass and the like, in order to initiate his Highness and his Court into a taste for the elegant superfluities of European living. The articles were graciously received; but all were consigned to the Toshak-khans, or magazine of rare and valuable commodities. On visiting this magazine, the Resident found many rooms filled from the floor to the ceiling with European articles, most of which had been presented to the Nizam and his father by the Governors of the French and English settlements: some as old as the time of Duplessy and Bussy, sent direct from the court of Louis XV. Of course the greater portion had become the nests of the white ant and the moth. — Evidence of T. Sydenham, Esq. before the House of Commons; Minutes, p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> Various testimonies were given of the cheapness of labour and the trifling amount sufficient for the maintenance of the natives. According to returns obtained by Colonel Munro whilst in India, upon a population of two millions of inhabitants, the average annual expenditure of each individual for clothes, food, furniture, and all the necessaries of life, did not exceed 25s.: the average expenditure of the rich being 40s.; that of the middle classes, comprising the whole of the agricultural and manufacturing classes, 27s.; and that of the poorest, 18s. It was not likely that any of these classes should furnish consumers of European commodities. — Min. of Evidence, p. 204.



BOOK I. natives required and could produce in their own country.  
 CHAP. VIII. He was not aware what elements were even then at work  
 1813. to raise the British manufacture of one of the necessaries  
 of life, cotton cloth, upon the ruin of the fabrics of India.

A question of still graver importance, although not affecting the continuance of the Company's privileges, was the expedience of adopting measures for the dissemination of Christianity amongst the natives of India. The advantages of placing the Company's chaplains under episcopal authority had been pressed upon the attention of the Company and the public some years before,<sup>1</sup> and the administration was willing to give, in part, to the arrangement so suggested. The appointment of a bishop and archdeacons was calculated to give consistency and vigour to the clerical establishment of British India, and was not likely to excite any hostile feelings amongst the natives, as long as they had no cause to suspect, that it was the purpose of the Government to employ such agency as instruments of their conversion. To this extent, therefore, the Ministers and the Company were disposed to go: but there were not wanting a number of zealous persons who endeavoured to force upon them the adoption of provisions in the new charter for the communication of the light of Christianity to the benighted heathens of India, and for affording sufficient opportunities to the benevolent persons who should be desirous of going to India for that purpose; or, in other words, to authorise and assist the exertions of the missionaries. Petitions to this effect had been presented to both Houses of Parliament, and the members naturally therefore wished to hear the sentiments of those who were best qualified to judge of the probable consequences of any attempt of the Government to introduce the Christian religion. There was no hesitation or disagreement in the reply. All concurred in asserting that not only the attempt, but any notion amongst the natives that such an attempt would be made, was pregnant with the most fatal consequences: it would not only defeat the object for which it was made, and prevent the diffusion of that religion it was intended to establish, but would lead to universal fear and discon-

<sup>1</sup> In a memoir on the expediency of an Ecclesiastical establishment for British India, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, 1805.

tent, and would in all likelihood end in the overthrow of the British empire. Divided as were the people of the country by religious differences and distinctions of caste, any dread of violence to their several forms of belief would unite them in a common cause; would convert timidity into desperation, and subordination into defiance; and would kindle a flame which, in its progress, would destroy not only the British Government, but all who professed the faith it was designed to propagate. Even Lord Teignmouth, although connected with the religious party, admitted that considerable peril might be apprehended from indiscreet zeal; that, from the experience which the natives had had of the disposition of the Government during very many years to pay every attention to their civil and religious prejudices, they never could be brought to believe that it meant to impose upon them the religion of this country; that any enactment for the conversion of the natives, having the appearance of a compulsory law upon their conscience, would be attended with very great danger; and that it would be advisable to leave in the hands of the local Government, the controul to be exercised over persons professing to teach Christianity in India.<sup>1</sup>

A variety of conflicting evidence relating to the difficulty of repressing smuggling, and the expedience of continuing the Chinese monopoly, was also heard. The officers of the outports generally maintained that there existed as much security for the realisation of the duties at the several harbours as in London. The weight of authority, however, was against them; and difficulty was anticipated, although it might not be insuperable. The evidence of the Company's officers who had resided in China was also of a character more entitled to credit than that of the merchants, who attempted to qualify or deny the descriptions which were given by Sir G. Staunton and

<sup>1</sup> See the Resolutions of a meeting of the Protestant Society for the protection of Religious Liberty, 2nd March, 1813; Papers, &c. 276: of a special meeting of the Church Missionary Society, 24th April, 1813; of the meetings of the members of the Church of Scotland, the Wesleyans, Baptists, and others, in March and April, 1813; in the Missionary Register for April of that year. The subject was also warmly discussed in various pamphlets: Lord Teignmouth and Mr. Fuller taking the lead on the side of missionary encouragement; and Messrs. Scott Waring, and T. Twining, among those who denied its expedience or safety.

BOOK I. Mr. Davies of the peculiarities under which the trade with  
 CHAP. VIII. the Chinese was conducted, and the danger of its being  
 lost should an indiscriminate traffic be allowed.

1813.

On the 25th of May, the subject was again brought before the House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh, presuming that the members were now in possession of the evidence, was desirous of entering upon the discussion, and coming to a conclusion without further delay. Some opposition was made to an early day, on the ground of there not being time to read over the minutes of evidence; but it was over-ruled, and on the 31st the House went into a Committee on the Resolutions. The first resolution purported that the privileges, authorities, and immunities granted to the East India Company by any acts of parliament then in force, should be continued for a further period of time to be limited, except as far as hereafter modified and repealed. In objecting to this, Mr. Bruce, the Company's historiographer, recapitulated the history of the Company, the attempts that had been made to interfere with their exclusive rights, the little success with which they had been attended, and the services rendered to the trade, and the prosperity of the state, by the Company; and he argued that any deviation from the existing system would be productive of dangers and losses both commercial and political, of the destruction of the Company's trade both with India and China, and of the subversion of their Indian empire. It would be a melancholy reflection, he concluded, to have lived to see one political and financial error lose to the country its American colonies; and to be convinced that the proposed resolutions, if passed into a law in opposition to a most full and complete body of evidence, would in a short time probably lose its Indian empire to Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> He was followed by Mr. Charles Grant, junior, who impressed upon the House the peril of disturbing a system of administration under which the people of India were prosperous and happy, for the sake of imaginary commercial advantages which never could be realised. The good of the people of India was the real point at issue; and this could not be promoted by letting loose amongst them

<sup>1</sup> Substance of the Speech of J. Bruce, Esq.; Black, Parry & Co, 1813: also Hansard's Debates, 31st May, 1813.

a host of desperate, needy adventurers, whose atrocious conduct in America and in Africa afforded sufficient indication of the evils they would inflict upon India. The Company had been charged with having excited wars in India, and furnished an exception to the general rule that peace and tranquillity were the inseparable attendants of commerce: and by whom was this charge made? by the advocates of the slave-trade, the people of Liverpool. The natives of India deprecated all change: he gave utterance to their prayers when he conjured the House not to make them the subjects of perilous speculation, and, for the sake of local insignificant interests, barter away their happiness. The commercial merits of the question were more particularly dwelt upon by the father of this speaker, Mr. Charles Grant, senior, who, as chairman and member of the Court of Directors, and a gentleman of great ability and experience, had taken the lead in the defence of the Company's privileges. He urged the arguments already adverted to, of the impossibility of materially extending the trade, which he was satisfied to observe was now generally admitted. He denied that the union of the character of merchant and sovereign was prejudicial to the country over which the Company ruled; that any loss had attended their commercial transactions, the commerce having not only supported itself, but contributed to the expenses of the administration of the territory: he asserted that the remittances made to England were necessary for territorial charges in that country; and that they were better effected through goods than the bills of private merchants, of whose solvency they could not always feel secure. He maintained the right of the Company to their territorial possessions, having been acquired at their own hazard and expense. In reply to the inconsistency of apprehending a dangerous resort of Europeans to India if merchandise were brought from thence to the outports, and not anticipating the same from vessels fitted out by them for the export trade, he observed that, if ships were not allowed to carry their return cargoes to the outports, the ships fitted out from those ports would be comparatively few. Of the reality of the danger, the whole body of the evidence was full. The transfer of the trade from London to the outports

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BOOK I. would yield no advantages to the kingdom at large; whilst  
CHAP. VIII. it would be injurious to the metropolis, and dangerous to  
India.

1813.

Amongst the speakers on the opposite side, Mr. Canning was principally distinguished. He very justly observed, that, of all the questions ever discussed in the House of Commons, the present was one in which on both sides the greatest exaggeration prevailed. He bore no enmity to the Company, and was desirous of supporting all their just claims: but, he could not admit their claim to the rightful sovereignty of India; or that the anomaly of their position should impair the principle, that, whenever British subjects acquired dominion, it was comprehended within the permanent dominion of the empire. When Parliament was legislating on the government and commerce of India, it was as clearly competent to do so, as to enact laws respecting any other British possessions properly denominated colonies. He would admit, however, the Company to retain their sovereign capacity as a concession, not as a right; but, if it should seem good to take it away, it was the right of the Parliament so to legislate, and not in the right of the East India Company to plead their possession. With regard to the objections offered to the opening of the trade on account of the anticipated misconduct of those who would engage in it, he thought it was rather hard and unprecedented language for the advocates of the Company to say to the merchants, "You are a pack of piratical ragamuffins, who want to lay our villages in ruins and blood, and to carry away our children into captivity: we have heard of the horrible traffic you carried on for the slave-trade a century without shame, and would not abandon without a struggle." Fortunately for the private trader, the right and power of interference did exist in Parliament, who would consider the question in all its bearings, without heeding the exaggerated pretensions of those commercial lords of Asia to dominions acquired by British enterprise, and yet held by British arms.

After witnessing the changes in the systems of judicature and revenue, and in the military organisation, which had been effected by the Company's Governments, he could not believe in the alleged immutability of the native

character and habit, which was to render impracticable any extension of the trade with them ; and still less could he imagine that a people, who had been quiet and submissive for three thousand years, should lose those qualities all of a sudden if a few pedlars were allowed to travel in the country with a pack of scissors or other hardware at their backs. The question was, not the admission of British merchants to trade without restrictions, but their trading subject to restrictions and regulations. He conceived the general principle to be pretty well disposed of, except between the classes who went to the extreme length of contending, on the one side, that the Company should be abolished, and those who, on the other, maintained that not a single feather should be taken from their plume of sovereignty ; but whilst he did not apprehend any insuperable difficulty in providing for the government of India independent of the Company, yet he was ready to admit that the system had many advantages, and was desirous to continue it in their hands as long as it did not degenerate into a system of exclusion. The first resolution was carried without a division.

The second resolution, proposing to continue the monopoly of the tea-trade with the Company, was discussed on the succeeding day. It encountered some opposition from Mr. Marryatt, Mr. Ponsonby, and Sir J. Newport ; who argued that it was impolitic and unjust to exclude British subjects from a trade to which foreigners were admitted, and that, by opening the trade, the public would be supplied with better tea at a lower price, the prices of teas in America being much lower than those at the Company's sales. In reply it was asserted, that the Company put up their teas at little more than cost price ; and that, if the rates were enhanced by the buyers, it was their act, not the Company's. Whilst also it was not denied that the American prices were lower, it was asserted by Mr. Grant that the comparison was fallacious ; as the articles although bearing similar appellations, were entirely different, and the American teas were of inferior quality. This was contradicted ; but the arguments which had influenced the Select Committee—the fear of exciting the jealousy and provoking the opposition of the Chinese Government, and the inexpediency of hazarding valuable

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BOOK I. and readily realisable revenue which the duty on tea under  
CHAP. VIII. the present system secured,—proved successful; and this  
1813. resolution was also carried without a division. The other  
resolutions, with reservation of the third, seventh, eighth,  
and thirteenth, were also agreed to.

On the 2nd of June, the discussion of the third resolution took place. This resolution, which gave permission to the ships of private merchants to sail from any port in Great Britain to any port within the limits of the Company's charter, and to return to certain of the outports, had been qualified by various clauses, having for their object both the security of the Company and individuals; the most important of them making it necessary for vessels trading with India to have licences from the Company, but empowering the Board of Controul to issue licences when refused by the Court of Directors, if not satisfied with the grounds of the refusal. The debate was opened with a speech from Mr. Rickards, objecting altogether to the continuance of the Company's privileges, and denying the existence of that prosperity amongst the people of India which they had been described as enjoying under the Company's administration; attributing much of the misery that existed to the pressure upon the national industry arising from the Company's monopoly, and looking for its relief only to the extension of a demand for the produce of the country through the enterprise of the private trader. He was replied to by Mr. Grant. The singularity of the debate was a long and elaborate speech from Mr. Tierney, who, in opposition to the sentiments of his colleagues, maintained that, looking to the distinguished character and generally concurring tenor of the evidence adduced in favour of the Company, and the total absence of any evidence on the opposite part, the existing system ought not to be interfered with. In fact, there was a gross inconsistency in the resolution: a Court of Directors, that could not be trusted with the commerce of India, was to be confirmed in the government,—twenty-four execrable merchants were to make excellent political governors! But there was no charge against the Company: the main object of the act of 1793, the happiness of sixty millions had been attained. The government of India, he asserted, was well and ably administered, and

was not to be subverted for the sake of a little more trade. Amongst all the arguments in favour of the benefits that were to accrue to the people of India from a free trade, he had never heard it proposed to allow one manufacture of India to be freely imported into Great Britain. It was true that they would allow cotton twist: but then, having found out that they could weave by means of machinery cheaper than the Indians, they said to them, "Leave off weaving; supply us with the raw material, and we will weave for you."<sup>1</sup> Now, although this was a natural principle enough for merchants and manufacturers, it was rather too much to talk of the philanthropy of it, or to rank the supporters of it as in a peculiar degree the friends of India. If, instead of calling themselves the friends of that country, they should profess themselves its enemies, what more could they do than advise the endeavour to crush all Indian manufacture? What would be said of the East India Company if they were to show as decided a preference to the manufactures of the natives of India under their protection as we did to the manufactures of England? It appeared to him, that the alterations in the resolutions had been proposed for no other purpose than to conciliate the clamour of the merchants, and he would defy any man to point out anything like the good of India being the object of any of the resolutions. In conclusion, he expressed his opinion that either the present system must be maintained, or the Company set

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<sup>1</sup> The history of the trade of cotton cloths with India affords a singular exemplification of the inapplicability to all times and circumstances of that principle of free trade which advocates the unrestricted admission of a cheap article, in place of protecting by heavy duties a dearer one of home manufacture. It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she had become dependent. It was stated in evidence that the cotton and silk goods of India up to this period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from fifty to sixty per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of seventy and eighty per cent. on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and of Manchester would have been stopped in their outset and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the powers of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated; would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods, and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty: and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms.



BOOK I. aside altogether. Lord Castlereagh, in reply to Mr. Tierney, urged adherence to the middle course which had been proposed by the ministers. In the adjourned debate, on the following day, Mr. Sullivan recapitulated the circumstances which had taken place on the renewal of the charter of 1793, and the measures advocated in 1800 by Mr. Dundas, for the extension of private trade, by the admission of India-built shipping belonging to merchants in India at that time, and observed that all the arguments brought forward against the propositions now before the House, were then urged with greater force and ability than was now evinced in the discussion: the result of a compromise made with the Company had demonstrated the futility of all objections against the private trade, which had largely increased during the period of the charter. Mr. Prothero vindicated the merchants of the outports from the sarcastic observations of Mr. Tierney, and maintained that they had shown their moderation in not insisting upon larger concessions than it had been deemed expedient to grant. Mr. Baring denied the advantages, and expatiated on the dangers of augmenting the facilities already given to private trade. Several other members took part in the debate; but the discussion turned chiefly upon the general merits of the measure, and went over the grounds previously exhausted. The resolution was carried without a division; and the remaining resolutions being agreed to, with a reservation that some of them would be considered more fully on the bringing up of the report, the House was resumed, and the report of the Committee, consisting of the resolutions in detail, was received.<sup>1</sup>

On the 14th, when the report was taken into consideration, Sir J. Newport moved that it should be postponed to that day three months, expressly with a view of inducing the House in the next session to abolish the monopoly altogether. Lord Castlereagh expressed his opinion that such an abolition would be a serious calamity, and that ministers would be guilty of a dereliction of duty if they agreed to any postponement of the question. Mr. Whitbread passed some severe strictures on the Ministers, for culpable delay in bringing the question forward, and

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

then hurrying it to a decision: he accused Lord Castlereagh of inconsistency, who, when President of the Board of Controul, nine years before, had declared that the Company was unable, and ought not, to exist longer; and yet now argued that it ought to be supported. He completely agreed with the sentiments which had been expressed by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, disputed the eulogium which had been passed upon the Company's administration, considered the evidence given in their behalf as prejudiced and contradictory, and declared that the information was insufficient: one thing only was clear, there should be no compromise; if the Company ought to be destroyed, destroy it; if it ought to be maintained, maintain it: he voted for further delay. Mr. Tierney also urged delay, which Mr. Canning opposed; and, upon a division, the amendment was rejected by a considerable majority. The debate on the resolution was adjourned.

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On resuming the discussion on the 14th June, Mr. Howorth argued the necessity of asserting in the preamble a declaration of the sovereignty of India residing in the Crown; and Sir J. Newport proposed a motion to that effect. Lord Castlereagh objected to the amendment, that it was unnecessary; that it was raising a doubt where none had been suggested; and that it would be well to consider what Parliament had done on a former occasion, when the charter was renewed, and when it had not been thought advisable to accompany resolutions of a practical and specific character with principles of universal applicability. Mr. Grant said that the East India Company had never laid claim to the sovereignty of the country; they had only asserted that right in the soil which they conceived to be given them by the charter. The amendment was negatived. Lord Castlereagh then moved that the term for the duration of the charter should be twenty years, which Mr. Ponsonby proposed should be shortened to ten; in which he was supported by Mr. Creevey, who, however, gave a decided negative to the whole of the resolution. Lord Castlereagh maintained that a period of less than twenty years would be insufficient to enable Parliament to judge of the merits or defects of the system about to be established, and reminded the House that

BOOK I. they retained the power of superintending and controuling the proceedings both of the Company and the Ministers.

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Mr. Canning voted for the shorter period ; and Mr. Whitbread declared that, from what he had heard in the course of the debate, he should vote against the resolution. The Company had governed India badly, and had no right to the monopoly of the trade with either India or China. The amendment was rejected, but the minority was considerable. On the duration of the exclusive trade to China, Mr. Canning also divided the House, proposing to limit it to ten years ; a motion intended, no doubt, to propitiate his Liverpool constituents. It was carried against him. An attempt was made, upon the third reading of the resolution, by Mr. Baring, to restrict the return trade to the port of London, at least for a period of five years : but it was vigorously opposed by the representatives of the maritime towns, and especially by Mr. Canning, who denounced the proposition as an insidious attempt to destroy the whole scheme which Parliament had devised ; for the outports, thwarted, crippled, and confined by such a regulation, would abandon the trade, and then the Company would again possess its monopoly undisturbed. The resolution was carried. Some further discussion ensued upon other clauses and resolutions, but they were agreed to ; except the thirteenth, the debate on which was adjourned : it being understood that a bill should be, in the mean time, brought in on the other resolutions, and that they should be sent to the Lords.

The thirteenth resolution, the object of which professed to be the affording of facilities and encouragement to missionaries in India, was the subject of a separate discussion on the 22nd June. In opening the debate, Lord Castlereagh felt it necessary to correct an erroneous impression that had gone abroad, that the resolution was intended to encourage an unrestrained and unregulated resort of persons to India for religious purposes ; this was not the case. It was never conceived by the authors of the resolution that an unrestrained resort of persons with religious views would be consonant with the tranquillity and security of the British possessions in India ; although they thought that no danger could arise from allowing a certain number of persons, under the cognizance of the

Court of Directors, who were again controuled by the Board of Commissioners, to proceed as missionaries to India : with this impression he proposed the adoption of the resolution.

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The principal speaker on this occasion was Mr. Wilberforce, who gave utterance to the sentiments of the whole religious part of the kingdom. He denied that the only object of the resolution was to secure to such missionaries as the Board of Controul should sanction, permission to go to India, and to remain there as long as they should continue to exercise the duties of their office in an orderly and peaceable manner. Another, perhaps a principal object, as expressed in the words of the resolution, was to enlighten and inform the minds of our Indian subjects, by which he understood their education : and from the diffusion of knowledge, the progress of science, and the circulation of the Scriptures in the native languages, he anticipated even more than from direct missionary exertion. He also disclaimed, as preliminary to the discussion, all intention to advocate for the conversion of the natives the influence of Government. With regard to the inveteracy and unalterableness of the prejudices and superstitions of the Hindus, Mr. Wilberforce argued, from their submission to so many changes in the constitution of the government and the administration of the laws, that they were not so incapable of adopting new opinions as had been represented : nor were they incapable of change, even in their religious sentiments ; as was evinced by the multitude of Mohammedans who formed part of the population, and who must have originated from conversion ; by the formation of a whole nation, that of the Sikhs, who within a few centuries had thrown off the restrictions of the Hindu religion ; and by the prevalence of numerous sectarial divisions amongst the Hindus themselves : nay, the work of conversion to Christianity had been going on for the last century with signal success, and there were at that moment hundreds of thousands of native Christians in the East Indies. So little were the Hindus indisposed towards the doctrines of the Gospel, that the most zealous, laborious, and successful missionaries, such as Swartz and others, had been the most esteemed and beloved of all Europeans among all classes of natives. In answer to the



BOOK I. assertions of those witnesses who had vindicated the  
CHAP. VIII. moral character of the Hindus, and affirmed that, if practicable, it was not desirable to effect their conversion, he  
1813. quoted largely from a memoir on the Moral State of India by Mr. Grant, from the opinions of the judges and magistrates given in answer to a call from Lord Wellesley to report upon the moral condition of the people, and from the Appendix to the Fifth Report, to establish the general depravity of the people of Hindustan; and intimated that the opinions which had been expressed to the contrary only proved the justice of Burke's sarcasm, that Europeans were commonly unbaptized on the passage to India. The charge that he was bringing an indictment against the whole population of India, who had done nothing to deserve his enmity, he indignantly repelled; and accused those of being the worst enemies of the people of India who would keep those miserable beings bowed down under the yoke which oppressed them. The course he was recommending tended as much to their temporal as to their spiritual advantage; for the evils consequent upon the institutions and superstitions of the Hindus pervaded the whole mass of the population, and embittered the domestic cup in almost every family. Such were the effects of the distinctions of caste, which were more degrading and intolerable than the fetters of West Indian slavery; of the practice of polygamy; of infanticide; of the burning of widows, of whom ten thousand were annually sacrificed in Bengal alone; of the obscene and bloody rites of their idolatrous ceremonies; and of the destruction of human life, as instanced in the worship of Jagannath in Orissa, in whose service it had been computed, taking in all the various modes and forms of destruction connected with it, that one hundred thousand human beings were annually expended. Mr. Wilberforce then vindicated the character of Dr. Buchanan, and maintained the accuracy of his statements; and he defended the conduct of the Baptist missionaries in Bengal,<sup>1</sup> and claimed for them the merits of discretion and moderation, as much as for piety and learning. The statements and reasonings of Mr. Wilberforce were contradicted by a few

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding chapter.

of the members ; but no serious opposition was made to the resolution, and it passed the House.

On the 28th June, the resolutions were presented to the House in the form of a Bill, which, however, was not to be suffered to pass without further discussion, although little of novelty could be adduced by the speakers. On this occasion, Mr. Grant entered into a long defence of the Company's government in India, in reply to the censures pronounced upon it by Mr. Rickards ; and Mr. Lushington vindicated the moral character and the religious practices of the people of India from the unqualified and exaggerated assertions of Mr. Wilberforce. On the 1st July, several clauses again underwent examination, but the thirteenth clause was the principal topic of debate. Sir J. Sutton, although friendly to the principle of the clause, objected to the open avowal that persons were to be sent to India for the propagation of Christianity, as its only effect would be to alarm and irritate the feelings of the people of India ; and he therefore moved as an amendment, that, instead of the expression in the clause "for the above purposes,"—the propagation of Christianity,—it should be declared "expedient to send persons to India for various lawful purposes." Lord Castlereagh objected to the amendment, although in the wording of the clause he had endeavoured to satisfy other feelings than his own. But the clause enacted nothing ; it declared nothing ; it made no provisions for enforcing our religion, or abolishing that of the natives of India : it simply gave the weight and sanction of Parliament to the principle ; but, so far from taking away or doing anything to interrupt or abolish the religion of the natives, its free exercise was in this very bill secured to them. Mr. Marsh then at great length replied to the former address of Mr. Wilberforce. He considered the provision as a most portentous novelty in Indian legislation. In all former modes of policy for the government of India, the inviolability of the religious feelings and customs of the natives was considered a sacred and indisputed axiom : a departure from that policy would shake our empire in that part of the world to its centre. The natives of India could not distinguish between the projects of those who had worked themselves up to a morbid enthusiasm on the subject, from plans

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BOOK I. countenanced by the authority and intended to be effectuated by the power of the state. They were too tremblingly sensitive on the subject of their religion, and too little versed in the nature of parliamentary proceedings, to be able to separate the acts and opinions of a large portion of the country acting permissively under the state, from the authentic and solemn act of the state itself. To give a licence to a missionary to go out to India, was to impair the authority of the Government abroad to send him back if he misconducted himself: and the probability of his so doing was sufficiently evinced by the despatch from the Governor-General of the 2nd November, 1807, which stated several alarming instances of misguided and intemperate zeal, and of low and scurrilous invective circulated in the native languages against the feelings, prejudices, and belief of the people. Mr. Marsh then entered into a detailed argument to prove that the mutiny at Vellore, and the dangerous plots which were concerted in other parts of the Peninsula, originated in an alarm excited amongst the natives of their enforced conversion; which fears were confirmed by the activity of the missionaries in the Madras settlement, instigated by the unusual countenance which they had received for some time previous to the massacre. Was it possible, he asked, that the House would fall into such a fit of absurdity and fanaticism, or be visited with so awful a fatuity, as not to keep so awful an event before them in the grave discussion of matters affecting the religion of the country? Mr. Marsh then proceeded to question the practicability of converting the people of India to Christianity in spite of the existing institutions, and particularly that of caste; the loss of which, consequent upon the adoption of a new creed, subjected the neophyte to the most cruel of all martyrdoms—to separation from all the sweets of social communion, the ties of friendship, the charities of kindred, and all that life contains to support and adorn existence. He denied that the missionaries were fit engines to accomplish the greatest revolution that had yet taken place in the history of the world. He could not, he observed, sufficiently admire the inconsistencies and contradictions of some of the most ardent advocates of the clause; of those who would most jealously exclude from India per-

sons invited thither by commercial enterprise, and having an obvious interest in carrying on a quiet, prudent, and conciliatory intercourse with the natives ; and yet would throw open every port in the dominion to swarms of individuals whose nature and character it is to consider themselves absolved from all human restraints, and free from all human motives, in effecting the objects of their calling. Nay, the same reasoners, who would persuade us that the Hindus were unsusceptible of change in regard to the use of European manufactures, would have us believe that they were ready eagerly to welcome whatever articles of spiritual novelty might be imported. The doctrine, that the people of India were so brutalized by the grossness of their superstition as to be incapable of any redeeming virtue, he denounced as founded on the falsest assumption ; and vindicated their moral and intellectual worth from the calumnies with which he had been assailed by partial and prejudiced testimony. The moral obligation to diffuse Christianity, binding and authoritative as he admitted it to be, vanished when placed against the ills and mischiefs which were likely to follow its application to India. There never was a moral obligation to produce war and bloodshed and civil disorder ; such an obligation would not exist, were the wildest barbarians the subjects of the experiment : but when, in addition to considerations sanctioned by justice and policy, it was remembered that the people we were so anxious to convert were in the main a moral and virtuous people, not uninfluenced by those principles of religion which give security to life, and impart consolation in death, the obligation assumed a contrary character, and common sense, reason, and even religion itself cried out aloud against our interference.<sup>1</sup> The support given to the amendment proposed by Mr. Marsh, necessarily produced a reply from Mr. Wilberforce. He defended the missionaries from the opprobrious terms which had been applied to them by Mr. Marsh, and denied that the transactions at Vellore were in any degree connected with their proceedings. He had the authority of the Governor of Madras and the Court of Directors for ascribing it to the military regulations which had been

<sup>1</sup> Substance of the Speech of C. Marsh, Esq., in a Committee of the House of Commons on the 11th July, 1813, revised by the speaker : London, 1813.



BOOK I. issued, and the extreme severity with which the manifestation of reluctance to obey them had been punished. The unsoundness of the conclusion drawn from this affair might inspire a reasonable distrust of the correctness of the persuasions entertained by the opponents of the measure with regard to the extreme sensitiveness of the people of India in regard to their religion, when the attempt to convert them was made in a spirit of conciliation, and when no other means were thought of but argument and persuasion. In fact, there were two remarkable instances on record of successful endeavours to root out inveterate and pernicious practices in India : the prohibition of sacrificing at the change of every moon many victims, chiefly children, to the river Ganges, which had been enacted by Lord Wellesley ; and the suppression of infanticide in Guzerat, by the interposition of Colonel Walker. The law had been obeyed without a murmur ; the interposition had brought down on Colonel Walker the benedictions of the people. One such instance as either of these was a sufficient encouragement to go forward, prudently and cautiously indeed, but with firmness and resolution.

It was not enough, however, to question the reality of the danger with which it had been endeavoured to intimidate the friends of the missionary exertions. It was time, Mr. Wilberforce added, for him to speak out, and to avow that he went much further than he had yet gone ; he maintained not only that it was safe to attempt by reasonable and prudent methods to introduce into India the blessings of Christian truth, but that true imperious and urgent policy prescribed the same course. He could not think that the British empire in India rested on a secure foundation ; on the contrary, as long as the people and their rulers were separated from each other by such total differences of sentiment and opinion as now existed, it was impossible that the two should be united, or that the Government could depend upon the permanent attachment of its subjects, whatever benefits its administration might confer. Would we deserve their affection and secure our power, we should endeavour to perpetuate our influence by the gradual introduction and establishment of our own principles and opinions ; of our own laws,

institutions and manners ; and above all, as the source of every other improvement, of our religion, and consequently of our morals. The illustrious Albuquerque, when governor of Goa, forbade the burning of widows ; and, so far was this from exciting popular discontent, that no governor was ever so much beloved. Long after his death, when a Moor or a Hindu had suffered wrong and could obtain no redress, he would go to Albuquerque's tomb and make an offering of oil at the lamp which burned before it, and call upon him for justice.<sup>1</sup>

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But, after all, what was demanded ? Not that the Legislature should immediately devise and proceed without delay to execute the great and necessary work, but that it should not substantially and in effect prevent others from engaging in it ; or rather that the Government should not be prevented from having in its power to grant licences to proper persons to proceed to India, and continue there, with a view to disseminate Christianity. The commonest principle of toleration would grant much more than this : it was toleration only that was asked for ; the advocates of the measure disclaimed all idea of proceeding by methods of compulsion or authority. The amendment that was now proposed came under a plausible and specious appearance, which only rendered it more dangerous. It proceeded from a spirit professedly favourable to the clause, and objecting only to its publicity. On this head, however, nothing was really to be apprehended, as it was in evidence that the greatest difficulty existed in making matters of the utmost interest known amongst the people : news and information of all kinds were slowly and inaccurately circulated in India. If the people should read the clause, which was extremely improbable, they would find in it expressed, for the first time Mr. Wilberforce believed, a clear recognition, an effectual security, of their right to preserve their religious principles and institutions sacred and inviolate ; the clause would, therefore, produce satisfaction rather than discontent on that very subject of religion. Nor would the object of the enactment be effected merely by securing the power of

<sup>1</sup> These statements rest upon the authority of the commentaries of the son of Albuquerque, and were furnished to Mr. Wilberforce by Mr. Southey.—Substance of Speeches, &c., p. 93.

BOOK I. licensing missionaries : by affirming the duty of enlight-  
 CHAP. VIII. ening the minds and improving the morals of our East  
 1813. India fellow-subjects, it established the principle, and laid  
 the ground for promoting education and diffusing useful  
 knowledge of all kinds among them. When truth and  
 reason should obtain access to the understanding of the  
 natives, they would reject the profane absurdities of their  
 theological, and the depraving defects of their moral,  
 system : they would thus be prepared for the reception  
 of Christianity. To omit the clause would be to omit  
 from the act all mention whatever of religion or morals,  
 and would leave the case as it was left by the charter of  
 1793, when although the resolutions of both Houses of  
 Parliament fully recognised the obligation of endeavouring  
 to communicate to the natives of India the blessings  
 of Christianity, yet, as it formed no part of the act of the  
 Legislature, the body whose business it was to carry the  
 provisions of that act into execution could not be charge-  
 able with neglecting any duty which that statute ordained ;  
 when, so far from favouring, they rather thwarted and  
 hindered the attempts of the missionaries. The neglect  
 which was imputable to the former House of Commons  
 would be still more glaring on the present occasion, as  
 the subject had been brought so fully to its notice : and if,  
 after all that had been urged, the same omission took place,  
 it would be necessarily inferred that the Parliament upon  
 due deliberation had disapproved of the project which  
 had been offered by the advocates of Christianity ; and  
 the whole question had come to this, that, as Christianity  
 was the religion of the British empire in Europe, the reli-  
 gion of Brahma and Vishnu was to be the acknowledged  
 system of our Asiatic opinions.<sup>1</sup>

Some further discussion ensued upon the subject of the  
 proposed amendment, but it was rejected upon a division.  
 Another attempt was made to get rid of the clause, upon  
 a motion made by Mr. A. Robinson on the 12th of June,  
 when the report of the bill was received from the Com-  
 mittee. It was supported by Mr. Forbes and Mr. Tierney,

<sup>1</sup> Substance of the Speeches of W. Wilberforce, Esq., on the clause in the  
 East India Bill for promoting the religious instruction of the natives of India,  
 on the 22nd of June, and 1st and 12th of July, 1813, published by the speaker :  
 London, 1813.

and opposed by Mr. Stephen and Mr. Wilberforce, and rejected. BOOK I.  
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The main provisions of the bill having thus been carried, no opposition of any importance was made to the remaining clauses. Some additional provisions were suggested: one by Mr. R. Smith, for the appropriation of a sum of money for the promotion of native literature in the East, and the establishment of a native college or colleges; and Mr. W. Dundas proposed the appointment of a Scotch clergymen to each of the Presidencies, the majority of the British resident in India being Scotch, and of the Presbyterian communion. The latter proposition was withdrawn, upon the assurances of Mr. Thornton and Mr. Grant, members of the Direction, that the East India Company would do not only what was necessary, but all that could be required for the maintenance in India of clergymen of the Church of Scotland. A clause was proposed by Mr. P. Moore to enable the servants of the Company who had resided ten years in India to come to England and return to India, retaining their rank in the service without the customary form of receiving permission from the Proprietors; but this was objected to by Lord Castlereagh, on the ground that it was not the policy of the Government to multiply facilities for the return of the Company's most experienced servants to England. An attempt was made to delay the third reading of the report until the Proprietors of the East India stock should have had time to read and consider the bill in its amended shape. Lord Castlereagh, however, considered that any delay would subject the House to inconvenience at so advanced a period of the season, and the bill accordingly was read and passed.

The resolutions adopted by the House of Commons were communicated to the House of Lords on the 17th June, and went through similar stages. They were introduced by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and supported principally by Lords Liverpool and Melville; and opposed by Lord Grenville, Earl Grey, the Marquis of Landsdowne, and the Earl of Lauderdale, the latter of whom recorded a strong protest against the passing of the bill. The subject had undergone a fuller discussion at an earlier period of the session, on the 9th April, upon the motion of

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BOOK I. Marquis Wellesley for various papers, chiefly illustrative  
 CHAP. VIII. of the financial and commercial condition of the Company  
 1813. prior to 1812. On this occasion, the Marquis regretted that the matter had not been submitted to Parliament at a time and under circumstances more fitted to its magnitude, before passion and prejudice had perplexed and interrupted the course of calm deliberation ; before, on the other hand, an idea had gone forth that the Government of the East India Company was incapable of improvement, or, on the other, a wild and frantic notion had been set afloat of throwing open the whole trade to India. The principles of political economy, however true in the abstract, were inapplicable to a case so complex as that of the Company, in which commercial and sovereign interests were intimately blended by the manner in which they had grown up together. Such a combination might be anomalous, but it was practically good : it ought not to be altered merely on account of its anomalous character.

Lord Wellesley then advocated the continuation of the Company's commercial privilege of exclusive trade to India as well as to China. It might be true, although he did not admit the fact to the extent to which it had been asserted, that the former was attended with loss ; but it did not therefore follow that it ought to be taken away : it was very possible for one branch of an extensive commerce to be less profitable than others, and yet the connexion between them be so intimate that its discontinuance would expose the whole to ruin. This was the case with the Company ; and the Indian trade was equally essential to the maintenance of their commerce with China, and of the political administration of the government of India. Nor was it less essential to the interests of Great Britain that the trade with India should be subject to restriction ; as, if it were thrown open, he was certain that the products of the Indian loom would supplant the cotton manufactures of the country in all the foreign markets, and would essentially interfere even with their domestic consumption. The questions then were, What had been the effects of the combination of powers ? were they so mischievous as to require a total change, or so beneficial as to deserve careful and considerate improvement ? In his opinion, there never was an organ of Government so ad-

ministered as to demand more of estimation than the East India Company: that administration had been productive of strength, tranquillity, and happiness; the arts of peace and agriculture now flourished where ruin and desolation had prevailed; the situation of the natives had been ameliorated, and the rights of property secured, by the permanent settlement, the extension of which, in due season, to other provinces than those in which it had been established was alone wanting to its entire success. No Government had better fulfilled its duties towards its subjects than that of India.

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Lord Wellesley then criticised the several resolutions *seriatim*. Of the first he remarked, that the exceptions it provided for, not only impaired, but destroyed, the whole benefit of the grant: of the third, that allowing British subjects to trade with India, was of a similar tendency; and that the unrestricted influx of Europeans involved great danger to the stability of the Government and the happiness of the people. The power of sending back unlicensed persons, now exercised by the Government, could not co-exist with a free trade; nor could individuals engaged in the trade be limited to the Presidencies. They would have a right to seek for a market in the interior; and, once scattered over the country, they would endanger the efficacy of the Government, and outrage the prejudices and habits of the natives.<sup>1</sup>

The extension of the import trade to the outports, Lord

<sup>1</sup> Lord Wellesley's advocacy of the Company's retention of their Indian trade was, in spirit at least, a wide departure from the sentiments he had formerly expressed, when he affirmed "that the interests of the Company and of the British nation were undivided and unseparable with relation to the important question, and that every principle of justice and policy demanded the utmost possible facility to the British merchants in India for the export of Indian merchandise beyond the amount of the investment which the Company's capital was able to provide for; and for which branch of commerce, if capital did not exist in India, no dangerous consequences could result from applying to it funds derived from Great Britain." Beneficial consequences, he affirmed, would certainly result to the British empire in India from any considerable increase of its active capital. The extension of the trade would not, he argued, necessarily produce a proportional augmentation in the number of British agents resorting to India; and, if it should, the local Government would controul their operations with more ease than it could those of foreign agents to whom the trade was then open. The noble writer was obliged, by his position, to insert some saving clauses regarding the preservation of the Company's exclusive privileges, but his main object was decidedly to vindicate at that period the policy of giving ample space and verge enough to private commerce. — Letter from the Marquis Wellesley to the Court of Directors, 30th Sept. 1800; printed London, 1812.

BOOK I. Wellesley insisted, was objectionable on various grounds :  
CHAP. VIII. the danger of interference with the national manufactures,  
1813. the additional expense and difficulty of guarding against  
illicit speculation, and the injuries it would produce upon  
the commerce and the shipping of the port of London.  
If the question were one of a free trade in the true sense  
of the word, he would not oppose it ; but if the House  
could not give freedom of trade without injuring great  
political rights, and without destroying vast capitals  
which had been expended on the undoubted under-  
standing and good faith of the existing system, they could  
not be justified in acceding to the measure.

His lordship then proceeded to notice what he regarded  
as omissions in the resolutions. He had never advocated  
the separation of the royal authority from that of the  
Company, but he thought that some improvement was  
required : a most essential point was, that the local Go-  
vernments should know to whom they were responsible.  
The instructions sent out to them, however important,  
were now liable to be disallowed at pleasure ; there was  
no provision for this purpose. Not a word was said of the  
army, except as regarded the quota of King's troops ; but  
he thought it highly essential to define a limit between  
civil and military duties, by which all difficulties and  
disputes might be avoided ; and he considered also that it  
was the duty of the Government to devise some means of  
conferring honours on the Company's officers, who were  
now held forward to the public much less frequently  
than officers in other parts of the world, and felt  
that honours and distinctions conferred for services not  
more meritorious than their own were withheld from  
them. Whilst approving of the proposed addition to the  
ecclesiastical establishment, he thought it important to  
take care that there should be no collision between the  
Government and the Church establishment with regard to  
their respective powers ; and he was surprised to find that  
nothing had been said regarding the education of either  
the civil or military servants of the Company. He thought  
it would be the most dignified and proper mode of com-  
bining religion with learning in India, as we were accus-  
tomed to see the association in England, by connecting  
the proposed Church establishment with the College of  
Fort William.

With respect to extending Christianity to the natives of the East, Lord Wellesley declared there was no person less willing than himself to throw a shade over so bright a prospect; but, if success was to be expected, it must proceed from temperate and gradual proceedings: the measure should not appear to be recommended by the authority of the Government, because in the East the recommendation of the ruler is supposed to be almost equivalent to a mandate. He never heard when in India of any danger from the missionaries: he had always considered those who were there in his time as a quiet, orderly, discreet, and learned body; and he had employed many of them in the education of youth, and in translating the Scriptures into the languages of the East. He had regarded it as his duty to have the Scriptures translated, to give the natives access to the fountains of divine truth. He thought that a Christian Governor could not have done less, and he knew that a British Governor ought not to do more. In conclusion, he observed that if a project had been formed for the complete demolition of the Company, and the creation of an entirely new system, the plan might have been called bold and decisive; but in the scheme now proposed no such vigour was to be traced. The Company was to be continued as the organ and instrument, without any power or authority, and was to be called upon to discharge duties which it was incapacitated from performing: no commensurate advantage was offered to the country; the revenues would be endangered, the manufactures be perhaps ruined, and no additional benefit could be derived from an open trade. He therefore felt it his duty to resist any general alteration of the system; and in order to place his views in the clearest light, and support them by facts, he called for various documents necessary to elucidate the subject.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire, in reply to Lord Wellesley's objections to a free trade, quoted the despatch written by the latter as Governor-General in 1800, when he had strenuously urged the enlargement of the private trade, and denied that any great influx of Europeans was likely to arise from it, or the impossibility of maintaining an effectual controul over their proceedings, even if their number should increase. If such were the opinions of the

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BOOK I. noble lord when he was Governor-General of India, he  
 CHAP. VIII. could scarcely expect to excite in the minds of the mem-  
 1813. bers of that House an apprehension of dangers which did  
 not alarm him in the responsible situation he then held.  
 Lord Buckinghamshire then repeated the arguments used  
 in the other House, maintaining the probable increase of  
 the import trade from India, the practicability of pro-  
 viding against smuggling; and concluded by anticipating  
 no results injurious to the Company, but substantial  
 benefits to the great interests of the commerce of the  
 United Kingdom.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire was followed by Lord  
 Grenville, who took a view of the subject differing from  
 those of both the preceding speakers. The present deli-  
 berations of the House embraced the whole question of  
 our future relations with India, the government of a vast  
 empire, and the regulation of the British commerce with  
 every port and country between the southern promon-  
 tories of Africa and America. It was a deception to speak  
 of any existing rights by which a consideration so immense  
 and momentous could be circumscribed. The charter of  
 the East India Company was originally granted, and has  
 since been renewed for limited periods. On their lapse  
 the trusts and duties of that great corporation, its com-  
 mercial and political monopolies, expired together. All  
 public right, all public interest in the subject, thenceforth  
 devolved on British legislature, bound by no previous  
 grant, fettered by no existing law, and having regard only  
 to the principles of moral duty, and to the rules of a wise  
 policy and enlightened government.

The measures that had been heretofore adopted Lord  
 Grenville considered as experiments which had not always  
 been successful, and which furnished no precedent for the  
 course now to be pursued. Whatever was to be done was  
 not therefore to be placed out of the reach of revisal, even  
 for the period proposed: twenty years would at any time  
 be too long a period for farming out the commerce of half  
 the globe, and the sovereignty of sixty millions of men,  
 and it was still more so at a season when the events, not  
 of twenty years, but of the next twenty months, might  
 be decisive of the whole fate and fortunes of the British  
 empire. He, therefore, thought that the continuance of

any plan that might be devised should be limited to the return of peace.

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Lord Grenville then proceeded to assert that the primary object to be regarded in the present arrangement was, not the confirmation of the Company's privileges, but the distinct avowal of the principle that the sovereignty of India resided in the sovereign of Great Britain. To ask whether any territory, dominion, or political authority in any quarter of the globe could be conquered by British arms, or acquired by British negotiation, otherwise than to the British Crown, were to ask whether we lived under a monarchy or a republic. The assertion, because it was undeniable, was not indifferent. A manly avowal of the sovereignty of the Crown would have prevented many of the evils experienced in India from conflicting and ambiguous authority, was necessary for the effective control of British subjects in India, and still more for the restraint to which, upon the restoration of peace, foreign nations would be exposed in their intercourse with that country, as they would never submit to be excluded from free access at the will of a trading company, claiming despotic power over that vast empire, not as the delegates of their own king, but as the pretended ministers of a deposed Mogul, a feigned authority derived from an extinct dominion.

The sovereignty which we had hesitated to assert, we were now compelled to exercise; and Parliament was once more called upon to give laws to India. And what was the plan pursued? the very reverse of that which should have been followed. The interests of the people of India, their security, their happiness, their improvement, were first to have been provided for; and then, but far below them, the interests of Great Britain. Instead of this, the plan of the Ministers and the recommendations of Lord Wellesly had in view the entire or partial perpetuation of the privileges of the East India Company. To neither of these would he give his concurrence.

The existence of the blended character of merchant and sovereign, on which the whole of the Indian system was based, was, in Lord Grenville's opinion, an anomaly inconsistent with all sound principles of commerce and of government; no sovereign ever traded for a profit; no

BOOK I. trading company ever yet administered government for  
CHAP. VIII. the happiness of its subjects. The unerring principles of  
1813. political economy had never been so fully illustrated as in  
the history of the East India Company. For fifty years  
they had exercised dominion over a country the commerce  
with which had from the earliest ages enriched all who  
had engaged in it, and in the last few years since the re-  
newal of the charter they had lost by their trade four  
millions sterling. With the country which they governed  
they lost by the commerce which they monopolised ; and  
they traded with profit only to China, where they had  
neither sovereignty nor monopoly,—not even the common  
benefit of free access, being condemned to a commercial  
quarantine in the solitary emporium of Canton.

But it was not so much for its own sake, it was asserted,  
that the commerce of the Company was not to be inter-  
fered with ; but because its preservation was absolutely  
necessary to enable the Company to conduct the govern-  
ment of India, and this government could only be  
beneficially administered through their instrumentality.  
This Lord Grenville denied. If it was true, that British  
India was in the happy and prosperous state in which it  
was described to be, the merit was not due to the Com-  
pany's administration : as long as that continued  
uncontrouled, scarcely an interval of three years could be  
found in which the inherent vices of the system did not  
forcibly compel the interposition of Parliament. The law  
of 1784, was the source of whatever benefits India had  
enjoyed : it was the line of demarcation between the bad  
and good government of that country. It was a delusion,  
therefore, to relinquish any just hopes of extending the  
commerce of the country, from the fear of embarrassing  
the Company's political function. He was ready to admit,  
however, that, if the patronage of the Company were  
transferred to the Crown, it must weigh down the balance  
of the constitution : but, he thought it very possible to  
devise a middle course. The highest offices of the govern-  
ment of India were already in the gift of the Crown.  
For all the servants of the Company, civil or military,  
below the Council, the regulations actually in force might  
still be continued ; and all that remained for disposal was  
the appointment of writers and cadets. The former

might be chosen by competition from the great public schools and universities : the latter might be nominated, by some fixed course of succession, from the families of officers who had fallen in the discharge of their duties. These were mere suggestions ; but he entertained no doubt that, if the occasion should call for such provisions, they might be so contrived as to preserve the integrity and efficacy of the Indian services, without adding in the slightest degree to ministerial influence.

Lord Grenville next maintained that the continuance of the Company's trade was not expedient for the sake of effecting remittances to meet the demands payable in England on account of the Government in India. If a subsidy were wanted for the Continent, the Ministers would never think of sending their agents to the ports and manufactories to purchase the goods in which the remittances would really be made : they would contract as cheaply as they could ; probably by open competition with merchants for their bills, through which their whole purpose would be at once effected. A similar course might be pursued in India. No doubt, all such remittances must be in some degree detrimental to the prosperity of India, constituting a drain for which no return was made but in protection and good government ; yet, if conducted through an open trade, and regulated by a due consideration of the state of the country, he saw no reason to believe them incompatible with its rapid and permanent improvement. One obvious compensation, however, to India, was to throw her markets open to British capital and enterprise ; and secure to her, as far as legislation could secure it, the fullest benefit of the most unqualified commercial freedom.

The arguments against opening the trade, on the grounds that it was unsusceptible of profit or extension, were then combated by the noble earl. The skill and vigilance of the private trade would realise a profit, where the Company's management entailed a loss : the private trader, under all the disadvantages under which it laboured, had augmented ; and the Americans had carried on a lucrative and growing commerce with India until it was interrupted by hostilities. All history showed that commerce would increase by commerce, and industry by industry. India



BOOK I. was no exception to the universal law; and her people  
 CHAP. VIII. would derive from the extension of trade, as every other  
 1813. people had done, new comforts and new conveniences of  
 life, new incitements to industry, and new enjoyments, in  
 just reward of increased activity and enterprise. The  
 same principles applied to the trade with China, the  
 exclusive possession of which by the Company he should  
 as deeply lament.

Alluding to the tone adopted in the Fifth Report when speaking of the Permanent settlement, Lord Grenville expressed his entire concurrence with Lord Wellesley in the wisdom and benevolence of the arrangement, and his dread of the disposition intimated by the language of the report, if not to discredit the original measure, at least to discountenance its proposed extension. He thought it, therefore, highly necessary to insert in the new act a declaration of the principle, such as it was declared in 1784; and to place the Government of India under the obligation of applying, at a convenient season, to the Ceded and Conquered provinces the system of settlement effected in Bengal. Above all he wished, by a solemn and authoritative declaration of this purpose, to prove to the natives the permanency of the principle of right, and to impress them with a conviction that a British Legislature estimated the security of their property far above the possible increase of its own revenue.

Lord Grenville then briefly adverted to the difficulties attending the military part of the Indian system; the only remedy for which he conceived to be the open establishment of the King's authority over that, as well as other parts of his dominion: to the defects of the administration of justice, the state of the present internal legislation and police, and the unauthorised power of taxation in the local Governments, all of which required deliberate consideration: and he concluded by pronouncing an unqualified encomium on Marquis Wellesley's collegiate institution, the plan of which was limited and mutilated, and existed only as a wreck of its first noble design. Of the establishment by which it was partially replaced in England he spoke with strong disapprobation and regret: not that he objected to any degree of attention that could be given to the earliest instruction and discipline of those

who are destined for the Indian service ; but he objected decidedly to their separation in education from youths of their own age and station in life, and to the formation of them into a separate class. Instead of rejecting, they should, he thought, have eagerly embraced the advantages which the great public seminaries afforded ; not only for what they professed to teach, but for what was there only to be found, that best of all education to a public man, which forms the mind to manly exertion and honourable feeling,—the education which young men receive from each other in the numerous and mixed society of their equals, collected from various classes of society, and destined to various ways of life.<sup>1</sup>

The Earl of Liverpool briefly replied in defence of the resolutions, and the House agreed to the motion for papers made by Marquis Wellesley.<sup>2</sup>

The passing of the bill by the House of Commons, and the certainty that it would suffer no material, if any, changes in the House of Lords, imposed upon the Court of Directors the necessity of submitting to their constituents the alternative of either accepting or refusing the charter now offered. They resolved to recommend its acceptance ; as, although it involved changes which they had firmly opposed, and which could not but be injurious to the Company's trade with India, yet, in the retention of the exclusive trade with China, and the provisions made for the payment of the Company's dividends, it presented sources of profit and security which might in some degree compensate for the losses which it inflicted. The wild and sanguine expectations of an indefinite extension of the trade had been so far subdued by the arguments of the Court and the general voice of men of Indian experience, that the merchants were likely to embark in it with caution and moderation : consequently there was less reason than at first to apprehend a sudden and numerous influx of Europeans into India, by which its tranquillity would be endangered ; or of a great resort of vessels to the eastern seas, by which a mischievous and illicit trade

<sup>1</sup> Speech of Lord Grenville on the Marquis of Wellesley's motion in the House of Lords on Friday the 9th of April, 1813 ; published under the revision of the speaker, London, 1813.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Debates in the House of Lords, 9th April, 1813.

BOOK I. with China might be carried on. The regulations respecting the size of the ships admissible into the trade, the licensing of persons to proceed to India, and the additional powers of controul over them when in India, vested in the local Governments, were further calculated to alleviate these apprehensions. The fears of the Court for the security of the dividend, on which, as had been repeatedly urged, the Company's efficiency for the discharge of their political functions depended, had been proportionably abated; on this latter subject the first views of the Ministers had been materially modified by the representations of the Court.

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By the engagements finally adopted, the commercial profits of the Company were not to be liable for any territorial payment until the dividend was first satisfied; and, if in any year the fund for the dividend should fall short, the surplus of territorial income for the year preceding was to be liable for the deficiency. By the last charter a million sterling per annum was to be reserved from the surplus revenue as a provision for the Company's investment; a condition wholly nugatory, as no surplus existed. By the present, it was stipulated that a sum equal to the disbursements at home on territorial account should be paid yearly out of the revenues for investment; and this secured to the Company commercial capital in India to an equal amount, in addition to the proceeds of goods and stores exported from England. With regard also to the amount of Indian debt transferred home, the bill contained an important provision; that, in case sufficient funds should not remain after payment of the dividend to discharge all such bills as should be drawn for the interest of loans contracted in India before the 10th April, 1814, the residue of those bills should be discharged in such manner as Parliament should from time to time direct. In all these respects, therefore, the security of the dividend, of the home funds, and of annual advances in India for the investment, the new charter might be considered an improvement on that which the Company held.

The additional powers of controul vested in the Board of Commissioners by the bill, were no doubt mortifying to the Court of Directors; but they mostly fell within

the scope of the general powers given to the Board by former acts, and their operation would depend upon the spirit in which they were exercised. If that spirit were temperate and just, it would be practicable to carry on the Company's business: if they were used in a way which men of character and liberal feeling could not brook, the issue might be serious to the system of the Company.

BOOK I.

CHAP. VIII.

1813.

Upon a careful consideration then of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the bill, the Court, although they deeply felt the loss of power and privilege which it inflicted upon the Company, recommended to the Proprietors to accept the charter; trusting that if obstacles to its execution should arise, and the Company be unable, after a fair trial should have been given to it, to act under its provisions, the Parliament which had prescribed the terms would be disposed to relieve them of the burthen. Should such relief not be given, the Company would have the time and the means of making a more deliberate and safe bargain with the public than if they threw up their privileges at the present moment; whilst there would then be a better opportunity of providing also for the future government of those immense possessions which the Company had acquired for the country; possessions of which the interests must ever be dear to them, and the most powerful of the motives for continuing as long as they could with safety in the management of that empire which had so much flourished under their care, and for the prosperity of which their system appeared to be peculiarly calculated.<sup>1</sup>

The recommendations of the Court of Directors were communicated to the Court of Proprietors held on the 16th and adjourned to the 21st July; and it was finally resolved, that although the Court could not contemplate the bill with satisfaction, yet, deferring to the sense of the Legislature, and relying on its wisdom and justice in the event of the expectations held out by the act being disappointed, they determined to accept the charter. The thanks of the Proprietors were voted to the late and present Directors for the talent, zeal, and perseverance

<sup>1</sup> Minute of a Committee of the whole Court of Directors, 15th July, 1813; Papers, &c. p. 492.



BOOK I. with which they had struggled to maintain the rights and  
 CHAP. VIII. support the interests of the Company.<sup>1</sup>

1813.

Thus closed a contest in which the first serious blow was inflicted on the monopoly of the East India Company, after it had been enjoyed by them for two centuries. During this period a mighty empire had been raised upon the narrow foundations of exclusive commerce. Upon no other basis could the edifice have been reared. An indiscriminate resort of individual, unconnected, and often hostile competitors could not have been attended with a consistent or enduring course of operations; and must have subjected the trade with India to a feeble and precarious existence, dependent upon the caprice and venality of the subordinate officers of the native governments, and momentarily menaced with extinction by the follies and passions, the avarice and the ignorance of Asiatic despots. Adventurers isolated and at variance with each other would have been in no situation to resist injustice, repel aggression, or avenge wrong: much less would they have been able to place their commerce in an attitude not merely of defence but of defiance, and to apply the resources which it furnished to the acquirement of political power. In the struggle for sufferance which they would have had to maintain in their limited ambition of effecting a successful trading speculation, it could never have dwelt within their imaginations to gain a firm and lasting footing on the soil of India, to put down and set up princes, to seize upon and hold amidst difficulty and danger masterdom and sway. The oneness of the Company for so long a period consolidated their commercial system, enabled them to baffle and defeat rivalry and opposition, to exact retribution for injury, and, as the field expanded, to extend their views beyond the circumscribed horizon of purely commercial profit. At the same time, this result, although inseparable from the system, was neither projected nor foreseen by its authors, and was brought to maturity in spite of their repeated disapproval, or at best with their reluctant and unwilling confirmation. The East India Company's territorial dominion was not

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of a General Court of Proprietors, 21st July, 1813; Papers, &c. 521. See also the Debates on the Charter at the India House during the first six months of 1813; separately published, London, 1813.

the acquisition of the Company so much as of the Company's servants, who, often in disregard of the wishes of their masters, and sometimes in disobedience of their positive commands, entered with no common audacity, determination, and foresight, in the promising path which the distracted state of Indian politics laid open to their ambition; and, with energies and talents of more than ordinary natures, applied the superior recourses of civilisation to secure rich fragments of the scattered reliques of native misrule, and remodelled them into the rudiments of power, of infallible future expansion. This was not the work of the Company, although it never could have been brought to pass by any other instrumentality than that of the Company's Indian servants. It was the work of Clive, of Hastings, of Cornwallis, and of Wellesley aided and impelled by the irresistible force of circumstances, by the inconsiderateness and temerity of the native princes of India, and by the superior energy of the European character.

Whatever its origin, however, the system was now mature; and, whatever the assertions of the Company's advocates, it was no longer in need of national commercial sacrifices for its continuance or development. On the contrary, the longer duration of the connexion was mischievous. As sovereigns of India, it was the duty of the Company to look alone to the interests of the people whom they governed; as a trading body, it was their interest to secure to themselves as large a pecuniary profit as such a capacity justified. An exclusive privilege or trade, that barred all competition, necessarily precluded the people of India from purchasing foreign commodities at the lowest price, and from realising the fullest value for the proceeds of their own industry. To the people of India the Company's monopoly was as injurious as it was to individual enterprise in Great Britain; and the period had undoubtedly arrived when the best interests of both countries demanded its extinction.

Although extraordinary talents, zeal, and perseverance were displayed in the discussion on both sides, yet we are now able to decide from events that there was little of sound judgment or prophetic prescience in any of the contending parties. The twenty years of the renewed

BOOK I. charter rolled away ; and colonisation, which was so confidently predicted as its unavoidable consequence, was as little probable at its close as at its commencement.<sup>1</sup>

1813. Neither had it been found more difficult than before to protect the native population from the turbulence or violence of European settlers. The predictions, equally confident, that the trade was unsusceptible of extension, and that no new article of export could be introduced,—predictions in which the most intelligent officers of the Company concurred, and to which even the advocates of free trade, however, reluctantly assented,—were signally falsified. The trade, both export and import, did obtain a considerable augmentation under the new system ; and articles entirely unknown in the annals of Indian imports were exported thither from Great Britain to an immense amount, to the extinction of several similar products of domestic labour.<sup>2</sup> This effect was prepared for, as has been noticed, by an iniquitous abuse of the power of Great Britain in excluding from her own consumption the principal manufactures of India, and in opening the ports of India to those of Britain free of charge ; but its actual occurrence was little anticipated by any of those who urged or resisted the removal of the restrictions on the trade.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The whole number of applications for licences between 1814 and 1832 was but 1547: of these, 1253 were complied with by the Court, and 71 by the Board; making the whole number of persons, not in the service, who proceeded to India with leave in the course of eighteen years, 1324. — Commons' Committee 1831; General Appendix, p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> The value of the whole of the private trade with India was, in 1814-15, Rupees 13,54,19,460, or £13,549,146; in 1826-7 it was, Rupees 14,83,33,640, or £14 833,364: being an increase of £1,284,218. The latter period affords an unfavourable view of the state of the trade, as it was one of commercial depression. The average value of the whole private trade for fifteen years subsequently to 1814-15 was more than seventeen crores or seventeen millions sterling per annum, being an advance of nearly four millions a-year.—Lords' Committee, 1830, App. B. 5, and C. 40. In 1813-14 the value of cotton goods imported into Bengal was £47,000. In 1827-8 it was £561,000. In the former year cotton yarn was unknown; in the latter the value imported was £188,000. Spelter was another article of import not known at the earlier date. At the latter it was imported to the value of nearly £120,000.—Wilson's External Commerce of Bengal. These articles were permanent innovations; for in 1843-44 the value of yarn imported into Bengal alone is reported to be £515,000, of piece-goods £1,516,667, and spelter £68,000. — Wilkinson, Report External Commerce of Bengal, 1843-4.

<sup>3</sup> There seems to have been but one person connected with the trade to India, who distinctly anticipated the possibility of such a revolution; and this was not on the present but on a former occasion. In a debate on a motion for papers to illustrate the comparative value of private British and foreign trade with India, in the House of Commons on the 14th March, 1806, Mr. Alderman Prinsep, speaking of the probable substitution of raw cotton for cotton goods

The proceedings that took place on this occasion have been detailed at length, because it is of importance that a readily accessible record should be preserved of the sentiments of the many very eminent persons who, both in Parliament and in the Direction, took a principal part in the discussions, and because the nature of the connexion which united the trade of the East India Company with the sovereignty of India now first underwent a fundamental change. It may also be of use to contemplate the spirit by which the opinions of wise and good men were unconsciously inspired, and to observe how personal interests and cherished prejudices, distorted principle, and darkened judgment. With few exceptions, and those exercising little or no influence, the charter of 1793 was discussed upon no widely or liberally comprehensive views, upon no distinct perception of the advantages which it might realise for Great Britain, upon no generous purpose of providing India with a compensation for the evils inseparable from the sovereignty of strangers. Professions of a concern for the interests of India were, it is true, not unsparingly uttered, but it would be difficult to show that the majority of the parties who engaged in the discussion were solely instigated by a disinterested regard for the welfare of the Indian subjects of the Crown. The Ministers, it was evident, had mainly in view the extension of their own influence; and, as the bill proceeded, made obvious sacrifices to party, and adopted clauses to which they were themselves indifferent or opposed, in subservience to particular interests, in order to conciliate parliamentary support. In their original correspondence with the Court, no mention was made of the outports, and the extension to them of the import trade from India was extorted by their clamour and perseverance. The legislative encouragement yielded to missionary labours was also a graft upon the original design, with the purpose of propitiating a numerous and influential party. Nor were

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in the ships of private traders, made the remarkable observation, that a sufficient supply of the raw material would accelerate the period which he saw approaching, when the natives of India should be supplied with cloth made in England of their own cotton, leaving to the mother country all the profits of freight, agency, commission, insurance, and manufacture: all these and many other beneficial results would follow an extension of the private trade.—Hans. Parl. Debates, 14th March, 1806.



BOOK I they negligent of their own advantages ; and in the provisions made for the nomination to the episcopal see, and  
CHAP. VIII for the confirmation of the appointments to the highest  
1813. temporal situations, extended, as far as they were then prepared to extend it, the patronage of the Crown. The advocates for the authorised extension of missionary efforts, although they might claim the merit of disinterestedness, were little entitled to credit for candour or discretion. Placing implicit and indiscriminating reliance upon exaggerated and erroneous descriptions of the condition and character of the Hindu and Mohammedan population of India, they disregarded the danger of precipitately attempting their reform, and overlooked the possible peril, that, where a state withholds its protection from the national faith, the people may exercise the right, as they have the power, of protecting it for themselves. The merchants and manufacturers of the United Kingdom avowedly looked only to their own profits ; and, in the struggle between London and the outports, was re-acted the battle for exclusiveness which had previously been fought between the London merchants and the Company. Deprived of the monopoly of the trade, the Company made a stand for warehouses and sale-rooms ; and, despoiled of these, sought consolation in the security of their dividends. All these motives and considerations were appropriate and venial as regarded the individual and peculiar interests and feelings of the persons concerned, but they were little worthy of their collective capacity of arbiters of the destinies of India.

# APPENDIX.

## I.

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CLAIMS OF THE PESHWA UPON THE GAEKWRA.

*Schedule of the Sums due to the Poona State from  
the Gaekwar's Government.*

	<i>Rupees.</i>	<i>No. I.</i>
Balance of an account settled in 1798 . . . . .	39,82,789	
On account of presents' . . . . .	7,79,000	
On account of troop (3000) not maintained . . . . .	6,75,000	
	<hr/> 14,54,000	

N.B. These sums have been accumulating for ten  
years . . . . . 1,45,40,000

Damaji Gaekwar conquered the country of the  
Babi, upon condition of assuming half, and delivering  
the other half to the Peshwa; and that a karkoon on  
part of the Government should settle this: and a  
the memorandum be given in of the division, and that  
the places were to be given up in the year 1740,  
and whatsoever was due before this period was to  
be remitted. This was never carried into effect.  
In the year 1771, the Gaekwar paid one lakh of  
rupees, and in the next agreed to pay 25,000; and,  
when Fateh Sing Gaekwar should come, then it  
should be executed. This was settled in 1765, but  
has never been carried into effect; therefore a lakh  
of rupees per year is due for thirty-seven years . . 37,00,000

Carried forward . . . 2,22,22,789

## No. I.

	<i>Rupees.</i>
Brought forward . . .	2,22,22,789
In the year 1794, the dignity of Senakhás-khel-Shamshir Bahadur was granted to Govind Rao Gaekwar, besides lands, for which 56,38,001 rupees were given. He died; and the same honours and lands were granted to his son, for which he is to pay	56,38,001
The whole amounting to .	Rees 2,78,60,790

In the year 1796 it was agreed that 3000 horsemen should be furnished, and upon a requisition 4000; and that one of the Gaekwar's relations should remain at court; and that the troops should at all periods be in readiness, and, if not necessary, that a sum of money should be given in lieu.

Ahmedabad is under two authorities, but the same arrangements continue as under Madhu Rao; and, if any deviation should have been admitted, let it be abolished.

You agreed, in the year 1792, to give the Sirkar three of your best elephants and five horses; but it has not been done: therefore fail not to do it now.

In the year 1793, you borrowed, through our intervention, the sum of one lakh of rupees, for which we were securities, and agreed to pay the bills drawn upon you; but this has not been done: therefore do so now, and pay the interest.

You were also bound to present a lakh of rupees' worth of jewels; but this has not been done: do so now, and adhere to the engagements which were concluded in the time of Madhu Rao.

You owe Balaji Naik Bhora Soukar a sum of money, for which Government became security. Liquidate this at the rate of one lakh of rupees per annum, and so treat Mulhar Rao and his family as to prevent his complaints reaching Government.

In addition to this, engagements were also made in which you admitted the sum of . . . . .	Rees 78,33,212
but only paid . . . . .	28,13,325

So that there is still a balance of . . . . .	Rees 50,19,887
Let this be settled.	

You have held the village of Rani, in the Pergunna of Sandi, for these thirteen years, which was worth 2000 rupees per annum. Pay this money, and deliver up the village to the Kamavisdar . . . . .	26,000
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50,45,887

and wherever the villages have been assessed let the money be returned.

No. I.

Several of the papers having been destroyed or laid aside during the irruption of Holkar, the accounts cannot be completely made out; but, as the records are found, other items shall be inserted.

In the year 1796, bills were drawn upon you: let an account be furnished.

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 II.

PAGE 50.

*Holkar's Proposition, 11th Dec., 1807, to Sindhia.*

1. His highness the Peshwa is our sovereign, and we are his servants. Let us, therefore, like our ancestors, continue to obey his orders.

No. II.

2. Let us keep on friendly terms with the Bhonsla and other Sirdars of the Peshwa, and let us consult with them on all occasions.

3. Let the agreements which passed between us at Subbulgerh under the sanction of our oaths be abided by, and let not the terms of friendship which existed between our ancestors be departed from.

4. Any Aumils or officers of either party, who may proceed into the country of the other with a force, will take the greatest care to preserve the country. Should they, contrary to the orders of their master, exact any money from the country, their master will account for it.

5. Should any new enterprise be contemplated, it shall be carried on by mutual consultation.

6. That our friendship may be preserved, and doubts between us be done away, let neither endeavour to tamper with the army of the other; and, should any Sirdar quit the service of either party, let him not be retained by the other.

7. The money collected by Meer Khan from the Mahauls of Sadourah and others, the five Mahauls, shall be repaid to Maharajah Dowlat Rao Sindhia.

8. Let the money which may have been collected by the Soobahdars of one party from the Mahauls of the other since



No. II. the settlement of differences at Subbulgerh be accounted for mutually.

9. Let a respectable vakeel from each party attend the Durbar of the other. Let the tribute from the other Rajas and wealthy chiefs unconnected with us, as the Gaekwar and others, remain in the hands of those who have been accustomed to collect them. In this we have no concern. Should, however, it so happen that any new arrangement in regard to them should be proposed, let it be prosecuted by our joint counsels and consent.

10. If any of the ministers or Aumils of either part should treacherously seek the protection of the other, let him not be protected, but delivered over to the state he belongs to; but, if he be a man of rank, let the matter of dispute be fairly inquired into and adjusted.

11. Let the tribute for Jaypore and Joudhpore continue to be collected as they were in the time of our ancestors. You (Sindhia) will not create any disturbance in the country of Jaypore, nor will I (Holkar) interfere in the country of Marwar (Joudhpore).

Let these eleven propositions be well considered, and an answer returned to them.

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### III.

PAGE 100.

#### *Proclamation.*

No. III. THE Right Honourable the Governor in Council having observed that in some late instances an extraordinary degree of agitation has prevailed among several corps of the native army of this coast, it has been his Lordship's particular endeavour to ascertain the motives which may have led to conduct so different from that which formerly distinguished the native army. From this inquiry, it has appeared that many persons of evil intentions have endeavoured, for malicious purposes, to impress upon the native troops a belief that it is the wish of the British Government to convert them by forcible means to Christianity; and his Lordship in Council has observed with concern, that such malicious reports have been believed by many of the native corps.

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council deems it

therefore proper in this public manner to repeat to the native troops his assurance, that the same respect which has been invariably shown by the British Government for their religion and for their customs will be always continued; and that no interruption will be given to any native, whether Hindu or Mussulman, in the practice of his religious ceremonies.

His Lordship in Council desires that the native troops will not give belief to the idle rumours which are circulated by enemies of their happiness, who endeavour with the basest designs to weaken the confidence of the troops in the British Government. His Lordship in Council desires that the native troops will remember the constant attention and humanity which have been shown by the British Government in providing for their comfort, by augmenting the pay of the native officers and Sepoys; by allowing liberal pensions to those who have done their duty faithfully; by making ample provision for the families of those who may have died in battle; and by receiving their children into the service of the Honourable Company, to be treated with the same care and bounty as their fathers had experienced.

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council trusts that the native troops, remembering these circumstances, will be sensible of the happiness of their situation, which is greater than that which the troops of any other part of the world enjoy; and that they will continue to observe the same good conduct for which they were distinguished in the days of General Lawrence, of Sir Eyre Coote, and of other renowned heroes.

The native troops must, at the same time, be sensible, that if they should fail in the duties of their allegiance, and should show themselves disobedient to their officers, their conduct will not fail to receive merited punishment; as the British Government is not less prepared to punish the guilty, than to protect and distinguish those who are deserving of its favour.

It is directed that this paper be translated with care into the Tamul, Telinga, and Hindoostanee languages, and that copies of it be circulated to each native battalion; of which the European officers are enjoined and ordered to be careful in making it known to every native officer and Sepoy under their command.

It is also directed that copies of the paper be circulated to the magistrates and collectors under the Government, for the purpose of being fully understood in all parts of the country.

Dated in Fort St. George, the 3rd December, 1806.

## IV.

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*Extract from Lakshman Dawa's Petition to the Agent of the Governor-General in Bundelkhand, 27th March, 1809.*

No. IV.

You, Sir, told me that you would say everything you could for me to the Governor-General, and do all in your power for me. You also desired me to continue near you: accordingly, I remained in your presence. My condition and case is this:—For some years I have kept an army, with which I have plundered a number of Brahmans, villages, and peasants; and also fought against your forces, and destroyed a great number of your people. I entertained twelve hundred men for these six years, seven or eight hundred of whom have perished in these transactions. I have behaved in an unparalleled, ungrateful, and rebellious manner to your government; so as no one in this country never behaved, nor ever will. I did not give up the fort of Ajaygerh, as I promised to do, within two years; neither did I pay the money which I promised to pay. The greatest ingratitude and faithlessness appear against me. I have become infamous all over Bundelkhand. All the peasantry are in expectation of my death. All the Brahmans, Mahájans, servants, Sipahis, Hindus, Mutseddis, Brothers, connections of my own father, far off or near; all the Rajas, Fojdars, Amils, religious, educated, Gods, Jagirdars, Pádárthis, Byragis, Fakirs, the whole of the inhabitants, great and small, are wishing every instant to be my last. I would that their wishes were fulfilled. If I continue to exist, I had better not remain in this country; my death were preferable. I have four or five people sitting under the fort of Ajaygerh. Having called them to you, you will advise them respecting me, and blow me and my family from the mouth of a cannon. This will be well for me, and it will accord with the wishes of all. They will be pleased, and I wish it. If I consent not to this, I am a liar, and agree to be regarded as hateful to God.

If I hesitate, I call upon God to bear witness. Favour me with this punishment, and it will be well for me. I beg you to reflect upon it, and order it to be done; and I beg of you to give my brothers and connections two villages each for their support. If what I have requested be not agreeable to you, I beg you will

exalt me, as you have done other Rajas, or still more. The way to exalt me, is to give me a lakh of rupees in money, and all my own country, as well as what is mentioned in the Sunnud given to me by Captain Baillie. If this, Sir, should please you, it is well; if not, pray blow me from a cannon's mouth. The last is honour; the first a mere nothing. Do whichever you please; I shall be content. I cannot be content with anything else. I pray you, consider it well. May the sun of your fortune perpetually shine!

No. IV.

## V.

PAGE 191.

## GENERAL ORDERS.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, 28 Jan. 1809.

*General Order. By the Commander-in-chief.*

THE immediate departure of Lieutenant-General Macdowall from Madras will prevent his design of bringing Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, Quartermaster-General, to trial for disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the power of the Civil Government in defiance of the judgment of the officer at the head of the army, who had placed him under an arrest on charges preferred against him by a member of officers commanding native corps; in consequence of which appeal direct to the Honourable the President in Council, Lieutenant-General Macdowall has received a positive order from the Chief Secretary to liberate Lieutenant-Colonel Munro from arrest.

No. V.

Such conduct on the part of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro being destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander-in-chief, and holding out a most dangerous example to the service, Lieutenant-General Macdowall, in support of the dignity of the profession and his own station and character, feels it incumbent on him to express his strong disapprobation of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro's unexampled proceedings, and considers it a solemn duty imposed upon him to reprimand Lieutenant-Colonel Munro in general orders; and he is hereby reprimanded accordingly.

(Signed)

T. BOLES,  
Adjutant-General.



## VI.

PAGE 194.

Fort St. George, 31st Jan. 1809.

*General Order. By Government.*

No. VI.

It has recently come to the knowledge of the Honourable the Governor in Council that Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall did, previous to his embarkation from the Presidency, leave to be published to the army a general order, dated the 28th instant, in the highest degree disrespectful to the Government; in which that officer has presumed to found a public censure on an act adopted under the immediate authority of the Governor in Council, and to convey insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the Government, and subversive of military discipline and of the foundation of public authority.

The resignation of Lieutenant-General Macdowall of the command of the army of Fort St. George not having been yet received, it becomes the duty of the Governor in Council, in consideration of the violent and inflammatory proceedings of that officer on the present and on other recent occasions, and for the purpose of preventing the possible repetition of farther acts of outrage, to anticipate the period of his expected resignation, and to annul the appointment of Lieutenant-General Macdowall to the command of the army of this Presidency.

The Governor in Council must lament, with the deepest regret, the necessity of resorting to an extreme measure of this nature: but, when a manifest endeavour has been made to bring into degradation the supreme public authority, it is essential that the vindication should not be less signal than the offence; and that a memorable example should be given, that proceedings subversive of established order can find no security under the sanction of rank however high, or of station however exalted.

The general order in question having been circulated under the signature of the Deputy Adjutant-General of the army, it must have been known to that officer, that, in giving currency to a paper of this offensive description, he was acting in direct violation of his duty to the Government. As no authority can justify the execution of an illegal act, connected, as that act obviously in the present case has been, with views of the most reprehensible nature, the Governor in Council thinks it proper to mark his

highest displeasure at the conduct of Major Boles, by directing that he shall be suspended from the service of the Honourable Company. No. VI.

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The general order left by the Commander-in-chief for publication, under date the 28th instant, is directed to be expunged from every public record; and the Adjutant-General of the army will immediately circulate the necessary orders for this purpose.

By order of the Honourable the Governor in Council.

(Signed)

G. BUCHAN,

Chief Secretary to Government.

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## VII.

PAGE 313.

### *Zemindary Sunnud granted by Jehangir.*

It has happened in this propitious time, that Abhiman Sing, Zemindar of Mahanager in Nizamabad, has embraced Islamism, and been honoured with the title of Raja Nadir Dowlat Khan. We have therefore bestowed upon him twenty-two Pergunnas in Soobah Allahabad, from the commencement of the Khuneef crop, and according to the specification below. Our illustrious sons and rulers of the provinces and Mootsuddies must ever use their strongest endeavours perpetually to maintain this grant, and confirm the Zemindari of the above Pergunnas to the aforementioned person and his descendants for ever. They will deduct 1,25,000 rupees as his Nankar from the total Jumma payable to the Government, in order that he may spend it; and the fixed allowance per village and per-centage in the Jumma and other Zemindari dues from his support. This Sunnud will not require renewal. Dated Rubbee ool Akhir 15th, in the 4th year of the reign. (Specification on the reverse.) Pergunnas twenty-two (then follow their names). Nankar 1,25,000 rupees. Zemindari dues per village two rupees, per cent. one rupee.—J. Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. viii. p. 93. No. VII.

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## VIII.

PAGE 335.

*The Petition of all the Inhabitants of the City of Benares, etc., etc*

SHEWETH,

No. VIII. That we, your humble petitioners, have been nourished from our infancy by the fostering care of the British Government, and have been protected from every evil. During the government of Mr. Hastings especially we enjoyed ease and tranquillity, when, by the abolition of the tax on pilgrims, the fame of the Government was extended from one end of India to the other. In like manner, in the time of the Marquis Cornwallis, we enjoyed various advantages: the Sayer and town duties, and other descriptions of oppressive duties, were abolished. The affairs of this province were committed to the administration of Mr. Duncan; and such was the indulgence extended to us, that, for the first time, Vakeels were appointed in the courts of justice on the part of Government, and the claims of Government were henceforward judged and determined in common with the claims of other people. A considerable sum of money was also appropriated for the expense of the Hindoo college, and hundreds of people obtained Jageers, pensions, and donations; the people of all descriptions were secured in the enjoyment of their laws and their religion, together with the customs and usages to which they had been long habituated. The fame of the Government extended itself throughout the world; everything submitted to its will, and the population of the country increased with its prosperity.

When the court of justice was originally established at Benares, the fees payable on the institution of suits were fixed at the rate of five per cent.; but the people claimed the interposition of the Governor-General's agent at this place, and the fees were reduced in consequence to the rate of one per cent. We fully expected that in a short time these also would be abolished; but after that gentleman went away, they were again increased; and by the introduction of the stamp duties, transit and town duties, by the Phatuckbundee and other new institutions, your petitioners were reduced to distress and wretchedness.

During the last five years, the seasons have proved unfavourable; the harvests have been injured by drought, hail, and frost;

and the price of every article of consumption has increased two-fold. In this state of things, Regulation xv., 1810, is introduced; and the tax it imposes, by affecting all ranks of people, has thrown the subjects of your Government into consternation. Accordingly, a number of people, in the confident expectation of obtaining that indulgence which Government has always been accustomed to extend to its subjects, exposed themselves to the inclemency of the season; and, with nothing to cover them but the heavens, bowed their faces to the earth in supplication; in this state of calamity, several of them perished. We presented some petitions, setting forth our distresses, to the magistrate; and, as we did not obtain our object, we petitioned the provincial court; but, from our untoward fate, we were again unsuccessful. In this state of trouble, the proclamation of the 13th of January, 1811, was issued, under the impression that your petitioners were in a state of disobedience to the Government; which we humbly represent was never even within our imagination. In implicit obedience to this proclamation, as to the decree of fate, we got up, and returned to our homes, in full dependence upon the indulgence of the Government. We set forth our distresses as below stated: we hope that you, under the authority vested by Government in its officers, upon the exercise of which the welfare of the country depends, will be pleased to translate this our petition, and forward it to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, that, under the provision contained in clause 1st, Regulation xli., 1793, we may obtain relief. The indulgent disposition which is invariably manifested by the Government, induces us to entertain a confident hope that the petition of its afflicted subjects will be complied with.

[The following representation relates to Regulation xv., 1810, and the proclamation of the 13th of January, 1811.]

First. By Regulation xxiii., 1793, the expense of the police establishments was to be defrayed by a tax levied from the merchants, traders, and shopkeepers, who were considered one of the most opulent classes of the people; but, by the rules in Regulation vi., 1797, the Regulation above mentioned was rescinded, and it was declared that the tax was a source of vexation to the contributors. The Vice-President in Council accordingly resolved to abolish this tax, and to substitute the duties on stamp paper in the room of it. Sire, when the vexations to which the people were exposed by being subjected to the tax, are so fully known to you, there can be no necessity for us to employ much



No. VIII. detail in representing them; and let it be understood, that the persons who then were affected by Regulation xxiii., 1793, are not now in a condition better calculated to submit to it. In the new Regulation, the tax includes every one; thousands who have not wherewithal to subsist, are affected by it; hence, to extend the tax to everybody, will be the cause of general ruin.

Secondly. The protection of the people is the duty of the Government. The Governments to which we were formerly subjected, established the transit and other duties upon traders to defray the expenses of protecting us; in other words, for the support of the police. Expenses of other descriptions were defrayed by the produce of the Baitoolmaul; and, although these duties still continue to be levied in Benares, the expense of the roads and the general protection of the country, such as the establishment of police, and so forth, was also provided for at the settlement of the province; besides this, the stamp duties were established to defray the expense of the police, as well as the Phatuckbundee, which has, however, been abolished by the proclamation of the 13th January. These various resources for the support of the police, well merit the attention of the Government.

Thirdly. In Regulation xv., 1810, it is stated, that, as the tax had been introduced in Calcutta, it should be also introduced into Benares. Sire, the ground of Calcutta is the particular property of Government; it was originally Government property, and became inhabited according to the usages established in England; all consented to pay the tax on the same principle as if it were a ground-rent; and every one, according to his means or pleasure, took ground, and built upon it. But it is otherwise in Benares, where the ground is the property of its inhabitants, who have held it by purchase or other means from time immemorial.

Fourthly. In Regulation xv., 1810, it is declared, that all places of worship are to be exempted from the tax; and the whole extent of the city of Benares as contained within the Punchkos is, in fact, a place of worship; there positively is not a point of ground within it which is otherwise. Let this be ascertained by a reference to the Shaster. Besides this, former Governments, on all occasions of exercising their authority, treated this city with peculiar indulgence; and the British Government also has done the same, as is instanced in the exemption of Brahmins from capital punishment; hence, the city of Benares should be especially exempted from the tax on houses.

Fifthly. The means of procuring subsistence in these times, such as they are, are well known to Government. From the annihilation of the profits of our labour, from the increase of the taxes, from calamities which have raised the price of every article of consumption, from the abolition of the Tehseeldarry system, and from the bankruptcy of the merchants, your petitioners are reduced to such a state, that multitudes are unable to clothe and feed themselves, or support and educate their families: hence numbers, who supported themselves in a respectable manner, have been robbed of their respectability by distress. Had it not been for the native colleges of Calcutta and Benares, there would not have been an educated or well-bred man to be found throughout the country. How, then, is it possible to pay the tax?

Sixthly. Thousands of people in these times have not a kourree in the world; and if, in order to realise the tax, their household property shall be sold, as is prescribed in the Regulation, to what extremities will they not be reduced?

Seventhly. Since the commencement of the English Government, the rules contained in the Shera and Shaster, together with the customs of Hindostan, have invariably been observed: it will be found in the Shera and Shaster, that houses are reckoned one of the principal necessities of life, and are not accounted disposable property. Even creditors cannot claim them from us in satisfaction of their dues; and in this country, in the times of the Mohammedan and Hindoo princes, houses were never rendered liable to contributions for the service of the state.

Eighthly. Men of business possess no ostensible property but their houses. Houses are the foundation of all worldly affairs, whether in the collector's office, or in courts, or in mercantile transactions. If the tax is enforced, what with providing the means of paying it on the one hand, and what with the apprehension of future innovations from the interference of Government on the other, such general distrust will be excited, that there will no longer be any reliance on the security of property: all mercantile transactions, all worldly affairs, will be overturned, and the public at large will become distracted.

Ninthly. By the usages of this country, the rights of the Government as they were exercised in the times of the Mohammedan and Hindoo princes, do not weigh heavy upon its subjects: hence it is, that under the English Government, in the sale of estates to realise the public revenue, the houses of the landholders are exempted. If the tax is enforced, the public mind will, for many reasons, be filled with apprehensions.

## No. VIII.

Tenthly. Although Government certainly devotes particular care and expense to the protection of the inhabitants of the cities, yet the town and transit duties, the mint and stamp duties, the registry of deeds, the duties arising from the quarries and the Abkaree, &c., &c., all of which multiply in proportion to the extent of the population, are levied in a greater degree from the inhabitants of cities than from those who live in the interior.

Eleventhly. If the tax is enforced, the rent of houses will increase; and many of the people, who are come from distant places to reside in this city and rent the houses they occupy, will no longer continue to remain in it. People will build no more stone houses; and in that case, many classes of workmen, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, &c., will be left without employment, and the city will be depopulated.

Twelfthly. Those who, from the fame of the justice and protection to be found under the English Government, are come from distant countries to reside in the city of Benares, and whose residence in it adds to the population of the place, and benefits thousands, will by the introduction of the tax be disheartened. They will go away, and multitudes will be ruined.

Thirteenthly. The Regulations enacted by the Marquis Cornwallis were extended to Benares, and we, your petitioners, satisfied with those Regulations, lived happy and contented; the whole country increased in fertility and population, and the resources of Government were improved, at least so it appeared to us, though we know not if it appears so to the wisdom of the Government.

Fourteenthly. As a number of persons continued for some time assembled together to complain, Government conceived there was a disturbance, and it was so declared in the proclamation of the 13th of January, 1811. Sire, if an order be passed, relating particularly to one individual, and other persons combine to support him, it might in that case be denominated a disturbance. As the introduction of the tax affected every individual of every class, every one presented himself to obtain justice. Thousands of men and women, all the old and the infirm, Brahmins, devotees, and Pundits, who have no occupation but prayer and penance, abandoned their houses and were among them. None were armed, even with a stick. The manner and custom in this country, from time immemorial, is this: that, whenever any act affecting every one generally, is committed by the Government, the poor, the aged, the infirm, the women, all forsake their families and their homes, expose themselves to the inclemency of the seasons and

to other kinds of inconveniencies, and make known their affliction and distress, that the Government, which is more considerate than our parents, may observe their condition and extend indulgence to its subjects. Besides this, when the Brahmins in general are involved in distress, it is incumbent on all Hindoos to abstain from receiving sustenance, and any one who presumes to deviate from this custom, must incur general opprobrium. If your petitioners, by assembling together in this manner, can be considered to have created a disturbance, it is our misfortune.

[The next representation respects the houses of Benares.]

First. Many Mohullahs are upon ground which pays revenue to Government, and ought accordingly to be exempted.

Secondly. Many houses and several parts of the city are held by grants from the native princes and from the Honourable East India Company, and these are of the same nature as Ultumgah; besides which, thousands of people subsist on the bounty of Government.

Thirdly. Many of the Seraies and other public places were built by the Mohanmedan princes or by their principal officers, and ought to be exempted.

Fourthly. There are hundreds of houses in this city, the proprietors of which pay rent for the ground they are built upon, while the owner of the ground receives the rent as his right; which right has never been disputed by any Government. The house having been built by its proprietor, he holds it, like household furniture, exempt from taxation; the materials of which it is built are liable to town and transit duties, and to the quarry duties, which are, of course, paid upon requisition. Many pieces of ground, and several of the houses above mentioned, are let to Government by the proprietors, and such proprietors cannot in consequence be called upon to pay the tax.

Fifthly. Many houses have been purchased by their present proprietors at public auction, with the permission of Government.

Sixthly. Many houses which belonged to the Baitoolmaul, have been purchased by their present proprietors from the Government, who, on paying the value of them to Government, were put into possession.

Seventhly. Many houses are still in the Baitoolmaul, and the occupants pay rent for them to Government.

Eighthly. Many houses have been bestowed upon Brahmins and Fucqueers; and these houses, like Kishnapun, and, according to established rules, must be exempted.

Ninthly. Many benevolent and humane people lend their



No. VIII. houses for the accommodation of pilgrims and travellers, in the hope by so doing to obtain the blessing of Providence; many lend them out of civility to their friends. If the tax is enforced, civility and benevolence will be excluded from the world.

Tenthly. Many houses have been built by persons of rank in former times; these houses are deserted and fallen to ruin. Those to whom these houses have lineally descended, are unable to repair them; they inhabit, perhaps, but one room, without even the means of subsistence: such persons surely deserve indulgence.

Eleventhly. Many houses are mortgaged, and in the possession of the mortgagee. The tax cannot be paid by the mortgager, because he is without the means of paying it; nor can it be paid by the mortgagee without diminishing the legal profit derivable from the established rate of interest.

Twelfthly. Many houses belong to the Nawaub Vizier and other persons of distinction, such as Manmundil and Raujmundil.

Thirteenthly. Several men of rank, such as the Moghul princes, reside in Benares by order of Government; they have either received their houses from Government, or have built them themselves.

Fourteenthly. Many of the buildings of this city are either Hindoo or Mohammedan places of worship, or pious bequests. After exempting buildings of these descriptions and the houses above mentioned, it will appear, upon inquiry, that the produce of the tax will not be worth the consideration of Government, which expends lakhs of rupees for the welfare of its subjects and for the general prosperity of the country.

Our existence and everything we possess have been bestowed upon us by the liberality of Government. Your humble petitioners feel themselves totally unable to contend, even in litigation, with a Government so powerful; but, perceiving that the Government is always disposed to be kind and indulgent, we have presumed to represent what our imperfect understandings have suggested to us. The indulgence of Government has given us the power to make this our representation; and, at all events, we hope for its indulgence and the forgiveness of our offences.

(Translated.)

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## IX.

## PAGE 346, NOTE.

*Comparative Statement of the Revenues and Charges of British India in the Year 1807-8 and 1813-14.*

1807	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	No. IX.
Receipts . . .	£9,972,000	4,923,000	770,000	15,670,000	
Charges . . .	6,372,000	5,194,000	2,059,000	13,625,000	
Surplus Revenue . . .				£2,045,000	
Deduct Interest on Debt . . .			£2,222,000		
Supplies to England . . .			128,000		
				£2,354,000	
Deficit in 1807-8 . . .				£309,000	
1813-14. . .	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	
Receipts . . .	£11,172,000	5,297,000	759,000	17,228,000	
Charges . . .	7,135,000	4,893,000	1,589,000	13,617,000	
Surplus Revenue . . .				£3,611,000	
Deduct Interest on Debt . . .			£1,537,000		
Supplies to England . . .			116,000		
				£1,653,000	
Surplus in 1813-14 . . .				£1,958,000	

## ITEMS OF AUGMENTED RECEIPT.

	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.	
	1807-8.	1813-14.	1807-8.	1813-14.	1807-8.	1813-14
Mint . . .	£17,000	9,000	"	16,000	"	6,000
Post-Office . . .	35,000	43,000	17,000	20,000	"	6,000
Stamps . . .	"	16,000	"	31,000	"	"
Judicial . . .	113,000	104,000	"	26,000	"	6,000
Customs . . .	511,000	322,000	114,000	190,000	167,000	108,000
Land Reve. . .	3,729,000	3,928,000	1,040,000	893,000	417,000	37,000
Do. Ceda. P. . .	1,718,000	2,271,000	"	"	"	206,000
Do. Ceda. & } Conq. do. }	1,013,000	1,664,000	"	"	"	291,000
Salt . . .	1,895,000	1,779,000	"	155,000	"	"
Opium . . .	801,000	964,000	"	"	"	"
Marine . . .	"	31,000	"	9,000	"	46,000
Carnatic . . .	"	"	1,027,000	1,131,000	"	"
Tanjore . . .	"	"	502,000	436,000	"	"
Mysore . . .	"	"	1,399,000	1,519,000	"	"
Nizam . . .	"	"	718,000	685,000	"	"
Travancore . . .	"	"	46,000	91,000	43,000	"
Cochin . . .	"	"	"	32,000	"	"
Farms and } Licences }	"	"	57,000	62,000	143,000	53,000
Dutch Settlements }	"	"	7,000	"	"	"

APPENDIX.

No. IX.

TOTAL INCREASE OF REVENUE.

1813-14 . . . . .	£17,228,000	
1807-8 . . . . .	15,670,000	
Increase . . . . .	£1,558,000	
Of which the increase in Bengal was . . .		£1,200,000
„ „ Madras . . . . .		369,000
		1,569,000
The deficit in Bombay . . . . .		11,000
Net Increase . . . . .		£1,558,000

INCREASE OF LAND REVENUE IN BENGAL.

Lower Provinces . . . . .	£199,000
Ceded ditto . . . . .	553,000
Conquered ditto . . . . .	651,000
	£1,403,000

These particulars are compiled from the Revenue statements of the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1810, and the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, 1830. The smaller sums, below a thousand, are purposely omitted. It must be borne in mind also, that, at the valuation of the rupee adopted in the Reports, all the sums are about one-seventh too high.

X.

PAGE 386.

*Resolutions (communicated by the Honourable the House of Commons to the Right Honourable the House of Lords at a Conference) respecting the Affairs of the East India Company.*

No. X.

1. RESOLVED, That it is expedient that all the privileges, authorities, and immunities, granted to the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament now in force, and all rules, regulations, and clauses affecting the same, shall continue and be in force for a further term of twenty years; except as far as the same may hereinafter be modified and repealed.
2. Resolved, That the existing restraints respecting the commercial intercourse with China shall be continued, and that the exclusive trade in tea shall be preserved to the said Company during the period aforesaid.

3. Resolved, That, subject to the provisions contained in the preceding Resolution, it shall be lawful for any of his Majesty's subjects to export any goods, wares, or merchandize, which can now, or may hereafter, be legally exported from any port in the United Kingdom, to any port within the limits of the charter of the said Company, as hereinafter provided; and that all ships navigated according to law, proceeding from any port within the limits of the Company's charter, and being provided with regular manifests from the last port of clearance, shall respectively be permitted to import any goods, wares, or merchandize, the product and manufacture of any countries within the said limits, into any ports in the United Kingdom which may be provided with warehouses, together with wet docks or basins, or such other securities as shall, in the judgment of the Commissioners of the Treasury in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, be fit and proper for the deposit and safe custody of all such goods, wares, and merchandize, as well as for the collection of all duties payable thereon, and shall have been so declared by the Orders of his Majesty in Council in Great Britain, or by the Order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council in Ireland: Provided always, that copies of all such Orders in Council shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament in the session next ensuing.

4. Resolved, That as long as the Government of India shall be administered under the authority of the said Company according to the provisions, limitations, and regulations hereafter to be enacted, the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the territorial acquisitions in India shall, after defraying the expenses of collecting the same, with the several charges and stipulated payments to which the revenues are subject, be applied and disposed of according to the following order of preference:

In the first place, in defraying all the charges and expenses of raising and maintaining the forces, as well European as native, artillery and marine, on the establishments in India, and of maintaining the forts and garrisons there, and providing warlike and naval stores: Secondly, in the payment of the interest accruing on the debts owing, or which may hereafter be incurred, by the said Company in India: Thirdly, in defraying the civil and commercial establishments at the several settlements there: Fourthly, that the whole or any part of any surplus that may remain of the above-described rents, revenues, and profits, after providing for the several appropriations, and defraying the several charges before mentioned, shall be applied to the provision of the Company's investment in India, in remittances to China for the provision of



No. ————— investments there, or towards the liquidations of debts in India or such other purposes as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

5. Resolved, That the receipts into the Company's treasury in England from the proceeds of the sales of their goods, and from the profits arising from private and privileged trade, and in any other manner, shall be applied and disposed of as follows:— First, in payment of bills of exchange already accepted by the Company, as the same shall become due: Secondly, for the current payment of debts (the principal of the bond debt in England always excepted) as well as interest, and the commercial charges and expenses of the said Company: Thirdly, in payment of a dividend of ten pounds per cent. on the present or any future amount of the capital stock of the said Company; also in the payment of a further dividend of ten shillings per cent. upon such capital stock, after the separate fund upon which the same was originally charged by the 124th clause of the 33rd Geo. III. cap. 52, shall have been exhausted; the said payments respectively to be made half-yearly: Fourthly, in the reduction of the principal of the debt in India, or of the bond debt at home, as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

6. Resolved, That when the principal of the debt bearing interest in India shall have been reduced to the sum of ten millions of pounds sterling, calculated at the exchange of 2s. the Bengal current rupee, 3s. the Madras pagoda, and 2s. 3d. the Bombay rupee, and the bonded debt in England shall have been reduced to the sum of three millions of pounds sterling, then and thereafter the surplus proceeds which shall be found to arise from the revenues of India, and the profits upon the trade, after providing for the payments aforesaid, shall be applied to the more speedy repayment of the capital of any public funds or securities which have been or may be created for the use of the said Company, the charges of which have been or may be directed to be borne by the said Company, in virtue of any act or acts of Parliament; and that any further surplus that may arise shall be set apart, and from time to time paid into the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, to be applied as Parliament shall direct, without any interest to be paid to the Company in respect of or for the use thereof; but nevertheless to be considered and declared as an effectual security to the said Company for the capital stock of the said Company, and for the dividend of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum in

respect thereof, not exceeding the sum of twelve millions of pounds sterling; and that of the excess of such payments, if any, beyond the said amount of twelve millions, one-sixth part shall, from time to time, be reserved and retained by the said Company for their own use and benefit, and the remaining five-sixths shall be deemed and declared the property of the public, and at the disposal of Parliament.

7. Resolved, That the said Company shall direct and order their books of account, at their several Presidencies and settlements in India, at their factory in China, at the island of St. Helena or elsewhere, and also in England, to be so kept and arranged as that the same shall contain and exhibit the receipts, disbursements, debts, and assets, appertaining to, or connected with, the territorial, political, and commercial branches of their affairs; and that the same shall be made up in such manner that the said books shall contain and exhibit the accounts of the territorial and political departments separately and distinctly from such as appertain to, or are connected with, the commercial branch of their affairs; and that the arrangement of accounts so to be made shall be submitted to the approbation and sanction of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

8. Resolved, That it is expedient to make provision for further limiting the granting of gratuities and pensions to officers, civil and military, or increasing the same, or creating any new establishments at home in such manner as may effectually protect the funds of the said Company.

9. Resolved, That all vacancies happening in the office of Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, or of Governor of either of the Company's Presidencies or settlements of Fort St. George or Bombay, or of Governor of the forts and garrisons of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or of Commander-in-chief of all the forces in India, or of any provincial Commander-in-chief of the forces there, shall continue to be filled up and supplied by the Court of Directors of the said United Company, subject nevertheless to the approbation of his Majesty, to be signified in writing under his royal sign manual, countersigned by the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

10. Resolved, That the number of his Majesty's troops in India to be in future maintained by the said Company be limited; and that any augmentation of force exceeding the number so to be limited shall, unless employed at the express requisition of the said Company, be at the public charge.

No. X.

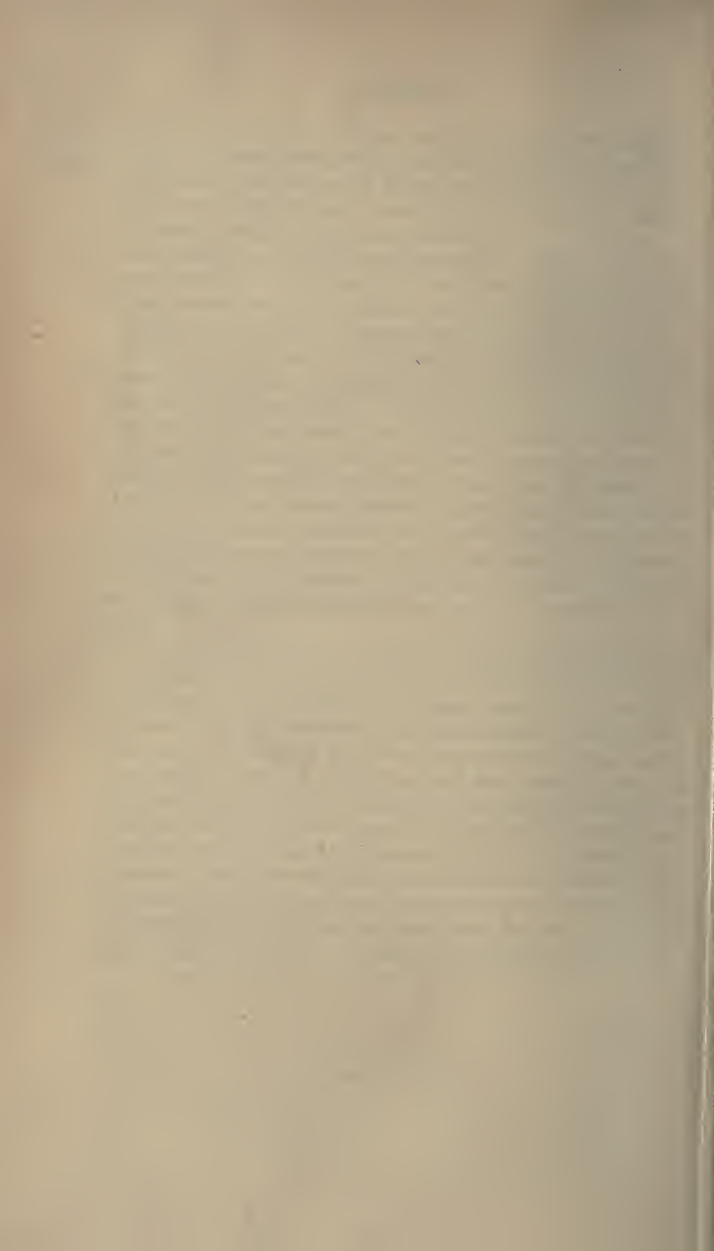
11. Resolved, That it is expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East Indies should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons; and that adequate provision should be made, from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance.

12. Resolved, That it is expedient that the statutes and regulations framed, or to be framed, by the Court of Directors for the good government of the College established by the East India Company in the county of Hertford, and of the Military Seminary of the said Company in the county of Surrey, as well as the establishment of officers connected therewith, or the appointment of persons to fill such offices, be subject to the controul and regulation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India; and that the power and authority of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India shall be construed to extend to the issuing or sending orders or instructions to the Court of Directors, for the purpose of their being transmitted to India, respecting the rules and regulations and establishments of the respective Colleges at Calcutta and Fort St. George, or any other seminaries which may be hereafter established under the authority of the local Governments.

13. Resolved, That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction amongst them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That, in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs: provided always, that the authority of the local Governments, respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country, be preserved; and that the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained.











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# THE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

FROM 1805 TO 1835.

BY HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS, BOSTON AND CALCUTTA,  
AND OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY; OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND THE  
IMPERIAL ACADEMIES OF VIENNA AND ST. PETERSBURGH; OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES  
OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC., ETC.; AND HODEN PROFESSOR OF  
SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

LONDON:  
JAMES MADDEN, 3, LEADENHALL STREET;  
PIPER, STEPHENSON AND SPENCE,  
PATERNOSTER ROW.

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M.DCCC.LVIII.





LONDON  
PRINTED BY WERTHEIMER AND CO.,  
CIRCUS PLACE, FINSBURY CIRCUS.

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# HISTORY

OF

## BRITISH INDIA.

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### BOOK II.

FROM THE RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER, 1813, TO THE CLOSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, 1823.

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#### CHAPTER I.

*Appointment of the Earl of Moira as Governor-General.— Entrance upon his Office.— Financial Embarrassments of the Indian Government.— Indications of Hostility, — Situation and Extent of Nepal.— Sketch of its History.— Rise of the Gorkhas.— Succession of their Princes.— Their Conquests in the Mountains.— Aggressions on the British Frontier.— Causes of the War.— Claims on Bhotwal in Gorakhpur.— Commissioners appointed.— Aggressions on the Saran Frontier.— Villages in Bettia attached and annexed to the Nepal.— Right of the British Government to Bhotwal established.— Lord Minto's Letter to the Raja.— Military Preparations.— Right to Lands of Bettia determined.— Return to Nepal of Gorkha Commissioners.— Disputed Lands occupied.— Outrage of the Nepalese.— War Proclaimed.— Mode of Warfare to be adopted.— Plan of the Campaign.— Disposition of the British Troops.— Advance of the Second Division.— First Attack on Kalanga — Its Failure — Second Attack, — Repulsed. — Death of General Gillespie. — Third Attack. — Defeated. — Bombardment of the Fort. — Evacuation of Kalanga. — March to*

*the Karda Valley.—General Martindell occupies Nahan.—Besieges Jytak.—Combined Attacks by Major Richards Major Ludlow,—Defeated.—Operations suspended.—Proceedings of the First Division.—Nature of the Country.—Ghorka Forts.—Nalagehr evacuated.—General Ochterlony turns the Gorkha Lines at Ramgerh.—Affair with the Gorkhas.—Reinforcements required, and Operations suspended,—Resumed.—Gorkha communications cut off.—Attack on the British Post at Dibub,—Repulsed.—General Ochterlony marches to the north of Malaun.—Amar Sing moves from Ramgerh to its Defence.—Ramgerh taken.—Malaun invested.*

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THE circumstances which recommended the Earl of Moira to the appointment of Governor-General of India have already been adverted to. After the death of Mr. Perceval, he had been authorised by the Prince Regent to attempt the formation of a cabinet which should combine the leading members of both parties in the state; and, although the negotiation was unsuccessful, its failure was not imputed to any want of ability or zeal in the negotiator. His long and close intimacy with the Prince, his distinguished rank and high personal character, were also considerations which duly weighed with the Administration; and he was accordingly entrusted with the government of the British Indian empire. The office of Commander-in-Chief was combined with that of Governor-General. Lord Moira arrived in Calcutta in the first days of October, 1813, and on the fourth of that month assumed charge of his important functions.

Although the economical system pursued by the Earl of Minto had permanently lightened the burthen on the public finances, yet the means by which much of the alleviation was effected were not unattended by temporary inconvenience. The establishments in general, and particularly those of the military department, had been reduced below the scale which the public security demanded; and the great exertions which had been made to pay off the remittable loan and supply the home treasury with funds for that purpose, as well as the necessity of furnishing the Governments of the new colonial conquests with pecuniary aid to enable them to defray the excess

of their charges over their receipts, had drawn deeply upon the resources of Bengal. The new Governor-General consequently found the treasury exhausted, and presenting a balance scarcely equal to provide for the current expenditure. He was urgently pressed by the Court of Directors to continue the remittance of bullion to England, and was at the same time called upon to discharge bills to a large amount drawn upon Bengal by the Company's supracargoes at Canton for money which they had received from private merchants for application to the purchase of investments to Europe.<sup>1</sup> The prospect of preserving tranquillity began also to be overclouded. It was evident that contests, which had been threatening for many years, and which it had been the policy of the preceding administrations to evade or to defer, could not be delayed much longer with a prudent regard for the integrity of the British dominions and the reputation of the Government. Lord Moira was therefore called upon to engage in actual warfare while the immediate resources of his administration were in an extraordinary condition of inefficiency. The embarrassments were, however, merely temporary, and they were speedily surmounted by the activity and energy which the character and example of the Governor-General diffused throughout the Company's establishments.

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Omitting, for the present, any further notice of the financial difficulties, we shall proceed to describe the origin and object of the impending hostilities.

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The territories of the kingdom of Nepal extended for a distance of more than seven hundred miles along the northern frontier of the British possessions. Stretching in an oblique direction from north-west to south-east, they skirted the provinces of Delhi, Rohilkhand, Gorakhpur, Saran, Tirhut, and Purnia, and included districts partly of ancient, partly of recent acquisition. Between Rohilkhand and Gorakhpur, a portion of the principality of Oude, conterminous with Nepal, completed the boundary line. The name, Nepal, was properly applicable to

<sup>1</sup> Financial Letter from Bengal, 30th October and 18th December, 1813. Papers relative to the Finances of India during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, printed for the Proprietors of East India Stock, March, 1824.



BOOK II. a valley of circumscribed extent embosomed in the Himalaya mountains, having on its south the first and lowest

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ranges of the chain, but girdled on the north by some of its loftiest and most majestic elevations; amid which, through passes scarcely lower than the limits of eternal congelation, a communication during the summer months lay open with Tibet. The people are mostly of the Bhot or Tibetan family; but they are intermixed with Hindus, colonies of whom immigrated from the plains at periods within the memory of tradition.<sup>1</sup> The leaders of the colonists seem to have been Rajputs, and with their ordinary superiority in energy and courage, they soon established themselves as petty princes, or Rajas, in various parts of the valley. In the course of time, the number of independent chiefs decreased, the stronger devoured the weaker; and in the middle of the eighteenth century (1765) the valley of Nepal was partitioned among the three Hindu Rajas of Khatmandu, Lalita-patan, and Bhatgaon. Taking advantage of the feuds which arrayed these petty potentates against each other, Prithi Narayan, chief of a mountain tribe termed Gorkha, overpowered the triumvirate and made himself sole master of Nepal. He transmitted his sovereignty to his descendants, and they still reign over the country. The designation of the tribe of which the prince was a member came to be regarded as the national denomination, and the term Gorkha was applied to the government and the military population of Nepal.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to local traditions, the Hindu Parbatiyas, or mountaineers, came originally from Chitore, in the beginning of the 14th century. Probably the reigning family of Rajputs may have arrived about that date, but Nepal (Naipala) was a Hindu state in much more remote times. The Parbatiyas are more likely to be the relics of a primitive population, or immigrants from the adjacent low-lands of Oude: their language belongs to the Sanscrit family of dialects; but their physical conformation differs much from that of the Hindus of the contiguous plains, who are mostly tall; whilst the Nepalese, although robust, are below the average stature.

<sup>2</sup> The name is generally said to be the name of a district in the mountains, as in Padre Giuseppe's account of Nepal, *Asiatic Researches*, ix. 307: so also Kirkpatrick, p. 123, and Hamilton. "The town of Gorkha is situated in the district of the same name."—Account of Nepal, p. 244. The latter also enumerates it as one of the Chaubisi, or twenty-four hill states, between the Gandi and Mursiangdi rivulets, the Rajas of which pretended to be members of the Pramara tribes of Rajputs; but he considers them to be of an inferior tribe, called Magars. Gorkha, correctly Gorakhsha, or Gorakh, denotes a cow-herd; and the ancestors of the Gorkhas were not improbably of that caste, from the district below the hills, known as Gorakhpur. The tutelary deity of Nepal is a form of Siva, denominated Gorakhnath, whose priests are Yogis; and the same sect, and the same worship, had formerly equal predominance in Gorakhpur.—*As. Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 189.

Prithi Narayan died in 1771. He was succeeded by his son, Pratáp Sing, who reigned but four years. He died in 1775, and left an infant son, Rana Bahadur, under the care of his widow Rajendra Lakshmi, and his brother Bahadur Sah. During the regency, the system of aggression and conquest commenced by Prithi Narayan was vigorously pursued; and many Rajas, whose countries lay east and west of Nepal, were forced to acknowledge allegiance to the Gorkha Raja. An army was sent across the northern mountains against Lhasa, and the living type of Buddha was compelled to pay tribute to the Brahmanical ruler of Nepal. The enterprise nearly proved fatal to the nascent power of the invaders. The Emperor of China, incensed by the sacrilegious indignity offered to a religion of which he is the secular head, despatched a large army to Nepal, which defeated the Raja's troops, and advanced to within a few miles of his capital, Khatmandu. The Gorkha prince averted the subjugation of his country by seasonable submission, by engaging to furnish the retiring army with provisions, and by promising payment of a yearly tribute to the Emperor of China. The Chinese army withdrew, the country of the Grand Lama was taken under the political protection of the Court of Pekin, and the Gorkhas were left to efface their discredit and compensate for their discomfiture by prosecuting schemes of aggrandisement at the expense of the Rajas of the mountains. Shortly after the Chinese invasion, an attempt was made by the British Government of India to establish a friendly intercourse with that of Nepal, and Captain Kirkpatrick was sent as envoy to Khatmandu. The mission was frustrated of all political benefits by the insuperable jealousy of the Gorkha ministers, but much interesting information was then for the first time made public respecting the topography and institutions of Nepal.

In 1795, Rana Bahadur took upon himself the authority to which his maturity entitled him, and avenged the thralldom in which he had been held, by commanding his uncle to be put to death. Becoming odious to his subjects through his dissolute habits and ferocious cruelty, he was obliged to abdicate in favour of his infant son, and withdraw from the country. He retired to Benares. After

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BOOK II. an exile of two years he recovered his station ; but, re-  
 CHAP. I. lapsing into his former atrocious conduct, he provoked a  
 1814. conspiracy of many of his principal nobles, and was murdered by the conspirators, headed by his half-brother<sup>1</sup> Shir Bahadur, in open Durbar. The murderers were immediately attacked and killed by Bhim Sah, of the tribe of Thápa, a faithful adherent of the Raja, who placed an illegitimate son of Rana Bahadur, still in his minority, upon the throne, and assumed the office of Regent. Notwithstanding these internal convulsions, the tide of external conquest had continued to spread to the westward, and it received fresh impetus from the warlike propensities and ability of the Regent. Under his administration, the Gorkhas extended their authority over the hill Rajas as far west as to the Setlej ; they crossed the river, and were upon the eve of a contest with Ranjit Sing for the spoils of the Rajput princes' established in the hill country of the Punjab, when their ambitious projects in a different direction exhausted the forbearance of a more formidable antagonist, and brought upon Nepal the resentment and arms of the Government of British India.

A spirit of aggrandisement, which had been fostered by success, had long influenced the conduct of the Court of Nepal towards its neighbours of the plains ; and its officers on the frontier had for many years been privately countenanced in a system of aggression and encroachment on the territories subject to the Presidency of Bengal. Their encroachments commenced as far back as 1787, and were persisted in, with occasional intervals, until 1813 ; being perpetrated along the whole of the borders from the frontier of Tirhut to that of the districts between the Setlej and the Jumna. They had given occasion to repeated representations and remonstrances on the part of the Government of Bengal, and had sometimes been suspended or disavowed by the Court of Khatmandu. They were in some instances, however, avowed and justified, on the plea that they were directed to the re-occupation of tracts which had originally belonged to Nepal, or to chiefs whom the Gorkhas had subdued, and whose possessions they claimed by right of conquest. No case had hitherto occurred which was considered of sufficient

<sup>1</sup> The Rajas of Mundi and Kotoch. — See Moorcroft's Travels, i. 129, 174.

magnitude to warrant forcible resistance or retaliation ; although as early as 1807 the Governor-General intimated to the Raja, that unless redress were granted for outrages committed on the frontier of Purnea, and lands which had been violently usurped were restored, "the British Government would be compelled to employ the means at its disposal for protecting the rights and persons of its subjects." The threat was carried into execution in 1809 ; a military force was then employed to expel the Gorkha officers from the disputed lands, and to replace the dispossessed Zemindar of Bhimnagar, whom the Company acknowledged as a subject, in his Zemindari.

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The more immediate causes of the war which now took place, were disputed claims to lands included within the British provinces of Saran and Gorakhpur. We shall first notice the latter of these, as they were made the earlier subject of authorised investigation. Gorakhpur, of which the northern boundary is contiguous to the lower range of hills, came into the hands of the British in 1801-2, as included in the cessions exacted from the Nawab-Vizir of Oude. The district in dispute had formed part of the landed possessions of the Raja of Palpa, a hill chieftain of consideration in the kingdom of Nepal ; it being not unusual for the Rajas of the first ranges of the hills to hold lands along the borders of the adjacent low country of Oude, either from immemorial succession, or usurpations connived at by the corrupt servants of the Oude Government. When the transfer of his lands was made, the Palpa Raja acknowledged his tenancy under the new authorities, and consented to pay a stipulated amount of revenue to the Collectorate of Gorakhpur. He was afterwards implicated in the conspiracy which ended in the murder of Rana Bahadur, and was seized and put to death by order of the Regent. His lands in the hills were confiscated to the state ; and the Nepal Government, extending the sentence of confiscation to the district of Bhotwal, part of the Raja's possessions within the British boundary, made a grant of it to another hill chief, the father of the Regent, who, in order to secure his realisation of the benefaction, assembled a considerable body of troops upon the borders, in 1804, and prepared to take forcible occupation. The pretensions of the Court of Nepal were resisted by



BOOK II. Lord Wellesley; but, unwilling to involve the Government  
CHAP. I. in a state of warfare upon the eve of his departure to  
1814. England, he professed his readiness to enter into an  
amicable discussion of the claims in question, and proposed that Commissioners should be deputed on either side to investigate and adjust them. He also suggested that the Commissioners should at the same time determine other claims preferred by the Nepalese to the revenues of the district of Sheoraj, which was likewise situated within the limits of the Ceded Provinces, but had been usurped by the Gorkhas before the date of the cession. The Court of Nepal refused to entertain the latter proposition, but proposed that the chief to whom Bhotwal had been granted should continue to hold it on the same conditions as the Palpa Raja, and pay the assessed revenue to the British authorities,—virtually recognising, therefore, the right of the Bengal Government to the sovereign property of the land. A Vakíl was sent with these replies to Calcutta, but no disposition was evinced to await the result of his mission, and a body of Gorkha troops took possession at once of more than two-thirds of the contested territory. They were unopposed. The negotiation, which had been suspended by Lord Wellesley's relinquishment of office, was resumed by Sir G. Barlow, who offered to forego the claims of the Company on Sheoraj, on condition that the Gorkhas would relinquish theirs on Bhotwal. The disposition thus indicated to compromise the pretensions of the British, served only to confirm those of their opponents. Their proposal to farm the revenues of Bhotwal, was declined, but no steps were taken to recover possession of the district, and the Nepalese remained in undisturbed occupation of the lands into which they had intruded, from 1806 to 1809. At the latter date, a remonstrance against the retention of the territory was addressed by Lord Minto to the Raja of Nepal, which was met by an evasive and unsatisfactory reply; but the Raja expressed a willingness to agree to the appointment of Commissioners to investigate the claims of both parties on the spot. The attention of the Governor-General being directed at this period to the disturbances at Madras, and the expeditions against the French and Dutch Islands, the communication was not

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immediately acted upon; but towards the end of 1811, fresh encroachments having taken place, it became indispensably necessary to consider seriously how much longer they were to be endured. The Governor-General having accordingly deliberately reviewed the whole question, determined to accede to the proposed arrangement, although he anticipated little benefit from the result. He had in the first instance repeated the offer made by Sir G. Barlow, to permit the Nepalese to retain Sheoraj, on the condition of their withdrawing from Bhotwal; but their persevering disinclination to assent to any compromise determined him to retract the offer, and to leave the right to both districts to be the subject of investigation. Major Bradshaw was nominated on the part of the British Government to confer with Commissioners appointed by the Court of Khatmandu with regard to the disputed lands on the Gorakhpur frontier, and conferences for the adjustment of the rights of the respective claimants were carried on through the greater part of the two following years.

While matters were thus circumstanced in Gorakhpur, aggressions of a like origin were committed on the British territory of Saran, lying to the east of Gorakhpur, and, like it, contiguous on its northern division, which constituted the district of Bettia, to the hills throughout the state of Makwanpur. Border disputes had always subsisted between the Raja of Bettia and his neighbour the Raja of Makwanpur. The former had become a subject of the British Government, in 1765; the latter was conquered by the Gorkhas shortly before that date, and, adopting his quarrels, they descended into the low-lands and seized upon part of the Bettia boundary. The aggression was promptly and vigorously repelled. In 1767, a military force under Major Kinloch drove the Gorkhas out of the province, and, following them into the hills, took possession of Makwanpur. When a good understanding with the Court of Khatmandu was restored, Mr. Hastings gave up that part of Makwanpur which was situated in the hills, but retained the low-lands on the Bettian frontier as a compensation for the cost of military expedition which the Bengal Government had been compelled in self-defence to undertake. From that period the con-

BOOK II. quered tract had formed a portion of the Bettia Zemindari  
CHAP. I. and had paid revenue to the British Government without

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any question of its right having been agitated by Nepal. In 1811, however, emboldened by the obvious reluctance of the Government of Bengal to engage in hostilities, — a reluctance which, agreeably to the maxims of Gorkha policy, could only be accounted for by conscious weakness — the Nepalese advanced a claim to the division of Nare, in Bettia; and the Gorkha governor of the adjacent hill district crossed the border with an armed force, burnt and plundered several villages, levied contributions on several, and called upon others, to the number of twenty-two in the aggregate, to acknowledge allegiance to his government. His incursion provoked resistance: the people of the country took up arms, and, as the Gorkha party was weak, defeated and expelled them. Their leader was killed in the affray. A stronger force was immediately despatched from Nepal, against which no adequate means of resistance were at hand; and the whole of the lands originally separated from Makwanpur were forcibly re-occupied by the Gorkhas, without their condescending to give previous intimation of their pretensions or their purposes.<sup>1</sup>

After long and protracted discussions, the right of the British Government to the disputed lands on the frontier of Gorakhpur was established by documentary evidence, to rebut which no satisfactory testimony was brought forward by the Commissioners from Nepal. They, nevertheless, declined to recognise the claim of the British, or to direct the removal of the Gorkha officers from the usurped districts, without authority from Khatmandu, to which they required to refer. A suggestion was, however, made to Major Bradshaw, that the Raja of Nepal should cede the disputed lands in exchange for a tract, six miles broad along the skirts of the hills, to be given up by the British

<sup>1</sup> Besides the districts more particularly specified in the text, various encroachments had occurred almost throughout the whole of the border, from the Tista to the Setlej. In Tirhut, between 1787 and 1812, more than two hundred villages had, at different times, been appropriated by the Nepalese. In Bareilly, they had occupied five out of eight divisions of the Pergunna of Khyrapur. They claimed an extensive tract in the Zilla of Moradabad; and in 1813, they attempted to occupy several villages in the territory of the protected Sikh chiefs, but were prevented by the interference of the British Political Agent.—Nepal Papers, printed for the Court of Proprietors, Narrative of the War, by the Marquis of Hastings, 677.

Government. To this compromise Lord Minto refused his concurrence; he considered the proposal to be equivalent to an admission, that the right of his Government to Sheoraj and Bhotwal was substantiated, as was truly the case, and that the Court of Nepal was not entitled to any compensation for the abandonment of unjust and violent usurpations. He regarded the proposition also as evasive and temporising, and as unlikely, even if acquiesced in, to put a stop to the unfounded claims of the Gorkha Government. He, consequently, insisted on the unqualified restoration of the usurped territory; and, as the Commissioners pleaded want of powers, he addressed a letter to the Raja, reminding him of his promise to abide by the result of the inquiry, and calling upon him to fulfil his promise, by ordering his officers to retire from the disputed districts,—expressing his earnest wish to remain upon terms of amity with the Nepal state, but declaring his intention of occupying the lands in question by force, if they were not peaceably resigned. Military preparations were set on foot for carrying the menace into effect when the season should permit, as little expectation was entertained that the Court of Khatmandu would be induced by conciliatory representations to recede from its pretensions. Before a definitive answer was received from the Raja, the Earl of Moira had succeeded to the government of India.

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When the aggressions on the Saran frontier were committed, strong remonstrances were addressed to the Court of Khatmandu, and a demand was made that the lands which had been seized should be immediately restored. It was ceded, however, that the right to them should nevertheless be investigated by the magistrates of Saran and the officers of Nepal; and it was promised, that, if the Gorkha claim to any of the villages should be made good, they should be restored. An investigation accordingly took place, the result of which was to disprove the Gorkha pretensions;<sup>1</sup> but a final decision was not insisted on

<sup>1</sup> A different story is, however, told by the Government of Nepal. In their instructions to an accredited agent, who was to have been despatched to Calcutta, and which document fell into the hands of Lieut.-Col. Bradshaw, they accuse Bir Kishore Sing (the Raja of Bettia), of having originated the encroachments, taken possession of a large portion of land, and committed an atrocious murder in the Nepal territories (referring to the death of the Gorkha



BOOK II. until the Commissioners in Gorakhpur should be able to  
 CHAP. I. extend their inquiries to Saran. It appeared, however, to  
 1814. the new Governor-General, that the question of right had  
 been so unequivocally decided by the previous proceedings, that it needed no further deliberation; and Lieut.-Colonel Bradshaw was authorised to proceed to the spot in company with the Gorkha Commissioners, for the purpose only of adjusting any minor points which might remain to be set at rest. The villages had in the mean time been conditionally evacuated by the Nepalese. Their own Commissioners disapproved of the temporary transfer, and, making their disapproval a plea for closing the conference, refused to hold any further communication with the British representative, and returned abruptly to Nepal.<sup>1</sup>

It was evident from the conduct of the Gorkha Commissioners, that the Court of Khatmandu had no serious intention to concur in any amicable settlement; but, unwilling to precipitate a quarrel, the Governor-General renewed in an address to the Raja the remonstrances and arguments that had been hitherto urged in vain, requiring him to acquiesce in the conclusions which had been established by the conferences of the Commissioners both in Gorakhpur and Saran, and to accede to the peaceable occupation of the lands by the civil officers of the British Government. A refusal to acknowledge the Company's rights was, after some delay, received. No alternative therefore, remained but the relinquishment of the claims which had been substantiated, or their resolute vindication.

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officer mentioned in the text). The Raja proceeds: "You will state, that in consequence of a letter which I received from Mr. Hawkins of Patna, assuring me that Bir Kishore Sing would be punished by the British Government, I did not punish him as I should otherwise have done. I, however, recovered possession of the twenty-two villages which he had seized. Mr. Young was afterwards sent to investigate the question respecting these villages. By his inquiries, the right of this government, and aggression of the Zemindar of Bettia, were fully established; the Bettia man could produce no documents whatever in support of his claim. Mr. Young has probably reported this to Government. You will state these observations in a proper manner."—Nepal Papers, 383.

<sup>1</sup> The abrupt departure of the Commissioners is referred by Mr. Prinsep to the receipt, by the Raja of Nepal, of the letter of the Governor-General, declaring his resolution to occupy the disputed lands by force, if not given up within a specified period. According to the document last quoted, it arose from personal dissatisfaction with the British Commissioner. "They had an interview with the Major, who made use of improper language towards them; in consequence of which they remained silent; and, seeing no business brought forward, they came away."—Nepal Papers, p. 384. The state papers of Nepal appear to be no more veracious than those of more civilised nations.

The latter was adopted. The villages on the Saran frontier were retained, and a detachment was sent into Bhotwal and Sheoraj, before which the Nepalese authorities retired without attempting to offer any resistance.<sup>1</sup>

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The promptitude and decision which characterised the measures of the British Government convinced the Court of Khatmandu that the crisis which it must have contemplated had now arrived, and that disputes respecting border lands had terminated in the alternative of peace or war. The question was deliberately considered in a council of the principal chiefs, and a summary of their opinions was transmitted to the military governors of the frontier. In deference to the sentiments of the Raja, or rather of the Regent minister, who advocated hostilities, the conclusion of the council was for war; but several of the chiefs entertained sounder views of its probable consequences, urged perseverance in the course of policy hitherto pursued, and recommended, if unavoidable, the ultimate concession of the disputed territory below the hills. To these prudent recommendations were opposed the uniform success which had hitherto attended the arms of Nepal, the powerful military force of the principality, and the natural strength of the country, which constituted an impregnable barrier against an English invasion. The small fort of Bhurtpore, argued the minister, was the work of man, yet the British were defeated in their attempts against it. How little, then, was it likely that they should storm the mountain fastnesses constructed by the hand of God!<sup>2</sup> The determination, however unwise, indicated a lofty and patriotic spirit; but the mode in which it was announced was characteristic of a barbarous court.

The approach of the rainy season and the unhealthiness of the country at that period, as well as the seeming ac-

<sup>1</sup> These details are taken chiefly from the Narrative of the War, by the Marquis of Hastings.—Nepal Papers, 673.

<sup>2</sup> The opinions of the Council, as communicated to the Raja of Palpa, fell into the hands of the English, and are printed by Mr. Prinsep. The Raja proposes war, and is seconded by Bhim Sen Thapa, the regent. The strength of the country, and military power and reputation of Nepal, are the chief topics of reliance. On the other hand, some fear is expressed of the defection of the Hill Rajas, by which an opening into the mountains may be afforded to the enemy; and some of the chiefs do not hesitate to declare their opinion of the superiority of the British forces. We have hitherto, say they, but hunted deer; if we engage in this war, we must prepare to fight tigers. It is clear that the war was disapproved of by the most judicious of the Raja's advisers, and that it originated chiefly in the presumption and ignorance of the Regent.—Prinsep's Transactions in India, 8vo. ed. vol. i. App. 457.

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## CHAP. I.

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quiescence of the Nepalese in the occupation of the disputed lands, induced the Government to withdraw the troops, leaving a civil force of armed police at the frontier thanas or stations of Bhotwal and Sheoraj. On the morning of the 28th May, a party of Gorkhas, under the command of the late Governor of the district, attacked the post at Bhotwal. The police were overpowered, eighteen men were killed, and the head officer, or Thanadar, who surrendered himself, was tied to a tree and killed with arrows. The stations of Sheoraj were abandoned by the police, but not until one had been surprised and several lives had been lost. The lands were immediately taken possession of by the Gorkhas. Although this outrage demanded instant punishment, the season of the year delayed its infliction, and an opportunity was afforded to the Raja of disavowing the perpetrators of the offence. A letter from the Governor-General required him to fulfil the obligation, but it received an evasive and menacing reply. Hostilities were therefore evidently unavoidable; and, after an interval diligently devoted to preliminary arrangements, and the collection of information regarding a country but little known, war with Nepaul was announced, in a manifesto detailing its causes and vindicating its necessity.<sup>1</sup>

War having been resolved upon, it became necessary to determine the principles upon which it should be carried on—whether a defensive or offensive system should be adopted, and in either case what course should be pursued. The former was open to weighty objections. It was clearly impossible adequately to guard a line of open frontier, extending seven hundred miles, at every assailable point; and the Nepalese would have it in their power to inflict injury and loss upon their enemy with little hazard of suffering retaliation. To maintain large bodies of troops in the field would be attended with the same expense, in whatever manner they might be employed; and the cost was likely to be heaviest in the end, if their inactivity was productive of a tedious and harassing prolongation of hostilities. It was also obviously advisable, not merely to defend the British territory against actual aggression, but to deprive the Gorkha government of the means of repeating their incursions, by contracting the limits of their

<sup>1</sup> It is dated Lucknow, 1st of November, 1814; and is addressed to the Powers in alliance and friendship with the Company.—Nepal Papers, 443.

possessions, reducing their power, and humbling their ambition. The defensive system was therefore discarded, and it only remained to determine the plan of offensive operations—an advance to Khatmandu with a concentrated force; or a simultaneous attack on different points of the long line of the Gorkha conquests, throughout which the recently subjugated people and chiefs were ready to fall off from their oppressive rulers, and welcome and facilitate the approach of the British troops. To this political advantage was to be added the difficulty of moving large bodies of troops in so rugged a country, of providing them with supplies where the soil was so unproductive, and of keeping up a communication with the lowlands in consequence of the deadly miasmata which render the forests on the skirts of the hills utterly impassable during a considerable portion of the year. It was, therefore, determined by Lord Moira to prefer the latter plan, and operating upon the Kali river, which severed the Gorkha possessions nearly in two, as a centre, to direct his first efforts against the western portion, whilst other divisions were to move against the eastern half, and advance into the valley of Nepal.<sup>1</sup> With these views four separate divisions were formed which were to ascend the hills at as many places as soon as the rains had sufficiently subsided to allow of their forward movement.

The first of the divisions, comprising about 6,000 men, under the command of Major-General Ochterlony, was destined to attack the Gorkha positions at the western extremity of their line. The second, 3,500 strong, commanded by Major-General Gillespie, was intended to occupy Dehra Dún, a valley above the first range of hills, and besiege Jytak, the principal fortress of the enemy in the province of Gerhwal. The third division, of about

<sup>1</sup> Lord Moira's Letter to the Chairman, 6th August, 1816.—Nepal Papers, 994. The military policy of the Court of Directors differed from that of his Lordship. In their estimation, the preservation of British honour, and the integrity of the territories might have been secured "by the employment of one concentrated body of troops;" meaning, apparently in this place, their employment on the defensive. In a subsequent paragraph they advocate a similar mode of conducting offensive operations. "We are inclined to the opinion, from the nature of the resistance opposed by the enemy, that if, instead of dividing our force into so many detachments, a concentrated attack had been made, it might possibly have been the means of bringing the war to a successful conclusion, without looking to the issue of a second campaign."—Political Letter to Bengal, 13th Oct., 1815. At a later date, the Court profess their acknowledgment of the "wisdom of the plan on which Lord Moira had acted."—Political Letter to Bengal, 5th March, 1817; *Ibid.* 998.



BOOK II. 4,500 troops, was placed under the orders of Major-General  
 CHAP. I. John Sullivan Wood, and was to march from the Gorakhpur frontier through the long-disputed districts of  
 1814. Bhotwal and Sheoraj to Palpa. The fourth and most considerable division, comprehending nearly 8,000 men, commanded by Major-General Marley, was to make the most effectual impression on the enemy, and was to march through Makwanpur directly to Khatmandu. Arrangements were made at the same time for the defence of the interjacent parts of the British frontier by local corps; and at the south-eastern end of the line east of the Kusi River, Captain Latter, commanding the Rangpur local battalion and a battalion of regular native infantry, was directed to convert a defensive into an offensive attitude, should circumstances be favourable to the change. The whole force amounted to more than 30,000 men, with 60 guns.<sup>1</sup> To oppose so formidable an armament, the Gorkhas

<sup>1</sup> The details of the several divisions were as follows:—			
1st Div. Artillery, European and Native		950	
Native infantry—(2nd battalion 1st, 2nd battalion 6th, 2nd battalion 3rd, 1st battalion 19th, and six companies of the 2nd battalion 19th)		4778	
Pioneers		265	
Ordnance, two 18-pounders, ten 6-pounders, four mortars and howitzers.		—	5,993
2nd Div. Artillery		247	
H.M. 53rd Reg.		785	
Native infantry—(1st battalion 6th, 1st battalion 17th, 1st battalion 7th)		2348	
Pioneers		133	
Ordnance, two 12-pounders, eight 6-pounders, four howitzers.		—	3,513
3rd Div. 8th Native cavalry		114	
Artillery		457	
H.M. 17th Reg.		958	
Native infantry—(left wings of both battalions of the 14th, 2nd battalion 17th, four companies 2nd battalion, 8th and 2nd battalion 12th)		2875	
Pioneers		90	
Ordnance, four 6-pounders, three 3-pounders, four mortars and howitzers.		—	4,494
4th Div. Artillery		868	
H.M. 24th Reg.		907	
Native infantry—(1st battalion 18th, left wing 2nd battalion 22nd, 2nd battalion 15th, 2nd battalion 25th, Ramgerh local battalion, Champaran L. infantry)		5988	
Pioneers		276	
Ordnance, four 18-pounders, four 6-pounders, four 3-pounders, twelve mortars and howitzers.		—	7,989
Total sixty-eight guns, and men			21,989

Considerable reinforcements joined the two first divisions, besides irregular troops and Native contingents, to the extent of above 12,000 men.—Nepal Papers, 197, 432.

in the beginning of the war could not muster more than 12,000 regular troops, which were scattered along the extended length of their frontier. They were augmented during the war by levies of local militia; but they were without discipline, imperfectly equipped, and were not always well-affected to their rulers, as they were often raised from the subjects of the conquered hill states. A few forts, strongly situated, but in other respects of little importance, commanded the principal passes of the mountains. The main strength of the Gorkhas consisted in the spirit of the government, the bravery and devotedness of the regular troops, the impracticability of the country, the inexperience of their adversaries in mountain warfare, and their ignorance of the ground on which they were to move, and of the character of the people with whom they were to contend.

Major-General Gillespie's division was assembled at Saharanpur on the 18th of October. On the following day the advance, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Carpenter, proceeded by the Timli pass into the valley of the Dún. On the 22nd, Lieut.-Colonel Mawbey followed with the main body, and occupied the town of Dehra, which gives the valley its appellation. The Gorkhas fell back, as the British advanced, to the fort of Nalapani, or Kalanga, a small fort about five miles from Dehra, strongly posted to a steep detached hill, six hundred feet high, covered with jungle. The summit was a table-land above half a mile in length; and at the further extremity stood the fort, a stone quadrangular building of no great extent, but enlarged and strengthened by stockades. It was garrisoned by a body of six hundred Gorkhas, commanded by Balbhadra Sing, whom Amar Sing Thapa, the military governor of the western districts, had selected for his intrepidity to encounter the first onset of the enemy.

Lieut.-Colonel Mawbey, having marched upon Kalanga, summoned the garrison to surrender. An answer of defiance was returned to the summons,<sup>1</sup> and an attack was in consequence made upon the fort on the 24th October. With infinite labour guns were carried up the hill, and a

<sup>1</sup> The letter was delivered to Balbhadra Sing late at night; he observed, that it was not his habit to carry on a correspondence at such an unseasonable hour, but that he should shortly pay the writer a visit in his camp.

BOOK II. battery was constructed ; but the place appearing to be  
 CHAP. I. too strong to be taken by these means, Colonel Mawbey  
 1814. suspended proceedings and awaited the orders of his  
 superior. General Gillespie immediately moved with the  
 remainder of the force, and joined the advance on the 26th.  
 Heavy guns were brought up, a battery was erected, and  
 preparations were made to carry the fort by storm. The  
 assault took place on the 31st.

The troops had been distributed in four columns of  
 attack and a reserve ; and it was intended that the former  
 should move against the several faces of the fort at the  
 same moment, upon a signal being fired from the battery.  
 Three of the columns, having to make a circuit of some  
 distance over very rugged ground, marched before day-  
 break, but had not reached their appointed destinations  
 at 8 A.M., when the signal-gun was fired. It was not  
 heard by them.<sup>1</sup> In the mean time a sortie was made by  
 the garrison, which was repelled by the remaining column ;  
 and General Gillespie, thinking that the retreating enemy  
 might be followed into their own intrenchment by a brisk  
 and vigorous pursuit, ordered the column, together with  
 the reserve and a company of the 8th, or Royal Irish dis-  
 mounted dragoons, to hasten forward and carry the place  
 by escalade. The troops advanced steadily to the foot of  
 the wall : but the commandant, besides manning the ram-  
 parts, had placed a gun in an outwork protecting the gate-  
 way in such a way as to enfilade the wall upon that side ;  
 the fire from which beat down the pioneers before the  
 ladders could be applied, and destroyed the leading files  
 of the assailants. Foiled in their attempt to scale the  
 wall, which had sustained no damage from the previous  
 fire of the battery, the men attempted to force the out-  
 work and carry the gate. They were received with such a  
 heavy fire, and suffered so severely, that it was found ne-

<sup>1</sup> According to Prinsep, (*History of the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings*, i, 88,) Gillespie's impatience anticipated the time proposed for the joint assault, which was ten o'clock. Major Thorn, in his *Memoir of General Gillespie*, says the time was to have been two hours after the signal, which was fired at seven. Mr. Fraser says that the signal was given some hours before the time intended, and was not heard, probably because it was unexpected.—*Travels in the Himalaya*. In Colonel Mawbey's official report, it is said that the signal was fired at eight o'clock, two hours after which was the time for the assault. He also states that it was not heard by Major Kelly, Captain Fast, or Captain Campbell, commanding the other columns of attack.—*Nepal Papers*, 439.

cessary to draw them off to the shelter of some huts at a little distance from the fort. Although the other columns had not yet come into action, General Gillespie, irritated by the repulse which had been sustained, persisted in renewing the attempt, declaring aloud his determination to carry the fort or lose his life. Accordingly, he placed himself at the head of three fresh companies of the 53rd regiment and of the dragoons, and led them again towards the gate of the fort. When within range of the enemy's matchlocks, the men of the 53rd hung back.<sup>1</sup> The General, in advance of the line, in vain called on them to follow him; and, while waving his sword to encourage them to come on, he was shot through the heart, and immediately expired. His aide-de-camp, Lieut. O'Hara, was killed by his side; Captain Byers, the Brigade-Major, was wounded; and many of the dragoons, by whom the General had been bravely seconded, were killed or wounded.<sup>2</sup> The fall of General Gillespie completed the discouragement of the men, and a retreat was ordered. One of the other columns, that which was commanded by Captain Campbell, arrived in time to cover the retreat. The loss had been, for the duration of the service, considerable: the temper of the men was unfavourable; little prospect existed of carrying the fort by assault; and, as the guns were insufficient to effect a breach, Colonel Mawbey, on whom the command devolved, deemed it prudent to return to Dehra, and there await the arrival of a battering-train from Delhi.

The requisite ordnance having been received on the 24th of November, the army moved on the following day once more against Kalanga. A battery of 18-pounders was constructed, and a practicable breach was effected by noon of the 27th. The storming party, consisting of the grenadier company and one battalion company of the 53rd, and the grenadier companies of the 6th, 7th, and 13th Native infantry regiments, covered by the light

<sup>1</sup> The men of this regiment were in a discontented and sullen mood, conceiving themselves to have been overworked by the unnecessary repetition of parade exercise.

<sup>2</sup> The total loss was five officers and twenty-seven privates killed, fifteen officers and two hundred and thirteen privates wounded. Besides General Gillespie and Lieutenant O'Hara, the officers killed were Lieutenant Gosling, Light Battalion, Ensign Fothergill, 17th N.I.; and Ensign Ellis, Pioneers. Of the hundred dragoons, four were killed and fifty wounded.



BOOK II. infantry of the 53rd, and supported by the rest of the  
 CHAP. I. force, was commanded to advance. The assailants were  
 1814. ordered to move with their muskets unloaded, and to  
 carry the breach by the bayonet alone ; — an order which  
 seems to have been ill-timed, as after the previous re-  
 pulse, and in the prevailing disposition of the soldiery,  
 confidence in their display of that calm courage and des-  
 perate determination which such a method of attack im-  
 plies, could scarcely have been warranted. Either from  
 the discouraging influence of this order, or from causes  
 unexplained, the troops, although they moved without  
 hesitation to the breach, manifested little resolution or  
 perseverance in their attempts to force an entrance into  
 the fort. They suffered considerable loss on their ap-  
 proach ; and, on arriving at the breach, they found that  
 within it was a precipitous descent of about fourteen feet,  
 at the foot of which stood a part of the garrison, armed  
 with spears and sharp-pointed arrows, supported by  
 another portion, provided with matchlocks and various  
 missiles. After a feeble effort, the assailants recoiled, and  
 drew off to a short distance from the wall ; where they  
 remained for two hours, exposed to a heavy fire and an  
 unceasing shower of arrows and stones. The example and  
 instigations of their officers were in vain exerted to ani-  
 mate them to a second attack ; and, finding that their  
 backwardness was insurmountable, it became necessary  
 to withdraw them from their position. They were ac-  
 cordingly recalled, after sustaining serious loss.<sup>1</sup>

The project of carrying the fort of Kalanga by assault  
 was now relinquished, and recourse was had to a bombard-  
 ment, which was attended with almost immediate success.  
 The fortress, which was little more than an open enclosure  
 within stone walls, afforded no shelter to the besieged, and  
 speedily became untenable. In the course of three days  
 the place was strewn over with the killed, the stench  
 from whose unburied bodies became intolerable ; and the  
 commandant abandoned the place with no more than  
 seventy survivors out of the six hundred of whom his

<sup>1</sup> Four officers and thirty-three privates were killed, seven officers and six hundred and thirty-six privates were wounded. The officers killed were Captain Campbell, 6th N.I. ; Lieutenant Harrington, his Majesty's 53rd ; and Lieutenant Luxford, Horse Artillery. As observed by Prinsep, the British loss exceeded the number of the Gorkha garrison.

garrison had been composed. Balbhadra Sing effected his escape unperceived, and joined a detachment of three hundred fresh troops which had been sent to his relief, but had been unable to make their way through the British posts. The party was pursued by Major Ludlow, who, by great activity, came upon them suddenly on the night of the 1st of December. A brief but smart action took place, in which the Sipahis in some degree redeemed their reputation, and put the Gorkhas to the rout. The enemy disappeared among the recesses of the mountains, and their pursuers returned to camp. The fort of Kalanga was demolished.<sup>1</sup>

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The repeated checks and the heavy loss suffered at Kalanga gave an entirely new aspect to the war. The assailants had been unprepared for such resolute resistance, and, from the evidence which the siege had afforded of the extraordinary gallantry of the enemy, learned to look forward with diminished confidence to the result of subsequent conflicts. On the other hand, the Gorkhas were highly elated by the glory of having, with a mere handful of men, so long kept at bay a well-appointed and numerous body of their foes, and of having made them purchase an insignificant intrenchment with the death of many distinguished officers, and the fall of a celebrated commander. The moral effect on the minds of both parties was a principal cause of the protracted continuance of the war. Nor was the loss of time, considered in itself, an evil of slight moment, as it had deranged the whole plan of the campaign. The result was the more to be regretted, as it was obvious that it might have been easily avoided, and that, had the assailants condescended at first to employ the powerful means which European science placed in their hands, and, instead of rushing headlong against stone walls, effectively demolished them, or driven out those whom they sheltered, reputation and life would not have been unprofitably sacrificed. The impetuosity of General Gillespie frustrated his own designs; and his daring courage, failing to awaken a corresponding ardour in his followers, proved fatal to himself and mischievous to his country. His death was, however, in

<sup>1</sup> For the official reports of the occurrences before Kalanga, see Nepal Papers, pp. 460, 490.

BOOK II. harmony with the whole course of his life ; and, if he  
 CHAP. I. exhibited some want of the prudent foresight and steady  
 1814. self-possession required in a commander, he displayed that  
 disdain of danger in the discharge of his duty which constitutes one of the highest qualifications of a soldier.<sup>1</sup>

During the interval that elapsed before the repetition of the attack on Kalanga, Colonel Mawbey detached Lieut.-Colonel Carpenter with his division to a position on the right bank of the Jumna, where he might command the fords of the river, and intercept the communication between the Gorkha commanders in the east and west. The same position was favourable for his giving aid to the hill tribes, should any of them show a disposition to rise and throw off the Gorkha yoke. The people of Jounsar in consequence took up arms, and so much alarmed the Gorkha garrison of Barat, a stronghold in the mountains, that they hastily evacuated a fort which could not have been reduced without trouble and loss. After the capture of Kalanga, Colonel Mawbey was directed to march to the westward into the adjacent Dún, or valley, of Karda, in order to carry out so much of the original plan as to effect the co-operation of the division with that under the command of Colonel Ochterlony. The force descended into the lowlands, to avoid the ridge separating the Dehra from the Karda Dún, and returning northwards entered the latter by the pass of Moganand. On the 19th of December the division was within seven miles of Náhan, the capital of the small state of Sirmor, the Raja of which had been dispossessed by the Gorkhas. Their army in this quarter was commanded by Ranjor Sing Thapa, the son of Amar Sing, whose head-quarters were at Jytak, a fort on the top of a mountain lying north from the town, strongly situated in an angle where two mountain ridges met, and perched at the height of five thousand feet above the level of the sea. On the 20th of December, the force was joined by Major-General Martindell, who had been appointed to the command.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A monument to the memory of General Gillespie was erected at Meerut by the officers who had served under him ; and a public monument, voted by Parliament, was placed in St. Paul's Cathedral. Two obelisks on the hill of Nalapani mark the spot where he and his companions fell ; no vestige of the fort remains.—Memoir of General Gillespie, 240 ; Mundy's Sketches of India, i. 192 ; Moorcroft's Travels, i. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Nepal Papers, 493.

After occupying the town of Náhan, General Martindell moved to the foot of the range, on the highest peak of which the fort of Jytak was placed; the approach to it was defended by stockades at various heights; the ascent was rough and difficult, as the hills rose throughout the whole acclivity by steep and abrupt elevations, separated by loose crumbling soil, and deep and precipitous ravines, and afforded no level ground for the evolutions of regular troops. The position having been carefully reconnoitred, it appeared that the garrison depended for their supply of water upon wells situated exteriorly to the fort, and some way below it; and the General consequently resolved to make an attempt to cut off the supply, and at the same time dispossess the enemy of a strongly stockaded post, erected for its defence about a mile to the west of the fortress. With this intention two columns were formed: one, under Major Ludlow, to move against the post on the left and nearest side; the other, under Major Richards, to make a *détour*, and assail the stockade in the rear. The effect of the combined attack was disappointed; and the two columns, being successively overpowered by a superior force, were compelled to retreat.

The party under Major Richards left the camp at midnight.<sup>1</sup> They had a march to make of sixteen miles, by paths rarely admitting two men abreast. It was eight o'clock in the morning before they reached the foot of the hill on which they were to establish themselves; and they halted till ten, to allow the whole of the men to join and rest. They then ascended the mountain, and, having gained the summit, advanced to within three hundred yards of the fort of Jytak. The enemy offered no opposition, being at the time engaged with their other assailants.

The division commanded by Major Ludlow<sup>2</sup> marched an hour later than the column under Major Richards, but, having a much shorter interval to traverse, came earlier in contact with the Gorkhas. Their picquets were en-

<sup>1</sup> It consisted of the 1st battalion of the 13th N. I., the light companies of his Majesty's 53rd, and 7th, 26th, and 27th N. I., and of a company of pioneers. The companies were weak, and the whole mustered little more than six hundred strong.—Nepal Papers, 504.

<sup>2</sup> It was formed of a grenadier company of the 53rd, three companies of the light battalion, and nine of the 6th N. I., with a company of pioneers, mustering about nine hundred.—Ibid.



BOOK II. countered about three in the morning, and driven back.  
 CHAP. I. The column advanced to the summit of a hill, on which  
 1814. stood the ruined village and temple of Jamta, from which the leading files, consisting of the grenadiers of his Majesty's 53rd, dislodged a small Gorkha post. Elated by their success, and attributing the retreat of the enemy to fear, the grenadiers insisted upon being led against a stockade at no great distance, and apparently of no formidable strength. Conceiving that it might be carried by a vigorous attack, Major Ludlow permitted the attempt to be made, and the advance rushed onward without waiting till the whole of the detachment had come up and could be formed. The Gorkha commander, Jaspao Thapa, was prepared for their reception. As soon as the first firing was heard, he had been detached from Jytak with the main body of the garrison, and had stationed them not only behind the stockade, but on the commanding points of the hills on either flank; so that when the assailants reached the foot of the stockade, a sudden and destructive fire was poured upon them from every quarter. Before they could recover from the disorder thus occasioned, they were charged by superior numbers, sword in hand, and driven back in confusion to the point at Jamta, whence they had so confidently advanced. The Native troops were still in disarray, and, having but few European officers to keep them steady,<sup>1</sup> they gave the fugitives no support; on the contrary, sharing in the disorder, and struck with panic, they fled precipitately down the hill, closely chased by the Gorkhas, who inflicted severe loss with their semicircular and heavy swords. The pursuit was, however, arrested by the necessity of returning to encounter the more successful advance of Major Richards. The British detachment, completely disorganised, regained the camp by ten o'clock.<sup>2</sup>

The garrison of Jytak, having thus so easily disposed of one attack, proceeded with augmented confidence and courage to get rid of the other; but some interval elapsed before they were in a condition to resume offensive opera-

<sup>1</sup> There were but three officers with the nine companies of the 13th N.I.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Munt of the 1st N. I. was killed, three officers were wounded; thirty-one Europeans and one hundred and twenty natives were killed and wounded.

tions. In the mean time, Major Richards had accomplished the duty entrusted to him, and had taken up a station which, approaching the fort and commanding the wells, must soon have straitened the garrison and accelerated their surrender. It was therefore of vital importance to Ranjor Sing to dislodge the English before they should be strengthened sufficiently to render the attempt hopeless. At one o'clock he descended from the fort with all his available force, and with intrepid resolution. The detachment stood its ground bravely, and the Gorkhas were repulsed. They renewed their attacks and displayed the greatest courage, advancing to the very muzzles of the muskets, and endeavouring to hew down their opponents with their swords. The struggle was continued for six hours, until it grew dark, and the ammunition of the Sipahis began to fail — so that they were obliged at last to defend themselves with stones. At seven in the evening a message was received from General Martindell, commanding the detachment to retreat. Previous messages of the same tenor had been despatched, but the messengers had been intercepted. Although confident, if furnished with supplies, of being able to maintain his position, Major Richards found himself obliged to comply with the General's positive orders, and commenced a retreat under the most unpropitious circumstances, from the nature of the ground and the exhaustion of the men. Moving slowly in single file along narrow, rough, and precipitous paths, the whole must have fallen a sacrifice to an enemy familiar with the locality, and experienced in mountain warfare, had not the retreat been covered with singular devotedness by Lieut. Thackeray and the light company of the 26th N.I. The whole Gorkha force was kept in check and repeatedly repulsed by this officer and his small party, until he and his next in command, Ensign Wilson, and many of the men, were killed. The retreating body were then overtaken by the Gorkhas, but they had nearly cleared the most difficult and exposed portions of their path; and although much confusion ensued, and many of the officers and men were separated from the column, yet most of them subsequently found their way to camp, and the loss proved less serious than there was reason at first to apprehend. The darkness of

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BOOK II. the night and the ruggedness of the surface were as unfavourable for pursuit as for flight, and the Gorkha general did not care to commit his men too far beyond the vicinity of the fortress.<sup>1</sup>

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It was admitted by the Governor-General that the object proposed by General Martindell was highly important, and justified an effort for its attainment; and the judiciousness of the plan was proved by its partial success. It is evident, however, that serious mistakes were committed in its execution. The movements of the divisions must have been ill concerted to have allowed an interval of so many hours between attacks intended to have been simultaneous; and the omission of any arrangements to succour or support Major Richards — the absence apparently of all knowledge of his proceedings — indicated a want of common activity and precaution. The failure of the entire project was, however, mainly owing to the unsteadiness of the Native troops of Major Ludlow's division, and that may in a great degree be ascribed to a deficiency of European officers.<sup>2</sup> This repulse, also had a most mischievous effect upon the progress of the campaign, as General Martindell did not think himself competent to resume offensive measures until he was reinforced; and military operations in this quarter were consequently arrested.

The campaign further to the west, where General Ochterlony was opposed by the most celebrated of the Gorkha leaders, Amar Sing Thapa, although not unche-

<sup>1</sup> Three officers were killed—Lieutenant Thackeray, and Ensigns Wilson and Stalkard; five were wounded. Of the men, seventy were killed, two hundred and twenty-eight wounded; forty of the light company of the 26th and a Subahdar were taken, but were released by Ranjor Sing on condition of not serving again during the war.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep says, the disasters of the day were owing solely to the irretrievable error of Major Ludlow, in allowing himself to attempt the stockade before he had formed his men and secured the post he was intended to occupy. He admits, however, that Jamta might have been held if the force had been adequately officered. i. 103. Mr. Fraser and General Martindell, in his report, affirm that the officer in command did all in his power to restrain the impetuosity of the men, and prevent their rushing against the stockade in advance. Both Prinsep and Fraser intimate that Richards might have been reinforced, and that he would then have been able to maintain the advantageous position he had gained. According to General Martindell's report, Major Ludlow was to have been accompanied by some artillery for the purpose of throwing shot and shells into the stockade; but the guns, as well as the spare ammunition, were left behind, not being ready to move with the detachment. "Had I known this," he adds, "I should have certainly countermanded the march."—Nepal Papers, 504. It was fortunate that the guns were not carried up the hill, to have served as trophies to the victors.

quered by disaster, was unsullied by disgrace, and was equally honourable to both the combatants. The scene of action was a rugged country, inclosed in the angle which is traced by the Setlej river, where it turns abruptly from a westerly to a southerly course. From the left bank of the southern arm of the stream rises a succession of lofty mountains, which run in an oblique direction towards the south-east, and are separated into nearly parallel ranges by rivers, which, springing from their summits, work themselves a passage at their base into the bed of the Setlej. On three of the ranges the Gorkha general had constructed the forts of Nalagerh, Ramgerh, and Malaun, — stone structures, the approaches to which, sufficiently arduous by the steepness and irregularity of the hills, were rendered still more difficult by strong timber stockades. Beyond the third range, and upon the bank of the Setlej, stood Bilaspur, the capital of the Bilaspur Raja, who remained faithful to the Gorkha cause, and kept Amar Sing well supplied with both provisions and men. On this side of the mountains lay the petty Ráj of Hindur, and its capital Palási. The Raja of Hindur was the hereditary enemy of the Raja of Bilaspur, and had suffered much oppression from the Nepalese. He, therefore, became the willing ally of the British, and rendered them valuable service. North-east from Malaun, about thirty miles, was situated the town of Arki, the head-quarters of Amar Sing.

General Ochterlony's division ascended the hills at the end of October, and on the 2nd of November arrived before the first and lowest of the mountain ridges occupied by the Gorkhas. Here stood the fort of Nalagerh, with the outwork of Taragerh, higher up the hill, commanding the entrance into the mountains. The posts were inconsiderable, both as to extent and strength, and were not numerously garrisoned. With much labour the guns were raised to an elevation whence they could be brought to play effectively upon the walls of the fort; and, by the 4th, batteries were opened, which did such execution, that, on the 6th, the garrison, despairing of successful resistance, surrendered. Taragerh was at the same time given up.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 452.



## BOOK II.

## CHAP. I.

1814.

From the summit of the pass of Nalagerh, but towering far above it, rising to an elevation of four thousand six hundred feet above the sea, appeared the mountain on which the fort of Ramgerh was situated. As soon as Amar Sing was apprised of General Ochterlony's advance, he had marched thither, from Arki, with a force of about three thousand regular troops, and had encamped on the ridge. The Gorkha right rested upon the fort; the left about two miles distant, upon a strongly stockaded hill; and stockades protected the intervals along their front. After a careful examination of the position of the Gorkhas, it appeared to the cautious and experienced judgment of the British commander that the nature of the ground precluded an attack in front; and, having received information that the northern face of the range was less broken and precipitous, he resolved to turn the left of the enemy, and assail their position from the rear. He, therefore, moved to the heights of Nahar, an eminence seven miles north-east from Ramgerh, commanding a complete view of the Gorkha lines. As this seemed to be the most assailable point of their defences, General Ochterlony determined to erect batteries against it. A road over the hills for the conveyance of the heavy ordnance from Nalagerh was constructed with great labour; in accomplishing which, twenty days were consumed. When the battery opened, it was found to be too distant to fire with effect, and a position more within the range of the guns was therefore to be sought for. A small party under the engineer officer, Lieutenant Lawtie, sent to explore the ground nearer to the stockade, had selected an elevation fit for their purpose, and were on their return to camp, when they were surrounded by a numerous body of Gorkhas, by whom their movements had been observed, and who came down in great strength to intercept their retreat. Availing themselves of a small stone enclosure, the party defended themselves with steady resolution until the failure of their ammunition compelled them to give way: some reinforcements, sent from the battery, shared in their discomfiture; and the whole were routed with much loss before their retreat was covered by a strong detachment despatched to their succour from the

camp.<sup>1</sup> The affair was of little moment, except from its tendency to confirm the confidence, and animate the courage, of the enemy. BOOK II.  
CHAP. I.

Notwithstanding the check thus sustained, General Ochterlony persisted in his plan of carrying the stockaded works of Ramgerh, when news of the second repulse at Kalanga arrived; and anticipating the moral effects of this disaster, both upon his own troops and those of his antagonist, he considered it prudent to suspend offensive operations until his strength should preclude the possibility of failure. He therefore applied for reinforcements, and, while awaiting their arrival, employed himself in extending his information, and improving his means of offence. The mountain countries forming the first steps of the Himalaya range, had hitherto been unvisited by Europeans; and scenes, destined at no remote period to become their peaceable and familiar haunts, were now for the first time to be explored by them for the purposes of war. It was of indispensable necessity to ascertain the topography of the adjacent regions, the base on which the movements of the Gorkha general rested, the sources whence his supplies were drawn, and the expedients by which the latter might be cut off. Roads were also to be made practicable for artillery, as well as for troops; and something

1814.

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Williams commanding the reinforcement was killed; seventy Sipahis were killed and wounded.—Nepal Papers. Prinsep says the whole party was surrounded, and obliged to cut their way through the enemy.—*Transactions, &c.*, i. 107. According to Fraser, the chief cause of the disaster was the defective construction of the cartouch-boxes, by which they could not be turned so as to render the cartridges in the under part of the box available when those in the upper part were expended. A cessation of the firing being thus caused, the Gorkhas rushed in and put the Sipahis to the rout.—*Tour in the Himalayas*, 18. The author of *Military Sketches of the Gorkha War*, an eyewitness, attributes the defeat to the misconduct of the troops. According to him, the party, having reached a neighbouring eminence without molestation, came suddenly upon a breastwork, from which a heavy fire was opened upon them. The men, in obedience to the commands of their officer, rushed forward and dislodged the Gorkhas with great gallantry; but when the latter were reinforced, and “came back in superior numbers, the Sipahis could not be prevented from wasting their ammunition by keeping up a useless fire. The upper layer of their cartridges being expended, some voices called out for a retreat, alleging that they would not have time to turn their boxes. The place appeared tenable with the bayonet; the Gorkhas were, however, now at hand, and arguments, threats, and entreaties, proved equally vain; our men broke in confusion, and turned their backs; the enemy, plunging among the fugitives, cut to pieces all whom their swords could reach. At this time a small reinforcement, all that could be spared from the battery, was ascending the hill, under Lieutenant Williams of the 3rd N. I. It appeared the intention of that young officer to throw his party between Lawtie’s and their pursuers, but he had the mortification to see his Seapoys turn about and join the flight, just before he perished himself.”—*Sketches, &c.*, p. 9.

BOOK II. like organisation was to be given to the irregular levies of  
 CHAP. I. the adherents to the British cause. In these occupations  
 1814. a month was advantageously spent ; when, the force being  
 joined by the 2nd battalion of the 7th N.I., with a train of  
 field artillery, and by a Sikh levy, General Ochterlony  
 immediately resumed active operations. On the day  
 27 Dec. following their junction, Colonel Thompson was despatched  
 to prosecute the plan of spreading along the enemy's rear,  
 and intercepting his communications with Arki and  
 Bilaspur, by occupying the Dibu hills, a low range on the  
 north-east of Ramgerh. A lodgement was effected ; the  
 consequences of which being distinctly comprehended by  
 the Gorkha general, he made a desperate but a fruitless  
 effort to drive the detachment from its new position.  
 The division was attacked at dawn of the 28th with so  
 much impetuosity, that some of the enemy forced their  
 way into the camp. The difficulties of the ground, how-  
 ever, impeded their concentration ; and the resolution  
 with which the attack was received, completed their dis-  
 comfiture. They returned to their position in connection  
 with the fort of Ramgerh, but changed their front so as to  
 oppose the British, now upon their north ; their right, as  
 before, resting upon the fort. On the other hand, General  
 Ochterlony, leaving a division under Brigadier Arnold to  
 watch the enemy's movements, marched in a direction  
 which was to place him on the north of the last range of  
 hills between Malaun and the Setlej. On the 6th of  
 January he ascended the bed of the Gambhira river, and,  
 crossing the mountains on which Malaun was situated,  
 took post at Battoh, on the north bank of another moun-  
 tain stream, the Gamrora, nearly opposite to the centre of  
 the range, sending forward two thousand Hinduris under  
 Captain Ross to occupy the heights above Bilaspur. This  
 movement effected his object. Amar Sing, alarmed for  
 the security of the communications upon which his being  
 able to maintain his mountain posts depended, withdrew  
 his main body from Ramgerh, and, leaving a garrison in  
 the fort, concentrated his force on the ridge of Malaun,  
 Colonel Arnold, in consequence of his retreat, moved  
 round the opposite extremity of the ridge to co-operate  
 with General Ochterlony on its northern base ; and after  
 marching through a very rough country, in which he was

further delayed by a heavy fall of snow, he turned the north-western extremity of the line, and there received the submission of the Government of Bilaspur, as well as possession of the fort of Ratangerh, divided only by a deep and extensive hollow from Malaun. A detachment, under Lieut-Colonel Cooper, dislodged the Gorkhas from Ramgerh and other posts which they had continued to hold to the south, and then advanced to co-operate with the main body. These subsidiary movements, with the state of the country, and the severity of the season, prevented the completion of the investment of Malaun until the 1st of April. In the mean time, the armies acting at the eastern extremity of the line of operations had been engaged with the enemy, but had made little progress towards accomplishing the objects of the campaign.

## CHAPTER II.

*Operations of the Third Division. — March from Gorakhpur. — Stockade of Jitpur, — Attacked, — Attack repulsed. — General Wood falls back, — remains on the defensive. — Frontier harassed on both sides. — Return of Force to Cantonments. — Operations of the Fourth Division. — Advanced Detachment under Major Bradshaw. — Gorkha Posts surprised. — Parsuram Thapa killed. — Tirai conquered. — March of Main Body delayed. — Outposts at Samanpur and Parsa, — Surprised by the Gorkhas, — Great Alarm among the Troops. — General Marley retreats, — Reinforced, — Leaves his Camp. — General G. Wood appointed to the Command. — Defeat of a Gorkha Detachment. — Gorkhas abandon the Tirai. — Division broken up, — Troops cantoned on the Frontier. — Success of Major Latter's Detachment. — Alliance with the Raja of Sikim. — Invasion of Kamaon. — Colonel Gardner's Success. — Captain Hearsay defeated and taken. — Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolls sent to Kamaon. — Gorkhas under Hasti-dal defeated. — Stockaded Hill of Sitauli carried. — Almora surrendered. — Kamaon and Gerwal ceded. — Fort of Jytak blockaded. — Operations against Malaun. — Positions of Ryla and Deothal carried. — The*



*latter strengthened, — Attacked by Amar Sing. — Valour of the Gorkhas. — Their Repulse. — Bhakti Sing Thapa killed. — Garrison evacuate Malaun. — Amar Sing capitulates. — The Country West of the Jumna ceded to the British. — Negotiations for Peace. — Conditions imposed. — Delays of the Gorkha Envoys. — Insincerity of the Court. — Hostilities renewed. — General Ochterlony commands. — Operations. — Churia-ghati Pass ascended. — Action of Makwanpur. — Nepal Envoys arrive. — Peace concluded, — Conditions. — Objections to the War, — To the Mode of carrying it on, — Considered. — Votes of Thanks. — Results of the War.*

BOOK II.  
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1814.

1815.

THE third division of the British forces, commanded by Major-General J. S. Wood, was assembled at Gorakhpur early in November, but was not ready to take the field before the middle of December. The destination of the division was the district of Palpa, lying beyond Bhotwal, and accessible by a difficult mountain pass. Being informed that the pass was strongly stockaded, but that it might be turned by a different route, General Wood marched on the 3rd of January to reconnoitre the stockade of Jitpur, which was situated at the foot of the Majkote hills, one mile west of Bhotwal, which it would be necessary to carry. Detaching Major Comyn with seven companies to turn the left flank of the position, the General himself proceeded with twenty-one companies to attack it in front and on the right. The latter detachment had expected, on clearing a wood through which lay their march, to come out upon an open plain at some distance from the stockade; but the information was either erroneous or deceptive, as the General, with his staff and part of the advance, found themselves, upon emerging from the thicket, unexpectedly within fifty paces of the defences. A heavy and galling fire was at once opened upon them, which was followed by a sortie of the garrison. The arrival of the head of the column preserved them from destruction, and the Gorkhas were driven back. The main body then attacked the works in front, while one company of H. M.'s 17th, under Captain Croker, carried a hill to the right which commanded the enemy's stockade. Major Comyn meanwhile effected a passage

between the stockade and Bhotwal, and approached the eminence on which the latter was situated. There appeared to be every reasonable probability of success, when General Wood, apprehensive that it would be impossible to drive the Gorkhas from the thickets at the back of the stockade, the possession of which rendered the post untenable, determined to prevent what he considered a fruitless waste of lives, by commanding a retreat.<sup>1</sup> Nor did his distrust of his chances of success here terminate. Conceiving his force to be inadequate to offensive operations, he confined his measures to arrangements for the defence of the frontier, concentrating his force at Lautan, covering the road to Gorakhpur: the border line was, however, too extensive and too vulnerable to be thus protected; and the Gorkhas penetrated repeatedly at various points, inflicting serious injury, and spreading alarm throughout the whole tract. As the division moved to repress incursions in one direction, they took place in another. The town of Nichoul was burnt to ashes, and at one time Gorakhpur was scarcely considered to be safe. Reinforcements were supplied; but no better plan could be devised for counteracting the irruptions of the enemy than the retributive destruction of the crops in the lowlands belonging to them, and the removal of the population of the British territory to a greater distance from the hills.

After harassing his troops by unavailing marches against an enemy whose activity eluded pursuit, and retaliating upon the Gorkhas by wasting their fields and burning their villages, General Wood was compelled by the injunctions of the Commander-in-Chief to undertake a forward movement, and attempt the occupation of the town of Bhotwal. Having advanced to that place in the middle of April, he made some ineffectual demonstrations against it, and then returned to the plains. As exposure to the insalubrity of the climate had begun to affect the health of the troops, they were withdrawn in the beginning of May into cantonments at Gorakhpur.

The chief reliance of Lord Moira for the success of the entire plan of the campaign rested upon the division

<sup>1</sup> In this affair several officers were wounded, of whom Lieutenant Morrison, of the Engineers, died of his wounds.

BOOK II. which was to be directed against the Gorkha capital. The  
 CHAP. II. troops were assembled at Dinapore, and commenced their  
 1815. march towards Bettia on the 23rd of November. A local  
 corps, the Ramgerh battalion, had been previously detached  
 under Major Roughsedge, to join Major Bradshaw, com-  
 manding on the frontier of Saran. Thus reinforced, Major  
 Bradshaw proceeded to clear the frontier forests of the  
 Gorkha posts. He moved on the night of the 24th of  
 November, with three companies of the 15th N.I., two  
 companies of the Champaran light infantry, and a troop  
 of Gardner's irregular horse, to Barharwa, a plain on the  
 west bank of the Bhagmati river, where Parsuram Thapa,  
 the governor of the district, was encamped with four  
 hundred men. The surprise was complete ; and, although  
 the Nepalese behaved with their usual intrepidity, they  
 were entirely routed. Their commander was killed, with  
 fifty of his men, and many were drowned in the Bhagmati.  
 One officer, Lieutenant Boileau, commanding the Com-  
 missioners' escort, was wounded in a personal encounter  
 with a Gorkha chief, who fell by his hand. Detachments  
 under Captain Hay and Lieutenant Smith took possession  
 of the post of Baragerhi and Parsa, in advance of Bar-  
 harwa, without opposition, and the tract known as the  
 Tirai was occupied, and annexed by proclamation to the  
 British territories.<sup>1</sup>

The main army arrived at Pachraota on the frontier on  
 the 12th of December, and the remainder of the month  
 was spent in preliminary arrangements for ascending the  
 hills, and in waiting for the junction of the battering-  
 train ; a delay which was contrary to the tenor of General  
 Marley's instructions, as it was intended that he should  
 leave the guns in the rear until he had established a solid  
 footing in advance. This suspension of operations al-  
 lowed the Gorkhas time to recover from the alarm which  
 had been spread among them by the defeat and death of  
 Parsuram Thapa ; and they were emboldened to undertake  
 an enterprise, the successful execution of which had a  
 material influence in paralysing the movements of the  
 division, and frustrating the purposes of its equipment.

With a view to preserve the occupation of the Tirai  
 until the arrival of the main body, Major Bradshaw had

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 307.

stationed Captain Hay, with the head-quarters of the Champaran light infantry, at Baragerhi; Captain Blackney, with the left wing of the second battalion of the 22nd light infantry, at Samanpur, about twenty miles on his right; Captain Sibley, with about five hundred men, at Parsa, about as many miles on Captain Hay's left. General Marley encamped near Lautan, two miles west of Baragerhi. The outposts at Samanpur and Parsa were unsupported, and no precautions were taken to secure either position by temporary defences, although they were situated in the immediate proximity of the enemy, who, as the month advanced, began to exhibit signs of increasing activity. This negligence, originating in an undue contempt of the Gorkha detachments, was signally punished. Both posts were attacked by the Gorkhas in force on the 1st of January. Captain Blackney was taken completely by surprise, and, with his second in command, was slain at the first onset. The tents were set on fire, and the troops were killed or dispersed, with the exception of a few, who were kept together by Lieut. Strettell, and conducted to Gorasahan. At Parsa, Captain Sibley had suspected an approaching attack, and applied for reinforcements. Four companies of the 15th N.I. were consequently detached on the evening of the 31st, but they arrived only in time to cover the retreat of the fugitives. That any of the party effected their escape, was owing to the Gorkhas having been engaged in plundering the tents, as the camp had been surrounded before day-break by an overpowering force. Captain Sibley, and more than half his detachment were killed, and the whole of the stores and magazines were in possession of the enemy. The result of these two affairs seems to have struck the men and their commander with unreasonable panic. Desertions were numerous; doubts were felt if much dependance could be placed on those who stood by their colours; and General Marley, impressed with the opinion that the Gorkhas were both so numerous and so daring, that, in place of advancing against them, it would be difficult to maintain a defensive attitude, and protect the borders, made a retrograde movement to the westward, in order to guard the dépôt at Bettia, and provide for the security of the Saran frontier, leaving a strong

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1815.



BOOK II. division with Major Roughsedge at Baragerhi. The same  
 CHAP. II. feeling of alarm infected the authorities of Gorakhpur  
 1815. and Tirhut; and the approach of a Gorkha army, of irresistible strength and valour, was universally apprehended. The Gorkhas, however, were neither sufficiently numerous, nor sufficiently well apprised of the pusillanimity of their opponents, to follow up and improve their success; although they recovered the whole of the Tirai, with the exception of the country immediately protected by the military posts, and made various predatory and destructive incursions into the British territories.

Great exertions were made to add to the strength of General Marley's division; and reinforcements of troops and artillery, the former comprising his Majesty's 17th and 14th regiments, were immediately despatched to the frontier, raising the amount of the division to thirteen thousand men, a force more than adequate to encounter the whole Gorkha army, even if its numbers had approximated to the exaggerated estimates to which they had been raised by vague report and loose computation.<sup>1</sup> The General, nevertheless, hesitated to move; and, after spending the month of January in mischievous indecision, suddenly quitted his camp.<sup>2</sup> Colonel Dick assumed temporary command, until the arrival of Major-General George Wood, towards the end of February. On the 20th of that month a smart affair with the enemy took place, which redeemed the character and revived the spirit of the native troops. Lieutenant Pickersgill, while surveying, and attended by a small escort, came unexpectedly upon a party of four hundred Gorkhas. By skilful manœuvring he drew them from the cover of the forest towards the

<sup>1</sup> The Gorkhas were calculated by General Marley to be twelve thousand, or even eighteen thousand strong.—Nepal Papers, 540. The real number seems to have been seven or eight thousand, of which the greater part were new and ill-armed militia. The whole regular force of the Gorkhas was computed, upon authentic information, not to exceed twelve thousand, of which one-half at least was in the Western provinces.—Lord Moira's Narrative; Nepal Papers, 724.

<sup>2</sup> He left in a rather singular manner. "He set off before daylight in the morning, without publishing any notification of his intention to the troops, and without taking any means of providing for the conduct of the ordinary routine of command."—Prinsep, i. 129. He was, no doubt, influenced by the unqualified disapprobation expressed by Lord Moira; first, of his unnecessary delay for his battering-train; and next, of his neglect in leaving distant and exposed outposts without support or reinforcements.—Lord Moira's Narrative; Nepal Papers, 745.

camp, from whence, as soon as the firing was heard, a troop of one hundred irregular horse was despatched to his succour, while Colonel Dick followed with all the picquets. Before the infantry could come up, the cavalry, joined by a number of mounted officers, charged the Gorkha detachment, when the commander, a chief of some note, and a hundred of his men, were killed; fifty were taken, and the rest fled across a rivulet, in which many were drowned. The action struck so much terror into the Nepalese, that they hastily fell back from their forward position, and again abandoned the Tirai. The road to Makwanpur was now open. A month remained for military operations before the unhealthy season commenced, the army was reinforced with European troops and artillery, and the confidence of the native soldiery was beginning to revive. General Wood, however, infected by the same spirit of caution and procrastination which had retarded the operations of his predecessor, and entertaining similar notions of the difficulties opposed to offensive movements, pleaded the advanced season of the year as an excuse for confining his operations to the plains; and after a march to Janakpur, on the Tirhut frontier, and back, by which it was ascertained that the Gorkhas had entirely evacuated the low-lands, the army was broken up and distributed in cantonments, in convenient situation along the borders, from the Gandak river to the Kusi.<sup>1</sup>

While the two divisions in Gorakhpur and Saran disappointed the calculations upon which they had been organised, the smaller body, under Major Latter, in the same direction, had surpassed expectation, and accomplished more than it was destined to attempt. Not only had the boundary east of the Kusi river been protected from insult, but the Gorkhas had been driven from all their positions: occupation had been taken of the province of Morang, and an alliance had been formed with a hill chief, the Raja of Sikim, a small state east of Nepal; which, while it rescued him from the risk of being

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 560. As Captain Sutherland observes, "the results of the first campaign must have confounded the calculations of the noble Marquis, and every one else. That portion of the army with which it was meant to make an impression on the enemy in the seat of his power remained inactive, whilst the skirmishes on the left flank, which could have been only intended to produce a diversion, succeeded to an extent that shook the Gorkha on his throne."—*Pol. Relations*, 37.

BOOK II. crushed by his ambitious neighbour, gave the British a  
 CHAP. II. useful confederate, and additional means of acting upon  
 the resources of the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

1815.

Another element in the plan of the campaign, intended to take but a subordinate and contingent share, was equally attended with success, and was productive of highly important consequences. The province of Kamaon, forming the central part of the Gorkha conquests, was under the authority of a chief, Chautra Bam Sah, who was known to be disaffected to the ruling dynasty of Nepal; while the people of Kamaon, and the adjacent province of Gerhwal, who had been subject to the Raja of Srinagar, but had been alienated by his tyrannical conduct, and had consequently facilitated the Gorkha invasion, were now as hostile to their new and not less oppressive rulers, and were anxious to transfer their allegiance to the British. No serious obstacles were thought likely, therefore, to impede the British possession of the country, and its occupation was strongly recommended by its central situation. The want of a disposable force delayed for some time any attempt to enter the district, and it was at length determined to commence operations with a body of irregulars, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, an officer of merit, who had risen to notice and distinction in the service of the Raja of Jaypur. On the 15th of February, Colonel Gardner ascended the hills; the Gorkhas fell back, occasionally skirmishing with the detachment, but offering no resolute resistance. The gallant bearing of the irregulars, consisting chiefly of natives of Rohilkhand, and the judicious dispositions of their leader, dislodged the enemy from every position, until they had concentrated their force upon the ridge on which stands the town of Almora.

During the advance of Colonel Gardner, another body of irregular troops, commanded by Captain Hearsay, entered the province by the Timli pass, near the Gogra river, in order to create a diversion in Colonel Gardner's favour, and prevent Gorkha reinforcements from crossing the river. This movement, also, was at first successful. Captain Hearsay took possession of the chief town of the district, and laid siege to a hill-fort in its vicinity: here,

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 560.

however, he was attacked by Hasti Dal Chautra, the Gorkha commander of the adjoining district of Duti, and was defeated and taken prisoner. He was conducted to Almora, to which the Gorkhas repaired to assist in its defence.

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1815.

The importance of securing and extending the advantages obtained in Kamaon determined the Governor-General to send a regular force into that quarter; and Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolls, of his Majesty's 14th regiment, was despatched thither to take the command, with three battalions of Native infantry and a proportion of field artillery.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Nicolls joined the troops before Almora on the 8th of April. The Gorkhas were nothing daunted by his arrival; and, whatever inclination Bam Sah had originally manifested to join the invaders, no indication of any disposition to surrender the fortress entrusted to his charge was exhibited: he had been taught, no doubt, by the little progress which the British arms had yet made, to question the probability of their ultimate triumph, and to adhere to the safer path of fidelity to his sovereign. Almora was resolutely defended, and measures were taken to render the position of the besiegers untenable. On the 21st, Hasti Dal marched from Almora to occupy a mountain pass on the north of the British camp. He was immediately followed by Major Paton, with five companies of the 2nd battalion of the 5th, as many companies of the light battalion, and a company of irregulars: the enemy were overtaken on the evening of the 22nd of April, and, after a spirited action, put to flight with the loss of their commander. No time was suffered to efface the effects of this discomfiture. On the 25th, a general attack was made on the stockaded defences of the hill of Sitauli, in front of Almora, which were all carried after a short resistance, and the troops, following up their success, established themselves within the town: a vigorous effort was made at night by the garrison to recover possession of the posts, and, for a time, a part was regained, but the Gorkhas were finally repulsed. On the following morning the troops were advanced to within seventy yards of the fort, and mortars were opened

<sup>1</sup> The 2nd battalion of the 14th, 2nd of the 5th, flank battalion from the Dún; four 6-pounders, two 12-pounders, and four mortars.



BOOK II. upon the works; the effect of which was soon discernible  
 CHAP. II. in the desertion of great numbers of the defenders. A flag  
 of truce was sent out by the commandant, and, after a  
 1815. short negotiation, the Gorkhas were allowed to retire  
 across the Kali, with their arms and personal property;  
 and the fort of Almora, with the provinces of Kamaon  
 and Gerhwal, were ceded to the British. They were per-  
 manently annexed to the British territories.<sup>1</sup>

The conquest thus achieved was the first blow of importance suffered by the Government of Nepal, and intimated to it, in intelligible terms, the consequences to be anticipated from a prolongation of the contest. The celerity with which it was effected, although ascribable in some degree to the favourable temper of the inhabitants, was still more to be attributed to the gallantry and activity of Colonel Gardner, and the vigour and judgment of his successor in the command. The moral influence of character in the leaders, upon the courage of the troops, was strikingly exemplified in this short campaign: the victory was won by Native troops alone: and the same men, who had in other places behaved with unsteadiness or cowardice, here, almost invariably, displayed personal firmness and intrepidity.

While these transactions occurred upon the eastern line of operations, others, of varying influence upon the objects of the campaign, took place in the west. Little progress had been made by the division of General Martindell. This division had continued to be encamped against the fort of Jytak, but no serious impression had been effected. Heavy ordnance had been carried up the mountain with prodigious labour and protracted delay; and, on the 20th of March, a battery, having been opened upon the first of the stockades, levelled it, in the course of one day, with the ground. No attempt was made to advance the batteries sufficiently near to bear upon the remaining defences, the General being apprehensive that it would bring down the whole garrison upon his positions. He therefore decided to try the result of a blockade. In furtherance of this

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 570. The total loss in the Kamaon campaign was one hundred and eighty killed and wounded. The only officer killed was Lieutenant Tapley of the 27th N.I., doing duty with the flank battalion, who was shot on the night of the 26th of April.

project, Major Richards was sent on the 1st of April to occupy a station on the ridge east of the fort. He accomplished the duty assigned him, and, pursuing his advantage, drove the Gorkhas from several stockades, until he reached the point which he judged best adapted to intercept all communication in that direction with the fort. Other advantageous stations were occupied with equal success; and Jytak would probably have been reduced by famine, had not its fall been accelerated by the brilliant result of General Ochterlony's contest with Amar Sing.

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Having reduced all the detached Gorkha posts, and confined them to the heights of Malaun, and having all his force disposable, General Ochterlony judged that the time had arrived to straiten the enemy still further by breaking through his defences, and taking such positions in the line as should cut off the communication between the two forts on which it rested, Surajgerh and Malaun. The British camp was pitched at Battoh, on the northern bank of the Gamrora, a small stream running immediately at the foot of the Malaun range. Looking southward from the encampment, the Gorkha posts were descried stretching along the summit of the mountain, having the fort of Malaun on the extreme right, that of Surajgerh on the extreme left: most of the intermediate peaks being occupied, and stockaded. The stockades were strongest in the vicinity of Malaun; and directly below the fort, on the slope of the hill, lay the Gorkha cantonments, similarly protected. On the right of Malaun, upon an eminence of somewhat less altitude, and separated from it by deep ravines, was situated the fort of Ratangerh, which had been occupied, as has been mentioned, by Colonel Arnold. The fort of Surajgerh was observed by a detachment under Captain Stewart, stockaded upon a contiguous elevation. In the course of the works upon the top of the ridge there appeared to be two assailable points: one of them, named Ryla, was unprotected, except by the posts on the adjacent peaks; the other, termed Deothal, lying more to the right and nearer to Malaun, was defended by a stockade, but not in great strength. As the possession of these two points would separate Malaun from most of its dependent outworks, General Ochterlony determined

BOOK II. to attempt their capture, distracting at the same time  
 CHAP. II. the attention of the enemy by an attack upon the cantonments.

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For the occupation of Ryla, a detachment of two companies of light infantry, and a considerable body of irregulars, under Lieutenants Fleming and Grant, ascended the mountain on the night of the 14th of April, and effected a lodgement. Before they could be attacked, they were joined by a division under Captain Hamilton, and a grenadier battalion from head-quarters; and the whole, under Major Innis, established themselves firmly in their position. At the same time, day-break of the 15th, Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, with two battalions of the 3rd N. I. and two field-pieces, left the camp for Deothal; and Major Lawrie, with the 2nd battalion of the 7th and a body of irregulars, moved in the same direction from the village of Kali, on the right of the camp. From the latter column, a detachment under Captain Bowyer, of two hundred and sixty regular and five hundred picked irregular troops, diverged to the right towards the Gorkha cantonments, to co-operate with Captain Showers, who was to march upon the same point from Ratangerh, with a force of equal strength, similarly composed.

The columns under Colonel Thompson and Major Lawrie ascending the hill united about ten o'clock, and, moving briskly to Deothal, quickly carried the post. Colonel Thompson, leaving Major Lawrie at Deothal with the rest of the force, put himself at the head of the light infantry, and advanced to the right with the intention of seizing a stockade within battering distance of the fort of Malaun. The Gorkhas, lurking behind rocks and bushes, kept up an annoying fire upon the column, but failed to arrest its progress until it had neared the stockade, when a small but resolute body of the enemy rushed suddenly from their lurking-places among the leading files, and, attacking them with their heavy swords, cut down many, and filled the rest with so much terror, that, in spite of the exertions of their officers, they fell back in confusion to the point they had recently quitted. Fortunately, the men left with Major Lawrie stood firm; and, the foremost of the pursuers falling under their fire, the pursuit was checked, and the fugitives were rallied. The Gorkhas

then retired : defences were immediately thrown up, and this post also was secured. BOOK II.

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The attack upon the cantonments, although it completely answered the object for which it was undertaken, and, by the powerful diversion which it created, materially facilitated the occupation of Ryla and Deothal, was repulsed by the Gorkhas with some loss both of life and credit to the assailants. The division under Captain Showers had nearly reached the Gorkha stockades when it was encountered by the enemy, whose resolute charge shook the steadiness of the men. The officer commanding the hostile party being in advance, Captain Showers hastened to meet him ; and a single combat took place, in which the Gorkha champion fell. His troops immediately fired a volley, by which Captain Showers was killed : his detachment fled in irrecoverable confusion, and were followed by the victors, who destroyed all whom they overtook, until they were checked by a party under Lieutenant Roughsedge, which had been sent by Colonel Arnold from Ratangerh. The fugitives also rallied, and the Gorkhas were compelled to retrace their steps up the hill. The party under Captain Bowyer met with better fortune. He had made some way towards his destination, and taken up a position in the village of Malaun, before he was attacked by the Gorkhas. The irregulars fled upon the approach of the enemy, but the regular troops were steady, and made good their footing : but, observing the discomfiture of the detachment which was to have joined him, Captain Bowyer confined himself to a defensive attitude until the evening, when he was withdrawn ; no further benefit being attainable from his advance.

As the British position at Deothal was not likely to be long held with impunity, great exertions were made during the 15th to render it as strong as possible : reinforcements were despatched ; defences of the nature of a stockade, as strong as circumstances permitted, were constructed ; and two field-pieces were sent up, and planted in the embrasures. On the other hand, Amar Sing, anticipating the fall of Malaun from so near an approach of the British, resolved to make a desperate attempt to drive them down the mountain again ; and for this purpose placed his whole force under the command of Bhakti



BOOK II. Sing Thapa, the commandant of Surajgerh, a leader of  
 CHAP. II. known intrepidity, whilst he supported the attack in  
 1815. person. At day-break on the 16th, the Gorkhas advanced to the assault in a semicircle along the ridge and the declivity on either hand, so as to turn both flanks of the position. Bhakti Sing headed the charge; while Amar Sing with his youngest son took his station within musket-shot with the Gorkha standard, urging the backward and animating the bold. The Gorkhas displayed the most undaunted resolution, advancing to the very muzzles of the guns, and endeavouring to strike down their opponents over their bayonets. Although repeatedly swept away by the discharge of grape from the two field-pieces which commanded the approach, they returned to the attack with such obstinacy, and kept up so close and destructive a fire upon them, that all by whom the guns were served were either killed or disabled, except three privates and as many officers, by whom alone they at last were worked.<sup>1</sup> The action had lasted two hours, when reinforcements from the post of Ryla having joined, and it being evident that the spirit of the enemy was beginning to fail, while that of the Sipahis rose with the continuance of successful resistance, Colonel Thompson commanded a charge with the bayonet to be made by the regular troops, and the irregulars to fall on, sword in hand. The charge was led by Major Lawrie. The Gorkhas gave way and fled, leaving their brave commander, Bhakti Thapa, dead on the field. Amar Sing collected the fugitives, and retired into the fort.<sup>2</sup> The body of Bhakti Sing, when found, was decently wrapped in shawls, and

<sup>1</sup> The officers were Lieutenant Cartwright of the Artillery, Lieutenant Armstrong of the Pioneers, and Lieutenant Hutchinson of the Engineers.

<sup>2</sup> The slain of the enemy exceeded five hundred. The loss of the British was two hundred and thirteen killed and wounded: Lieutenant Bagot, of the Pioneers, died of his wounds. Although not included in the loss on this occasion, a short subsequent period deprived the army of one of its most efficient officers, in the death of Lieutenant Lawtie, the field-engineer, whose public deserts were thus recorded by the Commander-in-chief: "It is painful to think that an individual, whose skill, whose judgment, and whose animated devotion materially forwarded the proud result, should not have survived to share in the triumph; but the grateful recollection of his fellow-soldiers and of Government will associate the memory of Lieutenant Lawtie with all the trophies which he so eminently contributed to raise." Lieutenant Lawtie died at the early age of twenty-four of fever, brought on by the fatigues and exposure he had undergone. The army went into mourning, and afterwards erected a monument to his memory in the Cathedral Church of Calcutta.—Nepal Papers, 581; Military Sketches of the Gorkha War, p. 33.

sent to his countrymen. On the following day, two of his wives burnt themselves with his corpse in the sight of both armies.

The repulse of their attack upon the post of Deothalso completely depressed the courage of the Gorkha army, that little opposition was offered to the subsequent arrangements of General Ochterlony for the closer investment of Malaun. Most of the exterior works had fallen during the last half of April. On the 8th of May a battery of heavy guns had opened upon the principal redoubt, and preparations for storming were commenced, when the main body of the garrison quitted Malaun without arms, and gave themselves up to the nearest British post,—unable longer to endure the hardships which they suffered from the blockade, seeing no prospect of being relieved, and being unsuccessful in their endeavours to prevail on Amar Sing to surrender. As the chief with a few of his adherents still maintained a show of resistance, guns were opened on the 10th of May upon the fort, and their fire continued during the day. On the following morning Amar Sing sent his son to intimate his father's desire to negotiate; and a convention was finally concluded with him, by which he consented to give up all the possessions of the Gorkhas on the west of the Jumna, and to send orders for the evacuation of Gerhwal. Amar Sing with the garrison of Malaun, Ranjor Sing with part of that of Jytak, and all members of the Thapa family, were allowed to return to Nepal with their private property and military equipments. The men were left the choice of departing for Nepal, or taking service with the British; and, most of them having preferred the latter alternative, they were formed into battalions for duty in the hills, for which they were peculiarly fit.

The discomfiture of their most distinguished officers, and the loss of their most valuable conquests, lowered the confident tone of the Government of Nepal, and induced it to sue for peace. Bam Sah Chautra was authorised to communicate with the British Commissioner in Kamaon; and Gaj Raj Misr, the spiritual teacher or Guru of the late Raja was summoned from his retirement at Benares, and sent as a more formal envoy to treat with Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, who had been empowered by the

BOOK II. Governor-General to conclude a pacification on prescribed conditions. These were, 1, the relinquishment of all claims on the hill Rajas<sup>1</sup> west of the Kali river; 2, the cession of the whole of the Tirai, or low-lands, at the foot of the hills along the Gorkha frontier; 3, the restoration to the Sikim Raja of all territory wrested from him, with the cession of two stockaded forts, and, 4, the admission of a Resident at Khatmandu. The first and third conditions were submitted to, and the mission of a Resident reluctantly acquiesced in; but the cession of the Tirai was a demand which the Court of Nepal pertinaciously resisted.

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The Tirai, or low-land of Nepal, extends from the Tista river on the east, to the Ganges on the west. It forms a grassy plain at the foot of the hills, which are fringed by a belt of forest, and divided into various irregular portions by the numerous and large rivers which cross it, from north to south, on their way from the mountains to the main stream of the Ganges. It is in general not above twenty miles in breadth, but is, with local intervals, above five hundred in length. From the copiousness of its natural irrigation, the soil is peculiarly fertile, is clothed throughout the year with a rich carpet of verdure, and, where cultivated, is productive of abundant crops of rice: and although from the same cause it is at different seasons of the year especially insalubrious, yet during the healthy months much cultivation is carried on, and grain is raised for exportation;<sup>2</sup> while spots least favourable for agriculture afford a coarse but exuberant pasture for the herds and flocks from the adjacent hills. From these circumstances, the Tirai yielded a valuable revenue to the Court of Nepal, of which it could not afford to endure the deprivation; and the interests of the state were powerfully enforced by those of influential individuals, as the principal chiefs and military leaders derived their subsistence mainly from Jagirs situated in this quarter.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, an exaggerated opinion

<sup>1</sup> They were the Rajas of Kahlur, Hindur, Sirmor, Bisahar, Keonthal, Bagul, Jubal, and Gerhwal.—Prinsep, 177.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton's (Buchanan) Account of Nepal.

<sup>3</sup> It was stated by the Gorkha chiefs to Mr. Gardner, the British Commissioner in Kamaon, that most of the military leaders and their followers derived their support from lands in the Tirai; that the Raja's household ex-

of the productiveness of the Tirai rendered the British Government equally anxious to retain it in their possession, as the only source whence any compensation for the charges of the war could be expected. It was also considered desirable to hold it, in order to preclude the repetition of those border quarrels in which the recent hostilities had originated.

The negotiations, which began in May, were protracted through the rainy season, when military operations were necessarily suspended. The Court of Nepal appeared disposed to concede the points demanded, and letters from the Raja and the Regent gave to the Nepal Commissioners full authority to conclude the negotiation.<sup>1</sup> Although nothing was definitively settled, the Government of Bengal, under an impression that the Nepal Government was sincere, professed a willingness to make some modifications of the original plan; the low-lands from the Kali to the Gandak were insisted on; but from the Gandak to the Kusi, along the frontiers of Saran and Tirhut, only those portions were to be retained into which the British authority had been already introduced. The district of Morang, between the Kusi and the Michi, was to be given up, leaving a narrow tract east of the Michi, between it and the Tista, to preserve a communication with Sikim. Pensions to the annual extent of two lakhs of rupees were offered as an indemnification to the chiefs who had Jagirs in the districts which were to be separated from Nepal.<sup>2</sup> These terms were made known to the Court of Khatmandu in the early part of September, but no answer was received until the 29th of October, when the commutation of the proposed pensions for further portions of the Tirai was stipulated for. This was declared by Lieut.-Colonel Bradshaw to be inadmissible, and the

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penses were defrayed from the same source; and that of twenty lakhs of rupees a-year the revenue of Nepal, Tirai alone yielded ten lakhs.—Nepal Papers, 776 and 810.

<sup>1</sup> The letter from the Raja was thus expressed: "The country of Kamaon on the west, and the Tirai, have been conquered by the British Government. With regard to those conquests, whatever may be the result of these negotiations will be approved by me. Do not entertain any doubt on this head, but pursue the course which shall establish friendship between the two states." And Bhim Sen, while he notices that there is a party opposed to the peace, adds, that whatever the Commissioners should do or say, he would advocate the same with the Raja, and obtain his confirmation.—MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> Draft of Treaty, Nepal Papers, 835.



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negociation to be at an end ; but the Commissioners solicited for a delay of a few days, until a reference could be made to the Court. The delay was granted, but the answer was delayed beyond the time proposed, and, when it did arrive, was unsatisfactory. The Commissioners then proposed to repair themselves to Khatmandu, engaging to return in twelve days with a definite reply. They accordingly departed, and rejoined the British Agent at Sigauli on the 28th instant, bringing with them authority to terminate the negociation on the basis proposed. On the 2nd of December the treaty was duly executed ; the Commissioners promising that its ratification under the red seal, the signet of the Raja of Nepal should be delivered in fifteen days. The treaty was ratified by the Governor-General in council on the 9th December, but the promised ratification from Khatmandu failed to make its appearance ; and in its stead a private agent from the Regent apprised the Gorkha Commissioners that the war-party, headed by Amar Sing Thapa, prevailed in the councils of Nepal.<sup>1</sup> Another effort was made to procure the ratification of the treaty, and hopes were held out, authorised by the instructions of the Governor-General, that, if it were agreed to, its execution would not be rigorously enforced.<sup>2</sup> The emissary of the Regent returned to Khatmandu, but no further communication was received ; and on the 28th of December the two negotiators set out also for the Gorkha capital. It could no longer be doubted, that, although the Court of Nepal had at first been inclined to purchase peace on any conditions, its courage had been reanimated by the chiefs who had returned to the capital from the west, and that its policy was now to defer the definitive conclusion of the treaty until the season should be too far advanced for hostilities to be resumed with effect, and the losses and expenses of an unprofitable campaign should induce the British Government to relax in its demands.

<sup>1</sup> Although apparently averse to the beginning of the war, Amar Sing was unwilling to purchase peace by ignominious concessions. A very remarkable and characteristic letter from him to the Raja was intercepted, and is given in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> It had been, in fact, determined to give up the lands of Bhotwal and Sheoraj, the whole cause of the war. Their cession Lord Moira considered indispensable to the satisfaction and honour of the British Government ; but, this object being effected, the lands themselves were not worth keeping.—Nepal Papers, 840.

As soon as the purpose of the Gorkha Government was detected, active preparations were set on foot for a vigorous renewal of hostilities. Upon the abandonment of the provinces west of the Kali, by the Gorkhas, the regular troops employed in that quarter had been marched to their stations, with the exception of small garrisons in the principal forts, and the irregulars had been dismissed, except the Gorkha battalions, to whom principally the defence of the conquered provinces was entrusted. The Gorakhpur and Saran divisions had, however, been held in readiness on the frontier, or at Dinapore, in anticipation of the possibility of a second campaign; and they were quickly collected under Major-General Sir David Ochterlony,<sup>1</sup> who was invested with the chief political as well as military authority. The Gorkhas, on their part, strongly fortified the passes by which an army might penetrate into the hills, on the route towards Makwanpur, and the valley of Nepal.

By the beginning of February, Sir David Ochterlony had taken the field with a force of nearly seventeen thousand men, including three King's regiments. This he disposed in four brigades,<sup>2</sup> severally commanded by Colonel Kelly, of his Majesty's 24th; Lieutenant-Colonel Nicoll, of the 66th; Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, of the 87th; and Lieutenant-Colonel Burnet, of the 8th N. I. The first was detached to the right, to penetrate by Hariharpur; the second to the left, to enter the hills at Ramnagar; General Ochterlony, with the other two brigades, marched on the 12th of February, from Simlabasa, through the forest to the foot of the Bichu-koh, or Chiria-ghati pass, formed by the bed of a mountain torrent. Whilst encamped at this place, the Gorkha Commissioners arrived

<sup>1</sup> General Ochterlony had been created a Baronet after the surrender of Malaun; he had previously been gazetted a Knight Commander of the Bath. All the field-officers serving at Malaun were made Companions of the Bath.

<sup>2</sup> They were composed as follows: 1st brigade of his Majesty's 24th, 1st battalion 18th N. I., divisions of the 2nd battalion and the Champaran L. I.; 2nd brigade of his Majesty's 66th, 5th and 8th grenadier battalions N. I.; 1st battalion of the 8th and 2nd of the 18th; 3rd brigade of his Majesty's 87th, 2nd battalions of the 13th, 22nd, and 25th N. I.; 4th brigade, 2nd battalions of the 4th, 8th, 9th, and 15th N. I., and part of the 1st battalion of the 30th, with details of artillery, pioneers, and irregular horse. Two other divisions were also formed: one at Sitapur, in Oude, under Colonel J. Nicolls, intended to enter the district of Dutti, between the Kali and Rapti rivers; the other at Gorakhpur, under Major-General J. S. Wood, intended as a reserve.—Nepal Papers, 983.

BOOK II. from Khatmandu ; but, instead of the ratified treaty, they  
 CHAP. II. brought repeated demands for territorial concession, and  
 1815. a proposal that the pecuniary compensation should be paid to the Raja, not to his officers. As they were informed that the ratification of the treaty must precede all subordinate arrangements, they shortly left the camp.

The Chiria-ghati pass, in addition to its own difficulties, was defended by successive tiers of strong stockades, and could not have been forced by an attack in front without disproportionate loss. After some delay, another access to the mountains was discovered, and which, although difficult and dangerous, was undefended. It was, in fact, little better than a dark and deep ravine, between lofty and precipitous banks clothed with trees, whose intermingling branches over head excluded the light of day. The General, leaving the fourth brigade on the ground, and his tents standing, marched at night on the 14th of February, with the third brigade, and wound his way slowly and laboriously up the pass, almost in single file ; Sir David Ochterlony marching on foot at the head of the 87th regiment, leading the column. After proceeding some distance, the troops emerged into more open, but broken, ground, whence they again entered into a water course ; this led to the foot of a steep acclivity, about three hundred feet high, up which the advance clambered with the assistance of the projecting boughs and rocks.

It was eight in the morning before the advance reached the summit, and nine at night before the rear-guard ascended ; the day being spent in getting up the remainder of the men, with a couple of field-pieces. The troops marched five miles from the top of the pass before they found a supply of water, when the brigade halted, while the pioneers were busily employed in rendering the ascent practicable for laden cattle, and stores, and ammunition, which was the work of three days.<sup>1</sup> On the fourth, the General moved to Hetaunda, on the bank of the Rapti, where he was joined by the fourth brigade, which had mounted the hills by the Chiria-ghati pass, from the

<sup>1</sup> Besides the official despatches, particular and graphic descriptions of the ascent of the Balukola ravine are given by the author of *Military Sketches of the Gorkha War*, p. 39, and by Lieutenant Shipp, a Lieutenant of the 87th regiment.—See his *Memoirs*, ii. 63.

stockades of which the Gorkhas retired when they found that the position had been turned. BOOK II.

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After making the arrangements necessary for securing the communications in his rear, General Ochterlony advanced, on the 27th of February, to the fortified heights of Makwanpur, and encamped on a piece of level ground two miles to their south. The town and fort lay to the right of the camp: opposite to its left was the village of Sekhar-khatri, held by a strong detachment of the enemy; but they evacuated it on the following morning, and it was immediately taken possession of by three companies of the 25th N. I. and forty men of the 87th. They were not long unmolested. At noon, the Gorkhas returned in greater force, and endeavoured to recover the position; they drove in the picquets, and fell upon the village with great impetuosity; but the flank companies of the 87th, and the rest of the 25th, having been despatched to reinforce the post as soon as the firing commenced, arrived in time to check the fury of the assailants. Fresh numbers of the enemy poured along the summit of the heights from Makwanpur, to the extent of at least two thousand men: reinforcements were also sent from the camp, of two companies of the 87th and the 12th Native corps, and, after repeated attacks, the Gorkhas were finally repulsed. Although forced to retreat, they fell back only to a neighbouring eminence, from which they kept up a galling fire, until they were dislodged by the bayonets of the 8th N. I. The action lasted from noon till five o'clock, when it became dark. The Nepalese loss was computed at five hundred: of the British, forty-five were killed, and one hundred and seventy-five wounded.<sup>1</sup> On the following day the division was joined by the first brigade, under Colonel Nicoll, who had ascended the mountains by a pass on the north of Ramnagar, and marched up the valley of the Rapti without encountering an enemy.

The second brigade, commanded by Colonel Kelly, succeeded in ascending the mountains to the south of the fort of Hariharpur, by a route which had not been stockaded. Finding the fort unassailable on the quarter by

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Tirrell, of the 20th regiment, was killed in the first assault on the village.—Nepal Papers, 987. A Gorkha chief was killed in single combat by Lieutenant Shipp.—Memoirs, ii. 102; Prinsep's History, i. 199.



BOOK II. which he had advanced, Colonel Kelly moved round to a  
 CHAP. II. village on its west. The approach to the fort was pro-  
 1815. tected by a strong semicircular stockade, with two guns, the flanks of which rested on perpendicular rocks. This defence was, however, commanded by an eminence at a distance of about eight hundred yards, which the Gorkhas had neglected to occupy in strength, and which was, therefore, carried without much difficulty by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Halloran. The party was scarcely in position when it was attacked by a superior force, and an obstinate struggle ensued, which continued for five hours, when some field-pieces having been carried up decided the contest. The Gorkhas fled from their fire; and the result seems to have so disheartened the garrison, that on the following day the fort was abandoned by the commandant, Ranjor Sing Thapa, the chief who had so gallantly defended the fort of Jytak in the previous campaign.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately after the action at Sekhar-khatri, preparations were set on foot for erecting batteries against the stockades and fort of Makwanpur; but, before they were well opened, operations were arrested by the apprehensions of the Government of Nepal. The commandant, who was the brother of the Regent, sent word to Sir David Ochterlony that he had received the ratified treaty from his court, and requested permission to send an authorised agent in charge of it to the British camp. The envoy was received accordingly on the 3rd of March; but the treaty was not accepted without the additional stipulation, that the cession of territory exacted from Nepal, should comprehend the country conquered in the actual campaign, and the valley of the Rapti. The Commissioner and the Governor of Makwanpur acceded to the conditions, and their acquiescence was confirmed by the Raja. Peace between the two states was consequently re-established.

The principal conditions of the treaty have already been adverted to; but, in their execution, the British Resident appointed to Khatmandu, the Honourable Mr. Gardner, was authorised to commute the proposed annual pensions for restoration of a portion of the Tirai conveniently separated from the British boundary. The proposal was

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 940.

gladly accepted. A line of demarcation generally was agreed to, to be determined by subsequent survey ; and a considerable tract between the Michi and Gandak rivers, exclusive of a small space on the Saran frontier, but comprehending Bhotwal, was restored to the Nepalese. A treaty was at the same time concluded with the Sikim Raja, by which he was guaranteed in the possession of his territory on condition of his submitting all disputes between him and his neighbours of Nepal, to the arbitration of the Government of Bengal, joining its troops when employed in the mountains, and affording protection and encouragement to merchants and traders from the Company's territories. On the west of Nepal, the provinces of Kamaon and Gerhwal, the valleys above the first range of hills, and some military posts were annexed to the British possessions ; while the petty hill Rajas lying still more to the west and north, were mostly re-established in their principalities under the general stipulation of allegiance and subordination to the British authority. The Raja of Nepal died shortly after the close of hostilities, and was succeeded by an infant son. The regency continued in the hands of Bhim sen Thapa, and the event occasioned no change in the relations established between the two Courts ; which, although no cordiality has been manifested by the Nepal Government, has ever since continued undisturbed.

Thus terminated a war which presented many features of a novel aspect, and which in its outset threatened to tarnish the splendour of the British military character in India. The causes of disappointment rested, in some cases, with the commanders of the several divisions, who, alarmed by discomfiture brought on by precipitation, or by injudicious arrangements, fell into the error of exaggerating the resources of the enemy, and, with the exception of Sir David Ochterlony, distrusted their ability to cope with the Nepalese. In some respects, also, the Native troops failed to maintain their reputation. Unaccustomed to a country the broken surface of which often rendered it impossible for them to observe the compact order on which they had been trained to rely for support, and startled by the unusual charge of the Gorkhas, who, like the Highlanders of North Britain, rushed, after firing their

BOOK II. matchlocks, sword in hand, and in fierce though disorderly  
 CHAP. II. masses, upon the ranks of their adversaries, they exhibited,  
 1815. in some of the early actions, a want of steadiness which proved fatal to themselves, and embarrassing to their leaders. With experience came a juster appreciation of their own strength, and of that of their opponents; and on the heights of Malaun and Makwanpur, the Sipahis gallantly redeemed their reputation.

The occurrence of hostilities so immediately after the renewal of the Company's charter, and the diversion to military expenditure of the funds with which many of the members of the Court of Directors had confidently expected that the competition to which the Company's trade was now exposed might be advantageously encountered,<sup>1</sup> produced in the Court a strong feeling of opposition to the war, and induced a considerable and influential party to deny its necessity,<sup>2</sup> and to condemn the mode in which it had been conducted. We may pause to consider briefly how far they were warranted in their conclusions.

The encroachments of the Nepalese were not the sudden growth of a recently awakened spirit of presumption, or a

<sup>1</sup> In the Letters of the Court, of the 13th October, 1815, they write:—"We find, with extreme concern, that the effects of the Nepalese war are so strongly felt in your financial department, as to induce the apprehension that the advances to be issued for our European investment will be reduced to a very small sum indeed. . . . If the advances for the investment are to be withheld, the sales at this house for Indian goods will soon be brought to a stand; in which case, not only will the operations of our home finances be impeded, but it will also involve the impossibility of our being able to afford to India the assistance, in the event of the continuance of warfare, which would be so necessary, and which we should be so desirous to furnish."—Nepal Papers, 548. The necessity of supplying funds from home was little likely to arise, unless those which were available for political disbursements were absorbed in the purchase of commercial investments.

<sup>2</sup> The Court of Directors expressed a confident hope that, "as the result of the local inquiries had satisfied you of the Company's right to the disputed lands, the Government of Nepal would yield to your application for the surrender of those lands, without your being under the necessity of having recourse to more decided measures."—Letter to Bengal; Nepal Papers, 547. The expectation was based upon a very inaccurate knowledge of the temper of the Gorkha Government, and the necessity of having recourse to arms was recognised by the Court in a dispatch, dated 18th July, 1814. The necessity of the war was further demonstrated by Lord Hastings in a letter to the Chairman; and, as there stated, he was pledged to a definite course by the measures of his predecessor. The alternative of hostilities was the decision of Lord Minto. Lord Moira observes: "In this state I found things. I certainly had an option; I might shrink from the declaration plighted by Lord Minto, abandoning the property of the Company, sacrificing the safety of our subjects, and staining the character of our Government, or I had to act up to the engagements bequeathed to me, and to reprove the trespass of an insatiable neighbour. That I should have chosen the latter alternative will hardly afford ground for censure."—Nepal Papers, 992.

transitory ebullition of overweening pride. They were the deliberate and progressive crop of a long series of years, and had not even yet attained their full development. They were the result of a uniform and consistent design against the integrity of the Company's dominions. They had been long leniently dealt with; calm expostulations and menacing remonstrances had been tried repeatedly; and, finally, an amicable adjustment by an appeal to evidence and proofs of various kinds, had been attempted, but all conciliatory measures had been tried in vain. Aggressions were committed almost in the presence of the Commissioners professing to conduct a friendly and impartial investigation, and promises to abide by their decision were evaded or disregarded. It was evident that forbearance only gave audacity to insult, and boldness to usurpation; and the only questions that remained for consideration were, the relinquishment of the disputed lands, or the assertion of the right to them by arms.

All history records the impolicy of yielding to the demands of barbarians. Concession invariably inspires them with presumption, and stimulates them to fresh exactions. It would have been contrary to all experience to have relied upon the pacific effects of giving way to the pretensions of Nepal, to have expected that the Court of Khatmandu would have been soothed into moderation by acquiescence in its claims. Such an expectation was in an especial manner unwarranted by the known character of the Gorkha Government, whose whole policy for half a century had been the extension of their possessions, and who were confirmed in their notions of the wisdom of their policy by the success with which it had been almost invariably pursued. It might have been thought likely that they would nevertheless have paused before they provoked the enmity of a power so superior as the British to the unwarlike and disunited principalities over which they had triumphed; but an accurate comparison of resources, and appreciation of means, were scarcely to be expected from a cabinet so imperfectly instructed as that of Khatmandu in the circumstances of its neighbours, so strongly impelled by personal interests, and so deeply swayed by arrogance and passion. We have seen that the war-party anticipated little more peril from hostilities

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with the British, than with a petty Raja of the hills; and that, confiding in their past fortunes, the courage of their troops, and the strength of their country, they entertained no doubt of keeping their antagonist at bay until he should be weary of the contest. Nor did they depend solely upon their own means of resistance. They calculated upon the co-operation of still more powerful allies; and, endeavouring to interest Ranjit Sing, Sindhia, the Raja of Bhurtpur, Mir Khan, and even the Pindaris, in their quarrel,<sup>1</sup> they sanguinely anticipated that the reverses experienced by the British arms would be the signal for a general rising of the Princes of Hindustan.<sup>2</sup> The crisis was not altogether impossible; and a continued repetition of the disasters of the first campaign might have seriously compromised the peace and security of the British empire in India.

A danger of a less formidable nature presented itself in the interposition of the Government of China, to which the Court of Khatmandu had earnestly appealed at an early period of the war, ascribing its origin to the refusal to give a passage through Nepal to a British force intended to take possession of Lassa. The Court of Pekin, although suspecting the truth of the story,<sup>3</sup> appears to have been seriously alarmed; and troops were despatched to reinforce those stationed in Tibet: a considerable body was assembled at Digarchi, and moved towards the frontier; but as its advance occurred no sooner than August, 1816, hostilities were at an end. Explanations had also been

<sup>1</sup> A mission was also sent, in the beginning of 1816, by Amar Sing to Ava. His death, which happened in the early part of the year, put an end to the activity of these intrigues, although they were not entirely abandoned by the court of Nepal until the breaking out of the Pindari war.—MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> Proofs were obtained by the Resident at Gwalior that these several powers had been addressed by the chief officers of Nepal: To Sindhia accredited agents were deputed. Letters from Namdar Khan, the Pindari, to Sindhia, were detected, mentioning the application made to him and Mir Khan.—MS. Records. A Vakil, sent by Amar Sing to Ranjit Sing, offered to pay largely for his assistance, and to place the fort of Malaun in his hands. He affirmed that the Nawab Vizir, the Mahrattas, and the Rohillas, were all ready to rise as soon as they heard of the Sikh chieftains joining the Gorkhas. Ranjit was too shrewd to be caught by these assertions, and inferred from the offers made to him that the Gorkhas were hard pressed.—Nepal Papers, 559. That some of the Native Princes looked anxiously to the course of the war, and built upon it hopes of being enabled to resist the British power in the collision which was at this time menaced, was established by subsequent events. A correspondence between Sindhia and the Gorkha Government was intercepted.

<sup>3</sup> A letter from the Government of Pekin observed: "If your statement be true, if the English be the aggressors, they shall suffer; if the Gorkhas, the country shall be swept clean."

exchanged between the Chinese authorities and the Governor-General, which furnished the former with a reasonable plea for discontinuing their hostile indications.<sup>1</sup> They adopted the safe course of venting their displeasure upon their allies, and treated the Nepalese envoys sent to their camp, with great indignity.<sup>2</sup> Their overbearing demeanour excited the apprehensions of the Court of Khatmandu, who were glad to deprecate the anger of the Emperor by a penitential mission to Peking.

To return, however, to the consideration of the general question: Admitting that war was inevitable, it became a subject of question whether it was judiciously carried on. The comparative merits of a defensive or offensive system have already been considered; and it has been attempted to shew that the latter realized the advantages and avoided the inconveniences of the former, and was alone likely to lead to a speedy termination of the disputes between the two powers. It is only necessary here to observe, that practical demonstration was afforded of the futility of the defensive plan, by the actual occurrences on the frontier

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<sup>1</sup> The Chinese Commander-in-chief professed to be satisfied with the explanation of the causes of the war, and the conduct of the English, as furnished by his correspondence with the Governor-General and the British authorities on the frontier. At the request of the Court, however, he so far interfered in their behalf as to suggest the withdrawal of the British Resident. You "mention that you have stationed a Vakil in Nepal. This is a matter of no consequence; but as the Raja, from his youth and inexperience, and from the novelty of the thing, has imbibed some suspicions, if you would, out of kindness to us, and in consideration of the ties of friendship, withdraw your Vakil, it would be better, and we should feel very much obliged to you."—Letter from Shi-Chun-Chang, Vazir. To this it was replied, that a Resident on the part of some civilized power was necessary, in order to investigate and suppress at once any border quarrels that might be occasioned by the unrestrained violence of a barbarous people; and that, if the Emperor of China would appoint an officer on his part to reside at Khatmandu, that would equally well answer the object. The Vazir on this acquiesced in the arrangement; for as to the alternative, he observed it was not the custom of the Court of Peking to depute their officers to foreign Courts, as the traders at Canton could inform the Governor-General. This was the only allusion to the Company's establishment at Canton, although a dispatch had been forwarded through the supracargoes to the Court of Peking on the breaking out of the war. The conduct of the Chinese officers towards the Indian Government, in a somewhat protracted communication, as it did not close in 1818, when presents were interchanged, was uniformly temperate and judicious.—MS. Records; see also Prinsep, i. 213.

<sup>2</sup> In the interview with the Chinese authorities, the Nepal envoys were asked by the Chunn-chun, "What number of soldiers have you, and what is the amount of your revenues? The former, I suppose, do not exceed two lakhs (200,000)." The envoys replied, the number of troops was correct, and the revenues were five lakhs and a half of rupees. "Truly," said the Chinese officer with a sneer, "you are a mighty people!" and he observed that they merited the chastisement they had received; adding, that their statements were manifestly false, as, if the English had wished to invade the Chinese dominions, they could have found a nearer route than that through Nepal.—MS. Rec.

BOOK II. of Saran and Gorakhpur. With two large armies, those of  
 CHAP. II. General Wood and General Marley, in the field, but acting  
 1815. on the defensive, the Gorkhas ravaged the borders almost  
 in sight of them with impunity; and no more efficacious  
 arrangement for the protection of the Company's subjects  
 could be devised than driving them into the interior, be-  
 yond the reach of the enemy, leaving their fields and  
 homes to the spoiler. No such injury or insult was suffer-  
 ed where the British armies carried on the war within the  
 confines of Nepal.

The objections to the advance of a concentrated British force, in preference to assailing the Gorkha line at different points, have also been adverted to. Testimony to its judiciousness was borne by the best authority,—the Government of Nepal. The Raja expressed his fears that the British would endeavour to obtain a footing in the centre of his country, in which case both extremities would be thrown into disorder.<sup>1</sup> This was the main object of the first campaign; and although its complete execution was disappointed by the unfortunate failure before Kalanga, yet the extremities of the Gorkha state were disordered: the east was kept in a state of alarm by the demonstrations of the British divisions; in the west the best generals and troops of Nepal were hemmed in, and finally overpowered; and a secure footing was obtained with little difficulty in the centre by the occupation of Kamaon. Although, therefore, the instruments employed by the Governor-General were not in all cases of the most perfect description, yet it could not be said that his plans failed because they were radically defective; as in truth, although their success was delayed, they did eventually succeed,—and succeeded, too, in a single campaign: for when the renewal of hostilities was provoked by the vacillation of the cabinet of Khatmandu, the whole of the Gorkha conquests and the disputed territories were in the hands of the British, and little accession to their conquests was claimed or sought for when peace was at last established.

Whatever doubts might have been entertained by the authorities in England of the necessity of the war, or the wisdom with which it was conducted, they were finally

<sup>1</sup> Nep. Papers, 533.

dissipated by the close of the contest. Unanimous resolutions of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors recognised the prudence, energy, and ability of the Governor-General, combined with a judicious application of the resources of the Company, in planning and directing the operations of the late war against the Nepalese.<sup>1</sup> Thanks were also voted to Sir David Ochterlony and the officers and men engaged in the war. To the honours conferred upon General Ochterlony by the Prince Regent, the Company added a pension of a thousand a year. The Earl of Moira was elevated to the rank and title of Marquis of Hastings.

Although the territory acquired by the British Government was not of great extent or financial value, yet few accessions have been obtained of deeper interest or greater prospective importance. The territories actually appropriated, or those held under British authority by the dependent hill Rajas, have given to British India the command of an impenetrable barrier on the north, and of a path across the loftiest mountains of the Old World to the regions of Central Asia. Countries before unknown have been added to geography; and Nature has been explored by Science in some of her most inaccessible retreats, and most rare and majestic developments. The elements of civilization have been introduced amongst the rude inhabitants of the mountains, and they have been taught the value of industrious habits, and the advantage of social intercourse. Roads have been cut along the sides of precipices; bridges constructed over mountain torrents; stations have been formed which have grown into towns; and the stir and activity of human life have disturbed the silence of the lonely forests, and broken the slumber of the eternal snows. Still mightier changes are in progress. Barren as are the rocks of the Himalaya, they are not wholly unproductive; and they are fringed at least by fertile valleys that want only cultivators to become the seats of prosperous cultivation. Under a climate more congenial to European organisation than the sultry plains of India, and with space through which they

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<sup>1</sup> Resolutions of the Court of Proprietors, 11th December, 1816, and Court of Directors, 16th Nov. 1816, communicated to the Government of Bengal.—Pol. Letter, 4th March, 1817; Nepal Papers, 991.



BOOK II. may freely spread, the descendants of a northern race may  
 CHAP. II. be able to aggregate and multiply; and if British colonies  
 1815. be ever formed in the East, with a chance of preserving  
 the moral and physical energies of the parent country, it  
 is to the vales and mountains of the Indian Alps that we  
 must look for their existence,—it will be to the Gorkha  
 war that they will trace their origin.

### CHAPTER III.

*Transactions in Ceylon.—Embassy to the King of Kandy.  
 —Aggressions by his People.—Declaration of War.—  
 March of Troops and Capture of the Capital.—Mutu-  
 sami made King.—Force withdrawn.—Major Davie left  
 at Kandy.—Attacked by the Cingalese.—Kandy evacu-  
 ated.—Europeans murdered.—Hostilities continued.—  
 Suspended.—Tyranny and Cruelty of the King.—Fear  
 and Hatred of his People.—British Subjects seized.—  
 War resumed.—The Capital again taken.—The King  
 captured, deposed, and sent Prisoner to Madras.—Cey-  
 lon subject to British Authority.—Universal Discontent  
 and Rebellion.—A Pretender to the Throne.—Great Loss  
 on both Sides.—Rebels disheartened.—Leaders arrested  
 and the Pretender captured.—The Insurrection sup-  
 pressed.—Change of System.—Affairs of Cutch.—Dis-  
 puted Succession.—General Anarchy.—Depredations on  
 the Gaekwar's Territories.—Disturbances in Kattivar.—  
 Suppressed.—Troops ordered into Cutch.—Anjar sur-  
 rendered.—Agreement with the Rao.—Operations against  
 the Pirate States.—Intrigues at Baroda.—Occurrences at  
 Hyderabad.—Disorderly Conduct of the Nizam's Sons.—  
 Put under Restraint.—Disturbances in the City.—Criti-  
 cal Position.—The Princes sent to Golconda.—Discus-  
 sions with the Nawab of Oude.—Views of the Governor-  
 General.—Death of Sâdat Ali.—Succeeded by Ghazi-ud-  
 din.—Visit to the Governor-General at Cawnpore.—Loan  
 to the Company.—Complaints of the Resident.—Retracts.  
 —Submits final Requisitions.—Principles of future  
 Intercourse.—The Nawab an Independent Prince in his  
 own Dominions.—Second Loan.—Resident's Vindication  
 of himself.—His Removal.—Observations.—Internal Dis-*

*turbances.—House-Tax at Bareilly opposed by the People.—Tumults.—Troops called in.—The Rioters defeated.—Contumacy of great Landholders in the Western Provinces.—Dayaram of Hatras.—Shelters Robbers.—Resists the Authorities.—A Force sent against him.—Hatras taken.—Disorders on the South-Western Frontier.—Insurrection in Cuttack.—Causes.—Excessive Assessments.—Sales of Lands.—Corruption of Authorities.—Oppression of the People.—General Rising.—First Successes of the Insurgents.—Puri taken by them.—Recovered.—Commissioners appointed.—Special Commission.—Cuttack tranquillised.*

THE successful termination of the war with Nepal, BOOK II.  
enabled the Government of India to prepare for a CHAP. III.  
contest of a still more formidable description, with improved resources, and augmented reputation: but before we describe the occurrences which then took place, it will be convenient to notice the transactions of foreign and domestic interest which originated in the intervening period, and were unconnected with the events of the Pindari and Mahratta war.

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Ceylon, although a dependency of the Crown, and unaffected by the political circumstances of the Indian continent, may yet be considered, from its geographical position and the general analogy of its connexion with Great Britain, as a part of the British Indian Empire, and some notice of the transactions of which it was at this time the scene, may therefore be consistently offered. The island, first colonised by the Portuguese, and subsequently by the Dutch, was finally taken from the latter, as identified with the Republic of France, in 1796, by an expedition fitted out from Madras, and was for a short interval subject to the government of Fort St. George. In 1798 it was annexed to the colonial dominions of the British Crown, and the Hon. Frederick North was nominated Governor on the part of Great Britain. The settlements which were thus transferred extended along the sea coast, forming a narrow belt round the centre of the island, where native princes continued to rule over the remnants of an ancient kingdom, whose origin was traceable,

BOOK II. through credible records, for above two thousand years.<sup>1</sup>  
 CHAP. III. Deprived of a valuable portion of their ancestral domains  
 1815. by races which they despised as barbarians while they  
 hated them as conquerors, the kings of Kandy had been  
 almost always at variance with their European neighbours,  
 and had been principally protected against their military  
 superiority by the deadly atmosphere of the forests which  
 interposed an impenetrable rampart between the interior  
 of the island and the coast. The last but one of these  
 princes co-operated with the English in their attack upon  
 the maritime provinces held by the Dutch, in expectation  
 of advantages which were never realised. He died shortly  
 after the establishment of the British power. Leaving no  
 children, he was succeeded by the son of a sister of one  
 of his queens, who was elected to the throne by the head  
 minister, or Adigar, with the acquiescence of the other  
 chief officers of the state, the priests of Buddha, and the  
 people.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after the accession of the new Sovereign in the  
 beginning of 1800, the Governor of Ceylon deputed the  
 commanding officer of the troops on the island, General  
 Macdowal, on an embassy to the court of Kandy. The  
 avowed purpose of the mission was the establishment of  
 a friendly intercourse with the King; but there were  
 objects, also, of a political nature, the precise purport of  
 which does not appear, but which seem to have been based  
 upon an imitation of the policy of the Indian Govern-  
 ment, and to have had in view the formation of a subsidiary  
 alliance in Ceylon. In order to fulfil this project, advantage  
 was to be taken of the intrigues which agitated the Kan-  
 dian Court. The Minister who had raised the Sovereign  
 to his present rank, is said thus early to have plotted his  
 deposal, and the usurpation of his crown. For the accom-  
 plishment of his treacherous designs, he sought the  
 assistance of the British Government, and although his  
 overtures were at first rejected, he was admitted to a  
 conference with the Governor's Secretary, and the mission

<sup>1</sup> See Turnour's Translation of the Mahawanso,—a Buddhist Chronicle of Ceylon, and various tracts by the same eminent Pali scholar in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Ceylon Almanack.

<sup>2</sup> Davy, 310; also Turnour's Epitome of the History of Ceylon. The new King, Sri Wikrama Rajasingh, ascended the throne in 1798. Adigar is a provincial corruption of the Sanscrit word Adhikára, a superintendant.

to Kandy was the result. To elude the arts of the Adigar and place the King, with his own consent, in security, are declared to have been the chief objects proposed: but the security intended was to be provided for by the removal of the King to Colombo; and while his person was safe in British keeping, the real power was to be exercised by the Governor of Ceylon, through the agency of the faithless Adigar.<sup>1</sup> That these designs could not be accomplished without a display of force, was manifested by the equipment of the mission, the strength and quality of which denoted hostile, rather than friendly intentions.<sup>2</sup> Whatever might have been the real objects of the plot, it was frustrated by the timidity and suspicion apparently of both the Minister and the King. Although met on the frontier by the Minister, the troops were made to advance by a circumscribed and difficult route: every step of their progress was watched with extreme jealousy; no communication with the country was permitted; and finally the greater part were obliged to halt, and General Macdowall proceeded to Kandy with a much less numerous, but a more appropriate, retinue. He was received with civility, but without cordiality; his audiences were few and formal; and he returned to Colombo without having made any progress in the purposes of his mission, secret or avowed. On the contrary, the proceedings of the British Government seem to have excited the suspicion and ill-will of both the King and the Adigar, and to have

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<sup>1</sup> According to Cordiner, the chief Adigar, to whom the King owed his elevation, was plotting against his power and his life, and had endeavoured to persuade the English Government to assist in deposing him. Apparently, the only difficulty was that of finding a pretext, as the acting Secretary to the Government declared to the Adigar, that "the Governor would never consent to depose a prince who had not made any aggression on him. The Adigar then asked what would be considered an aggression, and whether an invasion of the British territories by the Kandians would not come under that description." Inferring that the King's life was in danger, it was determined to elude the arts of the Adigar by a more perfect knowledge of the Court, and to send General Macdowall with a sufficient force to maintain his Majesty's independence. It was at the same time proposed, that if the King should approve of it, he should transport his person and his Court, for greater safety, into the British territories, there to enjoy his royal rights, and depute to Pilima Talawé (his treacherous minister) the exercise of his power in Kandy; also that a British subsidiary force should be maintained there, and a sufficient indemnification for its expense given by the Kandian Government either in land or produce.—Cordiner's Ceylon, ii. 162. Notable expedients for maintaining the King's royal rights and independence!

<sup>2</sup> The ambassador's suit consisted of five companies of the 19th regiment, as many Sipahis, and as many of Malays, with four field-pieces, two howitzers, artillery and pioneers.—Percival, Account of Ceylon, 376.



BOOK II. united them against a common enemy; while an excuse  
 CHAP. III. for an appeal to arms seems to have been solicitously  
 1815. sought for by the British. At length some Cingalese  
 traders from the British territories, having been despoiled  
 of a parcel of Betel nuts which they had purchased, com-  
 plained to the Governor. Their case was advocated by  
 him with the King; its truth was admitted, and redress  
 was promised but never granted. In the mean time  
 reports reached Colombo that the people of the villages  
 on the frontier were in training, and practising archery,  
 and that active preparations, of a menacing tenor, but  
 rather of a defensive than an offensive character, were in  
 progress. Upon these occurrences, Mr. North determined  
 to make war upon the King, unless he subscribed to a  
 treaty promising compensation for the expenses of mili-  
 tary equipments, and the plunder of the Betel nuts; to  
 permit the formation of a military road from Colombo to  
 Trincomalee, and suffer Cinnamon peelers and wood cutters  
 to follow their calling in the Kandyan districts. It was  
 intimated at the same time, that the aggressions which  
 had been perpetrated, had left the Governor at perfect  
 liberty to recognise and support the claims which any  
 other Prince of the family of the Sun might form to the  
 diadem worn by his Kandyan Majesty.<sup>1</sup> The intimation  
 was not likely to conciliate his accession to a friendly  
 convention, and was replied to by predatory incursions  
 into the British frontier, and the plunder and murder of  
 its subjects. To repress and avenge these injuries, a force  
 under General Macdowall was despatched from Colombo,  
 and another under Colonel Barbut from Trincomalee. The  
 two divisions encountering no serious opposition on their  
 march, met on the Mahavali-ganga, three miles from  
 Kandy, and on the 21st of February entered the capital.  
 The town, which was completely deserted, had been set  
 on fire by the inhabitants, but the flames were speedily  
 extinguished, and Kandy was in the occupation of the  
 British.

As the reigning monarch had been so little sensible of  
 the benefits to be derived from the British alliance, a more  
 tractable sovereign was brought forward in the person of

<sup>1</sup> Proclamation by the Governor of Ceylon, Jan. 29th, 1803, also letter to  
 the King.—Papers printed for Parliament, 5th April, 1804.

Mutu-sami, a brother of the late Queen, and a competitor for the throne, who had been obliged to seek refuge in the colony. A treaty was concluded with him, by which he ceded certain districts and immunities, and in requital was acknowledged as monarch of Kandy, and promised, as long as he might require it, the aid of an auxiliary force. Mutu-sami was conducted to the capital, where he arrived on the 4th of March. He brought no accession of strength, as the people were either afraid or disinclined to support his cause ; and hence perhaps its sudden abandonment by the Governor, who presently afterwards engaged to invest the Adigar with regal authority, on condition of his delivering up his master, assigning a pension to Mutu-sami, and making the same cessions which that unfortunate Prince had consented to grant.<sup>1</sup>

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After a short stay at Kandy, during which several skirmishes took place with the Cingalese, invariably to their disadvantage, but without any decisive results, the prevalence of jungle-fever, generated by the pestilential vapours of the surrounding forests, to which many of the men and officers fell victims, compelled the retirement of the greater part of the survivors ; and, finally, the protection of Kandy, and of Mutu-sami, was consigned to Major Davie, with a body of 500 Malays and 200 Europeans of the 19th regiment,—the latter almost incapacitated for duty by sickness, and the former speedily thinned by frequent desertions. In this state, they were attacked on the 24th of June by the Cingalese in immense numbers, headed by the King and the Adigar, and encouraged by their knowledge of the enfeebled state of the garrison : a severe conflict ensued, which lasted for seven hours, when Major Davie was under the necessity of proposing a suspension of hostilities. The proposal was acceded to, and a capitulation agreed upon, by which the garrison, accompanied by Mutu-sami, were to be permitted to retire with their arms, on giving up Kandy and all military

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Debate, 14th March, 1804. The engagement is not mentioned by Cordiner, although he observes that at this time Pilame-Talawé had the effrontery to carry on a deceitful correspondence, under the mask of friendship, with the Commander of the British forces, and no art was left untried which might dupe or cajole our Government. The engagements with the Adigar are specified upon the authority of Major Forbes.—*Eleven Years in Ceylon*, i. 25.

BOOK II. stores. It was promised that the sick, who were incapable  
 CHAP. III. of being removed, should be taken care of until they  
 1815. could be sent to a British settlement. Upon these stipulations Major Davie evacuated Kandy, and marched to the banks of the Mahavali-ganga, which, being swollen by the rains, was no longer fordable : no boats were at hand, and the enemy showed himself in force in different quarters. On the following day, a mission came from the King, demanding that Mutu-sami should be given up, when boats would be furnished to the English. After some hesitation, the demand was complied with. The unhappy Prince, with several of his kinsmen, were immediately put to death. That his abandonment, and the disgrace which it entailed upon the British faith, might have been avoided by a greater display of resolution than was exhibited, is not impossible ; but a determination to preserve the Prince at all hazards, even if it had been entertained by the officers, was little likely to have been acquiesced in by the men, consisting almost wholly of Malays, who saw in his surrender their only hope of safety. The hope was fallacious, as might have been expected from the treachery of the enemy. The King commanded the destruction of the whole party. The Adigar is said to have manifested some reluctance to violate the capitulation ; but at last consented to become the instrument of his master's revenge. He prevailed upon Major Davie and his officers to accompany him out of sight of the men, who were then told that that their officers had crossed the river, and that, upon laying down their arms, they would be also ferried across to join them. Conducted in small parties to the edge of the river, at a spot where they could not be seen by their comrades, they were successively stabbed, or butchered in various ways, and their bodies were thrown into a contiguous hollow. At the same time the whole of the sick, a hundred and fifty, of whom a hundred and thirty-two were British soldiers, were barbarously put to death, the dead and the dying having been thrown promiscuously into a pit prepared for the purpose.<sup>1</sup> Most of the officers were also murdered, or died shortly afterwards. Major Davie survived till about 1810, when he died at Kandy, latterly unmolested and almost unnoticed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Davy's Ceylon.

<sup>2</sup> Forbes, i. 34. Heber's Travels, ii. 255.

The recovery of his capital and the destruction of the garrison, inspired the Kandyan Monarch with the ambition of expelling the Europeans from the island ; and during the remainder of 1803 and the ensuing year, repeated efforts were made to penetrate into the colony. At first, during the exhausted state of the troops, some advantages were obtained by the enemy ; and on one occasion they penetrated to within fifteen miles of Colombo. Their attempts were, however, repulsed. Reinforcements were sent to the island,<sup>1</sup> and the British became strong enough to retaliate. Several spirited incursions were made into the Kandyan territories, which served to check and intimidate the enterprises of the enemy. In 1805, the first Adigar acquired additional authority by the indisposition of the King ; and a cessation of hostilities ensued, which was continued by mutual acquiescence, without any express armistice, for several years.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever may have been the designs of the Adigar, Pilame Talawe, in his negotiations with the English, he remained apparently faithful to his Sovereign, until the King's tyranny and cruelty taught him fears for his own life. He then engaged in open rebellion — was unsuccessful — was taken and beheaded. He was succeeded in his office by Ahailapalla, who in his turn incurred and resented the suspicion and tyranny of the King. He instigated a rebellion in the district of Jaffragam, over which he presided : but his adherents fell from him upon the approach of a rival Adigar with the royal forces, and he was obliged to fly. He found refuge in Colombo : but many of his followers were taken and impaled. The King's savage cruelty now surpassed all that can be imagined of barbarian inhumanity. Among a number of persons who were seized and put to death with various aggravations of suffering, the family of the fugitive Minister, which had remained in the tyrant's grasp, were sentenced to execution ; the children, one of them an infant at the breast, were beheaded, the heads were cast into a rice-mortar, and the mother was commanded to

<sup>1</sup> In 1804, two regiments of volunteer Sipahis went from Bengal. Native levies were also made in the Madras districts. A regiment of Caffrees was formed, and his Majesty's 66th regiment arrived.

<sup>2</sup> Cordiner's Ceylon, ii. 259.



BOOK II. pound them with the pestle, under the threat of being  
 CHAP. III. disgracefully tortured if she hesitated to obey. To avoid  
 1815. the disgrace, the wretched mother did lift up the pestle,  
 and let it fall upon her children's heads. Her own death  
 was an act of mercy. She, her sister-in-law, and some  
 other females, were immediately afterwards drowned.  
 These atrocities struck even the Kandyan with horror;  
 and for two days the whole city was filled with mourning  
 and lamentation, and observed a period of public fasting  
 and humiliation. The King's ferocity was insatiable:  
 executions were incessant, no persons were secure, and  
 even the Chief Priest of Buddha, a man of great learning  
 and benevolence, fell a victim to the tyrant's thirst for  
 blood. A general sentiment of fear and detestation per-  
 vaded both chiefs and people, and the whole country was  
 ripe for revolt.

The urgent representations of Ahailapalla, and a know-  
 ledge of the state of public feeling in the Kandyan pro-  
 vinces, induced the Governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, to  
 prepare for a war, which was certain to occur, in conse-  
 quence of the disorders on the frontier, and the insane  
 fury of the King. Occasion soon arose: some merchants,  
 subjects of the British Government, trading to Kandy,  
 were seized by the King's orders as spies, and so cruelly  
 mutilated that most of them died; and about the same  
 time a party of Kandyans ravaged the villages on the  
 British boundary. The Governor immediately declared  
 war against the King, and sent a body of troops into his  
 country.<sup>1</sup> They were joined by the principal chiefs and  
 the people, and advanced, without meeting an enemy, to  
 the capital. They arrived there on the 14th of February.  
 On the 18th, the King, who had attempted to fly, was  
 taken and brought in by a party of Ahailapalla's followers.<sup>2</sup>  
 On the 2nd of March he was formally deposed,<sup>3</sup> and the  
 allegiance of the Kandyans was transferred to the British  
 Crown. Vikrama Raja Singha was sent a captive to Vel-  
 lore, where he died in January, 1832.

<sup>1</sup> Proclamation, 10th Jan., 1815. As. Journal, Feb., 1816. Account of the War in Kandy. Parl. Papers, 17th May, 1819.

<sup>2</sup> Narrative of Events in Ceylon.

<sup>3</sup> By a convention made between the Governor of Ceylon on the part of the King of Great Britain, and the Adigars, Dessaves, and other principal chiefs of the Kandyan provinces, on behalf of the inhabitants, in the presence of the head men and of the people, 2nd March, 1815.—Davy's Ceylon, Appendix, i. Parl. Papers, 17th May, 1819, No. 3.

The change of authority, and the substitution of a new and foreign dominion for that of the ancient native rulers, however acceptable under the influence of popular terror and disgust, began to lose their recommendations as soon as apprehension was allayed, and the chiefs and people were able calmly to consider the character of the revolution to which they had contributed. The chiefs found that their power was diminished and their dignity impaired; the priests felt indignant at the want of reverence shown to them and to their religion: and the people, sympathizing with both, had also grievances of their own to complain of, in the contempt displayed for their customs and institutions, and the disregard manifested for their prejudices and feelings by the English functionaries and their subordinates. A general rebellion was the consequence. It broke out at the end of 1817, and was headed by Kapitipalla, the brother-in-law of Ahailapalla, who, notwithstanding the protection he had received from the English, was suspected of having secretly fomented the insurrection, and was consequently arrested.

In the beginning of 1818, most of the Kandyan provinces were in arms against the British; and a pretender to the throne was brought forward in the person of an inferior Buddhist priest, who was falsely represented to be a member of the royal family. Troops were sent against the insurgents, but for some time with little success; as although they rarely met with open resistance, they were perpetually harassed by the natives, waylaid and cut off in detail; and this system of warfare, combined with the difficulty of the country, and the unhealthiness of the climate, inflicted so much loss and discouragement, that, after some months of unavailing exertion, it became a question whether the contest should not be abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

Reinforcements were earnestly applied for from the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras; and although the state of affairs on the continent of India rendered compliance with the requisition inconvenient, yet the urgency of the case compelled the Indian Governments to make an effort for the purpose; and one regiment of Europeans and several battalions of native troops were despatched

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Davy estimates the loss of the British at one thousand men. That of the natives at fully ten times that number.—p. 331.

BOOK II. to Ceylon. Other circumstances contributed to encourage  
 CHAP. III. the Government to persevere: the people of the country  
 1818. had suffered even more severely than the British; their villages were burnt, their fruit trees cut down, their crops laid waste, and they were driven to the thickets and mountains, among the wild tribes in the interior of the island. Exposure, hunger, and disease, were equally fatal as the sword, which descended heavily upon them in retaliation of the cruelty they showed to stragglers who fell into their hands. Equally disheartened by the aspect of affairs, the chiefs quarrelled among themselves. The pretender was disavowed and exposed, and even put in the stocks by one of his former adherents. Three of the leaders of the insurrection were taken, — two of them, Kapitipalla and Madugalle, were tried and beheaded; the third, the son of Pilama Tulawe, was banished to the Mauritius, as were Ahailapalla and several other chiefs of inferior note. With their apprehension, the disturbances ceased; for although the pretender escaped and remained at large until 1829, his cause found no supporters.<sup>1</sup> When ultimately seized, he was tried and condemned to death, but received a pardon from the Crown. Upon the restoration of tranquillity, various alterations were made in the mode of managing the Kandyan provinces calculated to conciliate the good will of their inhabitants. The power of the Adigars and Desawes was circumscribed by associating with them European civilians in the administration of justice, and the collection of the revenue. The appointment of head men of the districts was taken from the chiefs, and reserved to the Government. All taxes were merged into a tax of one-tenth of the produce of the rice-fields, payable in kind.<sup>2</sup> Several minor provisions were enacted of a similar purport. The immediate effect of these arrangements was beneficial; and the people gradually came to be reconciled to the altered circumstances of their political condition.

Returning to the continent of India, we find that hos-

<sup>1</sup> Another event which contributed to the pacification of the island was the recovery of the *dulada*, or tooth of Buddha, a sacred relic carefully preserved in the principal temple at Kandy, and occasionally exhibited to the devout. According to the superstitious belief of the people, the possession of this tooth ensures sovereignty.—See an account of its exhibition in Forbes, i. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Proclamation by Sir Robert Brownrigg, 21st Nov., 1818.—Davy's Ceylon, App. No. II.

ilities were carried on almost simultaneously with the Nepal war in a different and distant quarter, in consequence of which a political connexion was first established with the state of Cutch. The country had long been the scene of disorder. The authority of its nominal ruler, or Rao Raidhan, had been superseded by that of two adventurers, — the one, Hans-raj, a Hindu merchant, the other, Fatteh Mohammed, an officer of the Arab mercenaries in the service of the Rao. These two disputed the post of Minister, and divided between them the power of the Prince. Application had been frequently made by each of the competitors for the interference of the British Government; but as no advantage appeared likely to result from such interposition, it was declined. The quarrel was terminated by the death of Hans-raj, the Hindu, in 1809: and his rival, Fatteh Mohammed, continued in possession of the office of Minister until 1813, when his death, and that of the Rao, his master, left affairs even in a more troubled condition than had prevailed during their lives.

The Rao, under the influence of Fatteh Mohammed, had apostatized to the Mohammedan religion; and left a son, Manuba or Bharmalji, by a wife of the same faith. The Jhareja Rajputs, of whom the Rao was the head, and the other military tribes of Cutch, disputed Manuba's succession, holding him to be illegitimate and an outcast; and raised to the throne his cousin Lakhpati, or Ladhupa, the nephew of the late Rao.

Each of the competitors was supported by a party sufficiently powerful to neutralize the efforts of his opponents, and to prevent the establishment of any recognized authority. The slender control to which the chiefs had ever submitted was annulled, and a general state of anarchy prevailed in the province. No attempt was made to repress the disorder, until it became necessary to prevent its effects from extending to the territories, of which the defence was a duty imposed on the British Government by the terms of its alliance with the Gaekwar. The peninsula of Kattiwar is separated from Guzerat by the Ran, an extensive tract of low saline land, inundated partially by the sea, but at times capable of being traversed. It was crossed at all times by marauding bands from Wagar, the eastern portion of Cutch, the people of which, when the



BOOK II. Ran was dry, came over to Kattiwar in strong bodies of  
CHAP. III. both horse and foot, and burnt the villages, carried off the

1815.

cattle, and murdered the inhabitants. When the sea was in, they crossed it in boats, and committed similar depredations. The points of access were too numerous to be all sufficiently guarded ; and the movements of the plunderers were too sudden and rapid to be effectively counteracted by the two troops stationed on the frontier. Remonstrances and threats were alike unavailing in preventing the repetition of these inroads, and the people exposed to them contemplated abandoning the country ; when it was resolved to give them efficient protection by sending a body of troops against Bhooj, the capital of Cutch, where Bharmal-ji had been established in some degree of power by the acquiescence of the contumacious Jharejas, and had been reconciled with his cousin, who was a mere youth, and who resided also at the capital. Rao Bharmal-ji, however, manifested no inclination to endeavour to repress the incursions of the Wagar banditti, but on the contrary, contracted an alliance with their chiefs, and ordered the British native Agent to retire from Bhooj.

Under the settlement made by Major Walker in Kattiwar, the turbulent Rajputs of that province continued for some years peaceable and submissive ; but towards the year 1814, the intrigues of the Peshwa generated a spirit of insubordination, which hurried some of the subordinate chiefs into acts of violence and rebellion. The troops of the Gaekwar, sent against them, were defeated, and Colonel East, with part of the subsidiary force marched against the rebels.<sup>1</sup> They were afraid to encounter the British. The chief of Juria, one of the most considerable, gave up his fort, and the rest following his example, order was quickly restored.<sup>2</sup> So easy a suppression of the disturbances disappointed the policy of the Court of Cutch, which had despatched a body of Arabs to the aid of the Khwas of Juria ; and to punish this act of hostility, as well as effectually to put a stop to the depredations of the plunderers from Wagar, Colonel East was directed to

<sup>1</sup> The force was his Majesty's 17th light dragoons and 65th foot. The (Bombay) European regiment, and the 6th, 7th, and 8th N. I., with a train of artillery, with above three thousand of the Gaekwar troops.

<sup>2</sup> See Government Gazette, Jan., 1816.

advance into Cutch; and accordingly crossed the Ran, in December, 1815.

BOOK II.

CHAP. III.

1816.

The first operations of the British were directed against Anjar, of which Hasan Meya, one of the sons of the late minister Fatteh Mohammed, had possessed himself. On the approach of the force, this chief professed to entertain friendly sentiments; but it was discovered that he had directed the wells and tanks of the neighbourhood to be poisoned, and in punishment of his treachery batteries were opened against the fort. When a practicable breach was effected, Hasan Meya gave up Anjar and the port of Juner on the Gulph of Cutch, one of its dependencies, which were occupied by a detachment of British troops. The force then proceeded towards Bhooj, but was met by a pacific deputation from the Rao, and an agreement was concluded, guaranteed by five chiefs, by which the Rao promised to indemnify the parties who had rights in Kattiwar for the losses suffered from the Wagar banditti, to reimburse the British Government the expenses of the expedition, to prevent the commission of acts of piracy and plunder, and to receive an agent of the Bombay government at Bhooj. The fort and district of Anjar were ceded in perpetuity, and an annual payment of two lakhs of cowries (about 70,000 rupees) was pledged to the British Government. On their part, they undertook to assist the Rao in re-establishing his power over those places which had been alienated from him by the insubordination or treachery of his officers, and to chastise the robbers of Wagar and demolish their strongholds. A definitive treaty to this effect was executed on the 16th of January, 1816.<sup>1</sup> The latter stipulations were soon realised. The officers of the Rao hastened to relinquish their usurpations, and the plundering tribes of Wagar, retired to the north to the great sandy desert of Parkur before a British detachment. To prevent their return, the troops of the Rao were posted in commanding situations, and the marauders were for some time deterred from a repetition of their destructive inroads.

Having thus restored tranquillity in Cutch, and brought the principality within the pale of the system of sub-

<sup>1</sup> Treaties with Native powers, published by order of the House of Commons, 27th May, 1818, p. 32.

BOOK II.  
CHAP. III.

1816.

sidary alliances, Colonel East was directed to take the only measure which experience had shown to be effective for the final suppression of piracy on the southern coast of the Gulph of Cutch, by dispossessing the chiefs of the district of Okamandel of their forts and towns, and placing them under British authority. Little opposition was offered. The fort of Dingi was taken by storm; batteries were opened against the sacred city of Dwaraka, but the chief surrendered himself before the assault was given, and a Sipahi garrison took the place of his Sindhian mercenaries. The Raja of Bate also gave himself up on condition of an adequate provision being made for himself and family, and protection being assured to private property and the religious establishments on the island. At Wasaye a skirmish occurred, in which Nur-ud-din, a notorious pirate and ringleader, was slain,—an event which materially accelerated the submission of the district. Colonel East then proceeded in the beginning of March, to Junargerh, where order was in like manner restored. The objects of the armament were thus accomplished, and the force returned to cantonments early in May. The district of Okamandal was in the following year transferred to the Gaekwar.

The connexion with the Court of Baroda had undergone no material alteration. The debts of the Gaekwar, for which the British Government had become the guarantee, although considerably reduced, had not yet been liquidated, and the incapacity of the Prince still continuing undiminished, the administration of affairs by Fatteh Sing, under the general superintendence and control of the Resident, remained unaltered, with the express sanction of the Court of Directors.<sup>1</sup> The administration had been strengthened by the addition of Gangadhar Sastri, Colonel Walker's able native assistant, as the associate of Fatteh Sing.

Active intrigues were kept on foot by a powerful party in the Court, for the restoration of the discarded minister Sitaram Raoji to power, and every proposal to send him to

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Bengal, 19th March, 1815. "We have no hesitation in declaring that at least the time of our ceasing to interfere in the internal affairs of the Baroda State should be extended to the period when the debt should be liquidated."

a distance was successfully resisted, although his removal to Bombay was at length consented to. In the mean time, he had opened secret communications with the Peshwa, in which the Raja himself was implicated, the consequences of which were fatal to the head of the Mahratta state, as will be hereafter described.

Passing to the Mohammedan allies of the Company, with whom the existing relations were unaffected by the subsequent hostilities, we find that the friendly intercourse with the Court of Hyderabad was threatened with some interruption, towards the close of 1815. The Nizam, and the minister of his nomination, Munir-ul-Mulk, had alike withdrawn from all concern in public affairs, and devoting their whole time to low and sensual gratifications, committed, with sullen indifference, the charge of the state to the minister's nominal deputy, Chandu Lal, who, depending for his power entirely upon British support, was assiduous in cultivating the good will of the Resident. Excluded from offices of credit and activity, the sons of the Nizam, abandoned to their own discretion, followed the example of the Court, and became notorious only by their excesses. The two youngest, Samsam-ud-dowla and Mubarik-ud-dowla, distinguished themselves in this outrageous career; and, surrounded by a band of profligate retainers prompt to execute whatever their masters enjoined, these young men filled the city with tumult and alarm, and excited the aversion and terror of the peaceable citizens by their contempt for all authority and law.<sup>1</sup> Repeated representations of the evil consequences of their conduct were made by the Resident, and the Nizam was, after some time, prevailed upon to direct that they should be placed under restraint, and that guards should be stationed at their dwellings. Captain Hare, with a party of the Nizam's regular infantry, was commanded to execute the order; but, on his approach to the palace, he was

<sup>1</sup> Among other lawless acts, they established a tribunal of their own, in which judgment was avowedly given in favour of those who most liberally bribed the judges, notwithstanding the groundlessness of their claims. The rightful owners of houses and gardens were dispossessed of their property in behalf of any one who chose to assert a claim to them, and who purchased the award of the Prince and the services of his myrmidons. The Nizam himself and the members of his family were not safe from their insolence, and the immunities of the Resident were invaded by the seizure and corporal castigation of one of his servants.



BOOK II. received with a heavy fire of matchlocks from the tops of  
CHAP. III. the houses, by which several of his men and Lieutenant

1816.

Darby, an officer of the Resident's escort, were killed. The party made their way, nevertheless, to the palace, and blew open the gates, but the resistance they encountered from the Prince's adherents was too formidable to be overcome, and Captain Hare deemed it prudent to retreat. He was reinforced by 100 European and 400 native troops, who took up their station for the night at the residence of the minister. Much alarm was felt by the Nizam and his principal courtiers at the advance of the European detachments; but this subsided when its weakness was known, and some of the principal Omras urged the Nizam to fall upon the Residency, and exterminate its defenders. A general ferment pervaded the city, and a popular sentiment was expressed that Mubarik-ud-dowla was alone a worthy descendant of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and that if he would hold out he should not want support. The moment was critical. The subsidiary force had been sent into the field, and a small division only remained in cantonments. In addition to the numerous population of Hyderabad, there remained in the neighbourhood ten thousand Patan soldiers, whom the minister was engaged in disbanding, and who would gladly have joined in any tumult. The firmness of the Nizam, who, on this occasion showed, that when roused to action he did not want ability, and the prudence of the Resident prevented a collision. The Europeans were withdrawn from the city—no movement of the people or of the chiefs was sanctioned or encouraged, and measures were promptly taken to obtain reinforcements. General Doveton was summoned from Akole, and troops were also required from Bellari. Although Chandu-Lul was afraid to press the confinement of the Princes, the measure was insisted on, and, with some reluctance, was acceded to by the Nizam. The interval that elapsed before the troops could arrive, allowed the Princes an opportunity of discovering the dangerous predicament in which they stood, and they no longer opposed the Nizam's pleasure. They were sent off to Golconda, where were the remains of a palace of the Mohammedan kings of the country, and an extensive fort. Tranquillity was restored before the arrival of the additional troops,

and their march was countermanded—an extensive rising of the Mohammedans of Hyderabad, headed by the princes, or by the Nizam, would at this season have seriously embarrassed the Government of India.

BOOK II.  
CHAP. III.  
1814.

The discussions which took place with the Nawab of Oude during the latter years of Lord Minto's administration have been described. Approving entirely of the manner in which the Resident had urged the reforms which the Government of Bengal pressed upon the Nawab's adoption, one of that nobleman's last acts was, as we have seen, the expression, in strong terms, of his determination to uphold the measures and enforce the recommendations of the Governor-General's representative at the Court of Lucknow. Nothing seemed to be left to the Nawab but to submit, when the arrival of Lord Moira suggested the hope that a less unrelenting policy might be pursued. He was not disappointed. The habits of his past life had taught the Governor-General to sympathise with royalty in distress: and although he concurred in the principle of reform, and in the expedience of the particular arrangement which had been devised for the administration of Oude, he conceived that the Nawab had been treated with less deference than was due to his rank, or was consistent with the nature of the connection which united him with the East India Company. He determined, therefore, to adopt a tone of conciliation,<sup>1</sup> and enjoined the Resident to refrain from agitating questions of minor consideration, which, while they led to no important result, could not fail to excite irritation and dissatisfaction in the mind of the Nawab. Finally, perceiving that the Nawab's consent and co-operation in the proposed measures of reform were not to be hoped for; and believing that to insist upon their being carried into effect without his cordial concurrence, would amount to a dissolution of the existing relations between the two states, the Governor-General determined to relinquish the specific plan proposed by Lord Minto, and confine the object of the Government to

<sup>1</sup> Major Baillie ascribed the change of purpose which took place in the councils of the Government, to private influence and intrigues at Calcutta; a negotiation was carried on there, he says, for his removal, for effecting which, the Vizir offered, twenty-five lakhs of rupees. An English gentleman was noticed as an agent in the negotiation without mention of his name.—Letter from the Resident, 3rd Nov., 1815. Oude Papers, printed for the use of the Proprietors of India Stock, June, 1824, p. 563.

BOOK II. obtaining from the Nawab such measures of reform as he  
 CHAP. III. should himself propose, although of more limited scope  
 1814. and efficacy. Compliance with such suggestions, coming from the Prince himself, would, his Lordship expected, have a beneficial effect, and would prepare the way for more advantageous innovations. A letter to this purport was addressed to the Nawab Vizir; and for the remainder of his life, which was not long protracted, the question was at rest. Sadat Ali died on the 11th of July, 1814. He was succeeded by his eldest son, who assumed the designation of Ghazi-ud-din Hyder.<sup>1</sup>

The gratitude which was felt by the new Sovereign towards Major Baillie, for the prompt and judicious arrangements by which upon the demise of Sadat Ali he had guarded against all risk of opposition<sup>2</sup> to the succession, rendered the Nawab at first amenable to the advice of the Resident. His Ministers were chosen upon the recommendation of that officer, and as they looked to him for support, they were ready to become the instruments of accomplishing his wishes. No time was lost in instituting the revenue reforms which he had so strenuously advocated. The Principality of Oude was portioned out into Zillas and Mahals, and collectors on the part of the Government were deputed to the latter, subject to the superior authority of the Zilla-dar Nazim, or Lieutenant-Governor of the larger district. Arrangements for the administration of justice were also proposed, and an attempt was likewise made to introduce an armed police; but the opposition of the villagers to this part of the project was so universal and vehement, that its prosecution was suspended. The new system of collection was scarcely less unpopular, and was far from realising the benefits which were expected to result from it. It was, in fact, an injudicious repetition of the mistake committed in the

<sup>1</sup> The success with which Sadat Ali prosecuted his favourite project of amassing wealth, was proved by the accumulated treasure found in his coffers; his hoards amounted to thirteen millions sterling, the accumulation of eleven years.—Comm. Committee, 1832. Political Evidence of Col. Baillie.

<sup>2</sup> Some had been expected from Shams-ud-dowla, the second and favourite son of Sadat Ali, who, during his father's life-time, had been appointed the Deputy (Naib) and Representative (Kaim Mokam) of the Nawab, and to whom Sadat Ali had apparently desired to bequeath his power. No time was given for a party to be formed in his favour. To prevent subsequent dissension he was persuaded to retire to Benares upon a pension from Lucknow, guaranteed by the British Government.—Oude Papers, 869.

Company's territories, that of prematurely forcing upon the people institutions foreign to their habits, strange to their notions, and repulsive to their feelings. Troops were still required, therefore, to compel payment of the revenues, and their collection was as uncertain and irregular as before; while to the imperfect apprehension of the Nawab the payment of the collectors by a per-centage rate upon the amount collected, appeared to be an unnecessary and unreasonable deduction from his own receipts. Ghazi-ud-din, therefore, soon withdrew his confidence, both from the Resident and from his own Ministers, looking upon them as the creatures and spies of the former. There were not wanting in his court intriguing individuals to aggravate the Nawab's dissatisfaction, and, he became no less anxious than his father had been to accomplish Major Baillie's removal from his councils.

The Earl of Moira, in order to be near the scene of action in the Nepal war, had repaired to the Upper Provinces, and arrived at Cawnpore in October, 1814. He was immediately visited by the young Nawab, and returned with him shortly afterwards to Lucknow. On this occasion, the Nawab offered to the Company, as his free gift, a crore of rupees, about a million sterling.<sup>1</sup> Acceptance of the gift was declined; but the money was received as a loan, which the charges of the approaching campaign rendered highly opportune. The amount was accordingly registered as an item of the public debt, bearing interest at 6 per cent.,—the current rate; the interest being applied to the acquittance of sundry pensions which were payable by the Nawab, under the guarantee of the government of Bengal. The arrangement was advantageous to the pensioners as well as mutually convenient to the contracting parties. On this occasion<sup>2</sup> the Nawab presented a paper, which, although obscurely worded, manifested some degree of dissatisfaction with his actual condition; expressed a desire that the system of collection should be suspended in favour of a plan to be subsequently

<sup>1</sup> Political Letter from Bengal, Aug. 1815.—Papers, 846. The offer was not, however, an original idea. The Resident says, "I was instructed to open a negotiation with the Vizir for the loan of a crore of rupees to the Honourable Company, to appear as a voluntary offer to Lord Moira."—Papers, 952.

<sup>2</sup> Minute of the Governor-General, 30th Nov., 1814.—Oude Papers, 920.



BOOK II. proposed ; and clearly intimated the wish of the Nawab  
 CHAP. III. to be made more independent of the Resident's control,  
 1815. although professing a personal attachment to Major  
 Baillie, and a firm reliance upon the reciprocity of his  
 regard.<sup>1</sup>

Private information having reached the Governor-General that the Nawab had not unreservedly and sincerely communicated his wishes and sentiments with respect to the Resident, having been deterred from so doing by Lord Moira's having recommended to him to place implicit reliance upon Major Baillie's counsels, some pains were taken to induce him to be more explicit. Several conferences ensued, not only with the Governor-General, but with members both of his civil and military staff.<sup>2</sup> From the former the Nawab continued to withhold his entire confidence ; but to some of the latter he imparted with different degrees of explicitness his anxiety for Major Baillie's removal. He also delivered to Mr. Ricketts, the chief secretary, and to the Governor-General two several statements, alike in tenor, in which he preferred a number of complaints against the conduct of the Resident on various occasions, as disrespectful and vexatious, or as encroaching upon the rights and derogatory to the dignity of the Nawab. Both these documents were presented in the course of the 31st of October. On the 1st of November they were retracted. A confidential agent was sent by the Nawab to disavow the averments of the preceding day — declaring that the statements delivered by him did not express his sentiments, and that they had been prepared and put into his hands by European gentlemen attached to his service, who had persuaded him that any representations unfavourable to the Resident would be agreeable to Lord Moira. A similar disavowal was repeated by the Nawab, in a letter to Lord Moira, and in a conference with Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Swinton, in which the principal subjects of complaint, as exhibited in the papers, were deliberately canvassed. They were all disowned, and were referred to the advice of evil coun-

<sup>1</sup> 13th Oct.—Papers, 870.

<sup>2</sup> Conversation with Captain Gilbert, about 29th Oct., Oude Papers, 922. Conference with Mr. Ricketts, 31st Oct., *ibid.* p. 875. Ditto with Messrs. Ricketts, Adam, and Swinton, 4th Nov. *Ibid.* 885.

sellors, who had led him to believe that their tenor would be acceptable to the Governor-General. Inferring, however, from the language and deportment of his Lordship, that this information was erroneous, and actually entertaining no cause of complaint against the Resident, the Nawab hastened to withdraw the accusations which had been put into his mouth, and declared his readiness to punish his prompters by their immediate dismissal.<sup>1</sup> They were accordingly dismissed, although they unequivocally denied having had any concern in preparing the documents, or in having influenced the Nawab to present them to the Governor-General. It cannot be doubted that their assertions were true, although they had been repeatedly the confidants of the Nawab's grievances; had apparently sympathized with him; and had assured him that a candid and open exposition would command the Governor-General's attention.<sup>2</sup> The motives of the Nawab's sudden change of purpose are among the worthless secrets of an intriguing Court: his first representations may not have been free from sinister influences, but there is no reason to question the reality of his desire to get rid of the Resident, or to doubt that he sacrificed both his friends and his veracity to a sudden and ungrounded dread of having incurred the Governor-General's displeasure by the open avowal of a wish which, contrary to his expectation, appeared to be unacceptable to his Lordship.<sup>3</sup> The manner in which he pursued and abandoned his design is characteristic of Asiatic duplicity, as well as of unsteadiness of purpose and irresoluteness of execution.

The charges made by the Nawab were communicated to the Resident, and were shown by him to be, in many

<sup>1</sup> Papers, 885.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, 905.—The Resident ascribes this attempt to have him removed to a conspiracy set on foot by Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, who had been removed from the office of Prime Minister to the late Nawab, at the Resident's suggestion, as he was a principal opponent of the plan of reform, being a farmer of the revenue to a considerable extent. His object was to be restored to his appointment, which he knew was impossible while Major Baillie held office.—Papers, p. 955. On the other hand, it appears probable the Nawab's retraction was owing to a panic inspired by the Aga Mir, a personal friend of the Nawab, who, besides his apprehensions of the consequences of his master's complaints, since they had failed to impair the Resident's credit, probably expected by this means to secure the Resident's support in his appointment as the successor of Mehdi Ali. The interested rivalry of these two persons seems to have been the pivot round which the other parts of the plot revolved.

<sup>3</sup> See Baillie's account.—Oude Papers, 957.

BOOK II. instances, frivolous, unfounded, or false.<sup>1</sup> Some originated, CHAP. III. apparently, in misunderstanding, and others out of the ungracious duties inseparable from his office under the instructions of the Government. As, however, they were withdrawn, no further investigation was considered necessary. A final representation was made by the Nawab, the objects of which were to secure the integrity of his dominions, and to reserve the right of ruling his own territories, of determining the course to be followed in his fiscal and judicial administration, and of electing the persons to be employed; to deprecate the attention of the Government to complaints against his measures preferred by his relations and dependants, to be allowed permission to bestow charitable endowments, and to have the privilege of going out on hunting-parties whenever so inclined. The requests were generally granted, and, in communicating the correspondence to the Resident, instructions were added with regard to the spirit in which his functions were to be exercised, and the connexion with the Nawab maintained. According to Lord Moira's view of that connexion, the right to interfere with advice or remonstrance upon any mismanagement of affairs within the Nawab's reserved dominions was confined to such occasions as might injuriously affect the British interests. In all other respects the administration of the Nawab was to be absolutely free, for it seemed evident to the Governor-General, from the whole tenor of the treaty, that an uninterrupted exercise of his own authority within the reserved dominions was assured to him in order to qualify the very strong step of appropriating, in exchange for the subsidy, so large a portion of his territories. The Nawab was consequently to be treated in all public observance as "an independent Prince."<sup>2</sup> Agreeably to this recognition, the conduct of the Resident was to be regulated by the deference due to regal rank, and to be characterised by a respectful urbanity and a strict fulfilment of established ceremonials. In an especial manner he was to refrain from countenancing or encouraging any servant of the Nawab in contumacious opposition to his master, and from recommending any person from his

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Resident, 9th Nov.—Papers, p. 96.  
Papers, 919.

own household for reception into the Nawab's immediate service. By adherence to these, and similar injunctions, the Governor-General hoped that both the actual Resident and his successors would obtain from the Nawab a willing compliance on every occasion where it might be necessary to interpose advice. With these monitory instructions the inquiry terminated, and cordiality was apparently restored. It was not of long duration.

In the month of March following, as the war expenditure still continued, recourse to the hoards of Sadat Ali again became convenient, and the Resident, acting in obedience to the orders of the Governor-General, extracted from the Nawab a second crore of Rupees. Although Ghazi-ud-din complied with the application, his unwilling consent seems to have confirmed his estrangement from the Resident, and rendered him still more than ever hostile to all projects of reform. The Resident, ascribing their imperfect success to underhand opposition, offended by the removal from the Nawab's councils of persons whom he supported, and upon whom he relied, and weakened in influence as well as wounded in feeling by the distrust implied in Lord Moira's private inquiries, and public injunctions, could no longer restrain his indignation. A letter, dated the 29th of April, but not transmitted till the 20th of September, was addressed by him to the Governor-General, in which he vindicated his conduct, and ascribed the proceedings of the Nawab to factious intrigues, encouraged by the prejudice cherished against him by Lord Moira. The Governor-General thought it incumbent upon him to reply, and exonerate himself from the imputation of unfairness, or prejudice against the Resident: doing justice to the character of that officer for integrity and zeal, but avowing his conviction of his having, in his intercourse with both the late and present Nawab, exhibited a grasping and domineering disposition, which justified the jealousy and resentment felt by both the Princes. As it was impossible that the confidence and harmony which should subsist between the Governor-General and his representative at the Court of Lucknow could longer be maintained, the Governor-General, with the concurrence of his council, removed Major Baillie from his office, and left the Nawab of Oude to the uncon-



BOOK II. trolled constitution of his own cabinet, and the absolute  
CHAP. III. direction of his own domestic administration.

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1815.

Thus terminated a dissension which is deserving of record for the illustration it affords of the incidents likely to trouble the equable current of a connection of the nature of that established with the sovereign of Oude. That Major Baillie should be an object of dislike to Sadat Ali and his successor was inevitable, from the irksome duties he was appointed to discharge, and the zeal with which he engaged in them: it was impossible, whatever they might profess, that these Princes could have felt a sincere regard for an individual who pressed upon them with unchanging pertinacity, reforms which they were secretly resolved never to carry into operation. They might, perhaps, have made a distinction between the individual and the functionary, and felt for Major Baillie the regard which they withheld from the Resident: but it is clear from Major Baillie's own language, as exhibited in his correspondence, that he took little care to soften the harshness of his public acts by the suavity of his private manners. He is ever importunate and dictatorial; not unfrequently disrespectful; and occasionally insulting. This is most manifest in his intercourse with Sadat Ali. The evidence is less ample in regard to Ghazi-ud-din, but the precipitancy with which the projected reforms were set on foot, and the interference exercised with the court patronage, combined with his ordinary deportment to intimidate and offend the Nawab. The want of candour and consistency in the latter, which nullified his own purposes, were in part inseparable from the Asiatic character, but were in part also attributable to his inability to discriminate between the private feelings and public principles of an individual exercising the high office of Governor-General. Undoubtedly Lord Moira was prejudiced against Major Baillie, and had imbibed and strengthened his prejudices from sources scarcely worthy of his exalted station—the private information of unofficial persons. This bias was not, however, derived solely from this cause, and was taken, in part, from the tone of the Resident's correspondence which jarred with his high sentiments of loyal deference to princely rank. Whatever were his prepossessions, however, he founded upon them no public proceedings injurious to the Resident; and, entirely satisfied with

that officer's ability and uprightness, retained him in his post, and recommended to the Nawab to place entire confidence in his judgment and friendship. It was not to be expected, however, that the degree of independence which he had acknowledged in the Nawab, would dispose that Prince to follow his recommendation, or would be palatable to the political representative who, long fortified by the unqualified confidence of the Government, had possessed little less than regal sway throughout the principality of Oude. His retirement was, therefore, unavoidable for the preservation of a good understanding with the Court of Lucknow, and was followed by a perfect cordiality which was cemented by the events of succeeding years.<sup>1</sup>

The internal tranquillity of the British dominions suffered at this time partial interruptions, which, although not affecting the permanent preservation of public order, or impairing the credit and authority of the Government, exhibited characteristic illustrations of the difficulty of legislating for a people imperfectly known by those who enacted or administered their laws, and who as imperfectly appreciated the real objects and intentions of their rulers; in other words, of the difficulty of governing a people without admitting them to any participation in the conduct of their own affairs. Disturbances, which for a time assumed a serious aspect, broke out in the Western provinces, and in Cuttack. The former was speedily repressed by a prompt and vigorous exertion of the power of the Government: the latter were of more protracted continuance, and were at last quelled rather by conciliatory than rigorous measures.

It was noticed on a former occasion, that in consequence of the opposition made to the imposition of a tax on houses, the Government of Bengal had adopted a different mode of providing for the cost of the municipal police, and had empowered the chief inhabitants in several of the towns to assess themselves in the amount necessary to defray the support of a sufficient number of watchmen, or choukidars. The plan being found to succeed in the cities in which it was first introduced, was extended in the

<sup>1</sup> The second loan was commuted by treaty with the Nawab for Khyraghur and the country between the Gogra and the North Eastern Boundary of Oude, 1st May, 1816.

BOOK II. beginning of 1814 to other towns in the Lower Provinces,  
 CHAP. III. and in the course of the same year to those places in the  
 ——— districts of Benares and Bareilly, which were the stations  
 1815. of the magistrates, to whom was entrusted the duty of  
 effecting the requisite arrangements.<sup>1</sup>

The regulation thus enacted by the Government was not at all palatable to the towns to which it was to be applied, but after some little delay, the repugnance of the people was overcome everywhere, except in Bareilly. This city was the residence of a considerable population, many of whom were of Afghan descent, and were notorious for their military propensities and impetuous disposition. Among them, also, were the representatives of families formerly of rank and consideration, which were reduced to comparative insignificance by the change of Government, and the members of which were consequently discontented with the present state of affairs. A similar spirit pervaded the class of Mohammedans throughout the province; and, although no acts of oppression or injustice could be charged against the Government, yet a system that sought to render all alike amenable to public justice was peculiarly distasteful to men who regarded themselves superior to all law, and able to protect their own rights and avenge their own wrongs. The defects of the judicial administration — its expensiveness and delay — the unrelenting, and, in some instances, excessive assessments on the land, and the procrastination of a settlement either for a stated period, or in perpetuity, enhanced the unpopularity which difference of origin and religion affixed to a foreign Government. Neither was the past forgotten; and the defeat of the Rohillas at Bithora, twenty-two years before, which was currently attributed, not to the superior valour or discipline of the victors, but to the treachery of their own leaders, still rankled in the hearts of the people of Rohilkhand. Local causes of popular animosity also prevailed. The Kotwal, or head of the Police, was a Hindu of an overbearing and tyrannical disposition; and the European magistrate, by reserved and uncourteous manners, had given so much offence to the most respectable of the inhabitants, that they avoided as much as possible all private and friendly intercourse with him. He had

<sup>1</sup> Reg. ii., 1814, and xvi., 1814.

thus deprived himself of the most natural and efficacious means of influencing the feelings and conduct of the people. BOOK II.  
CHAP. III.

In this temper of men's minds the new regulation was promulgated. The repugnance felt by the natives of India to any new impost was immediately displayed, although in the present instance it could scarcely be regarded as a novelty, as in those parts of the town, where the principal shops were situated, the inhabitants had been long accustomed to assess themselves with a moderate rate for the express purpose of maintaining a municipal police. The only grounds of objection were, therefore, the augmented amount of the tax, and its universal application, falling upon those who had been hitherto exempt, and who were chiefly the more respectable and influential householders—the impoverished gentry of Bareilly. To these circumstances were to be added the fear, that if this impost were introduced, it would be a prelude to others, and the knowledge of the success with which resistance to the house-tax had been attended at Benares, further encouraged the people of Bareilly to resist the execution of the law. Few of the principal men would undertake the apportionment and collection of the tax in their respective divisions, and those who at first assented, were compelled by pasquinades and popular songs, by abuse and threats, to evade or decline the fulfilment of the duty. Frequent assemblages of the people were held, especially at the house of the Mufti Mohammed Aiwaz, an individual of great age and reputed sanctity, who was held in profound veneration throughout Rohilkhand, and who was induced by the persuasions of some designing and discontented persons of consideration in the town to countenance the popular excitement. The proceedings of the people seem at first to have been modelled after those at Benares; business stood still, the shops were shut, and multitudes assembled near the magistrate's office to petition for the abolition of the tax; but as their application was unavailing, they were soon weary of such moderate means of seeking redress, and in harmony with their natural temperament, assumed a more menacing and formidable attitude.

Finding that the opposition of the people was not to be overcome through the agency of the higher classes, the

1816.



BOOK II. magistrate, Mr. Dumbleton, commanded the assessment to  
CHAP. III. be made by the Kotwal, who aggravated the popular indig-  
1816. nation by threatening the lower orders with the stocks,  
and the superior with chains and imprisonment, if they  
continued refractory. The actual collection of the tax was  
commenced by the magistrate in person, and by his orders  
the shop of a recusant trader was forcibly entered, and  
property to the amount of the sum assessed was distrained  
for sale. In the execution of his commands, a woman in  
the shop received a wound from some of the Police Peons,  
and as soon as the Magistrate had withdrawn, she was  
placed on a bed, and carried by the people to the Mufti.  
By his direction she was conveyed to the residence of the  
Magistrate, who ordered that she should lodge her com-  
plaint in due form in the chief criminal court. The peo-  
ple carried her back to the Mufti, who exclaimed, that if  
such was the Magistrate's justice, no man's life or honour  
was safe in Bareilly; and that it was high time for him to  
leave the town. It does not appear that the injury in-  
flicted on the woman was very severe, but the little regard  
paid to the case exasperated the angry feelings that pre-  
vailed.

As the excitement continued to increase, and numerous  
mobs of both Mohammedans and Hindus, assembled in  
the streets of Bareilly, and in the vicinity of the Mufti's  
residence, the Magistrate apprehended a serious breach of  
the public peace, and deemed it necessary to disperse the  
multitude. For this purpose he repaired on the 16th of  
April to the city, attended by a few horsemen and about  
thirty Sipahis of the provincial battalion. Upon his ap-  
proach, a rumour spread abroad that he was coming to  
apprehend the person of the Mufti, and place him in con-  
finement; and the old man, either apprehending, or  
feigning to apprehend, the disgrace of being dragged to  
prison, left his home to take sanctuary in a shrine in the  
suburbs of the city, held in peculiar reverence by the  
Mohammedans. The mob fell back as the magistrate's  
party advanced, but when near the Mufti's residence they  
turned, and in order to cover his flight, barred further  
access. The horsemen who were sent to clear the passage  
were resolutely resisted by the people, who were armed  
with swords and pikes, and two of the troopers were

killed and several wounded. The Sipahis then fired, but, although many fell, the rioters stood their ground until the escape of Mohammed Aiwaz was secured: they then dispersed. The Mufti received a slight wound in the affray, but he effected his retreat to the shrine of Shahdara, and there his associates hoisting the green flag of Islam, proclaimed that the religion of the faithful was in danger. He was immediately joined by a great part of the armed population of the town, and letters having been despatched to the surrounding districts, numbers of resolute and enthusiastic Mohammedans flocked to his rescue, particularly from the towns of Pilibhit, Shahjehanpur, and Rampur, the two last being comprised in the independent Jagir of Ahmed Ali Khan, the Nawab of Rampur. Religious enthusiasm, national aversion, and the love of tumultuous excitement, thus combined to attract recruits to the standard, and, in the course of two days, assembled some five or six thousand men, armed with swords and matchlocks, scarcely knowing for what they were about to contend, but not the less resolved to peril their lives in the contest.<sup>1</sup>

On their part, the European functionaries were active in preparing for the encounter. The force at their disposal consisted only of about two hundred and seventy men of the 2nd battalion of the 27th regiment of Native infantry, with two guns, under Captain Boscawen, and one hundred and fifty of a Provincial Battalion commanded by Lieut. Lucas. Two companies of the former were immediately posted near the mosque to keep the Mufti and his adherents in check, while the cantonments and European residents were under the protection of the remainder. Application for reinforcements was despatched to the nearest stations, and Captain Cunningham, with a regi-

<sup>1</sup> Great exaggeration prevailed in the reported numbers of the insurgents. They were said to amount to five thousand matchlockmen, seven thousand swordsmen, and a large body armed with spears and clubs. One thousand five hundred matchlocks were said to have come from Pilibhit alone, the whole of the Pilibhit party not exceeding three or four hundred. About the same number moved from Rampur, but did not all arrive in time. There is nowhere any exact report of the number engaged, but that stated in the text seems to be most probable. Had time permitted, the multitude would have greatly increased, as many bodies were on the march, when news of the result of the action sent them back.—*Asiatic Monthly Journal*, Jan. 5, 1817. In the evidence of Major Macau, he states that ten or fifteen thousand men assembled in 1816 at Bareilly.—*Comm. Comm. Evid, Military*, p. 209.

BOOK II. ment of irregular horse, and Major Richards, with the  
CHAP. III. 2nd battalion of the 13th N. I., marched immediately  
1816. from Moradabad ; both corps made forced marches, and  
the former arrived on the ground on the 19th, the latter  
on the 21st. In the mean time, repeated conferences were  
held with the Mufti and his chief adherents by officers  
deputed by the magistrate. The Mufti would willingly  
have listened to terms, but he could not allay the storm  
which he had been so instrumental in rousing ; and  
many of the more respectable individuals, including the  
members of the family of Hafiz Rehmat, who had at first  
joined the insurgents withdrew, and left them to the un-  
governable passions, which listened to no controul. The  
rioters declared that they would not be satisfied, nor re-  
tire, unless the Choukidar tax was abolished — the Kot-  
wal was delivered up to them to suffer the law of retalia-  
tion for the blood shed on the 16th ; provision was made  
for the families of those who fell on that occasion, and a  
general pardon was proclaimed. As compliance with these  
demands was refused, they hastened to a decision of the  
struggle before the junction of the 13th, of the approach  
of which they were aware. On the morning of the 21st,  
they signalized their purpose by murdering a young gen-  
tleman, the son of Mr. Leycester, one of the Judges of the  
Court of Circuit, as he passed peaceably and unarmed from  
one military post to another. This was followed by an  
onset upon the troops who were drawn out to receive  
them. A short distance divided the encampment of the  
infantry from that of the irregular horse ; the intervening  
space, a plain covered with Mohammedan tombs, was oc-  
cupied by the rioters. Their first attack was made upon  
the Sipahis, whom they greatly outnumbered and sur-  
rounded. Being formed in a square the troops repulsed  
every charge, although the assailants fought with fury ;  
some of them making their way into the square, where  
they were cut down or bayoneted. On his side, Captain  
Cunningham's horse charged the masses of the multitude,  
and threw them into confusion. Repulsed in their for-  
ward movements, they took up their ground in a grove  
defended by a low wall, but were soon driven out of it by  
the troops, who pursued them into the old town and set  
fire to the huts in which they had taken shelter. This

put an end to the conflict. The insurgents dispersed, leaving between three and four hundred dead, and a greater number wounded and taken prisoners. The loss of the troops was inconsiderable.<sup>1</sup> The arrival of the 13th soon after secured the victory. The result of this engagement was a legitimate subject of congratulation, as the success of the rioters would, in all probability, have been a signal for the rising of the whole province, and the commencement of an insurrection, which could not have been suppressed without much loss of life and the aggravated hatred of the people. The town submitted peaceably to the regulations. Of the rioters, the Mufti and some of the principal ringleaders quitted the Company's territories, and were never allowed to return. A few of those who were apprehended were brought to trial before the Court of Circuit, but were dismissed, after some detention, for want of evidence to convict them; the greater number were at once pardoned, and set at liberty on promise of good behaviour at the suggested intercession of their countrymen in the ranks both of the Provincial corps and the Rohilla horse, who had faithfully discharged their duty, although in deadly conflict with many of their relatives and friends; the principles of military honour and allegiance silencing, in a remarkable manner, on this occasion, the promptings of natural affection. Great courage and constancy were displayed in the suppression of the tumult; but it would probably not have occurred had the people of Bareilly been taught to regard those placed in authority over them with confidence and good-will.<sup>2</sup>

The other proceedings in the western provinces, although of a more imposing character, involved considerations of inferior importance, as popular feeling was rather in unison with, than arrayed against, the measures of the Government. The forbearance or negligence of former administrations had allowed a few of the great Talukdars of the Doab to retain many of the privileges which the most

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-one killed, sixty-two wounded.

<sup>2</sup> A Committee of Inquiry was appointed by the Government to investigate the causes of the disturbance, the conduct of the public officers, and the state of public feeling in Rohilkhand. The details in the text are taken chiefly from the report made in consequence in August, 1816, and from the accompanying documents furnished.—MS. Records.



BOOK II. considerable of their order had usurped, during the preceding times of anarchy ; and although the districts, for

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the revenues of which they were held accountable, were not intended to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Company's officers, yet no measures had been formally adopted to bring them within the sphere of the regulations. The Talukdars were silently suffered to exercise supreme judicial authority within their own estates, to regulate their own police, to keep up large bodies of military followers, and to convert their places of residence into fortresses of formidable extent and strength. Of these petty chieftains, one of the most considerable was Dayaram, Talukdar or Zemindar of a number of villages in the Doab, in the district of Aligerh. His residence was at the fort and adjacent walled town of Hatras. The fort was of the usual construction of similar strongholds, built of mud, or rather of sun-dried clay, having walls of great height and thickness, with towers at the angles, mounting a number of guns, and defended by a very broad and deep ditch. The town was also protected by a wall and a ditch. The force kept up by Dayaram was about eight thousand strong, of which three thousand five hundred were horse.

The consequence of possessing so many of the attributes of independence were a belief in its reality and a spirit of opposition to any interference with its exercise. While professing obedience to the will of the Government, the authority of its officers was perpetually evaded or defied, and although the revenue was duly discharged, yet the means by which it was collected were often oppressive and tyrannical, and the villagers in vain appealed to the protection of the paramount power : any attempt to enforce either civil or criminal justice within the Taluk was baffled or resisted : criminals were either openly sheltered, or covertly enabled to escape from punishment, and gangs of robbers were permitted to fix their headquarters in the country of the Talukdar, on condition of paying him a share of the spoils, levied from the adjoining districts. These evils had been frequently noticed by the Government, the Landholders menaced with its displeasure, and the judicial officers directed to carry the regulations into effect ; but the demolition of their forts

was an indispensable preliminary to the humiliation of their possessors, and this it had not hitherto been found convenient or deemed prudent to attempt. The Governor-General in Council now determined to take advantage of the concentration of troops in progress in the Western Provinces, and to accomplish the extinction of the power of the contumacious landholders, if necessary, by military operations. Dayaram, as the most powerful and most audacious, was accordingly required to testify the sincerity of his profession of allegiance, by disbanding his troops and dismantling his fortress of Hatras; and a strong division,<sup>1</sup> under the command of General Marshall, took the field in the beginning of the year, to show that the requisition was not to be trifled with.

BOOK II.

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The troops employed against Hatras marched from the several military stations of Cawnpur, Muttra, and Meerut, early in February, and the fort was completely invested by the 12th of that month. Overtures of submission were made by Dayaram, but the demolition of his stronghold was a condition to which he could not be prevailed upon to yield, and recourse being necessarily had to compulsion, batteries were opened against the town and fort, and a vigorous bombardment was kept up upon the latter. A practical breach was effected in the walls of the town by the 23rd, but the garrison avoided a storm, and evacuated the place on the following morning. The bombardment of the fort continued with increased activity, and most of the buildings were in ruins. On the 2nd of March, a shell made its way into the powder magazine, and was followed by a tremendous explosion, which completed the work of desolation within the ramparts. The besieged still maintained a show of resistance, and returned the fire of the batteries; but Dayaram, now convinced of the futility of resistance, and alarmed for his safety, effected his escape at midnight with a small body of retainers. They were encountered by a party of the dragoons, but

<sup>1</sup> It consisted of the 8th and 24th light dragoons, 3rd and 7th N. C., 1st and 2nd Rohilla horse and rocket troop; his Majesty's 14th and 87th regiments, and of Native Infantry, the 2nd battalion of the 1st, 1st battalion of the 11th, 2nd battalion of the 12th, 2nd battalion of the 15th, 2nd battalion of the 25th, 21st battalion of the 29th, and 2nd grenadier battalion. Besides artillery and pioneers, the ordnance comprised seventy-one mortars and howitzers, and thirty-four battering guns (24 and 18-pounders), besides 12-pounders for entrenching; the whole under the direction of Major Anbury as chief engineer.

BOOK II. made good their retreat, after inflicting more loss than  
 CHAP. III. they suffered, being armed with back and breast-plates  
 ——— and gauntlets of steel. The alarm being given, the troops  
 1816. were immediately ordered to the gates, and, after over-  
 coming some resistance from those of the garrison who  
 were endeavouring to escape, they gained possession of  
 the fortress. The capture of Hatras secured the ready  
 submission of the other refractory landholders ; and such  
 anomalous structures, as mud forts, and fortified villages,  
 disappeared from among the dwellings of a peaceful popu-  
 lation. Dayaram took refuge with Amir Khan, but, in  
 the course of two years, was allowed to return to the  
 Company's territories, upon his promise of submission,  
 and ultimately received a pension in lieu of the emolu-  
 ments he had formerly derived from his fiscal agency  
 between the village community and the state.

The countries extending along the Western frontier,  
 from the south of Behar to the Northern Circars, partake  
 of the same general character, and consist, for the most  
 part, of low ranges of hills, off-shoots from the Vindhya  
 chain, covered with dense forests, and thinly inhabited by  
 barbarous tribes. The inhabitants, under various desig-  
 nations, may be regarded, perhaps, as fragmentary rem-  
 nants of the original occupants of India, dispossessed of  
 the level lands by foreign races, and driven to contend  
 with the beasts of the forests for a scanty sustenance, and  
 with the pestilential malaria of the thickets for a brief  
 and precarious existence. Nor had they been suffered to  
 enjoy these haunts in peace ; adventurers from the con-  
 quering stock had penetrated into the most accessible  
 spots, and established their sway over petty principalities,  
 the lands of which were distributed among their adherents  
 on the tenure of military service. On the habits of the  
 savage and the hunter were thus grafted the turbulence  
 and insolence of military adventure ; and the communities  
 were only prevented from degenerating into utter anarchy  
 by the personal consideration enjoyed by those who were  
 descended from the original leaders, and were regarded as  
 their natural chiefs. The Rajas, although often at feud  
 with each other, or with their own dependents, formed  
 the main cement of the ill-combined structure. It was  
 among these people, with very little knowledge of their

character, or of their wants, that it was attempted to introduce judicial and fiscal arrangements, borrowed from the principles and practice of highly civilized society. The consequences were perpetual breaches of the public peace, insurrections on a petty but mischievous scale, and the employment of troops in districts where the climate was the most formidable enemy to be encountered. At the time at which we are arrived, the attention of the Government of Fort St. George was occupied by three different risings in the Northern Circars, while that of Bengal was called upon to suppress a violent but short-lived outbreak in Ramgerh, and a still more extensive and protracted disturbance in Cuttack.

The Northern Circars were generally in the occupancy of such chiefs as have been above noticed, hereditary Rajas or Zemindars, claiming political as well as territorial rights, and paying a tribute to the Government of the day, but never acknowledging themselves as its functionaries in the collection of revenue. They had been so treated by the British Government, and a permanent settlement was made with them for the amount of their tributes. With the settlement, however, came arrears, the sale of their lands, and the consequent insurrection of the chiefs, powerfully abetted by their adherents and tenants. There came, also, the introduction of the judicial system and the Daroga police, and the infliction of fraud and violence upon a rude and barbarous race. Resistance and disorder were the necessary results, and after fifty years' occupation the authority of the Government could scarcely be considered as established. There was constantly some petty rebellion on the part of the Rajas, or there were disturbances arising out of their mutual quarrels or intrigues among their own people, which it was necessary for the Government to suppress. The task was arduous, for a great part of the country, consisting of hill and thicket, was as fatal as inaccessible, and order was never re-established, without a prodigious sacrifice of life. In the first of the transactions under remark, the hereditary manager of Kimedi had been driven out by an adverse party, and his removal had been confirmed by the Government. In defiance of the sentence he endeavoured to recover his authority, and a civil war distracted the district.



BOOK II. which led to serious outrages, and was only tranquillized  
CHAP. III. by the seizure of the ringleaders and the confinement of

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the manager. In the Moheri estate, the Rani, the representative of an ancient family, had been dispossessed by a fraudulent sale of the lands she inherited: although she was personally engaged in no commotion, yet her tenants took up her cause, and not only expelled or murdered the people of the intrusive purchaser, but the officers of the Police, and committed extensive depredations on the neighbouring lands. The Raja of the hill country of Gumsar, in like manner was irritated by the attempts of the Police to bring him before the tribunal of the Company's courts, and, in the frenzy of his resentment, perpetrated acts of violence which led to his forcible imprisonment. The people of Gumsar, a highly barbarous race, continued, nevertheless, in arms, and committed the most atrocious excesses upon the peaceable population of the lowlands, which were retaliated by the despatch of troops into the district. These disturbances were not repressed without the employment of five battalions of infantry and a regiment of cavalry, under the command of General Rumley; and, although the presence of so large a force deterred the insurgents from assembling in any strength, yet they long lurked in the impenetrable thickets on the borders of Cuttack and Ganjam, prepared to resume their depredations in the latter, and lending their aid to the troubles which agitated the former province in 1817.<sup>1</sup>

The wish of the Government to be relieved from the irksome task of managing the turbulent Cherus and Kharwars, the military cultivators of Palamu, upon the sale of the Zemindari for arrears of revenue, induced them to transfer it, in 1816, to a neighbouring Zemindar, who consented to be responsible for the revenue at a reduced rate, and to superintend and manage the police. The villages were generally held by tenants who had been accustomed to consider themselves permanent occupants, at a fixed rate of assessment. Their new chief began his reign by raising the rents of some and wholly dispossess-

<sup>1</sup> Reports on the State of the Northern Circars, by Mr. W. Thackeray, in March, 1819. Selections from the Records, i. 974. Visit of Sir Thomas Munro to the Northern Circars, January, 1823. Ibid. iii. 556; also MSS. Records.

ing others: a general rising ensued: the officers of the Zemindar were attacked, some were killed, the police stations were demolished, and the riot was not put down without the employment of a military force. As rights sanctified by long prescription and popular estimation had undoubtedly been invaded, contrary to the intention of the Government, the renter was removed, and the management of the district taken under the immediate superintendence of the Company, by which means order was, for a season at least, restored.

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In Cuttack the insurrection was more extensive, and its suppression longer delayed. It arose out of the operation of the revenue enactments of the Government; but its immediate and exciting cause was the manner in which those enactments were executed, the flagrant extortion and cruel oppression practised by the subordinate functionaries of every department of the state. The natives of Orissa had always been proverbial for mental dulness, and their inaptitude for public duties occasioned, even under their own princes, while the country was yet a Hindu kingdom, the employment in all offices of trust of foreigners from the neighbouring countries of Telingana and Bengal. The latter chiefly filled the public stations under the English magistrates and collectors, and, under a succession of superiors, who seem to have exercised little vigilance or activity in controlling their subordinates or in punishing corruption, preyed with impunity upon the helpless and bewildered population of the province, and rendered the Government itself dreaded and detested.

The rigorous exaction of the Government assessment on the land everywhere calculated, in combination with the improvidence of the Zemindars, to lead to their impoverishment and ruin, was peculiarly mischievous in Cuttack. The amount, originally calculated on an erroneous principle, was excessive, and,<sup>1</sup> in order to discharge

<sup>1</sup> The original assessment was computed on an average of that which appeared to have been paid for some years to the Mahrattas, but the Mahratta assessment was liable to many deductions which were not admitted into the British. Even then it exceeded the average amount by 1,65,000 rupees, the Mahratta being Rs. 10,15,000, the British Rs. 11,80,000. Under the periodical and progressive assessments, however, this amount had been raised, in 1816-17, to Rs. 13,82,000. The augmentation had been made at random. In Khurda the highest assessment under the former system never exceeded five annas per biga; under the later arrangement it amounted to seven and a half.

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it, the Zemindars were compelled to raise their demands upon the people, who were generally wholly unable to pay them. The Zemindars, consequently, fell speedily<sup>1</sup> into arrears, and their estates were sold to new men, either to the revenue officers themselves, or their Bengali countrymen, whose means of gratifying the cupidity of the public functionaries rendered many of their sales wholly collusive and fraudulent;<sup>2</sup> and sacrificed the original proprietor not so much at the shrine of public good as of private emolument.<sup>3</sup> The intrusive Zemindars, odious from their very intrusion, and the sinister course well known to the people, by which their end was attained, eager to make the most of their purchases, incurred by their unsparing extortions still more intense hatred. By their exactions the rents of the tenants were raised to the highest possible amount, and those who claimed to hold their lands on easy terms, in lieu of certain services, were either fully assessed, or were turned adrift.<sup>4</sup> These latter were, for the most part, the only persons in the province familiar with the use of arms; the Paiks, or militia and police of the country under the Native Government; and they were little inclined to submit with patience to the loss of their property and annihilation of their privileges.

To these subjects of public distress and discontent was added another pressure upon the people, in the extreme enhancement of the price of an article of first necessity, Salt, in consequence of the precipitate introduction of the Company's monopoly. The price was injudiciously fixed at a rate far beyond the means of the inhabitants of the province, being six or seven times that at which it had been ordinarily sold.<sup>5</sup> The state benefited but compara-

<sup>1</sup> Of 3,000 Zemindars who had contracted for the revenue in 1803, only 1450 were in possession in 1817-18.

<sup>2</sup> The Munshi of one of the Collectors purchased an estate, assessed at an annual Jumma, of 50,000 rupees, for 23,000 rupees,—less than half a year's purchase.

<sup>3</sup> The estate of Hamishpore, although one of those held at a quit-rent, was sold for arrears and bought by an opulent Bengali; the dispossessed Zemindar was, of course, one of the leaders of the insurrection.

<sup>4</sup> Such were the effects of these measures that the people sold everything, even to their wives and children, to obtain sustenance, and when all was insufficient they abandoned their homes and fled into the forests. In the course of 1816 between five and six thousand houses were thus deserted, and the country was becoming depopulated.

<sup>5</sup> On the extension of the monopoly to the southern divisions of Cuttack, the price in Khurda rose from about fourteen anas to six rupees per maund. This was peculiarly oppressive to the people of Orissa, as they were accustomed to eat their boiled rice on the second day, when it was stale and more than originally insipid.

tively little, for smuggling was almost openly practised by the very persons appointed to prevent it. Yet, as the illicit traders kept up the prices, the people suffered severely, and were ripe for a revolt against the Government, by whose measures and whose agents, they were deprived of the means of procuring the necessaries of life. Nor were the judicial arrangements of their new rulers less obnoxious to the simple and ignorant inhabitants, accustomed to summary and informal decision. Unacquainted with the very language of the regulations,<sup>1</sup> and incapable of comprehending the forms of the courts, they found themselves entirely at the mercy of the public officers, and were made to pay heavily for justice, which, in the end, they seldom attained. The police was a still more insufferable grievance; in lieu of the native Paiks, Darogas and their myrmidons were introduced, and were as rapacious as they were inefficient. Property was annihilated, and little security for person survived.<sup>2</sup>

The province of Cuttack was distributed between two classes of occupants; those who cultivated the Mogulbandi, the open and most productive part of the country, and the people of the Rajwara, which, on one side of the Mogulbandi, extended in a narrow slip along the sea coast, and, on the other hand, spread westward over a broad expanse of hill and wilderness. The estates of the Mogulbandi were assessed on the same principles as those in Bengal; the Rajwara estates, consisting of tracts ill adapted to cultivation, were held at a low quit rent, and on the condition of military service.<sup>3</sup> One of the most considerable was the district of Khurda, lying a short distance west of the celebrated shrine of Jagannath. It was the Zemindari of the Raja of Khurda, who was dear to the

<sup>1</sup> They were in Bengali.

<sup>2</sup> The police Daroga of Khurda contrived, in the course of a few years, to extort a lakh of rupees (10,000*l.*) from the villagers. The Serisitadar of the Civil Court of Cuttack was convicted of having taken bribes to the extent of about 60,000 rupees (6,000*l.*) in a few cases, and had realised a very large property by an unchecked course of similar corruption. It is worthy of note that the officers of the courts who were punished for their malpractices were all Mohammedans. Hindu functionaries would not probably have been more honest under such a system, but they would have been less daring, less tyrannical, and might have been less insatiable; at any rate, they would have been less obnoxious to the Uriya population, although a dislike of Bengalis seems to have been a national feeling. One of the grievances urged by the insurgents was, that "a parcel of Bengalis pretended to be their masters."

<sup>3</sup> Account of Orissa, by A. Stirling.—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.



BOOK II. people, as the hereditary descendant of the once powerful  
 CHAP. III. Gajapati kings of Orissa, the acknowledged head of the  
 1817. several petty chiefs, and who was invested with additional  
 sanctity from his having the hereditary privilege of being  
 the sweeper of the temple of Vishnu. The estate of  
 Khurda had been held under the Mahrattas, at a light quit-  
 rent; under the English authorities, it was assessed at a  
 rate at which the Raja declined to hold it,<sup>1</sup> and he was  
 accordingly allowed to reside at Puri, in discharge of his  
 duties in the temple, upon a yearly malikana, while his  
 lands were taken under the management of the revenue  
 officers. Their management, in the course of a few years,  
 reduced the people to poverty and despair, and this pro-  
 vince was consequently the seat of the first and most  
 violent disorders.

The dispossessed Paiks and Ryots of Khurda found a  
 bold and active leader in Jagbandhu, who was the here-  
 ditary Bakhshi, or paymaster and commander of the Raja  
 of Khurda, and proprietor of a landed estate in the pro-  
 vince. By a course of chicanery and fraud, in which the  
 native officers were chiefly concerned, he was deprived of  
 his patrimony, and told to seek redress in the courts of  
 law. He was too poor and too impatient of wrong to  
 appeal to such tardy and uncertain protection, and rashly,  
 though pardonably, attempted to vindicate his own rights  
 by the instrumentality of popular insurrection. Assisted  
 by a body of the wild tribes of Gumsar, and joined by a  
 number of Paiks and unhoused Ryots, he appeared in the  
 chief village of Khurda, attacked and put the police to  
 flight, and killed some of the people; set the station on  
 fire, and plundered and burnt the office of the government  
 collector. No injury was done to any one unconnected  
 with the Government. The success of this attack was  
 soon spread abroad; the whole province was in a state of  
 insurrection, and Jagbandhu, in a few weeks, was at the  
 head of above three thousand rioters, armed with swords,  
 spears, bows and arrows, and a few matchlocks.

<sup>1</sup> The Raja paid to the Mahrattas, when they could compel him to pay any-  
 thing, 15,000 rupees a-year, but he often evaded the payment. He was willing  
 to engage for double the amount to the British Government, but a lakh, or  
 100,000 rupees was demanded. This he declared himself unable to discharge.  
 It was, however, raised, and in 1816 augmented to 1,38,000 rupees, of which  
 25,000 rupees were paid to the Raja for subsistence.

As soon as news of the tumult reached Cuttack, a detachment of troops was despatched to Khurda ; a party from which, sent out to collect provisions, was surprised at the pass of Ganjpura, and was driven back on the main body, with the loss of an officer, Ensign Faris, commanding it. The rest of the detachment fell back to Pipli losing their baggage and cattle. A second attempt made by the magistrate, with a military guard, to enter Khurda, failed, and the party retreated to Cuttack, harassed by the insurgents. Jagbandhu was, in consequence, emboldened to advance to the town of Jagannath, of which he took possession. The only force at this place consisted of about eighty Sipahis, while the rioters were estimated at four thousand. The town was plundered ; the fort, buildings, and bungalows were set on fire, and the troops stationed for the defence of the collector's house and treasury, were attacked ; they repulsed the assailants, but the officer commanding judged it expedient to retreat with the public treasure to Cuttack. This affair contributed to extend the insurrection, and every district in which the ancient proprietors had been deprived of their estates, was in arms. The triumph of the rebels at Puri, was short-lived. One of their objects in marching thither had been to place their Raja at their head ; but his fears or his prudence deterred him from connecting himself with the disturbance, and one material element of opposition was thus defective. At the same time, Capt. Le Fevre, with the greater part of the 1st battalion of the 18th N. I., marched from Khurda to recover Puri. At Devendra, the battalion was encountered by the Uriyas, and an action ensued, which speedily terminated in their defeat. Puri was re-occupied, and the person of the Raja being secured, he was removed to Cuttack.

Although the affair at Devendra showed that the insurgents were wholly unable to cope with the regular troops, the disturbances were far from being allayed. Khurda was entirely in their possession, and in the beginning of May, a body of above two thousand made an attack upon a detachment at Pipli in the neighbourhood. It was repulsed, and the rebels never afterwards appeared in force ; but risings took place in Limbai, Kurdes, and Kujang, which the civil power was unable to restrain, and to

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BOOK II. suppress which it was necessary to station troops in the  
 CHAP. III. provinces. Martial law was proclaimed, reinforcements  
 1818. were despatched to Cuttack, and General Sir Gabriel Martindell was ordered to take the command, with additional authority, as joint commissioner with the judge and magistrate. By the military dispositions which were made, and, in a still greater degree, by the assurances held out to the people by the military commissioner, that their grievances, if peaceably represented, would be listened to and redressed, tranquillity, through the greater part of the troubled districts, was restored by the end of the year. Jagbandhu, and some of the leaders, still, however, kept aloof, and lurked for a while in the wild tracts along the upper course of the Mahanadi; but driven from thence by the combined operation of detachments sent from Cuttack to Boad, and others from Sambhalpur, they retreated to Khanpur, in the south-west angle of the province, where the Khunds of Gumsar gave them shelter; and, although large rewards were offered for their apprehension, none of their adherents proved treacherous, none of the people of the country were tempted to betray them.

The tranquillity of Cuttack was confirmed by the appointment of a special commissioner,<sup>1</sup> with extensive powers; and by the measures and enactments of the Government, adopted at his suggestion, large remissions of arrears and reductions in the assessment were made,<sup>2</sup> and the revenue officers were authorized, at discretion, to suspend the sale of the estates of defaulters, and rather subject their persons to imprisonment.<sup>3</sup> A new settlement was made for three years:<sup>4</sup> such of the native officers

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ker, and afterwards upon his death, Mr. Blunt. Besides the functional benefits derived from this arrangement, through the employment of intelligent and upright Commissioners, we owe to it a descriptive and historical account of Orissa, of great interest and value, drawn up by the Secretary to the Commission, Mr. Andrew Stirling, a member of the civil service of Bengal, and one of its brightest ornaments, although his career was cut short by a too early death. The account is printed in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

<sup>2</sup> When the Commissioner reached Cuttack, the balance of arrears exceeded nineteen lakhs of rupees, (£190,000) of which about six were remitted; the consequence was the realization of the revenues of the year 1818-19, with a very trifling balance, and with a very limited recourse to the measure of a public sale. The revenue on the tributary Mehals was reduced from Rs. 333,000 to 206,000. More attention than heretofore was paid to the tenures, and in the estates held under the Government, settlements were made with the Ryots. Revenue Letter from Bengal, 30th March, 1821. Selections from the Records, iii. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. x. of 1818.

<sup>4</sup> Reg. xiii. of 1819.

as had been most notorious for extortion and oppression, were deservedly punished, and such of their European superiors as were considered to be implicated in the causes of the insurrection, were removed. Some of the unhappy people who had been driven into rebellion lost their lives in action, and others, taken with arms in their hands, suffered death under the operation of martial law: when that ceased, the offenders were transferred to the civil power, and many were condemned to a prolonged period of confinement and hard labour. By these several means of severity and conciliation, the province was so entirely tranquillized, that in August, 1819, a general amnesty was proclaimed, with the exception of a few of the leaders. Some years elapsed before they were considered to be objects of clemency; but, in 1825, Jagbandhu was induced to surrender himself, and was allowed to reside in Cuttack upon a pension from the Government. This event extinguished the last spark of rebellion in which the people were much less to blame than the functionaries of the state, whether native or European, the former having remorselessly aggravated, by corruption and tyranny, intolerable burthens; the latter having permitted free scope to their subordinates, neglected to make themselves acquainted with the institutions of the country and the circumstances of the people, and having omitted to bring to the knowledge of the Government the utter inapplicability to Cuttack of arrangements which, whether applicable or not, had been imposed upon the agricultural population of Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

These transactions, however illustrative of the state of Indian society, and instructive to the British Government in regard to their future relations with their native subjects, attracted little notice; and may, perhaps, excite little interest amidst the more momentous political and military transactions which, about the same period, convulsed the whole of Hindustan.

<sup>1</sup> Printed Correspondence relating to Cuttack, Selections from the Records, III. 66; and M.S Records.



## CHAPTER IV.

*Relations with Poona. — Designs of the Peshwa. — Influence of Trimbak Rao. — Claims on Baroda. — Mission of Gangadhar Sástri to Poona. — Coldly received. — Other Agents. — Change of Treatment. — Apparent cordiality. — Offence given to the Peshwa. — Journey to Punderpur. — Murder of Gangadhar. — Inquiry demanded. — Trimbak implicated. — Resident demands his Arrest. — Peshwa reluctant. — Compelled to give him up. — Trimbak confined at Thanna. — Discontent of Mahratta Princes. — Objection of the Raja of Nagpur to a Subsidiary Alliance. — His Designs upon Bhopal. — Unites with Sindhia against the Nawab. — Siege of Bhopal. — Gallant Defence. — Besiegers retire. — Preparations of Sindhia. — British Interference. — Sindhia indignant, but suspends Operations. — Alliance not formed. — Death of the Nawab, and of the Raja of Nagpur. — Apa Saheb Regent. — Subsidiary Alliance concluded. — Sindhia. — His Intrigues. — Disorders of his Government. — His Policy. — Son and Successor of Mulhar Rao Holkar adopted. — Tulasi Bai Regent. — Balaram Seth Minister. — Put to Death. — Troops Mutiny. — Flight of the Regent and Young Raja. — Tantia Jóg Minister. — Reconciliation negotiated. — State of Affairs in Rajputana. — Chand Sing defeats the Mohammedans. — Defeated by them. — Jaypur ravaged by Amir Khan. — Rajas of Jaypur and Jodhpur reconciled by his Mediation. — Fresh Quarrels, and both States laid waste. — The Khan marches to Jodhpur. — Domestic Intrigues. — The Minister and Family Priest of the Raja assassinated. — Man Sing feigns Imbecility, and abdicates. — Continuance of Amir Khan's Depredations. — Distracted State of Central India.*

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THE political relations established with the court of Poona, had borne, as we have remarked, for some time past, an uneasy complexion. The claims of the Peshwa upon Baroda and Hyderabad, still remained unadjusted, and he ascribed the delay to the purposed procrastination of the British authorities. Their intervention also pro-

tected the estates of his feudatories from his secret or open encroachments, and his title to be regarded as the head of the Mahratta confederacy, which the other leading members were willing to acknowledge, was avowedly withheld from him by the British Government. Notwithstanding the unequivocal tone in which their determination to disallow the resumption of this supremacy was declared, Baji Rao had never desisted from unavowed intrigues for its attainment, and, in violation of the terms of the treaty of Bassein, had constantly maintained agents at the Courts of Gwalior, Indore, and Nagpur, and carried on, with little affectation of concealment, negotiations with the Bhonsla, Sindhia, and Holkar. It may be doubted, however, if he ever entertained a design to engage in any serious collision with the British Government. Although bold in plotting, and tenacious of his purposes, Baji Rao was utterly deficient in personal intrepidity, and trusted rather to persevering and secret intrigue, than to resolute and open defiance. The Peshwa was not without ability, nor incapable of exertion, but his abilities were counteracted by habits of vicious indulgence, and a disposition naturally indolent, rendered his fits of activity unfrequent and of short duration. His ambition might have overcome his love of pleasure and ease, had not his excessive timidity deterred him from enterprises involving a hazard of personal safety, and induced him to have recourse to profound dissimulation for the furtherance of his designs. Suspicious and jealous of his principal officers, the Peshwa gave them but a partial and imperfect confidence, and placed his sole reliance upon individuals of low origin and inferior station, who were entirely dependent upon his favour for distinction, and who repaid his patronage with unhesitating submission to his will. Although arrogant and self-sufficient in general, he allowed himself sometimes to be controuled by the boldness of his advisers, and to be hurried into actions which were contrary to his own plans, and repugnant to his nature. Not unfrequently feeble and capricious, Baji Rao was remarkable for his adherence to any favourite project, and for the perseverance with which he pursued it, although it might be laid aside occasionally for such considerable intervals, that it seemed to have been abandoned or forgotten. Nor was he less

BOOK II. constant in his malignity — an offence was never forgiven,  
CHAP. IV. however remote the suspension of his resentment, and his  
1814. vengeance was sure, however long its infliction might be  
delayed. When not under the influence of vindictive  
feelings, he was mild and rarely cruel : he was scrupulous  
in his pecuniary dealings, frugal though not parsimonious,  
cautious in his conduct, and dignified in his deportment,  
and gifted with singular powers of insinuation and per-  
suasion. As a Brahman he professed a strict observance  
of the forms of the Hindu faith, and, a slave to the  
grossest superstition, he devoted a large portion of his  
revenue to the support of religious individuals and insti-  
tutions ; and a large portion of his time to the practice of  
religious rites and pilgrimages to various holy places  
within his dominions, to the great interruption of the  
public affairs and diminution of the public resources.  
The latter were also seriously impaired by the vicious  
system which prevailed of farming the revenues ; but,  
upon the whole, the country was not badly administered,  
and the people were prosperous and contented under the  
Peshwa's government. It was only necessary for this  
ruler to have submitted resignedly to a condition from  
which he could not hope to extricate himself, to have  
been one of the most opulent and independent of the  
princes who had been compelled to submit to British  
supremacy.

The prospects which clouded the commencement of the  
administration of Lord Moira, and the possibility that the  
war with Nepal might lead to hostilities on a wider scale,  
emboldened some of the confidential advisers of Baji Rao  
to assume a more lofty style of language, and to talk of  
their master's rights, not only to the first among the  
Mahratta chiefs, but even to the tribute which former  
Peshwas had levied from Bengal. At the head of the  
party was Trimbakji Danglia, the principal favourite of  
Baji Rao, and a devoted servant, though a most unfit and  
mischievous counsellor. He had been originally a courier  
and spy, in which capacities he attracted the notice of  
Baji Rao by his intelligence and activity : he rose ra-  
pidly to wealth and authority — became the associate of  
Baji Rao in his private pleasures, and the confidant of all  
his feelings and designs — and the object — the only one

— of his affection. In requital of the Peshwa's attachment, Trimbak adopted unhesitatingly all his views and sentiments, imbibed all his aversions for his allies, and in the fervour of his devotedness, as well as in the ignorance of his origin, and the presumption generated by his sudden elevation, dropped the veil of Mahratta diplomacy, and gave utterance to his opinions, with a degree of hardihood which, however, gratifying to the Peshwa's pride, was most detrimental to his interests.<sup>1</sup> The licence of expression which was allowed to Trimbak by the Peshwa, was a vicarious expression of the thoughts which were cherished in the bosom of the latter.

The adjustment of the Peshwa's claims upon the Gaekwar, described in a former page, although yet undetermined, was still professedly under investigation, and about this time other claims were advanced. A participation in the tribute payable by the chiefs of Kattiwar, had always been demanded by the court of Poona, and had been, in some cases, realised through the Gaekwar, as the Peshwa's representative. It was now insisted that the collection should be made direct, and in what manner, and to what extent, the government of Poona should think proper; but this was held to be inconsistent with the engagements which had been entered into by the British Government with the chiefs of Kattiwar; and although the right to a defined amount of tribute was recognised, yet a claim of an indefinite extent was denied; and in order to prevent any unauthorised exactions, the Peshwa was told that the collection would be retained in the hands of the British officers. Another subject of dispute was, the farm of a portion of the revenues of Ahmedabad, which had been held by the Gaekwar of the Peshwa for ten years, expiring in 1814. The court of Baroda desired its renewal in perpetuity, in order to obviate the chance of disputes arising from a division and conflict of authority, and the object was too reasonable not to be supported by the British Government. On the other hand, it was the policy of the court of Poona to keep open so fertile a subject of contest, and so plausible a plea for

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<sup>1</sup> It is mentioned by Mr. Prinsep, that in a conference at which the rights of the Peshwa were discussed, this man asserted their comprehending the Chouth of Bengal ceded by Aliverdi Khan, and that of Mysore, agreed to by Hyder Ali.—Transactions, 2, p. 320, note.



BOOK II. negotiation with the Gaekwar, and the Peshwa, therefore,  
CHAP. IV. declined to renew the lease. In the hope of adjusting this  
— matter, as well as of accelerating an amicable settle-  
1814. ment of the other points in dispute, the despatch of  
an agent from Baroda to Poona was sanctioned by the  
government of Bengal, and Gangadhar Sastri, who was  
familiar with the subjects in dispute, and who possessed  
the confidence of the British residents at both courts, was  
selected for the office. The formal guarantee of the  
British Government was engaged for his personal safety, —  
a precaution with which he thought it necessary to be  
armed, before he trusted himself within the treacherous  
circle of the court of Poona.

The choice of the negotiator was by no means agreeable to the Peshwa and his advisers, as they well knew the acumen and firmness of Gangadhar, and his steady devotion to the British. His reception was accordingly cold and discouraging, and, for some time, no disposition was shown to enter into any communication with him upon the subjects of the mission. Nor had the Sastri to complain alone of the unfriendly spirit manifested by the Peshwa and his ministers, — a powerful party in his own court, with the concurrence of the imbecile sovereign of Guzerat himself, undertook to counteract his negotiations; and Govind Rao Bandoji Gaekwar, an agent of the discarded minister Sitaram, — with Bhagavant Rao Gaekwar, an illegitimate brother of Anand Rao, and representative of the interior of the palace of Baroda, also in the interest of Sitaram, were sent to Poona, almost simultaneously with the Sastri, to assure the Peshwa, that if he would bring about the restoration of Sitaram to the office of Dewan, all his claims should be immediately complied with, and his supremacy be acknowledged. The bait was tempting, and although success was little probable, yet an additional inducement was thus supplied to treat the Sastri with neglect, and the very institution of the intrigue was too congenial to the Peshwa's character, for him to resist the temptation of plunging into its dark and dangerous labyrinth.

Well acquainted with the counteracting forces which were secretly at work, and despairing of obtaining an audience, Gangadhar applied for permission to return to

Baroda, when afraid of exciting the serious displeasure of the British Government by the abrupt close of negotiations, undertaken at their earnest recommendation, and recalled to a sense of the risk, by the earnest remonstrances of the British Resident ; projecting too, even at this season, apparently, the catastrophe which finally closed the transaction,<sup>1</sup> the Peshwa's advisers adopted a total change of conduct, and exhibited towards the Sastri a degree of cordiality, which constituted a marked contrast to their previous inattention. Private interviews took place between Trimbak and Gangadhar, in which the former avowed that he had been actively opposed to the latter, and had even listened to devices against his life ; but he asserted that the Peshwa had now become convinced, that it was for his advantage to have the Sastri for his friend, and was willing to pay that deference to his opinions to which they were entitled by his acknowledged sagacity and experience. Great pains were taken to act upon the negotiator's vanity—which was as remarkable as his ability—and, for a time, with success. He was made to believe that the Peshwa was most anxious to engage his services, and nominate him as his own minister ; and a matrimonial alliance was concerted between his son and the sister of the wife of Baji Rao. On his part, he engaged that the Gaekwar should assign to the Peshwa lands yielding seven lakhs a-year in lieu of his claims, and should conclude a treaty of amity with Poona, without the intervention of the British Resident. The question of territorial cession was, however, referred to the government of Baroda, and pending the reference, Gangadhar accompanied the Peshwa to the sacred shrine of Nasik,<sup>2</sup> where extensive preparations were made for the celebration of the nuptials.

Whether it was the result of his own reflections, or of the suggestions of his friends, Gangadhar Sastri soon became apprehensive that he had been cajoled into communications incompatible with the interests of his court, and

<sup>1</sup> Reports were current at Poona, that designs were on foot against the life of the Sastri. An intercepted letter to Sitaram from one of his correspondents at Poona, dated August 1814, remarks, "Every one here says that the Sastri cannot come back again."—MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> Nasik is a place of considerable sanctity, as the reputed scene of one of Rāma's adventures, when in exile, and is said to derive its name from his cutting off the nose (Nāsiká) of a Rakshas or Ogress. It appears under the same name, Násiká, in Ptolemy, and its importance is therefore of some antiquity, as well as the legend.

BOOK II. injurious to his reputation, and was not displeased, there-  
CHAP. IV. fore, when he received the refusal of the Gaekwar to  
ratify the proposed territorial concession. As the condi-  
1814. tions of the treaty could not be fulfilled, he considered it  
incumbent on him also to decline the honour of the in-  
tended alliance. The defeat of his intrigues was even less  
galling to Bají Rao, than this indignity to his person and  
connections; and the affront was aggravated by the Sastri  
preventing his wife from visiting the ladies of the Pesh-  
wa's family, in consequence of the licentious orgies which,  
it was said, were commonly enacted in the interior of his  
palace. The destruction of the offender was, no doubt,  
immediately decreed, and impunity and assistance were  
assured to the instruments of the Sastri's enemies, who  
had come from Baroda to frustrate his negotiation, to  
effect his disgrace, and to prevent, by any means, his  
return to power: an opportunity was soon afforded.

Notwithstanding the acerbity of the resentment with  
which the Sastri's rejection of the alliance with Bají Rao  
had inspired the Peshwa and his agents, no feeling of dis-  
satisfaction was manifested. On the contrary, Trimbak  
was more profuse than ever in his professions of regard,  
and in the display of unimpaired cordiality and confidence.  
A visit to the shrine of Wittoba, a form of Vishnu, at  
Punderpur being undertaken, Gangadhar was invited to  
accompany the Peshwa, and accepted the invitation;  
leaving behind him the principal part of his followers,  
and his colleague, Myral Bapú, a cautious man, who had  
vainly endeavoured to put the Sastri on his guard against  
the machinations of Trimbak and the Peshwa. The invi-  
tation was not extended as usual to the British Resident.  
Soon after the arrival of the party at Punderpur, a report  
was raised that the life of the Peshwa was threatened by  
assassins from the territory of the Nizam, and on this  
pretext the guards were increased, and precautions were  
taken for Bají Rao's safety. On the evening of the 14th  
of July, Gangadhar, after returning home from an enter-  
tainment given by a Mahratta chief to the Peshwa, com-  
plained of indisposition, and was about to retire to rest,  
when a messenger came from Trimbak to invite him to  
repair to the temple and perform his devotions there; as  
on the ensuing morning it would be engaged for the Pesh-  
wa and his attendants. The excuse of being unwell was

pleaded for declining the invitation, when it was more urgently repeated by a second messenger. The excuse was repeated, but two of the Sastri's friends repaired to the temple and were requested by Trimbak to use their influence and induce Gangadhar to come. Unwilling to give personal offence, the Sastri yielded to their importunity, and with a few attendants walked to the temple. After performing his devotions he proceeded on his return home, escorted by a small party of Trimbak's soldiers, about twelve paces in advance, and preceded and followed at short intervals by his own servants, some of them bearing torches. Suddenly three men came running from behind, and forcing their way past the servants in the rear, struck the Sastri with the swords with which they were armed, and threw him on the ground; two more came to their aid and wounded some of the Sastri's people, when the whole of the latter fled and left their master to the assassins, by whom he was barbarously mangled. Before any effective assistance was procured the murderers had escaped. The body was afterwards removed, and burned by the Sastri's people, and application was made to Trimbak and the Peshwa for the apprehension and punishment of the assassins. Whatever professions and promises were made, no measures, whatever, were taken for the discovery and seizure of the culprits; nor was any sorrow expressed for the unhappy fate of the Sastri.<sup>1</sup>

The connexion which subsisted between the British Government and the Gaekwar, and the special guarantee under which Gangadhar Sastri had consented to trust himself within the reach of individuals so notoriously treacherous and revengeful as the Peshwa and his minister rendered it the imperative duty of the Resident to insist upon a full investigation of the circumstances of the murder, and the detection and punishment of the murderers. An enquiry, conducted with the means at the command of the Peshwa, could not fail to bring the truth to light; and it was called for, no less by the reputation of the British Government, than by the honour of the Peshwa himself. An accredited minister had been murdered in his

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone to the Governor-General, 11th August, 1815.—Papers respecting the Pindari and Mahratta war, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, p. 75.



BOOK II. immediate vicinity, almost in his presence ; and such an  
 CHAP. IV. outrage, under such circumstances, could not be perpetrated with impunity, without involving his Highness in a suspicion of having sanctioned its commission. The remonstrances of the Resident were backed by a letter of admonition to the Peshwa from the Governor-General, but nothing could induce either him or his counsellor to institute a serious enquiry. It was affirmed that no clue to the perpetrators could be obtained, that the Sastri had many enemies, and acted imprudently in moving abroad so scantily attended ; in short his death was the work of destiny, and no good could result from further investigation. European notions of public obligations were not so easily satisfied. Although it was probable that the active instruments in the murder were the emissaries from Baroda, one of whom, Bandoji, was known to have been in Punderpur at the time of the assassination ; yet it was clear that Trimbak, at least, was deeply implicated in the occurrence. His repeated and earnest invitations to the Sastri to repair to the temple, could be accounted for only by his being a party to a scheme for affording to the murderers an opportunity of executing their design ; and the indifference with which he received the intelligence, his private conferences with Bandoji, both before and after the assassination, and the entire absence of any attempt to discover the murderers, were unequivocal proofs of his participation in the crime ; of the participation, indeed, of the Peshwa himself ;<sup>1</sup> but as the punishment of the latter was embarrassed by obvious political considerations, the agent and accessory was made responsible for the act ; and the arrest of Trimbak, and his delivery to the British

<sup>1</sup> Trimbak on one occasion, after his apprehension, accused the Peshwa of having instigated the murder, as part of a plot to secure the restoration of Sitaran to office, on condition of his subservience to the interests of the Peshwa, at Baroda. At another time, he professed not to know who the author was, but he believed Bandoji was chiefly concerned. The truth seems to have been that Bandoji was the principal instrument of the crime, but no one would have dared its commission, unless assured of the concurrence of the Peshwa and the co-operation of Trimbak. The share of Bandoji in the murder was not doubted at Baroda ; he was known to have gone secretly to Punderpur with armed followers, about the time, and to have given a very considerable sum of money to his servants, professedly for their expenses on the journey ; to have held also several secret interviews with Trimbak, both at Punderpur and Poona. A letter from him to the Rani, Takht Bhai had, shortly before, conveyed the intimation that " the Sastri would never return to Baroda." On his return to the Gaekwar's territory he was confined for life in irons, in the fort of Gundiswari on the Tapti. Bhajavant Rao was also imprisoned.—MS. Records.

Government, were declared to be the indispensable conditions of preserving undisturbed amicable relations with the Peshwa. BOOK II.  
CHAP. IV.

The demand made for the delivery of his favourite was for some time strenuously resisted by the Peshwa, who urged that the imprisonment of an individual against whom no proof could be produced, was an act of manifest injustice, and professed his readiness to place Trimbak in confinement himself, could the charge of his being accessory to the murder of the Sastri be substantiated against him. However plausible the objection, it was not entitled to any consideration, for Baji Rao well knew that none of his people would venture to prefer an accusation against his minister while at large: upon his being removed, the Resident pledged himself to bring forward the evidence which had seemed to the British Government sufficient to involve Trimbak in the transaction. It was with great difficulty that the reluctance of the Peshwa was overcome, and for a moment he seemed to contemplate the alternative of open hostility. His fears of the result, however, prevailed, and he consented to give up the person of Trimbak, on condition that his life should be spared, and that his imprisonment should not be attended with any unnecessary severity. Trimbak was accordingly delivered to a detachment of the Poona brigade, on the 17th of September, and was immediately marched off to Thanna, where he was confined. The emissaries from Baroda were at the same time apprehended, and sent to Guzerat.

The communications which had been carried on by the Peshwa, with the several Mahratta courts, had not been unattended by consequences unpropitious to the continuance of tranquillity, and the maintenance of British influence. The chiefs were generally discontented with their position. Forgetting the peril in which their former enmity had involved them as its effects ceased to be felt, and misunderstanding the motives of the forbearance which the victors had exercised, they were alone sensible of the comparative insignificance to which they had been reduced, and impatient of the restraint which the predominating power of the British imposed upon their career of universal spoliation. The instigations of the Peshwa fomented these feelings, and rendered them more

BOOK II. than ever anxious to concentrate and combine their  
CHAP. IV. strength under the direction of a prince, whom they acknowledged to be the legitimate head of the Mahratta federation. Various subjects occurred about this period to aggravate their dissatisfaction and excite their animosity.

1815.

The object of maintaining a military division permanently in the field, for the protection of the frontiers of Berar from the incursions of Amir Khan, and the ravages of the predatory bands, known as Pindaris, in consequence of the inefficiency of the troops of the Bhonsla, imposed an extraordinary burthen upon the government of Bengal, which Lord Minto had conceived it incumbent upon the Raja of Nagpur to defray. The charge was incurred for his benefit, and the defence was an act of voluntary aid, unprovided for by any subsisting engagements. The most ready method of reciprocating the service and the cost would be a subsidiary alliance, and, with the entire concurrence of the home authorities, the British Government had, for some years past, endeavoured to prevail upon the Raja to contract a connexion of this description. Raghuji Bhonsla, however, felt assured that he would not be left to fall a sacrifice to hordes of plunderers, who would then, with additional credit and resources, be brought more immediately into contact with the British possessions. He was possibly of opinion, that even if unassisted, he might by policy or force, provide for his own protection; and he prized too highly the privilege of exemption from foreign control to barter his independence for military succour. The submission of his internal relations with other native princes to the interposition of a British Resident, would also have put a stop to the execution of his designs against the principality of Bhopal, a portion of which he expected to be able, in concert with Doulat Rao Sindhia, to annex to his own dominions.

Shortly after the repulse of Amir Khan, and the withdrawal of the British forces, Raghuji Bhonsla entered into an alliance with Sindhia, for the annihilation of the Nawab of Bhopal, and the partition of his country between the confederates; and at the end of the rainy season of 1813, an army from Nagpur, commanded by Sadik Ali, and a force from Gwalior, led by Jaggú Bapú, entered the Bhopal territories. Unable to face such superior forces, Vizir

Mohammed threw himself, with such troops as he could assemble, into the city of Bhopal, where he determined to defend himself to the last extremity. Bhopal was situated on high and uneven ground, not far from a portion of the Vindhya range of mountains, and was about four miles in circumference. It was surrounded on three sides by a tolerable wall, but was without a ditch, or other defences. The south side was protected by a citadel, placed on the high bank of an artificial lake, formed by embankments, connecting contiguous hills, extending on the west of the town, about five miles in length, and one in breadth. Most of the inhabitants had been sent away. The garrison, including a body of three thousand Pindaris, amounted at first to eleven thousand men, but when the besiegers had occupied most of the approaches to the city, the deficiency of forage compelled the retreat of the Pindaris, and other mounted troops, leaving no more than five or six thousand men to defend Bhopal, against the united armies of Sindhia and Nagpur, exceeding at least ten times that number.<sup>1</sup> The siege commenced at the end of October, 1813. The operations of the besiegers were tardy, and their fire of little effect; but in the course of December they had completed the investment of the town, except on the side of the lake, across which supplies were for some period longer conveyed to the garrison. In the course of December and January, repeated attempts were made to carry the place by escalade, but they were met by Vizir Mohammed, and his son Nazar Mohammed, with undaunted intrepidity, and resolutely repulsed. The most formidable enemy the garrison had to encounter was famine, for the Mahrattas had bribed the boatmen who had been employed to carry provisions across the lake, and this source of supply being cut off, the troops were exposed to the severest suffering. The Mohammedans assuaged their hunger by the flesh of the animals that perished of want, while the Hindus endeavoured to appease the cravings of nature with decayed vegetable matter—bruised tamarind stones, and the leaves of trees;—numbers, unable to endure these privations, deserted;

<sup>1</sup> According to native authority, cited by Sir J. Malcolm, the united armies amounted to seventy thousand, which, however, he thinks may be exaggerated by ten or fifteen thousand men, but "the force," he adds, "is acknowledged by all to have been very great."—Central India, i. 398.



BOOK II. and the desertions, with the casualties of the siege  
CHAP. IV. reduced the garrison from about six thousand to as many  
hundreds.

1815.

In the month of March, 1814, the death of Jaggú Bapú, and the ceremonies which followed, suspended the operations of the besiegers, and afforded the garrison an interval of repose, and an opportunity of repairing the walls of the town. In the following May, one of Vizir Mohammed's officers, a Rajput, was tampered with by Sadik Ali, and introduced a party of five hundred of the Nagpur troops, by night, into the post which he commanded. Conceiving themselves already masters of Bhopal, the Mahrattas awaited day-light for the resumption of their operations, and, halting at the mausoleum of one of the Nawabs of Bhopal, put aside their arms, and laid down to rest. Their entrance was discovered, and reported to Vizir Mohammed, who, perceiving that no time was to be lost, immediately attacked the enemy, although not having more than thirty men about his person. The attack was led by Nazar Mohammed; the Mahrattas were taken by surprise, and many fell under the first fire of the Patans, who, allowing them no time to recover from their confusion, rushed among them with their swords, and put them to flight. They evacuated the post with precipitancy, leaving behind above a hundred killed and wounded. Either the failure of this attempt, or some motives unavowed, induced Sadik Ali to weary of the enterprise; and pretending that he had been prohibited from its prosecution by a dream, he broke up his camp, and deaf to the remonstrances of Sindhia's officers, marched back to Nagpur. The secession of Sadik Ali, and the losses which the Mahrattas had suffered, left them little prospect of continuing the siege with advantage, and a fortnight afterwards they withdrew to Sarangpur, where they were cantoned for the rains.

Although Bhopal, after a siege of nine months, was relieved from present danger, the peril was not passed. Great exertions were made by Sindhia to recruit his forces, and an army, more efficiently equipped, was prepared to resume operations as soon as the weather permitted. They were further delayed by a quarrel between the Mahratta leaders, Jeswant Rao Bhao, and Jean Baptiste Filoze, a

person of mixed European and Indian descent, who had succeeded to the command of one of Sindhia's disciplined brigades, consisting of eight battalions with forty guns. The quarrel came to blows, when the Bhao was defeated, and driven to take shelter under the walls of Bhopal. The forces of Baptiste, however, were of themselves adequate to the reduction of the city, when the interposition of the British Government saved Vizir Mohammed from destruction. The interposition was based upon a double motive, gratitude for past, and expectation of future service. That the march across central India, by General Goddard, in 1778, was successfully accomplished, was in main attributable to the friendly treatment which the detachment experienced from Hyat Mohammed, the Nawab of Bhopal.<sup>1</sup> The position of the principality, its contiguity to Berar on one hand, and to the chief seats of the Pindaris on the other rendered the co-operation of the Nawab of essential importance in the measures which were contemplated by the British Government for the suppression of the predatory system. Vizir Mohammed earnestly entreated to be taken under British protection, and a prudent regard for British interests recommended compliance with his request. A negotiation was accordingly entered into with the Nawab, of which notice was given to the Mahratta princes. The Peshwa and the Raja of Nagpur professed their cordial concurrence, but Sindhia received the announcement with a greater manifestation of resentment than he had ever expressed upon any similar occasion. He declared that the Nawab of Bhopal had been tributary to the Peshwa, and that the tribute had been transferred to him; that he would not submit to any interposition in his behalf, and that he would pursue his designs against the Nawab, be the consequence what it might. His opposition was, however, restricted to these menacing declarations. A force was assembled at Bellari, under Sir Thomas Hislop, and a division in Bundelkhand, under General

<sup>1</sup> In the published Journal of General Goddard's march, it is mentioned that the detachments halted at Bhopal seven days, and found provisions cheap and plentiful. No obstruction to their march occurred after entering the Bhopal territory. See also the notices of this transaction in Malcolm, Grant, and Prinsep, as collected by Major Hough in his Brief History of the Bhopal Principality, p. 13.

BOOK II. Marshall, while detachments from the subsidiary forces of  
CHAP. IV. the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Gaekwar, were moved  
towards the frontiers of their respective territories: and  
1815. these movements, with the successes which had followed  
the first reverses of the Nepal war, induced a change of  
tone, and a silent acquiescence in the arrangements of the  
British Government. The meditated alliance did not at  
this season take place. Vizir Mohammed, with genuine  
Afghan duplicity, adopted the perilous policy of playing  
one negotiation against another; and when by the inter-  
ference of the British Government its intentions towards  
him were notorious, entered into secret negotiations with  
Baptiste to induce him to retire, recalling at the same  
time his agents from Delhi and Banda, and showing no  
disposition to contract an alliance, which involved the  
appropriation of part of his revenues to the support of a  
foreign force, and some diminution of his independence  
and credit. Whether the terms demanded by Baptiste  
were more unreasonable than the Nawab expected, or  
whether he began to doubt the sincerity of the Mahrattas,  
Vizir Mohammed again intimated a desire to resume the  
negotiation with the British, but the Governor-General,  
indignant at his want of faith, declined to receive his  
agents, and announced to the Courts of Gwalior and  
Nagpur that, although he held himself at liberty to enter  
into any engagements with Bhopal, which might consult  
the interests of his Government, as well as those of the  
Nawab, yet that at present all intercourse with that  
state was at an end. This determination was in accord-  
ance with the policy of the home authorities, from whom  
a positive prohibition of any alliance with Bhopal was  
about the same time received, and in conformity to the  
injunctions of the Secret Committee, the Resident at  
Gwalior was instructed to throw no obstacle in the way  
of any projects which Sindhia might set on foot against  
Bhopal; but before he could avail himself of the license  
thus granted, events occurred which occupied and per-  
plexed the counsels of the Gwalior cabinet, and ultimately  
placed the principality of Bhopal beyond the reach of its  
Mahratta enemies. Vizir Mohammed died in the be-  
ginning of 1816, and was succeeded by his second son,

Nazar Mohammed, the gallant partner of his dangers and his glory.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

1816.

Whatever might have been the real feelings with which Raghuji Bhonsla received the intimation that he must forego his hostility to Bhopal, and whatever projects he may have concerted with the other Mahratta princes, his death, which occurred immediately after that of Vizir Mohammed, removed him timely from the troubled scene which was about to ensue. He was succeeded by his son, Parswaji: but as this prince was of infirm body and weak intellect, although of years to conduct the Government, it was necessary to entrust the authority to more competent hands. Parties at Nagpur were divided, but after a short struggle, Modaji Bhonsla, commonly called Apa Saheb, the nephew of the late Raja, obtained the ascendancy, and, with the concurrence of the British envoy, assumed the office of Regent. As the opponents of Apa Saheb, who were persons of considerable influence, were opposed also to the British alliance, he considered that he should best secure his newly acquired honours, by adopting a different policy, and by entering into an intimate connexion with the British Government. The subsidiary alliance which it had so long been the object of the latter to effect, was now, therefore, concluded without further difficulty or delay; and in the same month, May, in which Apa Saheb was firmly seated in the Regency, the treaty was signed by him in the name of the Raja. It was stipulated that the subsidiary force should consist of one regiment of native cavalry, six battalions of infantry, one complete company of European artillery, with the usual proportion of ordnance: and that the cost of it should be defrayed by an annual payment of seven lakhs and a half of Nagpur Rupees. That a commutation of territory for the pecuniary payment should be demanded, if the latter fell into arrear, not else, although the expedience of such an exchange might be reserved as the subject of subsequent consideration. That the British Government should protect the Raja against all foreign and domestic enemies, and that, on the other hand, the Raja should never

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Central India, i. 412, Prinsep's History of Transactions in India, i. 245. Summary by the Marquis of Hastings, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, 23rd June, 1824, p. 10.—Hough, 89.



BOOK II. commit any hostilities against the British allies, nor  
 CHAP. IV. commence or pursue any negotiations with any other state  
 1816. whatever, without giving previous notice to, and entering  
 into mutual consultation with, the Company's Government. That the Raja should maintain at all times, and in a state of efficiency, a force consisting of not less than three thousand cavalry, and two thousand infantry, with their necessary equipments; and to attend and conform to whatever advice and recommendation might be afforded by the Resident, respecting the Contingent, allowing it to be mustered and inspected, or reviewed by that functionary, or the officer commanding the subsidiary troops, whenever the former should think fit. The Raja was further to maintain such a number of troops as he might think necessary, and the resources of his country might enable him to support, to be at all times ready to assist the British Government. The treaty was ratified by the Governor-General, in the following month, and, to all appearance, Nagpur had become identified in political interests with British India.<sup>1</sup>

Although taking no ostensible or personal share in the distractions which pervaded Malwa and Rajputana, Doulat Rao Sindhia was unworthily busied with intrigues, tending to promote their perpetuation and extend their mischief. The disappointment of his views upon Bhopal rankled deeply in his breast, and confirmed his natural disposition to co-operate in any scheme which proposed the diminution of the British power. Active, though secret negotiations were carried on with the ministers of the Holkar State, with the Bhonsla, and with the Peshwa, for the establishment of the supreme authority of the latter, and the consolidation of the remaining fragments of the Mahratta empire,—vakils were received privately from Nepal, and from Ranjit Sing, and constant communications were maintained with the Pindari leaders, who promised implicit obedience to Sindhia's orders, and declared themselves ready, with his sanction, to carry fire and sword into the Company's possessions. His own circumstances were, however, most unpropitious to any military under-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty of perpetual defensive alliance with the Raja of Nagpore, 27th May, 1816.—Collection of Treaties, 27th May, 1818. See also Report, Committee House of Commons, 1832.—Pol. Ap. p. 236.

taking. His dependants and tributaries were everywhere in a state of contumacy and rebellion, and his own troops ill-paid and ill-governed, were mutinous and disobedient. His chief commanders yielded him little more than nominal allegiance, and receiving their pay in assignments upon impoverished and exhausted districts, they aggravated the discontent of the people, and drained the resources of the state by their oppression and extortion. Converting their commands into a plea for pillage, they moved through the country at their pleasure, and levied contributions at will upon their sovereign's subjects, and dependants; or when these failed, carried their bands into the territory of the princes of Rajputana, and, under pretext of assisting one or other of the contending parties, plundered both friends and foes. To add to these sources of disorder, the mountaineers on the south and west of Malwa, the Bhils and Mhers, and the petty Hindu chiefs on the south and east of the same country, were committing unchecked ravages in retaliation for invaded rights, or disregarded claims. A weary contest was also in progress with the Rajputs of Kychewara, whose prince, Jaysing, the Raja of Raghugerh, had been dispossessed by Sindhia of his patrimony, and at the head of a resolute troop of followers, laid waste the adjacent country, surprised Sindhia's forts, and occasionally worsted his disciplined brigades. All these embarrassments paralysed Sindhia's power.

Although he could not resist the temptation of mixing himself up in the intrigues that were so rife, and no doubt had sufficient nationality to desire their success, Sindhia was evidently aware of the danger of provoking the resentment of the British Government, and, in all probability, never entertained any settled purpose of exposing himself to its irresistible infliction. However incompatible with his secret practices, his professions of unwillingness to incur the displeasure of his allies were probably as sincere as they were earnest, and reiterated. His policy was naturally and excusably unfriendly,—but he saw the consequences of its prosecution too distinctly to defy them.

All intercourse with the court of Holkar had been suspended for several years, during which it had been

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

1816.

BOOK II. but little in communication with the other native powers  
 CHAP. IV. of Central India. Its transactions were almost entirely  
 1816. domestic, and exhibited a career of disorder and infamy  
 seldom paralleled even in the annals of the most profligate  
 Indian Durbar. Tulasi Bai, having no child, adopted  
 before the death of Jeswant Rao, and with his presumed  
 sanction, his son by Kesari Bai, a woman of an inferior  
 station in his household. As the boy Mulhar Rao was yet  
 an infant, his adoptive parent continued to hold the reins  
 of government, being assisted in the civil administration  
 by Balaram Seth as minister, and by Ghafur Khan, the  
 brother-in-law and representative of Amir Khan, as the  
 head of the military department. Tulasi Bai was a woman  
 of natural intelligence, and of a resolute spirit, but of  
 profligate inclinations, and remorseless vindictiveness. The  
 former qualities extricated her from repeated dangers,  
 arising out of intrigues against her authority, or the  
 insubordination of the troops. The latter lost her the  
 respect and adherence of the firmest friends of the Holkar  
 family, and ultimately caused her ruin.

A breach soon occurred between the Bai and the minister,—Balaram Seth had provoked her resentment, by his plain spoken expostulations against the licentiousness of her conduct, and had excited her fears by being suspected of secretly instigating the mutinous clamours of the soldiery, the violence of which had endangered the safety of the Bai, and compelled her to fly for refuge, with the young prince, to the fortress of Gangraur. The like suspicion extended to Amir Khan, who had always given Balaram his support: the former was beyond her power: the latter was summoned at midnight to her presence, and in her sight, and by her orders, was cruelly murdered. The crime aroused the indignation of Ghafur Khan, and the Mohammedan leaders in the service of the Holkar State, whose troops were encamped on the outside of Gangraur; and they assembled in arms, and threatened to storm the fort. They were anticipated by Tulasi Bai: she sallied from the town with the Mahratta horse, who were attached to her person, and an action ensued, the result of which was for some time doubtful. The Bai displayed remarkable self-possession, until a cannon ball struck the *houda* of the elephant on which the young

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Raja was riding. This shook her courage, and mounting a horse, while she placed the child upon another in charge of Ganpat Rao, her treasurer and paramour, she galloped from the field to Allote, a town sixteen miles distant, where she and the Raja found shelter. Her troops dispersed, Gangraur was stormed, and plundered by the Mohammedan mercenaries.

The authority of Balaram devolved, after his death, upon a Brahman, named Tantia Jóg, who had been originally employed by Balaram, but had subsequently connected himself with Ganpat Rao. Although personally obnoxious to Tulasi Bai for the reasons which had excited her displeasure against his first patron, and which had, at one time, compelled him to fly to Kota, the abilities and resources of Tantia Jóg, rendered him necessary to her favourite and to herself, and he was therefore suffered to take an active part in the administration. He became the head of the national or Mahratta party, in opposition to that of the Mohammedans, headed by Ghafur Khan, or rather by Amir Khan, of whom the former was the agent. Amir Khan, who was occupied in Rajasthan, was desirous of effecting a reconciliation, and offered, with the Bai's concurrence, to come to her aid, and prevail upon the brigades to be contented with a portion of their arrears. The Bai, however, declined to receive his visit, unless Ghafur Khan were at once recalled, and the mutinous troops reduced to subordination. Both parties at length agreed to refer their differences to the arbitration of Zalim Sinh. Negotiations were in progress at Kota for the friendly settlement of the dispute, when the advance of the British armies diverted the attention of all the parties to objects of more vital importance.<sup>1</sup>

The death of the princess of Udaypur, although it had removed the immediate cause of quarrel, had failed to restore to the Rajput principalities the blessings of peace. A state of confusion and discord was indispensable to the maintenance of the "Free Companies," whom Amir Khan, and other soldiers of fortune, both Mohammedan and Hindu, commanded; and the establishment of order and tranquillity was hopeless as long as these predatory bands moved over the face of the country, like flights of

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Central India, i. 289.



BOOK II. locusts, leaving famine and desolation in their track. A  
 CHAP. IV. plea for their ravages was never wanting. The feebleness  
 1816. of the Rajput princes compelled them to bribe the forbearance of the mercenary chiefs by promises, which they could only imperfectly fulfil; each breach of promise generated fresh exactions; engagements were again made, and again broken, and the failure was followed by repeated retribution. There appeared to be no prospect of shaking off the vampires that had fastened themselves on the princes of Rajputana, as long as a drop of blood continued to circulate in the veins of their victims.

After completing his arrangements at Udaypur, Amir Khan marched towards Jaypur, levying contributions by the way, on the Rajas of Krishnagerh and Bundi, and other petty princes, as well as upon the principal towns and feudatory chiefs of Jaypur. Large sums were thus collected, but either the funds were so wasted by malversation, or the expenses of the battalions so much exceeded the contributions, that the troops were constantly in a state of mutiny for arrears of pay; and, detaining their commanders in the sort of arrest termed *dharna*, treated them with indignity, and menaced them with violence, until some settlement could be effected. Every such transaction was a signal for the reiteration of pecuniary demands upon the princes and people near at hand, and for fresh exactions from both friend and foe.

In the middle of 1812, the absence of Amir Khan in Jodhpur, whither he had been summoned by the Raja Man Sing, and the reduction by mutiny and desertion of the division in Jaypur under his colleague, Mohammed Shah Khan, encouraged Chand Sing, the commander of the Rajput forces to assume the offensive. Falling unexpectedly upon Mohammed Shah, he defeated that officer and compelled him to seek refuge in Tonk, a town which belonged to Amir Khan, and where he had constructed a fort, named after him, Amir Gerh, to which Chand Sing laid siege. The siege was soon raised by the approach of another of Amir Khan's leaders, Raja Bahadur, and the troops of the Mohammedan captains having effected a junction, pursued the retreating Rajputs into the Jaypur territories, which they ravaged without mercy. Amir Khan soon after joined and took the command, and the

army of Jaypur retired to the shelter of the capital, leaving the rest of the country undefended. It was everywhere plundered and occupied by the invaders, and the neighbouring principality of Shekhawati was obliged to purchase, by a large sum of money, exemption from the devastating incursions of Amir Khan's brigades.

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Having thus brought the Raja of Jaypur to the brink of destruction, Amir Khan, with his usual policy, refrained from completing the work of extirpation. He agreed to accept an annual tribute of twelve lakhs of rupees, on the realisation of which, the forts that had been taken were to be restored. Chand Sing, the only officer by whom the Mohammedans had been encountered with any success, was to be expelled the city, and dismissed from all concern in public affairs. Amir Khan also promoted negotiations for an alliance between the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaypur, which were in progress, and which ended in Man Sing's agreeing to give his daughter to Jagat Sing, and to espouse that prince's sister. The Rajas met at Mirwa and Rúp-nagar, and the double nuptials were solemnized with suitable pomp and festivity. Amir Khan was present at the ceremonial, at the invitation of the Raja of Jodhpur, who received him with every mark of honour. At his instance, also, the Raja of Jaypur, although very reluctantly, consented to meet the Khan as an equal; and the Afghan adventurer, who had commenced his career as a trooper, took his seat on the same throne with the two haughty potentates who derived their titles to sovereignty from a long line of royal ancestors, and from a dynasty claiming a descent from celestial progenitors.<sup>1</sup>

The apparent cordiality which united Amir Khan and the two Rajput princes was of no long duration. The

<sup>1</sup> The insolence of Amir Khan was fully a match for Rajput pride. In his own account of the transaction, it is said, "The Amir sat on the Musnud with both Rajas, and the Jaypur chief deemed it an honour, and a proud day for him and his destinies, so to be placed with the Amir." This may, however, be a rhetorical flourish of his panegyric amanuensis.—*Memoirs*, p. 424. This seems to have been the period of Amir Khan's highest prosperity. According to his own account, his reputation had extended so widely, that his assistance was earnestly implored by Shah Shuja of Kabul, by the widow of a dispossessed chief in Baluchistan, and by one of the Talpura princes of Sindh, who was at variance with the rest. He was, however, too cautious, or too well advised, to engage in enterprises which promised more peril than profit, or his accession might have given the ascendancy to whomsoever he befriended. His muster-roll at Merta exhibited a strength of fifty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, well provided with ordnance.—*Ibid.* 432.

BOOK II. ordinary occasion of a rupture, failure in the discharge of  
 CHAP. IV. pecuniary engagements beyond their means, carried the  
 1816. Mohammedan brigades in less than a twelvemonth from this scene into the territories of both the Rajas. Their first operations were directed against Jaypur. The Amir advanced, plundering the country according to custom, to within ten miles of the capital, when his further progress was arrested by the payment of a portion of his demands. He then marched to Jodhpur, whither Mohammed Shah had preceded him, on a like errand, and had taken possession of Merta. To redeem this place, the ministers of Jodhpur made a present payment of three lakhs of Rupees, but the withdrawal of the troops was suspended by the illness and death of their leader, and by the arrival of Amir Khan, who, assuming the command, applied the contribution to the discharge of the pay of the army. The sum being sufficient but for a short period, the troops were quartered in various places, with instructions to provide for their own subsistence, while Amir Khan proceeded with a strong division to Jodhpur, where he was received by the Raja as a friend.

The march of Amir Khan to Jodhpur was, in fact, connected with a domestic intrigue, which threatened the authority and life of the Raja. The exclusive and infatuated reliance which Man Sing placed on the counsels of his minister, Induraj, and of his spiritual guide, Deonath, and the arrogance and rapaciousness of the latter, had excited against them a powerful party in the court of Jodhpur, at the head of which were the Rani and the Raja's son. The reputation of Amir Khan for dexterity in schemes of assassination, suggested to the discontented nobles the purchase of his services for the removal of the objects of their detestation and fear, and an offer of a considerable sum<sup>1</sup> secured his aid, on condition that the Rani and the prince should join their solicitations to those of the Thakurs; the condition was promptly complied with, and hence the meeting between Amir Khan and the Raja, the latter little suspecting the real object of the visit, which the former professed originated in the hope of

<sup>1</sup> Tod says seven lakhs of rupees, Amir Khan himself thirty-five, he actually received but ten (£100,000), but he made up the balance, at least in part, by contributions from the country.—Mem. 440.

coming to an amicable adjustment of his claims upon Man Sing. BOOK II.  
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After some days of seeming friendly discussion, Amir Khan contrived to persuade the minister and the priest, that their personal representations would easily pacify the discontents of his soldiers, and that he should then be able to withdraw his army. They consequently agreed to admit a deputation of the Amir's leaders, and two of his captains, with a dozen resolute followers, waited upon Induraj, at his official residence, where the Guru, Deonath, was also present. After some altercation, the Moham-medans appeared to become indignant, and, pretending ungovernable wrath, drew their swords and put both the Jaypur functionaries to death. They then secured themselves in the building, which the Rajputs attempted in vain to force, and remained on their defence, until Amir Khan came to their rescue, threatening to fire and plunder the city if his men were harmed. The chiefs who had instigated the perpetration of the crime were also earnest with the Raja to sanction the dismissal of the murderers, lest the city should be sacked; and Man Sing, alarmed for his own safety, allowed them to act as they pleased, and they restored the troopers to their chief. The Rajput nobles paid the Amir a portion of the stipulated sum, and prevailed upon him, by entering into engagements for the remainder, to march out of the Jaypur territory. Man Sing, conscious that he was surrounded by domestic enemies, more dangerous than those he had encountered in the field, thenceforth simulated intellectual imbecility, and withdrew from all participation in the government in favour of his son, Chatur Sing; abdicating the sovereignty of Mewar until the death of the prince, and his alliance with the British, restored him to personal security, to his senses, and revenge.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the report of the Resident at Delhi, the Vakils of Jodhpur asserted that the murder of Induraj and Deonath was perpetrated with the knowledge and concurrence of the Raja, but they belonged to the usurping party. Tod, in his Personal Narrative, adverting to a surmise that Man Sing was privy to the murder, observes, that there are but two who, in this life, can reveal the mystery—the Raja and the *boureau-en-chef* of Rajputana, Amir Khan; the latter has spoken out in his Memoirs, and exonerated the Raja. Man Sing, when he thought it safe to lay aside his assumed idiocy, inflicted severe punishment upon the members of the faction, as we shall hereafter have occasion to notice.—Memoir of Amir Khan, 433.—Tod's Rajasthan, i. 715, ii. 150.



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From Jodhpur, the Amir led his forces into the Shekawati country, where he levied contributions, and then returned towards Jaypur. The administration of affairs was here, also, the object of dispute between two powerful factions, at the head of one of which was the Purohit, or family priest of the Raja : his competitor for the ministry, and the nobles opposed to him, repaired to Amir Khan and encouraged him to advance to the capital. The minister, Manji Das, with Amir Khan's former opponent, Chand Sing, made a vigorous defence, and resolutely refused to purchase the Amir's retreat, and calling upon the Thakurs for their contingents, they collected a respectable force, and harassed the besiegers with repeated, and often successful, sallies. Irritated by their opposition, Amir Khan ordered a bombardment of the town, by which extensive injury was done to the besieged, and the shot reached even the palace of the Raja. Jagat Sing was now seriously alarmed, and was preparing to evacuate his capital, when his Rani, the daughter of Man Sing, of Jodhpur, availing herself of the connexion which had subsisted between her father and Amir Khan, sent an humble message to him to supplicate his forbearance. Not sorry, in all probability, to have a fair excuse for desisting from a siege in which success was distant, if not doubtful, Amir Khan retired from before Jaypur, and placed his troops in cantonments for the rains. The following season witnessed a repetition of the same course of predatory warfare ; but the operations of Amir Khan, with his principal division, were confined to the siege of Madhurajpur, a dependency of Jaypur. After several repulses in his attempts to carry the fort by storm, the siege was converted into a blockade, which had lasted for nine months, when the policy of the British Government interfered to put an end to the sufferings of Rajputana.

The state of affairs had come to a crisis. Central India presented a chaotic mass of social disorganization ; order was no where attempted, and the only semblance of substantial power that remained was exercised by roving armies, belonging to no one government, but controlling and distracting all. In Malwa, the troops of Sindhia and Holkar acted independently of their nominal masters ; and, provided with assignments on the revenues of the

provinces, in liquidation of their pay, employed them as an excuse for despoiling the agricultural and commercial classes of the products of their industry. Whatever scanty residue was spared by them, was gleaned by the dependents and tributaries of the state, armed to defend themselves from the extortionate demands of the prince, and his unsparing instruments, to lay waste the lands of which they had been despoiled, or to inflict retaliation upon the spoilers. The princes of Rajputana were in a still more helpless condition, and aggravated the evils of political humiliation by personal incompetency. The Raja of Udaypur, indolent and improvident, was bearded in his capital by military adventurers, and robbed of his domains by his own feudatory chiefs and clansmen. The Raja of Jodhpur, affecting idiocy, abandoned the reins of government to the hands of a dissolute prince, whose career was soon after cut short by the hand of an assassin. The Raja of Jaypur, a slave to an infatuated attachment to a Mohammedan dancing girl, preserved only a portion of his hereditary possessions, by the sufferance of Amir Khan. All three princes were objects of contempt to their nobles, who were split into factions, and struggled with their sovereign, or each other, for the miserable relics which the rapacity of the Mohammedans had left to be scrambled for. The country was everywhere a prey to numerous bands of merciless marauders, who, moving about in all directions, demanded the revenues which were due to the crown, and appropriated or wasted the resources from which the revenues were payable. Every vestige of regular and orderly government had disappeared, and a complete dissolution of the bonds of society must have ensued, had not the Government of British India obtained, by persevering representation and remonstrance, from the authorities in England, a reluctant and qualified permission to effect the extirpation of that part of the predatory system which consisted in the peculiar organization of the plunderers, termed Pindaris, as preliminary to the overthrow of the whole scheme of military depredation.

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## CHAPTER V.

*Organized Plunderers termed Pindaris. — Their Origin. — Settlements on the Nerbudda. — Sindhia Shahi, and Holkar Shahi. — Their Leaders. — Cheetno. — Karim. — Dost Mohammed. — Plan of their Incursions. — Cruelty and Brutality. — Annually plunder the Territories of the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Raja of Berar. — Invade the British Territory. — Threaten Mirzapur. — Plunder the Masulipatam District. — Gantur. — The Northern Circars. — Their Parties surprised or overtaken. — Many killed. — Defects of a defensive System. — Offensive Operations contemplated by the former Government. — Policy of Lord Moira. — Total Suppression of the Predatory System. — Expected Conduct of the Mahratta Princes. — Proposal to annul the 8th Article of the Treaty with Sindhia, and renew an Alliance with Jaypur. — Prohibition of the Board of Control. — Modified. — Opposition in the Council. — Perseverance of the Governor-General. — Raja of Jaypur seeks the renewed Alliance. — Hesitates. — Conclusion of Treaty deferred. — Alliance with the Rajput Princes, with Amir Khan, with the Nawab of Bhopal. — Sindhia's Concurrence. — Co-operation of Nagpur. — Death of the Raja. — Succession of Apa Saheb. — Disposition of the Peshwa. — Regrets abandonment of Trimbak. — Requires the Charge of him. — Many Grievances. — Escape of Trimbak. — Insurrection raised by him. — Its Existence denied. — Secretly encouraged by the Peshwa. — Subsidiary Troops of Poona and Hyderabad in movement. — Insurgents dispersed at Maswar. — Lieutenant Warre murdered — Insurgents routed in Kandesh. — Proceedings of the Resident. — Poona surrounded. — Peshwa promises to give up Trimbak and disband his Levies. — Proclamation of Rewards for Trimbak's apprehension. — Orders of the Government. — New Treaty. — Conditions. — Additional Subsidiary Force. — Territorial Cessions. — Arrangements with the Gaekwar.*

BOOK II. **T**HE freebooters, known as Pindaris, although frequently  
 CHAP. V. acting in detached bodies, along with the predatory  
 cohorts of the Mahratta and Patan leaders, had a loosely  
 1816. independent activity of their own, and were little impli-

cated in the outrages committed upon the Rajput princes. Their field of action lay more commonly on the south of the Nerbudda, where they perpetrated frequent and destructive ravages on the territories of the Nizam, the Raja of Berar, and the Peshwa. They were bold enough at last to trespass upon the boundaries of the British frontier, and passing to the east and south-east, spread terror and desolation over the villages and towns, that had till then reposed securely under the protection of a civilized and powerful government. These daring incursions proved the signal of their destruction.

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The Pindaris, as a body of irregular horse, serving without pay, and receiving in lieu of it, license to plunder, appear to have originated in the south of India, constituting an element in the composition of the armies of the last Mohammedan dynasties of the Dekhin. After their downfall, the services of the Pindaris were transferred to the Mahrattas, with whom they served against Aurangzeb, and at a still later date, they shared in the disastrous defeat at Panipat. After that event, their leaders settled chiefly in Malwa, and, attaching themselves respectively to Sindhia and Holkar, became distinguished as Sindhia Shahi, and Holkar Shahi Pindaris, receiving grants of land chiefly in the vicinity of the Nerbudda, for the maintenance of themselves and their followers in time of peace, on the condition of gratuitous co-operation in time of war.

As the power of the Mahratta princes declined, the distinctions drawn from either became little more than nominal, and the Pindaris were not unfrequently engaged in hostilities against the chief of whom they were professedly retainers. When first known to the British authorities, the Sindhia Shahi Pindaris, who were by far the more numerous of the two,<sup>1</sup> were under the leading of a number of Sirdars, of whom Cheetoo, Karim Khan, and Dost Mohammed were the principal. None of the Holkar Shahi

<sup>1</sup> In 1812 the Sindhia Shahis were estimated at four times the number of the Holkar Shahis. The whole number of the Pindaris was at different times differently reckoned, but the most probable computation made them about twenty or twenty-five thousand horse, of whom six or seven thousand were effective cavalry; about three or four thousand middling, and the rest bad. Memorandum by Captain Sydenham, 1809, and 1814. Papers Pindari war, p. 24. Also Memoir of the Pindaris and account of their leaders and settlements, by Mr. Jenkins, resident at Nagpur, 1812. Ibid. 25.



BOOK II. chiefs were leaders of much note. Cheetoo was by birth  
 CHAP. V. a Jat, and, when a child, was purchased during a famine,  
 1816. by a Pindari horseman, by whom he was brought up to a  
 similar line of life. His patron rose to the command of  
 the troop to which he belonged, and Cheetoo shared with  
 his two sons, the elder and younger Rajan, the succession  
 to his command. His superior abilities gave him the  
 ascendancy, and brought him to the notice of Doulat Rao  
 Sindhia, who, in 1804, conferred upon him a Jagir, and the  
 title of Nawab. This did not prevent his being thrown  
 into confinement by Sindhia, two years afterwards, and  
 detained a prisoner for four years, until he paid a heavy  
 ransom,<sup>1</sup> on which he was restored to favour, and to his  
 Jagir. Sindhia also, subsequently enlarged the latter, con-  
 ferring upon Cheetoo five districts lying east of Bhopal,  
 commanding several of the fords of Nerbudda. Satwas,  
 near Hindia, was Cheetoo's usual place of residence.

Karim Khan was by descent a Rohilla, the son of a Pin-  
 dari leader ; he early entered the service of Doulat Rao  
 Sindhia, and was present at the battle of Kardla, where  
 he collected much valuable booty. He, equally with Chee-  
 too, obtained the title of Nawab from Sindhia, with some  
 territorial assignments on the Nerbudda, in which situa-  
 tion he had previously received grants of land from the  
 Nawab of Bhopal. These possessions he extended by  
 successful encroachments on the districts of both Sindhia  
 and Holkar ; and in 1805 had attained a degree of power,  
 which only required consolidation to have become the  
 foundation of a substantive state. It was not, however,  
 Sindhia's policy to permit such a result ; and having, by  
 professions of friendship and esteem, induced Karim  
 Khan to visit him, he caused the Pindari to be apprehend-  
 ed, and confined him in the fortress of Gwalior. The camp  
 of Karim was attacked and plundered, but his principal  
 treasures were carried off by his aged mother, who found  
 an asylum with Zalim Sing, of Kota. His districts were  
 all sequestered, but his followers were kept together by  
 Namdar Khan, his nephew, with others of his leaders ;  
 and they maintained themselves by the indiscriminate

<sup>1</sup> He is said to have paid conjointly with Karim, who had been also in  
 urance, and was liberated at the same period, ten lakhs of rupees.—Papers  
 Pindari war, p. 1.

plunder of Sindhia's territories. Karim Khan, after four years' detention, was liberated upon payment of a considerable sum of money; and an effort was made to efface the memory of his degradation by additional honours. The resentment of the Pindari was not to be thus appeased, and settling himself at Shujawalpur, he was soon in possession of lands more extensive than those which he had occupied before his captivity. In his measures of retaliation he was at first joined by Cheetoo, who had similar injuries to avenge, and their united force presented an array sufficiently formidable to awaken the serious apprehensions of the Mahratta chiefs.<sup>1</sup> Jaggu Bapu was sent against the Pindaris by Sindhia, and he and the Raja of Nagpur prevailed upon Cheetoo to separate himself from his colleague and rival. Karim thus deserted, was entirely defeated at Manohar Thana, and obliged to fly with a few followers to the camp of Amir Khan. He accompanied Amir Khan to Bampura, and was there placed, with his own consent, under seeming restraint with Ghafur Khan, with whom he remained three years longer, when he was allowed to depart.<sup>2</sup> During his absence, his Pindaris, under the same leaders as before, assisted Vizir Mohammed, of Bhopal, and Durjan Sal, of Kichi, in their hostilities against Sindhia, and committed unsparing havock upon his estates. Their head quarters still continued in the neighbourhood of Bhopal, and Karim joined his adherents at Barsia, not long before the might of British India was arrayed for the destruction of his race.

<sup>1</sup> The Dasahara of 1811, was celebrated by an assemblage of not fewer than twenty-five thousand cavalry, besides several battalions of infantry. Prinsep, i. 45. Malcolm makes the number still more considerable, not less than sixty thousand horse. *Cen. India*, vol. 1, p. 456.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep says the strong representations of Sindhia and Holkar, obliged the Patan to place Karim in a kind of restraint, in which he remained till 1816. According to Malcolm, i. 457, Amir Khan, pretending to recommend him to Tulasi Bai, made him over to Ghafur Khan, with whom he remained under confinement. Amir Khan's own story is, that Karim was placed with Ghafur Khan under nominal restraint with his own consent,—as being in safety, whilst his nephew and chief Sirdars continued their depredations at the Amir's recommendation as the allies of Bhopal and Raghugherh, *Mem.* 409. That he was actually detained by Tulasi Bai, was, however, the notion entertained by the Government of Bengal, and the Residents with Sindhia and the Peshwa were instructed to prevail upon them to exert their influence with Holkar's court, to prevent Karim's release. The Resident at Delhi, also, was directed to communicate with the Bai's vakiels at that city, and urge the detention of the Pindari. Letter from Bengal, 15th Aug. 1811. *Papers Pindari war*, p. 14.

BOOK II. Dost Mohammed and Wasil Mohammed were the sons  
CHAP. V. of Hiru, at one time a leader of distinction in the service  
1816. of the Raja of Berar. They succeeded to their father's  
command, and added considerably to their followers by  
the misfortunes of Karim. They commanded about 7,000  
horse of all descriptions, and occupied districts in the  
neighbourhood of Bhilsa. The several chiefs of the  
Holkar Shahi Pindaris were cantoned chiefly in the neigh-  
bourhood of Cheetoo's possessions, and looked up to him,  
notwithstanding his nominal connection with Sindhia, as  
their friend and ally.

The resources of a Pindari chief were not to be estimated by the lands which he occupied, nor were the numbers of his Durra, or company, restricted to any particular limit. The principal means of maintaining both himself and his followers, consisted of plunder levied in periodical incursions into those territories which were considered likely to yield the most abundant booty; and the numbers of his retainers depended especially upon the frequency and success of the predatory excursions which he instigated or conducted. The Chief himself rarely headed a merely plundering foray, but when not engaged with his main body in the service of a regular state, delegated to his Sirdars the plan and conduct of the excursion, expecting a portion of the prey as the price of permitting what he had neither the will nor the power to prevent. The direction of an inroad was generally concerted at the Hindu military festival of the Dasahara, when the leaders met and consulted upon the course to be pursued during the ensuing cold season. As soon after the cessation of the rains, as the roads became practicable, and the rivers fordable, the leader who had been chosen for the expedition, moved out with his immediate adherents generally well armed and mounted. In proportion to his reputation he was joined as he proceeded by plunderers from every quarter and of every caste, by disbanded soldiers and fugitives from justice, by the idle and profligate and unprincipled of every country and creed: some of them were respectably mounted and equipped, and formed an efficient body of cavalry, but the greater part rode ponies or horses of inferior quality, and were indifferently armed with pikes, swords, or even with clubs and sticks pointed

with iron: a few had matchlocks. When four or five thousand horse were thus assembled, the party marched to the destined scene of spoliation. The men carried no baggage of any description, and supported themselves and their horses on the grain and provision which they plundered, both horses and men being trained to endure great privation and fatigue. Correct information of the state of the country, and its means of defence having been previously obtained, the Pindaris moved with great secrecy and celerity to a central spot in the proposed sphere of action, where those best armed and mounted remained round the person of the leader, to constitute a rallying point, while the mass, in parties of a few hundred each, were despatched to sweep the country through a circle of many miles, and to bring in with the least delay, whatever valuables they could collect. The object of the incursion being pillage, not fighting, an encounter with regular troops was carefully shunned, and attempts to overcome prolonged resistance were seldom persisted in. Great loss of life therefore seldom attended the movements of the Pindaris, but their haste and rapacity tolerated no hesitation, and whoever was supposed to possess property, and was either unable or unwilling to satisfy the demands of the robbers, was put to the most cruel torture, and not unfrequently died under its infliction.<sup>1</sup> Their brutality was equal to their cruelty, and the women escaped violation and murder only by a voluntary death. What the Pindaris could not carry away they destroyed, and their movements were to be tracked by the flames of the villages which they had set on fire after they had rifled them. As soon as the plunder was brought in, and the party re-assembled, it moved off with the same secrecy and rapidity with which it had advanced, and all were safe within their

<sup>1</sup> One mode of torture, was to enclose a person's head in a bag of ashes or dust, and beat them on his face till he was suffocated; sometimes hot ashes were applied, and occasionally pounded chillies were mixed with them. A couple of heavy pestles or yokes were taken, and one being placed under the back of the prostrate victim, the other was crossed upon his breast, and a Pindari seated himself at either end, whilst a severe beating was inflicted. Boiling oil was sprinkled over the naked body, or straw was tied round the limbs and set on fire. Infants were torn from their mothers' arms, and thrown into wells, or dashed on the ground, and an instance is mentioned of a child having been tossed up into the air, and sabred as it was falling. Report of Commission. Papers 55.



BOOK II. accustomed haunts, before an adequate force could be  
 CHAP. V. collected for pursuit.

1817.

The depredations of the Pindaris were, during many years, confined to the neighbouring frontiers of the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Raja of Berar, and in these they were in general annually repeated. The presence of the subsidiary force, although it could not prevent their ravages, yet limited the range of them in the dominions of the two former, but the territories of Nagpur, defended alone by the inactive and inefficient troops of the Raja, lay entirely at their mercy. Their depredations were carried with fearless audacity to the immediate precincts of Nagpur, and the Raja was repeatedly alarmed for his own safety, and that of his capital.<sup>1</sup> For a long time they refrained from trespassing upon the British boundary, but the desolation which they had spread in the adjacent countries, obliged them to seek for harvests more remote, and a confident belief that they would not be unsupported by the native potentates, and a persuasion that the British Government was unable or disinclined to oppose an energetic resistance to their inroads, induced them to make an experiment, how far they might venture to plunder its villages, and murder its subjects with impunity. In January, 1812, a body of Pindaris<sup>2</sup> belonging to the party of Dost Mohammed, penetrated through Bundelkhand and Rewa, plundered and destroyed a number of villages under British authority, and excited great alarm for the safety of Mirzapur, a town of great commercial wealth. They desisted from the attempt upon learning the advance of troops from Benares and Allahabad, and turning to the south, passed through South Behar, into the province of Sirguja, a dependency of Nagpur, whence they safely reached their homes, with such an amount of booty, as to hold out an irresistible temptation to repeat the foray. Extensive mischief was inflicted, many lives were lost, and a general feeling of terror pervaded the population of the province of Bahar.

<sup>1</sup> In November, 1811, the main body of the Pindaris estimated at five thousand horse, and drawn up in regular order, was visible from the British Residency. Papers, 26. On that occasion they set fire to one quarter of Nagpur. Papers 2.

<sup>2</sup> The number was variously computed from one thousand two hundred to twelve thousand. Letter from Bengal, 25th March, 1812. Papers 9.

The complete success of their incursion encouraged the Pindaris to project its early repetition. Reports of their design were received by the Government of Bengal, divisions of troops were arrayed in such positions as were thought likely to cover the frontier, but it was impossible to station detachments along the whole line from the limits of Bundelkhand to the Gulph of Cambay, and the constitution of regular troops unfitted them for competing with the unincumbered, rapid, and desultory movements of the Pindari horse. The Government of Bengal, however, had not yet fully learned the futility of the precautionary measures which had been adopted, and, in their communications to the Court of Directors, expressed themselves relieved from the apprehension of a second Pindari inroad, on any part of the frontier, from Bundelkhand to Cuttack.<sup>1</sup> The arrangements were not wholly nugatory, as the attempt to ravage the Bengal frontier was not renewed in the following season; although this was partly attributable to the diversion of the operations of the plunderers in other directions. A party under Cheetoo, between four and five thousand in number, proceeded westward, and laid waste the dependencies of Surat, while other bodies burst into the dominions of the Nizam and the Peshwa, and menaced the districts subject to the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. Their depredations were, however, arrested by their own dissensions, ending in actual hostilities between Cheetoo and the Sirdars of Karim Khan, in which the former was defeated and obliged to take shelter in Ujayin.

The domestic quarrels of the Pindaris having been composed, and the vigilance of the British Government somewhat intermitted, they again made their appearance within the British frontier. At the end of 1815, they advanced southwards to the banks of the Krishna, and entered the confines of the district of Masulipatam, whence they carried off a valuable booty. Early in March of the following year, a still more formidable body, estimated to be five thousand strong,<sup>2</sup> penetrated to Gantur, Cuddapa,

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Bengal, 18th November, 1812. Papers Pindari war, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> These seem to have belonged to one of three divisions which had at this time invaded the territories of the Nizam; one body was reported to be ten thousand strong, the two others five thousand each. Papers Pindari war, p. 40.

BOOK II. and Masulipatam, and for a series of ten days committed  
 CHAP. V. fearful destruction, aggravated by the worst features of  
 1816. Pindari ferocity. They spread themselves in different  
 directions, but moved rapidly at the rate of thirty or forty  
 miles a day, never halting long enough in one spot to allow  
 the regular troops to come up with them, and finally  
 quitted the scene of their devastations without suffering  
 any material loss; although they were occasionally re-  
 pulsed by the firmness of the provincial guard, and by the  
 resolution of the villagers, or their cruelties were disap-  
 pointed by the despair of the inhabitants.<sup>1</sup>

During their short stay the Pindaris plundered above  
 three hundred villages, and wounded, tortured and mur-  
 dered above four thousand individuals of both sexes and  
 of all ages. The barbarous atrocities which they perpe-  
 trated filled the whole country with terror, and distrusting  
 the ability of the Government to provide for their se-  
 curity, the people in many places unvisited by the plun-  
 derers, abandoned their villages and repaired to the  
 principal stations for protection.<sup>2</sup>

The impunity with which this inroad was attended,  
 stimulated the marauders to venture upon a second at-  
 tempt, and in December of the same year, a considerable  
 body suddenly appeared in the northern Circars, and sacked  
 and burned the town of Kimedi and the adjacent villages.  
 They were checked in the midst of their operations by  
 the approach of a detachment of the 6th Madras N.  
 Infantry, under Major Oliver, and hastily retreating from  
 his pursuit, moved towards the north, where they suc-  
 ceeded in laying waste nearly the whole of the district,  
 and in partially plundering the town Ganjam. The alarm  
 was universal and the population generally fled to the  
 neighbouring hills and thickets, and hid themselves until

<sup>1</sup> At Ainavote, in Gantur, where the people after a desperate defence were overpowered by their assailants, they set fire to their own dwellings, and perished with their families in the flames. Papers, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> A commission was appointed to ascertain and report upon the extent of the mischief committed. They reported the number killed to be one hundred and eighty-two; wounded, some severely, five hundred and five; and tortured, three thousand, six hundred, and thirty-three. It is scarcely possible that these numbers should be as accurate as their minuteness of detail would represent them, but they may be taken as a probable approximation. The report specified various cases of atrocity: in many places the women, either to avoid pollution, or unable to survive the disgrace, threw themselves into wells and perished.—Papers Pindari war, p. 37.

the danger had passed. Apprehensions spread even to the town of Puri and temple of Jagannath, the sanctity of which would have been no defence against Pindari rapacity. The plunderers, however, having intelligence that troops were advancing against them, suddenly quitted the province, and disappeared for awhile amid the rugged country north west of Kuttack, until they emerged in the vicinity of their haunts along the upper course of the Nerbudda. Their retreat was not unmolested. In Kuttack, Lieut. Borthwick, with a detachment of the 2nd Bengal N. infantry, followed close upon their rear, cut off their stragglers, and repeatedly put the main body to a precipitate flight; and when they had arrived between Sohagpur and Mandalar, they were surprised by a detachment from the division commanded by Colonel Adams, consisting of a squadron of the 5th N. C., under Captain Caulfield. He came upon their bivouac on the night of the 24th of January, 1817, killed above four hundred, and dispersed the rest. The fugitives fell upon the main body of the cavalry under Major Clarke, and again suffered just retribution. Similar disasters befel other parties of these plunderers.

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The invasion of Kuttack was simultaneous with other movements of the Pindaris which had been directed against the territories of the British allies. Notwithstanding that the chief strength of the Nagpur subsidiary force, consisting of five battalions of foot and a regiment of cavalry, had been moved into the valley of the Nerbudda, and occupied positions considered most favourable for protecting the frontier, a numerous party of Pindaris turned the right of the line, and, about the middle of November, made their way into Berar. They then separated into two bodies: the one marching eastward behind the subsidiary force was that which ravaged Ganjam; the other, said to be six thousand strong, proceeded to the south, and passing within twenty miles of Nagpur crossed the Warda into the territories of the Nizam, and pursued a westerly direction with the purpose of laying waste the British districts south of the Tumhadrha. The march was, however, retarded by the indecision of the leaders, and opportunity was afforded to a detachment of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, commanded by Major Macdowall, to come



BOOK II. unexpectedly upon the freebooters, in the vicinity of  
 CHAP. V. Beder. The division reached the Pindari camp before  
 1816. daylight, on the 15th of January, and a volley was the first  
 intimation which the plunderers had of their approach :  
 — an immediate and total rout ensued : many were killed,  
 and a thousand of their best horses were captured.

A division from the Durra of Cheetoo had about the same time passed to the westward of the British posts, and, following the road by Burhanpur, had penetrated through the passes into Berar, proceeding thence between Jalna and Aurangabad towards Ahmedabad. Unluckily for the invaders, it happened that Major Lushington, with the 4th Madras Cavalry, was on his return from the Peshwa's country to the cantonments at Jalna, and on the 25th of December, heard on his arrival at Pipalwar, of their presence at Logam. He moved in pursuit of them at one in the morning of the 26th. The Pindaris had been repulsed from Logam, and had retreated towards the east, whither they were followed by the cavalry. After a rapid march of above fifty miles, Major Lushington came upon them at one P.M., when they were engaged in preparing their noon-day meal. They were about three thousand strong, but attempted little opposition. They fled in all directions, and were pursued for ten miles, when the fatigue which the troops had undergone compelled their recall. About two hundred of the best mounted of the Pindaris escaped, but the main body was completely broken up with the loss of between seven and eight hundred killed, and of a still greater number of their horses captured. The only casualty on the side of the British was that of an officer, Captain Drake, who was run through by a spear.<sup>1</sup> The transactions that now took place put an end for ever to Pindari incursions.

The impossibility of permanently guarding against the predatory inroads of the Pindaris, by a system purely defensive, had not escaped the observation of the late Governor-General, and in his address to the Secret Committee of the 2nd of October, 1812, the Government of Bengal distinctly declared their conviction that "the arrangements and measures of defence which they had adopted were merely palliatives," and that "they antici-

<sup>1</sup> See official despatches, Asiatic Journal, December, 1816, pp. 186, 120.

pated the necessity, at some future time, of undertaking a system of military and political operations calculated to strike at the root of this great and increasing evil.”<sup>1</sup>

As, however, they considered that any system of measures adapted to the effectual attainment of the object must be of a complicated and extensive nature, they could not be undertaken without much previous preparation, and the subject was therefore left for further inquiry and deliberation. The evil could not be denied, but the Board of Control clung to the notion that it might be checked by defensive arrangements, and, in a letter from the Secret Committee, the Government of Bengal was prohibited “from engaging in plans of general confederacy and offensive operations against the Pindaris, either with a view to their utter extirpation, or in participation of an apprehended danger.”<sup>2</sup>

The sagacity of the Governor-General, the unusual knowledge of the condition of India which he had brought with him, the minuteness of the information with which he was furnished by the Residents at the native courts, comprehending some of the ablest men who have done credit to the Company’s service, and the soundness of the advice which he received from competent authorities, early enabled him to take a just and comprehensive view of the policy which the circumstances of the time imperiously demanded.<sup>3</sup> The tranquillisation of Central India, the restoration of order and good government in Malwa and Rajputana were considered by the Earl of Moira to be as indispensable for the happiness and prosperity of the native states as for the safety and advantage of the British possessions. Neither were attainable as long as the predatory system subsisted, as long as Patan and Pindari were suffered to create an unnatural state of anarchy and disorder, in which the peaceable and industrious members of society were the prey of lawless hordes of plunderers, who grew up and gathered vigour amidst the chaos which they caused and perpetuated. As affecting British interests alone the evil

<sup>1</sup> Papers Pindari war, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Secret letter to Bengal, 29th September, 1815. Papers Pindari war, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> See the opinions of Mr. (now Lord) Metcalfe, the resident at Delhi, and of Mr. (now Sir Richard) Jenkins, resident at Nagpur. Commons Report, 1832. Political Appendix, 229.

BOOK II. called for a decisive remedy, which the native princes  
 CHAP. V. were indisposed or unable to apply, and which therefore  
 1816. the British Government had a right to seek for in its own  
 resources : nor was it only a right : it was a duty imposed  
 upon us by the supremacy of our power, no longer to permit  
 the predatory system to devastate the various states  
 who supplicated for British protection, and were entitled  
 to receive it. The settlement most conducive to the happiness  
 of India, as well as the security of our interests. WAS THE  
 ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIVERSAL TRANQUILLITY UNDER THE  
 GUARANTEE AND SUPREMACY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

That the extension of British influence based upon the destruction of the predatory system, would be attended with no additional risk and would be practicable without difficulty, were also maintained by the Governor-General. Undoubtedly the individuals interested in the continuance of disorder and violence, would strenuously resist all interference intended for their suppression, and such was the short-sightedness and self destructive policy of some of the native courts, that it was probable they would contemplate in the overthrow of the system, only the loss of a share of the spoil and of the contingent employment of the predatory bands, in their own service, in case of war with the British. To take the princes of Rajputana and the petty chiefs of Malwa, under the shield of British protection, would deprive Sindhia, Holkar, and Amir Khan of victims on whom they had long preyed, and from whom they would be loth to withdraw their grasp ; and the annihilation of the Pindaris would deprive the Mahratta leaders of auxiliaries whose services might be of use in time of peril. But would they risk hostilities in defence of their participation in precarious plunder, or for the protection of such uncertain and unsafe dependents as the Pindaris, — and if they did, was their hostility to be dreaded ?

Although the Governor-General admitted that the measure of establishing peace in India by British influence, would be exceedingly unpalatable to the Mahratta princes, he maintained that it would not alter the real character of our relations with the native states who were interested in the continuance of the system. Whether professed friends.

or allies, they were already hostile to the British government, and if they were desirous of preserving in their entireness bodies of armed men, it was only that they might expect their co-operation in an extensive combination, which had for some time been agitated against the British ascendancy, originating in the intrigues of the Peshwa. If such a collision were inevitable, it had better be at once encountered, while the finances of British India were in a prosperous state, its armics effective, and its force unbroken by harassing and unavowed aggressions upon the frontier, wasteful and exhausting in their consequences, and impossible to be avoided by any defensive arrangement. From these considerations, therefore, the Governor-General urged immediate interposition, by announcing to Sindhia that the British government could no longer continue its observance of the article<sup>1</sup> in the treaty which precluded it from forming alliances with other native states: that it should consequently accede to the application made to it so urgently by the Raja of Jaypur, and require the recall of Sindhia's troops from the Raja's territory, as well as prohibit Amir Khan from meddling with his affairs. At the same time Sindhia was to be informed of the determination to exterminate the Pindaris as an organised body, and was to be invited to co-operate in an object equally interesting to all the friends of peace and good government.<sup>2</sup>

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The alliance with Jaypur, so unjustifiedly broken off in 1805, had ever since been a subject of consideration with the Home authorities, who had hitherto approved of its renewal, should its revival be sought for. Now, however, that it formed part of a plan which it was thought might lead to a war with Sindhia, a different view was adopted, and considered as an article in a comprehensive scheme for the pacification of India, it was strongly discouraged, if not positively interdicted.<sup>3</sup> Imperfectly informed of the

<sup>1</sup> The 5th Article of the Treaty of 1805.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of the Governor General, 3rd March, 1814; 1st December, 1815; 20th April, 1816; 8th March, and 26th December, 1817; and letter to the council, from Cawnpore, 10th Oct 1817.—MS. Records. These documents present extraordinary proofs of the extent of the Governor-General's information, the comprehensiveness of his policy, and the justness and nobleness of his sentiments.

<sup>3</sup> A letter from the Secret Committee of the 29th September, 1815, enjoined the Government of Bengal not to undertake anything which might embroil us with Sindhia; prohibited any material change in the existing system of political relations, and ended with directing that "the system which was con-



BOOK II. state of India, measuring the present by the past, and  
 CHAP. V. greatly overrating the opposition to be overcome, apprehensive of financial embarrassments, and reluctant to encounter the vulgar clamour raised in Parliament against the extension of the British empire in India, the President of the Board of Control, Mr. Canning, however eminent as a statesman in the political world of the West, exhibited a singular want of knowledge and foresight in prescribing the line of conduct to be followed for the regulation of the interests of the East, and sought to enforce upon the Governor-General a feeble and temporising policy wholly unworthy of the British character, incompatible with the prosperity of the British Indian Empire, and fatal to the existence of the native powers.<sup>1</sup> It was asserted that no danger was to be apprehended from the actual condition of Central India, but much from any attempt to effect its amelioration. That such interference would provoke a combination which had yet no existence except in the

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solidated at the close of the last Mahratta war, should be maintained with as little change as could be avoided." Exhibiting strange ignorance of the alterations which ten years had wrought in the relative situations of the existing states, to which the system of 1805, always objectionable, was now wholly inapplicable.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Canning had, in consequence of the death of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, in the year 1816, been placed at the head of the India Board, and it became the duty of this distinguished statesman to prescribe the course which should be pursued in this important and perplexing crisis of affairs. Letter from B. S. Jones, Esq., Commons Report, 1832. Appendix Polit. 232. It was fortunate that the course so prescribed was not followed: some of the instructions are the following: "We are unwilling to incur the risk of a general war, for the *uncertain purpose of extirpating the Pindaris*. Extended political and military combinations we cannot at the present moment sanction or approve." There was not the least risk of a general war, nor was there any uncertainty as to the extirpation of the Pindaris. "We do not think it improbable that even from Sindhia you may derive assistance in enterprises against separate bodies of the Pindaris, who may have committed depredations on our territories." A most improbable supposition,—and a most unworthy policy to require Sindhia's aid for the protection of the British territories. The suggestion was also thrown out in the face of "information recently received as to the suspicious behaviour of certain of the Mahratta chieftains, and the daring movements of the Pindaris." The result is the announcement of expectations signally falsified by events. "We entertain a strong hope that the dangers which arise from both these causes, and which *must perhaps always exist*, in a greater or less degree, may, by a judicious management of our existing relations, be prevented from coming upon us in any very formidable force, while, on the other hand, any attempt at this moment, to establish a new system of policy, tending to a wider diffusion of our power, must necessarily interfere with those economical regulations, which it is more than ever incumbent upon us to recommend, as indispensable to the maintenance of our present ascendancy, and by exciting the jealousy and suspicion of other states, may too probably produce or mature those very projects of hostile confederacy which constitute the chief object of your apprehension."—Commons Report, App. Vol. p. 232.

fears of the Governor-General, and that although the individual members of the combination might be little formidable, yet united they must prove dangerous enemies, and a war with them collectively be attended with imminent hazard and ruinous expense. Even the extirpation of the Pindaris, if found likely to produce such a combination would be inexpedient, and it might be the more prudent course to adopt some other project for the diminution of their power and the suppression of their ravages. It might be possible to expel them from their seats, and induce Sindhia to prevent their settling again in the same locality, or it might be practicable to take advantage of the dissensions among them and neutralise their mischievous activity by setting one leader against another.<sup>1</sup> This latter suggestion aroused the indignation of the Governor-General, who justly repudiated all friendly intercourse with any of the members of an association, the principles of whose constitution were rapine and murder. At length the audacity of the Pindaris — their violation of the British territories convinced the English minister that offensive measures could no longer be delayed with a due regard to the character or interests of the Indian empire, and his previous instructions were qualified by the admission, that “they were not intended to restrain the Governor-General in the exercise of his judgment and discretion upon any occasion when actual war upon the British territories might be commenced by any body of marauders, and where the lives and property of British subjects, might call for efficient protection.” He admitted also, that any connection between Sindhia and Holkar, with the Pindaris, open or secret, acknowledged or unavowed, would place the Government in a state of direct hostility with the offending chiefs:<sup>2</sup> and anticipatory ap-

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<sup>1</sup> This proposition was also Mr. Canning's.—Commons Report. App. Pol. 232. Lord Molra replied, “When the Honourable Committee suggest the expedient of engaging one portion of the Pindaris to destroy some other branch of the association, I am roused to the fear that we have been culpably deficient in pointing out to the authorities at home, the brutal and atrocious qualities of those wretches. Had we not failed to describe sufficiently the horror and execration in which the Pindaris are justly held, I am satisfied that nothing could have been more repugnant to the feelings of the Honourable Committee, than the notion that this Government should be soiled by a procedure which was to bear the colour of confidential intercourse, of a common cause, with any of those gangs.”—Letter from Bengal, 8th March, 1817.

<sup>2</sup> Even here, however, a timid and dishonest course of dissimulation was enjoined. “In acting or forbearing to act on this ground, (the open or secret

BOOK II. probation was expressed of any measures which the Go-  
 CHAP. V. vernor-General might have adopted, not only for re-  
 1816. pelling invasion, but for pursuing and chastising the  
 invaders.

Nor was the irresolution of the Board of Control the only difficulty by which the decided policy of the Governor-General was embarrassed. In his own council there prevailed an exaggerated dread of the power of Sindhia, founded on the recollection of the last Mahratta war, and a fear that the multiplication of political connections might be regarded as an infringement of the instructions from home, so often repeated, against the extension of the authority and influence of the British Government over the native states. These sentiments were, however, confined to the minority, and when news was received of the outrages committed by the Pindaris in the Northern Circars, the Council were unanimous in agreeing that no terms should be kept with the invaders, whatever consequences their extirpation might entail. Supported by this concurrence, and fortified by the spirit of the orders from home, however cautious and qualified their terms, Lord Moira, taking upon himself the responsibility of carrying out his own views to the extent he had originally contemplated, determined to let loose the powerful machinery he had never ceased to accumulate for the destruction of the robber bands and the eventual, annihilation of the predatory system. Various circumstances occurred propitious to his designs before they could be carried into execution.

As soon as it became generally known that the British Government was disposed to abandon the system of non-interference which it had hitherto followed, applications came from all quarters for its alliance and protection. The Raja of Jaypur was the first to depute agents to Delhi, to solicit the renewal of his former engagements; and, in the month of April, 1816, the Resident at Delhi was authorised to enter upon negotiations, for, although

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connexion of a Mahratta prince with the Pindaris) you will be guided by considerations of prudence. It might be politic to attempt to divide such confederacy by dissembling your knowledge of its existence."—Secret letter to Bengal, 20th September, 1816. Papers Pindari war, p. 41, also Commons Report, Pol. App. p. 233.

the orders from home implied a virtual prohibition of the alliance, yet, as in a previous despatch it had been remarked, that "while the justice of dissolving the alliance with Jaypur was questionable, its impolicy had been clearly demonstrated by the injury done to the country by Amir Khan and the Pindaris; and the Government," it was added, "would have seen the necessity of providing against the depredations of both;" it was argued by the Governor-General that it had not been the intention of the Secret Committee, in their late injunctions, to have positively interdicted an arrangement, the policy and justice of which were still undeniable.<sup>1</sup> The negotiation, however, although the first commenced, was one of the last concluded, the Raja being deterred from an earlier termination by the alternate tone of menace and conciliation adopted by Sindhia and Amir Khan, who led him to fear, that if he persisted in the negotiation, they would attack him immediately with all their forces, and to hope that they would cease to harass his country, if he abstained from an English connexion. There was, also, a strong party in his court opposed to the alliance, as they apprehended it would give the Raja the means of resisting their encroachments upon his authority and resources, and recovering from them the lands they had taken advantage of his distress to usurp. There were, also, difficulties as the amount of the subsidy to be paid, and the degree of interference to be exercised; and after repeated interruption, the negotiation was not brought to a close until active hostilities had ceased, and the supremacy of the British was placed beyond dispute.

The example set by Jaypur was followed by the Rajas of Udaypur and Jodhpur; envoys were sent by them to Delhi, and negotiations set on foot towards the end of 1817, which, with little delay, terminated in treaties of alliance. The Raj Rana of Kota also pledged his unre-served assent to whatever terms the British Government should impose, and the Raja of Bundi pleaded his former services as giving him a claim to British protection. A

<sup>1</sup> The injunction against making any new treaty without previous sanction, "was not issued by the Court of Directors, but by the Board of Controul through the Secret Committee."—Mr. Jones. Commons Report, Pol. App. 234, note.



BOOK II. variety of petty chiefs also on the borders of Bundel-  
 CHAP. V. khand, or the further limits of Malwa — the Rajas of  
 ————— Krishnagar, Kerauli, Banswara, Pertab-gerh, and Dungar-  
 1816. pur, applied earnestly for the protection of the British  
 Government. Even Amir Khan offered his services  
 against the Pindaris, and promised to disband his troops,  
 and abstain from predatory practices, if guaranteed, in his  
 actual possessions. The particular engagements entered  
 into with these several chiefs we shall have subsequent  
 occasion to notice, but the universality of the application,  
 and the earnestness with which it was made, unequivocally  
 evinced the feeling which pervaded the native states, their  
 anxiety to be rescued by the British Government from  
 the miserable slavery to which they had been reduced, and  
 their readiness to contribute to the measures about to be  
 adopted for their liberation.

An ally whose services were of immediate value, was  
 also secured in Nazar Mohammed, the young Nawab of  
 Bhopal, who had scarcely succeeded to his father's throne  
 when he applied to the Political Agent in Bundelkhand to  
 be admitted to the British alliance. Obvious as was the  
 utility of his concurrence in the movements contemplated,  
 and strong as were his claims upon the friendship of the  
 British Government, the positive prohibition of the Home  
 authorities, precluded the Governor-General from ac-  
 ceding at once to his solicitations. They were not, how-  
 ever, absolutely rejected or discountenanced; and when  
 in the beginning of the following year, his application was  
 renewed through the Resident at Nagpur, that officer was  
 directed, when military operations were on the eve of  
 taking place, to enter into a preliminary engagement with  
 the Nawab, which should stipulate at present for nothing  
 more than military service. A more formal treaty was to  
 be concluded after the war.

Notwithstanding the dread entertained by the opponents  
 of the Governor-General's policy that Sindhia would take  
 up arms in defence of the Pindaris, nothing occurred to  
 justify the apprehension. It was known that their chiefs  
 had agents in his camp, and friends among his ministers,  
 who endeavoured to persuade him that his resources would  
 be impaired, and his security imperilled, if he suffered the  
 Pindaris to be extirpated. "What," wrote Namdar Khan

to Sindhia, "what, if we are destroyed, will become of you?"—and it was with much uneasiness that the Maharajah looked forward to the approaching storm, and with extreme mortification and annoyance that he found himself compelled to abandon adherents who, notwithstanding their occasional disobedience, were looked upon by him as an essential part of his military strength. Many of his most distinguished officers were avowed friends of the Pindari leaders, and were impressed with a belief that, if supported with vigour, they might defy the English. There were some weak enough to put faith in the vaunts of the Pindaris themselves, that they would easily baffle and exhaust the English troops,—that they would far outdo what Jeswant Rao Holkar had been able to achieve; and that at the head of fifty thousand horse, they would carry fire and sword to the environs of Calcutta. Sindhia was not misled by such rhodomontade; he knew his own weakness and the strength of the British too well to hazard a rupture; and when called upon to explain the countenance that he had shown in his camp to the Pindaris, he denied all connexion with them, and declared it to be his intention to inflict upon them condign punishment.—When apprised that this would be undertaken by the British Government, he professed himself entirely satisfied with the determination, and willing to co-operate in any manner which should be required. The sincerity of Sindhia's professions might be questionable, but his public disavowal of all connexion with the Pindaris was calculated to diminish their confidence and weaken their power, and to remove one of the obstacles which had been supposed to impede the execution of the Governor-General's projects. It was equally improbable, whatever might be their real sentiments, that the Raja of Nagpur, or the Peshwa, would take part with the Pindaris.

For some time after his elevation to the Regency of Nagpur, Apa Saheb, apprehensive of the intrigues of the party opposed to his nomination, found it necessary to throw himself unreservedly upon the support of his new allies. The troops stipulated for by the subsidiary treaty were cantoned in the vicinity of the capital, in July, and Apa Saheb immediately removed his residence close to their lines, leaving the palace and the person of the Raja

BOOK II. in the keeping of his opponents. As the latter was the  
 CHAP. V. chief source of their ability to thwart Apa Saheb's ad-  
 ministration, the titular authority of the Raja being em-  
 1816. ployed to contravene the acts of the Regent, Apa Saheb  
 was instigated to rid himself the impediment, and agents  
 were speedily found to effect its removal. On the morn-  
 ing of the 1st of February, 1817, the Raja Parswaj  
 Bhonsla was found dead in his bed. No marks of violence  
 were perceptible; and as his health was always precarious  
 and constitution infirm, it was not impossible that his  
 sudden demise was to be attributed to natural causes.  
 Some vague reports of foul practice reached the ears of  
 the Resident, but they were not traceable to any authentic  
 source, and resting apparently on no solid foundation, were  
 to be classed with the popular calumnies which are the  
 ordinary concomitants in India of the decease of a person  
 of rank. Apa Saheb was at the time absent from Nagpur,  
 and as nothing transpired to implicate him in the transac-  
 tion, he was acknowledged, in virtue of his hereditary  
 rights, Raja of Nagpur. The interests of the Raja were  
 somewhat different from those of the Regent, but the  
 ascendancy which had been established at Nagpur, the  
 professions, and, for a season, the conduct of Apa Saheb  
 afforded no grounds for apprehending that he would fall  
 off from the alliance to which he probably was indebted  
 for his life, and certainly for his succession to the  
 throne.

Less confidence was to be placed in the disposition of  
 the Peshwa, but the occurrences which had embittered his  
 animosity had also diminished his power to do mischief.  
 A course of restless and unavailing dissension had led to  
 the commission of acts which were regarded as those of an  
 enemy, and had ended in the still further reduction of his  
 political consequence. Scarcely had he relinquished  
 Trimbak to the British officers, when he repented of  
 his acquiescence, and earnestly solicited that the culprit  
 should be restored to him. He declared that he had  
 given him up only in the belief that he was to undergo a  
 public trial, and that if convicted of the murder of the  
 Sastri, he was to be replaced in the Peshwa's hands for  
 punishment. As it was, great injustice was done to Trim-  
 bak, who was cast into confinement, without any proof of

his criminality, and great disgrace was inflicted upon the Peshwa in the privation of that right which he possessed in virtue of his sovereign authority of awarding the punishment due to the offences of his own subjects. His representations to this effect were unceasing ; the incarceration of Trimbak in a foreign prison was, he urged, a perpetual indignity, and his sense of the dishonour was the more keen, as it was inflicted by his friends. He was also subjected to serious pecuniary injury, for his principal treasures were entrusted to Trimbak's care, and no other person knew where they were concealed. He professed himself willing to adopt any arrangements for Trimbak's security, that the Resident should dictate, but declared that unless he was confided to his charge, his life would be passed in misery and mortification. For a time, his suit was preferred in friendly and conciliatory language ; but he at length changed his tone and accompanied his application with the representation of various grievances, some of which he ascribed to the injustice of the Government, some to the personal unfriendliness of the Resident. His claims on the Gaekwar and Nizam were unadjusted. He had been obliged to subsidise a larger force than was originally proposed ; and he had ceded territory even beyond what was demanded, yet Kattiwar, which, according to treaty, was to have been restored, was still retained, and its restoration was saddled with unwarrantable conditions. The subsidiary force stationed near Poona, was about to be removed to a post where it would block up the only bridge by which he could cross the river, and would do mischief to his Mango groves. Vexatious propositions were continually submitted to him affecting the customs forming part of his revenues. The Resident was also constantly annoying him about the Southern Jagirdars, and had prevented him on one occasion from going to Poona from Pundrapur. These complaints were partly frivolous, partly unfounded, but they expressed the feelings which had grown up in Baji Rao's heart against his allies. More important intimations of the same purport were afforded by the activity of the secret communications carried on with Nagpur and Gwalior, and by the orders issued to Bapu Gokla, and others of his Sirdars, to levy additional troops.

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BOOK II. While these discussions were pending, they received  
CHAP. V. augmented interest from the escape of Trimbak from his  
1816. imprisonment on the evening of the 2nd of September,  
1816. He had been detained in the Fort of Thanna, near  
Bombay, which was garrisoned by Europeans. He had  
been allowed to take exercise on the ramparts for an hour  
or two in the afternoon, and it was remembered, after his  
flight, that latterly a groom in the service of one of the  
officers was accustomed to bring his master's horse near  
the same place, and as he walked the animal backwards  
and forwards, to sing Mahratta songs, the language of  
which was unintelligible to the sentries. By this channel  
Trimbak was apprised of the device he was to adopt, and  
the facilities provided for his escape. The privy of his  
residence adjoined a stable, and a hole had been cut  
through the wall of the latter. On a dark and rainy night,  
which concealed his person from the view of the sentinel  
who attended him, Trimbak contrived to pass unobserved  
into the stable, and having thrown off his dress, and  
placed a basket on his head, as if he were a common  
labourer, he walked unquestioned through the gateway out  
of the fort. When the alarm was given, he was nowhere  
to be found. To mislead his pursuers a rope was fastened  
to a gun as if he had thus lowered himself from the ram-  
part. The tide was low, and the narrow channel which  
separates Salsette from the main land being fordable,  
Trimbak waded through the water, and found upon the  
bank a party of horsemen waiting to receive him. He  
fled up the Pipri Ghat to the south of Nasik.

As soon as the Resident was informed of the flight of  
Trimbak, he communicated the circumstance to the  
Peshwa, and called upon him to evince his fidelity to the  
British alliance, and his immunity from all suspicion of  
connivance by promulgating the most positive and strin-  
gent orders for the apprehension of the fugitive. Baji  
Rao protested his ignorance of any project for Trimbak's  
liberation, or any concern whatever in its accomplishment,  
and professed his readiness to take the requisite steps for  
his arrest, expressing his hope, that in the event of his  
being recovered, he would not be treated with severity,  
and would be eventually placed in his charge. No  
hopes were held out that the latter expectation would be

fulfilled, but the Peshwa was assured that, as Trimbak's flight was no aggravation of his crime, it would of itself subject him to no new punishment. Baji Rao's promise to assist in his discovery was accepted as a mark of his desire to maintain the subsisting good understanding uninterrupted.

Notwithstanding Baji Rao's professions, the Resident soon had reason to suspect the sincerity of his intentions. Any information that was supplied of Trimbak's concealment turned out to be illusory; and no exertions were made by the Peshwa's officers for his apprehension, although he was known to be collecting armed followers at no great distance from Poona, with little attempt at concealment. In consequence of the earnest remonstrances of the Resident, a party of horse was sent against Trimbak, then in the Mahaleo hills, but the officer commanding the party halted on the road, and reported that neither leader nor followers could be found. The same evasive course was now deliberately pursued, and, although it was notorious throughout the country, that Trimbak was at the head of considerable bodies of both horse and foot, the Peshwa affirmed that he could hear of no such insurgents, and that he must depend upon the Resident for their discovery. He pretended, indeed, to doubt if Trimbak were alive, and his ministers were instructed to repeat their belief of his death in their communications with the Resident. It was obviously the purpose of Baji Rao to allow Trimbak to assume so imposing an attitude as should compel the British Government to assent to the conditions on which he had already insisted, and in the case of their non-compliance, to excite a spirit of resistance, not only in his own dominions, but in those of the other Mahratta princes, whom he had been long engaged in urging to a confederacy against the British ascendancy.<sup>1</sup>

Baji Rao's encouragement of the extensive risings throughout the country, instigated by Trimbak and his partisans, was not restricted to silent connivance and pretended disbelief of their occurrence; more active par-

<sup>1</sup> Despatches from the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, to Lord Moira, 11th March, 1817.—Secret Letter from Bengal, 9th June, 1817. Papers Mahratta war, pp. 79, 91.

BOOK II. participation was detected. It was ascertained, that several  
 CHAP. V. secret interviews had taken place between the Peshwa and  
 1816. his favorite, that considerable supplies of money had been clandestinely conveyed to him, and that the military and fiscal authorities in general identified the partisans of Trimbak with the troops of the Peshwa. Thus fostered, the insurrection was rapidly gaining head, and from fifteen to twenty thousand men were assembled under Trimbak and his associates, in different parts of the country, and on the borders of the territory of the Nizam. The levy of forces on behalf of the Peshwa also continued with augmented activity; his strongest fortresses were placed in a condition to resist an attack, and his principal treasure was moved from Poona to places of greater security. It had become a question of peace or war, but Baji Rao still protested his fidelity and attachment to the British alliance, offered to acquit himself by oath of any intercourse with Trimbak, and declared his readiness, if any insurrection did exist, to act vigorously in concert with the Resident for its suppression. Referring to Calcutta for the course of proceeding to be adopted towards the Peshwa, Mr. Elphinstone set seriously to work to put down the rising before it had attained a more menacing aspect, and before the mischief had spread to the adjacent countries. The principal part of the Poona troops which had marched to the frontier to defend it against the inroads of the Pindaris was recalled, and the subsidiary force of Hyderabad was instructed to move to the confines of the Peshwa's territories, and advance into Kandesh. The insurgents were collected chiefly in two large masses—one at Maswar, a few miles west of Pundrapur, commanded by Trimbak's brother-in-law, Jado Rao,—the latter by Godaji Danglia, a nephew of Trimbak,—in Kandesh. Each was estimated at from four to five thousand strong: there were also a number of smaller parties preparing to join one or other of these divisions; and the party in the south were endeavouring to march northwards to effect a junction with the insurgents in Kandesh, as soon as they should have concentrated their force. In this latter project the insurgents were frustrated by the movements of Colonel Smith, who advanced to Maswar early in February, and dislodged them. They fled to the eastward, were

pursued for a considerable distance, and partly dispersed. Colonel Smith then marched to Poona, leaving Colonel Wilson with six companies of his Majesty's 65th regiment and three battalions of Native Infantry, at Ranjangaon, near Seroor, while a division under Colonel Milnes was stationed at Pipalgaon, on the Godaveri. On the Hyderabad side, Major Macdowall advanced to Tuljapur, while a detachment from Jalna moved to the west into Kandesh. The remainder of the southern party, having rallied to the number of three thousand five hundred, of whom above two thousand were well mounted, resumed their northern route in the beginning of April. On their march, a troop of Pindaris attached to the body fell in with Lieutenant Dacre, of the Madras Artillery, with a small escort, and robbed and murdered him and his attendants. The barbarity was not unrequited. Information of their movements being received by Colonel Wilson, he detached Major Smith, with six hundred infantry, to intercept their flight. Although too late to accomplish this object, Major Smith came upon the tract of the party moving from the Bhima, by Toka, towards the Godaveri, and pursued them with unremitting activity. After a march of one hundred and fifty miles in five days, he came upon the insurgents at Patri, above the ghats of Kandesh, at daybreak of the 17th April, just as they were mounting to resume their route. After firing a volley, the troops charged and put the enemy to the rout, leaving seventy dead on the field, with a quantity of arms and a number of their horses. After several attempts to rally, which were defeated, the insurgents fled, and such of their horse as kept together, crossed the Godaveri towards Nasik, where they joined Godaji Danglia. Another division going northwards, more to the west, fell in with Colonel Milnes, and although they also escaped into Kandesh, it was not without a material diminution of their numbers. In the mean time, however, the force to which they were conveying an accession of strength, was so completely disabled, that the junction of their friends was insufficient to retrieve the disaster. Captain Davies, with eight hundred of the Nizam's reformed horse, and a party of foot, had been despatched to Kammin, twenty miles west of Aurangabad, on the evening of the 19th April. Having ascertained on the 22nd, that Godaji

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BOOK II. Danglia, with his main body, was marching towards the  
CHAP. V. Godaveri, at no very great distance, he moved early in the  
1817. morning of the 23rd, and, avoiding the main road, came,  
after a march of about thirty miles, upon the insurgents,  
drawn up with their left upon a strong mud fort, and  
their front protected by a water-course with steep banks.  
Captain Davies having ordered his men to charge across  
the water-course, the enemy, although above two thousand  
strong, wavered and broke: they were pursued for six  
miles, and entirely dispersed, with the loss of four hun-  
dred killed and some prisoners taken. Captain Davies  
and Captain Pedlar were wounded, but not dangerously;  
twenty-five men were killed and forty wounded. The  
affair was the more remarkable as a proof of the efficiency  
of the Nizam's horse, as now organized and led by British  
officers. This first success was followed up by the advance  
of the main body of the Hyderabad force, under Colonels  
Walker and Doveton, and by them the province of Kandesh  
was cleared of the insurgents before the setting in of the  
Monsoon. Trimbak took refuge at Chuli Maheswar, on the  
Nerbudda.

The troubled state of Cuttack, and the neighbouring  
districts having cut off all communication with Calcutta,  
the instructions of the Government of Bengal failed to  
reach the Resident within the customary interval. He  
was, therefore, under the necessity of acting upon his own  
responsibility, and as the Peshwa's menacing preparations  
still continued, and no steps had been taken to comply  
with his requisitions, he determined to bring the discus-  
sion to a close. Having assembled the subsidiary force in  
the vicinity of Poona, Mr. Elphinstone demanded of the  
Peshwa a written engagement that he would deliver up  
Trimbak without delay, and that as a security for the  
fulfilment of his promise, he would surrender to the  
British troops his forts of Sing-gerh, Purandar and Rai-  
gerh: the engagement to be signed and delivered within  
twenty-four hours or war would be declared. At first,  
the Peshwa seemed resolved to withhold his assent, and  
endeavoured to prevail upon the Resident to grant a  
longer interval; but when this was refused, and the troops  
were stationed so as to command all the outlets of the  
city, Baji Rao became alarmed and accepted the ultimatum.

He pledged himself to apprehend and deliver Trimbak within a month, and in the meantime gave orders that the forts demanded should be opened to British garrisons. The troops were then withdrawn from the environs of the city, and actual hostilities were avoided, but the Peshwa was apprised that so serious an interruption of the amicable relations established by the treaty of Bassein, must be considered as an infraction of that treaty, and involved the necessity of a revised engagement, the conditions of which he could not expect, after the proofs he had given of his unfriendly disposition, to be equally favourable to his interests. The proceedings of the Resident were entirely in unison with the sentiments of the Governor-General, the communication of which arrived at Poona on the 10th of May.

Even after the engagement entered into upon the 7th of May, the Peshwa had exhibited his usual vacillating conduct, and had forbore from prosecuting any active measures for the seizure of Trimbak. The arrival of the instructions from Bengal roused him to decision, and on the 21st, he issued a proclamation, promising a reward of two lakhs of rupees and a village yielding one thousand rupees a year,<sup>1</sup> to any person who should effect the delinquent's apprehension. Minor rewards were offered for information of the place of his concealment, and the members of his family and adherents who were in Poona were placed under restraint. This display of sincerity came too late to save him from the consequences of his former duplicity; and a new treaty was offered for his acceptance, of which the following were the principal conditions. Baji Rao engaged to recognize for himself and his successors the dissolution, in form and substance, of the Mahratta confederacy, and to renounce all pretensions arising from his former situation of executive head of the Mahratta empire; to advance no claims to the lands of Sindhia, Holkar, the Raja of Berar, and the Gaekwar, and to relinquish those upon the Raja of Kolapur and the Government of Sawantwari; and with a view to the fulfilment of the article of the treaty of Bassein, which precluded the Peshwa from carrying on negotiations with

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<sup>1</sup> Despatches from the Resident, 9th May, 1817.—Papers Mahratta war p. 96.

BOOK II. foreign powers, he was now required to promise that he  
 CHAP. V. would neither maintain any agents at other courts nor  
 1817. admit their agents at Poona; and that he would hold no  
 communication whatever with foreign princes, except  
 through the British Resident. With respect to the  
 Gaekwar, the Peshwa was required to renounce all future  
 claims, and accept as a commutation for the past, an  
 annual payment of four lakhs of rupees. For a further  
 annual sum of four lakhs and a half he was to grant to  
 the Gaekwar, the perpetual lease of Ahmedabad.

The treaty of Bassein had stipulated that the Peshwa should maintain at all times a contingent force of five thousand horse and three thousand foot, to act with the subsidiary force. This article was annulled, and in lieu of it, it was required that the Peshwa should place at the disposal of the British Government sufficient funds for the payment of a body of troops of the like amount, viz., five thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry; the funds to be provided by the cession of territories in the Dekhin, and of the tribute of Kattiwar, to the extent of a net revenue of thirty-four lakhs of rupees a year. He was further expected to cede in perpetual sovereignty the fort of Ahmednagar, all his rights, interests, or pretensions, feudal, territorial or pecuniary in Bundelkhand, including Sagar, Jhans, and the possessions of Rana Govind Rao; all the rights and territories in Malwa, secured to him by the treaty of Sirji Anjengaum, and generally all rights and pretensions of every denomination which he might possess in the country to the north of the river Nerbudda; and he was to pledge himself never more to interfere in the affairs of Hindustan.<sup>1</sup>

These were undoubtedly hard terms, but the Peshwa, by his inveterate enmity to the British name and power, and the treachery with which, while professing a faithful adherence to the terms of the treaty of Bassein, he had violated its most essential conditions, labouring in secret to re-unite the separated members of the Mahratta confederacy and direct their combination against his allies; and by the gross manner in which he had disregarded the

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Peshwa, 13th June, 1817.—Collection of Treaties, 27th May, 1818, p. 60; and the observations of the Governor General on the several articles.—Papers, Mahratta war, p. 100.

law of nations and the guarantee of the British Government, in sanctioning, if not perpetrating, the murder of the Gaekwar's ambassador; subjected him justly to heavy penalties. In some respects, also, their severity was less than it appeared to be, and they were levelled against the Peshwa's political pretensions rather than against his real power or authority. His lands in Malwa, and his claims on the chiefs of Bundelkhand, for instance, had long ceased to be of any pecuniary value, or to bring him any accession of political importance, and the acknowledgment of his supremacy, occasionally professed by the individual occupants, was unaccompanied by any substantial tokens of obedience. The limitation of his claims on the Gaekwar, involving a guarantee of his realisation of as large a sum as he was likely ever to receive regularly without British intermediation, was likely to prove a beneficial arrangement to him, and if any loss attended it, he had little right to complain of being thus permitted to compound for his infraction of both moral and national law, by his participation in the guilt of Gangadhar's assassination. As far as these stipulations were concerned, therefore, he suffered little diminution of revenue or loss of real power. The additional amount of the subsidiary force, and the sequestration of lands for its payment, were more serious deductions from his revenue and from his authority, but they were regarded by him as less intolerable than those stipulations which annihilated his hopes of regaining his place as head of the Mahratta confederacy, and prohibited him from plunging into the dark and dangerous intercourse in which his genius delighted; and such was the tenacity with which he adhered to his design, such the inveteracy of his animosity against the British, that rigorous as were the conditions of the new treaty, and essentially as they impaired both the Peshwa's credit and power, it would hardly have been compatible with the safety of the British interests in India, to have imposed milder terms. It would have been an encouragement to Bajji Rao to persevere in his hostile projects, to have left him the undiminished capability, as well as the unretracted purpose of undermining and subverting British ascendancy.

The terms to which the Peshwa's assent was demanded

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BOOK II. excited the indignant feelings of many of his advisers,  
CHAP. V. and his most distinguished military adherent, Gokla,  
1817. urged him strenuously to the only course by which his reputation might have been preserved—an appeal to arms; but Baji Rao was unequal to such a resolution: he ratified the treaty, protesting that he submitted to the conditions through consciousness of his inability to resist, and that they had not his acquiescence. The dispute was, however, brought for the present to a termination. Trimbak continued at large, but there was no reason to suspect that the Peshwa had not done all his power to effect his seizure, and no demerit was imputed to him on this account. Baji Rao, soon after the signature of the treaty, quitted Poona for Mahauli, whither he invited Colonel Malcolm to an interview, as one of his early friends, and endeavoured to obtain his aid in procuring a mitigation of the terms of the engagement. He appeared, however, for a time, to have suspended his complaints on this head, and to have diverted his thoughts to the reduction of the district of Sundur, for which object he had been formerly promised the co-operation of the British troops. The Government of Fort St. George was instructed to comply with his request, and Colonel Munro, who had been nominated to the charge of the newly-ceded districts of Darwar and Kusigal, was ordered to establish the Peshwa's authority over the Jagir of Sundur.

The great advantages accruing to the Gaekwar from the treaty of Poona, and the additional military obligations which it imposed upon his allies, were considered to require a revision of the engagements subsisting with that prince, so as to secure the whole of the Kattiwar collections to the British Government, in order to provide for an augmentation of the subsidiary force. Although, not questioning the general expediency of the arrangements, the government of Baroda objected to the proposed conditions, and the conclusion of the treaty did not take place till after the war.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Plan and Purposes of the Campaign of 1817-18.—Disposition of British Forces—in Hindustan.—Grand Army.—Centre.—Right Division.—Left Division.—Subordinate Detachments.—Reserve.—Army of the Dekhin.—First Division.—Second, or Hyderabad.—Third.—Fourth, or Poona.—Fifth.—Reserve.—Events at Poona.—The Peshwa's Discontent.—Poona Division takes the Field.—Force left in Cantonments withdrawn to Kirki.—Menacing Appearances.—Explanation demanded.—Peshwa's Ultimatum.—The Residency destroyed.—Battle of Kirki.—Peshwa defeated.—British Officers seized by Marauding Parties.—The Vaughans murdered.—Return of General Smith to Poona.—Flight of the Peshwa.—Poona occupied.—Advance of the Third and Fifth Divisions across the Nerbudda.—Pindaris driven from their haunts.—Union of the First and Third Divisions under Sir T. Hislop, near Ujayin.—Conduct of Sindhia.—Advance of the Centre and Right Divisions of the Army of Hindustan towards Gwalior.—Treaty with Sindhia.—Ravages of Cholera in the Centre Division.—Change of Position.—Disappearance of the Disease.—Pindaris cut off from Gwalior.—Fly towards Kotah.—Overtaken by General Marshall.—Amir Khan intimidated.—Disbands his Troops.—Pindaris intercepted by General Donkin.—Return to the South.—Encountered by Colonel Adams.—Join Holkar's Army.—Cheetoo flies to Jawad.—Diminished Strength of the Pindaris.*

THE determination of the Governor-General to form effective military arrangements for the eradication of the Pindaris, and for the suppression of the predatory system, was formed in the close of 1816, but it was impracticable to carry his designs into operation until after the rainy season of the following year. The interval was busily occupied in assembling and organising the troops, and establishing controlling military and political authority in those quarters in which Lord Hastings was not personally present. The preparations were conducted as unostentatiously as possible, in order that the armies

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BOOK II. might be able to take the field at the appointed period,  
 CHAP. VI. before those against whom they were directed, or any  
 ——— other power disposed to obstruct the policy of the British  
 1817. Government, should be prepared to offer serious opposition.

The plan of the campaign was dictated by the geographical position of the chief objects of hostility, the Pindaris, and by the disposition of the British resources. The territories of the chiefs of the freebooters, Karim and Cheetoo, were centrically situated in the south of Malwa, being bounded on the east by the principality of Bhopal, on the south by the Nerbudda, on the west and north by the possessions of Sindhia and Holkar which intervened between Guzerat and the Peshwa's province of Kandesh. They were thus exposed on every side except the north, to an attack from the contiguous frontiers of states through which a ready access was open to the British forces, and although the privilege of marching an army through the dominions of Sindhia, had not been conceded by existing treaties, yet his promise of co-operation had been plighted, and it was part of the purposes of the campaign to enforce the fulfilment of this promise, and compel him to throw open his country to the movements of the British divisions. Further to the north, the pending arrangements with Jaypur and Amir Khan, admitted of the advance of troops in that quarter, with the intention of overawing both Sindhia and the Patan, protecting the Rajputs against their enmity, and preventing the escape of the Pindaris in a northerly direction, when they should have been expelled by the operations in the south from their haunts on the Nerbudda.

On the side of Hindustan, the Bengal forces were arrayed in four principal divisions. The centre division consisting of three regiments of cavalry, one of His Majesty's foot, and eight battalions of Native infantry, with detachments of artillery,<sup>1</sup> commanded by Major-General Brown, was assembled at Cawnpur. It was there joined on the 14th of September by the Marquis of Hastings, as Commander-in-chief. The right division, under

<sup>1</sup> The troops forming the centre were His Majesty's 24th Light Dragoons, 3rd and 7th regiments N. C. and the Governor General's Body Guard. His Majesty's 87th regt., and of Native Infantry the 2nd batt. 13th, 1st batt. 24th, 2nd batt. 11th, 1st batt. 8th, 2nd batt. 1st, 2nd batt. 25th, 1st batt. 29th, and a Flank battalion. Detachment of horse and foot artillery, and 54 guns.

Major-General Donkin, was formed at Agra, and comprised two regiments of cavalry, one regiment of European, and three battalions of native infantry, with artillery.<sup>1</sup> The left division, commanded by Major-General Marshall, was in advance at Kalinjar, in Bundelkhand, and consisted of one regiment of native cavalry, two corps of irregular horse, and five battalions of infantry, with guns.<sup>2</sup> On the left of this division, and constituting subordinate portions of it, were two small bodies, one at Mirzapur, under Brigadier-General Hardyman, and another, under Brigadier-General Toone on the frontiers of South Behar;<sup>3</sup> the duty of these two corps being the defence of the British confines in the south-west, the prevention of any sudden inroad through Rewa or Chota Nagpur, — and the line of frontier further south, through Sambhalpur and Cuttack, was considered to be sufficiently protected by the troops already stationed in those provinces. The fourth, or reserve division, commanded by Sir D. Ochterlony, was formed of one regiment Native cavalry, and two corps of irregular horse, one regiment of European, and five battalions of Native infantry.<sup>4</sup> To each of the divisions were attached bodies of irregular horse and foot, the troops of several petty chiefs, who, by their tenure, or by treaty, were bound to furnish military contingents in time of war. In general they added little to the real strength of the army, but their presence was an indication of the extent of the British sway. The whole number of troops in this quarter amounted to above twenty-nine thousand foot, and fourteen thousand horse, with one hundred and forty guns, both horse and foot artillery. The centre division crossed the Jumna on the 26th of October, and took up a position on the Sindh river on the 6th of November, where it was equally ready

<sup>1</sup> His Majesty's 8th Dragoons, 1st N. C., Gardiner's horse, and contingents of the Raja of Bhurtpur and Dholpur, His Majesty's 14th regt., N. I. 1st batt. 25th, 1st batt. 27th, 2nd batt. 12th, 18 guns.

<sup>2</sup> 4th N. C. 2nd and 3rd Rohilla horse, N. I. 2nd batt. 28th, 1st batt. 14th, 1st batt. 1st, 1st batt. 26th, 1st batt. 7th, guns 24.

<sup>3</sup> The 1st consisted of 8th N. C., His Majesty's 17th regiment 2nd battalion, 8th N. I., 6 guns; Raja of Rewa's contingent horse. The second of His Majesty's 24th regiment, 2nd battalion of 4th N. I., 4 guns; Raja of Gumsham's horse.

<sup>4</sup> 2nd N. C. two corps of Skinner's horse; His Majesty's 67th regiment, N. I. 2nd battalion of the 19th,\* 1st of 28th, 2nd of 7th, 1st of 6th, 2nd of 5th, 22 guns; contingent horse and foot of Begum Sumroo, Faiz Mohammed Khan, Ahmed Bakhsh Khan, the Raja of Macheri, and the Raja of Patiala.



BOOK II. to act against the Pindaris and the Mahratta states. On  
 CHAP. VI. the right, General Donkin, by the 9th of November, ad-  
 1817. vanced to Dholpur, on the Chambal, where he threatened  
 equally Sindhia and Amir Khan ; and, shut in between  
 this division and the centre, the former chief had no  
 alternative left but to disarm the British Government  
 by submission to its will. The left division was intended,  
 in communication with the Nagpur subsidiary force, to  
 act upon the western extremity of the Pindari line, and  
 advanced, by the 12th of November, to Sagar, on the  
 south-west angle of Bundelkhand. The reserve division,  
 which was intended to cover Delhi, and support the ne-  
 gotiations with the Rajput states, was posted on the  
 27th of November at Rewari. The two smaller detach-  
 ments, under Brigadier-Generals Hardyman and Toone,  
 assumed their respective stations in the course of October  
 and November.

The army of the Dekhin was under the command of  
 Sir Thomas Hislop, the Commander-in-Chief at the  
 Madras Presidency, who was also invested with full poli-  
 tical powers within the sphere of his military operations.  
 The force was distributed into five divisions : the first,  
 with the head-quarters, was formed of a detachment of  
 European, and two regiments of Native cavalry ; of a  
 detachment of European infantry, the Madras European  
 regiment, and six battalions of Native infantry, besides  
 artillery.<sup>1</sup> The second, or Hyderabad division, was com-  
 manded by Brigadier-General Doveton, and was composed  
 of one regiment of Native cavalry, one of European in-  
 fantry, and six battalions of Native infantry, with horse  
 and foot artillery, together with the Berar and Hyderabad  
 brigades.<sup>2</sup> The third division, consisting of one regiment  
 of Native cavalry, and a detachment of Native infantry,  
 with the Russell brigade, Elichpur brigade, and Mysore  
 auxiliary horse, was commanded by Brigadier-General

<sup>1</sup> Detachment of His Majesty's 22nd Light Dragoons, 4th and 8th regiments N. C., Flank companies of H. M.'s Royal Scots, Madras European regiment N. I., 1st batt. 3rd, 1st battalion 16th, 2nd battalion 17th, 1st battalion 14th, 2nd battalion 6th, and 1st batt. of 7th : horse artillery, and rocket troop.

<sup>2</sup> 6th regiment N. C., His Majesty's Royal Scots, 2nd battalion 13th, 2nd battalion 13th, 2nd batt. 24th, 1st batt. 11th, 2nd batt. 14th, 1st batt. 12th, 1st batt. 2nd, Berar brigade, four battalions N. I. reformed horse, Hyderabad brigade, five companies Madras European regiment, N. I., 1st batt. 21st, 1st batt. 22nd, 1st batt. 8th.

Sir John Malcolm.<sup>1</sup> The fourth or Poona division, was commanded by Brigadier-General Lionel Smith, and comprised one regiment of Native cavalry, a European regiment, six battalions of Native infantry, artillery, and a body of reformed Poona horse, under European officers.<sup>2</sup> The fifth division consisting of the Nagpur subsidiary force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, was composed of three corps of horse, besides the contingent of the Nawab of Bhopal, and six battalions of Native infantry.<sup>3</sup> Brigades were left at Poona, Hyderabad, and Nagpur, and a reserve division was formed from the force which had been employed under Colonel Munro, at the desire of the Peshwa, to reduce to his subjection the Zemindar of Sundur.<sup>4</sup> The task was performed in the course of November, and the troops, having returned to the north of the Tumbhadra, were assembled at Chinur by the middle of the following month, under Brigadier-General Pritzler. The line of operations had been completed by the formation of a respectable force in Guzerat, commanded by Major-General Sir W. G. Keir, which was to advance from the west, and communicate with the army of the Dekhin.<sup>5</sup> The aggregate of these forces amounted to 52,000 foot, and 18,000 horse, with 62 guns; forming with the Bengal army a body of 113,000 troops, with 300 pieces of ordnance.

It had been intended that the first and third divisions should cross the Nerbudda at Hindia early in the campaign, but the movements of the troops were delayed by the unusual duration of the monsoon, the impracticability of the roads, and the swollen state of the rivers. Sir Thomas Hislop, also, was detained at Hyderabad by illness, from the 12th of August to the 1st of October. He proceeded to assume the command by the 10th of November,

<sup>1</sup> 3rd regiment N. C., five companies 1st batt. 2nd N. I., Russell brigade, 1st and 2nd regiment, Elichpur contingent, 1,200 horse, and five batt. foot, 4,000 Mysore horse.

<sup>2</sup> 2nd N. C. His Majesty's 65th regiment, Madras N. I. 2nd batt. 15th, Bombay N. I. 2nd batt. 1st, 1st batt. 2nd, 1st batt. 3rd, 2nd batt. 9th.

<sup>3</sup> 5th and 6th regiment N. C. 1st Rohilla horse, Bengal N. I., 1st and 2nd batt. 10th, 1st batt. 19th, 1st and 2nd batt. 23rd, L. I. battalion.

<sup>4</sup> His Majesty's 22nd Light Dragoons, 7th regt. Madras N. C., European flank batt. M. N. I., 2nd batt. 4th, 2nd batt. 12th. These details are taken from Colonel Blacker. Some modifications took place in the field, but none of material importance.

<sup>5</sup> His Majesty's 17th Dragoons, His Majesty's 47th regt., Bombay N. I., Flank and Grenadier batt., 1st batt. 8th, 2nd batt. 7th.

BOOK II. when the first and third divisions were in position at  
 CHAP. VI. Harda, not far from the southern bank of the Nerbudda.

1817.

The fifth division had advanced to Hoseinabad, on the same river, not far from their right, by the 6th of the month. The second division had a position assigned to it in the neighbourhood of Akola, in order to protect the Berar frontier, and to support the troops in advance, as well as to observe Nagpur, where the disposition of the Raja had become an object of suspicion.<sup>1</sup> The fourth division, under General Smith, was directed to move towards Kandesh to defend the Peshwa's territory, or be at hand to act against him should his latent hostility break out into open violence. Its manifestation took place sooner than was anticipated.

The treaty of Poona had scarcely been signed by Baji Rao when he repented of the deed, and resumed with redoubled eagerness the intrigues in which he had previously been engaged, and his earnest endeavours to excite the Mahratta chiefs to give support to the Pindaris. At the same time, under pretence of acting in concert with the British in their movements against those marauders, he commenced an extraordinary levy of troops and large bodies of horse and foot were assembled in the vicinity of Poona by the end of October, the insolence of whose conduct was sufficiently expressive of their master's intentions. Active intrigues were also set on foot for the seduction of the subsidiary force, and bribes and menaces were employed to tempt the men from their allegiance.<sup>2</sup> Although these proceedings were well known

<sup>1</sup> Lord Hastings' Narrative, Papers, Mahratta War, 385.—Colonel Blacker says Doveton was directed to move his head-quarters to a position immediately in the rear of Mulkapore, either above or below the Berar Ghats, with the view and possible necessity of besieging Asirgerh.—p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> The Peshwa's emissaries began to tamper with the troops early in August; their practices were immediately reported by the men to their officers, and they were suffered to carry on the negotiations, which they did with such success, that the Peshwa fell into the snare. Large sums of money were distributed among them; a Jemadar of the 6th, who was admitted to an interview with Baji Rao and Gokla, a few days before the action at Kirki, was promised land and titles if he could bring over his men, and received five thousand Rupees, which he transferred to his commanding officer. Very few were tempted to desert their colours by offers of this nature: some desertions took place, but they were of natives of the Konkan, whose homes were situated in places subject to the Peshwa or to Gokla, and who were intimidated by violence threatened, or, in some cases, offered to their families. There is no doubt that the Peshwa was fully persuaded that the desertion would be very general as soon as the action commenced, and that this impression powerfully contributed to lead him into so desperate and fatal a procedure.

to the Resident, yet, in order to avoid embarrassing the meditated operations against the Pindaris, and feeling confident reliance on the fidelity of the Sipahis, Mr. Elphinstone refrained from any exposure of the Peshwa's treacherous conduct, or from taking any steps, except those of general remonstrance, to counteract his projects. He allowed the main body of the subsidiary force, forming the fourth division, to march from its cantonments, and retained in the vicinity of Poona, no more than the portion usually stationed in the environs of the city. General Smith, however, upon his arrival on the confines of Kandesh, received advices of the threatening aspect of affairs at Poona, and the probable necessity of his return. He accordingly halted at Phultamba, on the Godavari, with an understanding that should his communications with the Residency be interrupted, he should march immediately on Poona.

The force which had been left at Poona consisted of three battalions of Bombay infantry, under Colonel Burr, a battalion of the Poona brigade of the Peshwa's own troops officered by Europeans, under Major Ford, and two companies of Bengal Sipahis, forming the Resident's guard. The Poona brigade was quartered at Dapuri, a village a short distance on the west of Poona. The regular troops had formerly been cantoned on the east of the city, and were separated by it and by the Muta-Mula river from the Residency, which lay on the north-west of Poona, near the confluence of the Muta and the Mula rivers, the former coming from the north, the latter from the west, and both uniting off the north-west angle of the city. The position of the cantonments had long been regarded as objectionable, both in a military and political view. Situated on the opposite side of Poona, and inconveniently contiguous to the town, their communication with the Residency might easily be cut off; and they were exposed to any sudden hostile attack, as well as to the insidious influence of the population of the capital. It had been, therefore, for some time past, resolved to move the troops to Kirki, a village about two miles north of Poona, on the same side as the Residency; and although detached from the latter by the course of the Mula river, which ran between them, capable of ready communication with it by a

BOOK II.  
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BOOK II. bridge over the stream. Dapuri, the station of the Poona  
CHAP. VI. brigade, being situated also on the same side of the city,  
1817. and not far in the rear of Kirki, communication with it  
was easy. Baji Rao, who was too sagacious not to understand the real motives of the change, had strenuously objected to it; but this was an additional argument in its favour, and due preparations having been made, the battalions under Colonel Burr marched from the old station, and encamped at Kirki on the 1st of November. The force had been joined on the preceding evening by the Bombay European regiment, and by detachments of the 65th regiment, and of Bombay artillery, on their march to join the 4th division. On the 5th of November, a light battalion, which had been ordered back to Seroor by General Smith, marched upon Poona with a thousand of the auxiliary horse. Before their arrival the affair had been decided.

The intentions of the Peshwa to fall upon the Residency were very currently reported during the month of October, and an extensive feeling of alarm pervaded the Capital: many persons quitted Poona, and many more sent away their families and property: private intimations to the same effect, from individuals whose authority was unquestionable, were received both by Mr. Elphinstone and some of his staff; but unwilling to precipitate a crisis, and doubting whether Baji Rao would have the courage to hazard so desperate an enterprise, the Resident deemed it advisable to take no public notice of the Peshwa's proceedings until they were too notorious, and too menacing to be longer disregarded. A large army had been drawn up on the south of the City, and parties were thrown out towards the new cantonments, as if to cut off the communication between them and the Residency. Upon requiring to know the object of these movements, and insisting that the advanced parties should be withdrawn, a confidential servant of the Peshwa, Witoji Naik, was deputed to the Residency with his master's ultimatum. The Peshwa, he said, having heard of the arrival of the reinforcements from Seroor, was determined to bring things to an early settlement; he desired, therefore, that the European regiment should resume its march, the native brigade be reduced to its usual strength, and the

cantonments removed to a place which he should point out. If these terms were not complied with, the Peshwa would leave Poona, and not return until they were assented to. The Resident replied that the march of the troops had been necessitated by the Peshwa's own preparations, but that there was no wish to act hostilely against him; and that if he would adhere to his engagements, and send off his forces to the frontier, to serve with the British troops, agreeably to the conditions of the alliance, he would still be regarded as a friend. If, on the contrary, his troops persisted in pressing upon the British position, they would be attacked. Within an hour after Witoji's return, large bodies of troops began to move towards the camp, and a battalion of Gokla's contingent had previously taken up ground within half a mile of the Residency, between it and the cantonments. The Resident, therefore, deemed it advisable to quit the former with his suite and escort, and fording the Mula, proceeded along its left bank to the bridge at Kirki, which he crossed, and joined the troops. Immediately upon his departure, the Mahrattas entered the Residency grounds, and plundered and set fire to the dwellings.

The Peshwa's army, computed to amount to ten thousand horse and as many foot, had been drawn up at the foot of the Ganes-khand hills, immediately on the north-west of the town, their left resting on the hills, their right on the Residency; an immense train of ordnance protected the centre. The Peshwa moved out to an elevation, the Parbati hill south of Poona, at some distance, but commanding a view of the field. The British force, consisting of infantry only, was less than three thousand strong: the ground in front of them, although broken by ravines, was not wholly unfavourable to the evolutions of cavalry; and a forward movement was calculated to lead them into the midst of large bodies of horse, against which they would act at a disadvantage. On the other hand, to await an attack was likely to produce a sense of discouragement among the troops, which, combined with the feelings that had possibly been engendered by the temptations to which their fidelity had been recently exposed, might be followed by dangerous desertion. To endeavour to avoid an engagement, and defend the

BOOK II. position, would have the same, or worse effect, and would  
CHAP. VI. add to the confidence and numbers of the enemy. Some  
1817. days must elapse before effective succour could be received,  
and the interval was pregnant with disaster. In India, in  
particular, the boldest counsels are usually the wisest: hesitation has been frequently followed by defeat, and audacity, almost equivalent to temerity, has, as frequently, achieved triumph: it did so in the present instance, and, notwithstanding the immense disparity of numbers, Mr. Elphinstone and Colonel Burr concurred in ordering a prompt advance against the Mahratta host.

Having left a detachment with a few guns at the village of Kirki, to protect the baggage and the followers, the line moved onwards about a mile, and then halted until the Poona brigade from Dapuri should come up. The centre was occupied by the European regiment, the Resident's escort, and a detachment of the 2nd battalion of the 6th Bombay infantry. The 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment formed the right wing, and the 1st of the 7th the left: each of the exterior flanks was strengthened by two guns. On the approach of Major Ford with his brigade, the line again advanced, when a heavy cannonade opened upon them from the enemy's artillery, and masses of horse crowded on the flanks and passed round to the rear. A strong division, headed by Moro Dikshit, one of the Peshwa's most distinguished officers, who, although always averse to the war, was faithful to his duty, resolutely charged the battalion from Dapuri, as it advanced on the right of the line: throwing back its right wing, the battalion received the charge with a steady fire; and the Mahratta horse, foiled in their attempt to break the line, passed round the brigade towards Kirki. There they were received with equal firmness by the detachment posted for the defence of the village; and Moro Dikshit being killed by a cannon-ball, his followers, disheartened, retired from the field.

On the left flank, a select body of about three thousand infantry, Arabs and Gosains, advanced in solid column against the 7th native regiment: they were met with a destructive fire, and fell back in confusion. The Sipahis, in their turn, pressed upon the fugitives, and falling into some disorder, were charged and broken by the Mahratta

horse: two companies of Europeans were presently brought up to their support, the cavalry was driven back, and the line was reformed. The troops from Dapuri having now completely come up, the united force moved forward. As they advanced the Mahrattas retreated, and finally abandoned the victory to the British. Darkness coming on, put a stop to pursuit, and the troops retired to their posts at Kirki and Dapuri. Their loss was inconsiderable, not more than nineteen killed and sixty-seven wounded; that of the enemy was more severe, besides Moro Dikshit, a Patan officer of rank was killed, and several chiefs were wounded. On the morning after the action the troops from Seroor arrived; and as no danger could now accrue from delay, it was determined to wait for the arrival of General Smith before undertaking any further movements.<sup>1</sup>

The main body of the Mahrattas, after the action, withdrew to a spot about four miles to the east of Poona, the Peshwa having been with difficulty dissuaded by Gokla from flying to Purandhar. Parties spread through the country, and sullied their cause by deeds of useless and barbarous ferocity. On the day after the engagement, two officers coming from Bombay, Cornets Hunter and Morrison, were attacked and plundered by some Mahratta horsemen, and were taken prisoners and sent into the Konkan. A few days afterwards, Captain Vaughan and his brother, who had recently entered the Company's service, having been similarly robbed and seized at Wargam, were taken to Fattehgaon, about twenty-four miles from Poona, and there hanged, by order of the principal fiscal officer. About the same time, Lieutenant Ennis, of the Bombay Engineers, who was out on survey with a small escort, was attacked and killed by a party of Bhils in Trimbak's service; his men fought their way to a neighbouring village, of which the Headman gave them protection and saved their lives.

<sup>1</sup> Papers Mahratta War.—Letters from Mr. Elphinstone. Report of Colonel Burr, pp. 119, 123.—The battle of Kirki was fought through the persuasion and precipitancy of Gokla. The Peshwa, after giving the order, wished to recal it, but Gokla anticipating his irresolution had begun the action. Gokla avowed that his confidence and impatience to engage, were founded on the certainty that the Sipahis would come over by companies or battalions, on the field.—Papers 128.



BOOK II. The customary communications from Poona not having  
CHAP. VI. arrived, General Smith inferred that hostilities had broken  
1817. out, and immediately prepared to retrace his steps. He  
marched from Phulthamba on the 6th of November, and  
arrived at Ahmednagar on the 8th. From thence his  
march was harassed by the Peshwa's horse, but no serious  
delay was occasioned, and he arrived at Poona on the 12th.  
On the 14th, the force was concentrated on a spot between  
the bridge of Kirki and the left bank of the united stream  
of the Muta-Mula, opposite to the Peshwa's army, which  
had taken up its position on the ground of the old can-  
tonments. On the evening of the 16th, the army crossed  
the river in two principal divisions: the one on the right,  
under General Smith, at the confluence of the streams;  
the other on the left, commanded by Colonel Milnes, at  
the Yellura ford. The passage of the first was effected  
without opposition, the whole attention of the Mahrattas  
being directed against the second; but their resistance  
was fruitless, and both divisions were in readiness for a  
combined attack at daylight on the following morning.  
Their junction was effected; but on advancing towards  
the Peshwa's camp, it was found deserted. He had ridden  
off at two in the morning, and his troops had followed,  
carrying off their guns, but leaving their tents standing.  
and the greater part of their stores and ammunition on  
the field. A few Arabs only had been left to guard the  
capital; and as their expulsion would only have caused a  
needless waste of life, they were prevailed upon to retire.  
It was with some difficulty that the troops, incensed by  
the burning of the Residency, by which much of their  
property had been destroyed, and by the ignominious  
murder of the Vaughans, could be restrained from the  
plunder of Poona; but the arrangements adopted for the  
purpose proved successful, and the capital of the Mah-  
rattas was quietly taken possession of in the course of the  
day. Hostilities were, however, far from their termination.<sup>1</sup>  
Baji Rao fled to Purandhar, and stimulated and supported  
by the courage and conduct of Gokla, still cherished hopes  
of baffling and tiring out his enemies and recovering his  
power.

At the time at which these transactions at Poona took

<sup>1</sup> Report from Brigadier General Lionel Smith.—Mahratta Papers, 125.

place, the several divisions were rapidly concentrating on the points to which they were directed.

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The third and fifth divisions of the Madras army crossed the Nerbudda early in November. The former was to have been followed by the first division, but advices of the transactions at Poonah having reached Sir Thomas Hislop, on the 15th of November, he thought it advisable to return to the southward; desiring, however, the third division to advance, and taking possession of the fort of Hindia, which had been temporarily ceded by Sindhia. Before he had proceeded many days on his route, Sir T. Hislop was overtaken by despatches from the Marquis of Hastings, urgently enforcing his adherence to the original plan of the campaign, and enjoining his immediate march in a northerly direction. Accordingly, after making such arrangements as he thought to be required by the state of affairs at Poona and Nagpur, the Commander-in-chief of the army of the Dekhin, with the first division, retraced his steps to the Nerbudda, and again crossed the river on the 30th of November. In the mean time, Sir John Malcolm had traversed the districts chiefly dependent upon Cheetoo, and recovered possession of the places which the Pindaris had wrested from Sindhia and the Nawab of Bhopal. Crossing the Kirveni Ghat into Malwa, he arrived at Ashta on the 21st of November, and was in communication with the fifth division under Colonel Adams, who, after crossing the Nerbudda, on the 14th of November, had advanced on the road to Seronj, in which direction the Durra of Wasil Mohammed had retreated. At Raisen, a communication was opened with the left division of the grand army, which was at Reili on the 28th of November. These three corps were now, therefore, on the proposed line of co-operation, and, by their concurrent movements, had driven the Pindaris from their haunts, and compelled them to fly to the north and west. The country, by these means, was freed from those marauders, and the position of the British detachments served as a new base, upon which future operations were to rest. Accordingly, General Marshall, with the left division of the grand army, marched to Seronj, where he halted till the 7th of December. By the same date, Colonel Adams had reached Manohar Thana, in the principality of Kota. The third division of the

BOOK II. Dekhin army moved westerly, in the track of Cheetoo's  
CHAP. VI. Durra, of which it never lost sight, although unable to

1817.

come up with him. Upon arriving at Burgerh, on the 3rd of December, Sir John Malcolm learned that the Pindaris had doubled to the south, and, having arrived at Mahidpur, were there encamped in the vicinity of Holkar's army, and under its protection. The combined forces of Holkar and Cheetoo being too formidable to be attacked by Sir John Malcom, with the detachment under his command, he drew off towards the south, and halted on the 11th of December, near Tajpur, to be at hand for the instructions of Sir Thomas Hislop, who was again marching rapidly towards him. The first division entered Malwa, on the road to Ujayin, on the 4th of December; Sir Thomas Hislop was at Sonkeir, and on the 7th at Unchode, whither he had previously detached a light division. On the 11th he was at Dattana-mattana, within eight miles of Sir J. Malcolm's camp, and not far from Ujayin. On the following day, the head-quarters of the army of the Dekhin and the first and third divisions marched past Ujayin, and crossing the Sipra at a ford opposite the north-west angle of the city, encamped on the left bank of the river. Directions had been despatched to Sir William G. Keir, commanding the force from Guzerat, to march in the same direction. The army was posted so as to command the approach of Ujayin from the north, and the road to Mahidpur, where lay Holkar's army, and the Cheetoo's Pindaris. It is necessary, however, now to advert to the movements of the army of Hindustan.

Notwithstanding the declarations of Sindhia, that he was as much the enemy of the Pindaris as the British Government, and was resolved to effect their extirpation himself, or unite with the British in so desirable an object, proofs of his insincerity were daily forthcoming, and evidences were multiplied of his being in friendly communication with all who were inimical to the British power. A compact had been entered into with Holkar's Government, having in view the acknowledgment of the Peshwa's supremacy, and a considerable sum of money, twenty-five lakhs of rupees, had been received from Baji Rao to enable Sindhia to move to his assistance. Several envoys from Nepal, with letters, and two of Sindhia's seals, were ar-

rested on their return at Bithur, in the course of September;<sup>1</sup> and letters and messengers from the Pindari chiefs were constantly arriving at Gwalior, and men were enlisted with little attempt at secrecy for their service. It became necessary, therefore, to call upon Sindhia for unequivocal confirmation of his professed friendship, or an avowal of his enmity. It had been the purpose of Lord Hastings to have delayed requiring a categorical answer to his demands, until it should have been so obviously unsafe for Sindhia to decline a compliance, that his assent must be given or his destruction were certain; and this intention was not altogether disappointed, although the announcement of the requisitions of the Governor-General was made rather earlier than had been projected. This had been rendered necessary by the first movements of the army of the Dekhin, and the arrangements made in the end of September, for crossing the Tapti into Sindhia's territories. As the object and intent of the proposed operations could no longer be concealed, it was determined to come to a final understanding with Sindhia, and apprise him fully of what he was required to comply with. At the same time, the organization of the Grand army, and the advance of the centre division to a position suited both to menace Gwalior and to intercept all communication between it and the south, left the Mahratta prince little option between an implicit acquiescence in the demands of the British Government, and the certainty of its prompt infliction of the penalty incurred by his refusal.

The ultimatum of the British Government and the draft of a treaty to be signed by him, were communicated to Sindhia, towards the end of October. At this period, the Marquis of Hastings, with the centre division, crossed the Jumna, and advanced towards the Sindh, established his

<sup>1</sup> The letters were concealed between the leaves of a Sanskrit MS. pasted together at the edges. Some were open, some closed; the former referred obscurely to the intended combinations between Sindhia and the other Mahratta princes. The closed letters were restored to Sindhia in open Durbar, without comment, in the course of October, while the treaty was under discussion. The detection evidently confounded the Court, although Atma Ram, the minister through whom communication with the Resident was usually carried on, affected to treat the letters as a weak invention of the enemy, declaring that they were fabricated by some one who was inimical to his master: Sindhia was silent. It was reported to the Resident at Khatmandu, that the government of Nepal was at this time busily augmenting the military force.—MS. Rec.



BOOK II. head-quarters on that river, at the Seonda Ghat, on the  
CHAP. VI. 7th of November. On the 8th of the same month, the  
1817. right division, commanded by General Donkin, took up the  
position designed for it on the Chambal. Each of these  
divisions was within two marches of Gwalior, when Sind-  
hia, isolated from all his best troops, which, under their  
refractory leaders were at a distance from their dis-  
regarded sovereign, and cut off from all communication  
with the Pindaris and the Peshwa, was wholly unable to  
oppose any resistance to so overwhelming a force. Con-  
scious of his helplessness, he laid aside all attempts at  
subterfuge, and signed the treaty which had been pre-  
sented for his acceptance.

By the engagement now entered into, Doulat Rao Sind-  
hia bound himself to employ his forces conjointly with  
those of the British Government in prosecuting operations  
against, not only the Pindaris, but all other bodies of asso-  
ciated freebooters, with the view of destroying and pre-  
venting the renewal of the predatory system in every part  
of India: to give no shelter or support to the Pindaris,  
but to seize the persons of their leaders and deliver them  
up to the British Government, and never to re-admit the  
Pindaris, or any predatory bands, into his dominions, nor  
allow any of his officers to countenance or support them.  
In order to define the precise extent of his co-operation,  
in addition to the general aid to be given by all his civil  
and military functionaries, Sindhia agreed to maintain a  
contingent of five thousand horse, to serve with the British  
troops, and under British command, and to have an English  
officer attached to each division of such troops as the  
channel of communication with the British commanding  
officer. The same officer was also to be the medium of  
issuing the pay of the contingent, in order to secure its  
being punctually discharged: the funds to be derived from  
the application to this purpose of the amount of the pen-  
sions paid to Sindhia and the members of his family or  
administration, by the British Government, and by the  
assignment to the latter of the tributes of Jodhpur Bundi  
and Kota for a term of two years. In furtherance of the  
military operations of the British against the Pindaris,  
Sindhia consented to yield to them the temporary occu-  
pation of his forts of Hindia and Asirgerh, to be restored

after the war. It was also declared that the eighth article of the treaty of 1805, was annulled, and that the British Government was at liberty to form engagements with the states of Udaypur, Jodhpur, Kota, and other substantive states on the left bank of the Chambal. All claims and rights of Sindhia over states and chiefs, clearly and indisputably dependent on or tributary to him, were not to be interfered with, and his established tributes from other states were to be guaranteed to him, but made payable through the British Government. In consideration of the Maharaja's being bound to treat as enemies, also, any states against which it might become necessary to wage war, either on account of its attacking one of the contracting parties, or aiding or protecting the Pindaris, the British Government promised him a liberal share of the spoil that should be reaped by success. This treaty was concluded on the 6th of November. The fulfilment of the stipulation respecting the contingent was delayed as long as it could be with decency, but rather from the difficulties thrown in the way by subordinate agents, than by Sindhia himself. The Maharaja, although deeply humiliated by his compulsory abandonment of those whom he had long regarded as his servants and dependants, and sincerely distressed by his complete isolation from the Peshwa, to whom he looked up with hereditary regard as the head of the Mahratta association, was too indolent, too good-natured, and too intelligent, not to recognise the immunities which the treaty conferred upon him, the preservation of his tributes, the assistance of the British in reducing his disobedient feudatories and officers to subjection, and his exemption from the turbulence, danger, and ruin in which his connexions with his countrymen might else have involved him.

The engagement with Sindhia had scarcely been concluded when the news of the Peshwa's treachery arrived. The ratification of the treaty was a fortunate occurrence for Sindhia, as it precluded him from listening to the advice of those counsellors who would have urged him to take up arms in the Peshwa's cause, and to which his natural prepossessions inclined him, although he was withheld by his prudence and apprehension. It was fortunate, also, for the British Government; for although the

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BOOK II. result was not doubtful, yet it might have been inconveniently retarded, as the powerful force, which threatened  
 CHAP. VI. Gwalior, was scarcely in a condition to have accomplished  
 1817. the objects for which it had approached that city: it was decimated by disease.

The malady known by the name of spasmodic cholera, evacuations of acrid biliary matter, accompanied by spasmodic contractions of the abdominal muscles, and a prostration of strength, terminating frequently in the total exhaustion of the vital functions, had been known in India from the remotest periods, and had, at times, committed fearful ravages. Its effects, however, were in general, restricted to particular seasons and localities and were not so extensively diffused as to attract notice or excite alarm. In the middle of 1817, however, the disease assumed a new form, and became a widely spread and fatal epidemic. It made its first appearance in the eastern districts of Bengal, in May and June of that year, and after extending itself gradually along the north bank of the Ganges, through Tirhut to Ghazipur, it crossed the river, and passing through Rewa, fell with peculiar virulence upon the centre division of the grand army, in the first week of November. After creeping about insidiously for several days among the lower classes of the camp followers, and engaging little observation, it at once burst forth with irresistible violence, and by the 14th of the month had overspread every part of the camp. Although the casualties were most numerous amongst the followers of the camp and the native soldiery, the ravages of the disease were not confined to the natives, but extended to Europeans of every rank.<sup>1</sup> The appalling features of the malady were the suddenness of its accession, and the rapidity with which death ensued. No one felt himself safe for an hour, and yet, as there was no appearance of infection, the officers generally were active in assisting the medical establishment in administering medicines and

<sup>1</sup> Five officers and 143 men of the European force died in November.—Official return. According to Mr. Surgeon Corbyn, who was serving with the centre division, and whose plan of treatment was circulated to the army by the Marquis of Hastings, his Lordship was himself apprehensive of dying of the disease, and had given secret instructions to be buried in his tent, that his death might not add to the discouragement of the troops, or tempt the enemy to attack the division in its crippled state.—The Treatise on Epidemic Cholera, by F. Corbyn, surgeon on the Bengal establishment, Calcutta, 1832.

relief to the sick. The whole camp put on the character of an hospital;—a mournful silence succeeded to the animating notes of preparation which had hitherto resounded among the tents : in place of the brisk march of soldiers in the confidence of vigour, and in the pride of discipline, were to be seen continuous and slowly moving trains of downcast mourners, carrying their comrades to the funeral pyre, and expecting that their own turn would not be long delayed. Even this spectacle ceased;—the mortality became so great, that hands were insufficient to carry away the bodies, and they were tossed into the neighbouring ravines, or hastily committed to a superficial grave on the spots where the sick had expired. The survivors then took alarm and deserted the encampment in crowds : many bore with them the seeds of the malady, and the fields and roads for many miles round were strewn with the dead. Death and desertion were rapidly depopulating the camp, when, after a few days of unavailing struggle against the epidemic, it was determined to try the effects of a change of situation. The army accordingly retrograded in a south easterly direction, and after several intermediate halts, crossed the Betwa, and encamping upon its lofty and dry banks at Erich, was relieved from the pestilence. The disease disappeared.<sup>1</sup> During the week of its greatest malignity it was ascertained that seven hundred and sixty-four fighting men and eight thousand followers perished.

Whether it was in consequence of any secret intrigue at Sindhia's court, or their reluctance to believe that he was in earnest in abandoning their cause, the Pindari leaders Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed, flying from the combined advance of the divisions under Colonel Adams and General Marshall, marched in the direction of Gwalior, trusting to find there a shelter and an ally. As soon as their project was known, measures were taken to defeat it,

<sup>1</sup> The disorder ceased to be Epidemic about the 23rd of November. A few cases of a similar nature occurred daily till the end of the month. There were no instances of it after the 8th of December. Mr. Jamieson is inclined to ascribe its disappearance not so much to the change of locality, as to the inaptitude of the disease to remain long in one place, a peculiarity which invariably characterized its future progress. In none of the camps which it afterwards visited, did it continue virulent for more than 13 or 15 days.—Report on the Epidemic Cholera-morbus in the Bengal Provinces, in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819, by Assistant-Surgeon J. Jamieson, Secretary to the Medical Board. Published by authority of the Board, Calcutta, 1820.



BOOK II. without giving umbrage to Sindhia by appearing to doubt  
CHAP. VI. his sincerity. A cavalry brigade, and a battalion of Native  
1817. infantry were detached from the centre division towards the Sindh, and they were followed, as soon as the restored health of the troops permitted, by the main body to the same river, but lower down on the Sonari ford, within twenty-eight miles of Gwalior. The advanced guard was thrown across the river, and by an inclination to the left, intercepted all communication on that line between Sindhia and the Pindaris. This movement, and the position of the second division on the Chambal in his rear, with the tidings which came from the south, compelled Doulat Rao to submit to his fate, and to exert himself for the formation of the contingent which he had engaged to furnish, and which was very tardily organized.

The forward movement of the advance of the centre division, under Colonel Philpot, had the effect of compelling Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed to abandon the direct road to Gwalior, and turn off to the north west in the direction of Kota. They were in expectation of finding in the ruler of that country, or in Amir Khan, whose forces lay beyond it, protection if not aid. Zalim Sing, the ruler of Kota, had entered into a close alliance with the British Government, and he was little disposed to incur any risk in favour of a power which he had no longer cause to dread. He, therefore, posted troops so as to shut the passes into his country against the Pindaris, and they were thus obliged to gain admission by force. In their first attempt they were foiled, but they were successful in the second, and carried the Nim-Ghat near Ladana after a respectable resistance, which with their former discomfiture retarded their progress and enabled their pursuers to close upon them from various quarters. The Pindari chiefs had been followed closely by General Marshall with the left division of the grand army. Upon receiving information of the route which they had taken, General Marshall quitted Seronj on the 8th of December, and with a light portion of his force reached Bijrawan on the 13th, where he learned that the main body of the Pindaris was but twenty-two miles distant at Bichi-tál in Kota, on the other side of the Nim-Ghat. He again moved in pursuit

on the night of the 13th, but owing to the badness of the roads, did not reach the foot of the Ghat until two p.m., on the 14th. As soon as the Pindaris heard of the approach of the force, they moved off with their families and baggage, leaving one thousand horse to cover their retreat. The British detachment crossed the Ghat and came in sight of this body, which was charged by the cavalry under Colonel Newberry, and dispersed with some loss. The pursuit was resumed on the two following days to the Parbati river.

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In the meantime, General Donkin, with the right division, had quitted the Chambal, after leaving a guard at the fort of Dholpur, and, after a circuitous march, placed himself between the Pindaris and Amir Khan. At the same time, the reserve of the grand army advanced to the south of Jaypur; and General Ochterlony encamped in such a position as to separate the two principal divisions of the Khan's troops, who were thus intimidated into acquiescence in their being disbanded. A loan of money was made to Amir Khan to enable him to discharge their arrears, and an arrangement was authorised for reorganising a considerable portion of the force by taking it into British pay. By these means, Amir Khan and his chiefs were deprived of all excuse for longer delaying his ratification of the alliance with the British, and the annihilation of his battalions extinguished the hopes which the Pindaris had continued to cherish of the assistance of the Pathan.

The final settlement with Amir Khan being thus effected, General Donkin returned to the left bank of the Chambal, and crossed it at Gamak-Ghat, eight miles north of Kota, on the 13th of December. The route followed by the Pindaris in their flight from Bichi-tál, lay across the direction of General Donkin's march, not many miles to the north east; and information of their proximity reached him on his arrival at the river. Taking with him a light division, General Donkin advanced by forced marches to Kalana on the western Sindh, where accounts of the affair at Bichi-tál were received, and it was ascertained that the Durra of Karim Khan was still in the neighbourhood, unconscious, apparently, of the approach of the detachment. Early on the 17th, the brigade came

BOOK II. up with the Pindaris, but the main body had fled, abandoning their baggage and their families under a small party which immediately dispersed, leaving a quantity of property and Lal ki Begum, the wife of Kharim Khan, in the hands of the victors. A large party was also attacked and put to flight by Gardner's horse, but Karim, with his main force, finding his advance to the north-west frustrated, and hope of succour from Zalim Sing disappointed, turned back, and, passing between the divisions of Generals Donkin and Marshall, through the tract lying between the Sindh and Parbati rivers, trusted to make good his retreat to the south by Shirgerh and Gogal Chapra. He was again out-manœuvred, for although he avoided the division of General Marshall, which had advanced towards the direction of his retreat, he fell upon the line of Col. Adams's route, which had led by Gogal Chapra to Jhilwara on the Parbati, where he had arrived on the 16th of December. This compelled the Pindaris to change their course, and crossing the head of the column, they moved off to the south-west. They had purposely left behind every thing that could retard their flight: all those of the party, who were badly mounted and equipped, dispersed, and none but the most efficient cavalry remained with the leaders. The number of the Durra was reduced to little more than two thousand. As soon as Colonel Adams heard of their course, he despatched his cavalry under Major Clarke, who overtook and routed a party at Pipli. The main body, however, kept in advance, and reached Rajgerh Patan greatly dispirited and disunited, on the 21st. On the same day, Major Clarke rejoined Colonel Adams on his march to Ekkair, where he arrived on the 22nd, and was obliged by heavy rains to halt during the following day. A party of Pindaris, four hundred strong, was here heard of, descending the Tara Ghat, and was pursued and cut up by Captain Roberts with the 1st Rohilla horse. The fugitive Durras continuing their flight, returned after various divergent movements, to the upper course of the Chambal, which they crossed to join the remains of Holkar's army. Colonel Adams following hard upon their track, although greatly delayed by bad weather and insufficient supplies, reached Gangraur on the 6th of January, and halted there for some days to allow his troops to rest

after the fatigue which they had undergone ; the objects of his movements having been completely effected by the retreat of the remains of Karim and Wasil Mohammed's Durras to the south.

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The Pindari Cheetoo, although he had fallen in with Holkar's arm, and reinforced it with part of his followers, did not long remain in its vicinity. Interposing that force between him and his pursuers, he kept his principal party together in the country on the west bank of the Chambal in the upper part of its course, but the British detachments closing round him compelled him to shift his quarters. He returned towards the north, and during the latter days of December was encamped at Singoli, in a rugged country between Bundi and Kota, not more than twenty-five miles south-west from the town of Kota, the people of the country, whose sympathies were in general enlisted in favour of the Pindaris, providing him with supplies and information. He was not long unmolested. General Donkin, who still continued in the neighbourhood, secured the passes into Bundi, and advanced to the Gynta Ghat. Cheetoo was no longer within his reach. Jeswant Rao Bhao of Jawad, one of Sindhia's officers, but, as usual, exercising independent authority within his own districts, invited the Pindari to take shelter in his own country, having given him and his followers an asylum for their property and families in the thickets adjacent to the fort of Kamalmer, in Mewar. Although, however, the final extirpation of the freebooters was not yet accomplished, important advantages had been secured by the judiciousness and activity of the combined operations against them. By the advance of the first and third divisions of the army of the Dekhin, and the flank movement of the fifth, the Pindaris had been driven from their haunts on the Nerbudda. By a seasonable forward movement of a detachment of a centre of the grand army, they had been prevented from making their way to Gwalior, and had been compelled to turn off towards the north-west, in the hope of finding shelter in Kota, or with Amir Khan. Closely followed by the fifth division of the Dekhin army, and the left wing of the grand army from the west and south ; they were cut off from the northern course by the right division of the army of Hindustan, and obliged to confine them-



BOOK II. selves to a narrow region on the western boundaries of  
 CHAP. VI. Malwa. They had been perpetually harassed, repeatedly  
 1817. surprised, and had suffered severe loss. Their numbers  
 had been greatly diminished, and they were now reduced  
 to a few scattered, feeble, and dispirited bands, hopeless of  
 escape from utter destruction, except through the inter-  
 vention of more powerful protectors than any who were  
 likely to come forward in their defence.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Transactions at Nagpur. — Discontent of Apa Saheb. — Accepts publicly Honorary Distinctions from the Peshwa. — Hostile Indications. — Preparations for Defence. — British Force. — Situation of the Residency. — Sitabaldi Hills. — Residency attacked. — Action of Sitabaldi. — Mahrattas defeated. — Negotiations. — Arrival of General Doveton with the Second Division of the Dekhin Army at Nagpur. — Advance of General Hardyman's Division. — Action of Jabalpur. — Town occupied. — Affairs at Nagpur. — Terms offered to the Raja. — Apa Saheb comes into the British lines. — Action of Nagpur. — Mahratta army dispersed. — Contumacy of the Arab garrison. — City stormed. — Failure of the attack. — Terms granted, and Nagpur evacuated. — Provisional Engagement with the Raja. — Policy of the Court of Holkar. — Intrigues with the Peshwa. — Professions of Amity. — Violence of the Military Leaders. — Murder of Tulasi Bai. — Hostilities with the British. — Battle of Mahidpur. — Advance of Sir Thomas Hislop. — Joined by the Guzerat Division. — Sir John Malcolm detached in pursuit of Holkar. — Negotiations for Peace. — Treaty executed. — Prosecution of Operations against the Pindaris. — Karim protected at Jawad. — Concentration of British Divisions on Jawad. — Movements of General Keir. — Cheetoo returns to the Nerbudda Valley. — Surprised by Major Heath. — Takes refuge in Bhopal. — Proposes to submit. — Refuses the Terms. — Again flies. — Karim's Durra surprised by Major Clarke. — Dispersed. — Many of the Leaders surrender. — Lands*

*granted them in Bhopal and Gorakhpur. — General Brown marches against Jawad. — Jeswant Rao Bhao surrenders. — Forts in Mewar recovered. — Troops under military Chiefs in Malwa dispersed. — Order restored in the Territories of Holkar. — Operations against the Peshwa. — General Smith marches to Purandhar. — Peshwa retreats towards the Sources of the Godavari. — Joined by Trimbak. — General Smith cuts off his Flight to Malwa. — He falls back towards Poona. — Captain Staunton detached to reinforce the Troops at the Capital. — Falls in with the Peshwa's Army. — Brilliant Action at Koragam. — General Smith returns to Seroor. — Peshwa turns off to the East. — Pursued by the Reserve. — Joined by the Fourth Division. — Possession taken of Satara. — The Raja proclaimed. — Peshwa formally deposed. — Mahratta Forts reduced. — Smith resumes his Pursuit. — Over-takes the Peshwa at Ashti. — Cavalry Action at Ashti. — Mahratta Horse defeated. — Gokla killed. — The Raja of Satara rescued. — Baji Rao's Followers leave him. — The Southern Chiefs submit. — He flies to the North. — Hemmed in between the British Divisions. — Passes to the East to join the Raja of Nagpur at Chanda. — Chanda covered. — Baji Rao pressed by General Doveton. — Falls upon Colonel Adams. — His whole Force broken up. — He escapes. — Flies towards Burhanpur. — State of the Mahratta Territories. — Ceded Districts in charge of Colonel Munro. — His Operations. — Organizes a Local Militia. — Reduces the neighbouring districts. — Reinforced. — Captures Badami and Belgam. — Assumes command of the Reserve. — Wasota taken. — Raja of Satara formally installed. — General Munro marches against Sholapur. — The Peshwa's Infantry defeated and dispersed. — The Fort surrendered. — Operations in the Konkan. — Reduction of Raigerh. — Country between the Bhima and Krishna Rivers occupied.*

WHILE the right and left wing of the Grand army, and the fifth division of the army of the Dehkin were employed in chasing the Pindaris from the line of the Chambal, and from western Malwa; the other divisions of the Dekhin army had engaged in hostilities with enemies of a different description. The return of the fourth divi-

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BOOK II. sion to Poona, has been described. The second was shortly  
 CHAP. VII. afterwards recalled to Nagpur. The first and third divi-  
 1817. sions which we left at Ujayin, were speedily involved in a  
 conflict with the army of the Holkar state, which was encamped in their vicinity. It will, therefore, be necessary to offer an account of the transactions at those two places.

For some time after the accession of Apa Saheb to the throne of Nagpur, he was profuse in his expressions of gratitude to the allies, through whose support, chiefly, he had succeeded to an authority which, although undoubtedly his by right of affinity, would have been disputed by an adverse and powerful faction, if he had been left to his unassisted resources. Well aware that this was the case, he expressed, and probably felt, for a time, sincere devotion to the British alliance. He soon changed his tone. The conditions of the treaty were somewhat severe, and the amount of the subsidy exceeded a due proportion of the revenues of the country. The charge of the contingent was an addition to a burthen already too weighty for the state, and the Raja had some grounds for complaining of the costliness of his new friends.<sup>1</sup> There was no disinclination to disregard his representations on this head; and it was in contemplation to dispense with part of the contingent, and reduce the amount of the subsidy, or provide for it by territorial cessions. The impatience and folly of Apa Saheb precluded an amicable adjustment.

The propensity to intrigue, so strikingly characteristic of the Mahrattas, existed in all its national activity in the Raja of Nagpur; and, although the stipulations of the treaty which he had so recently signed, restricted him from holding communications with other princes, except with the privity and sanction of the Resident, he was speedily involved in a web of secret negotiation with Sindhia, the Peshwa, and even with the Pindaris. The first rupture with Baji Rao, and the treaty of Poona which followed, struck him with alarm, and he endeavoured to retrieve the error he had committed by the most solemn

<sup>1</sup> The whole charge of the subsidy and contingent, amounted to between twenty and thirty lakhs a year, and were more than one-third of the whole revenue.

assurances, the truth of which he invoked the manes of his father and his household gods to attest, of his unshaken fidelity to his engagements, his affection for the person of the Resident, and his fervent attachment to the British Government. Some steps were taken to prove his veracity by the formation of the contingent; but they were transient and delusive, and Apa Saheb soon reverted to a course of treachery which could not fail to terminate in his own destruction.

In proportion as the state of affairs at Poona hastened towards a crisis, the connexion with the Raja of Nagpur assumed a more uneasy character. The Ministers who had negotiated the subsidiary treaty were disgraced: others known to be unfriendly to the British interests were appointed: troops were levied upon the pretext of completing the stipulated contingent, but in violation of the conditions of the treaty, no information respecting their numbers and composition was imparted to the Resident. The communications with Poona were more frequent than ever, and, as the hostile purposes of the Peshwa were now thoroughly ascertained, any intercourse with him was necessarily to be considered as evidence of equally inimical designs. At last, as if to proclaim his allegiance to the reputed head of the Mahratta confederacy, in defiance of his relations with the British, the Raja accepted from the Peshwa the title of Senapati, or commander-in-chief, and a dress of honour with which he was publicly invested on the 24th of November, after the attack upon the British Residency at Poona, on the 5th, was known to have taken place. The ceremony was performed with due honour, in the presence of the Raja's army, which was encamped on the west side of the city. On this occasion, the Raja hoisted the Zeri Patka, the golden banner of the Mahratta empire. As if intending to add mockery to defiance, the Raja invited the Resident to be present, or to depute some officer of his staff, and requested that a salute might be fired by the troops of the subsidiary force, declaring that he saw no reason why the ceremony should disturb the good understanding that subsisted between him and his allies, and affirming that he had no thought of giving them offence. To the last moment he protested that he was most anxious to pre-

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BOOK II. serve the friendship of the Resident, and was fully prepared to conform to the pleasure of the British Government in all things, hoping that some relaxation of the conditions of the treaty might be admitted in his favour. These proceedings had not passed without meeting with the earnest remonstrances of the Resident, and his announcement of their inevitable consequences. All personal intercourse ceased between him and the court: on the other hand, the communication between the Residency and the city was interdicted, and finally, on the morning of the 26th of November, armed men were stationed opposite to the British lines, and guns pointed against them. Still, however, messages were sent to the Resident proposing terms on which a reconciliation might yet take place, but they were justly regarded as delusive, and the Raja was told that unless he returned into the city immediately, and discontinued his military operations without delay, no negotiations could be entertained. These preliminary conditions being disregarded, the Resident, Mr. Jenkins, prepared to encounter an attack, which he had some days past been induced to believe was contemplated, and which was now evidently on the eve of perpetration.

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The greater part of the Berar subsidiary force had already taken the field, and there remained within reach a detachment which had been posted at Ramtek, about three miles distant, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, consisting of two battalions of Madras Sipahis, the first of the 20th, and first of the 24th regiments of Native infantry; a detachment of European foot and of Native horse artillery, and three troops of the 6th Bengal cavalry. These, upon the Resident's requisition, marched on the 25th, to the Residency grounds, and were there joined by the escort, consisting of about four hundred men, with two guns, two companies of Bengal infantry, and a few troopers of the Madras horse. On the morning of the 26th, they were placed in position on the Sitabaldi hills.

The houses and grounds occupied by the Resident and his suite were situated beyond the city of Nagpur, on the west. They were separated from the suburbs of Nagpur by the Sitabaldi hills, a low range of limited extent, running north and south, and consisting of two elevations at

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either extremity, about four hundred yards apart, connected by a lower ridge, across which lay the public road. The two highest points had an elevation of not more than a hundred feet, and were of different form and extent. The southernmost, which was the larger of the two, was level; its widest extent on the summit was about two hundred and eighty yards from east to west. It was covered with tombs. The smaller hill, at the northern extremity, was conical and narrow at the summit, being about one hundred feet long, by not more than seventeen broad. The slope of both hills was easy of ascent, except in a few places where they had been scarped for quarries. Close along the western base of the whole range extended the Residency; the huts of the escort being situated at the foot of the northern elevation. The several houses and offices occupied the remainder, looking west over a spacious plain. On the other three sides, along the base of the hills, were native huts and houses irregularly disposed. East of them extended the city, and beyond the city, spread the Mahratta camp, stretching round from the east to the south, about three miles from Sitabaldi.

In the disposition made by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott of his small force, the lesser hill was occupied by the 1st battalion of the 24th, with two six-pounders drawn up on its northern declivity. The 1st of the 20th, with one company of the 24th, were posted on the larger eminence, facing east and south. One hundred men of the escort defended its western side, and the rest were stationed to guard the Residency dwellings, which had been fitted for defence as well as time and means allowed. The three troops of cavalry, with the small party of the Madras body guard, were formed on the plain in front of the Residency. The whole force was about one thousand three hundred strong. The numbers of the Mahrattas were computed at twelve thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, the latter including three thousand Arabs.<sup>1</sup>

During the forenoon of the 26th, notwithstanding the receipt of pacific messages from the Raja, large masses of cavalry were seen spreading themselves along the plain to the west of the Residency, while on the side of the city, infantry and guns were taking up positions menacing the

<sup>1</sup> Papers, Mahratta war, 135,

BOOK II. hills. Towards sunset, Mr. Jenkins was visited by two of  
CHAP. VII. the Raja's ministers, Narayan Pundit, and Narayanji  
1817. Nagria; the latter was one of the principal of the war  
faction; the former was friendly to the British. To them  
the Resident repeated his demands that all hostile preparations should be countermanded as a preliminary to any negotiations; but, before he could ascertain the object of their coming, or the extent of their powers, the firing had commenced, and he repaired to the scene of action. Narayanji returned to the Raja: his colleague preferred sharing the fortunes of the Resident.

The abrupt termination of this unproductive mission originated with the Arab mercenaries in the service of Nagpur, who opened a smart fire of musketry upon the eastern face of the southern hill; it was presently followed by a similar attack upon the northern extremity of the ridge, the enemy firing under cover of the huts and the quarries along the skirts of the hill. Their fire was replied to with spirit, and a conflict commenced which continued throughout the night. The principal efforts of the enemy were directed against the smaller hill on the right, and they made repeated attempts to carry the post. These were as resolutely repulsed, but not without loss. The officer commanding, Captain Sadler, was killed, and the 24th had suffered so severely, that about one o'clock it was considered advisable to withdraw the battalion to the right of the position, replacing it by part of the 20th, and the escort under Captain Lloyd, who endeavoured to strengthen his post by a slight breast-work of grain bags on the summit of the hill to which it became necessary to limit the defence: the Arabs increasing in number and in confidence along the acclivity, although repeatedly driven down by the charges of the detachment. The firing was maintained throughout the night upon both extremities of the line, but with less effect upon the right, as the men were there sheltered by the greater extent of the summit, and by the tomb-stones on its surface.

During the night, the whole of the Mahratta army which had hitherto taken no part in the engagement, moved out into the plain, and as they extended in a semi-circle round the south and west, were distinctly discernible by the light of the moon, the illumination afforded by the

firing on either side, and the conflagration of the Arab huts : at dawn of the 27th they occupied the plain in dark, dense masses of horse, interspersed with considerable bodies of infantry, and a numerous artillery. They abstained, however, from any serious demonstration against the Residency, and were contented to remain spectators of the action, which still continued along the hills, where appearances began to assume an aspect most unfavourable to the British. By seven in the morning, nine pieces of artillery were brought to bear upon the northern eminence, to which the detachment could make no effective return from the two guns in their possession. Between nine and ten, one of them was disabled and withdrawn to the rear, which the Arabs observing, they rushed impetuously up the hill, and in spite of their resistance, drove the defenders from the summit. Guns were immediately brought up and directed against the right of the British line, which thus laid bare to a flank cannonade from a rather superior elevation, suffered severely, and officers and men fell fast before the enemy's fire. Some of the Arabs crossed the hill and set the huts of the escort at its western base on fire, while others, boldly advancing along the ridge, planted their standards within seventy or eighty yards of the southern elevation. The enemy in the plain were, also, in movement ; the masses were closing round the rear of the position, and their guns had begun to take effect upon the cavalry stationed in the Residency grounds. The prospect was gloomy, when the day was redeemed by a well-timed and gallant exploit. Being galled by the enemy's fire, Captain Fitzgerald, in disregard of the orders which had commanded him to stand firm,<sup>1</sup> resolved to make a dash against the horse and guns most in advance, and with his three troops of Bengal cavalry, and twenty-five men of the Madras body-guard, he rushed upon the foremost mass of the enemy's horse. The charge was irresistible, the unwieldy column was repeatedly penetrated and broken, and entirely dispersed. Their guns were seized and directed against the fugitives, and before the enemy had recovered from their surprise, Captain Fitzgerald with his trophies

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<sup>1</sup> This circumstance is not noticed by Mr. Prinsep ; nor in the account ascribed to Colonel Lloyd. It is particularly specified by Colonel Fitzclarenee, 121, and by Colonel Blacker, 113.



BOOK II. was again at his post.<sup>1</sup> This sally turned the tide of affairs.  
 CHAP. VII. It had been witnessed from the hill, and gave fresh courage

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to the Sipahis. Charging the Arabs, they compelled them to fall back to the left. At this instant, a tumbril on the northern hill exploded, and taking advantage of the confusion which it occasioned, the Sipahis pressed forward and recovered the position, dislodging the Arabs from the summit, and driving them not only down the slope, but from the suburbs at its foot. They attempted to rally, but were taken in flank by a troop of cavalry which had charged round the northern extremity of the line, and completed the expulsion of the assailants from its eastern front. By noon they were, likewise, driven from their advance upon the southern hill, with the loss of two guns; and no longer venturing to approach the British line, confined their efforts to a distant, and comparatively harmless cannonade. Even this ceased by three o'clock, and the struggle ended in the unexpected triumph of the British detachment.<sup>2</sup> They had not purchased it without loss. One-fourth of their number was killed or wounded, including seventeen officers.<sup>3</sup> Nor were the casualties confined to the military. The imminence of the peril had enlisted the Resident and his civil staff in the ranks, and while they had shewn themselves by their firm bearing, and steady courage, worthy companions of their military

<sup>1</sup> The movement is somewhat differently described by different writers. Mr. Prinsep says, "Captain Fitzgerald led his troops across a dry nulla bounding the Residency grounds, and as some thirty or forty troopers had passed it, led them against the enemy, who retired as he pushed forward, until having passed to some distance beyond the guns, and seeing that the Mahrattas were making a demonstration of surrounding his small party, he commanded a halt. In the mean time, the rest of the cavalry had crossed the nulla and followed the advance, but had judiciously stopped short on reaching the abandoned guns, which were immediately turned upon the Mahrattas, who were kept back by their fire. These guns the cavalry took with them, firing as they retreated." Sir William Lloyd's account is that "Captain Fitzgerald charged with the cavalry under his command, while Lieutenant Hearsay with half a troop, made a dash at two of the guns. Both attacks succeeded." The account given in the text, is derived from Colonels Blacker and Fitzclarence, and Colonel Scott's official report to the Commander-in-Chief. The critical opportuneness of the charge is acknowledged by Colonel Scott in the orders of the day, and in a letter from the Resident, it is stated that "the charge at the critical moment at which it happened, may be said to have decided the fate of the battle."

<sup>2</sup> The above particulars are derived from the official report, Mahratta Papers, 133. Prinsep's narrative, 2, 66. Colonel Blacker's Mahratta war, 109. Colonel Fitzclarence's Journey Overland, 115; and a description from the notes of Sir Wm. Lloyd, published in the Oriental Herald, September and November, 1838.

<sup>3</sup> One hundred and seventeen were killed, and two hundred and forty-three wounded. The officers killed, were Lieutenant Clarke, 1st battalion 20th; Captain Sadler and Lieutenant Grant, 1st battalion 24th.

brethren in the hour of danger, they had been exposed to similar casualties. A medical officer was among the killed, and the civil service had to regret the death of Mr. George Sotheby, the first assistant to the Resident, a gentleman of eminent ability, and lofty promise, who had taken part in the action with distinguished gallantry, and was killed by a cannon shot from the smaller hill, after it had fallen into the hands of the Arabs. Nothing less than the inflexible resolution, and calm valour displayed in this brilliant affair by all present, could have saved them from the sword of an infuriated and barbarous foe, and their families, who tremblingly awaited the event in the adjacent dwellings, from death or dishonour. The victory achieved against such desperate odds, held out to the princes of India an additional lesson on the futility of opposing numbers and physical daring, to disciplined valour, and moral intrepidity.<sup>1</sup>

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As soon as the action was decided, Apa Saheb despatched a messenger to Mr. Jenkins to express his concern for the occurrence, declaring that his troops had acted without his sanction or knowledge, and that he was desirous of renewing his amicable intercourse with his old friends. As little credit could be attached to these assertions, the Raja was told that the final decision now rested with the Governor-General, and that no communication could be permitted as long as the troops of Nagpur were in the field. The condition was acceded to, and on the evening of the 27th the army of the Raja retired to the position beyond the city, which it had formerly occupied. The Resident consented, in consequence, to the Raja's request for a suspension of hostilities, an arrangement equally required by the exhausted state of the British detachment, and recommended by the opportunity which it afforded

<sup>1</sup> The highest commendations were deservedly bestowed upon the troops, by the authorities in India and in England, but it was not until her present Majesty's accession, that any national honours were bestowed upon the survivors. The order of the Bath was then conferred upon Sir Richard Jenkins and Sir William Lloyd. An appropriate and interesting requital of their valour, was granted to the 24th Madras infantry. This regiment had formerly held the place in the Madras army of the 1st regiment, of which the first battalion was concerned in the Vellore mutiny, and the corps was consequently erased from the muster-roll. On this occasion a petition was presented by the native Adjutant, on behalf of the native officers and privates, praying that in lieu of any other recompense for their conduct, the regiment might be restored to its former number, and might resume its former regimental facings. It is scarcely necessary to say that the request was complied with.

BOOK II. for the arrival of the reinforcements for which the  
CHAP. VII. Resident had applied as soon as it appeared likely that a  
1817. conflict was inevitable. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Colonel  
Gahan, who had reached Baitul, on his way to Nagpur, on  
the 26th, accelerated his advance, and arrived on the after-  
noon of the 29th, with three more troops of the 6th  
Bengal cavalry, and six companies of the 1st battalion of  
the 22nd Bengal infantry; being followed by the rest of  
the battalion. On the 5th of December Major Pitman  
joined with a detachment of the Nizam's infantry and  
reformed horse, and on the 12th and 13th, the whole of the  
second division of the Dekhin army, commanded by  
Brigadier-General Doveton, encamped at Sitabaldi. The  
strength of the force now enabled the Resident to dictate  
to the Raja the only terms by which the past might be  
atoned for.

The example or the orders of the Raja of Nagpur, had  
extended the spirit of hostility into other parts of his  
dominions, and his officers were everywhere assembling  
troops and menacing warlike operations. In the eastern  
portion of the valley of the Nerbudda, and in Gondwana,  
their proceedings assumed so formidable a character, that  
the British officers in command of small detachments  
thought it prudent to concentrate their force. Major  
Richards, commanding at Jabalpur, accordingly fell back  
to Gerhwara, where Major Macmorine was posted, and both  
retired to Hosainabad, where on the 20th of December,  
they united with Major Macpherson, resigning the valley  
to the east to the occupation of the enemy. As soon,  
however, as the state of affairs at Nagpur was known to  
the Governor-General, he directed Brigadier General  
Hardyman, who had hitherto held a defensive position in  
Rewa to march to the Nerbudda at once, and there regu-  
late his movements by the advices which he should  
receive from the Resident. General Hardyman marched  
immediately, and leaving a battalion of the 2nd Native  
infantry at Belhari, pushed forward with the 8th regiment  
of Native cavalry, and the 17th regiment of Europeans,  
with four guns. He arrived at Jabalpur on the 19th of  
December, and found the Mahratta Subahdar prepared to  
receive him near that town, at the head of one thousand  
horse and two thousand foot. The force was strongly

posted, having a rocky eminence on the right, and a large tank with the town of Jabalpur on the left. The horse formed the right, the foot with four guns, the left of the line; General Hardyman placed his guns in the centre of his infantry, and formed a reserve of his cavalry, with the exception of two squadrons which were detached into the enemy's rear to intercept his retreat. After a short cannonade, a squadron of the 8th Native cavalry charged the Mahratta left, broke it, and captured the guns. The horse fled, but the foot retired in good order up the hill. They were charged by another squadron of the 8th, but stood their ground until the left wing of the 17th ascended the acclivity. They then dispersed and suffered severely in their flight. A threat of bombarding the town and fort, led to their surrender; and General Hardyman, pursuing his route, crossed the Nerbudda on the 21st. Proceeding towards the south, he was met on the 25th by a message from Mr. Jenkins, dispensing with his further advance, and recommending to his care the upper part of the Nerbudda valley. He, therefore, returned to Jabalpur, and there established his head-quarters.

As soon as the troops of General Doveton's division had recovered from the fatigue of their long and expeditious march, preparations were made for an attack upon the Nagpur army, which continued encamped on the opposite side of the city. Apa Saheb had been previously apprised of the conditions, on his assent to which the permanence of his authority depended. He had been required to acknowledge that by his treacherous conduct he had forfeited his crown, and that the preservation of his sovereignty depended upon the forbearance of his allies; to disband his army, and deliver up his ordnance and military stores; to cede Nagpur to the temporary occupation of the British, as a pledge of his sincerity; and to repair in person to the Residency, and there take up his abode until matters should be finally arranged. Upon his compliance with these requisitions, he was told that he would be restored to the exercise of his authority, with no further diminution of his territory than such as might be necessary for the maintenance of the contingent force which he was bound by treaty to furnish. His assent to these propositions was to be sent in by four o'clock on

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BOOK II. the morning of the 16th of December, and by seven of  
CHAP. VII. the same day his troops were to be withdrawn, and the  
1817. city given up to a British garrison. The Raja was to come in during the day, either before or after the execution of the terms. His refusal, or his neglect to fulfil these stipulations, would expose him to be treated as an enemy. To enforce these demands, the troops were drawn up in order of battle on the evening of the 15th, and slept all night on their arms. Late on that day Apa Saheb announced his acquiescence, but solicited a longer delay ; and, on the following morning, it was affirmed, that the Arabs in his army would not suffer him to quit the camp. These excuses were held to be equivalent to a determination to hazard an engagement, and arrangements were made accordingly.

The army was arrayed in the plain to the south of Nagpur. The cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gahan, formed on the right. The rest of the line consisted of three brigades of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonels Macleod, M'Kellar, and Scott. A reserve brigade of infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, was stationed in the rear, as was the principal battery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Crosdill, ready to be brought forward if needed. The 20th and 24th Madras native infantry, and the Berar auxiliaries, under Major Pitman, remained in charge of the baggage. Before the troops advanced, the Resident sent word to the Raja, that he was still willing to receive him, and granted him the interval until nine o'clock to come over. Accordingly, Apa Saheb, attended by three of his ministers, Ramchandra Wagh, Nagu Punt, and Jeswant Rao Bhao, rode into the lines. Protesting his readiness to accede to whatever conditions the Resident should impose, he endeavoured to protract the period for the surrender of his ordnance and the withdrawal of his troops. Finding that no relaxation could be permitted, he sent back Ramchandra Wagh to carry the terms into effect by noon. At the appointed hour the British force moved forward : an advanced battery of fourteen guns was taken possession of without resistance ; but when the line approached the Raja's main body, it was saluted with a heavy fire of musketry and cannon. The infantry immediately pushed on, while the

cavalry and horse artillery, passing along the rear to the right, came in front of the enemy's left battery, supported by a strong body of both horse and foot. The battery was promptly carried. The troops were charged and dispersed. Continuing the pursuit, the cavalry came upon a second battery and carried it, but were threatened by a superior number of the enemy's horse. These were broken by the fire of the horse artillery, and the pursuit was continued for three miles, when the cavalry halted for the infantry to join, who had, in the meantime, charged and routed the right and centre of the Mahrattas, and captured their artillery. By half-past one the enemy had disappeared, leaving the camp standing, and forty-one pieces of ordnance on the field, and twenty more in a neighbouring depôt. The British encamped in the bed of the Naga rivulet fronting the city.

The disregard apparently shown to the orders of the Raja might have been preconcerted; but it not improbably arose from the headstrong wilfulness of individual leaders, and was characteristic of the relaxation of authority which prevailed generally in the Mahratta armies. The incidents that followed exhibited the same feature in a still more prominent light. The Arab mercenaries, heedless of all considerations of public welfare, and determined to secure advantageous stipulations for themselves, exposed the capital of their retainer to almost certain destruction. Being joined by a body of Hindustanis, so as to form a force of about five thousand men, they threw themselves into the palace which formed a kind of citadel within the walls of the town, and occupied the approaches to it that lay through narrow streets, between well-built houses, from the flat tops and loopholes of which a murderous fire could be maintained, with little risk of loss to the defenders. It was found necessary, therefore, to proceed deliberately against the refractory soldiery, and clear away the obstacles which barred access to their principal defence. To do this promptly was impracticable, as the battering train attached to the second division had been left behind at Akola, on the advance to Nagpur. It was now ordered forward; but, in the meantime, batteries were formed with the guns in camp, and between the 19th and 22nd of

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BOOK II. December, regular approaches were carried along the  
 CHAP. VII. lateral embankments of a large piece of water, the Jama  
 Talao, which was situated between Nagpur and the Sita-  
 baldi hills, until they reached the transverse bank, parallel  
 1817. with the city wall. Trenches were then dug, and the  
 opposite gateway, with a part of the wall on either side,  
 was soon laid in ruins. The walls of the palace were  
 about two hundred and fifty yards distant, and it was  
 considered practicable to form a lodgment at this point  
 from whence they might be breached, with which view, a  
 party, consisting of one company of the Royal Scots, and  
 four of the 22nd Bombay native infantry, with sappers  
 and miners, was ordered against the gateway, while two  
 different assaults were made in other quarters, to distract  
 the attention of the garrison. The subordinate attacks  
 succeeded, but that on the principal gateway failed, the  
 column encountering a raking fire from the Arabs under  
 cover of the houses on either hand, which inflicted heavy  
 loss, and could not be effectively met. The troops, there-  
 fore, hesitated to follow their officers, one of whom, Lieut.  
 Bell<sup>1</sup> of the Royals, was killed in the breach. The assail-  
 ants were recalled, and it was resolved to await the arrival  
 of the heavy artillery. The necessity of this delay was  
 obviated, however, by the repetition of proposals from the  
 Arabs to capitulate; and as much loss had been already  
 suffered, and little progress could be made until the ar-  
 rival of the battering train, it was deemed prudent to get  
 rid of them by granting the conditions which they had  
 originally demanded: security for their persons, property,  
 and families, a gratuity of fifty thousand rupees in addi-  
 tion to their arrears of pay, and a safe conduct to Mal-  
 kapur, where they were to be disbanded, and allowed to  
 go whither they pleased, upon an engagement not to enter  
 the fort of Asirgerh.<sup>2</sup> After plundering the palace, and  
 committing various excesses, the Arabs marched out of  
 Nagpur, which was occupied by a detachment under  
 Colonel Scott; some of them went off to Hyderabad, but

<sup>1</sup> The total loss was ninety killed and one hundred and seventy-four wounded.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Blacker considers the engineer blamable for the failure of the storm. He is the authority also for the Arabs having their own terms. Lord Hastings and Mr. Prinsep do not specify the fact, nor is it mentioned in the Resident's or General Doveton's despatches.—Papers, Mahratta war, 133, 176.

the larger number found their way to Kandesh, where they enlisted with the enemies of the British in that quarter. During the operations against the city, the principal body of the Nagpur horse, which had fled to Warigam, was surprised by a detachment under Major Munt, and put to the rout.

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As soon as information of the attack upon the Residency reached the Governor-General, he had resolved not to leave Apa Saheb even nominally at the head of the government of Nagpur, nor did he change his decision upon learning that the Raja had given himself up, but reiterated his orders for Apa Saheb's deposal, unless the Resident should have entered into engagements with him implying the non-enforcement of that condition. His Lordship's instructions having been delayed by the difficulty of communication, Mr. Jenkins had, in the meantime, guaranteed to the Raja the continuance of his rank, influenced by the hope that the danger he had incurred, and the lenity he had experienced, might deter him from future practices adverse to the interests of his allies, and hazardous to himself; and by the conviction that the stipulations to which he had assented were sufficient to deprive him of the power of doing mischief, and to place upon a sound and durable basis the objects of the alliance. When made aware of the Governor-General's reluctance to the restoration of the Raja, it was too late to follow his policy, and it was not the purpose of the Marquis of Hastings to annul any part of the arrangements to which the faith of the Resident had been plighted; but as the treaty with the Raja had not been definitively agreed upon, Mr. Jenkins offered to him, as the condition of his preserving his power, a provisional engagement, subject to the approbation of the Governor-General, to the following effect:—The Raja was required to cede his territories to the northward of the Nerbudda, as well as certain districts on the southern bank, and all his rights in Berar, Sirguja, Gawil-gerh, and Jaspur, in lieu of the former subsidy and contingent; to consent that the affairs of his government should be conducted by Ministers in the confidence of the British Government, and conformably to the advice of the Resident; to reside in Nagpur under the protection of British troops; to pay up the arrears of subsidy; to give up any



BOOK II. forts which the Resident might require to be occupied by  
 CHAP. VII. British troops ; to dismiss from his service, and to apprehend, if possible, the persons whom he represented as resisting his orders, and deliver them to British officers ; and to transfer to the British authorities the Sitabaldi hills, with ground adjacent, sufficient for a Bazar, to be fortified at the pleasure of the British Government.<sup>1</sup> The Raja gave his consent to these demands, and resumed his throne on the 9th of January. Such, however, was his infatuation, that his conduct very soon justified the extreme measures which the Governor-General had originally enjoined, and he ceased to hold a place among the princes of India. Before, however, pursuing his fortunes, it will be advisable to revert to those of his confederates, Holkar and the Peshwa.

The conduct of the persons by whom the affairs of Holkar were administered, had long been characterised by a vacillating and insincere policy, arising from conflicting interests and feelings. In the first instance, the leading individuals had readily entered into the projects of the Peshwa ; and the Government, in a fresh engagement concerted with Sindhia, had, as we have noticed, recognised in the first article the obligation to serve and obey that prince, as the bond of the mutual faith of the contracting parties. Envoys from the Peshwa were received with honour in the course of 1815 and 1816, and a persuasion was entertained that it would be practicable to form a general confederacy against the English, which should curb their ambition and curtail their power. Yet, although the national prepossessions of the Bai and her confidential ministers, Tantia Jog, and Ganpat Rao, inclined them to make common cause with the Peshwa, they were far from confident of the result, and a Vakil was sent to the British Resident at Delhi, to assure him of the friendly dispositions of the court. Up to the latest moment these assurances were repeated to Captain Tod, the political agent at Kota, and to Sir J. Malcolm, and even after the arrival of Sir T. Hislop, at Ujayin, accredited agents were sent into his camp, vested, as they affirmed, with full powers to

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Marquis of Hastings.—Secret Committee, 21st Aug. 1826.—Papers, Mahratta war, 423.

negotiate a treaty.<sup>1</sup> Terms similar to those which had been concluded with Sindhia, were proposed, and the Vakils returned with them to the Bai, who, with her favourite, Ganpat Rao, would now have gladly accepted any conditions that should extricate them from the violence with which they were surrounded, and solicited an asylum with the British force. This was readily promised, but, although the parties were no doubt sincere, it was not easy for them to avail themselves of the desired protection. The military commanders, particularly Roshan Beg, who was at the head of the disciplined brigades, and Ram Din, who commanded the Mahratta horse, knowing that the immediate consequences of a pacification with the British would be the disbanding of their licentious soldiery, and the annihilation of their power, and encouraged by the receipt of considerable sums from the Peshwa, and by promises of more, had perseveringly urged recourse to hostilities, and had compelled the Bai to sanction the movement of the Holkar troops towards the south, which had brought them into the proximity of the British divisions. Aware of the negotiations that had been commenced, and of the disposition which prevailed in the court to conclude an accommodation, these men determined, not only to interrupt, but effectually to counteract the pacific projects of the Bai and her ministers. Motives of personal dislike instigated other influential members of the administration to favour the execution of the plot, and on the 19th of December, Ganpat Rao and Tulasi Bai were seized, and separated from the person of the young prince: the former was imprisoned: a strict guard was placed over the tent of the Bai, and at dawn of the following morning she was carried to the banks of the Sipra, where her head was severed from her body, and the body was thrown into the river. Tulasi Bai was a woman of low extraction, the supposed daughter of a mendicant priest; her beauty had introduced her to the notice of Mulhar Rao, over whom she acquired an entire command, and established an authority in his court, which secured her during his insanity, and after his death, the charge of the

<sup>1</sup> In a letter of the 17th Dec. he mentions, "Since the united division moved to this place, within fourteen miles of the camp, a more definite negotiation has been opened; Vakils have been sent to the camp, and the substance of a treaty has been proposed."

BOOK II. regency. She was not thirty when she was murdered.  
 CHAP. VII. She was a woman of engaging manners, persuasive elo-  
 1817. quence, and quick intelligence; but she was profligate,  
 vindictive and cruel, and excited the fears and contempt  
 of those with whom she was connected in the administra-  
 tion of the government. Her death was little heeded, and  
 still less lamented. The military commanders, the prin-  
 cipal of whom were Ghafur Khan, the confederate and  
 representative of Amir Khan, Roshan Beg, commanding  
 the infantry, Sudder-ud-din, and Ram Din, commanding  
 the cavalry, bound themselves by an oath of fidelity to  
 each other, and professing to act under the orders of the  
 young Mulhar Rao Holkar, prepared with great gallantry  
 and some skill to encounter the British army.

Sir Thomas Hislop marched before daybreak of the 21st  
 of December, from his encampment at Hernia, and follow-  
 ing the right bank of the Sipra river, came in sight of the  
 enemy about nine; a large body of their horse on the  
 same side of the river had attempted to retard the ad-  
 vance, and harass the flanks of the army, but their main  
 force was on the opposite side, the right resting on a  
 rugged and difficult ravine, the left on a bend of the river,  
 opposite to the town of Mahidpur. They were drawn up  
 in two lines, with a range of batteries, mounting seventy  
 guns in their front. The horse, which had crossed the  
 Sipra, were soon driven back, and retreated to the main  
 body forming in its rear. The troops then moved to  
 the river, where a single ford was found available. The  
 banks of the river were lofty, but under the further one  
 was a spit of sand, on which the troops might form under  
 shelter from the enemy's fire; and near at hand opened  
 the mouth of a ravine, by which they could ascend under  
 cover to the top of the bank. Batteries were erected on  
 the right bank, to protect their passage. In this manner,  
 the river was crossed without much loss, but as soon as  
 the heads of the columns emerged from the ravine, a  
 heavy cannonade was opened upon them, from which they  
 suffered severely. With unflinching steadiness, however,  
 they took up their position, and, as soon as they were  
 formed, the first and light brigades, commanded by Sir J.  
 Malcolm,<sup>1</sup> pushed forward against the enemy's left, whilst

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm.—Central India, i. 316.

the cavalry, supported by the second brigade, attacked the right. Both attacks were successful. The troops advanced in front of a well-sustained fire, and carried the guns, on which the enemy's infantry on either flank broke and fled. The centre stood firm, until the second brigade wheeled upon them, when finding themselves assailed on both flanks, they also dispersed. The fugitives were briskly pursued. In the pursuit, the cavalry came upon the camp, which was deserted, but found themselves exposed to the fire of a battery lower down the river, where the enemy seemed disposed to rally in a position difficult of approach, from the ravines into which the ground was broken. The object of the renewed resistance was, however, merely to give time for the passage of their troops across the river, and as soon as the infantry came up, the enemy hastily resumed their retreat. The pursuit was continued until dark, when the troops were re-assembled and encamped on the field of battle.

The victory was not achieved without loss. Of the British, nearly eight hundred were killed and wounded, including three European and twenty-seven Native officers.<sup>1</sup> Three thousand of the enemy were reported to be killed and wounded. Young Holkar, after the action, was carried off to Allote; he had been present in the action, seated on an elephant, and is said to have exhibited no marks of apprehension, but to have shed tears when he saw his troops retreat from the field. Ganpat Rao and Tantia Jog, who, during the action had escaped from their guards, joined the Raja, and the latter received the office of minister from Kesaria Bai, the mother of the young prince, who was acknowledged as Regent.

Although prostrated by the action of Mahidpur, the court of Holkar retained for a short period its hostile attitude, and it was necessary to detach a division of the army, under Sir J. Malcolm, to disperse the enemy's troops which still kept the field. The division moved on the 26th of December, and, after several marches, overtook the baggage and the cattle of the enemy, at Mandiswar, on the 31st. The main body of the army, under Sir

<sup>1</sup> The European Officers killed, were Lieutenant Macleod, Royal Scots; Lieutenant Coleman, Madras European regiment; and Lieutenant Glen, 1st battalion, 3rd regiment N. I.



BOOK II. Thomas Hislop, followed on the 27th, and amidst very heavy rain, reached Taul on the Chambal on the 30th, where it was joined by the division from Guzerat, under Sir W. G. Keir. This force had marched from Baroda, on the 4th of December, on the high road to Ujayin, and had reached Dawad on the 13th, when it was recalled to the vicinity of Baroda, by the positive orders of the Bombay Government, who, on hearing of the attack on the British Residency at Poona, became alarmed lest the Gaekwar should imitate the Peshwa's example. It would have been rather extraordinary if the ruler of Guzerat had coalesced with a prince who had always been his inveterate foe, and whose participation in the murder of his minister, was in part the occasion of the existing hostilities ; but the Gaekwar was a Mahratta, who shared in the national veneration for the office of the Peshwa, and in the sympathy felt for his humiliation, and these apprehensions of the Bombay Government were not altogether without foundation. The amount of the danger likely to arise from the Gaekwar's possible treachery, seems, however, to have been exaggerated ; and the abrupt recall of General Keir's division was condemned by the Governor-General as unnecessary and ill-advised. The orders had been subsequently so far qualified, that their execution was made conditional upon the decision of the Resident, and as he did not consider the danger to be imminent, he authorised the division to march to its original destination, and it had proceeded accordingly to Malwa, where it fell in with the army of the Dekhin. The whole force then marched to Mandiswar, where it again united with the detachment under Sir John Malcolm.

Previous to the concentration of the British army, overtures of peace had been made by Holkar's ministers to Sir J. Malcolm, and preliminaries had been adjusted. Tantia Jog himself, had repaired, in consequence, to the British camp, and on the 6th of January, a definitive treaty was concluded. The principal terms of this engagement were the confirmation of the stipulations entered into with Amir Khan, and the relinquishment of all claims to the territories which had been guaranteed to him and to his heirs ; the cession to the Raj Rana of Kota, of various districts rented by him of the Holkar state ; the renunci-

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ation of all right to territories within and north of the Bundi hills; and the cession to the British Government of all claims and territories within and south of the Sathpura hills, and in Kandesh, with all claims of tribute and revenue from the Rajput princes. It was also provided that Ghafur Khan, who had advocated pacific negotiations, and had kept his troops aloof from the battle of Mahidpur, should retain the lands held on the tenure of military service as a hereditary fief, on condition of his furnishing a stipulated force for the Raja's service. In return, Holkar was released from all dependency on the Peshwa, and was guaranteed in his dominions by the British Government, on whose part a Resident was appointed at the Raja's court, and by whom a field force was to be maintained, and stationed at pleasure in the Raja's territories.<sup>1</sup> He was thus, virtually, in the position of a prince bound by a subsidiary alliance, and deprived of all independent sovereignty. Such was the fate of a martial dynasty which had once been dreaded throughout Hindustan; which had at one time threatened the supremacy of the Peshwa, and had intimidated even the British Government in the moment of victory into a discreditable course of conciliatory policy, the abandonment of its advantages, and the desertion of its allies.

The defeat of Holkar's army completed the series of events, in the course of which all the Mahratta princes, with the exception of Sindhia, had blindly rushed into toils of their own weaving, and had, in a singular manner, converted anticipated contingencies into realities—their possible combination with the Pindaris into actual war against the British—and thus had fully justified the precautionary policy of the Governor-General. Little more was to be feared from any efforts they might make. Holkar was an ally dependent for his existence upon his late enemies, and the Raja of Nagpur was in an equally helpless predicament. The Peshwa was still at large, but no longer formidable; and the British Government was left free to prosecute to a conclusion the main objects of its arming,—the suppression of the predatory system, and the complete annihilation of the scattered remnants of the Pindari associations.

<sup>1</sup> Papers, Mahratta war.—Collection of Treaties, p. 86.

BOOK II. The first operations of the British divisions had succeeded, as we have seen, in driving the Pindaris from their haunts along the Nerbudda, and had forced them to fly to the north and west, in the hope of penetrating either to Gwalior or to Mewar. They were frustrated in both designs by the intervention of the British forces, and had been roughly handled. They still, however, continued in some force on the line of the upper course of the Chambal, and, by the rapidity of their movements, for a while continued to elude pursuit. Their activity served only to delay, for a brief interval, the hour of their extinction, which it was now determined to prosecute with renewed vigour. Hitherto the different divisions had been retarded in their movements by the heavy artillery, which had been necessarily attached to them, while the enemies whom they might have to encounter were uncertain; but the diminished probability of requiring heavy ordnance in the field, enabled the brigades to dispense, in a great measure, with their guns, and to move with greater lightness and rapidity.

The durras of Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed, reduced in number, exhausted by fatigue, and dispirited by defeat, had been arrayed with the battalions of Roshan Beg, at the battle of Mahidpur. The arrangements which were subsequently made with the government of the young prince, compelled their separation, and the Pindaris moved to the westward, towards Jawad, where Jeswant Rao Bhao, who had previously afforded Cheetoo and his followers an asylum, extended his protection to the other chiefs. At the same time, General Donkin was at the Ghynta Ghat, on the Chambal, just above the afflux of the Sindh, and General Adams at Gangraur, on the Kali Sindh. General Marshall had been recalled to Bairsia, detaching part of his division to rejoin the centre of the grand army, from which the Marquis of Hastings had detached General Brown in advance, to act against the Pindaris. The detachment consisted of two regiments of native cavalry, four regiments of irregular horse, a dromedary corps, one troop of gallopers, a battalion of native infantry, and a company of pioneers.<sup>1</sup> General Brown followed a line passing between the divisions of Generals

<sup>1</sup> Blacker, 195.

Donkin and Adams, and on the 5th of January was at Soneir, where he was in communication on his left with General Adams, and on his right with the Resident at Kota.

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The retreat of the Pindaris towards Jawad being ascertained, the several detachments moved upon that place as the centre of their operations. On the north, General Donkin moved westward, so as to shut up all the passes which led from the narrow tract within which the Pindaris were now confined, and arrived at Sanganer on the 8th of January, where he halted for three days, in order to receive intelligence of the movements of the other divisions.

As soon as the submission of Holkar was tendered to Sir Thomas Hislop, and the direction taken by the Pindari Chief, Cheetoo, was ascertained, Sir W. G. Keir, with the Guzerat division, was detached in pursuit. He was preceded by Captain Grant, who, with three troops of native cavalry, fifteen hundred Mysore horse, and a weak battalion of infantry, had been sent to follow Karim Khan. As he advanced to the north-west, the Pindaris fled before him, and upon his arrival at Jawad, the chief, Jeswant Rao, was so far intimidated as to compel the parties of both Karim and Cheetoo to leave the immediate neighbourhood of his fort. No positive information of their movements could be obtained, as the inhabitants were friendly to them; and Captain Grant was therefore obliged to halt in the position which he had taken up. Sir W. Keir had turned off to the left, from the direct road to Jawad, in hope of surprising a body of Pindaris at Dhera; but they fled at his approach, leaving five guns and some baggage on the ground.

The advance of Captain Grant's detachment had driven the united durras of Cheetoo and Karim to the northward, and they were heard of by General Donkin at Dhaneta, in the neighbourhood of Chitore. Thither Colonel Gardner, with his irregular horse, was directed to proceed, but on his arrival learned that the Pindaris had again turned back to the south, and that the principal body, under Cheetoo, had moved towards the frontiers of Guzerat. while the durras of Karim and Wasil Mohammed had gone towards Malwa. Major-General Donkin, therefore



BOOK II. recalled his parties, and resumed his defence of the north-  
CHAP. VII. ern line, shifting his head-quarters from Sanganer to  
Shahpura.

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Sir W. Keir, having ascertained the intended direction of Cheetoo, pursued his course also to the westward, and was at Bhinder on the 12th of January, where the nature of the country precluding a forward movement, he retraced his march to Pertabgerh. On his route he learnt that a number of Pindaris were collected at the village of Mandapi, under the protection of Fazil Khan, a dependant of Jeswant Rao Bhao, who, like his superior, gave covert encouragement to the freebooters, and allowed his village to become a rallying point for fugitives from all the durras; disclaiming, nevertheless, all connexion with Karim, and having, through his chief, obtained from Captain Caulfield, the British agent, letters of protection. Sir W. Keir, having formed a detachment of four squadrons of the 17th dragoons, and eight hundred infantry, moved against Fazil Khan, and pushed on with the dragoons to surround the villages, until the infantry could come up. As soon as the cavalry appeared, the Pindaris rushed out in various directions, and endeavoured to escape, but they were pursued by the horse, and nearly a hundred were cut up. The infantry arrived; the village was occupied, and the fort was about to be attacked, when a nephew of Fazil Khan appeared and produced his letters of protection. They saved the place from pillage; and such articles as had been taken were restored to the inhabitants, although they were, in part at least, the spoils of the fugitives.

The main body of Cheetoo's force, after experiencing much distress from the unproductiveness of the country, and the hostility of the Bhil inhabitants of the mountains and thickets with which it was covered, and foiled in their attempts to reach the Guzerat frontier, by the measures adopted for its security, and by the activity with which they were driven from one post to another, endeavoured to reseek once more their original haunts on the upper part of the Nerbudda. By taking a circuitous route, they evaded the pursuit of the British detachments. Crossing the territories of Holkar to the eastward, Cheetoo reached Unchode, and on the 24th of January ascended the Ghat to Kanode, but twenty-two miles north-west

from Hindia on the Nerbudda, where Major Heath was stationed. Intelligence of the arrival of the Pindaris having reached him at 1 P.M., he formed a detachment of European and native infantry, and a party of irregular horse, about eight hundred strong in all, and marched without delay against the marauders. He came upon their camp at eight in the evening; the darkness prevented his inflicting much mischief, but his movements had the effect of completely dispersing them, with the loss of their elephants and camels, and many of their horses. Cheetoo fled up the Ghats, and again assembled some of his scattered followers, but he was heard of by General Adams, and was once more obliged to take to flight by the approach of a detachment under Captain Roberts. After this, he wandered about Malwa for some time, until finding his situation desperate, he suddenly made his appearance in the camp of the Nawab of Bhopal, and, through his intercession, attempted to make terms with the British Government, demanding to be taken into its service with a body of his followers, and a Jagir for their maintenance. Finding that he had nothing to expect beyond personal immunity, and a provision for his support in some part of Hindustan, he again became a wanderer, and, eluding all pursuit, made his way into Kandesh and the Dekhin, where he united himself with some of the disorganised bands of the Peshwa's routed army, and shared in their ultimate dispersion. Although his principal leaders had surrendered, and most of his followers had quitted him, he still disdained the conditions on which he might have purchased repose and safety; and in the rainy season of 1818, joined Apa Saheb, the Raja of Berar, with whom we shall, at present, leave him.

The durras of Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed, after leaving Jawad, retraced their course to Malwa, which they entered in three bodies, more effectually to distract the attention of the British divisions, and avoid their collision. The most considerable of the three, led by Namdar Khan, the nephew of Karim, passed round by Nimach, and, crossing the Chambal, marched past Gangraur, where Colonel Adams was encamped, to Kotri, on the Kali Sindh, where they seemed to have considered themselves in safety. Accurate information of their progress was brought to

BOOK II. Colonel Adams, and he despatched Major Clarke, with the  
CHAP. VII. fifth cavalry, to surprise them. The detachment came in

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sight of the bivouac of the Pindaris about an hour before dawn, and as there appeared to be no stir indicating any dread of his approach, Major Clarke halted, until daylight should enable him to make his onset with more precision. As soon as the day broke, he divided his detachment, and ordering Lieutenant Kennedy to make a direct attack with three troops, he led the rest to a point where he might better intercept the fugitives. The manœuvre was attended with complete success. The Pindaris, taken by surprise, attempted to escape from their assailants, and fell upon the party stationed to stop their flight. The pursuit was maintained for twenty miles, and of the whole body, estimated at one thousand five hundred men, not more than five hundred escaped.

Although the principal party was thus destroyed, there still remained the other two bodies which had passed to the southward of Gangraur, and to which the wreck of the defeated portion united themselves. They were not allowed to gather strength. Colonel Adams, satisfied that the district of Mewar was now cleared of them, confined his attention to those in Malwa, and following them up without intermission for nine days consecutively, drove them to the confines of Bhopal. Finding themselves thus hard pressed, the body finally disbanded, and Namdar Khan delivered himself up, with eighty-seven followers, to Colonel Adams, at Deorajpur, on the 3rd of February. Karim Khan, who had been concealed at Jawad until the 30th of January, and had subsequently wandered from village to village, surrendered himself to Sir John Malcolm on the 15th of February. His eldest son, and other Sirdars of his durra, gave themselves up soon afterwards through Zalim Sing of Kota. Kadir Buksh, of the Holkar Shahi Pindaris, delivered himself to Sir John Malcolm. Wasil Mohammed contrived to find his way to Gwalior, and threw himself on the protection of Sindhia, but was given up at the demand of the British Government. Many others put themselves into the hands of the Nawab of Bhopal. The terms that had been offered to the chiefs were, the removal of themselves and families to Hin

dustan,<sup>1</sup> where they were promised grants of land for their support, and in the interval a pecuniary provision. Karim Khan, Kadir Buksh, Rajan, and Wasil Mohammed were accordingly, with their families and followers, sent to Gorakhpur, where the two former were gradually transmuted into peaceable and industrious farmers.<sup>2</sup> Wasil Mohammed, restless and discontented, attempted to escape from the surveillance to which he was subjected, and being prevented from effecting his purpose by the vigilance of the police, took poison and perished. Namdar Khan, who had never led a predatory gang into the Company's possessions, and for whose good conduct the Nawab of Bhopal became responsible, was allowed to settle in Bhopal. The fate of Cheetoo will be subsequently noticed. Of their respective followers, great numbers had been destroyed by the troops,—still more by the villagers in some parts of the country, and by the Bhils and Gonds; still greater havoc was made among them by fatigue, exposure, and famine. That so many should still have adhered to their leaders, amidst all the hardships and dangers which they underwent, is a singular proof of that fidelity to their leaders, which characterises the natives of India; as nothing could have been more easy than for a Pindari to have deserted his captain, and become identified with the peasantry. The tenacity with which some of their principal leaders clung to the life of a wanderer and a plunderer, preferring privation, peril, and death, to the ease and security of tranquil social existence, exhibited also that impatience of control, that love of independence, which is the general attribute of half-civilised and martial people. It has been remarked as extraordinary, that in many parts of the country, and particularly in Harawati, the villagers were disinclined to give any information that might lead to the discovery and destruction of a Pindari band; but the inhabitants of

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<sup>1</sup> Their great fear was being sent to Europe, by which, however, it was found they meant Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> Karim's land was calculated to produce sixteen thousand rupees a year, his family and followers amounted to six hundred persons. Kadir Buksh's followers were about one hundred and twenty; his lands were of the value of four thousand rupees per annum: a few years after his establishment, he experienced some of the miseries he had been wont to inflict: in 1822, his house was attacked by a gang of Dekoits, from Oude; four of his people were killed, and many wounded, and much of his property was carried off.



BOOK II. those countries had never suffered any greater injury from  
 CHAP. VII. the Pindaris than from the other component members of  
 1818. the Mahratta army,—they considered rapine inherent in the system,—had often taken part in it themselves, and looked with sympathy and admiration upon the hardships and hazards which their countrymen and fellow-plunderers underwent. The state of society in Central India was similar to that of Europe in the early part of the middle ages, when robbers, and outlaws, free companions and banditti, were objects of less terror than the more powerful and equally rapacious baron,—the more necessitous and equally unscrupulous monarch.

Simultaneously, and in connection with the pursuit of the Pindaris, the forces on the north of the Nerbudda, were engaged in various military operations which require to be noticed. The conduct of Jeswant Rao Bhao, in the protection which he had given to the Pindari leaders,<sup>1</sup> was justly regarded by Lord Hastings to be incompatible with the alliance which subsisted with his liege lord, Sindhia, and as it was satisfactorily established, that, although the main body of the freebooters had withdrawn from Jawad on the approach of Captain Grant's detachment, yet a number of them, with some of the chiefs, had been secretly sheltered by him, he was denounced as a public enemy, and General Brown, whose advance to Suneir has been mentioned, was ordered to proceed against him. Before the receipt of these instructions, General Brown had marched towards Jawad, when Captain Caulfield, who had been despatched to act with Jeswant Rao's contingent, under the treaty of Gwalior having found all expostulation unavailing, withdrew to the British camp. At his suggestion, a squadron of cavalry was sent round the town to occupy the road by which the Pindaris might escape. On their march they were fired at, both from the town and from an encampment of

<sup>1</sup> Besides the Pindaris who were driven out of the village of Fazil Khan, and those of inferior rank who were sheltered in his forts and villages, Jeswant Rao gave open countenance to Bhikhu Sayed, a Sirdar who led the incursion into Gantur in 1815, and permitted him to pitch his tents within a short distance of that of Captain Caulfield, the British political agent. It was afterwards discovered, also, that Karim Khan, who had been unable through indisposition to accompany his Durra, was secreted in the town of Jawad at the time of its occupation. Jeswant Rao's protection was not altogether gratuitous: he received, it was stated, a hundred rupees for every Pindari to whom he gave an asylum.—MS. Rec.

Jeswant Rao's forces on the south of the town, on which General Brown immediately ordered out his whole line for an assault upon the Mahratta posts. The third cavalry and horse artillery having joined the advanced squadron, the whole, under Captain Newbery, attacked and carried the camp, whence the detachment had been fired upon. Captain Ridge with the fourth cavalry, and a party of Rohilla horse, was sent against a second and still stronger encampment, formed of two regular battalions, besides horse and six guns, on the north of the town. The detachment, disregarding the fire, galloped into the camp, charged and cut up the battalions and captured the guns; while General Brown caused the gates of the town to be blown open, and carried the place by storm. Jeswant Rao escaped with a few followers, and took shelter in Komalner. He shortly afterwards surrendered that fortress to General Donkin, and gave himself up to Sir J. Malcolm in the middle of February. Jawad and Nimach, two of Sindhia's pergunas held by him in Jagir, were occupied for a season, but were finally restored to Sindhia. The forts in the Mewar territory, Ramnagar, Raipur, and Komalner, the latter, one of the strongest hill forts in India, which Jeswant had unwarrantably wrested from Udaypur, were taken in the course of a few weeks by General Donkin's division, and were given back to the Rana. The whole of the country along the confines of Harawati and Mewar was thus cleared of enemies of any note.

The restoration of order in the territories subject to Holkar was an object to which the attention of General Brown was next directed. Shortly after the battle of Mahidpur, Roshan Beg, and other leaders of the mercenary brigades, retired with the remnants of their battalions to Rampura. Intelligence of their position reached General Brown on his arrival at Piplia, about twenty miles from Rampura, and he moved against them with the third cavalry, the dromedary corps, and two companies of infantry. No serious opposition was encountered; most of the refractory troops had already dispersed, leaving about four hundred foot and two hundred horse, who fled to a neighbouring hill, where they were overtaken, and lost about two hundred of their number; one of their leaders was captured, the others fled and found safety in ob-

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BOOK II. security. The only body of troops that remained in force  
 CHAP. V.I. consisted of the Paga, or household horse, under the com-  
 ——— 1818. mand of Ram Din who, finding all attempts to raise an  
 insurrection in the vicinity of Indore, where he had held  
 authority, frustrated by the activity of Sir J. Malcolm,  
 moved off to the Dekhin and joined the Peshwa. Bhima  
 Bai, the daughter of Jeswant Rao Holkar, who had col-  
 lected a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Dhar,  
 surrendered herself to Sir Wm. Keir on the 10th of  
 February, and was conducted to Rampura.

Whilst the great objects of the policy of Lord Hastings  
 were thus attained, through the conduct of the com-  
 manders, and gallantry of the troops engaged in their  
 prosecution, in Central Hindustan, no less judgment and  
 activity were displayed on the occasions which called for  
 the exertion of those qualities in the Dekhin, for the final  
 eradication of the authority of the Peshwa. The once  
 formidable prince who bore that appellation, continued  
 throughout the same period to remain in arms, although a  
 fugitive, and to keep alive the spirit of resistance in a  
 portion of the Mahratta country.

Upon the retreat of Baji Rao from Poona to Purandhar,  
 he was followed thither by General Smith, as soon as the  
 arrangements for the security of the capital were com-  
 pleted. The march of the division was incessantly har-  
 rassed by the Mahratta horse, which hung upon its flank  
 and rear, threatening to cut off its baggage and intercept  
 its supplies. On its approach, the Peshwa moved to  
 Satara, whence he carried off the person of the descendant  
 of Sivaji and his family, and continued his route to Poosa-  
 saoli, where he arrived on the 29th of November, 1817.  
 Here his flight to the southward was arrested by the fear  
 of falling upon the reserve under General Pritzler, which  
 was moving in a northerly direction to meet him, and he  
 turned aside to the east to Punderpur, whence he retraced  
 his steps, and again moved northward towards the sources  
 of the Godaveri river; on the road he was joined by  
 Trimbak, with reinforcements from Kandesh. The fourth  
 division followed him closely, arriving at Pundarpur on the  
 second day after Baji Rao had quitted it; and thence con-  
 tinuing its march so as to deter him from making any  
 attempt upon Poona, as he passed it on his northern

route. General Smith keeping the same track arrived at Seroor, the cantonments of the subsidiary force, on the 17th of December, and there, dropping the heavy guns which had somewhat delayed his progress, resumed his pursuit on the 22nd; and having ascertained that during the halt at Seroor, the Peshwa had loitered on his route, he made a circuit to the eastward with such expedition and secrecy, as to place his force on the line of the Peshwa's retreat, cutting him off in that direction from Malwa. Thus prevented by the superior activity of his pursuers from penetrating into Malwa, where he hoped that his presence would encourage Sindhia and Holkar to exert themselves in his favour, Baji Rao attempted to profit by the opening which the distance of General Smith afforded, and recover possession of Poona. He arrived at Watúr on the 28th, and on the 30th was at Chakan, within eighteen miles of the capital, a movement which led to one of the most brilliant actions which distinguished the campaign.

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The approach of the Peshwa towards Poona, induced Captain Burr, who had been left for the defence of the city, with three native battalions and a body of irregular horse, to call for a reinforcement from Seroor, in consequence of which Captain Staunton was despatched with the 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment of Bombay N.I. six hundred strong, two guns, and twenty-six European artillerymen, under Lieutenant Chisholm of the Madras artillery, and a detachment of about three hundred and fifty reformed horse, under Lieutenant Swanston.

The detachment left Seroor on the 31st of December, at six in the evening, and by ten on the following morning, had ascended some high ground about half way to Poona, overlooking the village of Korigaon, and the adjacent plain watered by the Bhima river. Beyond the river appeared the whole of the Peshwa's forces, estimated at twenty thousand horse, and nearly eight thousand foot. Captain Staunton immediately determined to throw himself into Korigaon, which being surrounded by a wall, and protected on the south by the bed of the river, offered shelter against the Mahratta cavalry, and might enable him to resist any force of infantry that could be brought against him. As soon as his movement was descried, his



BOOK II. intention was anticipated by the enemy, and a numerous  
CHAP. VII. body of their infantry, chiefly Arabs, pushed for the same  
1818. point; both parties reached the place nearly at the same  
time, and each occupied a part of the village, the British  
the northern and western, the Arabs the southern and  
eastern portions. The Arabs obtained possession of a  
small fort which gave them the advantage, but good  
positions were secured for the guns, one commanding the  
principal street, the other the banks of the river. By  
noon the preparations of both parties were complete, and  
a desperate and seemingly hopeless struggle ensued. The  
first efforts of the British were directed to dislodge the  
enemy from that portion of the village which they had  
seized, but their superior numbers enabled them to repel  
the several vigorous assaults made for that purpose, and  
Captain Staunton was obliged to confine his objects to the  
defence of his own position. The Arab infantry became  
in their turn the assailants, and while some maintained a  
galling fire from the fort and the terraced roofs of the  
houses, others rushed along the passages between the  
walls surrounding them, leading to the British posts, with  
desperate resolution. They were torn to pieces by the  
discharge from the guns, which were served with equal  
rapidity and precision, or they were encountered and  
driven back at the point of the bayonet by the equal reso-  
lution of the defenders. In these actions, the few officers  
commanding the troops were necessarily exposed to more  
than ordinary hazard. They were eight in number, in-  
cluding two assistant surgeons, who were more usefully  
employed in encouraging the soldiers, than in attendance  
on the wounded, and who shared with their brother  
officers the perils and honours of the day. In addition  
to the dangers and toils of the engagement, the men were  
much distresssd by want of food and water, and by the  
fatigues of their previous march. Towards evening the  
situation of the party became critical; Lieutenant Chis-  
holm, of the artillery, was killed; many of the artillery-  
men were killed or disabled. Lieutenants Pattinson, Conel-  
lan, and Swanston, and Assistant Surgeon Wingate had  
been wounded, and Captain Staunton, with Lieutenant  
Innes, and Assistant Surgeon Wylie, were the only officers  
remaining effective. At this time, one of the guns was

captured, and the enemy penetrated to a Choultry, a building for travellers, in which many of the wounded had been deposited. The ferocity of the assailants vented itself upon the helpless men who were thus within their reach, and many of them were barbarously slain. Amongst them, Mr. Wingate was cut to pieces, and Lieutenants Swanston and Conellan were about to share the same fate, when the surviving officers, at the head of a party of their men, charged into the Choultry, bayoneted every one of the enemy who was found within it, and put those without to flight. The gun was recovered by a sally, headed by Lieutenant Pattinson, although at the time mortally wounded. A second wound disabled him, but his example had been nobly followed, and the Arabs were driven back with great slaughter.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding their success, the loss had been so great, and the exhaustion of the troops was so excessive, that some of the men, both Europeans and natives, began to consider resistance hopeless, and expressed a desire to apply for terms of surrender. Their commanding officer, however, convinced them that their only hope of safety lay in a protracted defence, and that to surrender would doom them to certain destruction from barbarous foes, exasperated by the loss which they had suffered. This exhortation animated the troops to persevere, and the Arabs, disheartened by the ill-success of their repeated assaults, intermitted their exertions, and about nine, drew off, leaving the entire village in possession of the detachment. During the night water was procured, and arrangements were made for a renewal of the defence; but the Peshwa learning that General Smith was approaching, considered further delay unsafe, and at day-light of the 2nd of January, his whole force was in motion along the Poona road. Not being aware of the advance of the fourth division, Captain Staunton thought

<sup>1</sup> This incident is narrated by Captain Grant. Lieutenant Pattinson, who was a very powerful man, being six feet seven inches in height, lying mortally wounded, having been shot through the body, no sooner heard that the gun was taken, than getting up, he called to the Grenadiers once more to follow him, and seizing a musket by the muzzle, he rushed into the middle of the Arabs, striking them down right and left, until a second ball completely disabled him; Lieutenant Pattinson had been nobly seconded; the Sepoys thus led were irresistible, the gun was re-taken, and the dead Arabs literally lying above each other, proved how desperately it had been defended.—*Mahratta Hist.* 3, 435.

BOOK II. it advisable to march back to Seroor. The enemy at-  
 CHAP. VII. tempted to entice him to cross the river into the more  
 1818. open country, by sending fictitious messages from Poona, urging him to hasten his march in that direction, and he pretended to entertain the purpose of complying with the request. Towards nightfall, however, having procured conveyance for his wounded, he set off for Seroor, which he entered on the following morning, with both his guns and all his wounded, with drums beating and colours flying: thus having set a memorable example of what is possible to a resolute spirit, and of the wisdom of resistance in the most desperate circumstances. Surrender to Asiatic troops, ignorant of the laws of civilized warfare, is as likely to be fatal as ultimate defeat. It may not preserve life, although it must incur dishonour. Of Captain Staunton's small force, two officers were killed and three wounded, as above named, and of the latter, Lieutenant Pattinson subsequently died of his wounds. Of the twenty-six artillery-men, twelve were killed, and eight wounded; of the native battalion, fifty men were killed, and one hundred and three wounded; and of the auxiliary horse, ninety-six were killed, wounded, and missing. Captain Staunton received the thanks of the Governor-General for his gallant conduct, and a public monument was erected on the spot in honour of those who fell.<sup>1</sup>

On the day after the action of Korigaon, General Smith, who had learned at Chakan the situation of Captain Staunton's detachment, hastened to his rescue. Finding that he had fallen back to Seroor, he proceeded thither himself, and after one day's halt, resumed the pursuit of the Peshwa. In the mean time, Baji Rao had found his southward flight again obstructed by the advance of the reserve division, under Brigadier-General Pritzler, which had crossed the Krishna early in December, and after being delayed some days at Bijapur, in order to secure the safe junction of supplies, had reached the Salpi Ghat by the 8th of January, and ascending the pass, came upon the Peshwa's rear, who had crossed the head of the column, and keeping to the left bank of the Krishna, con-

<sup>1</sup> For the particulars of the battle of Korigaon, see Papers, Mahratta war, 180, 221. Grant Duff, 3, 434. Blacker's Memoir, 179. Bishop Heber describes the monument.

tinued his flight to the vicinity of Merich. He was followed closely by the reserve, and on the 17th a smart action took place between the cavalry of the division, and a large body of horse, under Gokla, who interfered, as was his practice, to give the Peshwa time to escape. The Mahrattas showed themselves in two divisions, which were successively charged and dispersed by Major Deveton, with a squadron of dragoons, and two of native cavalry: a third body intercepted his return to the camp, but this, also, was resolutely charged and broken, and the whole then drew off. The pursuit was again continued, until it was ascertained that the Peshwa had been forced upon the track of the fourth division. The reserve then halted for two days, after having marched twenty-five days without cessation. The proximity of General Smith once more threw the Peshwa on a southern route; his presence brought the fourth division into communication with the reserve, and both corps were united near Satara, on the 8th of February. The fort was summoned, and surrendered without resistance on the following day, when the flag of the Raja was hoisted on the fort, and a proclamation was issued, announcing to the Mahratta nation the deposal of Baji Rao, and that the Company intended to take possession of his territories, establishing the Raja of Satara in a principality for the maintenance of his rank and dignity, and of that of his court.<sup>1</sup>

After the occupation of the Fortress of Satara, it was determined to continue the pursuit of the Peshwa with the cavalry and a light division<sup>2</sup> only, leaving the guns and the rest of the infantry to reduce at leisure the various strongholds in the southern Mahratta districts. Divisions for the same purpose were directed upon Ahmednagar and to the Konkan. Their objects were effected with little opposition. In the course of March, ten forts, including two of great strength, Singgerh and Purandhar were reduced. Ahmednagar, and the country between the Pheira and Bhima rivers, were occupied by Colonel Deacon, with a detachment which was at first stationed in

<sup>1</sup> Substance of a Mahratta Proclamation issued on the 11th February, 1818, by the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone.—Papers, Mahratta war, 245.

<sup>2</sup> Consisting of the horse artillery, 2 squadrons of his Majesty's 22nd dragoons, 2nd and 7th regiments Madras cavalry, one thousand two hundred Poona auxiliary horse, and two thousand five hundred infantry.



BOOK II. Kandesh, to guard the province against an inroad of the  
CHAP. VII. Pindaris, and subsequently to intercept the Peshwa's  
1818. flight to the north. The forts in the Konkan, were carried  
by a small force fitted out from Bombay, under Colonel  
Prother. Brigadier-General Munro, overran the country  
as far south as the Malparba. Little remained to the  
Peshwa except the ground on which he was encamped.

Immediately after the occupation of Sattara, General Smith had marched with the detachment he had organised for the pursuit towards Pundrapur and Sholapur, where the Peshwa had delayed and had levied contributions. From thence, Baji Rao resumed his flight, at first towards the west, but turned suddenly to the north and reached Ashti on the 18th of February. Accurate information was gained of his movements, and early on the 20th, General Smith came in sight of the Mahratta army as they were preparing to march. The tents were struck, the baggage was loaded, and the men had just taken their morning meal, when the alarm was given. Baji Rao, who had throughout displayed great want of personal courage, mounted his horse and fled with the greatest celerity. Gokla, with between eight and ten thousand horse, stood firm, in the hope of covering his flight and the retreat of the baggage. The Mahratta cavalry were divided into several masses, which made a demonstration of supporting each other, and they were separated from their pursuers by a deep Nulla or water course. The British cavalry advanced in three columns. The two squadrons of His Majesty's dragoons in the centre; the 7th Madras cavalry on the right, and the 2nd on the left. The Bombay horse artillery were on the right flank, and the galloper guns on the left, both a little retired. The ground over which they had to march was much broken, and intersected by small water courses running from the hills to the main stream. The formation of the line was consequently retarded, and the centre and right columns were separated from the left. Taking advantage of their disjunction, Gokla anticipated the attack. A strong division of Mahratta horse, led by himself, darted across the nulla, and charging obliquely across the ground from the left to the right, his men firing their matchlocks as they passed, turned the right of the 7th Native cavalry, and rode round

to the rear of the line. There with their long lances in rest they threatened the flank of the dragoons, but Major Dawes,<sup>1</sup> their commanding officer, immediately threw back the right troop, and wheeling the left into line met charge with charge. A confused fight ensued, in which General Smith received a sabre cut, and the gallant commander of the Mahrattas, Gokla, fell covered with wounds. His fall, and that of some other Sirdars of note, disheartened the enemy. The 7th cavalry having recovered from their disorder, and coming again into action, supported by a squadron of the 2nd, completed the enemy's defeat. They fled in utter confusion to the left, in which direction the main body had retreated, pursued by the second cavalry: after following the fugitives for about five miles the pursuit was discontinued. The whole of the camp equipage and a number of camels, elephants, and palankeens, laden with valuable property, among which were the images of the Peshwa's household gods, were captured. A more important prize was the person of the Raja of Satara, whom the Peshwa had hitherto detained, and who, with his mother and brothers, gladly placed himself under British protection. But the consequence most fatal to the Peshwa, was the loss of the chieftain, who, with exemplary loyalty and intrepid valour, had hitherto directed and defended his flight.<sup>2</sup> This officer had been long known to the English: he had succeeded chiefly through their influence to the rank and command held by his uncle, who was Governor of the Carnatic, and was killed in the course of the hostilities with Dhundia Wagh. At the time of the treaty of Bassein, Bapu Gokla commanded on the Peshwa's frontier, and joined the British forces under Colonel Wellesley, on his march to Poona; <sup>3</sup> he afterwards served in the campaign, and was recommended for his military services by the British commander to the favour of the Peshwa's Government. He had been frequently indebted to the interposition of the Resident, for the preservation both of his possessions and his life, when he had incurred the displeasure of the Peshwa. Upon his reconciliation with

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep has Davies.

<sup>2</sup> See Duff, *Mahratta History*, iii. 443.

<sup>3</sup> Wellington Despatches, vol. i., January to April, 1803. Grant Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. iii. 47, 193.

BOOK II. Bajī Rao and his restoration to favour, he became the implacable enemy of the English, and the chief instigator of Bajī Rao in the warlike policy which he finally adopted. CHAP. VII.  
1818. He does not seem to have been actuated by any sinister motives, nor by any personal aversion to his former friends and patrons, and may be entitled to credit for a patriotic feeling. He had vehemently opposed the treaty of Poona, and advocated the more honourable alternative of an appeal to arms, and he may have hoped that a vigorous resistance would eventually secure for the Peshwa terms less inglorious than a tame and prompt submission. The counsel he had given he vindicated by his own exertions, and was spared the pain of witnessing, and possibly of sharing his master's degradation.

The defeat at Ashti was quickly succeeded by the total ruin of the affairs of the Peshwa in the southern portion of the Mahratta states, the chiefs of which, with few exceptions, hastened to proffer their allegiance to the British authorities, or to the Raja of Satara. Many of his followers also despairing of success, and worn out by the fatigues and terrors of incessant flight, detached themselves from his person, and returned quietly to their homes. With the remainder, much reduced in number and lowered in spirit, Bajī Rao fled northwards, hoping to be able to pass through Kandesh into Malwa; but when he had forded the Godaverī, he found in his front the main body and detachments of the first division of the army of the Dekhin, which had crossed the Tapti on its return southwards in the beginning of March. After making some forward movements to facilitate a junction with Ram Din, and the horse of Holkar's routed army, and to call in the garrisons of such forts as could not be maintained, he again fell back to the south-east, but was stopped by the second division, under General Doveton. General Smith also advanced on the west from Seroor. There was still an opening to the eastward, and thither also the Peshwa was invited by secret communications from the Raja of Nagpur, who promised to meet him at Chanda with all the force that he could muster. The timely discovery of this plot prevented its execution. A detachment from Nagpur, under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott covered Chanda, while the main body of the Nagpur sub-

sidary force, under Colonel Adams, marched to Hingan Ghat;—at the same time Baji Rao was closely pressed by the Poonah and Hyderabad divisions, which had been concentrated at Jalna, and proceeded thence in two parallel lines so as to intercept the Peshwa's entrance into Berar. After a few marches the Hyderabad force diverged to the north-east, towards the rough country that lies between the upper part of the courses of the Warda and Payin Ganga rivers, where they are separated by the ramifications of the Berar hills, which are covered with jungle, and difficult of access. After various long and fatiguing marches, Brigadier-General Doveton arrived at Pandukora on the 18th of April, and his approach compelled the Peshwa to make a precipitate retreat from Seoni, where he had been encamped. A simultaneous movement from Hingan Ghat towards Seoni had been made by Colonel Adams, and his division arrived at Pipal Kote shortly before daylight on the 10th. After a short halt to refresh the horses and men, the march was resumed. The troops had scarcely moved five miles on the road to Seoni, when the advance came in sight of the van of the Peshwa's army flying from General Doveton. Baji Rao, as usual, made off upon the first alarm; some of his cavalry attempted to cover his flight, but they were driven back by the fire of the horse artillery, supported by the fifth cavalry, and the whole of the Peshwa's force was wholly broken and scattered. The nature of the ground prevented their sustaining very severe loss, but the rout was complete. Baji Rao was attended by his personal guards, and Ram-Din carried off some of his horse towards Berhampur, but the greater part were dispersed in every direction, and never afterwards rejoined their leaders.<sup>1</sup>

The Peshwa fled on the first day to Mainli, thirty miles in a south-westerly direction, and continuing the same course, reached Amarkeir on the fourth. He was hotly pursued by General Doveton, with part of his force lightly equipped. On the 23rd of April, the division was within eight miles of Amarkeir; but the exhausted state both of

<sup>1</sup> Among the Sirdars who returned to their own country, were Madhu Rao Rastia, Apa Dhundheri, Baji Rao's father-in-law, and a cousin of Bapu Gokla; so many applications were made for leave to return, that the Resident issued a proclamation, declaring that those who returned quietly to their homes, should suffer no molestation.



BOOK II. men and horses, and the necessity of waiting for supplies,  
CHAP. VII. compelled a halt. The Peshwa's adherents had suffered  
1818. still more severely from fatigue and privation, and had  
been able to leave Amarkeir only on the same morning on  
which General Doveton reached the neighbourhood. Their  
route was tracked by cattle, dead or dying on the road,  
and their numbers were daily thinned by desertion. From  
Amarkeir, Baji Rao fled northwards, towards Burhanpur,  
and his pursuers suspended their movements, General  
Doveton retiring towards the cantonments at Jalna, and  
General Smith towards Seroor: the former arrived at  
Jalna on the 10th of May, the latter at Seroor on the 16th.  
On the march, a light detachment, under Lieutenant-  
Colonel Cunningham, dispersed a body of infantry sta-  
tioned at Dharúr; and the Poona auxiliary horse, under  
Captain Davies, came up with a party of Mahratta cavalry  
near Yellum, the leaders of which, Chimnaji Apa, the  
Peshwa's younger brother, and Apa Desay Nipankar, one  
of his best officers, gave themselves up without resistance.  
This terminated the operations against the Peshwa in the  
Dekhin. It will now be expedient to advert to other  
transactions in the same quarter, which took place during  
the movements that ended in his final expulsion.

As long as the Peshwa, at the head of a considerable  
force, continued to elude the pursuit of the British divi-  
sions, a strong feeling in his favour pervaded the Mah-  
rattas, and many of the Jagirdars, remaining faithful to  
their allegiance, retained in his name the forts and dis-  
tricts entrusted to their keeping, and propagated a belief  
of his eventual restoration to power. It became necessary,  
therefore, to convince his adherents that the British Go-  
vernment was determined to admit of no adjustment with  
him, and to compel, by forcible means, where force was  
requisite, submission to the authority which was to be  
substituted, absolutely and for ever, for that of the  
Peshwa.

The southern extremity of the Poona territory, the  
districts of Darwar and Kusigal, bordering on Mysore,  
had been ceded to the British Government by the treaty  
of Poona, and had been placed under the civil adminis-  
tration of Colonel Munro. When the army of the Dekhin  
was organised, he was nominated to the command of the

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reserve, but by a change of arrangements, the command had been transferred to Colonel Pritzler. It was again assigned to Colonel Munro; but as the division was in active service in communication with the fourth division, Colonel Munro refrained from interfering with its movements until a more convenient opportunity of taking charge of it should arrive, occupying himself, in the meanwhile, with the establishment of the British authority in the districts under his charge, and its extension to the neighbouring territory, which was still subject to the Peshwa, and was held for him by Kasi Rao Gokla, with a force of fifteen hundred horse, and eight hundred foot, besides about five thousand infantry in different garrisons.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Munro had but limited means at his disposal: his character compensated for the deficiency. He knew that the agricultural population were well affected towards him, and he had no hesitation in confiding to them the defence of the districts, or even in employing them to subjugate those of the Peshwa. Retaining in the pay of the Company the native Peons, or irregular militia, of the country, armed with spears and swords, or occasionally with matchlocks, and reinforcing them by similar Peons from Mysore and the Carnatic, he placed in their hands the forts hitherto occupied by the regular troops, and thus rendered the latter available for more active service. Being joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Newall, the Commandant of Darwar, Colonel Munro took the field with five companies of native infantry, belonging to the second battalions of the fourth and twelfth regiments; three troops of the fifth cavalry, subsequently joined by a party of Mysore horse, and a small battering train. With this force he proceeded to reduce the forts in the enemy's territory, and in the course of the month most of them had surrendered. Parties of Peons alone, under native military Amildars, established the British authority in the open country. Little vigour was shown in the opposition encountered. Kasi Rao, although he occasionally made his appearance at the head of his horse, ventured upon no serious conflict. His most vigorous attempt was upon an open village, which five hundred Peons had taken from his troops, and he was repulsed with the loss of

<sup>1</sup> Life of Sir Thomas Munro, i. 473.

BOOK II. many of his men. Colonel Munro about the same time  
CHAP. VII. dispersed a body of Pindaris, who, in the beginning of  
1818. January, eluding the pursuit of the British divisions, directed their course to the south, and committed some depredations; one of their parties entered the district of Harpanhali, but they were surprised and routed by the left wing of the fifth cavalry, and returned expeditiously to the north. The irruption, in some degree, deranged Colonel Munro's plans, as it induced the Madras Government to withhold the reinforcements with which it had been designed to furnish him, in order to guard the frontiers of Mysore; but the retreat of the Pindaris having removed all ground of apprehension, the troops were again ordered to the west, and Colonel Munro was reinforced by the 2nd battalion of the 9th N. I., and two squadrons of His Majesty's 22nd Dragoons.

In the beginning of February, Colonel Munro marched against Badami, beyond the Malparba river, a post consisting of fortified hills, with a walled town at their foot, having an inner fort, the whole being esteemed one of the strongest hill forts in India, and almost impregnable, if defended by a determined garrison. The division arrived before the place on the 12th of February, batteries were erected against the town walls without delay, and by the evening of the 17th, a practicable breach was effected. At dawn, on the following day, the town was stormed and carried, and the assailants following the fugitives to the upper forts, the garrison apprehending an escalade, called out for terms of capitulation. They were allowed to march out with their arms, and by ten o'clock, on the 18th, Badami was in the possession of the besiegers. Turning hence to the westward, Colonel Munro marched up the Ghatparba to Padshahpur, receiving the ready submission of different strongholds on his way, and establishing British functionaries for the management of the conquered country. The only place of any strength remaining to be subdued in this quarter was Belgam, south of Padshahpur, near the western Ghats. Colonel Munro commenced the siege on the 20th of March; the fort was strong and of great extent, the walls were massive and in perfect repair; a broad and deep ditch surrounded it, and the interior was garrisoned by sixteen hundred men. They

made a more obstinate defence than had yet been encountered, and the spirit of the besieged, with the imperfect means available to the besiegers, delayed the surrender of the fort until the 8th of April, when a sufficient breach in the curtain having been effected, the commandant capitulated. The reduction of Belgam completed the subjugation of the country about the sources of the Krishna, subject to the Peshwa; and the rulers of the adjacent districts, the southern Jagirdars readily gave in their adherence to the British Government, stipulating only not to be required to serve against the Peshwa. Matters being thus settled, Colonel Munro was at liberty to proceed to the northward, and to assume the command of the reserve which, under Brigadier-General Pritzler, had again separated from the fourth division, and had been employed since the latter part of March in reducing to obedience the country in the vicinity of Satara. The principal operation undertaken was the siege of Wasota, a fort situated on the summit of a lofty mountain in the western Ghats, part of a range accessible only by a few narrow and difficult passes. It was considered one of the strongest forts in the Mahratta territory, and had been selected therefore by the Peshwa as a depository of his treasures, and as the prison of the family of the Raja of Satara. Cornets Morrison and Hunter, who had been taken in the beginning of the war, were also prisoners in Wasota. The force arrived before the place on the 11th of March, and as the Killadar declared his purpose to hold out, it was at once invested. With great labour and difficulty batteries were erected on mountain points commanding the fort. A brisk bombardment was opened by the 5th of April, and on the following day the garrison surrendered unconditionally. The Raja of Satara was in the camp, and witnessed the operations. Having placed a garrison of Bombay N. I. in the fort, the division returned to Satara, where the Raja was formally installed in his principality by the British Commissioner. On the 12th, the reserve marched southwards to meet Colonel Munro, and joined his force on the 22nd at Nagar-Manawali; receiving on its route the submission of a great number of hill forts, the governors of which beheld in the elevation of the Raja of Satara the hopelessness of aid or reward from Baji Rao.

BOOK II.

CHAP. VII.

1818.



BOOK II. Having concentrated and organized the force now under  
 CHAP. VII. his orders, Brigadier-General Munro moved on the 26th of  
 1818. April towards the Bhima river, near which the Peshwa  
 had left his infantry and his guns, on his flight towards  
 the west in the middle of February. The Bhima was  
 crossed on the 7th of May, and the Sena on the 8th, and  
 on the 9th a position was taken up within two miles of  
 the enemy's camp,<sup>1</sup> and the fortress reconnoitered; a  
 summons to surrender on terms, having been answered by  
 the unjustifiable murder of the native officer who had  
 been sent to make the communication.

Sholapur was a town of considerable extent, enclosed  
 by a strong mud wall with towers of masonry; on the  
 south-west it was further protected by the fort, a parallel-  
 ogram of ample area, built of substantial masonry, and  
 defended on the south by a large tank, supplying a broad  
 deep ditch, which circled entirely round the fort, separ-  
 ating it on the north and north-west from the town: the  
 Peshwa's infantry, amounting to about six thousand foot,  
 including one thousand two hundred Arabs, and eight  
 hundred horse, and having fourteen guns, were posted on  
 the west of the tank. The garrison of the fort was about  
 one thousand strong.

At day-break of the 10th of May, two columns of at-  
 tack, under the orders of Colonel Hewett, advanced to  
 the walls of the town, and carried them by escalade. The  
 attack was supported by a reserve, under General Pritzler;  
 little resistance was made to the assault upon the town,  
 and, except the part adjacent to the fort and exposed to  
 its fire, the whole remained in the possession of the assail-  
 ants, in spite of several attempts made for its recovery.  
 During the assault, the Mahratta commander, Ganpat Rao,  
 had moved round to the east side of the town, to take the  
 attacking party in flank; but he was checked by the re-  
 serve, and upon one of his tumbrils exploding, the division  
 led by General Munro in person, charged with the bayonet  
 and drove him back to his original position, with the loss  
 of three of his guns. Ganpat Rao was wounded, and the

<sup>1</sup> After this junction, Brigadier Munro's force consisted of the European  
 flank battalion, four companies of rifles, the 4th regiment, the 2nd, 7th, 9th,  
 and 2nd of 13th of the Madras N.L., the 1st of the 7th Bombay, two squadrons  
 of his Majesty's 22nd dragoons, two companies of artillery, and four of  
 Pioneers,—in all about four thousand strong.

next in command was killed by a cannon shot. Disheartened by this repulse, and the loss they had suffered, the Mahrattas began to retreat, leaving behind their artillery, and whatever might encumber their flight. As soon as their retreat was known, they were pursued by the dragoons, and a body of auxiliary horse, but such had been their expedition, that they had marched seven miles before they were overtaken. They made an irresolute stand, and were speedily and completely dispersed before night put an end to the pursuit on the banks of the Sena river. Nearly a thousand were left dead on the field, and the rest were so entirely disorganized, that for all military objects the force had ceased to exist. The fort held out but a short time after the discomfiture of the troops. Batteries were immediately erected against its southern face, in which a practicable breach was made in two days, when the garrison surrendered, upon the promise of security for themselves, and for private property. The reduction of Sholapur completed the subjugation of the southern districts, and the operations of the campaign were concluded by the cession of Manawali, by Apa Desai Nipankar, a Mahratta chieftain, who had followed the fortunes of Baji Rao, until his flight towards the Nerbudda. This chief had strongly fortified his residence, Nipani, but as he had submitted in time, he was allowed to retain a portion of his territory, subject to the usual feudal conditions under which he had held it of the Peshwa. After visiting him at Nipani, General Munro returned to Dewar and Hubli and the troops went into cantonments.

It has been already mentioned, that in the beginning of the war, a small detachment was formed at Bombay, for the purpose of occupying the Mahratta territory below the Ghats, in the Konkan, and keeping open the communication with Poona. This object being effected, the detachment, commanded by Colonel Prother, was reinforced,<sup>1</sup> and directed to extend its operations above the Ghats. Colonel Prother ascended the Bore Ghat, and on the 4th of March arrived before Logerh, a strong hill fort, near the

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<sup>1</sup> The force consisted at first of about six hundred men, detachments of the 5th and 9th regiments of N.I., and a few European foot and horse. It was afterwards reinforced by two companies of the 2nd of the 4th N.I., and about three hundred and seventy of his Majesty's 89th regiment sent round from Madras.

BOOK II. road from Bombay to Poona : no resistance was met with ;  
 CHAP. VII. the garrison of the fort, as well as that of Isagerh, in its  
 1818. vicinity, capitulated as soon as preparations were made  
 for an assault. Several other fortresses were given up with  
 the same promptitude. At Koari, a hill fort, twenty miles  
 south of the Bore Ghat, and situated at the summit of the  
 Ghats, it was necessary to erect batteries, the fire from  
 which, causing an explosion of the enemy's magazine, com-  
 pelled them in the course of two days to surrender. In-  
 timidated by this event, the garrisons of other forts  
 surrendered them at once, and the division returned to  
 the low country belonging to the Peshwa, between the  
 Ghats and the sea coast.

Before Colonel Prother's ascent of the mountains, opera-  
 tions were successfully commenced with the reduction of  
 a number of petty forts below the Ghats, and along the  
 sea-coast, by smaller detachments, under Colonels Kennedy  
 and Imlach, with the occasional assistance of parties from  
 the cruizers off Fort Victoria, and a detachment of H.M.'s  
 89th, which, on its way to Bankut, had been, by stress of  
 weather, obliged to put into Malwan. Little remained to  
 be accomplished for the entire subjugation of this part of  
 the Konkan, when Colonel Prother, returning from above  
 the Ghats, laid siege to Raigerh, a stronghold to which the  
 Peshwa, in the belief that it was impregnable, had sent  
 his wife, Varanasi Bai, and a valuable treasure. It was  
 garrisoned by one thousand men, of whom many were  
 Arabs. All impediments to the approach having been  
 surmounted, the Petta, or town of Raigerh, was occupied  
 on the 24th of April, by a party of European and native  
 troops, under Major Hall. Much difficulty was experienced  
 from the ruggedness of the ground, in bringing up the  
 mortars and howitzers, with which to bombard the place,  
 but the object was attained, and shells were thrown into  
 the fortress with great effect. A safe conduct was offered  
 to the Bai, to enable her to leave the fort, but the com-  
 munication was suppressed by the officers of the garrison,  
 who appeared determined to make a resolute resistance.  
 On the 7th of May, however, a shell set fire to the resi-  
 dence of the Bai, and she is said to have prevailed upon  
 the troops to surrender. Terms were accordingly de-  
 manded, and the garrison marched out, preserving their

private property and arms. Varanasi Bai was permitted to retire with her attendants to Poona, from whence she was afterwards escorted to join her husband in captivity. Raigerh is celebrated in Mahratta history as the early seat of Sivaji's successful insurrection against Mohammedan oppression; and at the time of its capture, boasted possession of his palace and his tomb. Previous neglect, and the recent bombardment, had left scanty vestiges of either. The near approach of the monsoon compelled the return of the troops to cantonments, although several forts, of minor importance, were still held by the Mahrattas. They were ultimately given up, and the Konkan became a British province.

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Quitting the sea-coast, and returning to the eastward of the Ghats, we find that a supplemental division had been originally despatched under Colonel Deacon, from Hurda, to occupy Kandesh, upon the recall of General Smith to Poona.<sup>1</sup> The detachment took up its station at Akola, on the 28th of December; but, in the course of two days, was ordered to move to the south, to counteract the Peshwa's advance in that direction, and disperse his adherents. The whole of January was occupied in the discharge of this duty; and in the beginning of February, the detachment was at Ahmednagar. Colonel Deacôn was here in communication with Mr. Elphinstone, and was directed by him to clear the country between the Phaira and Bhima rivers, of any parties of the enemy that might show themselves. This was effected by the capture of the forts of Kurra and Chakan, in the course of February; after which, the detachments marched to Poona, where the different corps, composing the Poona division, underwent a new distribution, in consequence of the arrangements which had been rendered necessary by the dissolution of the army of the Dekhin.

<sup>1</sup> Consisting of two squadrons from the 4th and 8th regiments N. C., the 2nd battalion 17th N. I., and the contingent of Nawab Salabat Khan, being detached from the Second or Hyderabad division of the army of the Dekhin.



## CHAPTER VIII.

*Dissolution of the Armies of Hindustan and the Dekhin.— Divisions left in the Field.— March of Sir T. Hislop with the 1st Division to the South.— Contumacy of the Kiladar of Talner.— Fort stormed.— Murder of British Officers.— The Kiladar hanged.— Return of Sir T. Hislop to Madras. Military Operations in Kandesh.— Hill Forts surrendered or captured.— Arab Mercenaries.— Siege of Maligam.— Storm of the Fort.— Repulsed.— Petta carried.— Garrison capitulate.— Operations in the Nerbudda Valley.— Movements of the Left Division of the Grand Army in Bundelkhand.— Rights of the Peshwa transferred.— Sagar annexed to the British Territory.— General Marshall advances to the Nagpur Ceded Districts.— Dhamani and Mandala taken.— Kiladar of the latter tried.— Acquitted.— Operations in Gondwana.— Proofs of Apa Saheb's hostile Designs.— His Arrest and Deposal. Baji Rao, a Minor, made Raja.— Administration by the Resident.— Fatal Error of the Peshwa.— Chanda taken.— Colonel Adams cantoned at Hosainabad.— Apa Saheb sent to Hindustan.— Makes his Escape.— Peshwa overtaken by Colonel Doveton.— Prevented from crossing the Nerbudda by Sir J. Malcolm.— Negotiates with the latter.— Join his Camp.— His Troops mutiny.— Are reduced to Terms and Dismissed.— Baji Rao marches towards Hindustan.— Governor-General disapproves of the Terms Granted to the Ex-Peshwa.— Confirms them.— Their Defence by Sir J. Malcolm.— Baji Rao settled at Bithur.— Trimbak taken.— Confined at Chunar.— Mahratta Power annihilated.*

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CHAP. VIII.

1818.

AS soon as the principal objects of the campaign had been accomplished, the Marquis of Hastings deemed it unnecessary to maintain his military arrangements on the extensive scale on which they had been hitherto constructed and accordingly at the end of January, he determined to break up both the grand army and the army of the Dekhin, entrusting the duties which remained to be executed to such of the subordinate divisions as were most conveniently situated. They were re-organized for the purpose,

and orders were issued for the return of the centre and right divisions of the grand army to the British territories. From the centre a brigade of three strong battalions, and a regiment of Native cavalry, under Brigadier General Watson, was dispatched to Samthar, to take up the heavy ordnance which had been left there upon the march of the centre from Seonda, and the whole were then directed to join the left wing, under General Marshall, which remained embodied in order to complete the subjugation of the territories on the Nerbudda taken from the Raja of Nagpur. The remaining corps of the centre fell back to the Jumna by the end of the month, and retired to their appointed stations. Lord Hastings on quitting the army, proceeded on a visit to the Nawab of Oude, and arrived at Lucknow on the 6th of March.

The right wing of the grand army speedily received the same orders, and commenced its homeward march by the end of February. One brigade of Native infantry was placed at the disposal of Sir John Malcolm, to assist in restoring subordination in the territories of Holkar, after which it joined the reserve under Sir David Ochterlony, who remained some time longer in force in Rajputana. Most of the remaining battalions had crossed the Jumna by the end of March. The divisions of Colonels Toone and Hardyman had previously been broken up, but troops were detached from the former to enable Major Roughsedge to take possession of the Berar dependencies of the Sirguja, Jaspur, and Sambhalpur, and a force under Colonel Hardyman, remained some time longer in the country upon the upper course of the Nerbudda.

The dissolution of the army of the Dekhin commenced somewhat earlier, and in the middle of January, the head quarters, with the first division, from which reinforcements had been furnished to the third, left in Malwa with John Malcolm, began their march southwards; consigning to the Guzerat troops the task of freeing the country round Indore from the scattered parties of Pindaris and disbanded mercenaries, by which it was still partially infested. Sir Thomas Hislop moved to the Nerbudda, and crossed the river on the 10th. The other three divisions, the Berar and Hyderabad subsidiary troops, with Generals Adams and Doveton, and the Poona division,

BOOK II. remained embodied, but were placed under the orders of  
CHAP. VIII. the Marquis of Hastings, as Commander-in-Chief, in communication with the Residents and the Commissioner of the Mahratta territory. Sir Thomas Hislop, with the first division, arrived before the fortress of Talner on the 27th of February, intending to cross the Tapti river at that place.

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The country between the Nerbudda and the Tapti, subject to Holkar, had been ceded to the British, by the treaty of Mandiswar, and no obstacle had been hitherto experienced from the officers of the Holkar state in taking possession. The stronghold of Sindwa had been given up as soon as summoned, and no expectation was entertained that the fortress of Talner would be closed against British authority. No precaution had been adopted anticipatory of such an event, and the column of baggage preceding the division, advanced into the plain on which Talner is situated, without any suspicion of danger, when its progress was arrested by the salute of a gun charged with round shot from the fort. The division was halted, and a summons was sent to the Kiladar, or governor, requiring him to surrender the fort, warning him of the serious consequences to which he exposed himself, by acting in contempt of his sovereign's orders, and setting the right of the British at defiance; and "apprising him distinctly, that if he attempted resistance, he, and his garrison would be treated as rebels." A verbal message of the same tenor accompanied the letter, and, although the Kiladar declined to receive the latter, the former was delivered. The messenger was robbed and beaten, and his return was followed by a sharp fire of matchlocks from the walls, by which several of the Sipahis were wounded, and some were killed. The summons was dispatched between seven and eight in the morning, but the fire of the garrison was not returned until noon, when, finding that no answer had arrived, and that indications of resistance continued, batteries provisionally erected were opened against the defences of the fort. The wall of the outer gateway was soon in a condition to admit of a storm, and preparations were made for the assault. The Kiladar now applied for terms, and was told that none but personal immunity would be granted. No answer was received,

and the storming party, consisting of the flank companies of the Royal Scots and Madras European regiment, under Major Gordon, supported by the rifle battalion, and the third Native light infantry, was ordered to advance. They carried the outer and one of the inner gates: a number of persons unarmed, and apparently intending to escape, came out from the wicket of a third gate as the troops approached it, and were placed under a guard: among them, as was afterwards discovered, was the Kiladar, but he did not make himself known.<sup>1</sup> This and a fourth gate were passed through by the assailants, but they found the fifth closed, with the wicket open, and the passage within occupied by the garrison. Some parley with the Arabs regarding the terms of their surrender was attempted, but, it was, no doubt, mutually unintelligible.<sup>2</sup> Concluding that surrender was acquiesced in, Major Gordon passed through the wicket, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Macgregor Murray, and a few grenadiers. The instant they entered, Major Gordon was dragged forward and killed, the grenadiers were shot or cut down, and Colonel Murray was stabbed. Fortunately the wicket was kept open by the foremost assailants, and Colonel Murray was extricated from his peril. A fire was poured in which cleared the gateway, and the leading files, headed by Captain Macgregor, forced their way in with the loss of their leader. The whole party then penetrated into the fort, and the garrison, about three hundred strong, were put to the sword. Their conduct justified this retaliation, although the motives by which they were instigated, if there were any, except the impulse of the moment and ungoverned fury, remain unexplained.<sup>3</sup> The Kiladar was

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Prinsep says the Kiladar came out and proffered his surrender to Colonel Conway, the Adjutant-General, but, according to the evidence on his trial, he did not disclose himself when arrested, nor had he any distinguishing marks of his rank in his dress or appearance, and the inference therefore was warrantable, that he intended to get off without being recognized.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Blacker says, from the circumstance of noise and apprehension which attended it, more probably, from mutual ignorance of each other's language. It is not likely that the officers knew more of Arabic than the Arabs did of English.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Hislop imputed the attack to the treachery of the Arabs. Despatch.—Papers, Mahratta war. Colonel Blacker (232) to apprehension of consequences. Mr. Prinsep ascribes it to a paroxysm of distrust and desperation, in consequence of the inability of the officers to make themselves intelligible. Lieutenant Lake assigns a cause which will sufficiently explain the business, if the statement be correct. He says, some of the Grenadiers who had entered by the wicket, attempted to disarm the Arabs by force, and as the



BOOK II. brought to immediate trial, and hanged upon one of the  
 CHAP. VIII. bastions the same evening, for waging hostilities without  
 ————— the authority of any recognized power, and therefore  
 1818. within the predicament of a robber or a pirate.

The circumstances which attended the capture of Talner attracted public notice and drew upon General Hislop much severe animadversion, an explanation was required by the Governor-General, and at home, both Houses of Parliament, in passing a vote of thanks to Sir Thomas Hislop and the army of the Dekhin, specifically excepted his execution of the Kiladar from the purport of the vote, considering it necessary to await further information on the subject. With that which had been received, Mr. Canning declared neither the Government nor the East India Company were satisfied. When the first feelings had subsided, the business was forgotten, and it was not deemed necessary to communicate such information as was received to the public.<sup>1</sup> The severity was vindicated by Sir Thomas Hislop, and his reasoning was supported by the Marquis of Hastings upon two grounds: the lawless character of the proceedings of the Kiladar, and the absolute necessity of deterring others from a similar conduct, involving needless peril and loss of life by the example of his punishment. The fort that had been placed in his care by his sovereign, had been voluntarily abandoned by that sovereign. He had no warrant for its defence; he was no longer the representative of any acknowledged prince, and could not urge obedience to orders

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retention of their arms is a point of honour of which they have always shown themselves tenacious, they resisted the attempt, and the affray ensued.—*Sieges, Madras Army*, 55. Colonel Macgregor Murray, at a subsequent period affirmed that the attack was instantaneous; they had no time for parley. Lieutenant Lake's account is partly confirmed by Sir T. Hislop's despatch, in which he says, "the garrison were to the last moment offered the assurance of their lives being preserved, on their unconditional surrender. This, unfortunately they did not, or could not, understand, as they persisted in asking for terms none other could be given."

<sup>1</sup> Some of the despatches on the subject, were printed by order of Parliament, 16th February, 1819; but the documents are very meagre, and comprise but a small and unimportant part of those on record. Much more ample materials are on record, particularly the minutes of the Governor-General, in March, 1819, and Sir Thomas Hislop's vindication in September of the same year, confirmed by the answers to queries which he had addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Conway, Blacker, Murray, and Captain Briggs. Colonel Conway states his opinion, that the sentence was a humane one, and Captain Briggs declares his belief, that it was demanded by the political exigencies of the times.—MS. Records.

in palliation of his resistance. That he was in possession of the orders for the delivery of the fort was proved by evidence: and it was also testified that he had declared his resolution not to give up the fort but with his life. He had incurred a foreseen peril voluntarily, and had made himself responsible for all the consequences springing from his determination. Even the attack upon the officers who had passed through the gate, was a catastrophe every way imputable to him, as he had stimulated his soldiers to resistance, and then abandoned them to the guidance of their own passions. He had been distinctly apprised, also, that if he stood an assault no mercy would be shown to him. He had despised the warning and was liable to the forfeiture.

Reasoning from the usage of civilized nations, and adopting the principles which they have agreed to appeal to, as calculated to alleviate the evils of war, there could be no doubt of the justice of the sentence; but it might have been pleaded in mitigation, that the Mahrattas were ignorant of those principles, and that the Kiladar was punished for the violation of a law of which he was wholly ignorant. The loose practice of his government palliated his conduct, disobedience of the prince's instructions was far from uncommon, and the officers of Sindhia and Holkar were accustomed to interpret the orders they received, not according to the expression, but to what they conjectured to be the real intention of the chief by whom they were sent. In this case, also, the Kiladar might have urged, that, although holding immediately of Holkar, he owed a higher duty to the Peshwa, who was still in arms, and whose cause it was incumbent upon him to defend to the utmost extremity. As to the garrison, it is most probable that he had little or no control over them, and that they would not have listened to any commands which he might have issued.

The necessity of an example, is a more tenable apology for the rigour of the sentence than the violation of the laws of European warfare. Baji Rao was yet at the head of a considerable force, and was moving towards Kandesh, in which he had numerous adherents. The country was studded with fortresses; the commandants of which were in the interest of the Peshwa, and were known to be pre-

BOOK II. paring for resistance. The reduction of Chandore might  
CHAP. VIII. have been the work of a campaign ; Galna and Rasaigerh  
1818. were also strong places. The occupation of a large portion of the British force in these sieges, would have protracted military operations, until the season admitted no longer of their continuance, and the interval would have given the Peshwa an opportunity of reorganising his forces, and of forming dangerous combinations in his favour. The extensive mischief, and the great loss of life which another campaign would have occasioned, were considerations of undoubted weight, and extenuated, if they did not justify, the condemnation of the Kiladar. At any rate, these were the reasons which mainly actuated Sir Thomas Hislop, and in which he was supported by the concurrent opinion of Lieutenant-Colonel Conway, the Adjutant-General of the army, and Captain Briggs, the political agent, who assisted at the trial. The Kiladar made no defence. The effect of his fate was undeniable. Tulasi Ram, the Kiladar, was a man of rank, the uncle of Balaram Set, the late minister of the Bai, and his execution made the greatest impression. Chandore, held by his brother, was immediately surrendered, and the other fortresses were given up with equal promptitude. On the other hand, an opinion prevailed among the people and the soldiery, that the Kiladar had been unfairly dealt with ; and, in some places, a more obstinate resistance was in consequence encountered. An equally advantageous result would probably have been attained by a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, and the imputation of needless severity would have been avoided. But it must be admitted, that hostilities in this campaign were generally prosecuted in a stern and inflexible spirit, vindicable, perhaps, by the cruelty and treachery of the Mahratta princes ; but making little account of the feelings which the humiliation they underwent, could not fail to engender both in them and their adherents

After the reduction of Talner, Sir T. Hislop continued his march towards the Godaveri, and his route had the effect of arresting the flight of the Peshwa in that direction, and turning him back upon the pursuit of the second division. On the 15th of March, the head-quarters were at Phulthamba, and here the corps composing the first

division were divided between the Poona and Hyderabad forces, with the exception of a small personal escort, attended by which, Sir T. Hislop proceeded to Aurangabad, where he arrived on the 26th, and promulgated his final orders as Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Dekhin. He also relinquished his civil authority; and the management of the political interests of the British Government in the south reverted to the functionaries in whom they had been vested at the beginning of the war. Sir Thomas then resumed his route by way of Poona to Bombay, where he embarked on the 12th of May, on his return to Madras.

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While the several divisions of the army of the Dekhin had been almost exclusively engaged in circumscribing the Peshwa's movements, the province of Kandesh, the first seat of military operations for the suppression of Trimbak's partisans, had been comparatively neglected; and the adherents of the Peshwa, in that quarter, had been suffered to collect round them numerous bands of mercenaries, and to strengthen the fortresses of which they were in possession. Opportunity now offered for their reduction, and Mr. Elphinstone, the Commissioner of the Mahratta territories, resolved to adopt active measures for that purpose: a detachment from the Hyderabad division,<sup>1</sup> under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall, was employed upon the duty, and ordered to proceed against the strong-holds, situated in the line of hills north of the Godaveri, which form the southern boundary of Kandesh. The range is formed of a series of detached elevations, rising abruptly from the plain to the height of from six hundred to eleven hundred feet, connected by low narrow necks of high land. From the summit of many of the hills start up bluff and perpendicular rocks, of eighty or one hundred feet high, and so regularly scarped, that they have every appearance of having been artificially wrought. Such of the hills as contained water had been fortified, and the rocky scarp constituted a minor fort, or citadel. There was seldom any work of defence raised upon them, as they

<sup>1</sup> It consisted of one company of foot Artillery, two companies of the Royal Scots, three of the Madras European regiment, 1st battalion 2nd N.I., four companies of the 2nd battalion 13th N.I., five companies of Pioneers, and a few hundred irregular horse; a small battering train and a corps of Sappers and Miners were also attached to the force.



BOOK II. were accessible only by flights of steps cut out of the solid  
CHAP. VIII. rock, and leading through a succession of gate-ways or  
1818. barriers commanding each turn of the steep and winding staircase. The ascent was utterly impossible, if the garrison were resolute, as those who attempted it were not only exposed to a raking fire, but might be crushed by the rocky fragments which the defenders had the easy means of precipitating on their heads. Of this description was the fort of Ankitanki, before which Colonel Macdowall presented himself on the 3rd of April. Either the courage or the fidelity of the Kiladar failed, or he was intimidated by the recent catastrophe at Talner, and he surrendered the post as soon as summoned.

The next place to which the detachment advanced, Chandore, was, in like manner, at once given up by Ramdas, the brother of the Commandant of Talner; but beyond the Chandore pass were two forts, Rajdher and Inderai. the Kiladars of which disregarded the summons to surrender; Colonel Macdowall, therefore, marched to attack the former, one of the strongest of those natural fortresses with which the hills were crowned. The troops encamped in the valley which separated the heights of Rajdher from those of the adjacent Inderai, on the 11th of April, and a battery was constructed on the low ground, chiefly intended to cover the attempts which were made to form a lodgment on an elevation more nearly level with the fortress, access to which, although difficult, was practicable at the south-eastern end of the hill, on which Rajdher was situated. This was effected easily on the 12th, and an outwork occupied by the garrison, was carried. Arrangements for constructing a battery on its site, within two hundred and fifty yards of the fort, were immediately made. The guns were taken from their carriages and brought up by hand, and the battery would have opened on the morning of the 13th; but after it was dark, the buildings within the fort were observed to be on fire, and the garrison endeavouring to quit it. Parties sent to make them prisoners were deterred from approaching, by the heat of the passage, and in the confusion and the darkness of the night, most of the enemy escaped. Forty were brought in captives on the following

morning, by the irregular horse.<sup>1</sup> Inderai, and several similar strong-holds, in the vicinity of Rajdher, abandoned all purpose of resistance after the prompt fall of a place so celebrated for the strength of its position.

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After halting at Rajdher till the 15th of April, the detachment moved to the south-west, and on the 22nd sat down before Trimbak,<sup>2</sup> a fortified rock, the summit of which was five miles in extent; the sides presented a perpendicular scarp, varying from two to four hundred feet in height, and everywhere unassailable, except at two gateways, one on the northern, the other on the southern face. The ascent was by narrow passages with flights of steps, and was protected by other gateways at the top, flanked by towers: there were few works on the summit, and the magazine and dwellings of the garrison were excavations in the rock. The petta of Trimbak lay in a valley on the north side of the fort, and the Godaveri river, issuing from the western face of the rock, flowed round the fort, and through the centre of the town.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of the approach, enhanced by the rocky nature of the soil, which rendered it necessary to carry up earth for the formation of an elevated, instead of a sunken, battery, a lodgment was effected on the north side, on the 23rd, and a battery was opened at day-light on the following day, against the curtain and tower of the gateway. A battery was also erected against the southern gateway, to distract the attention of the garrison, and intercept their communication. A nearer approach to the north gate was accomplished on the 24th, and the enemy were driven from a ruined village at the foot of the scarp which afforded cover for the besiegers. Following up this advantage with some precipitancy, and under a misconception of orders, the covering party attempted to ascend to the gateway, but

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Blacker states that the cause of the conflagration was never ascertained, but supposes it might have been the effect of the shells, p. 320—According to Lieutenant Lake, it was a quarrel which took place in the garrison, originating in the Brahman Kiladar's refusal to pay to the families of those men who had been killed, the arrears of pay due to them. In revenge, the garrison set fire to his house, and the manner in which the flames spread alarmed them so much, that they were induced to capitulate, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Trimbak, or more correctly Tryambak, is a name of the Hindu deity, Siva, to whom a celebrated shrine was here dedicated, whence the name of the place. The appellations of their divinities are commonly adopted by the Hindus, whence the designation of the Peshwa's favourite.

BOOK II. they were quickly driven down by a heavy fire of gingals,  
CHAP. VIII. rockets, and muskets, and by heavy stones. Retiring  
— behind the walls of the village, a battery of four six-  
1818. pounders was completed there during the night, but before  
it could open on the 25th, the Kiladar expressed a desire  
to treat, and the garrison being allowed to march out with  
their arms and private property, the fort was surrendered.  
The example of Trimbak, as celebrated for its strength, as  
for its sanctity as the source of the Godaveri, a river  
second only to the Ganges in the veneration of the Hindus,  
was quickly followed. Seventeen hill forts were immedi-  
ately afterwards relinquished, and the whole of the country,  
one of the strongest in the world, submitted in the course  
of a very short campaign.

That the defence of places of such extraordinary natural  
strength, should have been conducted with so little vigour,  
was to be expected from the constitution of the garrisons,  
and the depressed fortunes of the prince whom they  
served. Enlisted on the spur of the moment, and com-  
posed of hirelings from every country in India, they were  
held together by no feeling of nationality, by no attach-  
ment to the Peshwa, and from his evident inability to  
make head against his pursuers, anticipated his speedy  
downfall. The sentiments thus inspired contributed more  
effectually to the easy reduction of Rajdher and Trimbak  
than the science and courage of the assailants; but these  
qualities were soon to be called into exercise, indepen-  
dently of any facility from the disaffection or indifference  
of the native garrison.

The employment of Arab soldiers by the princes of the  
Peninsula and of Central India has been frequently noticed,  
as has the character of those mercenaries for determined  
and desperate valour. Of the Arab troops set at liberty  
by the capitulation of Nagpur, a considerable portion had  
taken service with the Mahratta officers in Kandesh, and  
others had similarly enlisted, who had been cast loose by  
the dispersion of the infantry of the Peshwa. Although  
caring little for the cause of the fugitive prince, they were  
not disposed to forego their military habits, and retire to  
inactive tranquillity in their native deserts, and it became  
necessary to impose this alternative by their forcible ex-  
pulsion. They had taken their chief stand at the fortress

of Maligam, and, notwithstanding the advanced period of the year, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall was instructed to lead his detachment against the place, he accordingly retraced his steps to the north, and returned to Chandore on the 10th of May. After a halt of three days, the force marched northward, and arrived on the 15th before Maligam, a fort of formidable strength, garrisoned by seven hundred Arabs. The detachment was much weakened by the fatigues it had undergone, and the losses it had suffered, as well as by the guards left in most of the captured forts, so that it scarcely mustered nine hundred and fifty firelocks, besides two hundred and seventy pioneers, and a small detail of European artillery.

The fortress of Maligam stood on the left bank of the river Musan, shortly above its junction with the Girni, a feeder of the Tapti; it was situated in a circular bend of the river, which protected its western and part of its northern and southern faces. The body of the work was a square, enclosed by a high wall of masonry, with towers at the angles: a second quadrangular wall of considerable elevation, at some distance from the first, surrounded the latter, and in the space between the walls ran a deep and wide dry ditch: an exterior enclosure at a still greater interval, of an irregular quadrangular form, surrounded the whole. The gates were nine in number, very intricate, and all containing excellent bomb-proofs. Part of the defences were of clay, but the greater portion was of substantial masonry: the petta was opposite to the eastern face, and was capable of being defended, as it contained many strong and lofty buildings, and was surrounded by a rampart, which, however, was somewhat decayed.

After reconnoitering the place from the right bank of the river, it was determined to attack it from the south-west, and operations were accordingly commenced on the 18th, after dark, in rear of a mango grove, which stood at this point near the bank of the river. The besiegers were not allowed to proceed without interruption, a sortie being made by the garrison, supported by a sharp fire from the fort. The river being fordable, the Arabs crossed and attacked the covering party in the grove, consisting of a detachment of the Madras European regiment, with great intrepidity: they were repulsed after a short but san-



BOOK II. guinary conflict in which Lieutenant Davies, the commanding engineer, was unfortunately killed. The spirit thus evinced by the garrison was displayed in several similar attempts, but the works proceeded, batteries were erected, and by the 28th of May, what was thought to be a practicable breach had been made in the body of the work. Considerable reinforcements<sup>1</sup> had been received, and it was resolved to attempt a storm.

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Accordingly, on the morning of the 29th, three columns advanced against the place. The column directed against the breach, consisting of one hundred Europeans and eight hundred Sipahis, was commanded by Major Greenhill, and conducted by the engineer in command, Lieutenant Nattes; of the other two columns, one under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, was directed to carry the Petta, and the other, under Major Macbean, to attempt the escalade of the outer wall of the fort near the river gate. The Petta was taken, but the escalade was abandoned in consequence of the failure of the attack upon the breach. Lieutenant Nattes led the way, but was shot when he had gained the summit; the commanding officer was wounded, and the second in command killed, the troops arrived at the head of the breach, and remained there with great steadiness, exposed to a destructive fire. Finding that no progress was likely to be made, and having reason to suppose that there were obstacles to be overcome, for which preparations had not been devised, Colonel Macdowall recalled the storming party to the lines.<sup>2</sup>

The failure of the attack on the west face of the fort, and the cover afforded by the Petta, induced a change of plan, and it was determined to assail the fort from the north and east. The main body of the force accordingly crossed the river, and batteries were constructed on the side of the town nearest the fort, and efforts were made

<sup>1</sup> They were two companies of the 2nd battalion 14th, the same of the 2nd battalion 13th, and the 2nd battalion of the 17th N.I., a battalion of the Russell brigade, and a body of irregular horse.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Blacker states, that when the column was under partial cover, the scaling ladders were dropped from the top of the wall, and disappeared, which unfavourable circumstance being reported to Colonel Macdowall, he directed the attempt to be abandoned, 327. Lieut. Lake doubts the insufficiency of the ladders, and attributes the failure to the hesitation of the troops, occasioned by the casualties which deprived them of their leaders, 141.

to carry mines under the towers of the eastern wall. These arrangements occupied the troops till the 10th of June, when they were reinforced by a battalion of N. I., and a battering train from Seroor. The mortars were placed in position on the same night, and on the following morning occasioned an explosion of two of the enemy's magazines, by which a considerable extent of the inner wall was thrown down, and the interior of the fort laid open. Advantage was taken immediately of the accident, and batteries were erected to take off the defences of the inner breach, and open one in the outer line; the result of these preparations was anticipated, by the proposal of the garrison to capitulate; and on the 13th of June they marched out and grounded arms in front of the line; their side arms were restored to them, and their arrears of pay discharged, after which they were marched to the sea-coast, and sent back to Arabia, with the exception of those who had been long settled with their families in the south of India. Those that surrendered were three hundred and fifty in number, part having effected their escape.

The loss sustained by the besiegers, amounted to two hundred and nine killed and wounded, including twelve officers.<sup>1</sup> After the surrender of Maligam, the division was broken up, and the troops composing it returned to their several quarters for the monsoon.

When the annihilation of the Pindaris, the desperate condition of the Peshwa, and the seeming contrition of Apa Saheb, gave reason to hope that military operations were on the eve of discontinuance, they were renewed in the upper part of the valley of the Nerbudda with increased activity, and for a protracted period. Their renewal originated in the perfidy and ultimate hostility of the Raja of Nagpur.

The restoration of Apa Saheb to a portion of his dominions, after having justly forfeited the whole by his unprovoked attack upon the Residency, might be supposed to have taught him, if not a lesson of gratitude, the danger of involving himself in hostilities with an enemy against whose overpowering strength he had found him-

<sup>1</sup> The officers killed were Lieutenant Davis and Ensign Natter, sappers and miners; Lieutenant Kennedy, 17th N.I., and Lieutenants Eagan and Wilkinson, 13th N.I.

BOOK II. self so wholly unable to contend. Yet, whether he fancied  
CHAP. VIII. that as long as Baji Rao was at large there were hopes of  
1818. success, or, whether he was impelled, as he affirmed, by an  
irresistible sentiment of duty towards the head of the  
Mahratta confederacy, he had scarcely been replaced upon  
the throne of Nagpur, when he began to plot against the  
power to whose forbearance he was indebted for the re-  
covery of any part of his territories, and for the rank and  
title of a prince. The intercourse with Baji Rao was re-  
newed, and urgent messages were despatched to induce  
him to march towards Nagpur. The orders, which upon  
the recent occasion had been issued to the Commandants  
of his forts, to shut their gates against the English, were  
either left unrecalled, or secret orders to the same effect  
were now circulated, notwithstanding the places were  
those which the Raja had bound himself to surrender.  
The British troops were, therefore, compelled to possess  
themselves by force of the fortresses which had been  
ostensibly ceded to them by treaty.

The left wing of the grand army had been left in the  
field for the purpose of occupying the districts in the  
upper valley of the Nerbudda, relinquished by the Raja  
of Nagpur, and, with this view, was strengthened by the  
division from the centre, under General Watson. The  
force was concentrated on the 5th of March in Bundel-  
khand, and its first operations were called for in that pro-  
vince.<sup>1</sup> Although not immediately connected with the  
affairs of Berar, it will be convenient here to notice the  
transactions in this quarter.

The treaty of Poona had transferred the rights which  
the Peshwa still claimed in Bundelkhand, to the British  
Government. These were chiefly feudatory services, and  
tribute from the petty principalities of Jalaun, Jhansi,  
and Sagar. Treaties were accordingly concluded with  
Nana Govind Rao, of Jalaun, and with the manager of  
Jhansi, on the part of Ram Chand, the Subahdar, a minor,  
by which they were both recognized as hereditary chiefs  
of these states. The succession was guaranteed to their  
heirs for ever, and they were taken under British protec-

<sup>1</sup> It then consisted of the 7th N.C., the 2nd battalions 1st, 2nd 13th, 1st 14th, 1st 26th, and 2nd 28th regiment of N.I., three thousand horse of Sind-  
hia's contingent, four hundred of Baddeley's irregular horse, with a train of  
heavy artillery.

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tion. They were bound to serve in time of war with all their forces with the British armies; and to render all such assistance compatible with their means as might be required. No tribute was demanded from Jhansi, the former ruler having always been a friend of the British. The tribute of Jalaun, was remitted in consideration of some districts ceded by the Nana.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement with Ságár was less easily adjusted. The Government was nominally exercised by the widow of the last Raja, but was managed on her behalf by Vinayak Rao. The right of the Bai was disputed by Nana Govind Rao, of Jalaun, who was the nephew of the former Raja, and the successor to the principality. According to the terms of the grant made by the Peshwa, the Nana was bound to pay an annual tribute of three lakhs of rupees, and to maintain a body of three thousand horse. In the new engagement to be proposed to Vinayak Rao, it was determined to remit all arrears of tribute, and to reduce it to one lakh, or less, upon the cession being made of a fort or tract of land. The contingent was also limited to six hundred horse. As soon as preparations for the campaign were in a state of forwardness, Vinayak Rao was required to accede to these conditions, and to supply his quota of troops; but no answer was returned to the demand, and it was discovered that he had opened secret communications with the Pindaris, and had suffered troops to be levied within his districts for the service of the Peshwa and Raja of Nagpur. His contumacy and disloyalty were deemed sufficient grounds for dispossessing him of the power he held, and annexing Ságár to the British possessions; making an adequate provision from its surplus revenue for the maintenance of Vinayak Rao and the Bai, and transferring the balance to Govind Rao for his life in commutation of his claims.<sup>2</sup> General Marshall was instructed to carry these measures into effect. No resistance was attempted. Vinayak Rao was sensible of the futility of opposition, and submitted without further hesitation to the terms imposed.

The political management of Ságár, having been as-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Subahdar of Jhansi, 17th November, 1817.—Collection of Treaties, Papers, Lord Hastings' administration. A treaty of a similar purport was at the same time entered into with Govind Rao, of Jalaun.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, Mahratta War, p. 413.



BOOK II. CHAP. VIII. 1818. sumed by Mr. Wauchope, the Commissioner in Bundelkhand, General Marshall, sent detachments to receive the submission of the dependent fortresses. The whole were surrendered peaceably, and the division marched to Dhamauni, a fortress belonging to Nagpur, included in the cessions which the Raja had agreed to make. The orders given to the Kiladar were of a different tenor, and it was not until batteries were opened that the fort was given up. General Marshall thence crossed the Nerbudda into Gondwana, where the same spirit of resistance had been excited by the instructions of the Raja; and the Commandants of the principal fortresses, and the rude tribes of the forests and mountains, the Gonds, who professed allegiance to Nagpur, had been encouraged to violate the conditions to which Apa Saheb had acceded. It was, therefore, necessary to enforce submission, and the force marched against Mandala, the capital of the district, situated on one of the branches of the Nerbudda, not far from its source, where it is joined by a small feeder, the Banjira. The mountainous irregularity of the country rendered the march of the division, and the transport of the ordnance for the siege, extremely laborious; but the difficulty was overcome, and on the 18th of April the town was invested. As the Kiladar refused to comply with the summons to surrender, batteries were constructed against the wall of the Petta, and on the 25th they opened with such effect as to lay it sufficiently in ruins for an assault. Accordingly, on the 26th, a storming party, under Captain Dewar, supported by a column under Colonel Price, both commanded by General Watson, ascended the breach, and advancing into the town, drove out the troops which had been stationed for its defence. They retired upon the fort, which was separated from the town by a deep ditch, filled from the river; the gates were closed upon them, and the greater number fell under the fire of the assailants; a portion endeavouring to escape, were cut up by the cavalry. This success intimidated the garrison, and on the following morning they voluntarily evacuated the fort without arms.<sup>1</sup> The Kiladar had attempted, during the night, to cross the river in a boat, but was taken prisoner as soon as he landed. He pretended that

<sup>1</sup> General Marshall's Despatch, Papers, Mahratta War, p. 207.

he had come to offer an unconditional surrender of the fortress, but his contumacy in defending it, contrary to the terms of the public treaty by which it had been relinquished, and a treacherous attempt made by him in the beginning of March, to cut off, by a vastly superior force, a small party under Major Bryan, who had proceeded to Mundala to settle the arrears of pay due to the garrison, and recover possession of the fort, agreeably to the instructions of the Resident of Nagpur, were thought to deserve the punishment of treason. The Kiladar was, therefore, tried by a drum-head court-martial of native officers, for rebellion against the Raja of Nagpur, and treachery against Major O'Brien.<sup>1</sup> He was, however, acquitted of both charges, Major O'Brien declaring his belief that the Kiladar was not concerned in the attack upon him, and the court expressing their conviction that he had acted agreeably to the secret commands of the Nagpur Government, and under the restraint and coercion of chiefs sent by the Raja to control the Kiladar, and enforce obedience to his secret instructions.<sup>2</sup>

After the capture of Mandala, General Marshall was called to the command of the cantonment of Cawnpur, and left that of the division in Gondwana, to Brigadier-General Watson, whose duty it became to reduce to subjection the Gond chiefs inhabiting the mountains that form the southern barrier of the eastern valley of the Nerbudda. A small force under Lieutenant-Colonel Mac Morine, the head-quarters of which had been at Jabalpur, had hitherto performed this office, as far as its strength permitted, and had latterly been engaged in checking the predatory excursions of the garrison of Chouragerh, the Commandant of which had hitherto refused to give it up to the British authorities. The feebleness of the detachment prevented it from undertaking more comprehensive operations, and the reduction of the country awaited the approach of a more powerful force. The division under General Watson marched, accordingly, on the 1st of May, from Mandala, and, after passing by Jabalpur, arrived on the 13th, within one day's march of Chouragerh. The necessity of a further forward movement had ceased, the garrison of Chouragerh had abandoned it on hearing of

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<sup>1</sup> Prinsep, ii. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, 329.

BOOK II. his approach, and it was immediately taken possession of  
CHAP. VIII. by Colonel Mac Morine. The successful surprise of a  
1818. remnant of the Pindaris on the confines of Bhopal, and  
the reduction of some small fortresses in the neighbourhood of Bairsia, completed the service of Brigadier General Watson in this quarter.

The plea upon which the Kiladars of Mandala and Chouragerh justified their refusal to surrender their forts, necessarily suggested doubts of the Raja's sincerity, and the truth of the plea was established by the discovery of letters from his minister, authorising the proceedings of the subordinate functionaries. The discontent of Apa Saheb had been manifested soon after his restoration, and he professed a wish to resign the whole of his revenues into the hands of the Resident, contenting himself with a pension for his personal support. His complaints were not limited to this representation, but were repeated in an intercepted letter to Eaji Rao, in which he pressed the Peshwa to come speedily to his succour. Other proofs of hostile purposes rapidly accumulated. The agents of the Mahratta princes were still in Nagpur, and admitted to private conferences with such of the ministers as enjoyed the confidence of the Raja; particularly Nago Punth and Ramchandra Wagh, who were notoriously opposed to the British connexion. Those who were friendly to it were sedulously excluded from the prince's councils. The family of the Raja, and the principal part of his treasures, were deposited at Chanda, a fortified town, one hundred miles south-west from Nagpur, and thither it was that Apa Saheb proposed to retire. He was there to be joined by Ganpat Rao, who, after the battle of Nagpur had gone over to the Peshwa with a body of Arab foot, and the Berar horse, and it was known that he was marching towards Nagpur, followed by the Peshwa in the beginning of March. The time called for decision, and to prevent the dangers arising from his intrigues, it became necessary to put the Raja under restraint and deprive him of the power of doing mischief. After placing guards round the city so as to prevent Apa Saheb from quitting it, he was required to repair to the Residency, and remain under the Resident's supervision. As he delayed compliance with the requisition, a party of Sipahis under

Lieut. Gordon, assistant to the Resident, was sent to compel his attendance. This was done without any occasion for violence, and Apa Saheb was a prisoner. Nago Punth, and Ramchandra Wagh were apprehended at the same time. The arrest of Apa Saheb and his advisers was followed by multiplied testimony of their hostile intentions, and by irrefragable proofs of their communication with the enemies of the British Government. It was now also ascertained beyond contradiction, that the death of the late imbecile Raja Parswaji, was the act of Apa Saheb's partisans, and was committed with his privity and approbation. An attempt to poison the unhappy prince having failed, he was strangled in his bed. For this, however, Apa Saheb was not brought to account. His treacherous attack upon the Resident, of which he confessed himself to have been the author, in opposition to the advice of his ministers, and the revival of his inimical designs, were considered sufficient grounds for his being visited with condign punishment. The Governor-General, therefore, determined that Apa Saheb should be deposed, and that the next of kin also named Baji Rao, the son of Raghuji Bhosla's daughter, a boy between eight and nine years of age, should be raised to the Raj. The regency was to be vested in the mother of the young prince, but the administration of affairs was to be exercised by the British Resident, until the Raja should be old enough to assume the Government of the country.

The secret negotiations carried on by the Peshwa with the Raja of Nagpur proved eventually as fatal to him as to the Raja, as they diverted him from his purpose of making directly for Hindustan, which he might possibly then have reached, and led him to the easterly route which ended in his being hemmed in between the divisions of Generals Adams and Doveton, and the dispersion of his troops by the former at Seoni. The van of the Mahratta army, in pursuance of the plan of forming a junction with the troops of Apa Saheb, had advanced to within fifteen miles of Chanda, where they were anticipated by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, consisting of the 6th Bengal Native cavalry, and one squadron of the 8th; a reserve of auxiliary horse, 1st battalion of 1st Madras Native cavalry, and the 6th company of the 2nd,

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BOOK II. which had been sent to intercept their march. At the  
 CHAP. VIII same time, the division of Colonel Adams had marched  
 1818. to the south, and its approach caused the Peshwa's retreat. He lost time and opportunity by this demonstration on Chanda; and the attempt to combine with the Raja of Nagpur involved him in the same ruin.

After the retreat of Baji Rao to the westward, Colonel Adams advanced against Chanda, and arrived before it on the 9th of May, with an effective and well equipped force. The town of Chanda, about six miles in circumference, was surrounded by a stone wall, from fifteen to twenty feet high, flanked by towers, and defended by two water-courses, running along its eastern and western faces, and meeting nearly half a mile from its southern extremity. In the centre of the town was the citadel; the garrison of which was between two and three thousand men, of whom part were Arabs. They had fired upon Colonel Scott's detachment, when recently before the walls. The division took up its ground on the south of the town, and batteries were erected opposite to the south-east angle, which, by the 19th, had brought down a sufficient portion of the defences to admit of an assault being attempted. On the 20th, accordingly, a storming party under the command of Lieut.-Col. Scott, marched to the breach in two columns, and, although received with a warm fire from the garrison, forced their entrance into the town. An occasional stand was made by parties of the garrison on the ramparts and in the streets, but all opposition was overborne, and the town being in the possession of the British, and the Commandant being killed,<sup>1</sup> the citadel was abandoned. Most of the garrison escaped into the thickets which approached on the north side close to the walls, and gave cover to the fugitives. The loss attending the capture of Chanda was inconsiderable, and booty of some value rewarded the resolution of the assailants. This operation terminated the campaign. Part of the force was stationed at Nagpur, but the head-quarters returned to Hoseinabad, where the force was attacked by cholera, and lost more men by that fatal malady than by the whole of the pre-

<sup>1</sup> According to Prinsep, he was wounded at the breach, and apprehensive of being put to death, if taken, poisoned himself; he had no claim to mercy, as he had ordered the bearer of the summons to surrender sent by Colonel Adams, to be blown from a gun.—2,258.

vious operations. Notwithstanding the state of the troops and the unfavourableness of the rainy season, detachments were obliged to be kept occasionally in the field in consequence of the escape of Apa Saheb and the effects of his presence in the mountains and thickets of Gondwara.

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As soon as all apprehension of the Peshwa's advance upon Nagpur had been dissipated by the movements of the subsidiary force, the Resident, in obedience to the orders of the Governor-General, sent off Apa Saheb, whom it was thought expedient to place in security in the fort of Allahabad, towards Hindustan. The Raja marched from Nagpur on the 3rd of May, under the guard of one wing of the 22nd Bengal N. I. and three troops of the 8th N. C., commanded by Captain Browne. On the 12th the party halted at Raichur, a small town, one march on this side of Jabalpur. On the following morning the Raja had disappeared. During the night he had been secretly furnished with the dress and accoutrements of a Sipahi, and when the sentinels were changed, had marched off with the relieving party. A pillow took his place on his couch, and when the native officer, whose duty it was to inspect the tent, looked into it, he saw what he supposed to be the Raja, quietly reposing, and two servants kneeling by the bedside, engaged in the office of rubbing his limbs. Some of the Sipahis had been induced to contrive the Raja's escape, and became the partners of his flight. Sufficient time had elapsed between his evasion and its discovery, to enable him to reach the thickets of the adjacent hills; and although, as soon as his flight was known, an active pursuit in all directions was set on foot, the prisoner was not retaken—he had fled to Haray, a place about forty miles to the south-west, on the skirts of the Mahadeo hills, and in these recesses, and under the protection of Chain Sah, a Gond chieftain, was, for the present, at least, safe from recapture. The fidelity of his protectors was proof against all temptation, and the large rewards offered for the recapture of the Raja failed to seduce from their allegiance the half-savage mountaineers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reward was a Lakh of Rupees (£10,000), and a Jaghir of 10,000 Rupees (£1,000) a year for life. The pecuniary reward was afterwards doubled.

BOOK II. While the Raja of Nagpur thus effected his escape  
CHAP. VIII. from captivity, the chief in whose cause he had perilled  
1818. his freedom and lost his dominions, was hastening to  
throw himself into more durable toils.

After his surprise and rout at Seoni, the Peshwa fled to the north-west with the design, it was suspected, of seeking a refuge in the strong fortress of Asir, which was held by Jeswant Rao Lar. He was closely followed. The Hyderabad division, after resting but a few days at Jalna, again took the field on the 14th of May, and on the 25th halted a short distance beyond Burhanpur, within fourteen miles of the Peshwa's camp. An immediate attack was arrested by intelligence that negotiations were in progress with Sir John Malcolm for Baji Rao's surrender. Prevented from crossing the Nerbudda by the military arrangements in his front, and alarmed by the rapid advance of Colonel Doveton; wearied of a life of flight and terror, and deprived of his chief adherents by death or desertion, Baji Rao became sensible of the fruitlessness of prolonging the contest, and resigned himself to the humiliation from which he could not hope to escape. He addressed himself accordingly to Sir John Malcolm, as to an old friend, and besought his intercession with the Governor-General for favourable terms, inviting him to his camp that they might discuss the conditions in person. Nor was he actuated solely by his own convictions. The few chiefs of rank who still adhered to him, conveyed to Sir John Malcolm their assurances that they would follow Baji Rao no longer if he refused to negotiate. Sir John Malcolm declined the invitation, but consented to send some of his officers to communicate his sentiments to the Peshwa himself, at the same time apprising the Peshwa's Vakils that the sentence of deposal was irrevocable, and that no negotiation would be admitted which had for its basis any proposal of Baji Rao's restoration; that the Peshwa must give up the persons of Trimbak, and of the murderers of Captain Vaughan and his brother, if he had the power so to do, and that he must evince his sincerity by coming forward without any force, and meeting Sir John Malcolm on the Nerbudda. The Vakils were sent back to Baji Rao with this message. Sir J. Malcolm moved from Mow to Mandaleswar, where he arrived on

the 22nd of May, and thence despatched Lieutenant Low to the Peshwa at his earnest solicitation. Notwithstanding the fears under which Baji Rao laboured, Lieutenant Low found him very reluctant to relinquish his title or his capital although consenting to a reduction of his territories, and very apprehensive of the consequences of the proposed interview with Sir John Malcolm. The terms of the meeting were after much discussion agreed upon, and it took place on the 1st of June, at Khori, a village at the foot of the mountain pass, above which stood the Peshwa's camp. Baji Rao, clinging to the shadow of power, attempted to give the interview the character of a public audience, and received Sir John Malcolm and his staff with the customary formalities, after which, withdrawing to a private tent, he exerted all his eloquence to procure from Sir John Malcolm some assurance of a reversal of the decree which had been issued against him. He declared that he had never intended to engage in warfare with the British Government, and that he had been the victim of the intemperance and rashness of those about him, most of whom had deserted him in his extremity, and his only reliance was in Sir John's friendship, and the generosity of the Governor-General. The hopelessness of a compliance with his desires was distinctly stated, and the interview terminated without his coming to any decision. As no delay could be allowed, an engagement was submitted in the evening to Baji Rao for his signature, with an intimation, that if not acceded to within twenty-four hours, hostilities would re-commence. The conditions stipulated that Baji Rao should resign for himself and his successors, all claim to sovereignty ; that he should repair with his family, and a limited number of his adherents and attendants, to the camp of Brigadier-General Malcolm, whence he should be escorted to Benares, or any sacred place in Hindustan which the Governor-General, at his request, might appoint for his future residence. In the event of his prompt submission, he was promised a liberal pension, not less than eight lakhs of rupees per annum: that his requests in favour of such of his followers as had been ruined by their devotion to his cause, should meet with liberal attention, and that the same should be paid to his representations in favour of Brah-

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BOOK II. mans and religious establishments supported by his family.  
 CHAP. VIII. These terms were received with varying sentiments by  
 1818. the Peshwa's advisers, and the whole of the following day was passed in communications from the Peshwa and his principal adherents, some of whom became more anxious for their own interests, than those of their chief. There were honourable exceptions to this selfishness, and the Vinchoor Jagirdar, the Purandhar chief, and the manager of the interests of the family of Gokla, deserve honourable mention for their regard for the fallen fortunes of the Peshwa, and their resolution to abstain from all disrespectful importunity, although convinced of the hopelessness of the contest, and willing to employ every means of persuasion and remonstrance in order to prevail upon him to submit.<sup>2</sup> The counsels of those who advocated submission at last prevailed, and after some further vacillation, and attempts to procrastinate his surrender, Baji Rao, with a force more numerous than that of Sir J. Malcolm, removed to the vicinity of the British encampment, and on the 4th of June accompanied the division on its first march towards the Nerbudda. Trimbak, who had been in the Peshwa's camp, with a strong body of horse and Arab infantry, had previously moved off towards Asir; and Cheetoo, with his followers, took the same route. Ram Din, and other leaders, dispersed in different directions. On the 9th, Sir John Malcolm having crossed the Nerbudda, was obliged to halt to suppress a mutiny of the Arab infantry of the Peshwa, in which his person was in danger. The mutineers, intimidated by the arrangements made for an attack upon them by the British force, consented to an equitable adjustment of their demands, and marched off, as enjoined, for Kandesh. Henceforth, Baji Rao, attended by about twelve hundred horse and foot, accom-

<sup>1</sup> Amongst the applicants were Trimbak, Ram Din, and the Pindari, Cheetoo. Unconditional surrender was insisted upon for the first and last. Ram Din was desired to dismiss his followers, and return quietly to Hindustan.—Papers, Mahratta war, 356. To the Mahratta chiefs was extended the indulgence granted to those who had left the Peshwa, after the defeat at Ashti, Jagirs for their personal support, not for the maintenance of a military contingent.

<sup>2</sup> The Vakil of the Vinchoor chief said, that his master's family had served that of the Peshwa for five generations, and had always spoken boldly to him and his ancestors; "but now that fate is upon him, we must be silent, unmerited reproaches ever have remained, and must remain unanswered."—Malcolm's Political History of India, 2, ccix.

panied the British camp, declaring that now only he felt his life secure.<sup>1</sup>

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When the conditions which had been tendered to Bajī Rao were submitted to the Governor-General, they were not such as met with his unqualified approbation. Lord Hastings entertained a conviction that Bajī Rao was at this time conscious of the helpless state to which he was reduced, and that he had resolved to come in under any terms, although he sought to obtain favourable conditions by keeping up the show of negotiation. His being suffered to negotiate at all was an indulgence to which he was not entitled; and the despatch of British officers to his camp evinced an anxiety for peace and a deference to the Peshwa, which were incompatible with the relative position of the parties, and might be liable to be misconstrued by the natives and princes of India, as well as tend to foster erroneous notions in the mind of Bajī Rao himself. The Governor-General also objected to the amount of the stipend, and the stipulation in favour of the Peshwa's adherents; both of which should have been left entirely open for the determination of the Government. On the other hand, Sir John Malcolm urged the probability of a still longer protracted contest and the importance of its prevention. The Peshwa might have found means of retreating into the thickets of Kandesh, or of crossing the Nerbudda into Malwa, or he could with ease have thrown himself into Asirgerh, the Commandant of which had given shelter to his family and his treasures, and had offered an asylum to Bajī Rao.<sup>2</sup> Had either event occurred, hostilities must have been delayed for several months, as the approaching monsoon would have rendered it impossible for the troops to move, and, during this interval, the hopes of Bajī Rao and his partisans would have been kept alive; and agitation

<sup>1</sup> Narrative of Bajī Rao's surrender.—Malcolm's Political History of India.—Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Political History, 522. In his previous correspondence, Sir J. Malcolm expresses an opinion that the Kiladar would not commit himself and his prince, by openly sheltering an enemy of the British Government.—Papers, 349. Doveton asserts, that Sindhia had given orders to receive the Peshwa into the fort.—Political History, 524. See Papers, 46. A letter was subsequently found in Asirgerh, in Sindhia's own handwriting, commanding Jeswant Rao Lar to obey whatever orders the Peshwa should give him. It was of a somewhat earlier date, or December, 1817; but the instructions had never been countermanded, and Jeswant Rao was fully disposed to obey them.—MS. Rec.

BOOK II. would have been at work in every part of the Mah-  
CHAP. VIII. ratta States, from the frontiers of Mysore to the northern

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extremity of Malwa. The expense of another campaign and of the preparations which it would be necessary to set on foot, were saved by a prompt arrangement, and the stipend granted to the Peshwa was not more than was consistent with the honour and dignity of the British nation, whose proceedings had, on all similar occasions, been marked by the utmost liberality. With reference also to the personal character of Baji Rao, it was to be expected that the more easy his condition was rendered, as long as his income was not calculated to furnish him with the means of carrying on dangerous intrigues, the more contented he would be, and the less inclined to incur any hazard for the sake of change. This last consideration seems to have been justified by the result, as the ex-Peshwa appears to have been reconciled to his altered position by the pleasures he has been able to purchase, and has never instigated any serious attempts to recover his power. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the annihilation of the Peshwa, as the head of the Mahratta federation, was rendered less impressive upon the native mind by the liberality of the British Government: however munificent the allowance, the representative of a chief who had once given laws to Hindustan, had descended to the level of a dependant upon the bounty of his victorious enemies. Although not approving of the stipulations, Lord Hastings immediately ratified them, and did full justice to the motives of Sir John Malcolm. He also admitted, four years afterwards, when addressing the Secret Committee, that none of the evil consequences which he had anticipated, had resulted from the arrangement.<sup>1</sup> The Court of Directors also formally pronounced their opinion, that the important advantages which resulted from Baji Rao's surrender, justified the terms by which it had been secured.<sup>2</sup>

Baji Rao, after accompanying General Malcolm to Mahidpur, was transferred to the charge of Lieutenant Low, by whom he was escorted to Hindustan. A residence was assigned him at Bithur, about ten miles from Cawnpore, on the Ganges, recommended to the Government of Ben-

<sup>1</sup> October, 1822.—Papers, 457.

<sup>2</sup> Political History, 1, 533.

gal by its proximity to that military cantonment, and to the Mahrattas<sup>1</sup> by its reputed sanctity ; a European officer was stationed at Bithur as Commissioner, having the general charge of Baji Rao, and those who remained with him, and being the medium of his communications with the Government.<sup>2</sup> Trimbak, after the failure of his attempt to obtain any conditions, retreated to Nasik, and remained concealed there for some time ; but information of his lurking-place having been received, a party of horse, under Captain Swanston, succeeded in discovering and apprehending him ; he was conveyed to the fort of Thanna, whence he had formerly escaped, but was afterwards sent round to Bengal, and kept in confinement in the fort of Chunar, where he died. The commander of the party by whom the Vaughans were murdered, was long harboured by Chintaman Rao, one of the southern Jagirdars, but upon a force being sent against that chief, he was given up. As he pleaded, however, the orders of his superiors, his life was spared ; but he was imprisoned for the rest of his days in one of the hill forts. Sure retribution thus overtook the perpetrators of acts of treachery and cruelty, as contrary to the dictates of humanity, as to the laws of international intercourse, and bringing deserved disgrace and defeat even upon the justifiable vindication of national independence.

The extinction of the name and power of the Peshwa, and the dissolution of the bonds by which the Mahratta chiefs were held together, constituted one of the greatest political revolutions that modern India had witnessed. Little more than half a century had elapsed since Sadasheo Bhao led two hundred thousand combatants to the battle of Panipat, and although the result of the combat was disastrous, the speedy retreat of the Afghans and the decline of their power allowed the vanquished to recruit their strength, and renew their ambitious designs with improved resources and enhanced success. A Mahratta prince ruled Hindustan as the nominal representative and real master

<sup>1</sup> It is fabled to have been the scene of a performance of an Aswamedha by Brahmá.

<sup>2</sup> In 1832, the land adjacent to the town of Bithur was converted into a Jagir, and granted to Baji Rao exempt from the operation of the Regulations of the Government ; the civil and criminal jurisdiction being intrusted to the ex-Peshwa, subject to such restrictions as might at any time appear advisable. Bengal Regulations, i. 1832.



BOOK II. of the Mogul. Again yielding to the ascendancy of the  
 CHAP. VIII. stranger, the supremacy of the Mahrattas was destroyed

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but they retained strength sufficient to be formidable, and needed only consolidation and guidance to dispute with the victors the mastery over Hindustan. The blow now inflicted was irretrievable. The diminished and scattered fragments of the Mahratta confederacy were reduced to a state of weakness which could acquire no vigour from reunion; and as the main link which had held it together was struck out of the chain, it was disunited for ever.

Although the escape of Apa Saheb occasioned the prolongation of military operations after the surrender of the Peshwa, yet, as all the principal objects of the campaign had been accomplished, and the armies of the British Government had, for the most part, been finally withdrawn, the war might be now considered at an end. In taking a brief retrospect of the transactions by which it had been signalised, it is impossible to withhold from them the merits of comprehensiveness of plan, skill of combination, and vigour and precision of execution, although it is equally impossible to deny that the tortuous policy and insane temerity of the Mahratta princes surpassed all reasonable anticipation. The web was woven with masterly art, but that the victims should rush so precipitately into its meshes, appeared to be the work of an overruling destiny, rather than the result of human infatuation against which it could have been necessary to provide.

The equipment of a force so much more than adequate to its avowed object,—the extinction of the predatory system, upheld, publicly at least, by a scanty horde of undisciplined and ill-organized banditti, was fully justified by the knowledge which the Governor-General possessed of the disposition of the Mahratta princes to countenance that system, and to perpetuate a state of things which, in their belief, contributed to their strength and ministered to their necessities; replenishing their coffers with a portion of the spoil, and recruiting their armies in time of war, with willing and hardy partisans. That they would lend secret aid to the Pindaris was therefore certain; that they would make common cause with them was not impossible, and it was wisely done, therefore, to show them the danger of such policy by a display of the vast and

irresistible might of the British Government. The armies that took the field, and the commanding positions which they assumed, were well calculated to intimidate the most daring of the native chiefs, and to impress upon their minds the hazard of secret support, the hopelessness of open resistance.

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But beside the bias in favour of the Pindaris, arising from an imagined identity of interests, the Mahratta princes, as the British Government was correctly apprised, were animated by a spirit of intense hostility, engendered by their past discomfiture and recent humiliations, against the effects of which it was equally necessary to guard. Although it may be reasonably doubted if any definite combination against the British power had been concerted, yet it is certain, that Baji Rao, who had been the greatest sufferer by the British connexion, had been labouring for some years to infuse into the minds of other chiefs, the indignant feelings which rankled in his own, and to engage them in a scheme for the regeneration of the Mahratta power, and the restoration of the Peshwa to the rank and consideration enjoyed by his predecessors. That his intrigues had not altogether failed of effect was ascertained; and although no perceptible indications announced the general adoption of his projects, yet it was prudent to leave no temptation to their adoption by a mutilated display of the strength by which they would be encountered. By the extent and disposition of the grand army, Sindhia, the most formidable of the chiefs, was at once paralysed, and the army of the Dekhin was well suited to curb the discontent of the Peshwa and the Raja of Nagpur, had they not, with inconceivable desperation, defied consequences, and rushed upon their fate.

It is not easy to comprehend the motives which urged the Peshwa into a deadly rupture with his allies, at a moment when his dominions were occupied, and his communications intercepted by armies to which he had nothing to oppose. He no doubt over-rated both the disposition and the ability of Sindhia to assist him, and he probably exaggerated the embarrassments and difficulties of the attack upon the Pindaris. He was not ignorant, however, of the resources of the British, or of the comparative insignificance of his own, nor was he destitute of judgment

BOOK II. or sagacity. It is not, however, inconsistent with the  
CHAP. VIII. native character, to throw away in a fit of extreme irrita-

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tion the fruits of a long course of caution and craftiness, and to dare inevitable destruction. Without question, however, he relied upon a larger measure of forbearance than he experienced, and looking back to the excessive lenity which had been displayed to Sindhia and Holkar at the close of the last war, expected no heavier retribution than an augmented subsidy and territorial sequestration.

The conduct of Apa Saheb was, if possible, still more insane than that of Baji Rao. Inconvenient as he might feel the engagements which he had contracted, yet it was to them that he owed even what he possessed. His power was the work of his allies, and if the price he paid for it was heavy, he had yet no reason to believe that it was incapable of alleviation. His only plea in vindication of his conduct, was his allegiance to the Peshwa, a plea scarcely compatible with his position, as the Bhonsla Rajas had never regarded themselves as vassals of the Peshwa, and had not unfrequently been their opponents. The plea was a mere excuse for the indulgence of a rash and restless nature. His treachery could not have been an element in the estimate of probable foes, but the arrangements that had been made were adequate to the unexpected contingency. The hostility of Holkar was an occurrence upon which anticipation was less at fault. The inefficiency of the Government of the State was matter of universal notoriety, and the predominating influence of the military leaders was likely to compel it to warfare. Their interests were involved; they were a part of the predatory system.

Whatever, therefore, might have been thought of the disproportion between the magnitude of the original preparations, and the objects for which they were originally designed, events vindicated in a remarkable manner the wisdom and foresight with which the Marquis of Hastings had adopted so extensive a scale. Contingencies which were unforeseen, as well as those which had been anticipated, were fully provided for, and not only had the predatory hordes been extirpated, but the princes who came forward in their support had shared their downfall. Every object that could have been proposed had been

triumphantly achieved, and a single campaign had totally changed the political aspect of Hindustan. The extent of the transformation will be best understood when we shall have completed the narrative of military operations.

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## CHAPTER IX.

*Barbarian Races of the Ranges of Hills along the Nerbudda.*

— *Gonds, Bhils, &c.*— *Measures against the Depredations of the latter in Kandesh and Malwa.*— *Operations against the Gonds, and other Adherents of Apa Saheb.*— *His Refuge in the Mahadeo Hills.*— *Irregular Bands in his Service.*— *Desultory Hostilities.*— *Defeat of a British detachment.*— *Death of Captain Sparkes.*— *Extension of the Insurrection.*— *Checked.*— *Many Parties cut up.*— *Troops penetrate into the Hills.*— *Gond Villages destroyed.*— *Concerted Plan of Operations.*— *The Mahadeo Hills ascended.*— *Apa Saheb leaves the Hills, accompanied by Cheetoo.*— *Flies to Asir.*— *Not allowed to remain.*— *Assumes the Disguise of an Ascetic.*— *Makes his Way to Mundi.*— *Cheetoo not admitted into Asir.*— *Flies to the Thickets.*— *Killed by a Tiger.*— *Asirgerh demanded from Sindhia.*— *Jeswant Rao Lar ordered to deliver up the Fort.*— *Procrastination.*— *The Fort besieged.*— *Lower Fort taken.*— *Upper surrendered.*— *Documents proving Sindhia's Insincerity.*— *Asirgerh retained.*— *Close of the War.*— *Its Results.*— *Territorial Acquisitions from the Peshwa.*— *System of Management.*— *From Holkar.*— *From Sindhia.*— *From Nagpur.*— *Territorial Arrangements with the Nizam.*— *With the Gaekwar.*— *Political Results.*

THE Vindhya and Sathpura ranges of hills, which accompany the Nerbudda, from its source to its termination in the Gulph of Cambay, following nearly parallel lines on the north and south of the course of the river; expanding, at its eastern extremity, into a mountain rampart, which separates Bengal and Orissa from Berar, and at the western into a similar, but less extensive barrier, dividing Malwa from Kandesh and Guzerat; appear to have afforded an asylum to the aboriginal inhabitants of central India when

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BOOK II. they retreated before the southern progress of the Brah-  
CHAP. IX. manical Hindus. In the middle portion of this line, the  
1818. hills sink down to their lowest elevations, and they accordingly afford the most practicable routes from the Dekhin to Hindustan, and are the seats of several populous and flourishing towns; but the country on the east and west presents a succession of hills, of greater, although not very lofty height, which are rendered difficult and dangerous of access, by dense and insalubrious thickets, amidst which existence is secure only to the beasts of the forest, or the scarcely tamer human beings whom habit has fortified against the pestiferous vapours by which their haunts are best protected against the encroachments of more civilised tribes. The most eastern of these hills, from the confines of the British possessions to the borders of Berar, are the loftiest and most inaccessible, and much of the country is even yet unexplored. They are tenanted by various barbarous races, of whom the principal are the Koles, the Khonds, and the Gonds, living in villages among the forests, under their own chiefs; practising, in some places, a limited agriculture, but more usually subsisting on the produce of their cattle, the gleanings of the chase, or the wild fruits, herbs, and grain, which are the spontaneous growth of the thickets. The want of wholesome nutriment is in some measure compensated by the use of fiery spirits, to which the people are immoderately addicted. They are as scantily clothed as fed, and are armed chiefly with bows and arrows, large knives, and occasionally with matchlocks. Although sometimes professing to respect the few ignorant Brahmans who may have settled among them, this is not universally the case, and they cannot be said to follow the Brahmanical religion. The objects of their rude worship, which is commonly sanguinary, and sometimes comprises human victims, are local divinities, as the Deity of the Earth, or the presiding Genii over certain mountain-peaks; or shapeless blocks of wood or stone, occasionally dignified with denominations borrowed from the Hindu Pantheon—particularly with the name of Siva, and his wife Parvati: in some few places, also, Mahadeo, in his ordinary type, seems to have been adopted as one of their gods. The Koles, called in some

places also Lurka Koles,<sup>1</sup> are found principally in Sirguja and Sambhalpur; the Khands on the borders of Cuttack and Ganjam. The Gonds are still more widely extended, and spread from the western and southern limits of Bahar to those of Bundelkhand and Berar, and for some distance along the valley of the Nerbudda. Towards the western extremity of the ranges, the hills and forests are occupied by the Bhils,<sup>2</sup> a race similar in their general habits and character to those which have been mentioned, but associating more freely with their civilised neighbours, and therefore somewhat less barbarous. The same familiarity with civilisation had, however, fostered other propensities, and the Bhils had learned to lay waste the cultivated lands in their vicinity, or levy a tax upon the villagers as the price of their forbearance. These barbarians occupied chiefly the rugged country between the Tapti and the Nerbudda, spreading both to the south of the former, and

<sup>1</sup> Of the Koles, or Lurka Koles, little authentic information has been published, and that little has appeared in ephemeral publications. According to Lieutenant Blunt, he met with Koles near the river Son, on the eastern confines of Rewa, while all the mountain tribes, from the northern limits of Rutenpur, towards the confines of Berar and Hyderabad, between them and the Mahanadi, he calls Gonds.—Journey from Chunar to Yertnakudam, Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. Mr. Colebrooke, in his journey from Mirzapur to Nagpur, describes Koles, Gonds, and other tribes, on much the same line of route.—As. Ann. Reg. for 1806, vol. viii. "The Alpine region of Orissa, comprising the central ridge, the lofty plateau, and the inner valleys of the chain of Ghats, with the great tracts of forest by which they are surrounded, has been occupied from the earliest historical periods by three races, the Koles, the Khonds, and the Souras,—according to tradition, the original occupants, not only of this portion, but of the greater part of the Orissa."—Macpherson's Report on the Khonds. How far these races are allied or distinct, has not been determined by the only test now available, that of their language. Some tolerably copious vocabularies of the Khond language are given in the sixth and seventh volumes of the Journal of the Madras Literary Society, but I am not aware if any of the languages of the Koles or Gonds have been published. Of these races, the Gonds seem to be most widely spread; occupying the interior mountains from the confines of Bahar and Orissa to the south-western limits of Bundelkhand and the valley of the Nerbudda.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1842, vol. ii. p. 1, 341. In three districts of the Nerbudda territories, the Gond population is considered to be much underrated at 180,000.—Ibid. 351. Sir J. Malcolm also mentions the existence of Gonds between Bagli and Mandaleswar. See also Jenkin's Report on Nagpur for the Gond tribes of the eastern portions of the province. Koles and Gonds are named in early Sanscrit works, the latter are found in the Amara Kosha.

<sup>2</sup> Sir J. Malcolm has given an account of the Bhils in his Central India, vol. i. 517. According to him they are a distinct race from any other Indian tribe, but this requires to be established by a comparison of their dialects with those of the other mountaineers. Their own traditions bring them from the north, the borders of Jodhpur. In Sanscrit works of the tenth and eleventh centuries, we find Bhils inhabiting the country between Bahar and Bundelkhand, the present site of the Koles and Gonds—an additional reason for considering them to be allied.

BOOK II. north of the latter river, into Kandesh, and the territories  
 CHAP. IX. of the Peshwa and Nizam on the one hand, and Nimaun

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and Malwa on the other. At an early date, some of the Bhils migrated into the plains in search of subsistence and earned it by acting in subservience to the village authorities, as a rural police; serving as watchmen in the villages, and patrolling the roads. They received an equivalent in money or in grain, and this they came to consider as their indisputable right. In the latter days of disorder their connexion with the Government officers had been dissolved, and many acts of mutual offence had transformed them from guardians of life and property, into their most dangerous assailants. The Bhils of the plains had been joined by recruits from the hills, and cultivation and commerce were almost annihilated by their depredations.

Upon Trimbak's escape from captivity, he sought security, as we have seen, in the vicinity of the Bhil settlements, and found among them ready partisans. The licence to plunder with which he requited their service was too agreeable to their habits to be relinquished when their leader was obliged to fly to the east, and their predatory incursions were continued for some time after his expulsion. The movements of the Peshwa left the British functionaries no opportunity to attend to minor evils, but as soon as any peril from that cause ceased to be apprehended, active measures were adopted by Captain Briggs the political agent in Kandesh, and by Sir John Malcolm in Malwa, for the protection of the districts under their control, against the irruptions of the Bhils.

The unhealthiness, as well as the ruggedness of the tracts in which the villages of the mountain Bhils were situated, rendered it impossible to undertake any operations against them on an extensive scale, or for a continuous period. Small detachments were, however, sent occasionally into the hills, which were in general successful, burning the Hattas, or villages of the mountaineers, killing many of the men, and capturing their families and their chiefs. Troops were also posted along the skirts of the hills to check their inroads, and cut off the supplies which they were accustomed to procure from the plains. At the same time, the chiefs were invited to come in and resume the police duties which they had formerly dis-

charged, upon the assurance that their claims should be equitably investigated, and those for which precedent could be established should be allowed.<sup>1</sup> Many of them accepted the conditions, and although, in some instances, the engagements into which they entered were not held sacred, and travellers and merchants were still robbed and murdered, yet the greater number adhered to their pledge; and as prompt punishment followed the perpetration of violence, a salutary terror confirmed their peaceable disposition, and rendered them even willing instruments in the apprehension of the refractory.<sup>2</sup> This object was further promoted by the introduction of the policy which had long proved effective in Bengal, in respect to the wild tribes of the Rajmahal hills. A Bhil militia, disciplined and commanded by British officers, was substituted for the disorderly gangs, headed by their own Nayaks; and the same men who were the scourge and dread of the districts contiguous to their forests were trained to guard the labours of the farmer, and to guide the traveller and the merchant in safety along the road.<sup>3</sup>

The military operations which it became necessary to undertake against the Gonds, partook more of the character of systematic warfare, as they grew out of political occurrences, and were required for the accomplishment of a political object, — the suppression of the adherents of the fugitive Raja of Nagpur, and his seizure or expulsion.

When Apa Saheb effected his escape from his escort, in

<sup>1</sup> Elphinstone's Report on Poona.—Extracts from the Records, iv. p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Nadir Sing, a Bhil chief of great notoriety, had been induced, partly by threats and partly by rewards, to promise conformity to the British system. After some time he violated his engagements, and plundered and put to death some inoffensive travellers; an atrocity that required exemplary punishment. At the time when his guilt was established, he was on a visit to some of his kindred for the purpose of celebrating the marriage of his son; an order was immediately sent to the chiefs with whom he was, to apprehend and send him to the British functionary. Troops were ready to enforce the order, but their presence was unnecessary. He was seized by his own associates and sent to Sir J. Malcolm, by whom he was sentenced to imprisonment for life at Allahabad. His son was allowed to succeed to his authority. "No event," says Sir J. Malcolm, "was ever more conducive to the tranquillity of a country than this act of justice."—Central India, i. 524. As an instance of Bhil habits, as well as of the liberality of his captors, Nadir Sing was allowed, during his captivity, a bottle of brandy every four days.—MSS.

<sup>3</sup> There are several Bhil corps in the service of the Company. Under the Bengal Presidency are three, the Mewar, Nimaaur, and Malwa corps; collectively about one thousand one hundred foot, and one hundred and twenty horse. There is also a Bhil corps in Kandesh.



BOOK II. the middle of May, he fled to Harai, a petty state in the  
CHAP. IX. Nerbudda valley, governed by Chain Sah, a powerful and  
1818. ambitious Gond chieftain, who had usurped the chiefship  
from his nephew while a minor, and had established his  
authority not only over Harai, but several of the adjacent  
districts. His power extended throughout the Mahadeo  
hills, a detached cluster, lying on the south of the river,  
and to the right of the main road from Nagpur to Ho-  
sainabad, at about an equal distance, or eighty miles from  
either. Within this circuit was a temple of celebrity,  
dedicated to Mahadeo, whence the name of the hills, which  
at certain seasons was a place of great resort as an object  
of pilgrimage, and the sanctity of which was, no doubt,  
considered by Apa Saheb as a sanctuary from pursuit. A  
much more effective protection was afforded by the thickets  
which spread over the hills, and which could not be pene-  
trated with impunity during the rainy season, now about  
to commence. Here the Raja was at leisure to devise  
measures for the annoyance of his enemies, if not for the  
recovery of his power, and found a ready auxiliary in the  
restless and turbulent Gond. Many other chiefs, profess-  
ing themselves to be vassals of Berar, also joined the Raja;  
and the Mahratta soldiers, Pindaris, and Arab mercenaries,  
who had been cast adrift by the dispersion of the regular  
troops of Poona and Nagpur, either repaired to the Maha-  
deo hills, or concentrated in different parts of the sur-  
rounding country, and carried on a war of posts against  
the British detachments. Their numbers were exag-  
gerated, but they occasionally acted in bodies of three or  
four thousand, and the aggregate in arms could not have  
been much less than twenty thousand, so easy was it at  
this period to collect armed bands around every standard  
which led the way to confusion and plunder.

Although it was indispensably necessary to postpone an  
attack in force upon Apa Saheb's head-quarters, until a  
more favourable period, yet the equally imperious neces-  
sity of protecting the country from desolation, and of  
checking the extent of the rising in the Raja's favour,  
rendered it impossible to avoid exposing the troops to the  
harassing services of desultory hostilities at an inclement  
season; and detachments were accordingly stationed in  
various parts of the valley contiguous to the hills, from

the several divisions of Colonel Adams at Hosainabad, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott at Nagpur, and Brigadier-General Watson at Sagar. Their distribution and movements counteracted, in a great measure, the objects of the enemy; but the organisation of the latter, their knowledge of the country, and the countenance and assistance which they received from the natives and from the civil functionaries of the Mahratta Government, enabled them at first to elude the attacks of the British, and even to gain some advantages over them. As the contest was prolonged, the troops became more manageable, the country better known, and the insurgents suffered severe retaliation.

The first affair that took place was calculated to give confidence to the Raja's partisans. A body of Arabs, after assembling at Mail Ghat, on the Tapti river, advanced to the town of Maisdi, and took possession of it. In order to dislodge and disperse them, Captain Sparkes was detached, on the 18th of July, from Hosainabad to Baitul, with two companies of the 10th Bengal Native infantry. He was followed on the two following days by stronger detachments, but without waiting for their junction, Captain Sparkes pushed forward, and on the 20th, encountered a party of horse, the van of the enemy's force. They retreated, but only to fall back on the main body, consisting of two thousand Mahratta horse, and fifteen hundred Arab and Hindustani foot. Taking post upon the edge of a ravine, Captain Sparkes checked, for some time, the enemy's advance, but when they had crossed the ravine in considerable masses, retreated to a hill, where his men again maintained their ground until their ammunition was expended, and many, with Captain Sparkes, had been killed. The enemy then rushed upon them in overwhelming numbers, and put nearly the whole to death. A few wounded Sipahis contrived to escape, and eight others, who had been left to guard the baggage, effected a timely retreat.

To remedy the ill effects of this disaster, Major Macpherson was sent to take the command at Baitul, and reinforcements under Captain Newton and Major Cumming were immediately despatched from Hosainabad. Captain Hamilton was sent from Nagpur to superintend the country about Deogerh, and was followed by Captain

BOOK II. Pedlar with reinforcements. On the north and north-east  
CHAP. IX. a division was thrown forward from Jabalpur. A corps of  
1818. Rohilla horse was distributed along the northern skirts  
of the Mahadeo hills, and Salábat Khan of Elichpur, on  
the south-east, was called upon for his contingent. Brigadier-General Doveton also moved from Jalna; but his march was delayed by the inclemency of the weather, and the impassable state of the roads and rivers. The troops were exposed to incessant rain and frequent storms, and soon began to suffer in their health. At the Gawilgerh pass the whole of the tents were blown down by a violent gale. Their advance was, therefore, painful and tedious, and after frequent halts, and leaving behind the artillery and heavy luggage, it was not until the middle of September that the force was concentrated at Elichpur.

Until the troops could be assembled in sufficient strength, the partisans of the Raja continued their successful career. A small party of Sipahis, posted at Shahpur, was surprised and destroyed by a Gond Raja, and in the beginning of August, the enemy gained possession of the town of Multai, chiefly through the connivance of the civil authorities. To the eastward, the Gonds and Arabs occupied Lanji, Compta, Ambagerh, and other places, and advanced to within forty miles of the capital, where much agitation prevailed, and a conspiracy against the young Raja was detected. The leaders were punished; and to repel the advancing insurgents, Captain Gordon, with a further portion of the subsidiary force, was sent from Nagpur. Major Cumming was directed to recover Multai—a service which he executed at the end of the month—the garrison evacuating the town and fort. Light detachments, under Captain Newton and Lieutenant Ker, overtook parties of the fugitives, and put numbers to the sword. In like manner, the places to the eastward were soon retaken. Compta, which was defended by a stockade with a ditch and a small fort, was carried by assault, in which six hundred of the garrison perished. Ambagerh was taken by escalade, and Pouri by storm, by another detachment from Nagpur, commanded by Major Wilson. Other places were recovered, and the enemy were driven from all their posts upon the plain in this direction. Important successes were also gained in other quarters. A

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party at Burday, about five hundred strong, was attacked by Major Bowen, with a squadron of cavalry and one hundred light infantry, and three hundred of the number were slain. A like party was destroyed at Jiva-gerhi by Lieutenant Cruickshanks, with a detachment of one hundred and eighty infantry, fifty of the 7th Bengal cavalry, and eighty Rohilla horse. A vigorous effort by Chain Sah, at the head of two thousand Gonds and Mahrattas, to gain possession of Chauragerh, was checked by the gallantry of a native officer and thirty men, its slender garrison, until the arrival of a detachment under Lieutenants Brandon and Bacon; when the Gonds were defeated and driven off with heavy loss. By the end of September, operations began to spread into the hills. Captain Newton, with the 2nd battalion of the 12th Bengal infantry, a company of the 1st battalion of the 23rd, and a squadron of the 7th native cavalry, marching from Baitul, followed the flying Gonds to their villages, burnt many of them, and captured or killed their defenders. Several of the chiefs fell; among whom was one who had headed the party which put to death the Sipahis at Shahpur. The villagers at several places had also been engaged in the action with Captain Sparkes, as appeared from the dresses, arms, and accoutrements, of the 10th infantry, which were found in their huts, and their comrades exulted in the vengeance which they had inflicted, and the trophies which they had recovered.

With the commencement of 1819, the system of detached and desultory war was discontinued, and was succeeded by a concerted plan for an attack upon the head-quarters of Apa Saheb. With this view the detachments were, for the most part, called in. A concentrated portion of the Nagpur subsidiary force marched from Nagpur to Multai. Colonel Adams, with his main body moved from Hosainabad upon Pachmari, and Major O'Brien, from Jabalpur, upon Harai. Brigadier-General Doveton advanced from the south-west, to cover the road to Jilpi-amner, a fortified town, of which the siege detained him several days. Major O'Brien, on his march, fell in with Chain Sah, defeated and took him prisoner. Parties from the Nagpur and Hosainabad divisions penetrated into every recess of the hills, and Colonel Adams arrived at



BOOK II. Pachmari in the middle of February. Apa Saheb was no longer there.

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Reduced to great distress for supplies, by the vigilance of the British detachments, skirting the bases of the hills, and cutting off all communication with the adjacent country, and foreseeing the adoption of decisive movements as soon as they should become practicable, Apa Saheb determined to look to some other quarter for an asylum. In this design he was encouraged by the Pindari Cheetoo, who, after loitering along the southern limits of Bhopal, made his way, in the beginning of August, into the Mahadeo hills. Their knowledge of the friendly disposition of Jeswant Rao Lar, the Kiladar of Asir-gerh, induced them to expect a refuge in his fortress, and thither, therefore, they resolved to direct their flight. On the 1st of February, Apa Saheb, accompanied by Cheetoo, and a few well-mounted horsemen, quitted the hills, and passed through Burday, the officer commanding there having been misled by false reports of the Raja's intended route, and having marched to Shahpur, in the hope of intercepting him. On his arrival at Shahpur, he discovered the trick, and immediately countermarched and reached Burday in time to encounter and destroy a large body of Arabs and Hindustanis, who attempted to follow the route which the Raja had succeeded in taking. The first party pursued their course to the west towards Asir, but not with the same good fortune. News of Apa Saheb's flight having been conveyed to Lieutenant-Colonel Pollock, commanding at Jilpi-amner, he marched immediately to the north, and arrived on the morning of the 4th of February at Piplode, where he covered the two main roads to Asir-gerh. About two miles in his rear lay a third road, by the village of Yuva, and this was guarded by a strong picquet of cavalry and infantry. Late in the evening, the Raja and his companions came unexpectedly upon the British post at Yuva. As soon as they perceived their error, they turned their horses' heads and dashed into a deep ravine, where, aided by the darkness of the night, they escaped from the pursuit of the cavalry. A few were taken; and amongst the prisoners were several of the Sipahis, who had assisted Apa Saheb in his flight from Captain Brown, and who suffered the penalty of their disloyalty: the rest effected their retreat to the neighbour-

hood of Asir-gerh, where a temporary shelter was given to the Raja. Jeswant Rao refused, however, to admit Cheetoo and his followers; and while they hovered about Asir they were attacked by Major Smith, who had been detached by Sir John Malcolm to secure the passes north of Asir-gerh. They fled under the walls of Asir, from which a fire of matchlocks checked their pursuers, and afforded them an opportunity to disperse. Whether his own fears or those of Jeswant Rao abridged the period of the Raja's stay may be doubted, but after a few days, Apa Saheb repaired in the disguise of a religious mendicant to Burhanpur, where he was secreted for a short interval. Thence he made his way in the same disguise into Malwa, and approached Gwalior; but Sindhia was not inclined to risk the displeasure of the British Government in behalf of a Raja of Nagpur. He was obliged, therefore, to resume his travels, and found no rest until he reached the Punjab, where Ranjit Sing gave him shelter and subsistence for a season. Upon the withdrawal of his countenance, Apa Saheb had recourse to a petty Raja, the Raja of Mundi, beyond the first range of the Himalaya, and was suffered to remain there unmolested for several succeeding years. At a subsequent date he returned to Hindustan, and was protected by the Raja of Jodhpur, who was allowed to grant him an asylum, on condition of becoming responsible for his safe custody and peaceable conduct.

The companion of the ex-Raja of Nagpur, the Pindari Cheetoo, was still more unfortunate; and, after surviving the destruction or surrender of his former associates, was fated to suffer a death not undeserving of commiseration, although not an unapt close to his wild and sanguinary life. After the dispersion of his followers under the walls of Asir-gerh, he fled, with his son, to the north, with the intention of escaping into Malwa. Having crossed the Nerbudda at Pún-ghat, he sought to traverse the Vindhya mountains by the pass of Bágli, but finding it vigilantly guarded, he parted from his son, and turned off into a thicket near Kantapur, notoriously infested by tigers, to one of whom he fell a prey. His horse, wandering alone, was caught by a party of Holkar's cavalry marching from Bágli to Kantapur, and being recognised, search was made for the rider. On penetrating into the thicket, his sword,

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BOOK II. and parts of his dress torn and stained with blood, were  
 CHAP. IX. found, and, finally, his head was discovered. These re-

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mains were readily identified by several of his followers who had been captured, and by his son, who, at the same time, gave himself up to Sir John Malcolm. Such was the end which the Pindari had hazarded rather than submit to a tranquil life, shackled by the restraints of dependance.

The attempt of Apa Saheb to take shelter in Asir-gerh had been anticipated by the British Government, and in order to prevent its success, Sindhia had been required to place the fort in the temporary occupation of a British force. This arrangement had been proposed at the beginning of the war, and had been ostensibly acceded to, but as no emergency arose which rendered its fulfilment peculiarly expedient, and as it was probable that Sindhia's orders for the delivery of the fort, even if issued in a spirit of sincerity, would be disregarded, and that it would be necessary to lay siege to Asir-gerh, to ensure its occupation, it was judged advisable to refrain from insisting upon the transfer of the fortress. Now, however, a contingency had arisen which admitted of no longer hesitation. It was of the highest importance to exclude Apa Saheb from a stronghold, in the strength of which he might find the means of renewing a protracted resistance, and reanimating the hopes of his partisans; and it was accordingly resolved to call upon Sindhia to execute the original stipulation. Dowlat Rao affected cheerful compliance, and despatched orders to Jeswant Rao Lar to give up his fort to Sir John Malcolm, and repair to Gwalior. He followed up his orders by sending officers to enforce obedience, and declared himself prepared to unite his troops with those of the British in the siege, if the place was not promptly surrendered. Jeswant Rao pretended a like readiness to obey, but frivolous pleas were devised from day to day to defer his departure to Gwalior, until the contingency against which it was intended to provide, actually occurred, and Apa Saheb was admitted into Asir-gerh. It was obvious that Jeswant Rao had no intention of resigning his fort, and that Sindhia either connived at his recusancy, or was unable to enforce compliance with his orders. The reduction of the place was necessary to vindicate the British

power, and to deprive an unavowed enemy of the means of causing mischief. By firing also upon the British troops when in pursuit of Cheetoo and the followers of the Nagpur Raja, as well as by the reception of the Raja himself, Jeswant Rao had committed overt acts of hostility, which it was impossible to leave without rebuke. Sir John Malcolm, therefore, and General Doveton were instructed to employ the resources at their disposal in the siege of Asir-gerh.

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The fortress of Asir-gerh stood upon a detached rock, about two miles from the end of one of the chief ranges of the Sathpura hills, commanding one of the great passes from the Dekhin. It consisted of two forts, a lower and an upper; the former occupying the western extremity of the rock, opposite to the Petta, or walled town beneath it, from which alone an ascent into the fortress was practicable: on every other side the perpendicular scarp of the rock defied assault, and the ascent from the town was strongly fortified. The approach from the lower to the upper fort, which crowned the summit of the rock, at an elevation of seven hundred and fifty feet above the plain, was by steep flights of stone steps, which led in succession through five gateways of solid masonry. There were some breaches in the face of the rock, especially on the north and east, but the chasms had been built up with substantial walls. The top of the rock was surmounted by thick and lofty ramparts, and by large cavaliers carrying guns of immense calibre.<sup>1</sup> The country on the north and south sides was generally level, but on the east and west was intersected by deep ravines, and crossed by ranges of hills, connected with the Sathpura range.

Brigadier-General Doveton, having been reinforced with troops and ordnance from Kandesh and Hosainabad,<sup>2</sup> advanced to the vicinity of Asir late in February, while Sir John Malcolm moved close to the fortress with the forces which he had collected at Mhow,<sup>3</sup> and with which he had

<sup>1</sup> One of these, an iron gun carrying a ball of three hundred and eighty-four pounds, was believed by the natives capable of lodging a shot at Burhanpur, fourteen miles distant.—Lake.

<sup>2</sup> His force consisted of one troop of European Horse Artillery, three regiments, the 6th Bengal, and 2nd and 7th Madras N.C., the Madras European regiment, the 15th regiment Bengal N.I., 1st batt. 7th, 1st batt. 12th, 2nd batt. 13th, 2nd batt. 14th, 2nd batt. 17th Madras N.I., and details of Bengal and Madras Pioneers, with an extensive battering train.

<sup>3</sup> These were details of European Horse Artillery, camel howitzer battery, 2nd regiment Madras N.C., 2nd batt, 6th, and 1st batt. 14th Madras N.C., 1st



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been employed in settling some disturbed districts on the Guzerat frontier, in the beginning of the year. As soon as it was obvious, that compulsory means alone would obtain possession of Asirgerh, General Doveton's division took up its ground on the south of the fort, while that of Sir John Malcolm was posted on the north. On the 18th of March, operations were commenced by the advance of a column from either division upon the Petta, which was carried with little loss, the enemy retreating into the lower fort. Posts were established and batteries constructed in the Petta, and a spirited sally of the enemy on the 20th having been repulsed, although with the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer of the Royal Scots, a practicable breach was made by the 21st, and the garrison retreated to the upper fort ; but the explosion of a powder magazine attached to one of the batteries, emboldened them to return and resume the fire from the lower fort. It was soon silenced by the fire of the batteries. The charge of the Petta, and the prosecution of the siege on that side were made over to Sir John Malcolm, while General Doveton, with the principal part of the heavy ordnance, moved to the east front, as most favourable for the attack of the upper fort. By the 29th, both divisions were in full operation, and on the 30th preparations were made for storming the lower fort, when it was finally abandoned by the garrison and occupied by the assailants. On the eastern front the progress was necessarily slower, but by the 7th of April the defences were in so ruinous a condition, that Jeswant Rao despaired of the result, and after a conference with the British Generals consented to unconditional surrender. The garrison, composed chiefly of Arabs and Baluchis, marched out accordingly on the 29th ; they were allowed to retain their shields and daggers and all private property, and were promised a conveyance to their native country. The loss of the garrison was less severe than that of the besiegers : the former having been sheltered by the nature of the ground. The latter had one officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer, killed, and eleven wounded ; the whole of

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Grenadier regiment Bombay N. I., and 1st of the 8th ditto, with Pioneers. They were joined by two battalions Bengal N. I., 2nd batt. 1st, and 2nd batt. 13th, with artillery and heavy guns from Sagar.

the killed and wounded amounted to three hundred and thirteen. The reduction of a fortress of such high repute in native estimation as Asirgerh in so short a time, confirmed the impression which the success of the British arms had inspired throughout the campaign of the futility of opposition.

The capture of Asirgerh disclosed indisputable proofs of the insincerity of Dowlat Rao Sindhia; of his having sanctioned the contumacy of the Kiladar, and of his having contemplated affording shelter and succour to Baji Rao. A box of papers was seized containing letters, not only from the Peshwa and Apa Saheb, but others in Sindhia's own hand-writing, as was acknowledged subsequently by his ministers and himself, in which he directed that the fort should not be given over to the English, and that whatever orders might be received from the Peshwa they should be obeyed. As a punishment for this double dealing, it was determined to retain possession of Asirgerh and the district dependent upon it, and to communicate to Dowlat Rao the grounds of its detention. No further notice was deemed necessary, as the objects of the war had been accomplished, and allowance was made for the pardonable prepossession of the Mahratta chief in favour of his paramount lord. Dowlat Rao admitted the authenticity of the documents, but declared that they were intended only to make it appear that he wished to do something for the Peshwa's service, and that the tenor of any orders he might have sent was immaterial, as he knew well that Jeswant Rao would obey none but such as should be consistent with his own designs. He even admitted that he had written to Baji Rao to invite him to Gwalior, because he believed that his coming there was impossible. As an apology for this double duplicity, he merely pleaded in the figurative language which he frequently employed that it was natural for a man seeing a friend struggling in the water and crying for help, to stretch out his hands towards him, and to speak words of comfort, although he knew that he could give him no assistance. He was, however, evidently apprehensive of the consequences of his conduct, until time convinced him of the sincerity of the purposed forbearance of the British Government.

The capture of Asirgerh terminated the military move-

BOOK II. ments of the British armies, and most of the troops  
 CHAP. IX returned to their stations in time of peace, having through-  
 out this supplementary campaign, as well as in the earlier  
 1819. progress of the war, distinguished themselves, as much  
 by their cheerful endurance of hardship and privation, and  
 of the labours which they had undergone, as by their  
 steadiness and intrepidity in action.

We are now prepared to consider the results of the past transactions, as they affected the British Government, and the Native powers of India.

The acquisition of additional territory formed no part of the original objects for which the Marquis of Hastings took the field. The districts from which the Pindaris were expelled were restored to the princes by whom they had been granted, or from whom they had been usurped; and not a rood of land would have been annexed to the British possessions, had not the violence and treachery of the Mahratta chiefs exposed them to the loss of their dominions. It was evident that Baji Rao considered himself too deeply wronged ever to forgive, and no leniency towards him could appease his resentment. His deposal was necessary for the preservation of public tranquillity, and for the security of the British power; and it, therefore, became a question to whom his extensive authority should be intrusted. He had no children, and no hereditary claims were involved in his downfall. To have elevated the Raja of Satara in his place, would have been to invest a doubtful ally with the means of becoming a formidable enemy, and would have been a boon exceeding his reasonable expectations. It was doubted by the Governor-General whether the grant of a liberal Jagir would not have been an adequate provision for him, and the substitution of a principality, as recommended by the Resident on political considerations, was coupled with the condition of a subordinate rule over a circumscribed territory.<sup>1</sup> The country set apart for the Raja, was bounded by

<sup>1</sup> "Your Excellency's instructions left me the choice of giving him a Jagir or small sovereignty, and I was inclined to adopt the latter plan, for various reasons. At the time when I had to decide, the Mahrattas showed no disposition whatever to quit the Peshwa's standard, and it appeared not improbable that the dread of the complete extinction of their national independence, and still more, that of the entire loss of their means of subsistence, from the want of a government likely to employ them, would induce them to adhere to Baji Rao, that could never have been produced by affection for his person, or in-

the Nira on the north, the Krishna and Warna on the south, the Ghats on the west, and the district of Punderpur on the east; and was calculated to yield an annual revenue of about thirteen lakhs of rupees.<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the Peshwa's dominions, comprising an estimated area of fifty thousand square miles, and a population of four millions, was made an integral part of British India.

The territory acquired by the British Government in the Dekhin, which had formerly acknowledged the authority of the Peshwa, comprised the province of Kandesh on the north; the country constituting that of the Mahrattas especially, comprising the districts of Ahmedabad and Poona, above the Ghats, and the Konkan on the west of the Ghats; and south of the Krishna, a portion of Canara, which had been formerly subjugated by the Mahrattas, and was, for the most part, divided among a number of feudatory chieftains, or Jagirdars, most of whom, although declining to act against the Peshwa, had either refrained from joining him, or had abandoned him at an early period, and were, consequently, permitted to retain their lands on the same tenures on which they held them under the Peshwa. The Konkan was added to the Bombay Presidency; the rest was placed under the authority of a Commissioner, assisted by five officers, including the political agent with the Raja of Satara, who, under the designation of collectors, discharged the supreme revenue and judicial duties. The arrangements adopted for the administration of the Mahratta territories were based upon the existing institutions, and which, when weeded from some glaring defects, were considered to be most acceptable to the people, and best suited to the prevailing condition of society. In the collection of the revenue, the chief principles laid down were to abolish the farming system, which had been carried to a ruinous extent under Baji Rao;<sup>2</sup> to levy the revenue according to the actual

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terest in his cause. It therefore seemed expedient to remove these grounds of alarm, by the establishment of a separate government." — Letter from the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone to the Governor-General, Parl. Papers, Raja of Satara, Part I., p. 498.

<sup>1</sup> In the second year the net revenue amounted to nearly fifteen lakhs. — Treaty with the Raja of Satara, 25th Sept. 1819. Papers. Acq. of the Marquis of Hastings.

<sup>2</sup> The office of Mamlatdar, or Head Collector of a district, was put up to auction among the Peshwa's attendants, who were encouraged to bid high,



BOOK II. cultivation ; to make the assignments light ; to impose no  
 CHAP. IX. new taxes ; and to abolish none, unless obviously ob-  
 1819. noxious and unjust ; and above all, to make no innova-  
 tions. In the administration of civil law, Panchayats were  
 had recourse to, while criminal cases were investigated by  
 the British functionaries in person : to them, also, was  
 entrusted the principal personal superintendence of the  
 police. In their mixed duties, they were assisted by the  
 native officers, combining similar powers. The system  
 worked well ; for although vast numbers of disorderly  
 persons were thrown out of employment by the dispersion  
 of the Peshwa's soldiery, the country speedily assumed a  
 tranquil aspect, cultivation was extended, and trade re-  
 vived ; and no attempt of any importance was made to  
 re-establish a native government. The immediate conse-  
 quence of the mal-administration of the revenue, as well  
 as of the mischief caused by political and military events,  
 was a considerable diminution of the revenue. The  
 amount of this, at one time, under the Peshwa, had  
 exceeded two crores of rupees, but the cessions demanded  
 from him in June, 1817, and other circumstances, had re-  
 duced it to one crore and ten lakhs, of which, not above  
 fifty lakhs came into the treasury of the Peshwa. This  
 sum it was expected to realize, and a surplus of thirty  
 lakhs was calculated on, but after the first twelve months,  
 the revenue was found to amount to but seventy-six lakhs,  
 while the charges and assignments, exclusive of the pen-  
 sions to the Peshwa and his brother, extended to seventy-  
 two, leaving, therefore, the new possessions a financial loss.  
 This, however, was but a temporary disappointment, and

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and sometimes disgraced if they showed a reluctance to enter on this sort of speculation. Next year this operation was renewed, and the district was generally transferred to a higher bidder. The Mamlatdar had no time for inquiry, and no motive for forbearance ; he let the district out to under farmers who repeated the operation until it reached the Patel. If this officer farmed his own village, he became the absolute master of every one in it. If he refused to farm it at the rate proposed, the case was perhaps worse, as the Mamlatdar's own officers undertook to levy the sum with less knowledge and mercy. In either case, the actual state of the cultivation was little regarded ; a man's means of payment, not the land he occupied, was the scale by which he was assessed. No moderation was shown in levying the sum fixed, and every pretext for fine and forfeiture, every means of rigour and confiscation were employed to squeeze the utmost out of the people before the time when the Mamlatdar was to give up his charge.—Elphinstone, Report of the territories conquered from the Peshwa, Calcutta, 1824 ; also Selections from the Records, iv. 139.

the improvement of the country, with the diminution of the expenses, rendered the acquisitions in the Dekhin as valuable in a financial as they were in a political point of view.

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By the treaty with Holkar, the districts in Kandesh and the Sathpura hills, as well as those in the Dekhin, which were intermixed with the territories of the Peshwa and Nizam, were ceded to the British. They were not of great extent or value, but derived consideration from the manner in which they were scattered among territories subject to other princes, involving the inconvenient proximity of different independent jurisdictions. The conflict of claims arising out of such juxtaposition, was congenial to Mahratta policy, which hoped, from such collision, some contingent advantage. Such objects were of course foreign to the system now adopted; and, although some indulgence was shown in regard to places recommended by peculiar considerations, the districts of Holkar,<sup>1</sup> in the Dekhin, were amalgamated with those in their vicinity.

In the engagements concluded with Sindhia, no territorial cession was originally contemplated; but those districts which had belonged to the Peshwa, and had devolved on the British, either by cession or conquest, and which had been usurped by Sindhia or his officers, in Malwa, were reclaimed: the restoration of all usurpations from princes under British protection was also insisted on. It was further found desirable to require various exchanges of territory between Sindhia and the British government and its allies, for the purpose of establishing a more compact and better defined boundary. In this manner, several districts on the confines of Bhopal and Bundelkhand were annexed to them, and Ajmir was transferred to British authority. The possession of this province was recommended by political considerations, as its central position afforded ready communication with the Rajput states, and held in check the western confines of Sindhia's dominions, and the newly created principality of Amir Khan. Its

<sup>1</sup> The right of Holkar, as Des-mukh or head of a district, to villages, or parts of villages, or to certain payments or perquisites, presents a characteristic picture of the intricate and incompatible arrangements common under the Mahratta system. A statement of his claims is therefore given in the Appendix.

BOOK II. financial value was inconsiderable,<sup>1</sup> and its sequestration  
 CHAP. IX. was no loss to Dowlat Rao, as the whole revenue had been  
 1819. appropriated by his officer, Bapu Sindhia, by whom it had  
 been held for some time past. Upon the whole, Sindhia  
 was a gainer by these exchanges,<sup>2</sup> although his duplicity  
 and treachery ill-deserved such favour.

The acquisitions next in extent and importance to those made from the Peshwa were derived from the territories of the Raja of Nagpur. They comprised the eastern portion of the valley of the Nerbudda, on either bank of the river, extending north and east to the district of Sagar, which, as we have seen, had been also taken possession of by the British, and to the borders of Bundelkhand; and on the west and south to the confines of Berar. In the latter province were ceded Gawilgerh and Narnala, with Akote and the contiguous districts. The government of the Raja's reserved territories was, as has been noticed, exercised, with the entire concurrence of the young Prince's nearest relatives and of the Regent Bai, by the British Resident, assisted by British officers as superintendents of the main division of the Principality, to whom the collection of the revenue, and maintenance of public order were entrusted, and who were instructed to preserve the native system and establishments unchanged, except in the correction of gross and palpable abuses. Under this system, the principality of Nagpur progressively improved in resources and prosperity until its final restoration to the Raja.<sup>3</sup> The territories separated from it were placed under the direct authority of the Government of Bengal. Sambhalpur, and the wild country spreading to Bengal and Orissa, hitherto dependent upon Nagpur, were likewise ceded, and a line of communication from Bengal to the Mahratta territories on the west, was thus completed.<sup>4</sup> The management of the district of Sagar

<sup>1</sup> In the first year of its occupation the revenue was less than a lakh and a half of rupees. Four years afterwards it exceeded four lakhs. The population was also quadrupled.—MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> The revenue of the territory ceded by Sindhia was estimated at six lakhs, those made to him at nearly seven.—MS. Records.

<sup>3</sup> Report on the territories of the Raja of Nagpur, by Richard Jenkins, Esq., printed in Calcutta, 1827.

<sup>4</sup> These cessions were demanded in the conditional agreement entered into with Apa Saheb, 6th January, 1818, but the agreement was annulled by his flight, and was not finally renewed until December, 1828, when the Raja attained his majority. In the mean time the administration of the whole being

was united to that of Bundelkhand. The Nerbudda valley was subjected to the authority of a civil Commissioner, whose administration was based upon the same principles that had been adopted in the Poona territory, and who combined in his own person the chief revenue and judicial, as well as political, functions; having under him several assistants, entrusted with similar powers, but subject to the superintendence of the Commissioner. The assessment of the revenue, the distribution of civil justice, and the regulations of the police, were founded upon the institutions and usages of the people, but modified by the spirit of the British regulations. Subsequently Sagar was united to the Nerbudda territories; but the character of the administration long remained unaltered. The mountain countries to the eastward were governed by an agent, especially deputed for the purpose: and with some other dependencies of Nagpur, which, although not alienated, were managed by British officers for some years after the Raja's exercise of authority, were generally under the control of the resident of Nagpur. The revenues of the cessions from Nagpur were intended to provide funds for the payment of the seven and a half lakhs, the cost of the subsidiary force, and to be a compensation for the contingent force which the Raja was bound to maintain, the expense of which was estimated at nine and a half. The produce of the ceded territory approached nearly to this amount, realising, after some years' occupation, inclusively of Gondwana, about sixteen and a half lakhs of rupees, levied from a population of one million, three hundred and forty thousand persons. Conjointly with Sagar, the increase of British subjects in this quarter might be called two millions, paying a revenue of two millions and a half of rupees.<sup>1</sup>

in the hands of the Resident, the terms of the agreement had been acted on and the territories occupied.—See Treaty with the Raja, 13th December, 1826, Com. House of Commons, 1832, App. Pol. 620. The whole area of the ceded territory was estimated at 70,000 square miles.—Jenkins's Report on Nagpur.

<sup>1</sup> The following are the returns of 1827, when the Sagar and Nerbudda territories were united under one agency, and divided into three principal districts, viz. 1. Jabalpur, &c.; 2. Hosainabad, &c.; 3. Sagar:

## NERBUDDA.

	JABALPUR.	HOSAINABAD.	SAGAR.	TOTAL.
Revenue . . .	7,50,000	8,85,000	2,81,000	26,16,000
Population . .	7,20,000	6,25,000	5,60,000	19,05,000

The revenues of the Nerbudda districts are stated by Mr. Prinsep as having



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Although not immediate annexations to the British territories, yet as arising out of the war, we may notice the new arrangements made with the Nizam and the Gaekwar. As usual, districts subject to the Mahratta princes, especially to the Raja of Nagpur and the Peshwa, were intermixed inconveniently with the dominions of Hyderabad. Such of these as had fallen to the British, it was proposed to exchange for territories belonging to the Nizam, situated beyond his general frontier, giving him the advantage, as a recompense for the services of his subsidiary force, and his other contingents during the war. The adjustment was delayed, through the difficulty of obtaining an accurate valuation of the districts to be exchanged, and by the reluctance of the Nizam's ministers to admit the validity of any of the Peshwa's claims, to which the British government had succeeded. A treaty was at last concluded in 1822, by which the Nizam was released from all claims and demand on account of the late Peshwa, and received territories belonging to that prince and the Baja of Nagpur and Holkar, yielding a revenue of ten lakhs of rupees a year; in return for which he relinquished his lands between the Sena and Tumbhadra rivers, and his rights and possessions within the district of Ahmednagar, the whole being estimated at little more than four lakhs. He also engaged to give up a small tract to the Raja of Nagpur, and to continue the payments made by the Peshwa to certain of his dependants leviable from the revenues of the territory transferred to the Nizam.<sup>1</sup>

As great advantages were secured to the Gaekwar by the treaty with the Peshwa, in June 1816, in which the claims of the latter for tribute, and for his share of the farm of Ahmedabad, were abandoned;<sup>2</sup> and as the opportunity

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been in 1818-19, fourteen and a half lakhs; in 1819-20, twenty-one lakhs, and as having averaged twenty-three lakhs (say £230,000), during the three following years. The Sagar revenue rose in the same time from eight to nearly eleven lakhs, forming a total of thirty-four lakhs; but the first assessments on the land were too high, and the diminution made, with the gradual recovery from temporary depression, left them at the period here referred to, 1839-40, as stated, twenty-six lakhs.

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Nizam, 12th December, 1822. — Treaties with Native Princes, printed by order of Parliament, 1825.

<sup>2</sup> The annual gain to the Gaekwar was estimated at something more than twenty-two and a half lakhs of rupees (£222,500), viz :

was considered favourable for imposing an additional burden upon the finances of Guzerat, in the shape of an augmented subsidy, that Prince was, therefore, required to increase the subsidiary force, by a battalion of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, and to provide the requisite funds. It was at first proposed that they should be supplied by the transfer of Kattiwar, but as this was objected to by the court of Baroda, it was finally arranged that the Gaekwar should cede all the benefit which he had obtained from the perpetual farm of the Peshwa's territories subject to the city of Ahmedabad, in perpetuity to his allies. Some exchanges of territory were at the same time effected.<sup>1</sup>

These were the principal territorial additions which were the results of the war, and which brought with them a valuable accession of revenue and population. They were still more important in a political respect. Besides the actual extension of territory, they opened the whole of India to British access. Malwa, Rajputana, and a great part of the Dekhin had been almost closed against the British before the war, and the armies by which they were traversed beheld countries previously unknown. The dominions of the Mahratta chiefs interposed an extensive but compact barrier, separating the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, from each other, and from the principalities of Rajputana. This barrier was now broken down, and the intervening country pierced in every direction by British districts and dependencies, which enabled the Government at once to exert its influence or employ its power, whenever either might be required for

Tribute relinquished	-	-	-	-	-	11,50,000
Ahmedabad farm	-	-	-	-	-	9,75,000
Interest of a loan raised to pay off part of the debt to the Peshwa	-	-	-	-	-	1,00,000

Rupees 22,25,000

The average revenue of Guzerat for the three years, 1813-16, had amounted to 71,90,000 rupees, and the expenses to 62,70,000 rupees, leaving a surplus of above eight lakhs per year. The debt to the Company had been liquidated, and it was expected that all other encumbrances would be discharged in two years more.—Letter from Bombay, August, 1817. These expectations were disappointed, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe.

<sup>1</sup> Supplement to the Defensive Treaty with the Gaekwar, 6th November, 1817, ratified by the Governor-General, 12th March, 1818, also additional article modifying exchanges and fixing the value of Ahmedabad at 12,61,969 rupees, 6th November, 1818.

BOOK II. its own benefit, or the general welfare. The termination  
 CHAP. IX. of hostilities was coincident with the establishment of  
 1819. the political supremacy of the British government over  
 every native state ; and although some short time elapsed  
 before this supremacy was fully recognised, or its good  
 effects were universally experienced, the delay was ascribable more to the reluctance of the Government to take  
 advantage of its position, than to the disinclination of the  
 native Princes to submit to, or their ability to resist, its  
 dictation. The progress made in the establishment of  
 the paramount influence of the Government of India  
 during the first few years subsequent to the war, we shall  
 now proceed to trace.

## CHAPTER X.

*Settlement of Central India.—Territories of Holkar.—Improvement in Population and Revenue.—Claims of the State.—Of its Dependants.—Adjusted by British Interference.—Rival Pretenders to the Throne.—Suppressed.—Settlement of Dhar and Dewas.—Relations with Sindhia.—Services of the Contingent.—His Financial Difficulties.—Engagements with Bhopal.—Islamnagar restored to the Nawab.—Death of Nazar Mohammed.—Killed by Accident.—His Widow Regent.—Principality prospers.—Rajput Princes—Secondary and Principal.—Topographical Situation of the former.—Engagement with Banswára.—Dungerpur.—Pertabgerh.—Sirohi and Krishnagar—With Bundi and with Kota.—Peculiarity of the Treaty with the latter.—Its Inconveniences.—Death of the Raja.—Aversion of Kesari Sing, his Successor, to the Hereditary Minister.—Quarrels with Zalim Sing.—Raises Troops.—Action of Mangrole.—Kesari Sing restored under Restrictions.—Death of Zalim Sing.—His Son succeeds as Minister.—Continued Aversion of the Raja.—Treaty with the Rana of Udaypur.—Alienated and usurped Lands recovered and restored to him.—Country improved.—Treaty with Jaypur.—Delay—Finally concluded.—Interference necessary.—Death of the Raja.—Disputed Succession.—Birth of a Posthumous Son.—Bhyri Sal made Minister.*

—*Resident appointed.*—*Supports the Minister.*—*Treaty with Jodhpur.*—*State of Parties.*—*Man Sing resumes the Government.*—*Puts his Adversaries to death.*—*Country prospers.*—*Treaty with Bhikaner.*—*Suppression of Insurrection among the Bhattis.*—*Treaty with Jesalmer.*—*International Tranquillity assured.*—*Internal Tranquillity imperfectly maintained.*

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AFTER all the alterations and exchanges which remodelled the political subdivisions of Malwa, a considerable portion of this extensive and valuable province continued to be subject to the Mahrattas. The share of Mulhar Rao Holkar had been much diminished by the separation of the districts assigned to the independent rule of the military adventurers, Amir Khan and Ghafur Khan, and by the cessions made, under the treaty of Mandaleswar, to Kota, Bundi, and the British Government. There still remained, however, territory of some extent in the south-west of Malwa, surrounding the capital, Indore; some relaxation was admitted in regard to the tributes due from various subordinate Rajput chiefs: and several of Holkar's villages, in the Dekhin, were also restored to him. The Raja, Mulhar Rao Holkar, was a boy, but the administration was in able hands; and Tantia Jôg, with the advice and support of Sir John Malcolm, soon raised the state to a degree of prosperity which it had not experienced when of less circumscribed extent. Hundreds of villages, which had been left desolate, were re-peopled, and the peasantry, in following the plough, laid aside the spear and shield which they had been formerly obliged to bear for their defence during their agricultural labours. The mercenary troops were greatly reduced, and the expenses of the court economically regulated. In the course of a year, the revenue was raised from a nominal amount of four lakhs of rupees—the whole of which had been formerly anticipated by assignments in favour of military marauders—to fourteen lakhs; and continuing to improve during the life of the minister, amounted at his death, in 1826, to thirty-five lakhs of rupees.

The principal objects that required British interference, were the claims advanced by the state upon its tributaries, and those made upon it by a particular class of its



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dependants. At the time of the conquest of Malwa by the Mahrattas, they either expelled from their possessions the Rajput chiefs, among whom the country was divided, or, when those chiefs were too powerful, were satisfied to require from them an acknowledgment of allegiance, and payment of an annual tribute. The weaker Rajas, who were despoiled of their patrimonies, fled to the hills and forests, and, collecting armed followers, ravaged the districts of which they had been dispossessed. Unable to arrest their predatory incursions by force, the Mahratta rulers submitted to purchase their forbearance, and granted them fixed assignments on every village within their reach, on condition that they desisted from plunder. The assignments were, in general, of small amount, but they were irregularly paid, and still more irregularly levied, and afforded a constant excuse for rapine and disorder. The number of claimants of this order, termed *Grasias*, from the nature of their demands,<sup>1</sup> was considerable. The more powerful Rajas were much fewer, but there were several tributary to Holkar, or Sindhia, or to both. In the general anarchy which had prevailed, their lands had been laid waste, and their means of discharging their tributes had been greatly reduced. But the means of enforcing payment had been equally enfeebled, and long arrears had been suffered to accumulate, the liquidation of which was a fruitful subject of contention between them and their superior lords. By the intervention of the British functionaries, both descriptions of claims were adjusted. The assignments of the *Grasias* were commuted for fixed payments by the public treasury, and arrangements were entered into for the gradual discharge of the arrears, and the regular payment of the stipulated tribute of the dependent Rajas. In this manner the states of Jabua and Narsingherh, dependencies of Holkar, and those of Amjira, Ratlam, Silana, Sitamow, and others tributary to Sindhia, were made to contribute to the resources of the paramount power, while protected against its extortion by the interposition of the British Residents.

Little else occurred seriously to disturb the peaceable settlement of the Holkar state, although attempts were

<sup>1</sup> They were so termed from *Grás*, a mouthful, or as much as may be put into the mouth at once.

made to dispute the title, and even the identity of the young Raja. The former had a claimant, with a preferable right, in the person of Hari Rao Holkar, the son of Etoji, the elder brother of Mulhar Rao, who was put to death by the Peshwa. The young man showed little inclination to dispute the pretensions of his cousin, but he was detained in easy confinement by the prudence of the minister. The attempt to contest the Raja's personal identity was attended with more trouble. It was asserted that the young Raja had fled alone from Mahidpur, and concealed himself in an unfrequented part of the country so effectually that he could not be found. As, however, the British refused to treat with any authority except the Raja, Tantia Jôg had provided for the occasion the supposititious prince who now bore the title. The story was well supported, and the appearance and deportment of the Pretender, gave it so much the air of probability, that several old servants of the family believed its authenticity. There was no difficulty in collecting troops—many of the disbanded soldiers of Holkar's armies were wandering about the neighbourhood, and were ready to join any cause which held out the promise of free quarters and unrestricted pillage. Active measures were, however, promptly adopted, and the insurrection was suppressed before it had attained maturity. Krishna, the pretended Mulhar Rao, was captured, and proved to be the adopted son of a member of the family, of the age of the Raja, and not unlike him in person. After a short confinement, he was set at liberty as not likely to be again formidable. With the exception of the occasional disturbances created by refractory dependants, the affairs of the Holkar state continued for several years to prosper, under the able administration of Tantia Jôg, and the support and advice of Mr. Wellesley, the Resident.

West of the territories of Holkar, extending towards Guzerat, are situated the two small states of Dhar and Dewas, the governments of kindred chiefs. Their ancestors were Rajputs of the Powar tribe, but they had migrated at an early period to the south, and had become naturalised as Mahrattas. Included among the Peshwa's officers, they obtained assignments of land and tributes in Malwa upon the Mahratta conquest; and, although their

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possessions had been reduced to extreme insignificance by dissensions among themselves, and the encroachments of Sindhia, Holkar, and the other more powerful Mahratta leaders, they still retained a portion of their patrimony, and a place among the Mahratta princes of Malwa. Upon the advance of the British armies, they applied to be taken under protection, and, as part of the plan of effecting a settlement of Malwa, the application was, after some investigation, complied with. Allegiance, with military service on the one hand, and protection on the other, were the main conditions of the contracts.<sup>1</sup> Dhar ceded to the British government its claims of tribute on the Rajput principalities of Banswara and Dungepur, and as security for a pecuniary loan, the province of Bairsia for five years. This district was eventually restored to Dhar.

The relations established with Sindhia have been already noticed. They continued unaltered, and Dowlat Rao seems to have learned to rely upon the friendly disposition of the British authorities, with some degree of confidence, although unable to divest himself wholly of suspicion of its ultimate designs against him. In his own language, although it might be possible for a man to become familiar with a tiger, and enter his cell without the fear of instant destruction, yet it would be difficult to remove all apprehension from his mind that he might at last become the prey of the animal. The anticipation has not been falsified, although its verification was deferred. The actual conduct of his allies was, however, calculated to confirm his reliance. The contingent, under British officers, performed services for Sindhia, which his other troops, perpetually in a state of mutiny and disorder, were unable to effect; recovered for him the province of Gurra Kota, from which his officers had been expelled; and reduced to submission the chiefs Ajit Sing and Dhaukal Sing, who had succeeded to the rights and resolution of Jaysing of Raghugherh. The latter of these chiefs repeatedly foiled all attempts to prevent his incursions into the settled territories, and defeated the detachments sent against him. He was at length taken by Captain Blacker, with part of the contingent, when a compromise was effected, by which the

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Raja of Dewas, 12th December, 1818, and with the Raja of Dhar, 10th January, 1819.

Khychwari chiefs recovered the town of Raghugerh, and were allowed pensions, in commutation of their other claims. The contingent was effective also in enforcing Sindhia's authority in a domestic quarrel. Patankar, the governor of his districts in Guzerat, having withdrawn from court, and carried with him his son, who had been betrothed to the Raja's daughter, the recovery of the bridegroom, as well as the preservation of his dependencies, were objects, for the realisation of which, the contingent was successfully employed. Sindhia had recourse also to the British government for assistance under the pecuniary difficulties by which he was constantly embarrassed. His own habits of life, and the expense of an armed rabble, useless in the altered condition of India, and at all times as formidable to those in whose service they were enlisted as to their enemies, occasioned a surplus expenditure, which left the prince at the mercy of the bankers and money-lenders of his court, and perpetuated the mismanagement of his territory, by the practice of payment of loans through assignments on the revenue. Still Sindhia preferred a struggle with his difficulties to a resignation of his independence; and, although he professed indifference as to what might become of his country after his death, he steadily persisted in declining to contract any subsidiary alliance.

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A general agreement, stipulating for the co-operation of the Nawab of Bhopal with the British divisions in the part of Malwa contiguous to the principality, had been entered into at the commencement of the campaign. A formal compact was not executed until the principal events of the war had occurred. A treaty was then concluded, in which the Nawab acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and received the assurance of its protection. No tribute was imposed, but the Nawab agreed to furnish a contingent force of six hundred horse, and one thousand foot, whenever required; and to assist, in case of necessity, with all his troops. In requital of his services against the Pindaris, a valuable accession of territory was granted to him from the possessions of the Yinchur Kar, which had devolved upon the British; and, at a subsequent date, the fort of Islamnagar, obtained by exchange from Sindhia, was restored to Bhopal. This was



BOOK II. peculiarly grateful to the Nawab and his Mohammedan  
CHAP. X. subjects, as it was the first strong place acquired by Dost  
1817. Mohammed, the founder of the family, and was made his  
capital. It had been taken by Sindhia's predecessor by  
treachery, and the strength of the fortress rendered its  
recovery by force hopeless. It was situated within a short  
distance of Bhopal, and its occupation by a Mahratta gar-  
rison was a perpetual insult and annoyance. Its restora-  
tion was, therefore, a subject of national rejoicing to the  
Bhopal Pathans, and drew forth expressions of the warmest  
gratitude from Nazar Mohammed. There was no reason  
to question his sincerity ; but he did not live long enough  
to attest it by his acts, and his early death was attended  
by circumstances ill-adapted to secure the consolidation  
and prosperity of his principality. A few months after  
the conclusion of the treaty, Nawab Nazar Mohammed  
was killed by a pistol shot. He had retired to the interior  
apartments of his palace, in company with his infant  
daughter and his brother-in-law, Faujdar Khan, a boy but  
eight years of age. There were no grounds to suspect  
treason, except the relationship of the Begum and her  
brother to Ghaus Mohammed, whom Vizir Mohammed had  
virtually deposed ; and the affection of the Begum, and  
the tender years of the boy, as well as the circumstances  
under which the Nawab perished, satisfied the authorities,  
by whom a strict investigation was set on foot, that the pis-  
tol must have been accidentally fired by Faujdar Khan, in  
play with his brother-in-law.<sup>1</sup> Upon the death of the  
Nawab, the chief members of the family, and of the court,  
in the exercise of a privilege sanctioned by the usages of  
of the principality, elected, in concert with the British  
Resident, the son of Amir Mohammed, the elder brother  
of the Nawab, who had been debarred from the succes-  
sion by the will of Vizir Mohammed, and the exigency of  
the times, to which his character was unfitted. The suc-  
cession was restored to his son, but on the condition of  
his betrothal to the infant daughter the only child of  
Nazar Mohammed ; and that, during the minority of the  
parties, the government should be administered by the  
Begum, as Regent, aided by two of the principal members  
of the family, and the counsels of the Resident. Although

<sup>1</sup> Major Henley, &c. — See Malcolm, Central India, i. 417.

the advance of Bhopal proved less rapid than had been anticipated by the sanguine expectations of Sir John Malcolm, it continued to be well governed, and to prosper under the new administration. The Begum, notwithstanding her youth, being now about nineteen, had been highly educated according to the system of Mohammedan instruction, and proved herself a woman of ability, resolution, and judgment.

The greatest gainers by the change of affairs in central India should have been the princes of Rajputana, and they did not fail to reap important benefits from the revolution, although their own wretched management frustrated, in some degree, the natural tendency of events. They were comprehended under two classes, secondary and principal, including under the first head the petty chiefs of Banswara, Dunderpur, Pertabgerh, Sirohi, Krishnagerh, Kerauli, Bundi, and Kotah; and under the second, the more powerful and distinguished Rajas of Udaypur, Jaypur, Jodhpur, Jesselmer and Bhikaner. With each of these, formal engagements were contracted, upon the general basis of subordinate cooperation, and acknowledged supremacy.

The Rajput princes of the inferior order, who, strong in the formation of their country and their native courage, compelled the Mahratta invaders to substitute tribute for subjugation, are found chiefly in a rugged country, west of the sources of the Chambal, between Malwa and Guzerat, known by the denomination of Bagar and Kanthal. In the former were situated Banswara and Dunderpur, while the Raj of Pertabgerh was considered equivalent to the latter. The Raja of Banswara had negotiated at Baroda for an alliance in 1812, offering to pay three-eighths of his revenue in requital of the protection of his territory and principality. He was referred to Delhi, and an envoy was accredited to the Political Agent, who, when it was resolved to take the Rajputs under the ægis of British power, was instructed to conclude a treaty under the terms proposed.<sup>1</sup> The Raja disavowed his agent, but declared himself to be still desirous of British protection, and a second treaty was framed and ratified, by which, in lieu of a proportion

<sup>1</sup> Treaty, 16th September, 1818, and 25th December, 1818. Treaties, Marquis of Hastings' Administration, xcix. cvii. Agreement with Bhawani Sing, 11th February, 1823.

BOOK II. of the revenue, the Raja engaged to pay to the British  
 CHAP. X. Government the arrears of tribute due to Dhar, and  
 1819. to continue the payment annually, in a scale of progressive augmentation, until it should rise to the amount that might be required for the military defence of the country—the final tribute not to exceed three-eighths of the revenue.<sup>1</sup> In the event of delay, or failure of payment, a British agent should be appointed to receive the collection. The terms of the engagement formed with the Raja of the neighbouring state of Dunderpur,<sup>2</sup> a kinsman of the Rana of Udaypur, were precisely the same as those with the Nawab of Banswara. The Raja died in July, 1819, and was succeeded by his son, Bhawani Sing, who was placed upon his cushion of sovereignty by the assistant to the Political Agent in Malwa.

The Raja of Pertabgerh was also a scion of the ruling family of Udaypur. He had been tributary to Holkar, but had been released from his dependance on that chief, by a treaty concluded with him in 1804, by Colonel Murray, commanding the Guzerat division. This treaty, and others concluded on the same occasion, with the petty Rajas in this part of India, were never formally ratified by the British Government, and had no other result than that of exposing the chiefs to the vindictive resentment of the Mahrattas. Pertabgerh had experienced its full share of the evil consequences of a precipitate contract, and readily sought relief in a new and better guaranteed agreement. Protection was promised, as was assistance against the mountain tribes of the neighbourhood, and against the Raja's refractory subjects,<sup>3</sup> in return for which the Raja agreed to pay, by instalments, the arrears of tribute due to Holkar, and a gradually increasing annual tribute, until it should reach a stipulated sum.<sup>4</sup> Under these arrange-

<sup>1</sup> The arrears were estimated at 35,000 rupees, which were to be paid in three years. The tribute for three years was fixed at 17,000, 20,000, and 25,000 respectively. In 1827-8, the Banswara tribute amounted to 30,000 rupees, it afterwards declined to 25,000.—Sutherland. In the Commons' Report, App. Pol. p. 188, the tribute of Banswara for 1827-8, is called 130,000 rupees, and that of the two preceding years, severally 50,000 and 40,000.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with Sri Jeswant Sing, Raja of Dunderpur, 11th December, 1818. Treaties, Marquis of Hastings' Administration, ciii.

<sup>3</sup> Agreement with the Raja of Pertabgerh, 9th December, 1818. Treaties. Hastings' Papers, c.

<sup>4</sup> 72,000 rupees. This again was paid to the Government of Holkar, the British Government, although claiming the allegiance and tribute of Pertabgerh for itself, agreeing to pay to Holkar the same sum as the latter amounted to.

ments, this petty state continued to prosper, notwithstanding the occasional occurrence of domestic dissension. One important benefit realised to these feeble principalities was their extrication from a swarm of military adventurers, chiefly Arabs, Sindhis, and Mekranis, who, called in to engage in their mutual quarrels, had become, to a great extent, masters of the country. The dismissal of these mercenaries formed an article in each of the several engagements, but as it would have been incapable of fulfilment by the princes themselves, the employment of British troops was essential to its accomplishment; and by their aid a burthen that pressed heavily upon the resources of the state was thrown off. Above four thousand mercenaries were expelled, in the course of two years, from the country west of the Chambal. The benefit afforded by the repression of the incursions of the Bhils and Mhers was also of great magnitude, not only to the several states, but to Malwa and Hindustan; the roads to which, from Guzerat and the sea-coast, lay through Dungepur and Banswara, and being now rendered secure from robbery and murder, were again thrown open to foreign traffic.

The Rajput ruler of Sirohi, a small principality on the south-eastern borders of Jodhpur, early applied to the British Resident at Baroda to be taken under protection. The position of this state in the line of communication between Rajputana and Guzerat recommended the formation of an alliance with the Raja, and the overture was favourably received. The conclusion of any agreement was delayed by the claims preferred by the Raja of Jodhpur, who maintained that Sirohi was included among his tributary dependencies. The claim was denied, although it was admitted that military incursions had been occasionally inflicted on Sirohi by the Raja of Jodhpur, or some of his Thakurs, for the purpose of levying arbitrary contributions.<sup>1</sup> No engagements of allegiance or protection had

<sup>1</sup> The petty and harassing nature of these incursions may be best conceived from examples. The village and lands of Srivara on the frontiers of Sirohi, had been subjected to a contribution levied by a body of Jodhpur troops, about once in three years, of one hundred and eighty rupees (say £18). In 1818-19, a demand was made of 1,400 rupees (£140), which the village being unable to pay, the invaders accepted a promissory note for 800 rupees (not likely ever to be honoured), and a mare valued at 600 rupees, for the balance. The two villages of Baniwara had been made in like manner, to pay 300 rupees; in the same year, they were plundered to the extent of 1,000 rupees, were obliged to



BOOK II. ever been exchanged. It was therefore determined to  
 CHAP. X. extend to Sirohi the connection subsisting with the petty  
 1819. Rajput princes of Bagar and Kantbal, and thus form a  
 continuous series of protected states from the frontiers of  
 Malwa to those of Guzerat, where the chiefs of Pahlampur,  
 Radhanpur, feudatories of the Gaekwar, under British  
 supervision, completed the chain. The principality of  
 Sirohi, although more extensive than either of the other  
 petty states of this class,<sup>1</sup> was less populous and produc-  
 tive, being situated among the Arivali mountains, and  
 inhabited chiefly by Bhils and Minas, more addicted to  
 plnnder than to cultivation. At the time when the con-  
 nection was first established, the poverty of the country  
 had been enhanced by the oppressive rule of the Raja.  
 He had been deposed by his subjects, and the Government  
 was in the hands of his brother, as Regent, with whom the  
 alliance was contracted. The presence of a Political  
 Agent for some years at Sirohi, enabled the Raja to resume  
 his authority, while it checked his tyranny, and the country  
 was gradually restored to order and comparative prosperity.

Krishnagerh is a small state on the western borders of  
 Jaypur, and immediately north of the British province of  
 Ajmir. The treaty with the Raja provided for his military  
 service when required, to the extent of his means, and  
 promised protection, without interference in the internal  
 management of the country.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, at a subse-  
 quent date, in a dispute between the Raja and his Thakurs  
 or nobles, the parties were allowed to adjust their own  
 quarrel; and the Raja, upon being besieged in his capital  
 by his Thakurs, was obliged to purchase their return to  
 obedience by a confirmation of those privileges of which  
 he had attempted to deprive them. So disgusted was the  
 Raja with the result, that he abdicated his power in favour  
 of his son; and, on condition of an annual pension from  
 the revenue, retired to a private life in the British terri-

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grant a bill for 500 rupees more, and were robbed of four hundred goats and  
 sheep, besides being exposed to the insolence and violence of a lawless soldiery.  
 —M.S. Rec. Treaty with Seo Sing, Regent of Sirohi, 31st October, 1823.

<sup>1</sup> The area of Sirohi is calculated at three thousand square miles. That of  
 Dungerpur, the next in size, at two thousand. Banswara and Pertabgerh at  
 about one thousand four hundred each.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with the Raja of Krishnagerh, 28th March, 1818. Treaties, Hastings  
 Papers, xciv.

tories. Karauli,<sup>1</sup> a still smaller principality, on the eastern limit of Jaypur, early applied for British protection. The tribute paid by the Raja to the Mahrattas was remitted: and no conditions but those of general allegiance, and military service when required, were stipulated. The advantages of the engagement were entirely on the side of the Raja; and no interference has ever been exercised in his territory. He has, nevertheless, been unable to resist the bias of his natural propensity to embark in hazardous scenes of strife and peril, and was known to have furnished military aid to Bhurtpur, on an occasion which will be hereafter noticed.<sup>2</sup> It was not thought necessary to visit with severity a breach of faith so insignificant in its consequences.

The engagements that were entered into with the states of Haravati, or Bundi and Kota, were of more substantive importance, and were an essential part of the political system adopted by the Governor-General. The treaty with Bundi relieved it of all tribute formerly paid to Holkar, and transferred to the British Government, the collection of that which had been reserved to Sindhia, amounting to eighty thousand rupees. The lands which had been appropriated by Holkar within the limits of Bundi, were also restored to the Raja.<sup>3</sup> The grounds on which this state had deserved the bounty of the British Government,—the assistance afforded to Colonel Monson, on his retreat, have been already adverted to. The Raja died in the middle of 1821, and his son, Ram Sing, a boy of eleven years of age, was placed on the cushion, by the British agent in Rajputana, who conferred upon the youth the 'tika,' or mark of sovereignty, as the representative of the paramount Lord. A council of Regency was appointed of four principal ministers of the Raja; but it was soon after dissolved by the influence of the queen mother, who assumed the character of Regent, and appointed her own minister. On his death, in the beginning

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Raja of Karauli, 9th November, 1817. Ibid. lxxix.

<sup>2</sup> "When the British Government was involved in the Burmese war, and Bhurtpur prepared for defence, under the usurpation of Durjan Sál, there was no doubt that Keraoli sent troops to the aid of the usurper, and assembled troops for its own defence. On the fall of that fortress, Keraoli made strong protestations of attachment, and it was not deemed necessary to take any serious notice of its proceedings."—Sutherland, 113.

<sup>3</sup> Treaty with Bishen Sing Raja of Bundi, 10th February, 1818. Treaties, xci.

BOOK II. of 1823, the young Raja nominated a successor, without  
CHAP. X. consulting the political agent ; but, as it appeared that the  
1819. choice was judicious, it was confirmed ; and the state, under able management, continued prosperous. In the same year, the young Raja, then in his twelfth year, married a princess of Jaypur, who was in her twenty-fifth, the disparity of years being more than compensated by the honour of the alliance. The connexion was productive, at a later date, of disastrous consequences.

The real ruler of Kota, the Raj Rana, Zalim Sing, had, from the first, associated himself with the policy of the British Government, and had at once entered into a treaty of alliance. It was concluded with the sovereign of whom Zalim Sing professed to be the minister, the Maha Rao, Umed Sing. The tributes heretofore paid to the Mahrattas, were made payable, according to a stipulated scale, to the British Government.

The exercise of the supreme authority of Kota, by Zalim Sing, was apparently conformable to the wishes of the Raja Umed Sing, who, being of an unambitious and indolent disposition, rejoiced to be exempted from the cares of government. He was not subjected to any personal restraint ; maintained a show of state ; and was treated by Zalim Sing with the utmost deference. Still he had been so little heard of, or known in the transactions of central India, for many years past, that the British Government looked only to his representative ; and was prepared, at the period of the negotiations with Kota, to have acknowledged Zalim Sing as the head of the principality. That prudent chief's regard for the opinion of Rajputana, which, however indifferent to the appropriation of the authority, would have severely condemned the usurpation of the title of Raja, deterred him from taking advantage of the friendly disposition or ignorance of his allies ; and the treaty was designated as having been framed with the Raja, through the administrator of the affairs of Kota. This was considered, however, an insufficient recognition of Zalim Sing's actual power, and a supplementary article was therefore framed, by which, while the succession of the principality was acknowledged to be vested in the son of Umed Sing, it was also provided that the administration should be in like manner heritable, and after being exercised by the Raj Rana Zalim Sing, should

descend to his eldest son and his heirs in regular succession in perpetuity:<sup>1</sup> thus sanctioning the co-existence of a double government, and virtually guaranteeing the perpetual independence of a hereditary minister. The inconveniences of such a guarantee were soon manifested.

The Raja of Kota, Umed Rao, died in December, 1819, and was succeeded by his eldest son Kesari Sing.<sup>2</sup> The young prince submitted, although with impatience, to the control of the aged minister, but cherished an insuperable dislike to the eldest son of Zalim Sing, and insisted on his right to choose his own confidential adviser and eventual minister in the person of Govardhan Das, the younger son of the Raj Rana, and the new sovereign's early associate and friend. In the prosecution of his purpose, the Rao adopted measures which menaced the political authority of Zalim Sing, and the Governor-General, in conformity with the principle of the supplementary article of the treaty, directed the Political Agent in Rajputana, Captain Tod, to interfere and uphold the minister against the Raja, to the extent even, if necessary, of deposing the latter. His dismissal of Govardhan Das was demanded, but the demand was resisted, until troops were employed to surround the fort and prohibit the entrance of supplies, by which the Raja was starved into a temporary acquiescence. Govardhan Das was obliged to withdraw from Kota, and a seeming reconciliation was effected between the veteran minister and the Raja. It was not of long duration: as soon as the Resident had left the city, the quarrel revived with enhanced violence, and broke out into actual hostilities. Kesari Sing became alarmed and fled to Delhi, where he was detained until he promised to relinquish all pretension to interfere in the administration of his government. This promise he also broke, and, returning to Rajputana, had recourse to Bundi and Jaypur for aid. The sense of

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<sup>1</sup> Supplementary Article. The contracting parties agree that, after Maha Rao Omed Sing, the principality shall descend to his eldest son and heir apparent, Maharaj Kowar Kishore Sing, and his heirs in regular succession and perpetuity; and that the entire administration of the affairs of the principality shall be vested in Raj Rana Zalim Sing, and after him in his eldest son, Kooar Madhu Sing, and heirs in regular succession in perpetuity. Concluded at Delhi, February 20th, 1818. This article is not found in the Collection of the Hastings Papers, nor in any Parliamentary Collection. It is given in a collection of Treaties printed at Bombay, apparently under the sanction of the Government.

<sup>2</sup> Sutherland calls him Krishna Sing, but the public documents have Kishore (for Kesari ?) Sing.



BOOK II. the country was universally in his favour. Notwithstanding  
 CHAP. X. ing Zalim Sing's unquestionable merits, his encroachments  
 1819. on the hereditary rights of the Raja were regarded as a dereliction of his duties as a subject, and as an indefensible and traitorous usurpation. Encouragement was given by the ruling authorities of different states to Kesari Sing to assert his claims, and many of the Rajput chiefs brought their followers to his standard, so that in a short time he had assembled six thousand men. It is questionable if Zalim Sing, left to his own resources, could have maintained himself against his lawful Prince, but the British troops were at hand to uphold his disloyalty. An action was fought at Mangrore, in which Kesari Sing was defeated. Prithvi Sing, his younger brother, and many of the chiefs who had embraced his cause were killed, and the Raja made his escape with no more than three hundred horse: the rest were dispersed. Finding that his attempts to throw off the yoke of his minister, while so powerfully supported, were hopeless, Kesari Sing submitted to the pleasure of the British Government, and was replaced in his titular sovereignty; a fixed stipend was assigned to him for his subsistence, and he was allowed to maintain a small body guard of horse and foot, but his authority was restricted to his own immediate dependants, and the real rule of Kota was once more confirmed to the Raj Rana. Zalim Sing died in little more than two years after the restoration of the Raja, and was succeeded as minister by his son Madhu Sing. The animosity between the servant and the master, and the want of ability and character in both, demanded the continued presence of a Resident at Kota, and imposed upon him the duty of preserving unimpaired the respective rights and privileges of the minister and the Raja.<sup>1</sup>

We have now to review the relations which were formed

<sup>1</sup> It was a subject of regret to the British Government, on the death of Zalim Sing, that a division of territory could not, consistently with the terms of the treaty, be made between the Raja of Kota and Madhu Sing. After many years of hesitation this arrangement was carried into effect, and put an end to the contest between incompatible hereditary successions. In 1838, the parties agreed, at the instance of the British Government, to a partition of the country. The Raj Rana, the son and successor of Madhu Sing, received one-third of the dominions of Kota, thenceforward termed Jhalawar. The remaining two-thirds continued in the occupancy of the Maha Rao Ram Sing, the nephew and adopted son of Kesari Sing.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, ii. part ii., p. 197.

with the more eminent Rajput states; and first with the Rana of Udaypur, the anxiety of which prince to be sheltered by British protection from the outrages and insolence of the Mahrattas and Pathans had been signified to the British Resident at Delhi, long before the altered policy of the Government allowed it to gratify his wishes. As soon as the abandonment of the principle of non-interference was known, the Vakils of the Rana presented themselves at Delhi, and a treaty was speedily concluded by which Udaypur became tributary to the British, on account of protection against every other claimant.<sup>1</sup> The tribute was fixed at one-fourth of the revenue for the first five years, and after that, three-eighths in perpetuity.<sup>2</sup> But the more remarkable feature in the treaty was, the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the British Government by a state which, amidst all its disasters and distress, had never recognised a superior in either Mohammedan or Mahratta. Nor had Udaypur ever paid regular tribute to the Mahrattas, although heavy contributions had been levied from time to time, and alienations of territory had been enforced as the price of forbearance, or as the requital of subsidiary service. All lands which had been assigned unauthorisedly, or had been seized by the officers of Sindhia and Holkar for no adequate reason,<sup>3</sup> the British Government undertook to recover, confirming those grants which had been voluntarily made. The Resident was also empowered to redeem on behalf of the Rana the domains of the Crown which, in the recent relaxation of all law and authority, had been silently usurped by his most powerful vassals. The Resident was able to effect this object by remonstrance and persuasion, and the Thakurs consented to restore all lands usurped from the Rana or each other since A.D. 1766; to observe faithfully their allegiance, and to discharge the duties under which they held their possessions.<sup>4</sup> They also engaged to abstain from mutual

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Raja of Udaypur, 13th January, 1818. Treaties, xc.

<sup>2</sup> Sindhia claimed three-fifths of the revenue, and the Chouth, or fourth, besides, but upon no equitable grounds, and his claims were set aside. For several years no tribute was realized. From 1824-5 to 1826-7, nearly three lakhs were annually exacted, but this was found to press too heavily on the revenues. The last returns are about one lakh and a half (£15,000).

<sup>3</sup> These amounted, according to Captain Tod, to an annual revenue of above thirty lakhs of rupees. Sixteen having been appropriated by Sindhia's captains, fourteen by Holkar's.—MS.

<sup>4</sup> Among them was the attendance for three months alternately at Court in

BOOK II. hostilities, to harbour no banditti, to commit no violence  
 CHAP. X. on travellers and traders, and to cherish their peasantry.

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These obligations were fulfilled with various degrees of fidelity, and the growth of the country in prosperity was progressive, although retarded by the improvidence and extravagance of the Rana, Bhim Sing, by which, after some years, he was plunged into embarrassments little inferior to those from which he had been extricated by the British alliance. His revenue, however, as well as the condition of the country improved. In 1817, the royal lands returned scarcely a yearly sum of three thousand rupees; in 1821, they yielded about eleven lakhs. In the course of four years the inhabited houses of the capital increased from three thousand to ten thousand.<sup>1</sup> Bhilara, a commercial town of importance, and once containing twelve thousand families, but which latterly had not a single inhabitant, recovered, in less than a year, seven hundred families, among whom were many merchants and bankers. Commerce again became active, and travelling comparatively secure; and cultivation transformed the wilderness which had spread over the country, in consequence of its depopulation, to fields of grain, reaped without fear of their being laid waste by bands of mercenary Pathans or predatory Mahrattas.<sup>2</sup>

The renewal of the alliance with Jaypur had been most earnestly solicited by the Raja as early as 1815, but a

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command of a body of their own followers, "in order to give strength and respectability to the executive government." The articles of agreement are given by Mr. Prinsep, ii. 362.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Rana's own statement to Captain Tod, "when Jamshid Khan (the officer left by Amir Khan in charge of the Rana) was here, no respectable man could walk the streets without being seized, and, unless he paid a sum of money, he was stripped. Men's wives and daughters were forcibly torn from their dwellings. Had the British not been here at this moment, the rents of the surrounding fields would have been in requisition, and parties of mercenary troops encamped in the valley. We were obliged to pluck the sour fruit before it was ripe, or it was taken from us."

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Heber passed through Udaypur and the neighbouring Rajput States on the way to Guzerat, in the beginning of 1825, at a time when the country was suffering from the effects of a season of drought, but he frequently notices the abundant crops of wheat, barley, and poppies. He also passed through Bhilwara, and describes it as a large town with a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate but widely diffused wealth and comfort, than he had seen since he left Delhi. The streets were full of carts laden with corn and flour, the shops stored with all kinds of woollen, felt, cotton and hardware goods, and the neatness of their workmanship in iron surpassed what he could have expected to see. The people unanimously ascribed the renovation of their town to Captain Tod.—*Narrative of a Journey, &c.*, ii. 46.

compliance with his requisition was the subject of much doubt and discussion, as we have already had occasion to observe. The Governor-General, considering it to be an essential part of his plans for the suppression of predatory warfare, carried the question in the affirmative, and the Resident at Delhi was authorised to enter into a negotiation with the Jaypur envoys. They, however, then held back, in conformity with the policy of their court, which anticipated relief from the exactions of Amir Khan, by the mere rumour of a British alliance, from the formation of which it was deterred by the opposition of the nobles, the advice of Jodhpur, and the menace of Sindhia that he would join Amir Khan if the negotiation proceeded. The expectation was in part realised. Amir Khan suspended operations, and the court of Jaypur, hoping to conclude a treaty with him on advantageous terms, marked their indifference to the British alliance, by suddenly proposing conditions which were inadmissible. The negotiation was declared to be at an end, but fresh applications from the Raja to the Governor-General led to its renewal. It was again broken off, the amount of the subsidy being objected to by the agents, and the Minister of Jaypur declaring in open court that they had never been authorised to accede to any pecuniary payment for a subsidiary force. The envoys, nevertheless, remained at Delhi, confident that the intercourse with Amir Khan would end in disappointment, and that the Raja must eventually throw himself on British protection. They judged rightly, and after three years' vacillation, a treaty was concluded with Jaypur. Protection was promised on the one part, and allegiance on the other; and to defray the expense of the military defence of the Raj, was henceforth the duty of the protected power. Jaypur agreed to pay as a tribute a progressively augmenting subsidy until it amounted to eight lakhs annually—at which sum it should be fixed until the revenue amounted to forty lakhs a-year, when five-sixteenths of the excess were to be added to the sum of eight lakhs.<sup>1</sup> The state was released from

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with Jaypur, 2nd April, 1811. Treaties, xcv. The resources of Jaypur were greatly overrated. In the first six years, the collection fell short by five lakhs of the whole sum stipulated; in the next five by ten lakhs; and, by the last accounts, amounted to no more than thirty-one lakhs. App. Pol. Report, p. 188. Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, ii. 11, 191.



BOOK II. all other claims. As usual in all the engagements contracted at this season, a clause was inserted, acknowledging the Raja and his successors absolute rulers of their territory and dependants. The treaty was scarcely concluded when interference in the internal government of Jaypur became necessary to preserve it from the horrors of a civil war.

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The constitution of the Rajput states assigns a voice in the management of public affairs, to certain of the chief nobles, or Thakurs, of the principality, each of whom fills much the same position as that of a feudal baron in the middle ages ; holding his lands by tenure of military service, governing them with independent power, engaged frequently in hostilities with his neighbours, and singly, or in coalition with other chiefs, sometimes taking up arms against his liege lord. Under an active and prudent Raja, the Thakurs might be subjected to control ; but Jagat Sing, dissolute and indolent, had aggravated by his defects, the disorders induced by foreign invasion, and had suffered the power of the Raja to fall into insignificance and contempt by the impunity with which he permitted his great vassals to encroach upon the demesne of the crown, or the imprudence with which he alienated his revenues in favour of military or religious persons, on conditions which they wholly disregarded. It became necessary to interfere to protect his power from annihilation ; and a minister having been appointed with the sanction and support of Sir David Ochterlony, who united the chief civil and military authority in this part of Rajputana, many of the grants to undeserving individuals were resumed ; and it was proposed to the Thakurs to assent to an arrangement, similar to that effected at Udaypur, by which they should consent to relinquish their usurpations. Their assent was not obtained until an example had been made of the most refractory, and the strong-holds of Kusalgerh and Madhurajpur had been captured by British troops. Before, however, any comprehensive arrangement was accomplished, Jagat Sing died. He left no heir. The succession was claimed by Man Sing, son of the late Raja's elder brother ; but he was unacceptable to the Thakurs, being born of a woman of inferior rank ; and he was set aside in favour of a boy, said

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to have been adopted by the Raja in his dying moments. The genuineness of the adoption was questioned, but the opportune birth of a posthumous son, by one of the Ranis, rendered its validity unimportant. A dispute, however, arose for the ministry. The infant Raja's mother was acknowledged regent; but the appointment of her minister was demanded by the majority of the chiefs, who combined to place Bhyri Sal, one of their body, at the head of the state. The Political Agent was again obliged to interpose in order to protect the life of the actual minister, Mohan Ram, whom he had all along supported; but as the party opposed to him was of sufficient influence to nullify all his acts, it was thought prudent to yield to his dismissal, and acquiesce in the elevation of Bhyri Sal. This was sufficient to create a new opposition, and a contest for power arose between the new minister and the officers and servants of the interior of the palace, where the two principal widows of Jagat Sing intrigued for the promotion of their creatures, and, according to popular scandal, their paramours. To obviate the mischief thus engendered, and to arrest the misappropriation of the resources of the state, which were lavishly alienated by both parties to secure adherents, it was determined to establish a permanent Resident at Jaypur; and although the measure was equally distasteful to both factions, Major Stewart was sent to Jaypur, in that capacity, in 1821. This interposition was vindicated, not only by a regard for the interests of the minor Raja, but for those of the British Government, as the prodigal dissipation of the revenue was likely to prevent the punctual payment of the tribute. The interposition of the Resident was, in the first instance, restricted to advice, but this was found ineffectual to remedy the evils of a divided administration — the influence of Jhota Ram, the favourite of the Regent Rani, neutralising the authority of Bhyri Sal, and encouraging resistance to his orders. More positive interference was therefore had recourse to, and the Rani mother was threatened with the transfer of the Regency to the other widow of the Raj, who was of superior rank, being the daughter of the Raja of Jodhpur, unless she consented to the removal of her favourite. Jhota Ram was accordingly sent from court, and the sole authority

BOOK II. vested for a while in Bhyri Sal. The Rani had, however, a  
 CHAP. X. strong party among the Thakurs, and the arrangement  
 1820. continued undisturbed only as long as it received the  
 decided and vigorous support of the British Government.  
 These dissensions prevented the principality of Jaypur  
 from deriving the full advantage to have been expected  
 from the expulsion of the predatory hordes by which it  
 had been so long and so mercilessly ravaged.

The Government of Jodhpur early signified its willingness to contract an alliance upon the conditions which had been declined in 1804. A treaty was accordingly concluded on the same terms as those formed with the other Rajput states. Jodhpur received military protection on condition of acknowledging the supremacy of the British power, and affording, when required, a force of fifteen hundred horse, or, in time of need, the whole of its disposable troops. The tribute paid to Sindhia, amounting to one lakh and eight thousand rupees a-year, was thenceforth payable to the British Government. The absolute authority of the Raja and his successors over their own dominions was admitted.<sup>1</sup> The treaty was concluded with Man Sing, as represented by the Prince Regent, Chatur Sing, the Raja, as we have seen, being at this time, or affecting to be, incapable of exercising the administration, and having withdrawn from public affairs. Chatur Sing died before the treaty was ratified; but the time had not yet come for the Raja to throw off the mask, and the state was governed by Salim Sing, the chief of Pokurn, and son of the Sawai Sing, murdered by Amir Khan, and by Akhai Chand, the latter as Dewan, or chief civil and financial minister. These were the leaders of the faction hostile to the Raja, and by whose aid the regency of the Prince had been maintained.

As soon as the cessation of military operations permitted, Sir David Ochterlony visited Jodhpur to ascertain the real state of parties, and early received private intimation from the Raja that he proposed to resume the reins of government.<sup>2</sup> He was encouraged in his resolu-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Raja of Jodhpur, 6th January, 1818. Treaties, lxxxix.

<sup>2</sup> He wrote to the General privately, stating that he had been waiting for assurances of the friendship of the British Government for three years, during which he had never shaved nor changed his apparel. He had now done both.  
 —MS. Records.

tion ; but, although he held out the British alliance as an object of terror to his disobedient nobles, he suffered some time to elapse before he manifested the full extent of his designs. Become a master in the art of dissimulation, he exhibited no resentment towards the usurpers of his power, and permitted them, with such a semblance of confidence as to lull their suspicions, to retain their ministerial functions. They paid the penalty of their imprudence. As soon as the Raja's projects were mature, the city of Jodhpur was startled by the appearance of various dead bodies thrown over the battlements of the citadel. Akhai Chand had been seized and imprisoned, made to disgorge the sums he had appropriated from the royal treasury, and was then put to death. The governor of the fort, and other members of the administration, who were found in the citadel, were treated in the same manner, and their partisans throughout the country were simultaneously arrested, tortured until they yielded up their ill-gotten wealth, and then poisoned. Salim Sing was not in the citadel, but in the town with his friend Sartan Sing of Nimaj. The house of the latter was beset by a large body of armed men, but the Thakur defended himself until most of his followers were killed, when he sallied forth with the survivors and was slain. His defence gave the chief of Pokurn opportunity to escape, but it did not save his estates from the Raja's retaliation. Taking advantage of the consternation excited by the suddenness and ferocity of his vengeance, Man Sing despatched the troops, which the treasures he had recovered enabled him to levy, against the divided and bewildered Thakurs, and compelled them to fly for safety to the surrounding Rajput principalities. Notwithstanding these disorders, the vigour which Man Sing displayed in the conduct of the government and the exclusion of the Pathan plunderers, restored the territories of Jodhpur to tranquillity ; and considerable cities, such as those of Merta and Nagore, which had been left in ruins, were repeopled, and prospered.

Although situated beyond the ordinary sphere of predatory aggression, and offering little temptation to the plunderer, the Rajput state of Bhikaner had not wholly escaped, and therefore gladly joined its neighbours in the



BOOK II. general appeal to British guardianship. The terms were, as usual, protection on the one hand, acknowledgment of supremacy on the other; abstinence from political intercourse with other states, and submission of all disputes to the arbitration of the paramount power. The British Government undertook to assist the Raja in reducing the tribes which had revolted from his authority, and he engaged to become responsible for any injury which his subjects, many of whom were notorious robbers, might have inflicted upon the adjacent British territories. The Raja also promised to provide for the safe passage of merchandise in transit through his dominions, from Kabul and Khorasan to India.<sup>1</sup>

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The fulfilment of the stipulation, which undertook to reduce to obedience the revolted subjects of Bhikaner, was connected with the necessity of suppressing an insurrection on the frontiers of Hariana, among the Bhattis, who were the subjects of the British Government, and who were assisted in their outrages by the people of Bhikaner in rebellion against their Raja. Upon the occupation of Hariana, the Bhattis who, in the course of their nomadic wanderings, frequented its western boundaries, mostly retired into the desert. Of those who remained, part were made subject to British authority and the rest were placed under that of a chief named Zabita Khan; a district being granted to him in Jagir. Although the pastoral habits of the Bhattis and their migratory life, were not incompatible with predatory practices, and they were dreaded in all the surrounding country as plunderers and robbers, they had hitherto refrained from molesting the British districts; but in the course of 1818, taking advantage of the enfeebled state of the forces usually stationed in the province, the greater part of which were still absent in Malwa, the Bhattis rose in great numbers and captured the frontier town of Fattehabad, which was guarded only by the Sikh contingent of the Naba Raja who fled from the attack. A small detachment was sent from the garrison of Hansi and Hissar<sup>2</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with Surat Sing, Raja of Bhikaner, 9th March, 1818.—Treaties, Hastings Papers. xciii.

<sup>2</sup> Two companies of the 17th N. I., a party of the Dromedary corps, a risala of Skinner's Horse, and a brigade of guns under Major Foot.

recover the town, but it was driven back and with difficulty effected its retreat to Hissar in the face of a body of the enemy, estimated at seven thousand strong. Reinforcements were immediately despatched to Hariana, and a force was assembled at Hansi, under Brigadier-General Arnold,<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of putting down the insurrection on the adjoining confines of Bhikaner and Bhatner, and the capture of the forts occupied by the insurgents. Brigadier Arnold marched in the middle of August against the rebels, who fled before him into the desert. He then proceeded against their strongholds, all of which were surrendered without opposition, and most of the chiefs promised submission to their respective liege lords. Zabita Khan was removed from his Jagir, as unable to control his people, and pensioned; and the country was taken under the direct management of the British officers. The places belonging to Bhikaner were restored to the Raja.

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The still more remote and sterile principality of Jesalmer, equally sought the British alliance. Few points required adjustment, but a special clause provided that, if invaded or menaced by any danger of great magnitude, the British government would defend the principality, provided the cause of quarrel were not imputable to the Raja. This clause was dictated by the necessity of preserving Jesalmer from the daily encroachments of more powerful neighbours, particularly of the Amirs of Sindh and the Nawab of Bahawalpur, who, but for this alliance, would have extinguished the Rajput principality.<sup>2</sup> The only power against which it became requisite to act was that of Bhikaner. The Maldotes, a robber tribe of the Dhatti race, made a foray from Jesalmer into Bhikaner, and carried off a number of camels, which had been purchased for the service of the Peshwa, and were on their way to the south. In retaliation, the Raja of Bhikaner sent a force against the robbers which destroyed their villages, and threatened some of the chief towns of

<sup>1</sup> One troop of Horse Artillery, 1st. N. C., two risalas of Skinner's Horse, three battalions and a half of N. I., two battalions of Begum Samru's troops and other auxiliaries, and a small battering train, in all between seven and eight thousand men.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with Maha Rawal Mul-raj, Raja of Jesalmer, 12th December, 1818.

BOOK II. Jesalmer. Further mischief was stopped by the intervention of the British authorities. The Raja of Jesalmer died in 1820, and was succeeded by his son Gaj Sing.

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Thus was completed the connection formed with the Princes of Rajputana, who all acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, promised their subordinate co-operation in time of need, and agreed to submit their mutual disputes to its arbitration. The international peace of Hindustan was secured, and neither Rajput nor Mahratta dared henceforth draw his sword against his neighbour. The maintenance of tranquillity within the several states was less effectually cared for. Non-interference in the internal administration of each state was an invariable condition of their allegiance, a forbearance which it was impossible always to observe, and which, when observed, was generally attended with mischievous results to both prince and people. The latter had been too long accustomed to a state of violence and disorder to become at once peaceable and obedient subjects; and the former were, at all times, inclined to abuse their power, and tyrannise over those under their sway. Sources of dissension were inherent in the conflicting pretensions of the sovereign and his Thakurs—his clansmen and barons—high-spirited but turbulent chiefs, too arrogant to acknowledge subjection—too rude and ignorant to make a profitable use of independence—constantly engaged in feuds with each other, or with their prince—disregarding all law except that of the strongest—placing all their notions of honour in personal impunity, and trusting to their swords alone, for the preservation of their rights, and the assertion of their claims—it required nothing less than the strong hand of the British power to restrain them from involving themselves and their countrymen in scenes of strife and bloodshed. That hand has been somewhat capriciously interposed; sometimes held out and sometimes withdrawn. The policy pursued at one period has been departed from at another, and Rajputana has been consequently agitated by storms which a more decided, although at the same time, moderate, application of authority might have dissipated in their birth.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Miscellaneous Occurrences during and after the Mahratta War.—Affairs of Cutch.—Hostility of the Rao.—His Intemperance and Violence.—Force sent against him.—Bhuj taken.—The Rao surrenders.—Deposed.—His Infant Son raised to the Throne.—A Council of Regency, under the Superintendence of the Resident.—Subsidiary Treaty.—Amirs of Sindh unfriendly.—Causes.—The Kosa Robbers attacked.—Sindh Troops enter Cutch.—Withdrawn and disavowed.—Treaty with the Amirs.—Arrangement with Kolapur.—Outrages by Plunderers from Troops left at Kishme.—Consequences.—Defeat of British Detachment by the Beni-Bu-Ali Arabs.—Second Expedition.—Tribe almost exterminated.—Agency abolished.—Transactions at Mocha.—Town Sawantwari.—A Force sent into the Country.—Treaty with the Regency.—Treaty with the Chief of Kolaba.—Piracies in the Persian Gulph.—Force sent against them.—Ras-al-Khaima again taken.—Treaty with the Arab Tribes.—Political Agent.—Treaty with the Imam of Senna.—Occurrences in the Eastern Archipelago.—Exclusive Policy of the Dutch.—Defeated by Sir T. Stamford Raffles.—Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen.—His Views on Sumatra.—Objected to by the Governor-General.—Offence not to be given.—Treatment by the Dutch of the Sultan of Palembang.—Determination of the Government of Bengal to secure the Straits of Malacca.—Negotiations with Malay Chiefs anticipated.—Settlement effected at Singapore.—Protested against by the Dutch.—Admitted by Treaty with Holland.—Prosperity of the Settlement.—Affairs of Achin.—Treaty with the Sultan.—Mission to Siam and Cochin China.—Relations with the Subsidiary States on the Indian Continent.—With the Gackwar.—Death of Fateh Sing.—Prince Syaji made Dewan.—Death of Anand Rao.—Syaji succeeds.—Difficulties of Position.—Arrangements.—Tranquillisation of Pahlampur.—Of Kattiwar.—Relations with Hyderabad.—Mal-Administration of Chandu Lal.—Interference of the Resident.—Dissatisfaction of the Governor-General.—*



*Question of Interference considered. — Chandu Lal's Financial Embarrassment. — Connection with the Mercantile House of Palmer and Co. — Sanctioned by the Governor-General. — Disapproved of by the Court of Directors. — Dissolved. — Affairs of Oude. — Border Plunderers. — The Nawab Vizir allowed to take the Title of King.*

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AFTER the settlement of Central Hindustan had completed the political system of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, no events occurred of sufficient importance to call forth a display of the immense resources that were now at the command of the British Government. A variety of transactions, however, ensued, which, although of minor moment, involved objects of considerable magnitude, arising from the determination to preserve the tranquillity of India undisturbed; from the necessity still existing of shielding maritime commerce from piratical depredations; from the duty of providing for British as well as Indian interests in the Eastern Seas; and from the obligations devolving upon the Supreme Government in the course of its relations with the several powers allied to it by subsidiary engagements. These we shall now proceed to describe.

We have already had occasion to notice the new engagements formed with Rao Bharmalji the ruler of Cutch, by which that prince became an ally of the British Government. The good understanding then established was of brief duration. The Rao, surrounding himself with dissolute and low companions, and falling into habits of gross intemperance to an extent that affected his intellects, disgusted the Jhareja chiefs by his capricious and violent conduct, and gave umbrage to his protectors by intimations of inimical designs. These feelings were strengthened by the murder of the young prince Ladhupa, which was perpetrated by command of the Rao, by a party of his Arab mercenaries; from no motive that could be discovered except his own groundless jealousy and frantic disposition. The widow of Ladhupa, who was pregnant at the time of her husband's assassination, was menaced with a similar fate, and as she resided in the palace, and was consequently in the Rao's power, it is possible that the

threat would not have been in vain, had not the British authorities interposed. It was not deemed expedient to demand charge of the person of the widow, lest the Rao in his indignation should be urged to the commission of the atrocity which it was sought to prevent; but he was warned that any practices against her safety, or that of her infant, would incur the severest displeasure of the British Government. The warning was not fruitless, and although the Rao indulged in menaces of the most brutal description, he refrained from attempting the life of the mother or the child, and she gave birth to a son.

Dissatisfied at the proximity of the British force at Anjar, and irritated by an interference in his family affairs, which he with truth averred was unauthorised by the treaty, the Rao began to collect mercenary troops, and to call for the contingents of his chiefs with the unavowed intention of expelling the British from his country. Knowledge of his purposes defeated their execution, and the timely arrival of an additional battalion placed the station of Anjar in security. The Rao then directed the force he had assembled, about five thousand strong, against Arisir, a fortified town belonging to Kalian Sing, the father of Ladhuba's widow, and one of the Jhareja chieftains, who were under British protection. Of this the Rao was admonished, and he was informed, that unless he desisted from his purpose, he would be considered guilty of an infraction of the treaty, and would be dealt with as an enemy. The whole of the Jharejas alarmed by this attack upon one of the brotherhood, and by an attempt of the Rao to exact from them pecuniary contributions in the place of military service; indignant also at the murder of Ladhuba and the treatment of the Bai, conveyed to the Resident their readiness to support him in any measures he should propose to adopt towards the head of their government. It was inconvenient at the moment to spare troops for carrying into effect the resolution to remove Rao Bharmalji from his throne, and he was suffered to carry on the siege of Arisir without interruption. The courage of the besieged, and the assistance of some of the neighbouring chiefs baffled the efforts of the Rao, and after detaining his troops before the place for several months, during which the garrison was reduced to

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BOOK II. great distress, compelled him to be contented with the  
 CHAP. XI. occupation of one of the gates of the fort as an acknow-  
 1820. ledgment of his supremacy. His retreat was accelerated  
 by the approach of British detachments which were soon  
 concentrated at Anjar, and placed under the command of  
 Sir William Keir.<sup>1</sup>

The British division marched upon Bhuj on the 24th of March, 1819. As they approached the town they were charged by large masses of horse and foot, but they repulsed the enemy and drove them under the walls. Demonstrations were then made for an assault upon the town, but at the same time it was determined to attempt the surprise of the fort, and a strong detachment was sent against it before daybreak on the 26th. The party reached the foot of the walls as the day broke; and the ladders were planted and the walls escalated almost before the garrison were aware of the presence of the assailants. They fled with precipitation, and gained the town not without loss; that of the British was inconsiderable. As the town was completely commanded by the fort, the Rao was sensible of the hopelessness of resistance, and throwing himself upon the mercy of the victors, came into the British camp. His sentence had been pronounced. It was determined, in concert with the Jharejas, to depose him in favour of Rao Desal his infant son; the affairs of the Government being administered by a council of regency, composed of some of the principal Jhareja chiefs under the superintendence of the British Resident, and the guarantee of his Government.<sup>2</sup> The mercenary troops were dismissed, and the defence of the principality was to be committed to a British force, the expense of which was to be defrayed by the government of Cutch.<sup>3</sup> Clauses

<sup>1</sup> The force was composed of the 1st regiment of N. C., a company of European artillery, H.M. 65th regiment, and three battalions of N. I., with guns.

<sup>2</sup> Soon after these events, in the middle of June, a remarkably severe earthquake laid great part of Cutch in ruins. At Bhuj seven thousand houses were overturned, and one thousand one hundred and forty people buried in the rubbish. About fifteen hundred houses were thrown down, and a like number rendered uninhabitable at Anjar. The fort was a pile of ruins. One hundred and sixty-five people were killed, and many more died of their bruises. Many other towns were partially, some wholly, destroyed. Shocks were felt in many other parts of India, as far as Nepal, but they were unattended with injury.—Papers relating to the Earthquake in India, 1819. Tr. Bombay Lit. Soc. iii. 90.

<sup>3</sup> The subsidy was two lakhs of Ahmedabad rupees.

were inserted requiring the Rao and the Jharejas to suppress the practice of infanticide, and the Jhareja chiefs were guaranteed in their possessions. By a subsequent engagement, Anjar was restored to the Government of Cutch, in commutation of an annual payment of eighty-eight thousand rupees. After the novelty of these arrangements had ceased, the Jharejas were generally dissatisfied with the control to which they were subjected, by the influence of British principles in the Regency, and by the efforts which were made with comparatively little good to suppress infanticide. They were not sufficiently united, however, to organize any effectual opposition; and the peace of the province was undisturbed. The deposed Rao was permitted to reside at Bhuj under a guard, but he manifested no inclination to recover his sovereignty.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK II.

CHAP. XI.

1820.

The interference exercised in the affairs of Cutch, was regarded with alarm and jealousy by the Amirs of Sindh. They had long entertained designs against the principality, and were deeply mortified to find themselves anticipated, and the country placed beyond their ambition. Other circumstances contributed to aggravate their irritation and to urge them to a course of procedure which would have led to hostilities, but for the forbearance of the British Government.

The confines of Guzerat and Cutch, and the petty states east of the *Ran*, which had been latterly taken under British protection, had been for some time past, infested by marauding tribes, frequenting Parkur and the borders of the desert of Sindh, the principal of whom were termed Khosas. The Amirs of Sindh had been invited to co-operate for the repression of their ravages, and had, in compliance with the invitation, despatched a body of troops against the plunderers; while a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Barclay, marched against them from Pahlampur. Notwithstanding the professions of the Amirs, the commander of the Sindh force appeared to have come with a design of protecting, rather than of expelling the Khosas, a body of whom encamped unmolested near the Sindhian detachment. In this situation, they were attacked at night by a part of Colonel Barclay's division,

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Cutch Government, 13th October, 1819. Ditto, 21st May, 1822.—Hastings Papers, Treaties with Native Princes.



BOOK II. and, becoming confounded with the Sindhians, exposed  
 CHAP. XI. the latter to a participation in their disgrace and loss.  
 1820. The troops of Sindh retired from the frontier and represented the attack as the result of design. The British troops left to themselves, pursued the Khosas across the boundary, and this also was complained of as a violation of the Sindh territory. In resentment of these injuries and of the occupation of Cutch, an army from Hyderabad entered the latter country, took Loona, a town fifty miles from Bhuj, and laid waste the adjacent district. Lieutenant-Colonel Stanhope with a strong detachment, was sent to repel the aggression. The enemy retired before him. The Bombay Government immediately demanded reparation for the mischief committed, and threatened to order the advance of the division into Sindh, if its demands were not complied with. The outrage was disowned, and envoys from Hyderabad were despatched to Bombay and to Bhuj to deprecate the displeasure of the British. The Supreme Government, also, was averse to any hostile<sup>1</sup> collision with the Amirs, and rested contented with the disavowal of the act, the liberation of the prisoners, and promises to restrain the Khosas and other marauders from any inroads into the British dominions. A treaty was concluded to this effect.<sup>2</sup>

By the treaty of Poona the Peshwa renounced all claims on the petty Mahratta states, among which the sea-coast of the Konkan, between Bombay and Goa, was principally partitioned. Kolapur, Sawantwari, and Kolaba, became in consequence exclusively subject to British supremacy. These states owed their origin in a great degree to piratical practices; and the subjects of Kolapur continuing in 1812 to exercise their old trade, it was found necessary to enter into a treaty with the Raja, by which he engaged to suppress piracy as far as it was in his power so to do,

<sup>1</sup> The sentiments of the Government of Bengal derive an interest from late events. "Few things," they remarked, "would be more impolitic than a war with Sindh, as its successful prosecution would not only be unprofitable, but an evil. The country was not worth possessing, and its occupation would involve us in all the intrigues and wars, and incalculable embarrassments of the countries beyond the Indus. Hostilities might become unavoidable hereafter; but it was wise to defer their occurrence as long as possible."—MS. Rec.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with the Amirs of Sindh, 9th November, 1820. Hastings Papers, cxxii. The treaty was formed with two of the Amirs, Karim Ali and Murád Ali.

and to make over to the Bombay Government the fortified harbour of Malwan. After the recent war, new arrangements were made, by which, districts<sup>1</sup> that the Raja had been compelled to relinquish to the Peshwa were restored to him. Although a young man, he did not long enjoy this accession to his resources, being shot as he sat in his court, by a chief, whose Jagir he had sequestered. His successor was a minor, and the government was vested in the mother of the late Raja, as regent. A similar engagement for the suppression of piracy had been also contracted in 1812, with Sawant-wari, and the port and fortifications of Vingorla had been ceded to the British. Pond Sawant, the Desai, or ruler of Sawant-wari, died soon afterwards, and leaving only an infant son as his successor, this state fell likewise under female administration. The Rani, Durga Bai, held the reins of government with a feeble grasp, and was unable to restrain the license of her chiefs. Some of them gathered armed bands around them, whom they could alone support by plunder; and instigated their followers to commit depredations on the territories of the Bombay Presidency. Repeated remonstrances producing no effect, a force was detached into the principality, under Sir William Grant Keir, part of which crossed the Ghats, and occupied the fort of Niuti, which was quietly surrendered, while another portion proceeded by sea, and being joined by the main division, carried the external defences of a stronger fortress, that of Rairi, by storm. The upper fort was abandoned by the garrison, and surrendered. General Keir thence marched to the capital, where Durga Bai having died, the regency had devolved on two other ladies, the aunts of the Raja. Wholly unable to offer any resistance, the regents were ready to assent to everything that was required, and a treaty was accordingly concluded by which, in the name of Khem Sawant, the young Raja, they agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, to deliver to it any of their subjects who should have committed acts of violence or depredations in its territories; and to cede the forts of Rairi and Niuti, with the lands around them, as well as

BOOK II.

CHAP. XI.

1820.

<sup>1</sup> Chekori and Manouli yielding three lakhs of rupees per annum. They were granted by an engagement or sunnud by Colonel Munro; but the grant was subsequently confirmed by treaty.

BOOK II. the whole of the remaining sea-coast from the confines of  
CHAP. XI. Kolapur to the Portuguese boundary. Part of these ces-

1820.

sions were afterwards restored to the Raja; but the forts and line of sea-coast, with some inland villages, were retained. A British officer was attached to the court as a political agent; but his powers were inadequate to protect the country from the disorders consequent upon an inefficient government, and which were eventually remedied only by the active exercise of supreme authority.<sup>1</sup>

Kolaba had been once a place of importance in the history of the Bombay Presidency, having been included among the possessions of the enterprising pirate Kanhoji Angria, by whom the trade of the Company was subjected to repeated insult and plunder during the first thirty years of the eighteenth century. The territory which he transmitted to his descendants had been reduced to insignificance, by the extension of the Peshwa's authority; but, a portion still acknowledged the sway of a member of the dynasty of Angria, subject to the supremacy of the head of the Mahratta state. The conquest of the territories of Baji Rao transferred his rights to the British Government, and a treaty was concluded with the Chief of Kolaba, by which those rights were defined.<sup>2</sup> Protection and allegiance were mutually plighted; the fees levied on the accession of a Chieftain were remitted; but the Government reserved to itself the paramount authority, and the right of conferring investiture on the Chief, on each succession to the Chiefship. The British laws and regulations were not to be introduced; but fugitives from justice were to be given up upon demand. Some exchanges of territory were agreed upon, in order to correct the inconvenient intermixture of contiguous districts.

The dependent condition of the petty states of the Konkan, extinguished all vestiges of the piratical practices for which this part of the coast of India had been infamous, since the days of Roman commerce; but the more daring pirates of the Persian Gulph still remained unsubdued. We have seen them incur severe retribution; but

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Regency of Sawant Wari, 17th Feb. 1819; Ditto, 17th February, 1820.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with Raghoji Angria, of Kolaba, July, 1822.—Collection of Treaties presented to Parliament, 1825.

the effects of the chastisement administered were transient, and the renewal of their depredations demanded a repetition of the only effectual means of arresting their perpetration.

BOOK II.  
CHAP. XI.

1820.

For some time after the destruction of Ras-al-Khaima, the Arab tribes of Oman refrained from infesting the waters of the Gulph, or confined themselves to the country boats, in whose fate no powerful state was interested. As time advanced, their audacity revived, and they quickly obtained greater power than before. Ras-al-Khaima was repaired and fortified, and vessels of a large size were constructed and equipped; the different tribes entered into engagements for their mutual support, and assumed an attitude so menacing, that the Imam of Muscat, already the ally of the Company, applied earnestly for timely succour. The activity of the pirates, and, in particular, of the Joasmis, was suspended by the approach of Ibrahim Pasha, the son of the Pasha of Egypt, who, in obedience to orders from Constantinople, had marched from Egypt to chastise the Wahabis, to which sect the pirate tribes of Oman belonged. In the hope of securing his co-operation, a British officer, Captain Sadler, was despatched to the Pasha. He found Ibrahim, near Medina; but the objects of his campaign were accomplished.<sup>1</sup> Deriah, the capital of Abdulla-bin-Saûd, the Wahabi Chief, had been stormed, and the Chief himself had surrendered, and been despatched prisoner to Cairo, whence he was sent to Constantinople, and there put to death. Considering the Wahabis as annihilated, the Pasha had no intention of proceeding to the Persian Gulph, and the punishment of the pirates was left to the British Government alone. An expedition was accordingly fitted out from Bombay, the land forces under the command of Sir William Keir<sup>2</sup>—the maritime under that of Captain Collier, of his Majesty's ship *Liverpool*. They left Bombay in September, 1819, and, after touching at Muscat, arrived off Ras-al-

<sup>1</sup> Account of a Journey from Katif on the Persian Gulf to Yamboo on the Red Sea, by Captain C. F. Sadler.—Tr. Lit. S. Bombay, iii. 449.

<sup>2</sup> The troops were composed of one company of European artillery, H.M.'s 47th and 56th regiments, 1st battalion of the 2nd, 2nd battalion of the 4th, and flank companies of the 1st battalion of the 3rd N.I., and the Bombay marine battalion: about one thousand seven hundred Europeans, and two thousand five hundred natives.



BOOK II. Khaima, in the beginning of the following December. The  
CHAP. XI. troops were landed on the south of the town, drove in a  
body of Arabs stationed in front of them, and effected a  
1820. lodgment within three hundred yards of the defences. Batteries were erected without delay ; a spirited sally was made by the enemy on the sixth, in which the Arabs were for a time the masters of the guns ; but they were repulsed, and displayed no further energy. A storm was ordered on the eighth ; but, on approaching the walls, it was found that the place was deserted. Little loss had attended the previous operations.<sup>1</sup> The fall of Ras-al-Khaima, and that of Zaya, a strong fort to the north of Ras-al Khaima, against which a detachment, under Major Warren, had been sent, struck terror into the neighbouring tribes, and their Sheikhs, repairing to the British camp, assented to the articles of a treaty proposed by the British Commander, the terms of which they could not have thoroughly understood, and to which it was not to be expected that they would long adhere. The main stipulations were, that they should abstain from plunder and piracy ; from killing their prisoners ; from quarrelling with one another ; and from trafficking in slaves. Their ships were also to carry a flag, indicative of their being friendly to the British, and to be furnished with the papers which are regarded, among European States, as the requisite testimonials of a purely commercial navigation. The flag and the papers must have perplexed the Sheikhs ; but they thought it prudent to accede to them, as well as to the more intelligible and important conditions. After reducing and demolishing some minor pirate ports, the squadron returned to India, leaving a Political Agent at Ras-al-Khaima. After a short interval he was directed to demolish the place, and to remove to the Isle of Kishmé, where a small military detachment had been stationed, to secure the adherence of the Arabs to their engagements. This arrangement necessitated a second expedition.

The capture of an Indian trading vessel having been ascribed to the Arab tribe, the Beni-Bu-Ali, of Askara, near Ras-al-Had, a Company's cruizer was sent to inquire into the circumstances. The boats not being able to ap-

<sup>1</sup> Major Molesworth of the 47th and four privates were killed. two officers and forty-nine men were wounded.

proach the land, the pilot, an Arab, swam to the shore to communicate with a number of the tribe who were assembled on the beach. The man was killed, the boats were fired upon, and the cruizer returned to Kishmé, when Captain Thompson, the Political Agent, conceived himself authorised to adopt military proceedings against the tribe in concert with the Imam of Muscat, whose authority the Beni-Bu-Ali had thrown off. Six companies of Sipahis with six guns, were landed at Soor, and being joined by a thousand of the Imam's troops, advanced to a town belonging to the Imam, the Beled-Beni-Bu-Haran, within three miles of the enemy's principal station. The Beni-Bu-Ali were so far intimidated, that they declared themselves willing to give up the murderers of the pilot, but they were required to lay down their arms, with which demand they refused to comply. On the following morning the troops marched against the Arabs, who, although not more than six hundred strong, came resolutely forward to meet them. The Sipahis advanced in column: they were ordered to form line and charge; but the order had been delayed too long, and before the change of formation could be effected, the Arabs were amid the disordered files, striking down the men with long sharp swords: a general confusion and rout ensued: six officers<sup>1</sup> and four hundred Sipahis were killed, and the whole must have perished, but for the exertions of the Imam, who himself received a wound. The fugitives took shelter in the town, and repelled their pursuers from its walls, on which they resumed their retreat, and, with the troops of the Imam, returned to Muscat. Although disapproving of the attack upon the Beni-Bu-Ali, whose share in any piratical depredations was never substantiated, the Government of Bombay judged it necessary to redeem the credit of the British arms, and to maintain unimpaired the influence established in the Persian Gulph: a force was therefore sent against the offending tribe, commanded by Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, which landed at Soor in the end of February. While encamped near Soor, the Arabs made a night attack, in which they occasioned considerable dis-

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenants Lawrie, Perrin, and Walsh, 2nd battallion of the 1st regiment; Price, of the Engineers; Short, of the marine battalion; and Assistant-Surgeon Higham.

BOOK II. order, and inflicted some loss, but the assailants were  
 CHAP. XI. repulsed, and the troops marched against the town. The

1821.

Beni-Bu-Ali did not wait for the assault, but met the British troops on a spacious plain; they displayed the same desperate courage which had characterized their former conflicts, and were defeated only after a sanguinary engagement, in which nearly the whole of the tribe were killed or wounded. The town was cannonaded and surrendered—the Sheikh and part of the male survivors were sent prisoners to Bombay; others were made over to the Imam; the women and children, about a thousand in number, were transferred to a hostile tribe, and the Beni-Bu-Ali, who professed to trace their origin to the days of Mohammed, ceased for a while to be numbered among the tribes of Oman.<sup>1</sup> Their extermination might have been a political necessity, but the first attack upon them was an act wholly uncalled for by the British interests, and was a concession to those of the Imam of Muscat unwarranted by the instructions of the Government of Bombay. To obviate the recurrence of such an error, the Imam was apprized that it was not the intention of the British authorities to take any future part in disputes between him and the Arab tribes. The office of Political Agent in the Gulph was shortly afterwards abolished, and the station of Kishmé abandoned. Its occupation had given serious umbrage to the Court of Persia, which claimed the sovereignty of the island, and threatened the employment of a force against the detachment, if it were not voluntarily withdrawn.

The opposite side of the Arabian peninsula also witnessed a display of the power of British India. A commercial intercourse had long subsisted between Mocha and the Indian continent, and a British officer resided at the former to superintend the interests of the Company's subjects. In 1817, the Dola, or Governor, of Mocha on behalf of the Imam of Senna, taking offence at the proceedings of the Resident, had him seized, dragged from

<sup>1</sup> After two years' detention at Bombay the prisoners were allowed to return with presents, and with money to rebuild their town. The tribe was thus restored, although in a state much inferior to that which it had enjoyed before the war. They seem, contrary to the wont of their countrymen, to have cherished no vindictive feeling; receiving Lieutenant Welsted, when he visited them at the end of 1835, with the most cordial hospitality.—*Travels in Arabia*, i. 59.

his dwelling, and cruelly beaten. The factory was pillaged by the townspeople. Redress having been vainly demanded, it was determined to obtain it by arms; but it was not found convenient to carry this resolution into effect earlier than the middle of 1820. His Majesty's ship *Eden*, Captain Lock, with three of the Company's cruizers and a flotilla of gun boats was then despatched to Mocha, to demand satisfaction for the treatment of the Resident, the punishment of the *Dola*, and compensation for the property plundered and destroyed. The terms were rejected, and the squadron fired on, which was followed by the bombardment of the town. A truce was then solicited, and granted, until a definitive arrangement should be accomplished, but no disposition being manifested to accede to the terms demanded, the firing was resumed, and the town nearly laid in ashes. Troops and seamen were sent on shore, who stormed the forts by which Mocha was defended, and destroyed them. The Arabs were at length intimidated, and envoys from the Imam brought the offending *Dola* a prisoner on board the squadron; a satisfactory apology was made, and pecuniary compensation promised. The *Dola*, after a short detention, was enlarged and pardoned. The opportunity was taken to place the British factory on a more secure and independent footing, and to relieve the trade of some of its burthens. The Resident was allowed to have a military guard, to ride on horseback, and to have access to the Imam whenever he deemed it expedient. A cemetery was allowed for the use of the Christian members of the factory, and all its dependants were to be under the protection of the British flag, anchorage fees were discontinued, and the duties payable on imports and exports were reduced; the engagement to this effect was signed by the Imam of Senna.<sup>1</sup>

The proceedings of the Bengal Government, to which we shall next advert, were directed to a different quarter; and regarded the interests of the British nation in a still greater degree than those of its Indian dependencies. We have already seen, that in ignorance or disregard of the commercial value of Java, or in the excess of their liberality, the British Ministers had restored it uncondi-

BOOK II.

CHAP. XI.

1821.

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Imam of Senna, 15th January, 1821.—Coll. of Treaties. Hastings Papers, cxxii.



BOOK II. tionally to the Dutch. Some excuse might perhaps be  
 CHAP. XI. urged in consideration of the claims of an unoffending  
 1818. people, and it might have been regarded as ungenerous to  
 punish Holland for its compulsory connexion with the  
 French Emperor ; but the same plea was not available for  
 the omission of any stipulation for an equivalent, and of  
 any provision, either for the commercial objects of Great  
 Britain in the Eastern Seas, or for the permanence of those  
 engagements which had been contracted with the native  
 Princes of the Malay Archipelago by the British func-  
 tionaries, during the period of their political ascendancy.  
 The consequences were obvious. The Dutch were no  
 sooner repossessed of Java, than they sought to exclude  
 all commercial and political competition from among the  
 neighbouring States, and to regain that supremacy which  
 had enabled them to monopolize both the authority and  
 the trade of the Malay principalities. They would prob-  
 ably have succeeded in shutting out British vessels from  
 all commerce with the islands of the Archipelago, in  
 closing all direct communication between the Indian and  
 China seas, and in subjecting the valuable trade of India  
 and of Great Britain with China to serious interruption  
 and embarrassment, had not the foresight and energy of  
 Sir Thomas Raffles anticipated and defeated their projects ;  
 and, in despite of their intrigues, and of the indifference  
 or ignorance of the British Ministry, insured for his coun-  
 trymen, a commanding position in the very heart of those  
 regions from which they were menaced with exclusion.

After quitting the Government of Java when its resto-  
 ration to the Dutch was determined, Sir T. S. Raffles was  
 appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, on the  
 island of Sumatra : he assumed charge of his Government  
 in March, 1818, and was immediately involved in discus-  
 sions with the Government of Batavia.<sup>1</sup> His first object  
 was to establish the predominance of the British through-  
 out Sumatra, and obtain a port on the southern coast  
 which should command one of the two great entrances of  
 the Archipelago, the Straits of Sunda. With this view, he  
 traversed the island, entered into treaties with native

<sup>1</sup> He arrived at Bencoolen on the 22nd of March. On the 7th of April fol-  
 lowing, he writes, "I am already at issue with the Dutch Government."—  
 Mem. 293.

chiefs, between whom and Europeans no intercourse had ever before existed, and began to form a settlement at Simanka Bay. These arrangements were disapproved of and annulled by the Government of Bengal, which, although not unaware of the unfriendly and exclusive character of the policy of the Dutch,<sup>1</sup> was unwilling to disturb the amicable relations formed between the parent countries, and directed every measure of offence to be carefully avoided, pending the reference of all disputed questions to the authorities in England.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XI.

1819.

In the convention with Holland of August 1814, by which her settlements in the East were restored to her, no provision was made for the continued observance of those compacts which had been formed by the English while in the occupation of Java, with the independent native States. The Dutch immediately annulled them. Among others, the Sultan of Palembang, who had been raised to his regal dignity by the English, was deposed by them, and the chief restored whom the English had deprived of his authority, chiefly on account of his barbarous treatment of the members of the Dutch factory. An officer whom the Governor of Bencoolen had deputed to protect the Sultan, was seized and carried to Batavia; and an appeal made by the reigning Sultan to those who had raised him to power was unavailing, and he was seized and carried a prisoner to Batavia along with an English officer who had been sent by Sir T. Raffles to protest against the aggression committed by the Government of Java against an independent Prince and an ally of the British. It was not considered,<sup>2</sup> and the Dutch

<sup>1</sup> Lord Hastings recorded it as his opinion, "that the proceedings of the Netherlands' authorities since the arrival of the Commissioners-general to receive charge of the Dutch colonies, had been actuated by a spirit of ambition, by views of boundless aggrandisement and rapacity, and by a desire to obtain the power of monopolising the commerce of the Eastern Archipelago, and excluding the English from those advantages which they had long enjoyed, and which they only wished to share in common with other nations of the earth."—Mem. of Sir T. S. Raffles, 304.

<sup>2</sup> The Governor-General held that "the Dutch were bound by principles of the clearest equity, as well as by the implied conditions of the transfer, to leave the relations between the Palembang and Java as they found them, unless the Sultan violated his engagement. As the case, although well known at home, had not been noticed either by the Court of Directors or his Majesty's Ministers, in the Convention of 1814, the Government of India had no choice but to obey, leaving to the Dutch the odium of disregarding a moral and political obligation."—Mem. of the Governor-General. The desertion of the Sultan was the more indefensible, as it was no longer pos-

BOOK II. were encouraged to extend their claims of supremacy  
 CHAP. XI. over all the native princes, whom it was for their interest  
 1818. to controul, an invariable article of the engagements into  
 which they were compelled to enter being the exclusion  
 of the ships of all other European nations from their  
 ports.

Notwithstanding this acquiescence in the pretensions of the Dutch Government of Java, the Government of Bengal considered it necessary "to adopt precautions with a view to arrest the injury and degradation which could not fail to ensue from a listless submission, to its unbounded pretensions," and determined to strengthen and extend its own connexions in the Archipelago, so as to preserve the free passage of the Straits of Malacca, the other great thoroughfare to the China seas. The Governor of Bencoolen, the soundness of whose views was fully acknowledged, although his zeal was considered precipitate, was armed with additional powers for this purpose, and was appointed Agent to the Governor-General, in charge of the British interests to the eastward of the Straits. The northern entrance was already in some degree under British influence, by the possession of the stations of Bencoolen and Penang. Some port, however, being still wanted, more advanced on the line to China, and more centrically situated with respect to the numerous islands of the Archipelago, a negotiation was opened with the Sultan of Rhio for the construction of a factory within his territory; but before the engagement was formally executed, a Dutch ship of war intimidated the Sultan into a refusal to ratify it, and into the formation of a treaty with the Government of Java, by which Rhio was closed to European, or rather to English commerce. The same course was pursued at the other ports in the vicinity, and the chiefs of Lingin, Siak, Johore, and Pahang, were deterred from admitting British vessels into their harbours.

While exulting in having thus baffled the projects of their rivals, the Dutch authorities were confounded by the intelligence that a British settlement had sprung up in a

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sible to restore the price which he had paid the English for their services. The island of Banca was exchanged for the factory of Cochin by the treaty of 1814.

more eligible situation than any yet attempted. Sir Thomas Raffles had early contemplated Singapore as possessing the qualifications requisite for the prosperity of the trade with the eastern nations, and had obtained the concurrence of the Supreme Government in its occupation. This was a small island about twenty-five miles in length, and eleven broad, lying off the south-eastern extremity of the Malacca peninsula, and divided from it by a narrow strait. It possessed an excellent harbour situated in the route of all ships passing through the straits; was within six days' sail of China, and in the heart of the Malay states, of which it had once been the capital. It was now covered with wilderness, and inhabited by about a hundred and fifty fishermen. It was a dependancy of Johore, a principality on the peninsula of Malacca, but claiming rule over the islands on either coast—including Lingin and Rhio; and it was by a grant from a Sultan of Johore that Singapore became a British settlement. The Dutch disputed the title of the Raja, who had been living in so much obscurity for many years, that it required the local knowledge, and the interested policy of Sir Thomas Raffles to discover him. His pretensions were, however, indisputable, as the eldest son of the last acknowledged Sultan; but who, in consequence of his absence from Lingin, where his father died, had been supplanted by his younger brother, a supercession not unauthorised by Malay usage, although incompatible with Mohammedan law.<sup>1</sup> It suited the British authorities to substantiate his claim, and that of the Dutch to contest it; but the activity of Sir T. Raffles, in occupying the island with a military detachment, and hoisting the British flag, imposed upon the Dutch Commissioners the necessity of expelling him by force, an extreme measure which they were unprepared to hazard. They were contented, therefore, to complain to the Bengal Government, and to enter a protest against the occupation of Singapore, as contrary to the treaty which they had contracted with the Sultan of Lingin, its lawful sovereign, in which he had engaged never to transfer any portion of his territories to a European power without their approbation.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XI.

1819.

<sup>1</sup> Political and Statistical account of the British Settlements of the Straits of Malacca, by Lieutenant Newbold, II. 51. Raffles mentions that neither of the sons was duly acknowledged or regularly installed. *Memoirs*, 327.



BOOK II. They were told in reply, that it was the deliberate intention  
 CHAP. XI. of the British Government to resist their spirit of exclusive-  
 1819. ness and aggrandisement, and protect British commerce from  
 their jealousy and injustice ; that they had no right to demand the restoration of the territories which they had never possessed ; to reduce to vassalage the native Princes, who had always been treated by the British, while holding Java, as independent, nor to compel them to enter into engagements, having for their object the exclusion of British vessels from their ports ; that the actual occupation of Singapore had anticipated the sanction of the Bengal Government ; but that, as it had been effected, the settlement would not be withdrawn upon a simple demand. It was notorious that the Dutch had no connection with Singapore in 1795, when their possessions generally fell into the hands of the English ; and, consequently, the present claim was one of recent suggestion, and, finally, that it was useless to discuss the merits of the transaction, as the question had been referred to the authorities in Europe, and must await their decision. Renewed negotiations were, accordingly, set on foot, and a second treaty with Holland established a modification of the existing relations by which these disputes were terminated. The British settlement on Sumatra was ceded to the Dutch, in exchange for Malacca and the settlements on the continent of India. The British withdrew their objections to the occupation of Billeton by the Dutch, and the latter theirs to the possession of Singapore. Admission to the ports of either nation was regulated by fixed moderate duties, and an unrestricted commercial intercourse was permitted to both with any of the native powers in the Eastern Seas. The Moluccas, or Spice Islands, were alone exempted from free access. The officers of both governments were forbidden to form any new settlements without previous sanction from Europe. The British were precluded from forming settlements on any of the islands south of the Straits of Singapore, or entering into treaties with their princes ; and the Dutch engaged to observe a similar forbearance with regard to the peninsula of Malacca.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch were much the best informed as to

<sup>1</sup> see Newbold's Remarks on the Treaty, i. 15 ; and the Treaty itself, *Ibid.* App. dated 17th March, 1824. The debate in the Commons, May, 1824,

the respective value of the reciprocal stipulations, and were the greatest gainers by the treaty. Singapore, however, rapidly rose into importance,<sup>1</sup> and the zeal of Sir Thomas Raffles, which was so unpalatable to the British Ministry as at one time to have threatened his removal, was rewarded by the growing prosperity, and the acknowledged value of the settlement which he had founded.<sup>2</sup>

Before leaving this part of the Eastern world, we may notice the attempts that were made, about the same period as the formation of the settlement of Singapore, to extend the influence and relations of the Indian Government in the same direction. The establishment of an intimate connection with Achin on the northern extremity of Sumatra had been long considered desirable for the protection of the commercial interests of the Company, and had been latterly recommended by the policy of anticipating the Dutch, who were expected to take advantage of the distractions of Achin, and by their means acquire a paramount authority in the kingdom. The sultan of Achin was no longer the potentate who could cover the adjacent seas and islands with numerous fleets and armies, threatening the Portuguese colonies with destruction,<sup>3</sup> or with whom the sovereign of England could carry on a correspondence on terms of equality.<sup>4</sup> The principality had

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upon the conditions of the treaty, only shows how little the House knew of the subject.

<sup>1</sup> In 1822, the population had risen to ten thousand.—Mem. 525. In 1836-7 it was nearly thirty thousand. In 1822, the value of the exports and imports exceeded eight millions of dollars; in 1835-6, fourteen millions of dollars.—Newbold, i. 291. In 1844-5, their amount was stated in the public returns to be nearly five millions sterling. In addition to its advantageous position, Singapore, which is merely an entrepot where imports are re-exported, owes its prosperity to its having been from the first a free port; no duties being levied.

<sup>2</sup> Shortly before his return to Europe, in November, 1823, Sir T. Raffles writes—"I have heard nothing more of the question with the Dutch, but doubt not it will be agitated on my arrival in England. I rely more upon the support of the mercantile community than upon any liberal views of the Ministry, by whom I have been opposed as much as by the Dutch."—Mem. 561. At an earlier period, Mr. Charles Grant, the distinguished Director, wrote to Sir T. Raffles—"You are probably aware of the obstacles which have been opposed to the adoption of your measures, and even threatened your position in the service"—Mem. 445.

<sup>3</sup> Malacca was repeatedly besieged by the Achinese. In 1615, the King, Paduka Sri, sailed to the attack of that city with a fleet of five hundred sail, carrying a force computed at sixty thousand men. The attack having failed, it was renewed in 1628 with a force of twenty thousand strong, which was defeated with great slaughter. From this relgn the power of Achin declined.—Marsden, Hist. of Sumatra, 429.

<sup>4</sup> Sir James Lancaster, in the first voyage on account of the East India Company, in 1600, carried to the King a letter from Queen Elizabeth, "to the

BOOK II. declined from its extent over nearly half the large island  
 CHAP. XI. of Sumatra, to a limited tract at its northern termination,  
 1819. over which its sovereign ruled with a feeble and uncertain  
 sway. The reigning prince, Jawahir Alem, had been  
 engaged almost from the beginning of his reign in 1802 in  
 a struggle with some of his principal chiefs, who at length  
 conspired to depose him, and invited Syf-ul-Alem, the son  
 of an opulent merchant of Penang, to assume the regal  
 authority. Syf-ul-Alem supported by his father's wealth,<sup>1</sup>  
 succeeded for a time in holding a divided sway, but finally  
 the hereditary prince recovered his ascendancy and was  
 acknowledged by the Supreme Government of India as  
 the Sultan of Achin, and a treaty was entered into with  
 him, by which the British Government engaged to effect the  
 removal of his rival, Syf-ul-Alem, on condition of the  
 latter being granted a fixed pension by the Sultan; and in  
 return for permission to carry on a free trade with all the  
 ports of his dominions. He also promised to receive a  
 British Resident, to exclude the subjects of any other  
 European power from a permanent habitation in his  
 country, and to enter into no treaty or negotiation with  
 any power, prince, or potentate, unless with the knowledge  
 and consent of the British Government. The subsequent  
 relinquishment of Sumatra to the Dutch cancelled these  
 engagements and put an end to a connexion with Achin,

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great and mightie King of Achem (Achin), our loving brother." Her Majesty alludes particularly to the successful hostilities carried on between Achin and the Portuguese. "It hath appeared unto us, that your Highness and your royall familie, fathers and grandfathers, have, by the grace of God and their valour, sworne not onely to defend your owne kingdomes, but also to give warres unto the Portugals, in the lands which they possesse, as namely in Malaca, in the yeere of the Humane Redemption 1575, under the conduct of your valiant Capitaine, Raya-macota, with their great loss, and the perpetuall honour of your Highnesse crowne and kingdome."—*Purchas*. i. 154. In 1613, Achin was visited by Capt. Best, who brought a letter from King James to Paduka Sri Sultan, by whom the treaty concluded with Lancaster was confirmed.—*Ibid.* 462.

<sup>1</sup> His interests were also warmly advocated by a party in the Penang Government; but open interference in favour of either of the competitors was prohibited by the Supreme Government of India. Sir T. Stamford Raffles and Captain Combe were sent to Achin as commissioners in 1818, to ascertain the true state of the case; and although at first violently disagreeing, they at last united in recommending the claims of the old Sultan. Syf-ul-Alem was accordingly desired to desist from the contest, and to be content with a pension, payable nominally by the Sultan of Achin, but virtually by the Government of Penang.—*Anderson's Achin and Ports of Sumatra. Memoirs of Sir T. S. Raffles*, 396. Treaty with the King of Achin, 22nd of April, 1819. *Treaties, Hastings' Papers*, cxi,

which with various interruptions had subsisted for more than two centuries.

About the same time the attention of the Government of India was directed to the advantages of a commercial intercourse with the countries of Siam and Cochin China, which from having constituted an important branch of the trade of Europe with the East had fallen into neglect, and had finally been discontinued. It appeared advisable to the Governor-General to attempt the revival of the commerce; and Mr. J. Crawford was accordingly despatched in the character of agent to the Governor-General on a mission to the two states in question, in the hope that it might be found practicable to establish with them a permanent and mutually advantageous communication. The mission left Bengal in November, 1821, and arrived at Bangkok, the capital of Siam, in the following March. The members were admitted to a solitary audience of the King, but were referred to the ministers for the transaction of business. Nothing was transacted: the court of Siam ignorant of its own interests, suspicious of the real views of foreign visitors who came unbidden and unwished for, and affecting a majesty little inferior to divine, manifested no disposition to encourage the advances made by the British Government; and after treating the mission with various marks of indifference and indignity, dismissed it with an unmeaning and evasive treaty of commerce, and an arrogant letter to the Government of Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the ordinary motives influencing barbarous states, there was a political transaction which contributed to render the temper of the court of Siam unfavourable to an intimate intercourse—the asylum given to the Ex-Raja of Queda in the settlement of Penang. This was a petty potentate, governing an inconsiderable territory opposite to Penang, which itself had formed part of his possessions and had been ceded by him to the British in consideration of an annual quit-rent. The king of Siam claimed the allegiance of Queda, and in a recent

<sup>1</sup> It was promised that the duties on British commerce should not be increased, and that the Superintendent of the Customs should afford all assistance to the English merchants in buying and selling with the merchants of Siam. In the letter, it is said that his Siamese Majesty was much gratified by the "offerings" (the presents) made by the Governor of Bengal.—Crawford's Mission to Siam, i. 266.



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dispute with the Burmans, had called upon him for his military quota. The Queda chief delayed compliance with the demand, and denied the right of Siam to anything more than a complimentary annual acknowledgment of its superior dignity and power. The Siamese troops were, in consequence, directed against Queda, and the Raja, unable to resist them, fled and made his escape to Penang, where he was permitted to reside and was protected against molestation. The Siamese ministers were anxious to obtain possession of the person of the Raja; no formal demand was made, but it was intimated that his seizure and delivery would be considered as a friendly act; and they were evidently disappointed on being told that such a violation of hospitality was incompatible with British principles. The reception given by the British Government to the king of Queda and the refusal to give him up, wounded the vanity of the Siamese court, and exercised a prejudicial influence upon the objects of the mission.

In the middle of July, the mission proceeded to Cochin China, and arrived at the capital in August. Much personal civility was exhibited by the officers of state, but the king declined to receive the letter and presents from the Governor-General, whom, as exercising a delegated authority only, he refused to recognise as the equal of a king: and on the same account would not condescend to admit the envoy to an audience. Permission was, however, readily granted to English vessels to trade with the principal ports of the kingdom; and it was promised that they should be treated on the same footing as the Chinese. The mission left in October, having gained little in the way of political or commercial advantage, but bringing back much novel and valuable information respecting countries little known in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Returning to Continental India, we have now to notice the state of the relations between the British Government and its subsidiary allies, as they subsisted after the termination of the Mahratta war. In the west of India, as we have already seen, the Gaekwar had been obliged to accede to a new treaty, stipulating for the augmentation of the forces which he was to maintain by the cession of ad-

<sup>1</sup> Journal of an Embassy to Siam and Cochin China, by J. Crawford. Account of a Mission to Siam and Cochin China, by D. Finlayson.

ditional territory. The measure was based upon the necessity of undertaking the whole military defence of Guzerat, and upon the advantages accruing to the Gaekwar from the treaty of Poona. These advantages were considerable ; and apparently the finances of the state were in a sufficiently flourishing condition to bear the cost of additional expenditure. The arrangement was not altogether palatable to the court of Baroda, but its execution was unattended by any interruption of the good understanding which had been so long maintained between the two powers.

The conduct of the affairs of Guzerat had been entrusted, as has been mentioned, to Fateh Sing, the brother of the Gaekwar, with the co-operation and assistance of the British Resident. Fateh Sing died in June, 1818. As the combined administration had been attended with beneficial results, the arrangement was continued, and Syaji Rao, the younger brother of the deceased Prince, a youth of nineteen, was raised to the office of Dewan, or Prime Minister of Finance, the duties of which he was to discharge in concert with the Resident. The immature age of the Prince, and the state of parties at Baroda required, indeed, the continuance of British support, notwithstanding the causes in which intimate interference had originated,—the ruinous state of the revenues, and the embarrassments of the Gaekwar,—were supposed to exist no longer. The union of authority was not of long continuance. Towards the end of the following year, died the imbecile Anand Rao, the Gaekwar, whose nominal rule had been prolonged for so many years entirely by the support of the British Government. His death altered the aspect of affairs materially. Syaji Rao succeeded to the throne, and naturally concluded, that if he was fit to govern his country in the capacity of Dewan, he was equally capable of governing it as Raja, and it was no longer possible for the Resident to exercise the real administration, through the machinery of an incompetent minister, and an inefficient monarch.

The pretensions of the Gaekwar to independent authority were generally recognised ; but it was considered to be inconsistent with the security of British interests and the prosperity of the country, to withdraw altogether from

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1818.

the control over the expenditure which the Resident had hitherto maintained. In order to place the connexion, which was to be continued for the future, on a firm and lasting basis, the Governor of Bombay, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, deemed it expedient to repair in person to Baroda, and to discuss with Syaji Rao the principles which were hereafter to regulate the intercourse between the two states. The necessity of prolonged interposition in the financial administration of Guzerat proved to be even more urgent than had been expected. Instead of a surplus revenue and an unembarrassed exchequer, it was discovered that the expenses of the two last years had exceeded the receipts, and that a debt, amounting to more than a crore of rupees,<sup>1</sup> still hung heavily upon the resources of the Government. The troops were also largely in arrear, and the tributaries of the Gaekwar in Kattiwar<sup>2</sup> and the Mahi-Kanta had been reduced to severe distress partly by the consequence of unfavourable seasons, but still more by the oppressive exactions of the agents of the native Government. It became necessary to remedy these evils. Loans were raised for the discharge of the existing debts at a reduced rate of interest, upon the security of assignments of the revenues, and, as before, under the guarantee of the British Government for their ultimate repayment. The collections made from the Gaekwar's tributaries were transferred entirely to British agency. Engagements were finally concluded with Syaji particularising the extent to which he was expected to acquiesce in the control of the Resident. All foreign affairs were to remain under the exclusive management of the British Government. The Gaekwar was to administer without restriction the internal government, provided he fulfilled the engagements for which the British Government was guarantee; but the Resident was to be apprised of all proposed financial measures at the commencement of each year, was to have free access to the public accounts whenever he required to

<sup>1</sup> Of this sum 27 lakhs had been borrowed for the pay of the Gaekwar's contingent serving in Malwa, and 25 lakhs more were still owing to the troops.

<sup>2</sup> In 1813, a famine occurred in Kattiwar, which was said to have caused the death of one-third of the population. It was followed by an epidemic disease, of which also great numbers died.—MS. Rec.

inspect them, and was to be consulted before any expense of magnitude was incurred. Whatever guarantees to ministers or other individuals had been granted by the British Government were to be scrupulously observed. The Gaekwar was to choose his own minister in communication with the British Government. In all cases of emergency, that Government was to offer its advice, but it was not to interpose in ordinary details, nor was its native agent to take a share as formerly in the Gaekwar's executive administration. With these arrangements Syaji was compelled to be content ; and however they might encroach upon his independence, they provided more fully than an uncontrolled freedom of action was likely to provide, for his own comfort and the security and welfare of his dominions.'

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1820.

During the progress of these transactions, the British troops had been employed on various occasions, in suppressing tumults in different parts of the dependencies of Guzerat. The petty state of Pahlampur, the most remote of the divisions of the Mahi-Kanta, or country west of the Mahi river tributary to the Gaekwar, had long been in a state of anarchy. The ruling chief was a Mohammedan, the descendant of an Afghan adventurer, who established himself as Nawab, or Dewan, in that part of the frontier. About the year 1800, the mercenary soldiers in the service of Firoz Khan, the Dewan, expelled him, and placed his kinsman Shamshir Khan, the chief of Disa, on the Musnud. They afterwards recalled Firoz Khan, but again mutinying put him to death. It was then thought expedient by the Resident to interfere, and a British force was sent to Pahlampur in 1802, by which the mercenaries were reduced to order, and Fateh Khan, the son of Firoz Khan, a minor, was made Dewan, under the guardianship and regency of Shamshir Khan. When the young prince was old enough to manage his own affairs, the regent, as usual, was reluctant to relinquish his power ; and continuing to act as regent, retained the prince in a state of captivity. Fateh Khan appealed to Baroda, and a division of the subsidiary force, under Colonel Elrington, marched to his succour, supported by a division of the Gaekwar's troops,

<sup>1</sup> Extract from a minute of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, 3rd May, 1820.—Report Commons Comm. 1832. Political App. 392.



BOOK II. under Major Miles, who was appointed Political Agent on  
 CHAP. XI. the frontier. The strongholds in the mountains in the  
 1820. interests of Shamshir Khan were taken, and Disa and  
 Pahlanpur recovered. The Nawab was rescued and re-  
 seated on the Musnud. A Gaekwar detachment was  
 placed in charge of one of the gateways of the capital,  
 a Political Agent was appointed to superintend the affairs  
 of the principality, and hold in check the turbulent bor-  
 der chiefs of the vicinity, as well as the robber tribes of  
 the adjacent desert.

A second expedition against the piratical and plundering  
 tribes of the northern coast of the peninsula of Guzerat  
 became necessary in the beginning of 1820. The Wagars  
 of Okamandal, encouraged by the withdrawal of the Bri-  
 tish troops for the Mahratta war, rose in insurrection, de-  
 feated the Gaekwar's troops, surprised Dwaraka and Bate,  
 and possessed themselves of the whole district. The fort  
 of Viravali, defended by an Englishman in the Gaekwar's  
 service, held out for some time, but was at length aban-  
 doned, and the province remained during the following  
 months in the hands of the insurgents. As soon as the  
 season admitted, an expedition, commanded by the Ho-  
 nourable Lieutenant-Colonel Stanhope, was sent by sea  
 against the sacred city of Dwaraka,<sup>1</sup> the chief seat of the  
 rebels: the troops were landed on the 24th of November,  
 and, after a short bombardment, the town was carried by  
 escalade, when the garrison, composed of Arabs and Sind-  
 his, retreated to the great temple, within whose lofty and  
 solid walls they considered themselves secure from all  
 ordinary attacks. An entrance was, however, effected from  
 the roof of an adjacent house; and after a severe struggle  
 the defenders were driven out. In endeavouring to es-  
 cape, they were encountered by different detachments,  
 posted to intercept their flight to the thickets surround-  
 ing the town, and were nearly all destroyed; of five hun-  
 dred not more than one hundred escaped. This success  
 was followed by the surrender of the chiefs who had taken  
 up strong positions in the adjacent thickets, and by the  
 unconditional surrender of the Rana of Bate, who was at

<sup>1</sup> The force was composed of H. M.'s 65th regiment, two battalions of Bom-  
 bay infantry, 2nd battalion 3rd, and 1st batt. 5th, details of artillery, and the  
 1st regiment Native cavalry. The Nautilus cruiser convoyed the transports.

the head of the insurrection. The garrison of Bate also surrendered, on condition of being transported to the opposite coast of Cutch, and the district of Okamandal was restored once more to tranquillity and obedience.

In the centre of the peninsula of Guzerat, a similar cause, the absence of regular troops, was followed by like disturbances. A family feud arrayed one branch of a Katti tribe, the Koman Kattis, in arms against another; and as both parties assembled mercenary troops which they had not adequate means of maintaining, they added to their resources by plundering the neighbouring districts of Junagerh and Bhaonagar. The suppression of disorder in Okamandal permitted the employment of a portion of the division in a different quarter; and Colonel Stanhope marched with a detachment of European and a battalion of Native Infantry, against the Kattis. They were easily reduced to submission, their principal fort of Mitiala was taken with little difficulty, the mercenaries were compelled to quit the country, and the chiefs obliged to submit their quarrel to the decision of the court of Baroda. Although the subordination which had been now established for some years in the centre and south of Kattiwar had somewhat impaired the martial spirit of its population, yet these occurrences sufficiently proved that tranquillity could be preserved solely by the continued presence of a British military force.

A similar state of disorder prevailed in the territories of the Nizam, and obedience to the Government was alone maintained by frequent recourse to military coercion. It was inflicted, however, chiefly by the reformed brigades of the Nizam, who, under the command of British officers, and receiving their pay with a greater degree of punctuality than the other troops of the state, were little less effective than the subsidiary force. They had been fully organized during the late war, and amounted at this time to five regiments of cavalry, eight of infantry, three small corps of artillery, and a corps of engineers. With the termination of hostilities their field-services had ceased, but they were not suffered to remain idle in a country where extortionate exaction on one side and refractory turbulence on the other furnished repeated occasion for their employment. Among the duties of this nature which

BOOK II. devolved upon them was the reduction of the strong fort  
CHAP. XI. of Nowa, held by a garrison of Arabs in the pay of some

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1820.

Hindu Zemindars, who had risen in insurrection and plundered the neighbouring districts. A detachment of the Nizam's reformed troops, under Major Pitman, marched against this place, situated above 24 miles north of Nandain, on the Godaveri. On the 7th January 1819, approaches were regularly effected, and the garrison having refused to surrender unconditionally, the fort was carried by storm after the destruction of part of its defences by the successful explosion of a mine on the 31st of the month. Many of the garrison fell in the storm, the rest endeavouring to escape, were intercepted by the horse, and were almost all put to death.

Notwithstanding the severity of the examples thus made from time to time, it was found impossible to preserve tranquillity as long as the vicious system of the administration was unreformed. The Nizam continued sullenly estranged from public affairs, and when importuned for an opinion upon any subject of Government, replied that he had no interest in the matter, and that it would be settled by Chandu Lal and the Resident. Chandu Lal, although a minister of unquestioned ability and diligence, and the only individual about the court capable of discharging the functions of his office, was profusely prodigal in his expenditure of the public revenue, and as rapaciously insatiable in his exactions. The prodigality by which he was characterised, originated in a great degree in his apprehensions. Strong as he might have felt himself in the support of the British Government, he knew that he was disliked by the Nizam and odious to the Courtiers, and that projects were constantly agitated for his removal and disgrace. To appease this enmity, and to neutralize its inveteracy, he distributed money without limit to the extravagant and profligate nobles, bribes to all their retainers and connexions,<sup>1</sup> and large sums to the private hoards of the Nizam himself. He maintained also

<sup>1</sup> In a conversation with the Resident, Munir-ul-Mulk, the nominal minister, and uncle of one of the Begums, he affirmed that the whole of the Nizam's family was bribed, that every one of his own servants was in Chandu Lal's pay, and that even his own mother-in-law sent to the minister a daily report of the occurrences of the inmost recesses of his house.—Hyderabad Papers, p. 184.

an expensive and useless body of mercenary troops, and had, in addition to these wasteful and mischievous sources of outlay, to provide for the charge of the reformed troops, which, however servicable to him and to his allies, constituted a heavy burthen upon the resources of the state. To raise the sums required for these disbursements, the minister contracted debts to the bankers and capitalists of Hyderabad, bearing an interest proportionate to his necessities and to his want of credit, and let out the revenues of the country to the highest bidder. The contractor, regarding nothing but the realization of a profit, and armed with powers to enforce payment of his demands, however excessive, levied whatever he could extort from the cultivators by every method of violence and oppression. The consequences were obvious; cultivation fell off, the necessities of life rose almost to famine prices, the people became robbers for the sake of subsistence, or emigrated to other states, and the country was rapidly becoming depopulated. Justice was no longer administered, and the Government was threatened with annihilation. The earnest remonstrances of the Resident had little effect upon the improvident recklessness of the minister, but his representations to the Government of Bengal procured for him authority to exercise a more decided interposition. He was instructed to employ his advice and influence for the establishment of the prosperity of the Nizam's dominions and the happiness of his subjects, and with this view to direct his attention to the following topics :—A salutary control over the internal administration of the country; accurate accounts of all establishments, receipts, and expenditure; the correction of abuses; a proper distribution of justice; the reduction of expense; the amelioration of the revenue system, including the customs and duties levied on commerce; the improvement of resources; the extinction of debt; the efficiency of the troops retained and the discharge of such as were useless. In order to reconcile the Nizam to this interposition, his sons, who had been hitherto detained in Golconda, were allowed to return to Hyderabad, and he was informed that he was at liberty, if he pleased, to assume the title of royalty.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to H. Russell, Esq. Resident at Hyderabad, 22nd Jan. 1820.—Hyderabad Papers, p. 98.



BOOK II. The authority thus granted to the Resident, Mr. Russell,  
 CHAP. XI. was but sparingly applied, and few changes of any im-

1821.

portance were effected in the administration before his departure for Europe. His successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, finding the principality still in a condition of utter disorganization, and considering it to be upon the brink of dissolution,<sup>1</sup> engaged more strenuously in the task of reform, and compelled the assent of the Minister to various unpalatable measures. The chief of these was the abolition of the farming system and the settlement of the revenue for a definite term of years with the village communities, without any intermediate agency. The collections were left in the hands of the fiscal functionaries of the state, but the assessments were made by British officers attached to the Residency, or to the reformed troops;—they were further directed to receive all complaints against any irregularity or extortion on the part of the collectors, and where redress was not procurable from the local authorities to report the proceedings to the Resident. They were also empowered to seize upon all robbers and plunderers, and violators of the public peace. The sphere of this arrangement was limited to the northern division of Hyderabad. Chandu Lal, professing a desire to co-operate in the work, undertook to conduct the settlement of the southern districts. In the latter, the reform was accordingly defeated, the collectors becoming contractors for the amount to be levied; in the former, the beneficial results of the measure were soon apparent in the return of the peasantry to their villages, the revival of cultivation, the suppression of tumult and plunder, and the progressive increase and prosperity of the population.

<sup>1</sup> "The system of administering the revenue was that of farming. Large tracts of country were made over to whomsoever could best afford to pay for them. Portions of these tracts were again sublet to other farmers. Large advances were taken from all in anticipation of the collections, and the tenure was so insecure, that it was a common saying in the country that these farmers proceeded from the capital to their districts, looking over their shoulders to see if other farmers were not following on their heels. These farmers were supreme in the districts which they farmed: they had even the power of life and death in their own hands, and there was no appeal from them or their tax-gatherers to the Government or the laws."—Sutherland's *Sketches of Relations with Native Powers*, p. 55. Captain Sutherland was seven years in Hyderabad, and was "a witness of the afflictions in which the reign of Chandu Lal in the Hyderabad provinces, and of his brother, Govind Baksh, in those of Berar, involved this unhappy country."

Although consenting with seeming cheerfulness to these measures of reform, they were by no means acceptable to the Minister,<sup>1</sup> whose power they curtailed and whose rapacity they disappointed. After the settlements were concluded, therefore, he urged the withdrawal of the British officers, as their presence was no longer necessary to secure the Ryots from oppression, and as it was contrary to established practice and the conditions of the treaty; and when he found that no attention was paid to his representations, he addressed the Governor-General privately, complaining of the unfriendly disposition of the Resident, and of the interference which he had set on foot.<sup>1</sup> The Minister's objections to the principle of interference were not unfounded, and the Governor-General expressed his opinion that it had been disregarded to an extent unwarranted by the character of the alliance which subsisted with the Nizam, and by the tenor of the original treaty. Unwilling, however, to occasion embarrassment, by the abrupt cessation of European superintendence, he directed it to be discontinued gradually, when in the estimation of the Resident it could be done without inconvenience. The Court of Directors took the same view of the case, while, on the other hand, the Resident and the Members of the Supreme Council vindicated the necessity of a continued supervision. The arguments on both sides exhibit the contradictions inherent in the relation of a subsidiary alliance.

The objections to interference with the internal administration of the affairs of a native state are of a twofold description, as affecting the party interfered with and the party interfering. It is an undeniable encroachment upon the independence of the Indian Potentate to wrest from his hands the power of appointing his own ministers, and to insist upon his modelling the practice of his government according to the principles of a policy to which he is a stranger, and the soundness of which, as it regards his own interests at least, he is disposed to dispute. On the other hand, the interference imposes upon the party interfering the irksome task of reforming evils, the origin and nature of which are liable to be misapprehended, and

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Raja Chandu Lal to his Excellency the Governor-General, Aug. 1822, with Enclosures.—Hyderabad Papers, 173.

BOOK II. of which the correction must be attempted with imperfect  
 CHAP. XI. and restricted means, when it has to encounter the open  
 1820. or secret opposition of the Prince, and depends upon the  
 instrumentality of agents ill affected to reforms of any  
 description, and more inclined to thwart than to promote  
 them. The remedies must consequently be of partial  
 and temporary efficacy, and their effects will cease as soon  
 as their application is suspended. To interpose for a  
 season is nugatory ;—to interpose for perpetuity is, in  
 reality, to assume the internal administration of the  
 country. The real question then is—Is the Prince inde-  
 pendent? Has he the right to govern or misgovern his  
 own subjects at his own pleasure?

The degree of independence enjoyed by a prince connected with the British Indian Government by a subsidiary alliance depends, theoretically at least, upon the manner in which it is recognised by the terms of the compact into which he has entered. In the case of the Nizam, the language of the treaty is explicit: it declares that the Honourable Company's Government have no manner of concern with any of the Nizam's children, relations, subjects, or servants, with respect to whom his Highness is absolute;<sup>1</sup>—a declaration utterly incompatible with the reforms introduced into his administration without his sanction, and with the avowed purpose of protecting his subjects against his servants—of withdrawing his peasantry from the authority of the agents of his chief minister and acknowledged representative.

In opposition to the general arguments against interference with the internal administration of a native prince, whose political existence is maintained by a subsidiary force, it is argued that the connection involves the duty of protecting the people against his tyranny. We have taken from them, it is urged, the ability to protect themselves. The great check upon despotism in the East is assumed to be popular insurrection. If left to his own resources, the prince would be unable to put down extensive discontent by force, and would, therefore, either be cautious how he provoked dissatisfaction, or would readily retract the measures which had created it; but, with a large body of disciplined troops at his command, whose

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Nizam, 1800, ch. xv.—Collections of Treaties, 193.

strength renders resistance hopeless. he has nothing to fear from the resentment of his people, and may exercise with impunity any degree of oppression of which his nature is suggestive. It is, therefore, the right of the power which gives him all his strength to require that he shall use it wisely and mercifully, and if he be regardless of the obligation, to throw its shield over those who would otherwise be the victims of a confederacy formed to protect the Prince against foreign enemies and domestic treason, to secure his personal safety, and the integrity of his dominions, but not to screen him from the just indignation of his subjects. But a right to support the people against the will of the sovereign is obviously incompatible with the recognition of his independence, and is further objectionable, inasmuch as it provides a convenient pretext for depriving him of his sovereign character — of virtually accomplishing his deposal. Such an usurpation, however it may be palliated by an undeniable necessity, can scarcely be vindicated as a right, and the necessity must be undeniable before the interposition to this extent can admit of extenuation. It may be doubted also, if the grounds upon which such interference is supposed to be justifiable can be substantiated. There is no record in Indian history of the despotism of its princes having been curbed by popular insurrection. Deposal and death have not unfrequently been the fate of Indian monarchs, but they have been the work of treacherous ministers or of competitors for the throne, in whose selfish policy the people felt little concern. The dread of such an event based upon experience of the past, is not likely to operate as a check upon misgovernment, and its non-occurrence is in no wise attributable to awe of a subsidiary force. Local tumults may not be uncommon, but they arise out of resistance to the exactions of the Collector or farmer of the revenue, not to the authority of the sovereign, and are as often ascribable to the refractory spirit of the military landholder, the Rajput Zemindar, who mounts guns upon the bastions of his fort, as to the extortion of the public functionary. No obligation exists to interfere in such a quarrel; the services of the subsidiary troops are not intended for such purposes, and, if withheld, it cannot then be maintained that the Prince is able to



BOOK II. tyrannise over his subjects only through British assistance  
 CHAP. XI. Revenue disputes between the farmer of the revenue and  
 1820. the Zemindar, cannot be regarded as justifying the appropriation of the sovereign authority; and it is only when universal disorder is to be apprehended, or when the conditions and objects of the alliance are imperilled, that the authoritative interposition of the more powerful of the contracting parties can admit of justification.

Such indeed, it might be said, was the origin of the interference in the case of Hyderabad. The political interests of British India were considered to be endangered by the conduct of the Nizam, and it became necessary for their security to establish a commanding influence in his councils, by disallowing the right of the Prince to nominate his own minister, and compelling him to intrust the office to a person selected by his allies. Chandu Lal had been placed and was retained in his position by the power of the British Government. That power was consequently responsible for the manner in which he discharged his functions, and was bound to correct or cancel whatever arrangements he should make which might be pernicious to the welfare of the state, and to the interests of both prince and people. The interposition of the Resident at Hyderabad was, therefore, authorised by the conduct of preceding governments, in establishing the form of administration which now prevailed, and which, however anomalous, could scarcely be altered with advantage, as, notwithstanding his defects, Chandu Lal was the only person about the Court who was fitted by his talents, industry, and character, to hold the reins of government. The arrangements were, therefore, undisturbed until deference to the sentiments expressed by the Court of Directors, and the adoption of other views by succeeding Governors and Residents, imposed a check upon the employment of British functionaries in the civil administration of the Nizam's territories, and suffered them to relapse into a worse condition even than that from which their extrication had been attempted.

Among the sources of difficulty and embarrassment in which the Administration of Chandu Lal was entangled, and in which the credit of the Government of India became implicated, was his financial connection with a house

of business established at Hyderabad, with the sanction and countenance of the British Government. Mr. William Palmer, who had been engaged for several years in the military service of the Nizam, quitted it for the business of a banker and merchant, in Hyderabad. He was joined at an early period by some of the officers of the Residency, and received the general countenance of the Resident, at whose suggestion an application made to him in 1814, by the house of W. Palmer and Co., for permission to set up a commercial establishment at the capital of the Nizam, was favourably received by the Government of Bengal: he was, consequently, instructed to show the firm every proper degree of encouragement consistent with the provisions of the treaty, and to recommend them to the Nizam's Government. The permission had been obviously anticipated, and the house had already been constituted; but it being formally sanctioned gave additional activity to the business of the firm, and the members became intimately associated with Chandu Lal in raising pecuniary supplies for his financial necessities.

In the year 1816, the house of W. Palmer and Co. professed to entertain doubts whether their pecuniary dealings with the Nizam's Government might not subject them to the penalties of the Act of Parliament,<sup>1</sup> which interdicted loans to native princes by British subjects, and prayed to be exempted from the operation of the law. Impressed with the belief, that the interests of the Nizam and of the Company were promoted by the success and security of the commercial and pecuniary transactions of the firm, the exemption was granted by the Governor-General in council, under the dispensing power which he inferred that he possessed according to the terms of the Act,<sup>2</sup> with this reservation alone, that it should be at the discretion of the Resident to satisfy himself at any time, of the nature and objects of the transactions in which Messrs. Palmer and Co. might engage in consequence of

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<sup>1</sup> Act 37th George III., cap. 142, sec. 28. See extract.—Hyderabad Papers, 8.

<sup>2</sup> The act prohibits the pecuniary transactions, &c., "unless consented to, and approved of, by the Governor-General in Council in writing."—Hyd. Papers, p. 8. The legality of the sanction was confirmed by the opinion of the Advocate-General, by whom the instrument conveying the licence solicited was drawn up. Ibid. p. 5.

BOOK II. the permission then granted. With this sanction, the  
 CHAP. XI. house was allowed to carry on extensive negotiations with  
 1820. the Minister, and, among other pecuniary transactions, was  
 employed, with the cognizance and consent of the Government of Bengal, to provide the pay of the reformed troops in Berar and Aurungabad; none of the native bankers, it being asserted, being willing to advance the funds at the same rate of interest, or on the security of assignments of revenue, and the regular payment of the troops being indispensable to their efficiency at a season when their services were most important:<sup>1</sup> the sanction involving, according to the expressed admission of the firm, no further pledge of support than the general countenance afforded to their establishment, which was indispensable for their existence in a country where there were no regular courts of judicature.

This arrangement had scarcely been completed (May, 1820), when one of a still more comprehensive character was proposed by Chandu Lal, for the Resident's sanction—the negotiation of a loan of sixty lakhs of rupees (600,000*l.*) from the house of Palmer and Co.; the amount being absolutely necessary, according to the Minister's statement, to enable him to discharge the arrears due to the public establishments, which he was anxious to reduce to the extent of twenty-five lakhs a year—to pay off heavy incumbrances due by the Nizam's Government to native bankers and others, and to make advances to the Ryots, in order to restore to them the means of cultivating the lands which had fallen into neglect. As the objects contemplated by the Minister were of undeniable benefit to the Nizam's country, and as, according to the Resident's showing, they were not attainable through any other agency on equally advantageous terms, this loan also was sanctioned—the sanction being understood to be of a general nature, involving no pecuniary responsibility.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Political Letter from Bengal, 20th Oct. 1820.—Hyd. Papers, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from W. Palmer and Co., 19th May, 1820, to the Resident:—"We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date. By the security which we require from the Resident, we do not mean to imply any security by which the British Government should be responsible for the money we should lend to the Minister; all we require is the certainty that the Resident will use his influence to prevent our being defrauded, or any misappropriation made of the revenues of the Talooks on which we are to have

Shortly after, authority was granted to this last loan, respecting which much difference of opinion prevailed in the Council of Bengal, communications were received from the Court of Directors, expressing in strong terms their disapproval of the whole of the transactions. Reasoning from experience of the past abuses which had disgraced the pecuniary dealings of British subjects with native princes, they anticipated a like result from the present, and positively enjoined the annulment of the exemption which had been granted to Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., from the penalties imposed by the Legislature. They also directed, that the countenance shown by the Government to the house, should be strictly confined to those objects of a commercial nature which the partners originally professed to have in view; and that if any discussion should arise between the Nizam's Government and the firm, in respect to their pecuniary transactions, the British Government should abstain from interposing in favour of their claims. These orders were communicated to the mercantile house, and their future pecuniary dealings with the Minister were interdicted.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe, it was discovered that no progress had been made in the reduction of the expenditure of the state, and that the financial difficulties of the Minister were such as to threaten public insolvency, while the system of exaction was as unrelentingly practised as before. The measures adopted to check the latter have been adverted to, the former pressed equally upon the Resident's attention. Among the chief of the Minister's embarrassments, were the engagements he had contracted with the house of Palmer and Co., and the debts due to the firm, amounting now to nearly a million sterling, bearing an interest of twenty-four per cent. Little improvement could be expected until an adjustment of these claims should be accomplished; and the accounts of the house were subjected to a scrutiny, by which it appeared that the deal-

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assignments. We shall never require that influence to be exerted beyond the point to which the Resident can go without making it a discussion between our Government and the Nizam's. We are, &c."—Hyd. Papers, p. 42.

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Bengal, 24th May, 1820.—Hyd. Papers, p. 6. Letter to the Resident, 16th December, 1820, p. 70.



BOOK II. ings formed no exception to the character which applied  
CHAP. XI. to such former pecuniary transactions as the Legislature

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had intended to prohibit. Besides the high amount of interest—which, although less than the rate usually charged by native bankers lending money to the Minister without the collateral security of the influence of the Resident, and in addition to large pensions and gratuities settled upon the members of the firm and their connections and dependants—it appeared that the loan of sixty lakhs was an arrangement, which had mainly in view the consolidation of the debts due to the house, and left all other demands, all arrears of the establishment, unprovided for, notwithstanding the Minister's assertion, that it had enabled him to pay off and discharge a considerable portion of the superfluous servants of the government. Such being the conclusion drawn by the supreme authority from an examination of the accounts, the countenance of the Government was finally withdrawn from the house, and Chandu Lal was required to close his account with the firm, to enable him to do which, the Government of India undertook to supply the funds.<sup>1</sup> A peshkash, or tribute of seven lakhs of rupees a year had hitherto been paid to the Nizam by the Company for the northern Circars, and the consent of the Minister was obtained to the redemption of this tribute for ever, by the immediate payment of little more than a crore of rupees, by which he was enabled to extricate himself from the embarrassments in which his improvidence and the cupidity of others had involved his administration.

The favour which had been shown to the house of Palmer and Co. by the Governor-General was contem

<sup>1</sup> It appears, that when application was made for the sanction of the British Government to a loan of sixty lakhs, that sum was about the amount of the balances existing against the Nizam's Government in the books of Messrs. Wm Palmer and Co.

On Hyderabad account . . . . .	Rps. 26,82,402
Almedabad ditto . . . . .	13,18,669
Berar Suwar ditto . . . . .	20,57,219

Rps. 60,58,290

Letter from the Resident, 14th June, 1825. Hyd. Papers, 554. — This loan of sixty lakhs was contracted for on a reduced interest of 18 per cent. per annum but of the total, eight lakhs were a bonus. The sum transferred was fifty-two lakhs, whilst interest on sixty was charged.—Ibid. According, however, to statement made at a subsequent date by Mr. Russell, considerable pecuniary advances were made by the house on the Hyderabad account.—Debate E. I. House, 18th February, 1825.

plated with distrust by the Authorities in England; and it was attributed rather to personal motives, than those which had been assigned — the advantages accruing to the Government of the Nizam from the pecuniary assistance derived from such a source.<sup>1</sup> The question gave rise to long and acrimonious discussions in the Court of Proprietors, which ended in the complete vindication of the integrity of the Marquis of Hastings, but exercised an unpropitious influence upon his fortunes. These proceedings took place at a date subsequent to the period under review; but it will be convenient to notice them in this place, in order to dispose of the subject at once.

On the 3rd of March, 1824, a motion was introduced into the Court of Proprietors, by the Honourable Douglas Kinnaid, recommending to the Court of Directors to consider and report the means and measure of such a pecuniary grant to the Marquis of Hastings as should be worthy of the gratitude of the Company, and of the eminent services of the Governor-General. The motion was met by an amendment, calling for the papers and documents necessary to illustrate the transactions at Hyderabad; and this was altered to a motion for the printing of all the correspondence and other documents upon the public records which regarded the administration of the Marquis of Hastings as Governor-General of India, and which might enable the Court to judge of the propriety of entertaining the question of a further pecuniary reward to the late Governor-General. The motion in this shape received the concurrence of the Court.

The printing of the voluminous documents thus called for, which had the collateral effect of placing within the reach of the public a mass of most valuable and interesting information, necessarily occupied a long interval, and nearly twelve months elapsed before any proceedings

<sup>1</sup> The Marquis of Hastings avowed an interest in the prosperity of the house, in consequence of a gentleman of his family, Sir William Rumbold, (Papers, 44) being one of the partners, but his support was based upon a belief that the house rendered important public services both to the British Government and that of the Nizam; and he was not aware of the unavowed advantages enjoyed by the partners, or the real character of their dealings with the Nizam. As soon as he learned, or had reason to suspect the truth, he expressed his strong sense of their impropriety.—Letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe from the Secretary to the Government, 13th September, 1822.—Hyd. Papers, 186.

BOOK II. founded upon them could be held. On the 11th of February, 1825, the papers relating to the loans made to the

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Nizam were taken into consideration, upon a motion made by Mr. Kinnaird, that there was nothing contained in those documents which tended to affect in the slightest degree the personal character or integrity of the late Governor-General. The proposition was subjected to an amendment by Mr. Astell, the chairman, but acting in his capacity of proprietor only, by which the Court was called upon, while admitting that the papers furnished no ground for imputing corrupt motives to the Marquis of Hastings, to approve of certain despatches sent by the Court to the Bengal Government—despatches which censured in strong terms the encouragement given to the pecuniary transactions between the house of Palmer and Co., and the Government of the Nizam. A debate arose upon these propositions, which extended through seven days, and was conducted with great heat and virulence on either side and diverged into much irrelevant and personal matter. The amendment was finally carried by ballot.<sup>1</sup>

In the first of these despatches, approbation of which was thus voted, the Court denied the necessity and questioned the legality of the dispensation which had released Messrs. Palmer and Co. from the operation of the Act of Parliament, prohibiting loans by Europeans to Native Princes, and peremptorily ordered, that, upon the receipt of the letter, the license should be immediately cancelled and revoked, and positively forbidding, should any discussions arise between the house and the Nizam's Government, respecting any pecuniary transactions between them, the interposition, in any way whatever, of the name, authority, influence, or good offices of the British Government, for the furtherance of their demands. The tone of the letter was evidently inspired by a suspicion of the motives of the Governor-General, and undervalued the considerations by which the indulgence was capable of extenuation,—a belief in its legality, founded upon the

<sup>1</sup> 18th March, 1825.

For the Amendment	. . . . .	575
Against	. . . . .	363

Majority 212

Full reports of the previous debates will be found in the Monthly Asiatic Journals, for 1824 and 1825.

opinion of the first legal authority in India, the Company's Advocate-General, by whom the license itself was drawn up, — reliance on the judgment of the Resident, who had acquired, by long experience, a thorough knowledge of the condition of the Nizam's affairs, and who recommended the measure, — and a conviction that much benefit had already accrued from the commercial operations of the House. The sanction granted was, therefore, no intended violation of the law, nor was any sacrifice of public to private interests imagined to be involved in the permission.<sup>1</sup>

The second of the inculpatory letters, 28th November, 1821, first referred to a special transaction, in which the Government had sanctioned, prior to the receipt of the preceding despatch, the undertaking of the house to issue pay to the Nizam's reformed troops at Aurungabad, at the rate of two lakhs of rupees per month, on the receipt of assignments for thirty lakhs a-year, being equivalent to an interest of 25 per cent. Confirmation of this arrangement had been strongly urged upon the Government by the Resident, but it was not granted without hesitation and inquiry; the Resident was required to furnish further explanations, and the house was desired to submit its accounts to the Council. This was at first objected to, but the condition was eventually complied with; when the Governor-General declined the examination, and, upon the explanations submitted by the Resident, sanctioned the arrangement. The Court complained that the explanations were not satisfactory, — that the advances had, in fact, been commenced without waiting for the sanction applied for, — that the maintenance of regularly organised troops by Native Princes was a measure of doubtful expedience, — and that, allowing the necessity of providing for their pay, it did not appear to have been necessary to have recourse to the agency of European capitalists, as

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Edmonstone, who at the date of the licence, was a member of the Government, and was present in the debate of 1825, as a Director, while he subscribed to the opinion of the legal authorities in England of the illegality of the licence, and admitted that the grant of it was indiscreet, as made with imperfect information as to the extent of the dealings which it authorised, maintained that with the legal opinions furnished, and acting under the information possessed, the Government was not to blame in acceding to the application of Palmer and Company. Report, Debate of 3rd March, 1825, A. J. vol. 19, p. 575.



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the money might have been raised from the bankers of Hyderabad, at a much lower rate of interest, or the Nizam might have been induced to advance it. This last supposition was hazarded upon a total forgetfulness of the passion of all Native Princes for hoarding treasure, and that such a propensity was peculiarly characteristic of the head of the Government of Hyderabad. The possibility of raising loans on easier terms from the native bankers was contingent upon the grant to them of the like support which the European house had been led to expect. Assured of the promised interposition of the Resident, the native bankers might have been induced to provide the funds at a similar rate on the same securities; but without it the Resident was fully warranted in asserting, that they would not have given any pecuniary aid to the Minister upon assignments, the realisation of which was notoriously uncertain. The policy of maintaining the reformed troops was a different question; but while they were maintained, it was necessary to keep them orderly and effective, and this was only to be done by securing them their regular pay. It appeared also from the answers of the Resident, that the collection of the revenue was effected without any undue interference with the native functionaries. Whatever required to be cleared up, was placed in the hands of the Government by the house by the final submission of their accounts; and the only point in which the Government exposed itself to the charge of insufficient investigation and precaution, was the determination not to examine the documents. The reason assigned for such forbearance was ill-calculated to recommend it to the Authorities at home, as it implied their incapacity to form an accurate judgment of statements which, if recorded on the proceedings of the Council, must come under their examination. The excuse was untenable, and the omission to inspect the accounts was unseasonable and injudicious, although it scarcely warranted the inference drawn from it by the Court,—that it evinced a determination in the Bengal Government to disavow all responsibility; to throw off the check of the Authorities in England; to do whatever it chose to do; and to communicate to the Court no more than it thought fit. Neither did it justify the accusation contained in the same letter, that the

Government of Bengal had in substance, if not in form, lent the Company's credit in the late pecuniary transactions at Hyderabad, not for the benefit of the Nizam's government, but for the sole benefit of Messrs. William Palmer and Company. Although not indifferent to the advantages of the house, the permission to embark in pecuniary dealings with the Nizam's minister, had been throughout based upon the representations of the Resident, that they were indispensably necessary for the solvency of the Hyderabad State, and that they had produced, and were producing the most beneficial consequences. The information might have been erroneous, the decision might have been, as it was, ill-judged ; but there was no room to impute any intention to benefit individuals solely by injury to an ally.

The same letter adverted to the negotiations for the sixty lakhs, to which also sanction had been granted before the arrival of the inhibitory despatch. At this date, the Court was not apprised of the character given to this transaction by subsequent inquiry ; nor was it suspected by the Government, when its sanction was conceded. The only grounds of disapprobation here taken, therefore, were the imperfect information possessed by the Government, and the possibility that the money might have been borrowed on better terms from the native bankers ; the latter was a gratuitous supposition ; the former a substantial objection, to an extent of which the Court was not itself aware. The same despatch inferred, that from the time the licence was cancelled, the authorised engagement for the payment of the Berar troops, must have ceased ; and directed that if such was not the case, the house should be commanded to bring it forthwith to a termination.

The third of the documents approved of by the Court, was a letter of the 9th of April, 1823, inclosing the opinions of his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General, and of the Company's standing counsel, that loans by British subjects to native Princes were illegal, whether made in their territories or those of the Company ; and that in either territory it was also unlawful for British subjects to lend money at a rate exceeding twelve per cent. This view of the law was, however, declared to be erroneous by Chief

BOOK II. Justice Best, in expressing the unanimous sense of the Judges to the House of Lords, in favour of a declaratory Bill to that effect, brought in by the Marquis of Hastings.<sup>1</sup>

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According to this high authority, Acts of the British Parliament could not regulate the practice of foreign States ; and penal statutes could not be applicable to dominions in which British Courts had no jurisdiction.

The last letter for which the Directors claimed the approval of the Proprietors, was of a later date, 21st January, 1824, and reviewed the whole of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal in regard to the transactions at Hyderabad. In this they complained that their instructions had been imperfectly and tardily obeyed, in regard to the Aurungabad contract, which, although ordered to be put a stop to in 1820, had been suffered to proceed until the middle of 1822, and that in consequence, the house claimed arrears from the Nizam's government. This was partly, however, the consequence of their own injunctions in a former letter, in which they expressed their desire to avoid any precipitate measures which might tend to impair the credit of the firm.

The letter also analyses the pecuniary transactions of the house with the Nizam, and justly condemns the total absence of that scrutiny which it was the duty of the Resident to have exercised as a condition of the licence. A variety of transactions are pointed out, regarding which it does not seem that any information whatever was ever furnished to the Government, and which were engaged in without such reference, under what was considered to be a general licence, a construction warranted, perhaps, by the literal tenor of the authority granted to the house, but evidently incompatible with the provision that the Resident should be aware of all the proceedings of the house of such a description. The Sixty-lakh Loan is also designated as, in great part, a mere transfer of old debts to a new account, by which the sanction of the Government was obtained to a debt, the existence of which was not known when the sanction was given. The whole amount of debt claimed by the house is stated to be ninety-six lakhs, in December 1822. Undoubtedly the Court had good reason to question the character of this

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings in the House of Lords, June, 1825. Asiatic Journal.

Loan, the accounts of which are clouded by great obscurity, and the real nature of which was not distinctly appreciated by the Government of Bengal as it ought to have been before their sanction to it was granted.

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A considerable portion of the despatch is dedicated to the reprobation of the undue influence of the house in the councils of the Nizam, and their instigation of the Minister to prefer complaints privately against the new Resident, and the Governor-General. It cannot be denied that the Court was justified in condemning the readiness of the Governor-General to entertain, in opposition to all the members of his council, a belief that Sir Charles Metcalfe was induced by personal pique and jealousy, rather than by a dispassionate regard for the credit of his own Government, and the interests of the Nizam, to picture the dealings of the house in exaggerated and undeserved colours; and they were not unwarranted in inferring that the measure of indulgence shown towards Messrs. Palmer and Co., could be ascribed only to a strong personal bias in behalf of some, at least, of the individuals concerned.

The relief of the Minister's financial embarrassments by the reformation of his revenue system, through the agency of European officers, is objected to by the Court as strongly as by the Governor-General; but blame is imputed to the Government that its reprehension was not earlier pronounced, a consideration of secondary importance, as, after all, the arrangement was not disturbed. So in regard to the advance of money from the Company's treasury to the Minister, to pay off his debts, inasmuch as the measure was finally approved of, the Court's censure of the delay which occurred between the first rejection of the plan in 1820, and its ultimate adoption in 1822, seems to have been uncalled for, especially as they admit that they participated in the doubts entertained by the Governor-General of the legality of such interference, upon which ground he had originally opposed the proposition. His final acquiescence was based upon the implied approbation of such an arrangement deduced from general expressions in the Court's letter of November 1821, of the preferableness of a loan by the Company, to one by a mercantile house. They deny the justice of



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the inference, and, perhaps, with reason ; but the best defence of the inconsistency will be found in the altered feelings with which the Governor-General now regarded the proceedings of Palmer and Co. In 1820, he had not received the Court's orders to cancel the licence, and conscientiously believed that the proceedings were legal and that they were to benefit the Nizam. In 1822, he was not only in possession of the sentiments of the Court, but had discovered that the operations of the house were calculated to embarrass, not to relieve, the difficulties of the Nizam's Government, and that it had become necessary to adopt some other mode of supplying the requisite funds.

Upon a review of these transactions, it must be admitted, that the objections which were taken by the Court, and, in fact, confirmed by the Board of Control, with whose concurrence the despatches in question were forwarded, were substantially just. Some of the arguments may be regarded as captious, and inapplicable to local circumstances, and they show an unfair disposition to identify the Governor-General with Messrs. Palmer and Co. Although it is not expressed, and, perhaps, not intended, there runs, also, throughout the correspondence an indication of a suspicion of unworthy motives, and the language is frequently unsuited to the high station and character, both of those from whom it proceeds, and the noble individual to whom it is addressed. Yet it is not to be denied, that the personal interest taken in the successful operations of the house, the ready acquiescence with which their applications and representations were received, and the reluctance to admit anything in their disfavour until it could no longer be disputed that they had taken undue advantage of the confidence which had been shown them, were incompatible with the duties of the Governor-General, were an injudicious departure from the caution which experience of the past had suggested in regard to pecuniary transactions between Europeans and Natives of rank, were detrimental to the ally whom it was intended to serve, and subjected the Company to serious embarrassment and loss. The justice of these conclusions enabled the Court to triumph over an opposition which was conducted with remarkable ability and energy, and which

derived a powerful support from the unimpeached integrity of the Marquis of Hastings, and the unquestionable merits of his general administration. BOOK II.  
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We have now to direct our attention to the principality of Oude, where, in the estimation of the Governor-General, abstinence from interposition had been attended by the happiest consequences. It had not, however, wholly obviated the necessity of calling out regular troops against refractory Zemindars, and in the beginning of 1822 above seventy of their forts, in the vicinity of Sultanpur, were occupied and dismantled by a British detachment. Nor were the unassisted means of the Oude Government able to suppress the bands of armed robbers who haunted the jungles on the frontier, and made frequent and desperate inroads into the British territories. Their lurking-places were occasionally penetrated, and their villages destroyed; but the connivance of the Oude police and the secret encouragement of the neighbouring Zemindars sheltered them from any very severe retaliation.<sup>1</sup>

Little advantage to the principality was to be expected from a change which took place at this season in the designation of its sovereign, who, with the consent of the Governor-General, assumed the title and the style of King. He was designated Abu Muzaffar, Moiz-ud-din, Shah-i-Zaman, Ghazi-ud-din Hyder Shah, Padshah-i-Awadh: the Victorious — the Upholder of the Faith — the King of the Age — Ghazi-ud-din Hyder Shah — King of Oude. The assumption of Shah Zaman was at first objected to,

<sup>1</sup> Between 1815 and 1820 there had been forty gang-robberies on the frontier adjacent to Oude, in which forty persons were killed, one hundred and seventy wounded, and property carried off to the extent of 1,14,000. The Oude bands did not confine themselves to the frontier. In 1820, a party of four hundred, the pretended suite of a Hindu Raja, proceeding, as asserted, on a pilgrimage, and travelling deliberately with the usual accompaniments of a person of rank, elephants, horses, palankins, &c, traversed the British territory for more than 300 miles from the Oude frontier, and near Mongir plundered the boats of a merchant of Calcutta carrying bullion, to the extent of a lakh and a half of rupees, of the despatch of which the leader had been apprised by his agents in Calcutta. The party retreated with their booty in safety. In the following year they were less fortunate. The same leader, with one hundred and forty-three men and forty women, was apprehended by the exertions of the magistrates in South Béhar. The men were practised gang-robbers. The chief was hanged; the most notorious were transported for life; the rest sentenced to hard labour for various periods. These people were chiefly of the tribe termed Shigal-khors, Jackall-eaters, from their lax habits in regard to food, and principally tenanted the thickets near Secrora, in Oude. Their parties were joined, however, by similar gangs who haunted the British side of the Ganges.—Jud. Proceedings, MS.

BOOK II. as implying an equality with the King of Delhi ; but it  
 CHAP. XI was allowed to remain, upon its being limited by the  
 1818. phrase Padshah-i-Awadh, instead of Padshah, King, only,  
 as proposed by his Majesty himself. He had prepared  
 the way for this elevation a year before, by striking coin  
 in his own name, instead of that of the King of Delhi —  
 an invasion of the privileges of the Mogul which had not  
 yet been committed even by the East India Company.  
 This elevation was received with extreme indignation at  
 Delhi, and was by no means acceptable to the Moham-  
 medans, who saw in it an ungracious encroachment upon  
 the rights of the representative of Timur by one who was  
 bound by his office in an especial manner, as well as by  
 the ties of gratitude, to protect them. The assumption  
 of the royal title by the Vizir originated in the suggestion  
 of the Governor-General, who had witnessed an act of  
 humiliation imposed upon him by his nominal subordina-  
 tion to the throne of Delhi, and regarded it as incon-  
 sistent with his actual dignity and power. Two brothers  
 of the King of Delhi resided at Lucknow, supported by  
 allowances granted partly by the Company, partly by the  
 Vizir. Notwithstanding their partial dependence upon  
 the latter, etiquette assigned to them so decided a pre-  
 cedence, that when the Nawab encountered them in the  
 street, the elephant on which he rode was made to kneel  
 in token of homage as they passed. The Nawab was  
 told that it rested with himself to throw off all such  
 forms of servility to the Mogul ; and upon his intimating  
 a wish to adopt an equal title, his purpose was encour-  
 aged, provided it made no difference in the relations  
 which connected him with the British Government. It  
 was, in the opinion of the Marquis of Hastings, a pro-  
 vident policy to sow dissension in this manner between  
 the rival sovereigns of Delhi and Lucknow, in order to  
 prevent the cooperation of the latter, through the bond  
 of his allegiance to the former, in any hostile combination  
 against the British interests, of which the King of Delhi  
 should be the real or nominal head.<sup>1</sup> It may be doubted,  
 should such a remote contingency arise, whether identity  
 of religion and community of interest will not outweigh

<sup>1</sup> Summary by the Marquis of Hastings of the operations in India, and their results. Printed for the Proprietors, June, 1824.

all other considerations, and whether the King of Oude will not be as willing as the Nawab Vizir to place his resources at the foot of the imperial throne. On the other hand, a material difference has been made in the political relations between the head of the government of Oude and his allies. He now holds his dominions in independent sovereignty, — as Nawab, he exercised only a delegated sway, which the British government, as representing that of Delhi, had the right to resume at its own discretion. Names are sometimes as real as things, and the King of Oude is not for any purpose the same potentate as the Nawab Vizir.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XI.

1818.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Internal Administration of the Marquis of Hastings.*—*Progressive Legislation.*—I. *Civil Judicature.*—*Inefficiency of the Courts.*—*Injunctions of the Home Authorities to revert to Native Institutions.*—*Measures adopted in Bengal—at Madras and Bombay.*—*Result.*—II. *Criminal Justice and Police.*—*Reforms at the Presidencies.*—*Union of the Powers of Magistrate and Collector.*—*Extended Police Powers of the Revenue and Village Officers at Madras, and at Bombay.*—III. *Revenues.*—*Land Revenue.*—*Principles of Ryotwar Settlement to be universally adopted.*—*Perpetual Settlement prohibited.*—*Enactments in Bengal.*—*Village and District Native Accountants re-established.*—*Rules for Sale of Lands modified.*—*Settlement of Ceded and Conquered Provinces.*—*System of Village Settlement preferred.*—*Necessity of previous Inquiry.*—*Abuses to be remedied.*—*Fraudulent Transfers of Property extensive.*—*Discontent of the People.*—*Special Commission appointed.*—*Wrongs redressed.*—*Question of Perpetual Settlement of the Western Provinces re-considered.*—*Deferred Periodical Settlements continued.*—*Nature of Inquiries to be instituted.*—*As regarding the Land.*—*As regarding its Occupants.*—*Regulation to give effect to the Arrangements.*—*Revenue Surveys commenced.*—*Great Delay anticipated.*—*Still greater experienced.*—*Merit of the Government.*—*Ma-*



*dras Village Settlements closed.—Ryotwar resumed.—With Modifications.—Lands for Sale in the permanently settled Districts bought on Public Account.—Bombay Revenue Arrangements.—Based on Native Institutions.—Inquiry found necessary.—Revenue Commission.—Revenue Survey of Broach.—Its Objects.—Similar Surveys in Guzerat.—Village Accountants made Public Servants.—Opposition of Heads of Villages.—Objections to the Arrangement.—Gradually relinquished.—Settlements of the Dekhin.—Combination of Village and Ryotwar Systems.—Survey commenced.—Other Branches of Revenue.—Opium.—Difficulties respecting Malwa Opium.—Measures adopted.—Salt.—Customs.—Duties on British Goods remitted.—Finance.—Augmentation of Revenues.—Of Charges.—Surplus of Local Receipts.—Home Charges and Commercial Advantages insufficiently provided for.—Loans raised.—Public Debt increased.—Separation of Territorial and Commercial Accounts.—Debt contracted to the East India Company's Commerce.—Sufficiency of Indian Revenues for Disbursements in Time of Peace.—Prospect of Financial Prosperity.—Changes of Social Condition.—Calcutta an Episcopal See.—Bishop Middleton.—Difficulties of his Position.—His Proceedings.—Foundation of Bishop's College.—His Death.—Establishment of Scottish Church.—Activity of Missionary Societies.—Increased Numbers of Missionaries.—Attention turned to Native Education.—Defects of Native System.—Schools established.—Partly by Missionary Bodies.—Partly by Individuals for General Education; the latter assisted by the Government.—Censorship of the Press abolished.—Immediate Results.—Close of the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings.*

BOOK II.  
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1814-23.

THE many and important political events which signalled the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, were not permitted to divert the attention of the Indian Governments from the progressive duties of domestic regulation, and the amelioration of the condition of the people subject to their sway. The investigations which had preceded the last renewal of the Company's Charter, had exposed defects in the established Judicial and Revenue systems, of which the existence had been little sus-

pected, and for which it was obviously imperative to provide early and adequate remedies. It was, however, as usual, more easy to discover imperfections, than to devise unexceptionable methods of correcting them; and the measures which were proposed for that purpose, partook of the faults in which much that was defective had originated,—a more accurate conception of the ends than of the means, impatience to construct a complete system of law and justice, without waiting for its spontaneous growth and gradual development, and the want of due consideration not only for the past, but for the present condition of society, for the anomalous amalgamation of its indigenous and exotic, its Indian and European, elements. Although, therefore, very great pains were taken to reform practices which were evidently amiss, and to substitute principles of a different tenor from those which had hitherto been received as unimpeachable; and although upon the whole an important advance was made in the business of progressive legislation, yet the system continued to be only progressive, and was far from reaching that maturity which the authorities, both at home and in India, earnestly desired to see it attain.

The continual accumulation of arrears in the decisions of the Courts of Civil Judicature, and the prolonged periods to which complainants had to look for redress, amounting to a virtual withholding of justice, were, as we have had occasion to notice, the prominent defects of that branch of the judicial system;<sup>1</sup> nor did the injury arising from the delay affect only those cases which were brought before the courts, as a still greater number of suits were kept back by the uncertainty whether they would ever be adjudicated; and persons aggrieved preferred submission to present wrong to the tedious process and remote chance

<sup>1</sup> Between 1810 and 1815, the whole number of depending suits considerably decreased; those at the end of the former year being 135,553; and of the latter 108,286. There was an increase, however, in the Superior Courts, the arrears being respectively of the Sudder Adawlat 198 and 467, and of the Provincial Courts 2903 and 3705. In the Judges' Courts there was a decrease, the depending suits being severally 20,341 and 16,898. Taking the numbers of the latter period, the term required for clearing off the causes in arrear, according to the average duration of the proceedings of the Courts, was in the Sudder twelve years; in the Provincial Courts six years; and in those of the Zilla and City Judges five and a half. Tables showing the extent and operations of the Judicial systems of the three Presidencies. — Commons Report, 1832. App. Judicial. Table xvi. p.564.

BOOK II. of obtaining a sentence in their favour.<sup>1</sup> Part of this  
 CHAP. XII. delay arose from the novel and unsuitable forms which  
 ——— had been introduced to secure method and precision in  
 1814-23. the proceedings of the Courts ; part was ascribable also  
 to the extreme and often needless jealousy with which the  
 Government regarded the judicial functionaries, the re-  
 stricted powers with which they were entrusted, and the  
 numerous checks to which the exercise of those powers  
 was subjected ; but very much was owing to unavoidable  
 causes — to the increase of population, the advance of the  
 people in wealth and prosperity, to the valuable interests  
 which peace and security multiplied, and to the frequency  
 with which the people resorted to the tribunals of the  
 state. Whatever their imperfections, the natives saw  
 that justice was administered in the English courts upon  
 fixed principles, that as little as possible was left to the  
 caprice or passions of the judge, and that, with occasional  
 exceptions, his decisions were upright and just. They had  
 not been accustomed to courts so constituted, to func-  
 tionaries so impartial and honest ; and notwithstanding  
 the defects with which the Company's Courts were charge-  
 able, it was clear from the very fact of their being over-  
 whelmed with business, that they enjoyed to a considera-  
 ble extent, the respect and confidence of the people : it  
 was only necessary, in order to render them completely  
 effective, to proportion their number and powers to the  
 mass of duty with which they were overtaken. To in-  
 crease the number of those presided over by European  
 functionaries, a class of officers who, from the peculiarities  
 of their situation were more than ordinarily costly, was  
 impracticable from the expense which it entailed, and the  
 necessity of the case imposed upon the Government the  
 delegation of judicial functions to Native Officers to a  
 greater extent than had hitherto been thought advisable.  
 No doubts were entertained of their competency, but ex-  
 perience warranted a distrust of their integrity. It was  
 hoped, however, that by investing them with greater con-  
 sideration, by granting them more adequate compensation,  
 and by maintaining a vigilant control over their conduct,  
 they would be less disposed to abuse the authority en-

<sup>1</sup> Judicial Minute of the Earl of Moira. Commons Report, 1832. App. Judicial.

trusted to them, and would take that place in the distribution of justice among their countrymen, which it was natural and desirable that they should occupy. Consistently with these views, the main object of the measures proposed at this period for the improvement of civil judicature, regarded the extension, as far as might be requisite to meet the wants and necessities of the people of India, of the instrumentality of Native Officers in the administration of civil justice.

The employment of Native Judges under the denomination of Munsifs and Amins, or of Native Commissioners, was no novelty at either of the Presidencies.<sup>1</sup> Their appointment had constituted an element in the reformed system of 1793, and had been subsequently extended.<sup>2</sup> But their utility was neutralized, by radical counter agency. Extreme jealousy and manifest distrust embarrassed their acts and circumscribed their powers, and the niggardly spirit with which their services were requited generated the evils which were apprehended, and forced them to be corrupt to secure a livelihood. Little care was taken to ascertain the character of the officers appointed, and it rarely happened that persons of respectability would accept of situations which offered them neither consideration nor emolument. It was not to be wondered

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<sup>1</sup> Judicial Letter from the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, 9th November, 1814, printed among the Papers on Judicial Proceedings, printed by order of the House of Commons, 1st July, 1819, p. 33. In reporting their sentiments on the measures enjoined in the Court's Letter, the Judges of the Sudder Adawlat observe, in respect to this topic, "that the general administration of Civil Justice among the inhabitants of the populous and extensive provinces subject to our empire cannot be effected without the agency and assistance of the natives themselves, or without investing them with judicial powers, as well as those of arbitration is, we think incontestable; on this point we entirely concur in the sentiments of the Honourable Court." "The sentiments of the Sudder Court," it is added, "upon the utility and necessity of employing native Commissioners in the administration of Civil Justice, have been repeatedly submitted to Government, and were particularly stated in a report from the senior and second Judges on the 30th June, 1814. Letter from the Sudder Adawlat to the Government of Bengal, 9th March, 1818.—Papers on the Judicial System, Calcutta printed.

<sup>2</sup> By Regulation XL. of 1793, native Commissioners were appointed to act in the threefold capacity of Arbitrators, (Amins) Referees, (to decide suits referred to them by the Judges) and Munsifs or Judges in petty cases, affecting personal property of a value not exceeding fifty rupees (5*l.*). Munsifs were originally appointed, especially to facilitate the recovery of rents due to the Zemindars by the Ryots, but this being otherwise provided for, a different class of persons with the same designation, was appointed by Regulation XIX. 1803, for more general duties, but with the like limitation of value. The same Regulation provided for the employment of Sudder Amin or Head Commissioner, with a jurisdiction in actions for real as well as personal property, not exceeding one hundred rupees (10*l.*).



BOOK II. at, therefore, if the subordinate native Judges were ignorant, inefficient, or corrupt; or if, as they were paid by  
 CHAP. XII. the fees levied on the institution of suits in their courts,  
 1814-23. they stimulated and encouraged litigation. Notwithstanding these defects, however, which were inherent in the principles of their constitution, and for which the Government was responsible, they were found to be highly serviceable. They disposed of a vast number of causes, which, although for petty values, were of not the less importance to the poorer classes of the population; and as the appeals from their decisions to the European Judge of the district to whom they were appealable, were comparatively few, it might fairly be inferred, that the people were generally contented with the measure of justice secured to them by this channel.<sup>1</sup>

From the results thus ascertained, and the confident representations of some of the Company's most distinguished servants, especially Colonel Munro, who was an enthusiastic advocate of the advantages to be realised from the extensive use of native agency, an unqualified opinion was adopted by the Home authorities, and particularly by the Board of Control, that the judicial system

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sturt, Chief Judge of the Sudder, observes: "I cannot disguise from myself that it continues to be the studious policy of the Government, to reduce all their native officers to the lowest point of emolument and credit." Minute, November, 1815.—Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed. Sudder Amins and Munsifs were paid at first from the fees imposed on the institution of suits; the former realised about 70 rupees (7*l.*) a month; subsequently they were paid a fixed salary of one hundred rupees (10*l.*) per mensem, Regulation XIII., 1824: the pay of the Munsifs was much less, and complaints of their corruption were so numerous that it was thought to counterbalance their utility, and many of the Judges proposed their abolition. Judicial Letter from Bengal, 10th November, 1814. Papers printed by order of the House of Commons, July, 1819, p. 117. There is, however, high authority in favour of their usefulness even at an early period. Mr. Harrington, a Chief Judge of the Sudder, observes, "all powers entrusted to the natives, especially without fixed and liberal allowances are liable to abuse, and it cannot be doubted that the Native Commissioners have, in some instances, perverted to purposes of self-interest, exaction, and oppression, the authority delegated to them for the more speedy and efficient administration of justice, but as far as an opinion can be formed from the proportion of appeals against their decisions, to the total number of causes decided by them in past years, their appointment appears to have been of considerable public advantage." The causes decided or adjusted by them, are computed by Mr. Harrington at an annual average of 300,000; a number for which it would be impossible to provide by any other agency. Analysis of the Regulations I. 98, note. At a much later date, this defect in the constitution of the Munsifs was still uncorrected; the Government of Bengal write in 1827, "it cannot be matter of surprise that instances of corruption and abuse should but too frequently occur in a body of public officers, whose fair emoluments are so disproportioned to the responsibility and powers which are vested in them"—Judicial Letter from Bengal, 22nd February, 1827.—Commons Report, 1832.—Jud. App. p. 78.

of 1793, was an unwise departure from the established usages of the country ; that its insufficiency and unsuitableness had been proved by the experience of twenty years, and that the only remedy for the deplorable condition of the Judicial administration was to be found in a recurrence to native institutions.<sup>1</sup> Little regard was had to the change which the interval had wrought in the circumstances of Indian society, and in contemplating the evils of the existing system the good which it had accomplished was overlooked. The records of the past, both under Native and British rule, furnished ample testimony, that although justice was tardy and crime was still perpetrated, yet that property and person enjoyed a greater degree of security than was known when native institutions were in their full vigour, except when they were directed and controlled with more than ordinary ability and energy by the arbitrary authority of a powerful Zemindar, or officer of the State. It was no doubt true, that the native institutions had been too entirely set aside in the plan which had been devised for the distribution of justice ; but the altered condition of society rendered it also doubtful, whether, in the state in which they survived, they could be reasonably expected to be as available for the objects of the government, as they might have been under different circumstances. Entertaining, however, sanguine expectations of the great benefit to be derived from giving fresh vitality to the institutions of the country, the Home authorities earnestly recommended to the Indian Governments the immediate adoption of measures for that object ; and the fullest possible employment of the head-men of the villages, and of village courts, or Panchayats, in the adjudication of civil suits occurring among the inhabitants of their respective jurisdictions. With these instructions, the Government of Bengal declared it to be impossible to comply. The extent of the territory subject to the Presidency, and the immense number of villages among which it was divided, would render it necessary to vest judicial powers in an infinitude of individuals of questionable character and pretensions, over whom it would be impracticable to exercise an adequate superintendence. It was also affirmed,

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Court, 9th November, 1814, as above.

BOOK II. that in the districts where the permanent settlement had  
 CHAP. XII. been formed, the village institutions had been destroyed,  
 1814-23. and that the persons occupying the stations of the ancient  
 head-men, were usually the Gomashas, or agents of the  
 Zemindar, whom it was obviously inexpedient to arm with  
 powers, which they would infallibly employ for the benefit  
 of their principals and the further oppression of the  
 Ryots. In the provinces, where the settlement had not  
 been concluded, too little was known of the state of the  
 prevailing institutions to render it advisable to recognise  
 any set of individuals as public functionaries by virtue of  
 their connection with the communities of which they were  
 members.<sup>1</sup> The Bengal government, therefore, until the  
 exact nature of that connection should be accurately  
 understood, suspended compliance with the orders from  
 home, and hesitated to intrust the supposed heads of  
 villages with public duties, or to recognise village Pan-  
 chayats in any other capacity than that in which they  
 had always been acknowledged,—local juries of arbitra-  
 tion, spontaneously formed at the wish and by the consent  
 of the litigant parties. At the same time, the necessity  
 of augmenting native agency was unreservedly admitted,  
 as well as of simplifying the processes of the Courts, and  
 modifying their constitution, and various regulations for  
 these purposes were enacted.

The limit of value to which the decisions of Sud-Amins  
 were restricted (fifty rupees) was extended, first to one  
 hundred and fifty, and subsequently to five hundred;  
 while that of the sums adjudicable by Munsifs was raised  
 from fifty, first to sixty-four, and secondly to one hundred  
 and fifty. The pay of both was improved, and that of the  
 Amins was fixed independently of fees; and the judges  
 of the District Courts were authorised to add to the  
 number of the subordinate grade of native officers as  
 circumstances might require.<sup>2</sup> Additional powers were  
 also conferred upon the junior European officers, or regis-

<sup>1</sup> Letters from the Judges of the Court of Sudder Adawlat of the 4th December, 1816, and 9th March, 1818, with the replies of the Provincial and City Judges from various parts of the country, to the Directors of the Court, in answer to the injunctions of the Court of 1814.—Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed. On the information thus accumulated is based the Letter from the Bengal Government of the 22nd February, 1827, cited above.

<sup>2</sup> Bengal Regulations XXIII. of 1814, and II. III. of 1821, and XIII. of 1824.

trars. Suits below or above five thousand rupees, which had been restricted severally to the courts of the district and the provincial courts, were allowed to be carried into either at the will of the parties; and the number of judges was raised from three to four, in each of the provincial courts.<sup>1</sup> The collectors of the revenue were also empowered to hear and determine summary suits for the rent and occupancy of land,<sup>2</sup>—disputes forming a great proportion of the business of civil judicature. These enactments necessarily alleviated the labours of the judges;<sup>3</sup> but they were far from accomplishing the object of their promulgation; and further arrangements were soon found to be indispensable.<sup>4</sup>

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Instructions of the purport of those addressed to Bengal, had been previously communicated to the Government of Madras,<sup>5</sup> and their execution was insured by the appointment of a commission, of which Colonel Munro, who was

<sup>1</sup> Bengal Regulations XXIV. XXV. 1814 and XIX. of 1817.

<sup>2</sup> Bengal Regulation VII. of 1822.

<sup>3</sup> The Regulations of 1814, as far as affected the Munsifs, seemed to have diminished the causes brought before them. In 1814, the number was 125,491; in 1816, but 52,550; they then increased, and in 1820, were 108,000. On the other hand, the suits instituted before the Sudder Amins, steadily increased from 23,000 in 1814 to 46,000 in 1820. In 1814, Munsifs were allowed to try causes only which had originated within a twelvemonth from their institution. In 1817, Regulation XIX. extended the period to three years. The Court attributed the falling off to this limitation, but in the beginning of 1814, Stamps in Judicial Proceedings were substituted for fees on the institution of suits, and the amount due to the Munsifs in place of the fee was paid by the Zilla Judge. This innovation had probably some effect in reducing the number of suits brought before the subordinate Native Judges. Selections from Judicial Records, printed by order of the Court of Directors, vol. iv. p. 33. The arrears of Civil Causes rapidly declined. In 1813, they amounted to 142,000; in 1817 to 92,000, showing a diminution in four years of 50,000 suits. The Sudder estimates the average annual decisions at 150,000.—Letter from the Judges of the Sudder, March 1818.—Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed.

<sup>4</sup> In reply to a letter from Bengal in 1823, requiring considerable additions to the European establishment, the Court observes, "the Regulations passed by you in 1821 have our cordial approbation, and we were greatly pleased with the valuable memorandum which was then submitted to you by your Chief Secretary, Mr. Bayley, explanatory of the policy which had influenced the framing of those Regulations." "But though under the provisions there made, the powers of the Munsifs and Sudder Amins were increased, and their number may be increased indefinitely, we apprehend, from the large arrear of undecided causes, the number and powers of those functionaries are still inadequate. We are satisfied that to secure a prompt administration of justice to the natives of India, in civil cases, native functionaries must be multiplied so as to enable them to take cognizance, in the first instance of all suits of that description, and, as appears to us, without regard to the amount at stake, the decisions being of course liable to revision under appeal."—Judicial Letter to Bengal, 23rd July, 1824. Selections from the Records, iv. 29. It is but just to the Home Authorities to give them credit for originating principles scarcely yet fully carried into practice.

<sup>5</sup> Judicial Letter to Madras, 29th of April, 1814.—Selections from the Records II. 236.



BOOK II. at the time on the eve of returning from England to Ma-  
 CHAP. XII. dras, was the head.<sup>1</sup> Although the native village func-  
 1814-23. tionaries existed in a much less mutilated state in the  
 territories subject to the Madras Presidency, than in those  
 of Bengal; yet the principal and judicial and revenue  
 officers at the former were, for the most part, opposed to  
 the plan of employing them extensively in the adminis-  
 tration of civil justice. As the Patels, or head-men of  
 the villages, and the village Panchayats were not to receive  
 any remuneration for the performance of the duties to be  
 assigned to them, it was anticipated that they would  
 either decline the obligation, or fulfil it with reluctance  
 and indifference, and that little effective aid would be  
 received from their unwilling exertions: connected also  
 as they must be with the parties concerned in the cases  
 before them, it was scarcely to be expected that they  
 would perform their duties free from bias or partiality;  
 and as it was part of the plan, that their sentences should  
 not be subject to appeal, there was no security against  
 their committing gross injustice. As also they were  
 necessarily ignorant of the laws and regulations, their  
 judgments could not be governed by any determinate  
 principles, and their decisions could not fail to be capri-  
 cious and contradictory.<sup>2</sup> The arguments of the Com-  
 missioners, backed by the positive injunctions of the  
 Home Authorities, silenced all opposition; and a series  
 of Regulations was enacted and promulgated in the course  
 of 1816, based upon the principles which the orders from  
 home had laid down.<sup>3</sup> By the first of these it was pro-  
 vided, that the Heads of villages should be Munsifs in  
 their respective villages; and that they should have  
 authority to hear and determine, without appeal, all suits  
 preferred before them for personal property, not exceeding  
 in value ten Arcot rupees, unless the parties entered into  
 a bond to abide by the Patel's decision, when the limit  
 might be extended to one hundred rupees. Registers of  
 the suits decided were to be kept by the village accountant;  
 and periodical reports of cases adjudicated and pending  
 were to be regularly transmitted to the native judicial

<sup>1</sup> Judicial Letter to Madras, 4th of May, 1814.—Selections II. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Minute of Mr. Fullerton, 1st January, 1816.—Selections II. 353.  
 Madras Regulations, IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. 1816.

officer next in rank, or the District Munsif. The Village Munsifs were authorised, by the next regulation, to assemble Panchayats, or from five to eleven of the most respectable inhabitants of the village community to hear and try, with the consent of the parties themselves, suits for personal property, to an unlimited amount. Provisions were made for regulating the constitution of the Panchayats and their mode of proceeding. Their decisions admitted of no appeal, unless a charge against them of partiality and corruption could be substantiated. Reports of their proceedings were to be transmitted to the District Munsifs, whose appointment formed the subject of another regulation. These officers were substituted for the native Commissioners formerly employed ; but their number was augmented, and powers enlarged. They were authorized to decide causes for real as well as personal property, to the extent of two hundred rupees ; and within certain limits their decrees were final. They were also empowered to assemble District Panchayats, whose proceedings and constitution were analogous to those of the village Panchayats. Another measure, having the same object in contemplation, was the extension of the powers of Sudder Amins, the Law Officers of the District and Provincial Courts, to the trial of suits for real and personal property, not exceeding the value of three hundred rupees. When it is recollected that, by far the largest proportion of the causes brought before the courts, are for values of a limited amount, it will be seen that the principal share in the administration of civil justice was thus transferred to native functionaries. Still further to expedite the despatch of civil justice, alterations were made in the laws affecting the processes of the Courts, and the course of pleading ; and limitations were affixed to the privilege of appeal.<sup>1</sup> At a shortly subsequent date, the jurisdiction of the Sudder Amins and District Munsifs was severally extended to suits for the value of seven hundred and fifty and five hundred rupees,<sup>2</sup> and the Collector was instructed to hear and decide disputes relating to the rents and possession of land, which had previously been cognizable by the civil judge alone.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Madras Regulations, XIV. XV. 1816.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. II. 1821.<sup>3</sup> Ibid. V. 1822.

BOOK II. The effects of the various regulations thus promulgated, very soon operated to lighten the duties of the judges, and to facilitate the determination of civil suits. Some of their results were, however, unexpected, and afforded an unanswerable proof that the sentiments of the natives of India are as liable as those of other natives to vary with change of time and circumstances. The benefits so confidently anticipated from the public recognition of the Panchayat were not realised: the supposed boon granted to the people was rejected: they would make little use of an institution interwoven, it had been imagined, inseparably with their habits and affections. The Panchayats, it appeared, had been highly prized, only as long as nothing better was to be had. In the absence of all other tribunals the people were constrained to establish one for themselves, and willingly admitted its adjudication of disputes which there was no other authority to settle; while, on the other hand, the most respectable members of the community, especially interested in maintaining property and peace inviolate, and being subject to no authoritative interference or protection, willingly discharged, without any other consideration than the influence which they derived from their discharge of such functions, the duties of arbitrators and judges. But a court, the members of which acknowledged no responsibility, and performed their functions only for such a term, or at such times, as suited their own convenience; who were guided by no light except their own good sense; who, even if uncorrupt, could scarcely be impartial; who had no power to carry their own decrees into effect; and whose sentences were liable to no revision: such a court must have been a very inadequate substitute for any tribunal, the proceedings of which were regulated by fixed rules, and which was presided over by a qualified officer, removed from personal influence, and subject to vigilant supervision. Whatever defects might still adhere to the administration of justice through individual judges, native or European, appointed by the Government, their courts continued to be crowded, while the Panchayats were deserted, their unpopularity being partly ascribable to their inherent imperfections, and partly to the indifference or dislike of the persons of whom they were ordinarily composed, who, from the

moment that the Government attempted to regulate their proceedings, found themselves deprived of independence, and subjected to a gratuitous and irksome responsibility. The same causes brought the village Munsifs into disrepute: they were made amenable for partiality or corruption to superior authorities: and they reaped neither profit nor consideration from their unrequited labour. It was not to be expected that, under these circumstances, the Patels would become active and zealous magistrates, or that they would fail to take every safe occasion of remunerating themselves. They were mostly also ignorant and illiterate men, unable to read or write, and little qualified by superiority of knowledge or talent, to command respect for their decisions. Recourse was consequently rarely had to their judgments; and the chief increase of labour fell upon the Sudder Amins and district Munsifs, officers appointed by the State for the distribution of justice among the people, and owing all their influence and authority to their public and functional character.<sup>1</sup>

The circumscribed extent of the territories, subject to the Presidency of Bombay, anteriorly to the Mahratta cessions and conquests, had required the services of a comparatively limited establishment which was modelled upon those of the other Presidencies, with the exception that the court of final appeal continued, until 1820, to con-

BOOK II.

CHAP. XII.

1814-23.

<sup>1</sup> In 1817, the year following the enactment of the New Regulations, the number of civil suits decided rose from 46,909 to 71,051, of which 66,302 were adjudicated by Native Courts; of this great number no more than 112 were decided by district Panchayats, and 250 by village Panchayats. In 1818, the number of cases decided by these courts were respectively but 75 and 197, and in 1819, 33 and 99. On the 1st January, 1820, the suits on the files of the Native Courts were 21,058, of which no more than 35 were before the district Panchayats, and only 9 before those of the villages. The village Head men as Munsifs, had cognizance of but 299, and the rest, exceeding 20,000, were all before the district Munsifs. "who to all intents and purposes were servants of the Government, stipendiary Native Judges, a new description of person, unknown under the Native Government, not the native gentry of the country, nor having by their appointment any connection with the gratuitous labour formerly required by ancient municipal arrangements."—Minute of Mr. Fullerton, 7th June, 1820.—Selections iv. 46. See also Report of Sudder Adawlat, 21st September, 1818. Selections, ii. 610. The manner in which the work was done by the Munsifs was satisfactory. From 1816 to 1820, their decisions amounted to 183,530, the appeals from them to 3,057, or about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.—Ibid. iv. 67. The Commissioners were obliged to admit the partial failure of this part of their scheme, "several causes have contributed to retard the progress of the system under the village Munsifs; the forms and length of the Regulation, the pains and penalties, and prosecutions which it announces, their fears of the European Courts, and their consequent reluctance to engage in anything likely in the most remote degree to bring them before those tribunals."—Report of Commissioners, October, 1818. Ibid. II. 629.



BOOK II. sist of the Governor and members of council. The  
 CHAP. XII. establishments were for some time found competent to  
 1814-23. their duty ; but the growth of population and property  
 multiplied litigation, and in 1815 complaints of delay  
 began to be heard. To provide for the augmented demand, various arrangements were adopted, extending the powers of the subordinate European judicial functionaries, and adding to their number ; and a supreme court for the final adjudication of both civil and criminal cases, or a Sudder and Fojdari Adawlat was constituted in place of the hitherto objectionable assignment of judicial functions to the executive and legislative Government.<sup>1</sup> The operation of the Regulations was extended to the first cessions from the Gaekwar and the Peshwa, and to those districts conquered from the latter, which were contiguous to the Bombay territory ; but, as has been noticed, the greater portion of the conquered country was placed under the management of Commissioners, and under them of Collectors, who were charged with the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the superintendence of the police, as well as with the realization of the revenue. The principle which guided their proceedings was the preservation of the native institutions, as far as was compatible with the ends of good government, and the paucity of European functionaries, together with the extent of their several jurisdictions, rendered them dependent upon native assistance. The means of obtaining it were more ample and perfect in the Mahratta territories than elsewhere, as the original institutions had not yet been interfered with, and were the only channels through which justice had hitherto been dispensed, and public tranquillity maintained. They were subjected to the superintendence and control of the superior European authority, but the Patel and the Panchayat continued to be for some time the chief instruments in the adjudication of civil suits.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bombay Regulations, V. 1815. V. VI. and VII. 1820, and I. 1821.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Elphinstone's Report on the Mahratta territories, 25th October, 1819.—Selections from the Records, iv. 198.—See also the Reports of his successor, Mr. Chaplin, 5th November, 1821, and 20th August, 1822.—Ibid. 309, 453. In the latter he remarks, "It will be seen from my last report, that in civil causes the Panchayat is still held to be the main instrument for dispensing justice, 490. Yet several of the officers under him speak doubtfully of its operations. Captain Briggs, the collector of Kandesh, observes, that although upon the

The state of criminal justice and of the police had been pronounced by the investigations of the Parliamentary Committee of 1812 to be as unsatisfactory as that of the civil branch, and still more imperatively to demand reform. Instructions to that effect were accordingly addressed at the same time, to the Indian Governments, promulgated by the same authority which had especially biassed the opinions of the Board of Control, and founded upon the experience of Colonel Munro. The ruling principle of the proposed reform was an entire departure from that which had influenced Lord Cornwallis in his reformation of the existing system, and re-united what he had so carefully kept apart, the powers of the magistrate with those of the Collector, and the charge of the police with the collection of the revenue. Arguing, that the duties of the Criminal Judge prevented the same officer from duly attending to civil justice ; that those of a judge were incompatible with the more active functions of a magistrate ; that the establishment of Darogas and Thanas, while it was unfamiliar and obnoxious to the natives, was ineffective ; and that the Collector in person, or through his revenue officers, was brought more than any other functionary into approximation with the people, the Home Authorities directed that the Thanadari system should be abolished ; that the Collector should be vested with magisterial as well as fiscal powers, and the same should be exercised under him by revenue officers, or Tehsildars, and the heads of villages : that where the Zemindari settlements prevailed, the Zemindars should be restored to a portion of their former authority over the police ; and that measures should be adopted for the re-organization of the village watch on a footing of efficiency.

The same objections which had been urged in Bengal to the employment of the heads of villages in the duties of civil justice, were repeated at that Presidency, in respect to their forming part of the new police system — namely, the disappearance of heads of villages, properly so considered, and their replacement by the servants of

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whole popular, the parties would prefer the decision of a European ; that the members dislike the duty, that their proceedings are very slow, that they are not free from corruption, and that the whole system requires revision. Selections iv. 246, 829.

BOOK II. the Zemindar, who would be likely to abuse such powers  
CHAP. XII. in his favour to the injury of the people. It was admitted  
1818. that no system of police could be effective without the  
support and co-operation of the Zemindars; yet it was  
considered unadvisable to entrust them with an authority,  
the notorious misemployment of which had originally  
occasioned their being deprived of it; and it was evidently  
impracticable to combine the interference of the Zemin-  
dars in the police, with the existing arrangements of  
Thanas and Darogas. The association of magisterial and  
revenue functions was also strongly objected to, not only  
upon the principles already laid down, but upon the  
ground that the Collectors were already fully occupied,  
and would not be able to undertake the labours of the  
magistracy without neglecting their peculiar duties. It  
was also urged, that although the Collectors might not be  
guilty of any abuse of their magisterial powers, yet it  
might be reasonably doubted whether the Tehsildars, and  
other native officers acting under them, would not pervert  
the authority vested in them for public purposes, to the  
means of promoting a private end, or at least to the faci-  
litating of the collection of rents and revenues by other  
modes of coercion than those sanctioned by the Regula-  
tions. It was further asserted, that the proposed innova-  
tions were unnecessary, as the existing Thanadari system  
under the established magistrates was as effectual as any  
that had been devised, falling little short of the best  
organized systems in Europe, in regard to the detection  
of crime and the apprehension of criminals, when under  
the direction of an able and active magistrate. Its im-  
perfection as a preventive police was not so much impu-  
table to any inherent defect, as to the absence of public  
spirit in the influential members of native society, who  
generally, although not universally, resenting the diminution of an authority of which they had shown themselves  
to be unworthy depositaries, were backward in fulfilling  
the obligations of their station, and rather afforded protection to crime, than aided in its prevention or punishment. As long as this was the case, it was unfair to  
expect the full development of the efficiency of the police.  
The village watch, on the other hand, was an essential  
part of the existing system; and although its organiza-

tion might have been occasionally impaired, yet it was not only susceptible of revival, but had been the main engine of the success which had attended that system in putting down great crimes, and preserving the general peace and security of the country. Very much had been already accomplished; and all that remained to be done was, to induce individuals of wealth and influence in society to give that assistance which they were in a position to render, not only by imposing penalties for their neglect, but by recompensing their exertions with merited notice and distinction.<sup>1</sup>

Although dissenting from the detailed injunctions of the Home Authorities, the Government of Bengal recognized the necessity of making additional provisions for the more prompt and effective administration of criminal justice, and of the duties of the police. During the period of which we treat, repeated regulations for these objects were promulgated. Crimes of inferior magnitude, of which the cognizance had been restricted to the Courts of Circuit, were subjected to the decision of the City and Zilla Judges, or, at their discretion, to the judgment and sentence of their native law officers and Sudder Amins;<sup>2</sup>—and in like manner the Circuit Courts were permitted to hear and determine cases which had heretofore been reserved for the Sudder Adawlat. These limitations of jurisdiction, however indicative of a jealous care for the protection of person, had occasioned a degree of uncertainty and delay wholly destructive of the benefit which results from the prompt infliction of punishment, and often subjected those who were accused and not convicted of crime, to indefinite and unjust imprisonment. Records of the period during which prisoners had been detained, were, therefore, to be regularly furnished at every jail delivery, and the Circuit Judge was authorised to require immediate decision upon every case of protracted deten-

<sup>1</sup> The same documents as those which regard the state of Civil Judicature, are the authorities for the measures enjoined and adopted, or objected to in Bengal, in regard to criminal justice and police; viz., the Letter of the Court to Bengal, of 9th November, 1814.—Parliamentary Papers, printed July, 1819, p. 33, Letter from the Judges of the Sudder Adawlat, 9th March, 1818, Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed.—Judicial Minute of Lord Moira, October, 1815, Parl. Papers, July, 1819, p. 139. Judicial Letter from Bengal, 22nd February, 1827, Commons' Report, 1832, App. Judicial.

<sup>2</sup> Bengal Regulations, XVII. of 1817, XII. of 1818, and III. of 1821.



BOOK II. tion. The same functionaries were empowered, without  
 CHAP. XII. reference to the Nizamut, or Supreme Criminal Court, to  
 1814-23. admit to bail offences not usually bailable, when the  
 accused had been long in confinement, and where competent security was tendered.<sup>1</sup> The enactments for the police were consolidated into one comprehensive Regulation,<sup>2</sup> which had especially in view the objects of giving energy and activity to the officers of the police, while guarding against any abuse of their powers. They were prohibited from inflicting fine or punishment of any kind, from extorting confession by any mode of torture, and from detaining any person apprehended above forty-eight hours without forwarding him to the magistrate, with a full report of the charge against him. The village watchmen of every class were declared to be subject to the authority of the Thanadar; and Zemindars, their agents, heads of villages, and all persons entrusted with authority, judicial or revenue, were required to give immediate information of heinous offences, and of all loss of life, whether from accident or violence, within their knowledge, under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Although, as a general principle, the union of the magistracy with the collection of the revenues was resisted, yet it was allowed in special localities; and the Governor-General was empowered to employ a Collector as magistrate where he might think it advisable.<sup>3</sup> The power which had been entrusted to the Collector of deciding summary suits for rent, and disputes regarding occupancy, was expected to relieve the Criminal Judge of a very laborious part of his duties, by the prevention of affrays arising out of contested boundaries, which were always of a sanguinary description, usually attended with loss of life, and which, from the great number of persons concerned, demanded tedious and laborious investigation.<sup>4</sup> These enactments

<sup>1</sup> Bengal Regulations. VI. and VIII. of 1817.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. X X. of 1817.

<sup>3</sup> The Collectors in Ramgerh and the Jangal Mahals, and the Sub-collectors at Khurda, Balasore, and Pilibhit, and other officers at Moradabad, Etawa, Aligerh and Meerut, and in Bundelkhand, had been already made joint magistrates. The Commissioners at Delhi, Ajmir, in the Sagar and Nagpur territories, in Cuttack, Ramgerh and Rungpur, united Revenue and Judicial powers.—Letter from Bengal, February, 1827. Commons' Report.—Judicial Appendix, p. 109. The discretionary power of appointing Collectors to act as magistrates was provided by Regulation VII. 1823, ch. xx.

<sup>4</sup> The Superintendent of Police in the Western provinces, reported that in last six months of 1811, many affrays had taken place in the Benares district, in

afforded some additional facility and precision in the attainment of the ends proposed; but they involved no material departure from the system in force, and adhered, with but partial exceptions, to the principle of distinction between the judicial and revenue departments.

The orders addressed from England to the Government of Fort St. George, were of a more peremptory tenor.<sup>1</sup> It was declared, that any plan of criminal Judicature and Police, not based upon the ancient village system, was radically defective, and inadequate to the accomplishment of its intended purposes; and that experience had shown, that the feeble operation of a few Darogas and Peons, spread through a wide extent of country, and having no hold upon the respect or attachment of the people, was wholly insufficient for the preservation of social order and tranquillity. The immediate abolition of the Thanadari system was therefore enjoined; and it was directed, that the whole of the magisterial functions should be entrusted to the Collector, as well as the superintendence of the Police, his duties to be discharged through the agency of his subordinate European and native Collectors, the heads of villages, and the village watch. The circumstances of the Madras Presidency, and the greater completeness with which the village institutions in many parts of the country had survived political revolutions, were favourable to the introduction of the proposed arrangements; and it was further facilitated by the general impression that the Thanadari system was unsuited to the condition of the people, and was unable to check the progress of crime.<sup>2</sup>

which 5,700 persons were concerned, of whom thirty were killed on the spot, and sixty-nine wounded. At Zemanla, opposite to Ghazipur, an affray took place notwithstanding the presence and prohibition of the Police, and the Zemindar, whose crop it was the object of one party to seize, was murdered, although he had taken refuge with the Police officers. The stronger party always found an advantage from his success, as owing to the delays of the Courts he was sure of remaining in possession for a prolonged period.—Letter to Bengal. Parl. Papers, July, 1819, p. 37.

<sup>1</sup> The Letter above referred to, 29th April, 1814.—Selections, ii. 250.

<sup>2</sup> "The inexpediency of the system of Police under Darogas and Thanadars at Madras, appeared manifest at a very early period. A Committee was appointed in 1805, to consider a general system of Police, and their report contained an express recommendation to continue the ancient system under the head inhabitants, and to place the superintendence of the Police under the Collectors. The same sentiments in regard to the village establishments have been expressed by the Second Committee. The decision of the Supreme Government against the transfer of the Police to the Collector, precluded the discussion of that measure by the Second Committee. The stipendiary Police

BOOK II. The leading authorities, therefore, acquiesced in the general expediency of entrusting the duties of the Police to the officers of the revenue, the Collector, the Tehsildars, and, under them, the heads of villages, and the village watchmen. Objections were stated to the combination of Magistrate and Collector,<sup>1</sup> but they were held to be invalid by the Special Commission; and the Government acting in conformity to their opinions, it was resolved that the Collector should be charged with all the duties of the magistrate, except the visitation of the jails and personal attendance at the circuits. Accordingly, regulations were enacted, constituting the Collectors of the several Zillas, magistrates also of their respective Zillas, and their assistants, assistants to the Magistrates, in which capacity they were empowered to apprehend persons charged with offences against person and property; to commit them for trial, when satisfied that there were grounds for their committal; and, in the case of minor offences, to hear and pronounce sentence, comprehending corporal punishment, imprisonment and fine, within prescribed limits. The judges of the Zilla were appointed criminal judges for the trial of the cases sent to them by the Magistrates, under certain limitations, beyond which they were referable to the Court of Circuit, at the usual periodical sessions. The appointment of Daroga was abolished, and the functions were transferred to the head-men of the villages, assisted by the Karnams, or village accountants, and the Taliaris, or other class of village watchmen, by Tehsildars, or native collectors, by Zemindars, Amins, and Kotwals. Their duties were principally the prevention of crime by seasonable interposition, or prompt information to superior authority, the apprehension of criminals, and their transmission to the proper officer within twenty-four hours of their arrest; and the adjudication of petty disputes and thefts, with power to impose a trivial fine, and to award a brief detention in the village choltri, or the stocks. The village guards were declared to be hereditary, and entitled to an assignment from the Government of land,

Peons have, indeed, shown themselves incapable of acting but by the aid of the village police, and they have moreover proved a great annoyance to the inhabitants."—Mr. Fullerton's Minute, 1st January, 1816.—Selections II. 305.

<sup>1</sup> Report of Board of Revenue, Madras, 18th December, 1816.—Selection ii. 403.—Mr. Fullerton's Minute. Ibid. 369.

grain, or money, as might be convenient. In default of heirs, they were appointed by the Collector. Tehsildars were, *ex officio*, heads of Police in their respective districts, and, in addition to the subsidiary duties of investigation and committal, were authorised to hear and determine, and inflict punishment according to definite limitations. The Magistrate was permitted to appoint, at his discretion, any Zemindar who should be desirous of the office, head of the Police within his own Zemindari; Amin's of Police were also nominated for towns. Abuse of authority by any of these persons, was punishable by fine and imprisonment.<sup>1</sup> The powers of the subordinate functionaries<sup>2</sup> were subsequently extended, and various regulations were passed to facilitate and expedite the decisions of the criminal courts.<sup>3</sup> As Colonel Munro, the main author of these innovations, was appointed Governor of Madras in 1820, he was enabled to superintend the full development of a system virtually abrogating that which had, a few years earlier, been pressed upon the Government of Fort St. George by the Government of Bengal, as affording the only solid basis on which the advance of the people in happiness and prosperity, the permanent preservation of private security and public tranquillity, could be established.<sup>4</sup>

The arrangements adopted at Madras for the union of the superintendence of Police and the functions of the Magistrate, with the duties of the Collector, were implicitly followed at Bombay, being recommended by the similar vitality of the native institutions. In the recently ceded and conquered territories especially they were in full vigour,

<sup>1</sup> Madras Regulations, IX. X. XI. XII, of 1816.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. IV., 1821.

<sup>3</sup> Regulations, III. 1817, and I. II. VI. of 1822.

<sup>4</sup> In a Letter from the Government of Bengal to the Government of Fort St. George, during the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, and bearing his signature, it is asserted, that "the system in force under the native governments, however well conducted, must necessarily produce oppression and abuse, as it provides no restraint upon the exercise of power sufficient to ensure the uniform, impartial, and general operation of the laws, and to inspire the people with a sense of confidence and security in the ordinary conduct of private transactions, and in the undisturbed exercise of private rights;" and his Lordship reprimands the Government for their tardiness in giving effect to the new system of instituting regular Courts "adequate to secure the prompt and impartial administration of the established laws, the revenue officers, being disqualified by their revenue duties for the discharge of judicial functions." The whole letter is a summary of the principles of 1793, which, at Madras at least, had in little more than twenty years become obsolete, and were regarded as mistaken and mischievous. Selections iv. 924.



BOOK II. and the agents of the police, and officers of criminal justice were the same as those to whom the collection of the revenue had been intrusted.<sup>1</sup> The principle was carefully preserved, but the practice was modified by provisions calculated to limit the powers and control the proceedings of the native officers ; and by the ample discretion necessarily vested in the European Collectors of the districts into which the new territory was distributed. Offences of a heinous nature were reserved for the decision of the Collectors ; and in cases of capital punishment for the confirmation of the Commissioner.

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181-23.

The views entertained by the authorities, emanating chiefly from the Board of Control, adverse to the principle of the permanent settlement of the revenue, have been already adverted to.<sup>2</sup> The soundness of the principle was not professedly contravened, but the seasonableness of the practice was denied until a patient and laborious scrutiny of individual rights, a careful investigation of local peculiarities, and a minute and detailed survey of the extent, cultivation, and productiveness of the territory should have been instituted. An annual settlement with the actual cultivators on the Ryotwari system, was also considered to be more consistent with individual rights, as well as more profitable to the public revenue ; and the introduction of such an arrangement was strenuously enjoined upon the Government of Bengal, in all cases where it might be practicable.<sup>3</sup>

The local Governments of Bengal and Madras, on the other hand, as tenaciously adhered to the principle of permanency, and maintained that the interests of the Government and the expectations of the people, justified by previous promises and regulations, required that a settlement in perpetuity should be made, either immediately or after a brief interval. They were, however, positively prohibited from carrying the measure into effect, without the previous sanction of the Court ; and in obedience to these orders the arrangement was indefinitely deferred.

In Bengal, the existing settlement of the lower provinces

<sup>1</sup> Bombay Regulations I. II. of 1818.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. VII. p. 452.

<sup>3</sup> Revenue Letters from the Court of Directors, 1st February, 1811. Selections i. ii. 15th January, 1812. Ibid 1. 61. 29th January, 1813. Ibid. p. 75.

precluded the consideration of the question of perpetuity, and the measures of the Government were restricted to the enactment of regulations intended to correct previous errors, or to provide for circumstances which had arisen out of the altered conditions of the agricultural interests. In order to preserve a record of the changes constantly taking place in the distribution of the soil, the office of Kanungo in each Pergana, or district, was revived, whose duty it was to keep registers of all transfers of landed property, of the alteration of boundaries; of the prices of produce and rates of rent, and of a variety of subjects regarding the statistics of the cultivation and occupancy of the country; furnishing the particulars periodically to the Collector. To enable the Kanungo to collect and compile this information, the injunction which originally made it incumbent on the Zemindars to keep up the Patwaris, or village accountants, who were to supply the Kanungo with half-yearly details was reiterated. These latter officers had been maintained in various degrees of efficiency for the service of the Zemindar;<sup>1</sup> but the Kanungo had been abolished in the lower provinces, shortly after the conclusion of the perpetual settlement; and in Bengal, his services were missed as soon as inquiry was directed to those particulars, on which alone equitable assessments could be formed.<sup>2</sup> The institution had survived in the western provinces, and was there found of service, but it was not in the power of a mere enactment to reorganize a machinery elsewhere, which had been suffered to fall into utter decay, and the renovation of which demanded time, opportunity, and diligent supervision.

Regulations were likewise promulgated for the levying of revenue from lands which were held rent-free, and which had not been so specified at the formation of the

<sup>1</sup> Regulations II. 1816, II. XIII. 1817, and I. 1818, and XII. 1817. Zemindars had been ordered to maintain Patwaris in every village by Reg. VIII. 1793, ch. lxii.

<sup>2</sup> The office of Kanungo, which was universal under the Mogul Government, was abolished in 1802 by Lord Cornwallis, under a belief that all the particulars regarding the relative claims of Government and of individuals, had been recorded, and that the rights of landholders and cultivators of the soil, whether founded on ancient custom, or on regulations which had originated with the British Government, had been reduced to writing, a belief which was wholly erroneous. Mem. by Mr. Secretary Mackenzie. Revenue Selections, iii. p. 41. See Correspondence on the appointment of Kanungos—the same volume, i. 52.

BOOK II. perpetual settlement, or included in the recognised limits  
 CHAP. XII. of the extant Zemindaris; also for the assessment of  
 ——— waste lands, not comprised within the same limits, and  
 1814-23. since brought under cultivation: a special regulation<sup>1</sup>  
 gave validity to a new species of tenure which had grown  
 up under the prevailing system, derived from leases in  
 perpetuity, granted by Zemindars, of portions of their  
 estates, and of sub-leases again granted by the tenants,<sup>2</sup>  
 defining also the nature of the property, and the mode of  
 recovering arrears of rent. Enactments were likewise  
 passed for the better regulation of sales of land for arrears  
 of revenue, the objects of which were to render them more  
 deliberate and public; to secure the validity of the trans-  
 fer, and define the nature and extent of the rights trans-  
 ferred; to protect all parties concerned from the conse-  
 quences of error, irregularity, or fraud in the proceedings,  
 and to enable the Board of Revenue to cancel a sale when  
 it might seem to be a measure of excessive severity. This  
 regulation, which applied to the Ceded and Conquered  
 provinces, as well as to Bengal, contained one important  
 clause which altered materially the relative positions of  
 the actual cultivator and the Zemindar. Unto this date,  
 all under-tenures were annihilated by the sale of the Ze-  
 mindari, and the purchaser was empowered to make what  
 new engagements he pleased, and to dispossess any class  
 of occupants. It was now enacted, that tenants holding  
 the land in hereditary and transferable property, or culti-  
 vators having a hereditary and prescriptive right of occu-  
 pancy, should not be dispossessed as long as they paid the  
 rents previously settled, and that those rents should not  
 be augmented, except under specified circumstances. This  
 was a most essential advance in the protection of the  
 rights of the peasantry, which, by the permanent settle-  
 ment, had been left in Bengal entirely at the mercy of the  
 Zemindar.<sup>3</sup>

The principal Revenue measures of the Government of  
 Bengal, however, regarded the more recently acquired ter-

<sup>1</sup> Regulations XXIII. 1817, II. 1819.

<sup>2</sup> Regulation VIII. of 1819. The tenants in the first degree were known as Patnidars, leaseholders; in the second, Durpatni-dars, sub-leaseholders; in the third, Sch patni-dars, or third leaseholders; the leases were at a fixed rent in perpetuity.

<sup>3</sup> Regulations XVIII. 1814, and XI. 1822. See also Revenue Letters from Bengal, 20th of July, 1823. Com. Rep., 1832. Revenue App. p. 194.

ritories, and as no final assessment of the revenue of the Western provinces had yet been effected; the question that called for determination was the principle to be adopted in respect to those provinces. Permanency had been positively prohibited by the Court, and the practice of temporary assessments, which had hitherto prevailed, was therefore still to be pursued; but it remained to be considered, with whom the settlements were to be made, and upon what conditions.

The settlement of the Western provinces early engaged the attention of the Earl of Moira. Although disposed to acknowledge the desirableness of a permanent limitation of the Government demands, the new Governor-General had brought with him different notions from those which had hitherto predominated in the Supreme Council, and early expressed his conviction, that the measure must necessarily be preceded by the most thorough investigation; and on his journey to the upper provinces in 1814, he called upon the several Collectors to meet him, and bring with them full reports on the state of their respective districts. The information then received, although presenting a progressive improvement in the revenue, exhibited a marked inequality in the rate of assessment,<sup>1</sup> and led to the conclusion, that those who were most heavily assessed, could bear the burthen only because they were in possession of lands which had been withheld from all assessment whatever: it followed, therefore, that the statements upon which the calculations were founded were erroneous; that no dependence could be placed on the returns of the native revenue officers; and that the only safe criterion by which the Government claim could be accurately adjusted, was the actual measurement and survey of the ground, and a careful estimate of its average produce. The settlement of the revenue with the actual cultivators on the Ryotwari system, was declared to be

<sup>1</sup> The total land revenue of the Ceded and Conquered provinces amounted to more than two crores and eighty lakhs (2,800,000*l.*) which was collected at a charge of about 6 per cent., and with a balance of about 3 per cent., the whole levied upon 3,57,40,598, recorded Bigas of cultivated land. In Shah-jehanpur and Bareilly, the rate per Biga was seven and eight anas; in Moradabad, one rupee, twelve anas; between three and four times the rate of the preceding, although like them situated in the same province, Rohilkhand, and distinguished by no material difference in the fertility of the soil. Revenue Minute of the Governor-General, 21st Sept., 1815. Commons Report, 1832. Revenue App. p. 91.



BOOK II. inapplicable to Upper India, as involving a minuteness of  
 CHAP. XII. inspection which was impracticable with the present  
 1814-23. European establishment, and which would necessitate the  
 employment of an infinite number of native agents who, from the impossibility of an efficient control, would be likely to inflict unbounded extortion and oppression. It became necessary, therefore, to form engagements with middle-men of some class or other; and the Board of Commissioners appointed to the Upper Provinces sought to introduce the system of village settlements; contracting engagements with one or more of the members of the actual cultivating body, as the representative of each village community for the whole of the Government demand, and leaving the adjustment of the share of each individual cultivator to be settled among themselves, with an appeal to the arbitration of the civil courts. The principle of this arrangement generally was conformable to the existing institutions, and was satisfactory to the people.

Before, however, the settlement of the ceded and conquered provinces upon the principle proposed could be attempted, it became necessary to remedy the abuses which had followed upon the settlements previously made, by which a vast number of the cultivators and proprietors of the soil had been violently or fraudulently deprived of their hereditary possessions. During the first seven or eight years after the acquisition of the new territories, the native officers of Government, their relations, connections, and dependants, taking advantage of the novelty of the British rule, of the weakness and ignorance of the people, and, in some cases, of the culpable supineness and misconduct of the European functionaries, contrived to acquire very extensive estates by the injury and ruin of the legal possessors. This wrong was perpetrated chiefly through collusive and fraudulent sales for arrears of revenue, either where no arrears were due,<sup>1</sup> or where they

<sup>1</sup> "I have known a case wherein the defendant has not only had his estate sold for alleged arrears of revenue, but been prosecuted separately for further balance, and when by his own acts, acknowledgments, and pleading, he must have been cast; yet when all his own and his pleader's ingenuity has failed, it has been found that the full revenue and more was collected, and the estate purchased by a portion of that which had been withheld."—Letter from Mr. Fortescue, Judge and Magistrate of Allahabad. Com. Rep. 1832. Revenue App. p. 229.

were purposely incurred by individuals who had been admitted to contract for the public revenue without having any claim or title to the lands, and who created a title either for themselves, or the Government officers in league with them, by the fact of a public sale. Private sales were also effected by the same pretended proprietors of estates, in which they had no fixed property, in favour of the officers of Government, their relations, or dependants. The persons thus injured—the village Zemindars—were for the most part ignorant and poor, and unacquainted with the forms of the British Courts or the principles of the Regulations, while those who defrauded them of their patrimony were generally men of wealth and rank, familiar with the British system, and enjoying considerable influence with the European functionaries.<sup>1</sup> Redress through the instrumentality of the judicial establishments was scarcely possible, and general discontent, often manifesting itself in affrays and bloodshed, pervaded the population of the Western provinces.<sup>2</sup>

Satisfied of the correctness of these statements, the Government resolved to adopt measures for securing redress to those whose rights had been invaded, by means more immediately accessible than the ordinary course of justice; and a Regulation was enacted appointing a Mofussil, or Provincial Commission, for the following purposes:—Investigation of disputed claims on account of public or private transfers of land prior to 1810, within such limits as the Government should direct; annulling sales effected by fraudulent influence, or by mal-administration, and restoring the estates to their rightful owners; upholding all genuine and valid sales, and making adequate compensation in the case of those cancelled, where the purchasers were not implicated in, or privy to, any dis-

<sup>1</sup> In the Allahabad district, the principal purchasers were the Raja of Benares, a wealthy banker from the same place, and a former Amil, or Government manager, of Kota; these three, in the first few years after the cession, acquired by chicanery and collusion, estates yielding an annual revenue of 5,87,000 rupees (or 58,700*l.*), being one-fifth of the revenue of the whole district.—Memorandum by Mr. Secretary Mackenzie. Ibid. 232. So Mr. Fortescue also writes. "Immediately after the cession in 1801, two very distinguished characters made their appearance from the contiguous province of Benares, in this district."—Comm. Report, 1832. Revenue App. p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Preamble to Regulation I. 1821, which enters fully into the nature of the frauds committed.—See also Minute of Mr. J. Stuart. Ibid. Revenue App. 224.

BOOK II. honesty or deception. In communication with the  
 CHAP. XII. Mofussil Commission, a Sudder Commission was estab-  
 1814-23. lished at Calcutta, to receive the reports of the Provincial  
 Commissioners, to confirm or annul their decisions, and  
 to receive appeals from their judgments.<sup>1</sup> The appoint-  
 ment of the Special Mofussil Commission was vehemently  
 opposed by the Judges of the Sudder, on the ground of its  
 supercession of the regular Courts, which were open to  
 all injured parties, and of its liability to add a new set of  
 wrongs to those complained of, by dispossessing many  
 persons of rights originally acquired by fair and honest  
 purchase, and undisturbed through a prolonged interval.  
 The resolution of the Government was, however, persisted  
 in, and the two Commissions continued to prosecute their  
 investigation through a number of years, in which a great  
 amount of hardship and injury was redressed, and a  
 favourable impression was made upon the minds of the  
 people;—a considerable mass of information was also  
 accumulated, regarding the tenures by which the lands in  
 the Upper Provinces were held, an earlier acquaintance  
 with which would have prevented the occurrence of that  
 mischief which it was the work of many years entirely to  
 repair.<sup>2</sup>

As the temporary arrangements made with the occu-  
 pants of the land in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces  
 were to expire in 1822, it became necessary to reconsider  
 the question of a final assessment, and its being settled  
 for perpetuity was again brought under discussion, not-  
 withstanding the opposition of the Home Authorities. A  
 permanent settlement was strongly recommended by the  
 Board of Commissioners, not only upon the advantages of  
 the measure in a fiscal point of view, but because they  
 considered that the faith of the Government had been  
 distinctly pledged to its adoption, and that the mass of  
 the population had long and anxiously expected it: it  
 could no longer, therefore, in their opinion, be withheld  
 without the greatest injury to the interests of the British

<sup>1</sup> Regulations I. 1821, and I. 1823, IV. 1826.

<sup>2</sup> Notes on the Proceedings of the Government of Bengal respecting the enactment of Regulation I. 1821, bringing down the proceedings to 1826; and Revenue Letter to Bengal, January, 1829.—Comm. Report, 1832. Revenue App. p. 269. The Mofussil Commission was abolished upon the appointment of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, to whom its duties were transferred.

Government in that quarter.<sup>1</sup> The same sentiments were expressed by the members of the Government;<sup>2</sup> and the result of their deliberations was the communication of their unanimous opinion, that the system of a permanent settlement of the land revenue, either upon the principle of a fixed total payment, or of an assignment determinable by a fixed and invariable rate, ought to be extended to the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, as soon as it should be practicable fully to ascertain and record the value and capabilities of the land, and the rights and privileges of the various classes having an interest in the land. They were almost unanimous, however, in concluding that the extension of a permanent settlement to the provinces in question, without a minute investigation of the nature specified, would involve the risk of a considerable sacrifice of revenue, and the still more serious evil of placing in jeopardy the rights and property of a large body of the population.<sup>3</sup> These sentiments called for a reiteration of the injunctions of the Court to abstain, not only from making any permanent settlement, but from taking any measures which might raise the expectation that a settlement in perpetuity would hereafter be formed.<sup>4</sup> The Home Authorities now apparently abandoned the principle altogether—a relinquishment immaterial, as has been argued, to the interests, and indifferent to the people, as long as an enhancement of the calls upon them is not vexatiously repeated, and they entertain a firm trust in the durability, if not in the perpetuity, of moderate assessments.

<sup>1</sup> Report of Board of Commissioners for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, 27th October, 1818.—Selections iii. 143.

<sup>2</sup> See Minutes of Mr. Dowdeswell, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Mr. Stuart, and Mr. Adam. Sir E. Colebrooke maintained that the condition attached to Regulation IX. 1805, had been fulfilled, that the Western Provinces had attained in all lands liable to assessment the maximum of cultivation, and that the revenue was more likely to decline than to improve. He also in a second minute asserted, that it was unnecessary to await the verification of tenures, as it would be sufficient to close permanently with the several villages, and to leave disputed claims to be adjudicated by the Courts. The expedience of immediate settlement for perpetuity was, however, questioned by his colleagues, who confined themselves to the view thus expressed by Mr. Adam. "It is agreed on all hands, in this country at least, and will not, I apprehend, be denied by the Honourable Court, that the Government is pledged to impose sooner or later, a limitation to the public demand from the land in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces."—Minutes of the Members of Government, 1819-20. Selections as above.

<sup>3</sup> Revenue Letter from Bengal, 16th September, 1820.—Selections iii. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Revenue Letter to Bengal. Selections iii. 213.



BOOK II. Leaving this point for future consideration, the Govern-  
CHAP. XII. ment of Bengal determined to adopt active means for  
1814-23. procuring the requisite materials for the formation of a  
definite settlement for a protracted period, and pending  
the duration of the periodical settlements for shorter  
terms, the revenue officers in the western provinces were  
ordered to institute minute inquiries, village by village,  
into the extent and produce of the lands, the manner in  
which the produce was collected and realised, the mode  
in which it was distributed, and the rights, privileges,  
perquisites, and tenures, of all parties deriving support  
or benefit from the soil; the inquiry resolving itself into  
two heads, as affecting the land itself, and the persons  
interested in the land.

No materials entitled to credit were in existence respecting the extent and productiveness of the lands in cultivation, or the proportion still uncultivated. Such statements as were on record depended chiefly upon the personal information of subordinate officers, always vague and inaccurate, and not unfrequently interested and untrue; or upon accounts and specifications imperfectly and irregularly kept, and not uncommonly garbled and falsified. The extent to which the rights of individuals had been overlooked or violated, has been already explained by the circumstances which gave origin to the enactment of a regulation for their redress; but equal dishonesty on the one part, and ignorance and carelessness on the other, had in like manner vitiated much of the information that had been collected with regard to the distribution of the lands, and the demands to which they were justly liable. Under these considerations, the revenue authorities were instructed to ascertain, by the best available means, the extent of every village within the district, the state of its cultivation, the proportion of uncultivated or waste land, the different qualities of the lands, their situation and relative degrees of productiveness, the various kinds of crops, the mode of estimating or realising their value, and the disposal of their out-turn, the charges of cultivation and the expenses incurred on account of the village community, with a variety of subordinate details, exhibiting in a clear and authentic manner, the agricultural resources of the country in relation to the amount of the public

revenue. With regard to the people by whom that revenue was raised and paid, the Collectors were directed to determine the grounds upon which any individual assumed the character of a contractor for the Government revenue; how far he was to be treated as a proprietor of the land, or as an intermediate agent for the realisation of the public demand; in what mode the assessment of the less prominent factors was adjusted, and under what tenure they held,—whether as sole or joint proprietors, holding hereditary and transferable rights, and in what proportions, whether tenants either perpetual, having hereditary right of occupancy, or temporary and liable to removal at the will of other classes or individuals, and whether mere labourers and servants of individuals or the community; in short, every kind and description of tenure was to be investigated and determined, and all advantages, obligations, and duties, connected with each, to be definitively ascertained and recorded. The investigation was to be conducted, not with the object of increasing the public revenue, but in order to obtain an accurate knowledge of the real condition of the agricultural population, and the resources of the country, with a view to secure the prosperity of the people, as much as the equitable claims of the State. Personal inquiry on the spot, accessibility to all classes of persons, and a sedulous scrutiny of all information received, through the native officers, were impressed on the European functionaries, and a long and laborious course of investigation was anticipated.<sup>1</sup> Actual surveys of several of the provinces were set on foot, but the revenue officers were instructed not to await their completion, and to conclude the settlement of the districts upon other grounds, if satisfactory.<sup>2</sup> A formal regulation was promulgated to give effect to those arrangements, and to arm the Collectors with additional powers for the adjudication of disputed claims and titles to the

BOOK II.

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1814–23.

<sup>1</sup> The objects to be kept in view in framing a settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, are specified in copious and instructive detail in the Resolution of the Bengal Government, 22nd December, 1820.—Selections iii. p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Upon a comparison with the Revenue Survey of Baroch, made by order of the Government of Bombay, and which in a district containing but one hundred and sixty-two villages required more than two years, it was estimated by the Surveyor-General of Bengal, and a similar survey of Furruckabad, one of the Zillas of the Western Provinces, would occupy nearly thirty-two years, at a cost of nearly five lakhs of rupees.—Selections iii.

BOOK II. lands.<sup>1</sup> A great and wise measure was thus com-  
 CHAP. XII. menced: its execution was retarded by unforeseen em-  
 1814-23. barrassments; by the inability of the revenue officers to perform the duties assigned to them, partly from want of leisure, partly from want of activity and knowledge; by the frequent interruptions of the surveys; and by the intricacy of the subject, involving a complicated texture of rights and tenures, which almost defied unravelling. The principle, however, was sound. There may have been errors in the execution, as there were unavoidable delays in the accomplishment of the object proposed; but the Government was entitled to credit for wise and benevolent intentions, and for having acted, however late, upon the principle that knowledge should precede legislation.<sup>2</sup>

The measures which had been adopted at Madras, as preliminary to the formation of a permanent settlement have been already adverted to, and it has been mentioned, that in those districts in which the Ryotwar settlement had been introduced, it had been abandoned in favour of village settlements for a period first of three, and then of ten years, at the close of which a permanent arrangement was to be established, based upon the experience of the preceding interval. The measure was absolutely condemned by the Authorities at home, and recurrence to the

<sup>1</sup> Regulation VII. of 1822. It is printed in the Selections iii. 369, as well as in the usual Collection of the Regulations.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Shore, whose opinions are entitled to the utmost deference, both from his experience, and from the rectitude of his feelings in behalf of the people of India, severely condemns the measures described in the text as being impracticable, and as tending to introduce a system virtually Ryotwar. It was impossible, he argues, that a Collector, a young man and a foreigner, without any knowledge of the value of lands, or the peculiarities of Indian tenures, should be able to ascertain and determine the extent and produce of the lands of at least three thousand villages, the average number of a district, or the rights and claims of an average population of nearly a million of individuals holding property under the most varied and complicated tenures; and could the plan succeed, the result would be to get rid of the principal farmers, and transfer their profits to the Government; leaving no opening for the accumulation of capital, and its consequent application to the improvement of the land. Such he declares to have been the result of the Regulation VII. of 1822. In those districts where it had been enforced, society, he asserts, is becoming rapidly impoverished and disorganised; there is no one to take the lead, or direct the people in anything which may tend either to benefit them or the Government.—Notes on Indian affairs by the Honourable F. J. Shore, vol. i. Letter xviii. on the Revenue System. At the time at which those letters were written, 1832-3, some of the settlements for extended periods were actually perfected, and the value of the lands and tenures of individuals correctly ascertained. There is reason to think that Mr. Shore's pictures, however faithful in the main, are occasionally somewhat too highly coloured.

Ryotwar settlement commanded ; but, in the mean time, engagements for a definite term had been entered into in the greater number of instances, and it was not until about 1820, that the village leases finally expired. The plan of adjusting the Government claim with the individual cultivators was then resumed with the advantage of being carried into operation under the eye of its great advocate, Sir Thomas Munro. Some important modifications were, however, introduced.

All compulsion or restraint upon the free labour of the Ryots was prohibited. The existence of various rights in the property of the land was recognised, and the investigation and ascertainment of all existing tenures was to precede the apportionment of the Government demand ; the rates of the former assessment were considerably lowered ; and the provision which had been formerly made for rendering the industrious and fortunate cultivator liable to be amerced for any default in the payments of a less successful, or less diligent Ryot, was cancelled.<sup>1</sup> Enactments were promulgated for the protection of the Ryots, both against the oppression of superior renters and the extortions of the Government native officers ; and the Collectors were empowered to investigate and adjudge all cases of claims for rent, and all disputes respecting boundaries and crops.<sup>2</sup> The effect of these measures was favourable to the prosperity of those provinces of the Madras Presidency to which the Government settlement had not extended. In those also it was proposed to substitute gradually the Ryotwar system by purchasing, on the part of Government, the lands becoming saleable for arrears, and then settling directly with the cultivators of the soil.

The same limited extent of territory which rendered it unnecessary to construct at an early date, a complicated machinery for the administration of justice in the Bombay Presidency, retarded the full development of any system for the collection of the revenue. One advantage arising from this delay was the exemption of the Presidency from

<sup>1</sup> Paper on the Land Revenue of India, by A. D. Campbell, Esquire. Madras Civil Service. Comm. Com. 1832. Revenue Appendix, p. 50. Minute of the Board of Revenue, 5th January, 1818. Ibid. p. 578.

<sup>2</sup> Regulations Fort St. George, IV. V. and IX. of 1822.



BOOK II a precipitate imitation of the enactments of 1793 ; and the  
 CHAP. XII. previous knowledge of the discussions to which they gave  
 1814-23. origin in regard to Bengal and Madras, prevented the  
 subject of a permanent Zemindari settlement being prematurely proposed at Bombay.<sup>1</sup> The arrangements there in force were, from the beginning, based upon the practice that had prevailed under the native governments ; and for many years the revenue was collected from the villages through the agency of the Patels, according to annual assessments made by the native revenue officers subordinate to the Collector.<sup>2</sup> In the course of time, however, it was suspected that the Government was defrauded of its due, and that individuals were deprived of their property and rights by the malpractices both of the heads of villages and the native Collectors ; and that justice to the Ryots, as well as the security of the public revenue, required that a more accurate knowledge than had yet been obtained, should be possessed, of the actual condition of the agricultural classes, whether paying revenue to the State, or holding lands exempted from the public demand. A revenue Commission was accordingly early appointed to inquire into the existing tenures, and to form settlements in the territories first annexed, in consequence of cession or conquest from the Mahratta Princes, to the Bombay Presidency, lying principally in Guzerat, or on its borders.<sup>3</sup> Among the recommendations of the Committee was the institution of a detailed and scientific survey of the district of Broach, by which its boundaries, extent and divisions, and the extent of every village in it, and of every field in every village, were determined by actual admeasurement ;—a like account was taken of the lands cultivated or waste, and of those paying revenue to Government as well as of those which were rent-free. The qualities of the soil, the kind of its produce, the mode of apportioning and of valuing the latter, and of realising

<sup>1</sup> Except on the Island of Salsette, where in 1801, the Government offered to the cultivators to convey to them an absolute proprietary right, on their agreeing to a fixed permanent rate of payment. Few of the occupants availed themselves of the offer.—See Bombay Reg. I. 1801, containing a review of the past revenue arrangements on this island.

<sup>2</sup> A Collector charged with the realisation of the revenue, which had been formerly collected under the Nabobs of Surat, was first appointed in 1800. His duties were defined by Regulation XIII. of 1802.

<sup>3</sup> Comm. Com. 1s32. Revenue App. 507.

the respective shares of the cultivator of the State, were also defined, and a census of the population was taken with a verification of their individual claims, rights, and obligations.<sup>1</sup>

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The survey was commenced in 1811, and was finished in rather more than two years, when the obvious value of the information which it brought to light induced the Government to sanction its extension to the other divisions of the Collectorate, and eventually to the other three Collectorates in Guzerat, Surat, Kaira, and Ahmedabad.<sup>2</sup>

Another arrangement, having for its object the ascertainment of the resources of the districts, and the record of private as well as public rights, was an alteration in the character of the native village accountants, who were made the servants of the Government. They had hitherto been paid by the village communities, but their duties had been indefinitely fixed, and irregularly discharged, and in many places they had ceased to exist. Arrangements were made to complete their number and define their duties, and they were placed under the immediate orders of the Collector, and were paid by him at a rated per centage on the amount of the collections. Unimportant as these changes might appear to be, they tended in reality to effect a complete revolution in the village system. The authority and influence of the Accountant supplanted those of the Patel, and of the district Collector, and brought each cultivating Ryot into immediate connection with the European Collector, constituting the characteristic feature of the Ryotwar system. Many of the Patels had the sagacity to foresee this result, and opposed the introduction of the innovation, but their opposition only accelerated the evil they sought to prevent, by compelling the European officer to dispense with their agency altogether, and conclude his assessments through his own assistants, with the individual cultivators.

<sup>1</sup> The Collectorate of Broach comprised six Perganas — Broach, Akhilesar, Hanskut, Jambusir, Ahmud, and Dehej; the first conquered from Sindhia in 1803; the others ceded by the Peshwa; comprising about 1,320 square miles, a population of 224,000, and yielding a revenue of rupees 19,57,000. Letter from Bombay, 5th November, 1823. Com. Committee, 1832. App. Revenue, 778.

<sup>2</sup> Report of Lieut.-Colonel Monier Williams, on the Survey of the Broach Collectorate, *ibid.* 783.

BOOK II. The Patels then relaxed their opposition and were allowed  
 CHAP. XII. to resume their intermediate position, as it was the great  
 1814/23. object of the Bombay Government to maintain the village  
 institutions of the country in entirety and efficacy. In  
 proportion as the revenue surveys were completed, and  
 accurate records of the possessions of each cultivator  
 were obtained, the agency of the native village Account-  
 ants became less requisite, and the allowances granted  
 them being fixed upon a less liberal scale, they ceased, in  
 a great measure, to interfere with the integrity of the  
 village system.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as a moderate degree of tranquillity was re-  
 established in the conquered territories, arrangements  
 were adopted for discovering the grounds on which equi-  
 table assessments could alone be formed,—the nature of  
 the lands, and the rights of their occupants. In most  
 places, the village institutions were found in a greater  
 or lesser degree of perfection,<sup>2</sup> and the settlements which  
 were formed partook in various proportions of the nature  
 of the Ryotwar. It was the object of the Government  
 to combine the Ryotwar and the village systems, employing  
 the Patel to collect the Government demand from the  
 individual Ryots, while as the several property of each  
 Ryot, or his share of the common property, with the  
 liabilities attaching to it, were readily verifiable, any com-  
 plaint of inequality or injustice could at once be inquired

<sup>1</sup> Regulations I. 1814, and II. 1816. "The greatest change with the least appearance, was wrought by the appointment of new Talatis. These officers are, all over India, hereditary functionaries of the village, subordinate to the Patel, to whom they serve as clerk and assistant. When on their best footing, they are generally in league with the villagers, and their accounts are often falsified to serve the purpose of the Patel. The new Talati is an officer direct from Government, and looked up to by the village as its agent. He examines every man's condition and his tenure, and he is now employed to make the collections, and in a great measure to supersede the Patel in all his acts as an agent of the Government. There can be no doubt of the excellence of this regulation, as promoting the advantage of Government and the Ryots; but it must not be overlooked, that it has a tendency to extinguish the authority of the Patel, already much weakened by other parts of our management, and care should be taken when the necessary information has been acquired to bring the Talati's power within its natural bounds, and to withdraw it from all interference with the immediate duties of the Patel."—Minute of Mr. Elphinstone. Selections iii. 685.

<sup>2</sup> Except in the Southern Konkan, where tracts that had been originally farmed, had remained in the hands of the contractor's descendants, and had grown into a hereditary property, like the Zemindaris of Bengal on a smaller scale. These hereditary farmers had neglected, or destroyed the village settlements and overturned the ancient institutions. Their right by inheritance was, however, so clear, that it could not be disputed.—Answer of Mr. Elphinstone to Circular. Comm. Committee, 1832. Papers subjoined to Evidence, vol. viii.

into, and any misconduct of the Patel corrected and punished. To obtain the means of such a check, however, a similar survey to those instituted in the Guzerat districts was indispensable; and a survey of the Dekhin was accordingly strongly urged by the Commissioner of the Mahratta territories and the Government of Bombay, and received the sanction of the Home Authorities.<sup>1</sup>

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Although no material modifications of the other main sources of public revenue, the monopolies of Salt and Opium, or Foreign customs, took place, yet the progressive movements which occurred in the condition of society, and in the external relations of the British Government, rendered it necessary to revise the provisions by which they were severally regulated. The enactments regarding the cultivation of opium, prohibiting it absolutely in the Provinces of Behar and Benares, except under special permission, and providing securities against illicit production and sale, were condensed in one general regulation:<sup>2</sup> but the more important arrangements arose out of the political changes in Central India, and the danger accruing to the Company's exclusive commerce from the opium cultivation in territories newly acquired, or subject to native princes. The cultivation of the poppy had been long carried to a considerable extent in Malwa, and opium of a very good quality largely manufactured—partly for domestic consumption, and partly for export to Rajputana and Guzerat. The disorders which had been so fatal to agriculture and commerce had hitherto set limits to the production and checked the export, and little or none of the manufactured drug had found its way to the sea-side for exportation to the chief seats of the consumption of India opium,—the Eastern Islands and China, the markets of which had hitherto been exclusively supplied by the gardens of Benares and Bahar.

<sup>1</sup> Reports of Mr. Chaplin, Commissioner of the Dekhin, 5th November, 1821, and 20th August, 1822, with enclosures from the Collectors of Poona, Kandesh, Ahmadnagar, and Darwar. Selections from the Records, vol. iv. pp. 309, 453. "Being persuaded that the advantages of a Revenue Survey in the Deccan will much outweigh the inconvenience, and that the time is arrived when our Collectors may commence upon it without the dangers to which, at an earlier period, they would have been exposed, the Commissioner has been authorised to direct a gradual assessment and survey of the whole of the conquered territory."—Letter from Bombay, 5th November, 1823. Selections iii. 813. See also Mr. Chaplin's Circular Instructions, wite rules for the Survey, 13th August, 1824. Ibid. 830.

<sup>2</sup> Regulation, XIII. 1816.



BOOK II The establishment of tranquillity opened to the inhabitants of Malwa a prospect of participating in the profits of this trade, and the native merchants soon began to export opium, not only to various places on the continent, but to ports on the western coast for shipment to the eastward. The interests of the British Government were thus placed in collision with the equitable claims of its allies, and even with the industry of its own subjects; and it became necessary, for the preservation of its monopoly, to limit, and, if possible, suppress, the growing traffic. This, however, was no easy task. Prohibitory duties were imposed at all the Presidencies upon all opium not made within the boundaries of the Presidency of Bengal imported into any of their dependancies, having in view especially the territories intervening between Malwa and Bombay. It was admitted, however, that the measures affecting the produce of Central India were attended in their operation with the most serious hardships to the moneyed, agricultural and commercial classes, producing the ruin of many, and causing general dissatisfaction and distress, and that, at the same time, they were but partially successful, as, from the multitude of interests opposed to their execution, and the many and circuitous channels by which they might be evaded,<sup>1</sup> it was impracticable to prevent the augmentation of the illicit traffic. It was also evidently impossible to prevent the conveyance of the contraband article through the territories of the native princes; and it was scarcely to be expected that they would sacrifice without reluctance the industry of their people and their own emoluments to the commercial avarice of the British. They were, however, prevailed upon to make the required concession, and to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy and the sale and transit of opium through their states, upon receiving a pecuniary compensation for the loss of profits and duties derivable from the cultivation or the transit. The injury done to the merchants and cultivators, was overlooked for a time, but it was finally forced upon their attention, and it became necessary to revise the engagements into which

<sup>1</sup> One principal route was by Marwar and Jessalmar, across the desert to Karachi in Sindh, whence the Opium was shipped to the Portuguese Settlements, Diu and Daman, in the gulph of Cambay, and thence exported to China in country or Portuguese vessels.

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they had entered. Arrangements were formed for the exclusive purchase of the Malwa opium by the Company's agents in the province, but they were not brought into full operation, nor were their consequences correctly appreciated, until a subsequent period.<sup>1</sup>

The rules prescribed for the exclusive manufacture and sale of Salt on the part of the Government, were consolidated and brought into one enactment,<sup>2</sup> into which provisions were introduced, prohibiting, in the most rigorous manner, the compulsory labour of the salt-manufacturers: no other measure affecting this branch of the revenue was instituted, and it continued to constitute an important article in the resources of the State.<sup>3</sup> The Customs had somewhat declined, but this arose from a measure adopted shortly after the renewal of the charter by which, in consequence of orders from home, the duties were generally lowered, and a variety of articles, the produce or manufacture of Great Britain, wholly exempted, from any charge upon their being imported into India. As similar immunities were not granted to the manufactures or products of India in the ports of the United Kingdom, this was a piece of selfish legislation in which the interests of the dominant country were alone consulted, and those of the subordinate dependency deliberately injured, the latter being not only deprived of a legitimate source of revenue, but being further exposed to an unequal competition under which native industry was already rapidly decaying.<sup>4</sup> Some compensation was made to the country by the augmentation of its commerce.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abstract of Correspondence relating to Malwa Opium. Comm. Committee, 1831. Third Report, Appendix iv. p. 927. The Opium sales in 1823-4, produced 1,340,000/.

<sup>2</sup> Regulation VII. 1829.

<sup>3</sup> The amount of the sales of Salt in 1823-24, was 2,400,000.

<sup>4</sup> Commercial Letter to Bengal, 29th July. 1814.—Comm. Com. 1831. Third Report First App. No. 19. Regulation Bengal IV. 1815.

<sup>5</sup> It might be argued, that India benefited by the reduced price of the commodities imported from Great Britain, in proportion to the amount of the duty remitted. But this was disadvantageous in another respect, as it rendered the articles of domestic production still less able to compete with foreign articles in the market, and further discouraged native industry. The competition was unfair. India was young in the processes of manufacture, and was never likely to improve, if her manufactures were to be crushed in their infancy. Could time have been allowed for the acquisition of experience, and the introduction of machinery, her cotton fabrics and her metals would probably have been saleable in her own markets for a less cost than those of Europe. A native sovereign would undoubtedly have given India a chance by the imposition of protective duties.

BOOK II. Besides the stimulus given to the mercantile enterprise  
 CHAP. XII. of the United Kingdom by the abolition of the exclusive  
 1814-23. privileges of the Company, the return of tranquillity in  
 Europe re-opened the Eastern seas to the traffic of the  
 Continent; and the merchants of the European States,<sup>1</sup>  
 of France especially, actively engaged in the interchange  
 of their national fabrics with the valuable products of art  
 and nature in Hindustan.

From these and other improved resources, the financial  
 circumstances of the Indian empire had followed a pro-  
 gressive scale of improvement, and the amount of the  
 public revenues at the close of the administration of the  
 Marquis of Hastings, exceeded, by nearly six millions  
 sterling, the amount realizable at the commencement of  
 his government.<sup>2</sup>

A large portion of the increase arose from augmenta-  
 tions of a fluctuating character;<sup>3</sup> but the remainder was  
 derived from the land revenue of the old provinces, and  
 of those newly acquired, and constituted a permanent  
 source of public wealth. The charges had likewise aug-  
 mented, but not in a like proportion, so that the receipts  
 presented a clear excess over the disbursements of more  
 than five millions, and of three, after providing for the  
 interest of the public debt.<sup>4</sup> Nor was this a solitary  
 occurrence. Every year of the administration of Lord  
 Hastings had presented, after defraying the interest of the  
 debt, an excess of the local receipts over the local dis-  
 bursements,<sup>5</sup> although, during so many years, the exigen-

<sup>1</sup> In 1811-12, the trade between India and Foreign Europe was a blank. In 1822-3, it presents a value of little less than a crore of rupees. Nor was this at the expense of Great Britain, as the trade with the United Kingdom increased from 3,560,000*l.* to 6,419,000*l.*, or nearly double. Lords' Report, 1830. App. C. The total trade in 1813-14 amounted to nearly fourteen millions sterling; in 1822-3 it exceeded nineteen millions.

<sup>2</sup> Revenues of 1822-23 £23,120,000  
 Ditto 1813-14 17,228,000

Increase £ 5,892,000

Lords' Report, 1830, App. C. No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 7, A.

<sup>4</sup> Receipts of 1822-23 £23,120,000  
 Charges of „ 18,082,000

Surplus Receipt 5,038,000  
 Deduct Interest 1,694,000

Net Surplus £ 3,344,000  
 Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> The military charges for the five years, from 1809-10 to 1813-14 inclusive averaged annually 7,344,000*l.* In the two years, 1815-16, 1816-17, years of

1818.

cies of war imposed large additions to the ordinary expenditure of the military establishments, the cost of which could not be extinguished simultaneously with the cessation of their cause. It was also necessary to provide investments of goods or bullion to England, and to furnish supplies to the trade of the Company with China, the amount of which was intended to replace the charges incurred in England on behalf of the territorial expenses of the East India Company. The surplus of the local revenue was inadequate to meet these calls, and it became unavoidably necessary to have recourse to loans from the capitalists in India. An addition of rather more than two millions was, consequently,<sup>1</sup> made to the public debt, but by judicious financial arrangements, the demand for interest was not suffered to be materially enhanced; and some of the still remaining embarrassing conditions of former loans were further counteracted by the transfer of all outstanding loans, of which the principal and interest were demandable in England at the option of the holder, into one general loan, declared irredeemable during the continuance of the charter, after which payment of the principal might be demanded at home, the interest in the meantime being payable there also, only in the case of creditors residing in Europe.<sup>2</sup> The blended character of

the Nepal war, the average annual amount was 8,840,000*l.*, or 1,496,000*l.* in excess of the former average. In the five years following, the season of the Mahratta war and its consequences, the average rose nearly a million more, being 9,770,000*l.* In 1822-23, they were reduced by 1,365,000*l.*, having fallen to 8,405,000*l.* Lords' Report. Appendix C. No. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Debt bearing interest 1813-14	£27,002,000
Ditto do. 1822-3	29,382,000
Increase	2,380,000

The floating debt of the former date was 4,103,000*l.*, of the latter 7,457,000*l.*, shewing a further augmentation of 3,354,000*l.*; but at the earlier date the cash balances of the public treasuries were extremely low. At the latter there was in hand, in cash and bills, an available sum exceeding twelve millions; there were also quantities of Salt and Opium undisposed of to the extent of 1,898,000*l.*, and above six millions in debts due to the Government, making a total bona fide amount of assets exceeding twenty millions.—Lords' Report, 1830. Appendix C. No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The annual interest on the debt was, in 1813-14, 1,636,000*l.* In 1822-3, it was 1,762,000*l.* or only 126,000*l.* more. By the loan opened in February, 1822, creditors were entitled at the close of the charter to payment of the principal in England, at the exchange of 2*s.* 6*d.* the rupee, at twelve months' date. Actual residents in Europe were allowed bills for the interest at 2*s.* 1*d.* Of the old remittable loans, amounting to Sicca Rupees 11,54,63,000, the whole was transferred, except 2,65,3,000, arrangements for the payment of which at home were made, and the amount was discharged in the course of 1823-4.—Financial Letters from Bengal, 18th February, and 20th June, 1822. Papers, Financial, printed for the Proprietors of East India Stock, 3rd March, 1826.



BOOK II. the Company, as sovereigns of territory and as merchants,  
 CHAP. XII. had tended to perplex the character of their financial  
 ——— transactions, and to confound their territorial with their  
 1814-23. commercial transactions; the territorial revenues of India  
 being applicable to the maintenance of commercial establishments, and to the purchase of investments for shipment to Europe; while, on the other hand, the profits realised from the sales of merchandise from India or from China constituted a fund whence the charges in England for territorial purposes, such as the purchase of military stores, the pay and pensions of officers on leave of absence or retired, the passage of troops to India, and other similar charges, besides the amount of bills drawn for the principal or interest of the Indian loans, were defrayed. Upon the renewal of the charter it was enacted, that the charges on territorial and on commercial transactions should be kept entirely distinct; and this practice was observed subsequently to 1814. The Indian governments looked with some apprehension to the consequences of a separation which threatened to deprive them of a valuable resource in times of pecuniary difficulty, and intimated their apprehension that events might arise calling for an expenditure for which the territorial resources would be inadequate to provide, in which case it would not be possible to make any advances for commercial investments. In ordinary seasons, however, they expressed their confident hope that the revenues of India would fulfil the expectations of the Legislature, and be found to answer all the disbursements of the Indian Government, both in England and in India, without any assistance from Great Britain.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Financial Letters to Bengal, 6th September, 1813, and 23rd Sept. 1817. In the latter the Court observes, "We must explicitly apprise you, that it is to India only, that we look for the supplies necessary to enable us to defray the home territorial charges, by the punctual repayment to the Commercial branch of all sums advanced by that branch for territorial purposes in England;" and again, "we cannot contemplate without alarm the possibility of the case assumed by you, however hypothetically, that eventually it would be your duty to shew, that however valuable India would still remain to England, even in a pecuniary point of view, as the course of lucrative commerce and as paying a vast tribute in the returns of private fortunes; yet she demanded in return some aid from England to enable her revenues to bear the expenses necessary to preserve her." Divested of all circumlocution, this is an assumption that the people of this country should be taxed for the sake of supporting Indian commerce, and of enabling private individuals in India to acquire fortunes, an assumption which we are confident this country would utterly reject.—Financial Papers, p. 121.

The question of the adequacy of the territorial resources of India to provide for all her legitimate territorial charges, was more fully discussed at a subsequent period, with the advantage of more mature experience; and we need not therefore pause upon it here. It is sufficient to state that, during the period under review, the disbursements in England exceeded by a million and a half the remittances from India,<sup>1</sup> and were discharged by the surplus profits of the India and China trade; a sum of a million and a half from those profits was also remitted to India in 1818-19, to be applied, conformably to the enactments of the Legislation, to pay off a portion of the outstanding debts. There were also in India means of contributing to the same end to a very considerable amount, and no appeal to the national resources of Great Britain became necessary; on the contrary, the Government of India overcame all its temporary financial difficulties, and upon the restoration of peace was provided with ample means to meet every demand. At no previous period in the history of the country was the credit of the British Government more firmly established, or was the prospect of financial prosperity more promising than at the commencement of the year 1823, when the Marquis of Hastings retired from the guidance of the pecuniary interests of India.

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The same spirit of activity that had animated the civil and military transactions of the period, extended beyond the sphere of official administration, and was busily employed in introducing and developing innovations, the effects of which, although not without immediate influence, were, in a still greater degree, prospective, and constituted the germs of future and more important change. Among these may be reckoned the alterations which the last charter had sanctioned with regard to the advancement of the Church and the propagation of Christianity.

The persevering efforts of a powerful party wrung from

<sup>1</sup> The balance due to Commerce on account of territorial charges, on 30th April, 1823, is stated at 1,564,000*l.* There was also an excess of payments on account of Interest Bills of above 700,000*l.*, making the debt due to Commerce in the beginning of 1823, 2,264,000*l.*—Comm. Com. 1832. App. Finance. Territorial Branch in account with Commercial Branch, No. iii. Article 7.

BOOK II. the Ministers, and the Court of Directors, a reluctant  
 CHAP. XII. assent to the improved organization of the Clergy in the  
 1814-23. service of the Company, by placing them under Episcopal  
 supervision. The plan originally proposed and strenuously  
 advocated was the formation of four dioceses, and the  
 appointment of as many Bishops to Calcutta, Madras  
 Bombay, and Ceylon ;<sup>1</sup> a plan eventually, but subsequently,  
 carried into operation.

At the renewal of the Charter, it was thought sufficient to form one Diocese of the whole of India, under the designation of the See of Calcutta, over which a Bishop was to preside, with the aid of an Archdeacon at each of the Presidencies. Dr. Middleton, a clergyman of distinguished piety and learning, was accordingly consecrated the first Bishop, and assumed charge of his diocese towards the end of November, 1814. The extent of his jurisdiction and the general nature of his powers were defined in Letters Patent from the Crown, authorizing him to perform all functions peculiar and appropriate to a Bishop, within the limits of the See of Calcutta ; to exercise jurisdiction, spiritual and ecclesiastical, according to the Ecclesiastical laws of England ; to grant licenses to officiate to all Ministers and Churplains in India ; to investigate their conduct and doctrine, and to punish and correct them according to their demerits.<sup>2</sup> On commencing, however, the discharge of his grave and solemn duties, Bishop Middleton soon found that the provisions under which he was to act were too vague, and too inappropriate to the circumstances of India, to furnish a clear and safe light for his guidance. He was in fact a Bishop with a See corresponding in name alone to a similar definition of Episcopal authority in the parent country. The whole of his clergy, amounting to no more than thirty-two, were scattered over a vast extent of territory, and fixed at a few very large stations many hundred miles apart.<sup>3</sup> Most

<sup>1</sup> Buchanan on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, ix. The same scheme was also put forth by Dr. Buchanan in a Memoir on Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishments, which was printed in 182 by the Church Missionary Society.—Hough's Christianity in India iv. 190.

<sup>2</sup> See Letters Patent for the Bishopric of Calcutta, 2nd May, 1814.—Thorn-ton's law of India.

<sup>3</sup> There were, on the arrival of the Bishop, fifteen chaplains in Bengal, twelve at Madras, and five at Bombay, but many were absent on the plea of sickness or on furlough. At Bombay there was but one chaplain present.—life of Bishop Middleton, by the Rev. C. Le Bas, i. 82.

of them were without churches or consecrated places of worship: the congregations were connected with the pastor by nothing approaching to parochial institutions, and were, in truth, wholly unrelated to him in any respect except community of faith and service. The chaplains were mostly military chaplains, subordinate to the authority of the officer commanding the station to which they were attached, and liable to a reprimand, or even to an arrest, for any infringement of military subordination. A few of the chief civil stations were provided with ministers, but these were as much subject to the orders of the civil Government as their brethren at a military station to the commanding officer. The Bishop had, consequently, no voice in their destination or employment, and his licenses gave them no privilege of which they were not already possessed. His only controul over the clergy was of an invidious character, but even that was of little effect; he could reprove or suspend from all clerical function for misconduct; but, at the distance at which he was situated, an accurate knowledge of the conduct of individuals was scarcely attainable, and his personal visitations were necessarily too rare to inspire much fear of his displeasure. His powers as a Bishop were, therefore, exceedingly limited, and his real position was little more exalted than that of the senior minister at the Presidency. The local Government would willingly have added to his consideration, and resigned to him the appointment of the chaplains to their several stations; but the measure was disapproved of in England, and was after a short interval annulled.<sup>1</sup>

Although a man of high intellectual cultivation, and of a kind and amiable nature, Bishop Middleton appears to have wanted the faculty of adapting himself to circumstances, and of yielding as far as might conscientiously have been conceded, to the anomalous position in which he found himself placed. He consequently suffered himself to be annoyed by matters of light consideration, and the expression of his feelings on such occasions somewhat impaired his influence; but the rectitude of his intentions, his disinterested zeal, his high sense of the duties and dignity of the episcopal office, with his unquestioned worth and learning, secured him the personal respect of the

<sup>1</sup> Life of Bp. Middleton, i. 140.



BOOK II. Christian community, and obtained a ready conformity  
CHAP. XII. among the members of the Established Church to the new

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order of things which it had devolved upon Bishop Middleton to introduce. He laboured diligently and usefully, and, under his auspices, new churches were built in various parts of India; the number of chaplains was augmented, and their duties more regularly defined and discharged; and a character of order and unity was given to the Ecclesiastical Establishment which it had never before presented. This seems to be one main advantage of the Episcopal office in India; it consolidates the body of the clergy, and prescribes unity of action to individuals, who were else detached and unconnected, and incapable of combining for the credit and benefit of their ministry.

Notwithstanding what Bishop Middleton terms his struggles to maintain his ground, he was an active promoter of the interests of the Church, and particularly in connexion with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. At his suggestion, the latter of these two powerful bodies, assisted by the former, undertook to found and support a missionary college in Calcutta,<sup>1</sup> the objects of which are thus enumerated by its proposer,—to instruct native and other Christian youths in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters; to teach the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mohammedans and Hindus, having in such attainments no object but secular advantage; to prepare and print translations of the Scriptures, the liturgy, and moral and religious tracts; to receive English missionaries on their arrival from England; and provide them with instructors in the native languages. The foundation-stone of the college was laid by the Bishop on the 15th of December, 1820. It was not completed until after his death; but it was finished shortly after his decease, and stands an honourable monument of the enlightened piety of its founder. Bishop Middleton died on the 8th of July, 1822.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Each Society contributed in the first instance 5000*l.*, and a similar sum was granted by the Church Missionary Society. A fourth sum of like amount was contributed by the Bible Society, to be applied to the expense of Translations.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop's College has not yet fulfilled the objects of Bishop Middleton, and its actual condition may create a painful smile, when compared with his

A proposal was made, as we have seen, in the House of Commons, to give a legislative sanction to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in India, concurrently with that of the Church of England; but it was rejected, as inconsistent to recognise two different systems as alike related to the State, and upon the understanding that the Company would provide for the religious necessities of the members of the Scottish Church.<sup>1</sup> A chaplain of that establishment was accordingly appointed by the Court to each of the three Presidencies, and churches were speedily constructed by the liberality of their countrymen in India. Questions of respective rights soon occurred, and especially with regard to the ceremony of marriage, which the Scotch minister maintained that he was entitled to perform according to the rules of his communion, while such marriages were held to be invalid under the Ecclesiastical law of England, conformably to which the See of Calcutta was bound to act. With a view to determine the question, the technical merits of which were involved in obscurity, a petition was presented by the members of the Scotch Society to Parliament, praying that the privilege of being married according to their own forms might be placed beyond a doubt;—on the other hand, the Bishop and English Clergy forwarded a counter-petition, praying that the law regarding matrimony might not be hastily altered, and representing the confusion which would unavoidably attend the hitherto untried experiment of two churches equally accredited by the same country and fully recognised by the same law. Neither of the petitions was presented;

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enthusiastic anticipations. "Can you," he writes to a friend, "forgive the feelings of a founder, if I tell you that the other day, as I listened to the woodman's axe employed in clearing the ground, I actually began to muse upon what might hereafter be the studies and glories of the place."—*Life* ii. 153. The slow advance of the institution may, perhaps, be partly ascribed to the abandonment or neglect of that part of the original plan which proposed to open the College in one department to the merely secular English studies of Hindus and Mohammedans; the actual students being expected to prosecute studies chiefly of a religious character, with a view to become qualified as teachers of Christianity. It must, however, be recollected, that twenty-five years are but a short term in the existence of such an establishment, and that the system of which it is a part is still in its infancy.

<sup>1</sup> At a subsequent date the objection was overruled, and the act renewing the Company's Charter in 1833 contained a clause making it incumbent on the Company to maintain two chaplains of the Church of Scotland at each of the Presidencies.

BOOK II. the subject had already engaged the attention of the  
 CHAP. XII. Houses of Parliament, and a bill was passed in June, 1818,  
 1814-33. legalising both for the past and the future, all marriages  
 performed in the customary manner by ordained ministers  
 of the Church of Scotland officially appointed as chaplains  
 in India, provided that one or both of the parties professed  
 to be a member of the Scottish Church.<sup>1</sup>

The facilities afforded by the Legislature to the admission into the territories of the Company of persons undertaking to disseminate a knowledge of Christianity among the natives were speedily taken advantage of, and the several religious communities of the United Kingdom rivalled each other in their exertions to improve the efficiency of the missions formerly sent out, or to establish them where none had previously existed. In the south there were remains of the Tranquebar and Tinnivelly missions, originally encouraged and assisted by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, but sadly declined from their former flourishing condition. They were now, however, renovated by the patronage of the original promoters, and that of the Church Missionary Society. In Bengal, the Baptist Mission was very largely reinforced, but was no longer suffered to labour alone, the Church Missionary and London Missionary Societies supporting an equal number of instructors in Christian truth. Other communities were not idle; and even America sent forth auxiliaries to the cause in India, while more especially interesting herself in Ceylon and the Burman dominions. More than one hundred missionaries, besides schoolmasters and native catechists, were assembled in British India in 1823<sup>2</sup> for missionary purposes, in place of the scanty number who held a precarious footing there prior to the renewal of the charter.

<sup>1</sup> Life of Bp. Middleton, i. 132. Thornton's Law of India, 218.

<sup>2</sup> By the General Survey of Missions in India, published in the Church Missionary Register for 1823. the following appears to be the number and distribution of the missionaries of the several associations.

	BENGAL.	MADRAS.	BOMBAY.
Christian Knowledge Society . . .	1	7	0
Church Missionary Society . . .	19	11	1
London Missionary Society . . .	11	14	3
Baptist . . . . .	30	0	0
Wesleyan . . . . .	0	3	0
American . . . . .	0	0	4
	61	35	8

Besides, however, the direct employment of missionaries, a variety of important accessories to the diffusion of the Gospel were set on foot; and Committees of the Bible Society and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were formed at each of the Presidencies, for the purpose of promoting generally the operations of the missionaries, and supplying the necessary aids to instruction, in copies of the Scriptures, and translations of them and of scriptural tracts into the native languages. Each of the principal missionary establishments was provided with a printing-press of its own, although none engaged so largely in the work of translating and printing as the Baptist Mission of Serampore, under whose superintendence, by the end of 1822, either the whole, or considerable portions of the Scriptures had been printed and circulated in twenty languages spoken in India, while translations into other dialects were in progress. These translations were hastily executed, and without adequate previous preparation; but they formed a groundwork on which improved versions might be conveniently executed, and led the way to maturer and more perfect performances.

Notwithstanding all this manifestation of energy, and the immense sums which were raised in England and in India for the great object of the conversion of the natives, the work went slowly forward. Few genuine converts were made, and of them fewer still were persons of consideration or rank.<sup>1</sup> Various causes contributed to retard the progress of Christian truth. There were real difficulties in the way of its being embraced by the Hindus, as its adoption involved not merely a profession of faith, or a departure from forms or ceremonies, but a change of the habits of a whole life, and a violent disruption of all social ties. It required a stronger love of truth than prevailed among the Hindus to persuade them to such a sacrifice. As subjects of speculation, the great doctrines of Christianity might have found acceptance; but it was scarcely to be expected that men grown old in a system which was

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<sup>1</sup> In 1823, the Serampore missionaries estimated the number of natives in the Bengal province converted to Christianity by the union of the Churches, engaged in spreading the Gospel in India, at one thousand. The author of a work called "Queries and Replies," published in Calcutta, denied the accuracy of the estimate, and asserted that the full number did not exceed three hundred, it might be less.—Lushington's Institutions in Calcutta, p. 226.



BOOK II. part and parcel of their daily lives, and who were in a great  
 CHAP. XII. degree indifferent to truth for its own sake, should assent  
 1814-23. to what their own feelings regarded as of little consequence, at the expense of everything they prized and every connexion which they cherished. This was the chief stumbling-block with the better classes. The learned were also rendered obdurate by the pride of knowledge, and by their proficiency in disputation, in which few of the missionaries could contend with them. The multitude were further impracticable through their ignorance and superstition, and their fondness for the pageantry of their social and religious ceremonies. With the Mohammedans the difficulty was of a different, but not less insurmountable, description. Hatred of Christianity was an article of their creed. The quarrel was twelve centuries old, and with the bigoted Mussulmans of India it had lost none of its virulence.

These were the principal obstacles on the part of the natives, and they were found so formidable that many zealous and pious persons among the missionaries despaired of surmounting them. Instead, therefore, of addressing themselves exclusively to the Mohammedans and Hindus, they conceived that the Christian population equally demanded their care. At the Presidencies, and one or two chief military stations, a number of persons professing Christianity were, from the paucity of accredited ministers, deprived, in a great degree, of the offices of religion, and gladly accepted the assistance of men who made religious teaching their duty, although not members of the regular church : hence an early result of the missions for the conversion of the heathen, was the extension of schism ; and chapels were built and congregations were formed under the direction of separatists, who were more intent on establishing their own particular views among Christians, than on diffusing the great truths of Christianity among the followers of Brahma or Mohammed.

A less questionable departure from the plan of direct conversion, was the attempt to exercise a wholesome preliminary influence upon the minds of youth, through the medium of early education. The natives of India in general, although not without instruction, reaped little benefit from their national system. Those who were des-

tined to follow learning as a profession, whether Hindus or Mohammedans, went through a long and arduous course of study, which, whatever its moral or religious tendency, was not unpropitious to intellectual development. Some of the sons of wealthy persons were occasionally carried beyond the mere rudiments of their own speech, and were accomplished Persian scholars, or were made to acquire some conversancy with English; but the mass of the people were either wholly untaught, or were instructed in the lowest possible amount of human knowledge. It is sufficiently illustrative of the defects of the system to observe that it did not comprehend the use of books: the boy learnt his letters by copying them from a board before him, on sand or on palm leaves, and the same process taught him to write. He acquired some knowledge of spelling by reiterating the syllables aloud, as they were repeated aloud by the master or the monitor; and the rudiments of arithmetic were learned in the same manner. No faculty was exercised except that of the memory; and no opportunity was afforded him of acquiring a knowledge of useful facts, or of becoming imbued with those moral sentiments which are indirectly conveyed through fables and fictions suited to youthful imaginations. To correct this system—to substitute for it an education better meriting the name—to enlarge the mind—to ameliorate the feelings—to inculcate principles of morality, was felt by persons of all persuasions to be an indispensable prelude to the elevation of the national character, and a probable preparation for the more extensive dissemination of Christianity. The Governments at the three Presidencies took the lead in recognizing the necessity of raising the standard of education among the natives; and although deeming it to be impolitic, and incompatible with their obligations to their native subjects, to take an active share in those measures which combined religious with secular tuition, they liberally encouraged and assisted with funds the various schemes that were now set on foot for the improvement of native education.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Baptist Mission, in 1824, had thirty schools under its charge, containing about three thousand children. A like number were taught in about twenty schools in the neighbourhood of Chinsura, under the conduct of missionaries of the London Missionary Society, but with the pecuniary aid of the Government. The Church Missionary Society, besides schools in Calcutta

BOOK II. The chief object of most of the schools which were thus  
 CHAP. XII. established, was instruction in the language of the country  
 1814-23. through the medium of books compiled and printed for  
 the purpose, in which sound principles of morality were  
 inculcated; the most interesting works of human skill  
 and divine power were described; the leading facts of  
 geography and history were narrated, and European meth-  
 ods of calculation were explained. In most of the  
 Missionary schools translations of the Old and New Test-  
 aments formed part of the course of reading; but it was  
 considered expedient in many places, even by the bodies  
 representing in India the religious societies in England, to  
 avoid adopting any arrangement which should inspire the  
 natives with a suspicion of the ultimate object of the  
 schools, and deter them from giving to their children the  
 benefit of a course of instruction which could not fail to  
 elevate their principles, at the same time that it insured  
 them novel and beneficial information. In addition to  
 those seminaries which proposed instruction in the knowl-  
 edge of Europe, conveyed through the vernacular dialects,  
 the Government felt it to be equally a duty to encourage  
 the studies of those among the natives of India, who fol-  
 lowed the learning of the country as a literary class, and  
 devoted their lives to the cultivation of Sanscrit and  
 Arabic literature. Besides the obligation of compensating  
 for the loss of that patronage which Maulavis and Pundits  
 were formerly accustomed to receive from natives of  
 wealth and power, whom the rule of foreigners had im-  
 poverished or annihilated, and the policy of gaining the  
 goodwill of the people by countenancing pursuits to which

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and other places, had a number at Burdwan, where nearly two thousand boys were instructed; there were also in the same neighbourhood ten female schools. The Christian Knowledge Society established several schools in the vicinity of Calcutta. In Calcutta, a School Society was formed of respectable natives conjointly with Europeans, to superintend and improve the indigenous schools in that city. A number of schools, containing about two thousand eight hundred boys, were brought under their supervision, and an English school was established, admittance to which was the reward of distinction in the native seminaries; to this the Government also liberally contributed. In order to supply all these different seminaries with books, a School-Book Society was likewise formed for the printing of original or translated works of an elementary class suited to juvenile instruction. Many natives of talent and respectability engaged in the preparation of these works. The Government also contributed to the expense. At Bombay a Society of Europeans and natives was formed for promoting native education, and there, as well as at Madras and in Bengal, the Missionary Committees were active in forming and conducting native schools.

they attached almost exclusive estimation, it was thought prudent to acquire a direct influence over the national studies, with a view to improve the mode of their cultivation, to direct them to practical objects connected with the courts of justice, in which many questions were determinable according to the rules of Mohammedan and Hindu law, and to graft upon them, by degrees, the knowledge of the West, which could scarcely be communicated to the literary classes through any other channel. It was also anticipated, that, once masters of such information, the persons to whom literary occupation was a livelihood would be the fittest and most capable agents in its dissemination. With these purposes, the existing native colleges were subjected to qualified European supervision ; and the project of Lord Minto, of establishing colleges at Nuddea and Tirhoot, was commuted to the institution of a Sanscrit college in Calcutta for the tuition of Brahmans, and of youths of the medical caste. The college was not founded until after the departure of the Governor-General from India ; but the plan was matured, and the preliminary steps were taken during his administration.

Most of the Missionary establishments attempted the formation of an English school in connexion with their indigenous schools ; and, in some cases, promotion to an English school was made the reward of diligence in the native seminaries. There prevailed, however, no very ardent desire to benefit by such opportunities ; and very extensive distrust of the ulterior object of the English schools, of their being intended, under cover of instruction in English, to convert the youth to Christianity, deterred the people from having recourse to them. The amount of instruction sought for, was also of the very lowest description ; and the great aim of those by whom the schools were attended, was to become qualified for the duties of a copyist, or a clerk in some public or private office. The want of tuition of a higher character became at last perceptible to the more respectable classes of the Hindus, and they displayed a readiness to make arrangements for its provision, which was only checked by the fear of endangering their national worship. To remove this source of apprehension, they were encouraged by several of the principal members of the British community, to

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POCK I. establish an English seminary on a liberal foundation, of  
 CHAP. XII. which they should retain the entire direction in their own  
 1814-23. hands, and over which they should exercise undivided  
 control; a joint committee of Europeans and natives  
 was formed, to consider and determine the general plan  
 of the establishment, after which the European members  
 withdrew from all interference; the consequence was the  
 foundation of the English College of Calcutta, an institu-  
 tion which promises to exert an important influence upon  
 intellectual development in Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

The measures of the Government of Madras were con-  
 fined during the period under consideration to the acquire-  
 ment of information respecting the state of education in  
 the provinces: the Collectors were directed to report the  
 number of the schools and colleges in their respective  
 Collectorates; but some interval necessarily elapsed before  
 the receipt of their replies. The advance of native educa-  
 tion was in a somewhat more forward state at Bombay,  
 and a society was formed in 1815, for the promotion of  
 the education of the poor, by which several schools were  
 established with the aid of the Government. In 1822,  
 societies were formed, having for their objects more espe-  
 cially the improvement of native education.<sup>2</sup>

Another act originating with the Governor-General, was  
 a departure from the cautious policy of former Govern-  
 ments in regard to the Press of India, and the removal of

<sup>1</sup> The leading Europeans on this occasion were the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Hyde East, and Mr. Harington, a member of the Supreme Council. According to Mr. Hough (*History of Christianity in India*, iv. 393), of these two gentlemen, the latter retired from the Committee at the desire of the Governor-General, apprehending that his appearance at the head of the college might be construed into an attempt of the Government to convert the natives. "Sir Edward also," he says, "out of respect to the Government, was induced to retire, to the great surprise and disappointment of all who had embarked in the work." These circumstances seem to rest upon misinformation. The author with many others beside the two gentlemen specified, was included in the Committee, and the principle of their proceedings was from the first, the relinquishment of the institution to native management exclusively, as soon as the mode of conducting it, and the course of study to be pursued in it, was devised. Bishop Middleton's notice of the seminary is in accordance with the author's recollections. "The wealthy Hindoos have just set on foot a school or college, without any aid or countenance from the Government, who (very wisely, I think), have wished the work to be done by themselves;" i. 391.

<sup>2</sup> For these and the foregoing particulars respecting the progress of education from 1814 to 1823,—see Lushington's *History of Religious, Benevolent, and Charitable Institutions of Calcutta*, Cal. 1814, *Church Missionary Register*.—*Reports of Societies*, and a valuable *Memoir by Mr. Fisher on the Establishment of Native Schools by the Local Governments of India*.—*Comm. Com.* 1832, Appendix Public, i.

some of the restraints to which it had been subjected. In the early portion of its career, the Indian Press had been left to follow its own course, with no other check than that which the law of libel imposed. The character of the papers of early days, sufficiently shew that the indulgence was abused, and that while they were useless as vehicles of local information of any value, they were filled with indecorous attacks upon private life, and ignorant censures of public measures. To repress so great a nuisance, Lord Wellesley, after sending one Editor to England, and intimidating others into a prudent reserve, established a censorship; and the journals were submitted on the eve of their issue, to the perusal of an officer of the Government, by whom, what he considered objectionable matter, was struck out. This control, and the improving taste and feelings of the age, gave to the Indian chronicles a new character, and rendered them respectable, if not very authentic, vehicles of public information. The duties of the Censorship were leniently discharged, and little dissatisfaction was felt with the existing practice, when the Marquis of Hastings, entertaining exalted notions of the benefits of a free expression of the sentiments of the public, determined to relieve it from the only restraint under which it laboured. At the same time, the Press was by no means left to its own guidance; and defined limits circumscribed its freedom. The Censor was removed, but the Editors were restricted from publishing animadversions on the proceedings of the Indian authorities in England; disquisitions on the political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks on the public conduct of the members of the Council, the Judges, or the Bishop of Calcutta; discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the natives as to any intended interference with their religion; the republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under the preceding heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India;<sup>1</sup> and private scandal, or personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissensions in society. The Editors were held responsible for the observance of these rules, under the penalty of being proceeded against in such manner as

<sup>1</sup> See the orders in the Asiatic Monthly Journal, June, 1820, p. 610.

BOOK II. the Governor-General might think applicable to the nature of the offence. Subject to these limits and responsibilities, the Press was free, both to Europeans and to natives.

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The establishment of a free Press in India was contemplated with very different feelings by different classes of persons ; and, as usual in controverted topics, both the benefits and evils of the measure were greatly exaggerated. The main advantages, as stated by Lord Hastings himself,<sup>1</sup> were the salutary control which public scrutiny exercises over supreme authority ; and the cheerfulness and zeal with which all ranks of society co-operate in measures, the motives and objects of which they understand, and in which they concur. This scrutiny and this concurrence, however, were wholly at variance with the circumstances of society in India, the bulk of which was formed of the salaried servants of the Government, already bound by their engagements to furnish it with information, and to execute its commands. The remainder of the Indian public consisted of a very few merchants, traders, or artisans, residing in India upon sufferance, having no acknowledged place in the constitution of the Government, no voice in its proceedings, no permanent stake in the welfare of the country, and little, if any, knowledge of its condition or relations. Much benefit could not be anticipated from the comments of a few hundred persons of this description, administered through conductors of journals, who were either public servants themselves, or were dependent for their privilege of dwelling in India upon the pleasure of the superior powers : the whole forming a body of no weight or influence, and in no essential point corresponding with a public, such as the term denoted in the parent country. The same circumstances, however, if they nullify the advantages of newspaper enlightenment, also counteracted its mischievous tendencies, and rendered the Indian Press incapable of embarrassing the purposes or proceedings of the State. It might become, as it had previously been, a source of annoyance to individuals, a vehicle of private calumny or malice ; but, as far as the political interests of Great

<sup>1</sup> Answer to an Address presented by the inhabitants of Madras, 24th July, 1819. Asiatic Journal, Jan. 1820.

Britain and India were concerned, its influence was too insignificant to endanger their stability or alter their relations. The Government, also, had full power to arrest any such mischievous attempts at their outset. The unbridled freedom of the native Press involved weightier consequences, as its lucubrations were addressed to vast, independent, and ill-constructed multitudes. Such an organ directed by hostile agency might misrepresent the acts and purposes of the ruling authority, and inspire the people with deep and dangerous discontent. That Press, however, had yet scarcely sprung into existence; and the system was too new and strange, too foreign to the habits and feelings of the people, to grow by rapid steps, into a wide-spread and commanding influence. The Government had here, also, the remedy in its own hands, and the so-termed freedom of the Indian Press was, in reality, a matter of very little moment.

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The first experience of the consequences of removing the supervision of the Censor was, however, calculated to confirm the apprehensions of those who were adverse to its abolition. The measure was followed by the establishment of a Journal,<sup>1</sup> which infringed the prohibitory rules that had been substituted for the censorship, lent itself to the utterance of morbid discontent and personal resentment, assailed the conduct of private individuals, impeached the acts of public functionaries, spread acrimonious dissensions through society, and defied, while it affected to deprecate, the displeasure of the Government.<sup>2</sup> Repeated intimations of that displeasure were communicated to the Editor through the usual official channels, and he was warned on more than one occasion that, unless he conformed to the regulations established for the guidance of the press, his licence to remain in India would be revoked, and he would be required to proceed to England. A probable consciousness of the incongruity of so severe a punishment with the eulogium which he had pronounced upon the expression of public opinion, as well as

<sup>1</sup> The Calcutta Journal, of which the Proprietor and Editor was Mr. J. S. Buckingham, a gentleman permitted to reside in Calcutta by special licence.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to Mr. Buckingham, 17th May, 1821, cited in the Statement of Facts, printed in Calcutta.



BOOK II. the genuine kindness of his nature, rendered the Governor-General reluctant to inflict the penalty that had been threatened, and he left India without having carried his menaces into effect. A more consistent course was followed by the firmness of his successor. Although, however checked in the abuse of its nascent liberty, the press of Calcutta was liberated from the risk of needless and vexatious interference, and became, both in the English and native languages, a useful instrument in the dissemination of knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

1814-23.

The most important of the proceedings in England originating in the interval which has been reviewed, have already been described. Few others, relating to the administration of affairs in India, engaged the attention of Parliament or the Company. The thanks of both for the services of the Marquis of Hastings in the Pindari war were voted with general consent; but neither on these occasions, nor on that of the war of Nepal, did the Ministers or the Directors pronounce any sufficient commendation of the chief merits of Lord Hastings,—the soundness, foresight, and comprehensiveness of his policy, which were more remarkable even than the wisdom, skill, and energy of his military operations. A small, but influential party in the Board, and in the Court of Directors, still adhered to the narrow and antiquated views of the days of Sir George Barlow, and affected to regret the extension of the British dominions in India. It was to the Commander-in-Chief, therefore, that the thanks were presented. In that capacity, also, a grant of sixty thousand pounds was voted to be vested in the hands of trustees for the benefit of the Marquis and his family.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding these demonstrations of approval, which could not in justice or decency be withheld, the Governor-General, deeply mortified by the want of confidence exhibited in the correspondence of the Court relating to the Hyderabad affair, and indignant at the tone in which their sentiments were expressed, determined to relinquish his high office, and to rejoin his family in

<sup>1</sup> The first Bengal newspaper, the *Sambád Chandriká*, or “Moon of Intelligence,” was started in 1822. At present, 1846, there are five in Bengali and three in Persian printed in Calcutta, besides others at the different Presidencies. The circulation of each is but small.

<sup>2</sup> May 15th, 1819.

Europe. His resignation was tendered in 1821. It was then felt that the tribute due to his great services in peace, as well as in war, could no longer be deferred; and on the 23rd of May, 1822, a resolution of the Court of Directors was communicated to the Proprietors, expressing their deep regret at the resignation of the Marquis of Hastings, and offering him their thanks for the unremitting zeal and eminent ability with which, during a period of nearly nine years, he had administered the government of British India, with such high credit to himself, and advantage to the interests of the East India Company. The Court of Proprietors adopted the resolution; and, adverting to the previous acknowledgment which had passed the Court of the great military and political talents of the Governor-General, requested the executive body to convey to his Lordship the expression of their admiration, gratitude, and applause. The vote was just, though tardy. The administration of the Marquis of Hastings may be regarded as the completion of the great scheme of which Clive had laid the foundation, and Warren Hastings and the Marquis Wellesley had reared the superstructure. The crowning pinnacle was the work of Lord Hastings, and by him was the supremacy of the British Empire in India proper finally established. Of the soundness of the work no better proof can be afforded than the fact that there has been no international warfare since his administration. Rajput, Mahratta, and Mohammedan have remained at peace with each other under the shade of the British power. The wars in which the latter has been engaged have carried that power beyond the boundaries of Hindustan, but no interruption of internal tranquility from the Himalaya to the sea has been suffered or attempted.

The Marquis of Hastings quitted his government on the 1st of January, 1823. Expressions of regret for his departure had previously poured in from every quarter, and there is reason to believe that they were sincere.

Lord Hastings had deserved well both of the European and native community. He was not indifferent to the good opinion of those subordinate to his station or subject to his authority, and sought it not only by the splendour of his military triumphs, the comprehensiveness of

BOOK II. his foreign policy, or the diligence, wisdom, and rectitude  
CHAP. XII. of his civil administration, but by considerations for the  
1814-23. feelings, and anxiety for the prosperity and happiness, of  
every order of society. Whatever plan proposed the  
amelioration of the condition of the natives of India,  
whatever tended to their moral and intellectual elevation,  
received his hearty countenance and coöperation; and in  
the minor, but not unimportant article of personal de-  
portment, Lord Hastings was ever scrupulously concili-  
atory and kind to every class of the native population.  
The example which he set was not in vain: and it was  
under his administration that even the respectable native  
inhabitants of the Presidency were first seen to associate  
on an equal footing with Europeans in devising and carry-  
ing out projects of public good. With the European  
portion of the society his habits were the same; and no  
sacrifice of personal comfort or convenience deterred  
Lord Hastings from promoting, by his participation and  
encouragement, whatever was projected for the diffusion  
of benevolence, the cultivation of knowledge, and the  
general good and happiness of the community.

The glories of the early administration of the Marquis  
of Hastings were heightened by the mild lustre of its  
close; and the triumphs of military success were justi-  
fied by their application to the maintenance of universal  
tranquillity, the promotion of the welfare of the people  
and the prosperity and consolidation of the British Empire  
in India.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

## APPENDIX.

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### I.

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*From Umur Singh and his sons, Ram Das, and Urjun Thapas  
to the Raja of Nipal, dated Raj-gurh, 2nd March, 1815.*

A COPY of your letter of the 23rd December, addressed to Runjoor Singh, under the Red Seal, was sent by the latter to me, who have received it with every token of respect. It was to the following purport:—“The capture of Nalapancee by the enemy has been communicated to me from Gurhwal and Kumaon, as also the intelligence of his having marched to Nahn: having assembled his force, he now occupies the whole country from Barapursa to Subturee and Muhotree. My army is also secretly posted in various places in the junguls of the mountains. An army under a general has arrived in Gorukpoor, for Palpa, and another detachment has reached the borders of Beejypoor. I have further heard that a general-officer has set off from Calcutta, to give us further trouble. For the sake of a few trifling objects, some intermediate agents have destroyed the mutual harmony, and war is waging far and wide: all this you know. You ought to send an embassy to conciliate the English, otherwise the cause is lost. The enemy, after making immense preparations, have begun the war, and unless great concessions are made they will not listen to terms. To restore the relations of amity by concession is good and proper; for this purpose it is fit, in the first place, to cede to the enemy the departments of Bootwul, Palpa, and Sheeoraj, and the disputed tracts already settled by the commissioners towards Barah.<sup>1</sup> If this be insufficient to re-establish harmony, we ought to abandon the whole of the Turæe, the Doon, and the low lands; and if the English are still dissatisfied, on account of not obtaining possession of a portion of the

No. I.

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<sup>1</sup> Meaning the twenty-two villages on the Sarun frontier.



No. I. mountains, you are herewith authorised to give up, with the Doon, the country as far as the Sutlej. Do whatever may be practicable to restore the relations of peace and amity, and be assured of my approbation and assent. If these means be unsuccessful, it will be very difficult to preserve the integrity of my dominions from Kunka Teestta to the Sutlej. If the enemy once obtain a footing in the centre of our territory, both extremities will be thrown into disorder. If you can retire with your army and military stores to pursue any other plan of operations that may afterwards appear eligible, it will be advisable. On this account, you ought immediately to effect a junction with all the other officers on the western service, and retire to any part of our territory which, as far as Nipal, you may think yourself capable of retaining. These are your orders."

In the first place, after the immense preparations of the enemy, he will not be satisfied with all these concessions; or if he should accept of our terms, he would serve us as he did Tippoo, from whom he first accepted of an indemnification of six crores of rupees in money and territory, and afterwards wrested from him his whole country. If we were to cede to him so much country, he would seek some fresh occasion of quarrel, and at a future opportunity would wrest from us other provinces. Having lost so much territory, we should be unable to maintain our army on its present footing; and our military fame being once reduced, what means should we have left to defend our eastern possessions? While we retain Bisahur, Gurhwal is secure: if the former be abandoned, the Bhooteas of Ruwain will certainly betray us. The English having thus acquired the Doon and Ruwain, it will be impossible for us to maintain Gurhwal; and being deprived of the latter, Kumaon and Dotee will be also lost to us. After the seizure of these provinces, Achain, Joomlee, and Dooloo, will be wrested from us in succession. You say "that a proclamation has been issued to the inhabitants of the eastern kurats;" if they have joined the enemy, the other kurats will do so likewise, and the country, Dood Koossee, on the east, to Bheeree, on the west, cannot be long retained. Having lost your dominions, what is to become of your great military establishments? When our power is once reduced, we shall have another Knox's mission, under pretence of concluding a treaty of alliance and friendship, and founding commercial establishments. If we decline receiving their mission, they will insist; and if we are unable to oppose force, and desire them to come unaccom-

panied with troops, they will not comply. They will begin by introducing a company: a battalion will follow, and at length an army will be assembled for the subjection of Nipal. You think that if, for the present, the lowlands, the Doon, and the country to the Sutlej, were ceded to them, they would cease to entertain designs upon the other provinces of Nipal. Do not trust them! They who counselled you to receive the mission of Knox, and permit the establishment of a commercial factory, will usurp the government of Nipal. With regard to the concessions now proposed, if you had, in the first instance, decided on a pacific line of conduct, and agreed to restore the departments of Bootwul and Sheeoraj, as adjusted by the commissioners, the present contest might have been avoided. But you could not suppress your desire to retain these places, and, by murdering their revenue officer, excited their indignation, and kindled a war for trifles.

At Jythuk we have obtained a victory over the enemy. If I succeed against General Ochterlony, and Runjoor Singh, with Juspao Thapa and his officers, prevail at Jythuk, Runjeet Singh will rise against the enemy. In conjunction with the Seiks, my army will make a descent into the plains; and our forces, crossing the Jumna from two different quarters, will recover possession of the Doon. When we reach Hurdwar, the Nuwab of Lukhnow may be expected to take a part in the cause; and, on his accession to the general coalition, we may consider ourselves secure as far as Khunka. Relying on your fortune, I trust that Bulbhudur Koonwur and Rewunt Kajec will soon be able to reinforce the garrison of Jythuk; and I hope, ere long, to send Punt Kajee with eight companies, when the force there will be very strong. The troops sent by you are arriving every day: and when they all come up, I hope we shall succeed both here and at Jythuk.

Formerly, when the English endeavoured to penetrate to Sundowlee, they continued for two years in possession of Bareh Pursa and Muhotree; but, when you conquered Nipal, they were either destroyed by your force, or fell victims to the climate with the exception of a few only, who abandoned the place. Orders should now be given to all your officers to defend Choudundee, and Choudena in Bejypoor, and the two kurats, and the ridge of Mahabharut. Suffer the enemy to retain the low lands for a couple of years: measures can afterwards be taken to expel them. Lands transferred under a written agreement

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cannot again be resumed; but if they have been taken by force, force may be employed to recover them. Fear nothing, even though the Seiks should not join us. Should you succeed now in bringing our differences to an amicable termination by the cession of territory, the enemy in the course of a few years would be in possession of Nipal, as he took possession of the country of Tippoo. The present, therefore, is not the time for treaty and conciliation. These expedients should have been tried before the murder of the revenue officer (in Gorukpoor), or must be postponed till victory shall crown our efforts. If they will then accede to the terms which I shall propose, it is well; if not, with the favour of God and your fortune and bounty, it shall be my business to preserve the integrity of my country from Kunka to the Sutlej. Let me entreat you, therefore, never to make peace. Formerly, when some individuals urged the adoption of a treaty of peace and commerce, I refused my assent to that measure; I will not now suffer the honour of my prince to be sullied by concession and submission. If you are determined on this step, bestow the humiliating office on him who first advised it. But for me, call me to your presence; I am old, and only desire once more to kiss your feet. I can recollect the time when the Goorkha army did not exceed twelve thousand men. Through the favour of heaven, and by the valour of your forefathers, your territory was extended to the confines of Khunka, on the east. Under the auspices of your father, we subjugated Kumaon; and, through your fortune, we have pushed our conquests to the Sutlej. Four generations have been employed in the acquisition of all this dignity and dominion. At Nalapane, Bulbhudur defeated three or four thousand of the enemy. At Jythuk, Runjoor Singh, with his officers, overthrew two battalions. In this place I am surrounded, and daily fighting with the enemy, and look forward with confidence to victory. All the inhabitants and chiefs of the country have joined the enemy. I must gain two or three victories before I can accomplish the object I have in view—of attaching Runjeet Singh to our cause. On his accession, and after the advance of the Seiks and Goorkhas towards the Jumna, the chiefs of the Dukhun may be expected to join the coalition, as also the Nawab of Lukhnow, and the Salik-Ramee-Leech.<sup>1</sup> Then will be the time for us to drive out the enemy, and recover possession of the low countries of Palpa,

<sup>1</sup> It is not known who Umur Singh means by the Salik-Ramee-Leech; and some other of his names of places and persons differ from any in common use.

as far as Beejypoor. If we succeed in regaining these, we can attempt further conquest in the plains.

No. I.

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There has been no fighting in your quarter yet; the Choudndee and Choudena of Beejypoor, as far as the ridge of Muhabharut and Sooleeana, should be well defended. Countries acquired in four generations, under the administration of the Thapas, should not be abandoned for the purpose of bringing matters to an amicable adjustment, without deep and serious reflection. If we are victorious in the war, we can easily adjust our differences; and if we are defeated, death is preferable to a reconciliation on humiliating terms. When the Chinese army invaded Nipal, we implored the mercy of Heaven by offerings to the Brahmins, and the performance of religious ceremonies; and, through the favour of one and intercession of the other, we succeeded in repulsing the enemy. Ever since you confiscated the Jageers of the Brahmins, thousands have been in distress and poverty. Promises were given that they should be restored at the capture of Kangrah; and orders to this effect, under the red seal, were addressed to me, and Nin Singh Thapa. We failed, however, in that object, and now there is universal discontent. You ought, therefore, to assemble all the Brahmins, and promise to restore them their lands and property, in the event of your conquering and expelling the English. By these means many thousand worthy Brahmins will put up their prayers for your prosperity, and the enemy will be driven forth. By the practice of charity, the territory acquired in four generations may be preserved; and, through the favour of God, our power and dominion may be still further extended. By the extension of territory, our military establishment may be maintained on its present footing, and even increased. The numerous countries which you propose to cede to the enemy yielded a revenue equal to the maintenance of an army of four thousand men, and Kangrah might have been captured. By the cession of these provinces, the reputation and splendour of your Court will no longer remain. By the capture of Kangrah, your name would have been rendered formidable; and, though that has not happened, a powerful impression has, nevertheless, been made on the people of the plains by the extension of your conquests to the Sutlej. To effect a reconciliation by the cession of the country to the west of the Jumna, would give rise to the idea that the Goorkhas were unable to oppose the English, would lower the dignity of your name in the plains, and cause a reduction of your army to



No. I. the extent of four thousand men. The enemy will, moreover, require the possession of Bisahur, and after that the conquest of Gurhwal will be easy; nor will it be possible, in that case, for us to retain Kumaon, and with it we must lose Dotee, Acham, and Joomlah, whence he may be expected to penetrate even to Bheree. If the English once establish themselves firmly in possession of a part of the hills, we shall be unable to drive them out. The countries towards the Sutlej should be obstinately defended; the abandonment of the disputed tracts in the plains is a lesser evil: the possession of the former preserves to us the road to further conquest. You ought, therefore, to direct Gooroo Rungnath Pundit and Dulbunjun Pandeh to give up the disputed lands of Bootwul, Sheeoraj, and the twenty-two villages in the vicinity of Bareh, and thus, if possible, bring our differences to a termination. To this step I have no objections, and shall feel no animosity to those who may perform this service. I must, however, declare a decided hostility to such as, in bringing about a reconciliation with the English, consult only their own interest, and forget their duty to you. If they will not accept these terms, what have we to fear? The English attempted to take Bhurtpoor by storm; but the Raja Runjeet Singh destroyed a European regiment, and a battalion of sepoys. To the present day they have not ventured to meddle with Bhurtpoor again: whence it would seem that one fort has sufficed to check their progress. In the low country of Dhurma they established their authority; but the Raja overthrew their army, and captured all their artillery and stores, and now lives and continues in quiet possession of his dominions. Our proffers of peace and reconciliation will be interpreted as the result of fear; and it would be absurd to expect that the enemy will respect a treaty concluded under such circumstances. Therefore, let us confide our fortunes to our swords; and, by boldly opposing the enemy, compel him to remain within his own territory;—or, if he should continue to advance, stung with shame at the idea of retreating, after his immense preparations, we can then give up the lands in dispute, and adjust our differences. Such, however, is the fame and terror of our swords, that Buldhudur, with a force of six hundred men, defeated an army of three or four thousand English. His force consisted of the old Gourukh and Kurrukh companies, which were only partly composed of the inhabitants of our ancient kingdom, and of the people of the countries from Bheree to Gurhwal; and with these he de-

stroyed one battalion, and crippled and repulsed another. My army is similarly composed: nevertheless, all descriptions are eager to meet the enemy. In your quarter you are surrounded with the veterans of our army, and cannot apprehend desertion from them; — you have also an immense militia, and many Jageerdars, who will fight for their own honour and interests. Assembling the militia of the low land, and fighting in the plains, is impolitic: call them into the hills, and cut the enemy up by detail — (a passage here, the sense of which cannot be discovered). The enemy is proud, and flushed with success, and has reduced under his subjection all the western Zemindars, the Ranas, and Raja of Kuhlur, and the Thakooræen, and will keep peace with no one. However, my advice is nothing. I will direct Ram Doss to propose to General Ochterlony the abandonment, on our part, of the disputed lands, and will forward to you the answer which he may receive. All the Ranas, Rajas, and Thakooræen, have joined the enemy, and I am surrounded: nevertheless, we shall fight and conquer, and all my officers have taken the same resolution. The Pundits have pronounced the month of Bysakh as particularly auspicious for the Goorkhas; and, by selecting a fortunate day, we shall surely conquer. I am desirous of engaging the enemy slowly and with caution, but cannot manage it, the English being always first to begin the fight. I hope, however, to be able to delay the battle till Bysakh (April, May), when I will choose a favourable opportunity to fight them. When we shall have driven the enemy from hence, either Runjoor or myself, according to your wishes, will repair to your presence. In the present crisis, it is very advisable to write to the Emperor of China, and to the Lama of Lassa, and to the other Lamas; and, for this purpose, I beg leave to submit the enclosed draft of a letter to their address; any errors in it, I trust, will be forgiven by you; and I earnestly recommend that you will lose no time in sending a petition to the Emperor of China, and a letter to the Lama.

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 II.

## PAGE 57.

*Proposed Petition to the Emperor of China by the Raja of Nepal.*

I yield obedience to the Emperor of China, and no one dare invade my dominions; or if any power has ventured to encroach

No. II. on my territory, through your favour and protection I have been able to discomfit and expel them. Now, however, a powerful and inveterate enemy has attacked me; and, as I owe allegiance to you, I rely on obtaining your assistance and support. From Khanka to the Setlej for a thousand kos war is waging between us. Entertaining designs upon Bhote, the enemy endeavours to get possession of Nepal, and for these objects he has fomented a quarrel and declared war. Five or six great actions have been already fought; but, through the fortune and glory of your Imperial Majesty, I have succeeded in destroying about twenty thousand of the enemy; but his wealth and military resources are great, and he sustains the loss without receding a step. On the contrary, numerous reinforcements continue to arrive, and my country is invaded on all points. Though I might obtain a hundred thousand soldiers from the hills and plains, yet without pay they cannot be maintained; and though I have every desire to pay them, I have not the means. Without soldiers I cannot repel the enemy. Consider the Gorkhas as your tributaries; reflect that the English come to conquer Nepal and Bhote, and for these reasons be graciously pleased to assist us with a sum of money, that we may levy an army and drive forth the invaders. Or, if you are unwilling to assist us with subsidies, and prefer sending an army to our aid, it is well. The climate of Dharma (Bhután) is temperate, and you may safely send an army of two or three hundred thousand men by the route of Dharma into Bengal, spreading alarm and consternation among the Europeans as far as Calcutta. The enemy has subjugated all the Rajas of the plains, and usurped the throne of the King of Delhi, and therefore it is to be expected that these would all unite in expelling the Europeans from Hindustan. By such an event your name will be renowned throughout all Jambudwip (India); and wherever you may command, the whole of its inhabitants will be forward in your service. Should you think that the conquest of Nepal, and the forcible separation of the Gorkhas from their dependence on the Emperor of China, cannot materially affect your Majesty's interests, I beseech you to reflect, that without your aid I cannot repulse the English; that these are the people who have already subdued all India, and usurped the throne of Delhi; that with my army and resources I am quite unable to make head against them; and that the world will henceforth say, that the Emperor of China abandoned to their fate his tributaries and dependants. I acknowledge the su-

premacv of the Emperor of China above all the potentates on earth. The English, after obtaining possession of Nepal, will advance by the routes of Bhadrinath and Mansarowar, and also by that of Digarchi, for the purpose of conquering Lassa. I beg, therefore, that you will write an order to the English, directing them to withdraw their forces from the territory of the Gorkha State, which is tributary and dependent upon you, otherwise that you will send an army to our aid. I beseech you, however, to lose no time in sending assistance, whether in men or money that I may drive out the enemy and maintain possession of the mountains; otherwise he will, in a few years, be master of Lassa.

No. II.

## III.

PAGE 57.

*From the three Governors at Arzung, named, first, Shee-Chan-Chun, principal Vizir: secondly, Shee-Taran: thirdly, Kho-Taran. Let this Letter be taken to the Officer commanding at Rungpur, who, after opening it and ascertaining its contents, will forward it to his master.*

This is written by the enlightened Vizir of his Majesty the Emperor of China, and by the two Vizirs who are Hakims of this place, namely, Shee-Taran and Kho-Taran. These three, of whom one has lately arrived from the capital, from the presence of the Emperor, and the other two the Governors of Arzung, have agreed to write to the English gentlemen as follows:—

No. III.

From a letter which was received from the Raja of Gorkha, addressed to the two Tarans, it was understood that the English had demanded of the Raja of Gorkha, and of Dhama Shanga, a free passage to this quarter, declaring that they had no intention of attacking those chiefs, and that they only wanted a free passage to Lassa, when it would be seen what would happen. It was stated also, that the English proposed that the above-mentioned chiefs should pay to them the tribute which they now pay to China. A letter to the same effect was received from the Raja of Gorkha, addressed to the two Tarans at Lassa. The two Tarans of this place sent the original letter to the Emperor. The heart of his Imperial Majesty is as pure as the sun, and enlightened as the moon, and truth and falsehood are in all matters



No. III.     apparent to him. Not relying on the Raja of Gorkha's letter, he, in order to ascertain the truth of the circumstances, sent from his own presence Shee-Chan-Chun with a royal army; that person accordingly will soon arrive with the army at Tingari, and will inquire into your proceedings.

Such absurd measures as those alluded to appear quite inconsistent with the usual wisdom of the English. It is probable that they never made the declaration imputed to them: if they did, it will not be well. On a former occasion, when Thron-Tan came here to make war against the Raja of Gorkha, a letter was received from the English, addressed to Thron-Tan, asking assistance. The hostile course which, according to the Raja of Gorkha, they have now adopted, is, therefore, beyond measure surprising. An answer should be sent as soon as possible to Tingari, stating whether or not the English have made the absurd propositions imputed to them to the Raja of Gorkha and Dhama Shanga. It is probable that they did not. If they did not, let them write a suitable explanation addressed to Shee-Chan-Chun, that he may make a corresponding communication to the Emperor, stating that the whole story is a falsehood of the Raja of Gorkha. Let the true state of the case be told, that it may be reported to the Emperor. The Emperor of China is just. Be it known to the English gentlemen that his Majesty of China is just and merciful. Send an answer as soon as possible.

Dated 23rd Jemadurs-sani, 1231. Hij. (23rd May, 1816).

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#### IV.

PAGE 219.

*Substance of a Mahratta Proclamation issued on the 11th February, 1818, by the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, Sole Commissioner for the territories conquered from the Peshwa.*

No. IV.     From the time when Baji Rao ascended the Musnud, his country was a prey to faction and rebellion, and there was no efficient government to protect the people. At length Baji Rao was expelled from his dominions, and took refuge in Bassein, where he was dependent on the bounty of Kandi Rao Rastia. At this time he entered into alliance with the British Government, and was immediately restored to the full possession of his

authority ; the tranquillity that has been enjoyed since that period is known to all ranks of men. At Baji Rao's restoration, the country was laid waste by war and famine, the people were reduced to misery, and the Government derived scarcely any revenue from its lands: since then, in spite of the farming system, and the exactions of Baji Rao's officers, the country has completely recovered, through the protection afforded it by the British Government, and Baji Rao has accumulated those treasures which he is now employing against his benefactors. The British Government not only protected the Peshwa's own possessions, but maintained his rights abroad. It could not, without injury to the rights of others, restore his authority over the Mahratta chiefs, which had expired long before its alliance with him; but it paid the greatest attention to satisfying his admissible demands, and succeeded, in spite of many difficulties, in adjusting some, and in putting others in a train of settlement. Among these were Baji Rao's claims on the Gaekwar. The British Government had prevailed on that prince to send his prime minister to Poona for the express purpose of settling those demands, and they were on the eve of adjustment with great profit to the Peshwa, when Gangadhar Sastri, the Gaekwar's Vakil, was murdered by Trimbakji Dainglia, the Peshwa's minister, while in actual attendance on his court, and during a solemn pilgrimage at Pundrapur. Strong suspicion rested on Baji Rao, who was accused by the voice of the whole country ; but the British Government, unwilling to credit such charges against a prince and an ally, contented itself with demanding the punishment of Trimbakji. This was refused, until the British Government had marched an army to support its demands; yet it made no claim on the Peshwa for its expenses, and inflicted no punishment for his protection of a murderer: it simply required the surrender of the criminal, and, on Baji Rao's compliance, it restored him to the undiminished enjoyment of the benefits of the alliance. Notwithstanding this generosity, Baji Rao immediately commenced a new system of intrigues, and used every exertion to turn all the power of India against the British Government. At length he gave the signal of disturbances by fomenting an insurrection in his own dominions, and preparing to support the insurgents by open force. The British Government had then no remedy but to arm in turn. Its troops entered Baji Rao's territories at all points, and surrounded him in his capital before any of those with whom he had in-

No. IV. trigued had time to stir. Baji Rao's life was now in the hands of the British Government ; but that Government, moved by his professions of gratitude for past favours, and of entire dependence on its moderation, once more resolved to continue him on his throne, after imposing such terms upon him as might secure it from his future perfidy. The principal of these terms was a commutation of the contingent, which the Peshwa was bound to furnish, for money equal to the pay of a similar body of troops; and, on their being agreed to, the British Government restored Baji Rao to his friendship, and proceeded to settle the Pindaris, who had so long been the pests of the peaceable inhabitants of India, and of none more than the Peshwa's own subjects. Baji Rao affected to enter with zeal into an enterprize so worthy of a great government, and assembled a large army, on pretence of cordially assisting in the contest; but in the midst of all his professions he spared neither pains nor money to engage the powers of Hindustan to combine against the British; and no sooner had the British troops marched towards the haunts of the Pindaris than he seized the opportunity to commence war without a declaration, and without even an alleged ground of complaint. He attacked and burned the house of the British Resident, contrary to the laws of nations and the practice of India, plundered and seized on peaceable travellers, and put two British officers to an ignominious death. Baji Rao himself found the last transaction too barbarous to avow; but as the perpetrators are still unpunished, and retain their command in his army, the guilt remains with him. After the commencement of the war, Baji Rao threw off the mask regarding the murder of Gangadhar Sastri, and avowed his participation in the crime by uniting his cause with that of the murderer. By these acts of perfidy and violence, Baji Rao has compelled the British Government to drive him from his musnud, and to conquer his dominions. For this purpose a force is gone in pursuit of Baji Rao, which will allow him no rest; another is employed in taking his forts; a third has arrived by way of Ahmednagar, and a greater force than either is now entering Kandesh, under the personal command of his Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop; a force under General Munro is reducing the Carnatic, and a force from Bombay is taking the forts in the Konkan, and occupying that country, so that in a short time not a trace of Baji Rao will remain. The Raja of Sattara, who is now a prisoner in Baji Rao's hands, will be released, and placed at the head of an independent sovereignty

of such an extent as may maintain the Raja and his family in comfort and dignity. With this view the fort of Sattara has been taken, the Raja's flag has been set up in it, and his former ministers have been called into employment. Whatever country is assigned to the Raja will be administered by him, and he will be bound to establish a system of justice and order; the rest of the country will be held by the Honourable Company. The revenue will be collected for the Government, but all property, real or personal, will be secured; all wuttun and enain (hereditary lands), warshásan (annual stipends), and all religious and charitable establishments will be protected, and all religious sects will be tolerated and their customs maintained, as far as is just and reasonable. The farming system is abolished; officers shall be forthwith appointed to collect a regular and moderate revenue on the part of the British Government, to administer justice, and to encourage the cultivators of the soil. They will be authorized to allow of remissions in consideration of the circumstances of the times. All persons are prohibited from paying revenue to Baji Rao or his adherents, or assisting them in any shape. No deduction will be made from the revenue on account of any such payments. Wuttundars, and other holders of land, are required to quit the standard of Baji Rao, and return to their villages within two months from this time. The Zemindars will report the names of those who remain; and all who fail to appear at that time shall forfeit their lands, and shall be pursued without remission until they are entirely crushed. All persons, whether belonging to the enemy or otherwise, who may attempt to lay waste the country, or to plunder the roads, will be put to death wherever they are found.

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V.

PAGE 220.

## NOTES FOUND AT ASIR-GERH.

1. *From Dowlat Rao to Jeswant Rao Lar.*

I send you the news: the Company and the Sirkar are friends, and have joined to annihilate the Pindaris and secure the roads. The Company have required Hindia and Hurda from the Sirkar, who replied "take them," and has written the necessary papers,



No. V. and has also written a chor-chiti (a note authorising the quitting of the fort) to you. I write you the information of what has passed; but do you be in readiness, and keep your people, so that your manhood may be known to all, and that no trick or deceit may be in your jurisdiction. Be careful: do not keep your family or children with you, but send them to your house, or to some place of safety, so that no person may be acquainted with their residence. Have no incumbrances about you. Be ready. What is decreed will take place. Keep your heart steady to me. There is no need to write much; you will understand everything from this.

2. (*Written in Sindhia's own handwriting.*)

Obeys all orders that may come from Srimant (the Peshwa). Plead not that I have given no orders, but do exactly as Srimant may require you. Should you not do so, I shall be perjured. The people have written you from hence, so that you will know everything that is going on. Consider this note as equal to a thousand notes, and act accordingly.

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VI.

PAGE 281.

*Various properties and rights claimed by Raja Mulhar Rao Holkar in parts of Kandesh and the Dekhin, subject to the Peshwa as Desmukh, Head of a district, or as Patel, Head of a village.*

1.

No. VI. DESMUKH'S RIGHTS IN THE PERGANA OF CHANDORE, ETC.

A house in Chandore.

Several villages in Jagir.

Seven per cent. on the Government revenue of the village of Mutád.

A certain quantity of grain from sundry villages.

One rupee per village for the Desmukh and for his Gomashta or agent.

Three and a half per cent. on all money coined in the mint of Chandore.

The customs taken at the four towns of Chandore, Devgaon, Raichur, and Búri, during two months in each year No. VI.

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A sum levied from each village for the maintenance of a writer in attendance on the officers of the ruling power, on the part of the Desmukh.

Fees on all deeds conveying real property or vested rights, which require the Desmukh's signature.

A khelat, or dress of honour, by the revenue contractor or the jagirdar, on the settlement of the year's revenue accounts, also requiring the counter-signature of the Desmukh.

Various gardens, mango groves, and tanks, rent-free, in different villages and towns.

A fee, or present, from certain villages on the determination of their assessment, and its annual payment. A present from the same at the festival of the Dashara; and a present of one rupee from each, if visited by the Desmukh; and a similar fee on the appointment of a new Gomashta.

Right of free pasture in various places.

A present at marriages and births, where the villagers can afford it, however trifling.

Seven per cent. of the forage supplied by the village to the Government.

A full suit of clothes, value two hundred rupees, annually from the Customs of Chandore.

A certain quantity of sesamum and molasses from each village, on various occasions.

A portion of any fine imposed upon Bramans, as an expiation of offence against Caste.

## 2.

### PATEL RIGHTS IN VARIOUS VILLAGES IN THE PERGANAS OF NASIK, DHER, SANGAMNER, ETC.

A certain proportion of all crops when gathered.

An allotment of rent-free land in each village.

A piece of cloth from each family on occasion of a marriage.

A piece of cloth annually from each weaver's shop.

A betel nut daily from each grocer.

A blanket annually from each shepherd.

A proportion of sugar from every quantity manufactured.

A pair of shoes annually from each chumar, or worker in leather.

A handful of every sort of vegetables daily from the sellers.

A certain quantity of oil daily from the makers

DESMUKH'S RIGHTS IN VARIOUS VILLAGES IN THE PERGANA OF  
GALNA.

Five per cent. per annum on the Government revenue.

Two rupees from the large, and one from the small villages per annum, for offerings to the Manes in the month Bhadon.

Two-thirds of a fourth of all customs and duties.

Money and food on occasion of marriages.

A share of the crops.

Half a seer of oil daily from every oil press.

A certain quantity of oil on the Desmukh's visiting a village.

Proportions of cane, molasses, and sugar from every field and mill.

Two seers of rice from every field.

A portion of the load of every Bunjara bullock that passes through the village.

A present of a rupee a-year from every village.

Two betel leaves from every load, and ten from each shop daily, and one betel nut daily from each grocer.

At fairs in the vicinity of a fort, a portion of every article—as a handful of grain from each load, or of vegetables from each basket: twenty-five mangoes from each cart-load, and twenty-five canes from a similar load of sugar-canes, &c.

A set of horse-shoes annually from every smithy.

Two bundles of straw annually from each village.

Shoes, blankets, cloth as before mentioned.

A cart-load of firewood annually from each village.

Five mango-trees in every hundred.

A tax of five rupees a-year on eunuchs, and on vagrants with bears or wild animals.

Portions of meat and spirits daily from butchers and venders of spirituous liquor, and a skin and a half annually from each village.

Whatever platters (of leaves) or pots are required for devotional purposes must be supplied by the manufacturers, and free labour is expected from various castes, when required by the Desmukh.

Contributions, in money or kind, are also levied at the great Hindu festivals, the Dewali, Dasahara and Sankránt.

The whole of these, and of similar rights in other places, which were formerly valued at more than three lakhs of rupees annually, were valued in 1819 at little more than one, and of that the greater part was intercepted by the officers appointed to make the collections.

## VII.

## PAGE 404.

*Comparative Statement of the Revenues and Charges of British India in the Years 1813-14 and 1822-23.*

1813-14. . . .	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	No. VII.
Receipts . . .	£11,172,000	5,297,000	759,000	17,228,000	
Charges . . .	7,135,000	4,893,000	1,589,000	13,617,000	
Surplus Revenue . . .				£3,611,000	
Deduct Interest on Debt . . .			£1,537,000		
Supplies to England . . .			116,000		
				£1,653,000	
Surplus in 1813-14 . . .				£1,958,000	
1822-23. . . .	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	
Receipts . . .	£14,168,000	5,585,000	3,372,000	23,120,000	
Charges . . .	8,746,000	5,072,000	4,264,000	18,082,000	
Surplus Revenue . . .				£5,038,000	
Deduct Interest . . .				1,694,000	
Surplus in 1823-4 . . .				£3,444,000	

## ITEMS OF AUGMENTED RECEIPT.

	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.	
	1813-14.	1822-23.	1813-14.	1822-23.	1813-14.	1822-23.
Mint . . .	£9,000	23,000	16,000	21,000	6,000	2,000
Post-Office . . .	43,000	61,000	20,000	25,000	6,000	11,000
Stamps . . .	16,000	150,000	31,000	62,000	"	17,000
Judicial . . .	104,000	54,000	20,000	19,000	6,000	8,000
Customs . . .	322,000	477,000	190,000	218,000	108,000	158,000
Land Rev <sup>e</sup> . . .	3,928,000	4,448,000	893,000	877,000	37,000	130,000
Do. Ced <sup>d</sup> . P. . .	2,271,000	2,411,000	"	"	206,000	360,000
Conquered . . .	1,664,000	1,806,000	"	"	291,000	1,430,000
Nerbudda . . .	"	609,000	"	"	"	"
Salt . . .	1,779,000	2,553,000	155,000	148,000	"	"
Opium . . .	964,000	1,493,000	"	"	"	1,158,000
Marine . . .	31,000	33,724	9,000	8,000	40,000	21,000
Carnatic . . .	"	"	1,131,000	1,464,000	"	"
Tanjore . . .	"	"	436,000	459,000	"	"
Mysore . . .	"	"	1,519,000	1,400,000	"	"
Nizam . . .	"	"	685,000	669,000	"	"
Travancore . . .	"	"	91,000	89,000	"	"
Cochin . . .	"	"	32,000	23,000	"	"
Farms and } Licences }	"	"	62,000	100,000	53,000	74,000
Dutch Set- } tlements }	"	"	"	"	"	"



## No. VII.

## TOTAL INCREASE OF REVENUE.

1822-23 . . . . .	£23,120,000	
1813-14 . . . . .	17,228,000	
Increase . . . . .	£5,892,000	
Of which the increase in Bengal was . . .		£2,991,000
"       "       Madras . . . . .		288,000
"       "       Bombay . . . . .		2,613,000
		<u>£5,892,000</u>
Increase in Salt— Bengal . . . . .	£774,000	
"       Opium— Bengal . . . . .	529,000	
	<u>1,303,000</u>	
"       "       Bombay . . . . .	1,158,000	
	<u>£2,461,000</u>	

## INCREASE ON LAND IN BENGAL.

Lower Provinces . . . . .	£560,000	
Ceded ditto . . . . .	140,000	
Conquered ditto . . . . .	142,000	
	<u>£842,000</u>	
Revenue from the territories on the Nerbudda . . . . .		£609,000
Ditto from the Mahratta conquered territory . . . . .		1,839,000
		<u>£2,448,000</u>

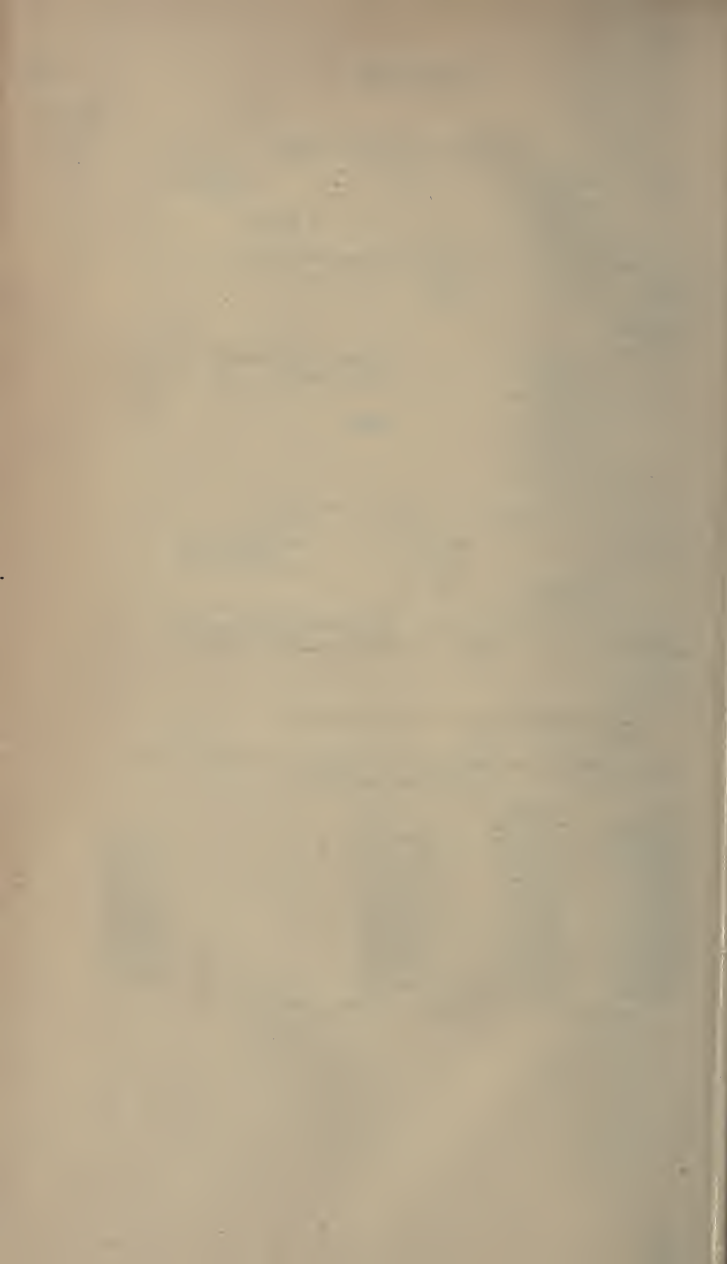
Report Lords, 1830. App. Revenues of India.

B. *Comparison of Receipts, with Charges and Interest, from 1813-14 to 1822-23.*

	Revenue.	Charges and Interest.	Local Surplus.
1813-14 . . . . .	£17,228,000	£15,154,000	£1,958,000
1814-15 . . . . .	17,231,000	15,684,000	1,547,000
1815-16 . . . . .	17,168,000	16,665,000	503,814
1816-17 . . . . .	18,010,000	16,842,000	1,161,000
1817-18 . . . . .	18,305,000	17,597,000	708,000
1818-19 . . . . .	19,392,000	19,224,000	168,000
1819-20 . . . . .	19,172,000	18,981,000	191,000
1820-21 . . . . .	21,292,000	19,423,000	1,869,000
1821-22 . . . . .	21,753,000	19,488,000	2,265,000
1822-23 . . . . .	23,120,000	19,778,000	3,342,000

Co mm. Comm. 1832. App. Finance, No. 4, Art. 1.











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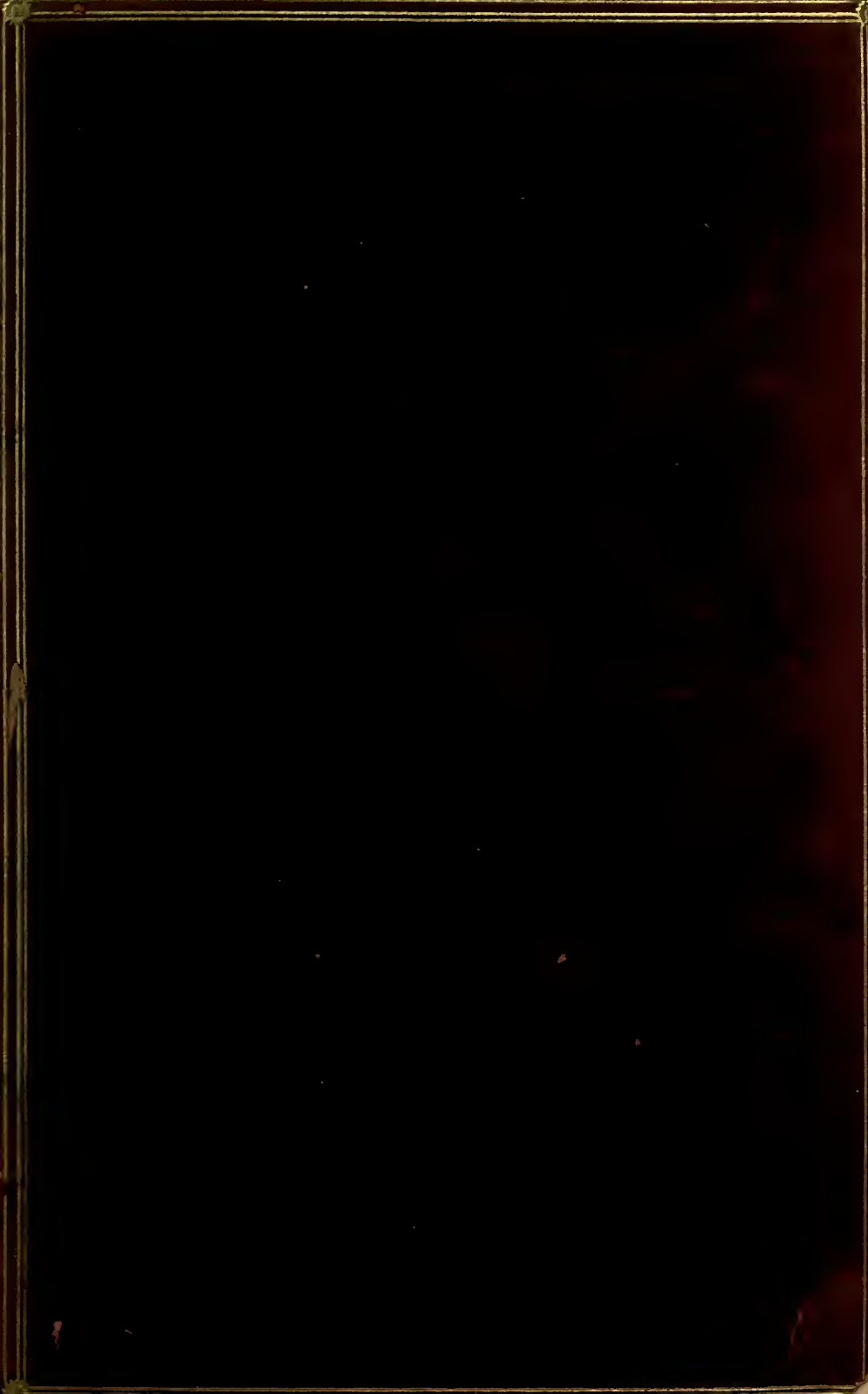
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MILL'S HISTORY  
OF BRITISH INDIA,  
BY WILSON.

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IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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# THE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BY JAMES MILL, ESQ.

FOURTH EDITION, WITH NOTES AND CONTINUATION,

By HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A. F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY AND OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS AND  
CALCUTTA; OF THE IMPERIAL SOCIETY OF NATURALISTS OF MOSCOW;  
OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC. ETC.;  
AND BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOLUME III.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA  
SOUTHERN BRANCH

LONDON

JAMES MADDEN AND CO.,

SUCCESSORS TO PARBURY & CO., 8, LEADENHALL STREET.

L. A. LEWIS, FLEET STREET.

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LONDON :

E. VARTY, 27, CAMOMILE STREET, BISHOPSGATE.

ADDITIONAL TO THE  
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CHAP. I.

*The Constitution of the East India Company, its  
practical Arrangements for the Conduct of Business,  
and Transactions till the Conclusion of the war with  
France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.*

WHEN the competitors for Indian commerce were united into one corporate body, and the privilege of exclusive trade was founded on legislative authority, the business of the East India Company became regular and uniform. Their capital, composed of the shares of the subscribers, was a fixed and definite sum : Of the modes of dealing, adapted to the nature of the business, little information remained to be acquired : Their proceedings were reduced to an established routine, or a series of operations periodi-

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BOOK IV cally recurring: A general description, therefore,  
 CHAP. 1. of the plan upon which the Company conducted

1708. themselves, and a statement of its principal results, appear to comprehend every thing which falls within the design of a history of that commercial body, during a period of several years.

When a number of individuals unite themselves in any common interest, reason suggests, that they themselves should manage as much as it is convenient for them to manage; and that they should make choice of persons to execute for them such parts of the business as cannot be conveniently transacted by themselves.

It was upon this principle, that the adventurers in the trade to India originally framed the constitution of their Company. They met in assemblies, which were called Courts of Proprietors, and transacted certain parts of the common business; And they chose a certain number of persons belonging to their own body, and who were called Committees,<sup>1</sup> to manage for them other parts of the business, which they could not so well perform themselves. The whole of the managing business, therefore, or the whole of the government, was in the hands of,

- 1st. The Proprietors, assembled in general court;
- 2dly. The Committees, called afterwards the Directors, assembled in their special courts.

At the time of the award of the Earl of Godolphin, power was distributed between these assemblies according to the following plan:

To have a vote in the Court of Proprietors, that

<sup>1</sup> *Committees*; i. e. Persons to whom something is committed, or intrusted.

is, any share in its power, it was necessary to be the owner of 500*l.* of the Company's stock : and no additional share, contrary to a more early regulation, gave any advantage, or more to any proprietor than a single vote.

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The directors were twenty-four in number : No person was competent to be chosen as a Director who possessed less than 2,000*l.* of the Company's stock : And of these directors, one was Chairman, and another Deputy-Chairman, presiding in the Courts.

The Directors were chosen annually by the Proprietors in their General Court ; and no Director could serve for more than a year, except by re-election.

Four Courts of Proprietors, or General Courts, were held regularly in each year, in the months of December, March, June, and September, respectively ; the Directors might summon Courts at other times, as often as they saw cause, and were bound to summon Courts within ten days, upon a requisition signed by any nine of the Proprietors, qualified to vote.

The Courts of Directors, of whom thirteen were requisite to constitute a Court, were held by appointment of the Directors themselves, as often, and at such times and places, as they might deem expedient for the despatch of affairs.<sup>1</sup>

According to this constitution, the supreme power was vested in the Court of Proprietors. In the first place they held the legislative power entire : All laws and regulations, all determinations of dividend, all

<sup>1</sup> Letters Patent, 10 Will. III., Collection of Charters, &c,



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grants of money, were made by the Court of Proprietors. To act under their ordinances, and manage the business of routine, was the department reserved for the Court of Directors. In the second place, the supreme power was secured to the Court of Proprietors, by the important power of displacing, annually, the persons whom they chose to act in their behalf.

In this constitution, if the Court of Proprietors be regarded as representing the general body of the people, the Court of Directors as representing an aristocratical senate, and the Chairman as representing the sovereign, we have an image of the British constitution; a system in which the forms of the different species of government, the monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical, are mixed and combined.

In the constitution however of the East India Company, the power allotted to the democratical part was so great, that a small portion may seem to have been reserved to the other two. Not only were the sovereignty, and the aristocracy, both elective, but they were elected from year to year; that is, were in a state of complete dependence upon the democratical part. This was not all: no decrees, but those of the democracy, were binding, at least in the last resort; the aristocracy, therefore, and monarchy, were subordinate, and subject. Under the common impression of democratic ambition, irregularity, and violence, it might be concluded, that the democratic assembly would grasp at the whole of the power; would constrain and disturb the proceedings of the Chairmen and Directors; would deliberate with violence and animosity; and exhibit all the confusion,

precipitation, and imprudence, which are so commonly ascribed to the exercise of popular power.

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The actual result is extremely different from what the common modes of reasoning incite common minds to infer. Notwithstanding the power which, by the theory of the constitution, was thus reserved to the popular parts of the system, all power has centred in the court of directors; and the government of the Company has been an oligarchy, in fact. So far from meddling too much, the Court of Proprietors have not attended to the common affairs even sufficiently for the business of inspection; and the known principles of human nature abundantly secured that unfortunate result. To watch, to scrutinize, to inquire, is labour, and labour is pain. To confide, to take for granted that all is well, is easy, is exempt from trouble, and, to the great mass of mankind, comparatively delightful. On all ordinary occasions, on all occasions which present not a powerful motive to action, the great mass of mankind are sure to be led by the soft and agreeable feeling. And if they who act have only sufficient prudence to avoid those occurrences which are calculated to rouse the people on account of whom they act, the people will allow them abundant scope to manage the common concerns in a way conformable to their own liking and advantage. It is thus that all constitutions, however democratically formed, have a tendency to become oligarchical in practice. By the numerous body who constitute the democracy, the objects of ambition are beheld at so great a distance, and the competition for them is shared with so great a number, that in general they make but a feeble impression upon their minds; the

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small number, on the other hand, intrusted with the management, feel so immediately the advantages, and their affections are so powerfully engaged by the presence, of their object, that they easily concentrate their views, and point their energies with perfect constancy in the selfish direction. The apathy and inattention of the people, on the one hand, and the interested activity of the rulers on the other, are two powers, the action of which may always be counted upon; nor has the art of government as yet exemplified, however the science may or may not have discovered, any certain means by which the unhappy effects of that action may be prevented.<sup>1</sup>

For conducting the affairs of the company, the Directors divided themselves into parties called Committees; and the business into as many separate shares.<sup>2</sup>

The first was the Committee of Correspondence, of which the business was more confidential, as well as extensive, than that of any of the rest. Its duties were, to study the advices from India, and to prepare answers for the inspection of the Court of Directors: To report upon the number of ships expedient for

<sup>1</sup> Not in the East India Company alone; in the Bank of England also, the constitution of which is similar, oligarchy has always prevailed. Nor will the circumstances be found to differ in any joint-stock association in the history of British Commerce. So little does experience countenance the dangerous maxim, of the people's being always eager to grasp at too much power, that the great difficulty, in regard to good government, is, to get them really to exercise that degree of power, their own exercise of which, good government absolutely requires.

<sup>2</sup> The following account is derived from an official report on the business of the Committees, called for by the Board of Control, and transmitted officially by the Court of Directors, of which the substance is given in Mr. Bruce's *Historical View of Plans for the Government of British India*, p. 600.

the trade of the season, and the stations proper for each : To report upon the number of servants, civil and military, in the different stations abroad ; on the demand for alterations, and the applications made for leave of absence, or leave to return : All complaints of grievances, and all pecuniary demands on the Company, were decided upon in the first instance by this Committee, which nominated to all places, in the treasury, and in the secretary's, examiner's, and auditor's offices. It performed, in fact, the prime and governing business of the Company : The rest was secondary and subordinate.

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The next Committee was that of Law-suits ; of which the business was to deliberate and direct in all cases of litigation ; and to examine the bills of law charges. It is not a little remarkable that there should be work of this description sufficient to engross the time of a committee.

The third was the Committee of Treasury. Its business was to provide, agreeably to the orders of the Court, for the payment of dividends and interest on bonds ; to negotiate the Company's loans ; to purchase gold and silver for exportation : to affix the Company's seal to bonds and other deeds ; to examine monthly, or oftener, the balance of cash ; and to decide, in the first instance, on applications respecting the loss of bonds, on pecuniary questions in general, and the delivery of unregistered diamonds and bullion.

The Committee of Warehouses was the fourth. The business of importation was the principal part of its charge. It framed the orders for the species of goods of which the investment or importation was



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intended to consist: It had the superintendence of the servants employed in the inspection of the purchases; determined upon the modes of shipping and conveyance; superintended the landing and warehousing of the goods; arranged the order of sales; and deliberated generally upon the means of promoting and improving the trade.

The fifth was the Committee of Accounts; of whose duties the principal were, to examine bills of exchange, and money certificates; to compare advices with bills; to examine the estimates, and accounts of cash and stock; and to superintend the office of the accountant, and the office of transfer, in which are effected the transfers of the Company's stock and annuities, and in which the foreign letters of attorney for that purpose are examined.

A committee, called the Committee of Buying, was the sixth. Its business was, to superintend the purchase and preparation of the standard articles of export, of which lead and woollens constituted the chief; to contract with the dyers and other tradesmen; to audit their accounts, and keep charge of the goods till deposited in the ships for exportation.

The Committee of the House was the seventh, and its business was mostly of an inferior and ministerial nature. The alterations and repairs of the buildings, regulations for the attendance of the several officers and clerks, the appointment of the inferior servants of the House, and the control of the secretary's accounts for domestic disbursements, were included in its province.

The eighth Committee, that of Shipping, had the charge of purchasing stores, and all other articles of

export, except the grand articles appropriated to the Committee of Buying ; the business of hiring ships, and of ascertaining the qualifications of their commanders and officers ; of distributing the outward cargoes ; of fixing seamen's wages ; of issuing orders for building, repairing, and fitting out the ships, packets, &c. of which the Company were proprietors ; and of regulating and determining the tonnage allowed for private trade, to the commanders and officers of the Company's ships.

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The ninth was the Committee of Private Trade ; and its occupation was to adjust the accounts of freight, and other charges, payable on the goods exported for private account, in the chartered ships of the Company ; to regulate the indulgences to private trade homeward ; and, by examining the commanders of ships, and other inquiries, to ascertain how far the regulations of the Company had been violated or obeyed.

The tenth committee was of a characteristic description. It was the committee for preventing the growth of private trade. Its business was to take cognizance of all instances in which the license, granted by the Company for private trade, was exceeded ; to decide upon the controversies to which the encroachments of the private traders gave birth ; and to make application of the penalties which were provided for transgression. So closely, however, did the provinces of this and the preceding committee border upon one another ; and so little, in truth, were their boundaries defined, that the business of the one was not unfrequently transferred to the other.

Other transactions respecting the employment of

1708.

troops, and the government of territory, required additions to the system of committees, when the Company afterwards became conquerors and rulers. But of these it will be time to speak when the events arrive which produced them.

The chairmen, as the name imports, preside in the Courts, whether of directors or proprietors; they are the organs of official communication between the Company and other parties, and are by office members of all the committees.

The articles in which the export branch of the Indian trade has all along consisted are bullion, lead, quicksilver, woollen cloths, and hardware, of which the proportions have varied at various times.

The official value of all the exports to India for the year 1708, the year in which the union of the two Companies was completed, exceeded not 60,915*l*. The following year it rose to 168,357*l*. But from this it descended gradually till, in the year 1715, it amounted to no more than 36,997*l*. It made a start, however, in the following year; and the medium exportation for the first twenty years, subsequent to 1708, was 92,288*l*. per annum.<sup>1</sup> The average annual exportation of bullion during the same years was 442,350*l*.

The articles of which the import trade of the East India Company chiefly consisted, were calicoes and the other woven manufactures of India; raw silk, diamonds, tea, porcelain, pepper, drugs, and saltpetre. The official value of their imports in 1708 was 493,257*l*.; and their annual average importation for

<sup>1</sup> Custom House accounts. See Sir Charles Whitworth's Tables, p. 9.

this and the nineteen following years was 758,042*l*. At that period, the official value assigned to goods at the Custom House differed not greatly from the real value : and the statements which have been made by the East India Company of the actual value of their exports and imports for some of those years, though not according with the Custom House accounts from year to year, probably from their being made up to different periods in the year, yet on a sum of several years pretty nearly coincide.<sup>1</sup> The business of sale is transacted by the East India Company in the way of auction. On stated days, the goods, according to the discretion of the Directors, are put up to sale at the India House, and transferred to the highest bidder.

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At first the Company built and owned the ships employed in their trade. But in the progress and sub-division of commerce, ship-owning became a distinct branch of business ; and the Company preferred the hiring of ships, called chartering. It was in hired or chartered ships, accordingly, that from this time the trade of the Company was chiefly conveyed ; and a few swift-sailing vessels, called packets, more for the purpose of intelligence than of freight, formed, with some occasional exceptions, the only article of shipping which they properly called their own. This regulation set free a considerable portion of the funds or resources of the Company, for

<sup>1</sup> Try, for example, the sum of the exports for twenty years from 1710, in Sir Charles Whitworth's Tables, and that in the Company's accounts ; the table, for instance, No. 7, in the Appendix to Mr. Macpherson's History of European Commerce with India. See, too, the averages in Bruce's Historical View of Plans for British India, p. 295.



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direct traffic, or the simple transactions of buying and selling.<sup>1</sup>

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That part of the business of the Company which was situated in India, was distinguished by several features which the peculiar circumstances of the country forced it to assume. The sale, indeed, of the commodities imported from Europe, they transacted in the simplest and easiest of all possible ways; namely, by auction, the mode in which they disposed of Indian goods in England. At the beginning of this trade, the English, as well as other European adventurers, used to carry their commodities to the interior towns and markets, transporting them in the hackeries of the country, and established factories or warehouses, where the goods were exposed to sale. During the confusion, however, which prevailed, while the empire of the Moguls was in the progress of dissolution, the security which had formerly existed, imperfect as it was, became greatly impaired; and, shortly after the union of the two Companies, a rule was adopted, not to permit any of the persons in the Company's service, or under their jurisdiction, to remove far into the inland country, without leave obtained from the Governor and Council of the place to which they belonged. According to this plan, the care of distributing the goods into the country, and of introducing them to the consumers, was left to the native and other independent dealers.

For the purchase, collection, and custody of the goods, which constituted the freight to England, a

<sup>1</sup> Ninth by-law of the Company, in Russel's Collection of Statutes.

complicated system of operations was required. As BOOK IV  
CHAP. I. the state of the country was too low in respect of civilization and of wealth, to possess manufacturers and merchants, on a large scale, capable of executing extensive orders, and delivering the goods contracted for on pre-appointed days, the Company were under the necessity of employing their own agents to collect throughout the country, in such quantities as presented themselves, the different articles of which the cargoes to Europe were composed. Places of reception were required, in which the goods might be collected, and ready upon the arrival of the ships, that the expense of demurrage might be reduced to its lowest terms. Warehouses were built; and these, with the counting-houses, and other apartments for the agents and business of the place, constituted what were called the factories of the Company. Under the disorderly and inefficient system of government which prevailed in India, deposits of property were always exposed, either to the rapacity of the government, or, under the weakness of the government, to the hands of depredators. It was always, therefore, an object of importance to build the factories strong, and to keep their inmates armed, and disciplined for self-defence, as perfectly as circumstances would admit. At an early period the Company even fortified those stations of their trade, and maintained professional troops, as often as the negligence permitted, or the assent could be obtained, of the Kings and Governors of the countries in which they were placed. 1708.

Of the commodities collected for the European market, that part, the acquisition of which was at-

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tended with the greatest variety of operations, was the produce of the loom. The weavers, like the other laborious classes of India, are in the lowest stage of poverty, being always reduced to the bare means of the most scanty subsistence. They must at all times, therefore, be furnished with the materials of their work, or the means of purchasing them; and with subsistence while the piece is under their hands. To transact in this manner with each particular weaver, to watch him that he may not sell the fabric which his employer has enabled him to produce, and to provide a large supply, is a work of infinite detail, and gives employment to a multitude of agents. The European functionary, who, in each district, is the head of as much business as it is supposed that he can superintend, has first his banyan, or native secretary, through whom the whole of the business is conducted: the banyan hires a species of broker, called a gomashtah, at so much a month: the gomashtah repairs to the auring, or manufacturing town, which is assigned as his station; and there fixes upon a habitation, which he calls his cutchery: he is provided with a sufficient number of peons, a sort of armed servants; and hircarabs, messengers or letter carriers, by his employer: these he immediately despatches about the place, to summon to him the dallâls, pycârs and weavers: the dallâls and pycârs are two sets of brokers; of whom the pycârs are the lowest, transacting the business of detail with the weavers; the dallâls again transact with the pycârs; the gomashtah transacts with the dallâls, the banyan with the gomashtah, and the Company's European servant

with the banyan. The Company's servant is thus five removes from the workman; and it may easily be supposed that much collusion and trick, that much of fraud towards the Company, and much of oppression towards the weaver, is the consequence of the obscurity which so much complication implies.<sup>1</sup> Besides his banyan, there is attached to the European agent a mohurrer, or clerk, and a cash-keeper, with a sufficient allowance of peons and hircarahs. Along with the gomashlah is despatched in the first instance as much money as suffices for the first advance to the weaver, that is, suffices to purchase the materials, and to afford him subsistence during part at least of the time in which he is engaged with the work. The cloth, when made, is collected in a warehouse, adapted for the purpose, and called a kattah. Each piece is marked with the weaver's name; and when the whole is finished, or when it is convenient for the gomashlah, he *holds a kattah*, as the business is called, when each piece is examined, the price fixed, and the money due upon it paid to the weaver. This last is the stage at which chiefly the injustice to the workman is said to take place; as he is then obliged to content himself with fifteen or twenty, and often thirty or forty per cent.

<sup>1</sup> The obstinate adherence of the natives to their established customs, renders it not easy to quit the track which on any occasion they have formed; and under the ignorance of their manners and character, which distinguishes the greater proportion of the Company's servants, it would be mischievous to attempt it. Where the agent however is intelligent, and acquainted with the language and manners of the people, he does simplify and improve the business to a certain degree; and were it performed by men who had an interest to establish themselves in the country, and who would make it a business, it would gradually acquire that rational form which the interests of a rational people would recommend.



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less than his work would fetch in the market. This is a species of traffic which could not exist but where the rulers of the country were favourable to the dealer ; as every thing, however, which increased the productive powers of the labourers added directly in India to the income of the rulers, their protection was but seldom denied.

The business of India was at this time under the government of three Presidencies, one at Bombay, another at Madras, and a third at Calcutta, of which the last had been created so lately as the year 1707, the business at Calcutta having, till that time, been conducted under the government of the Presidency of Madras. These Presidencies had as yet no dependence upon one another ; each was absolute within its own limits, and responsible only to the Company in England. A Presidency was composed of a President or Governor, and a Council ; both appointed by commission of the Company. The council was not any fixed number, but determined by the views of the Directors ; being sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve, according to the presumed importance or extent of the business to be performed. The Members of the Council were the superior servants in the civil or non-military class, promoted according to the rule of seniority, unless where directions from home prescribed aberration. All power was lodged in the President and Council jointly ; nor could any thing be transacted, except by a majority of votes. When any man became a ruler, he was not however debarred from subordinate functions ; and the members of council, by natural consequence, distributed all the most lucra-

tive offices among themselves.<sup>1</sup> Of the offices which any man held, that which was the chief source of his gain failed not to be the chief object of his attention; and the business of the Council, the duties of governing, did not, in general, engross the greatest part of the study and care of a Member of Council. It seldom, if ever, happened, that less or more of the Members of Council were not appointed as chiefs of the more important factories under the Presidency, and, by their absence, were not disqualified for assisting in the deliberations of the governing body. The irresistible motive, thus afforded to the persons intrusted with the government, to neglect the business of government, occupied a high rank among the causes to which the defects at that time in the management of the Company's affairs in India may, doubtless, be ascribed. Notwithstanding the equality assigned to the votes of all the Members of the Council, the influence of the President was commonly sufficient to make the decisions agreeable to his inclination. The appointment of the Members to the gainful offices after

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<sup>1</sup> There were no lucrative offices for many years under the Company's administration. For some time the salaries of the chiefs of Bombay and Fort St. George did not exceed 300*l.* per annum, and those of the merchants and factors were but 30*l.* and 20*l.* per annum. Even as late as the acquisition of all real power in Bengal, the salary of a counsellor, was 250*l.* per annum; of a factor, 140*l.*; of a writer, as then lately increased, 130*l.* The advantages made by the Company's servants, arose from their engaging in the internal trade, and also in the trade by sea to all eastern ports north of the Equator, except Tonquin and Formosa. See the text, p. 37.) In either of those branches of trade, much depended upon convenience of situation, and so far the Company's servants were dependent upon the principal, with whom it rested where to employ them. The official emoluments attached to any situation, were, in all cases, of small amount.—W.

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which they aspired, was in a considerable degree subject to his determination; while he had it in his power to make the situation even of a member of the Council so uneasy to him, that his continuance in the service ceased to be an object of desire. Under the notion of supporting authority, the Company always lent an unwilling ear to complaints brought by a subordinate against his superior; and in the case of councilmen, disposed to complain, it seldom happened, that of the transactions in which they themselves had been concerned, a portion was not unfit to be revealed.

The powers exercised by the Governor or President and Council, were, in the first place, those of masters in regard to servants over all the persons who were in the employment of the Company; and as the Company were the sole master, without fellow or competitor, and those under them had adopted their service as the business of their lives, the power of the master, in reality, and in the majority of cases, extended to almost every thing valuable to man. With regard to such of their countrymen, as were not in their service, the Company were armed with powers to seize them, to keep them in confinement, and send them to England; an extent of authority which amounted to confiscation of goods, to imprisonment, and what to a European constitution is the natural effect of any long confinement under an Indian climate, actual death.<sup>1</sup> At an early period of

<sup>1</sup> Close imprisonment, debarring a prisoner from air, light, and exercise altogether, has probably never been inflicted in India by an English government, and its effects, even if it had been, would not be necessarily more injurious to life than similar treatment elsewhere.—W.

the Company's history, it had been deemed necessary to intrust them with the powers of martial law, for the government of the troops which they maintained in defence of their factories and presidencies; and by a charter of Charles II., granted them in 1661, the Presidents and Councils in their factories were empowered to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction according to the laws of England. Under this sanction they had exercised judicial powers, during all the changes which their affairs had undergone; but at last it appeared desirable that so important an article of their authority should rest on a better foundation. In the year 1726 a charter was granted, by which the Company were permitted to establish a Mayor's Court at each of their three presidencies, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta;<sup>1</sup> consisting of a mayor and nine aldermen, empowered to decide in civil cases of all descriptions.<sup>2</sup> From this jurisdiction, the President and Council were erected into a Court of Appeal. They were also vested with the power of holding Courts of Quarter Sessions for the exercise of penal judicature, in all cases, excepting those of high treason. And a Court of Requests, or Court of Conscience, was instituted, for the decision, by summary procedure, of pecuniary questions of inconsiderable amount.

This reform in the judicature of India was not at-

<sup>1</sup> Madras had been previously formed into a municipality, in December 1687, under the authority of the King in Council, consisting of a mayor, twelve aldermen, and sixty burgesses.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The charter of 1726, comprehended the three Presidencies, but this was superseded by a new charter in 1753, which is the final authority for the constitution of the different European courts then authorized. (See Seventh Report of Secret Committee, 1773).—W.



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tended with all the beneficial effects which were probably expected from it. Negligence was left to corrupt the business of detail. The charter is said to have been procured by the influence of an individual, for the extension of his own authority; and when his ends were gained, his solicitude expired. The persons appointed to fill the judicial offices were the servants of the Company, bred to commerce, and nursed in its details: while a manuscript book of instructions comprised the whole of the assistance which the wisdom of the King and the Company provided to guide uninstructed men in the administration of justice.

Nor was the obscurity of the English law, and the inexperience of the judges, the only source of the many evils which the new arrangements continued, or produced. Jealousy arose between the Councils, and the Mayor's Courts. The Councils complained that the Courts encroached upon their authority; and the Courts complained that they were oppressed by the Councils. The most violent dissensions often prevailed; and many of the members of the Mayor's Courts quitted the service, and went home with their animosities and complaints.

Besides the above-mentioned tribunals established by the Company for the administration of the British laws to the British people in India, they erected, in the capacity of Zemindar of the district around Calcutta, the usual Zemindary Courts, for the administration of the Indian laws to the Indian people. The Phoujdary Court for the trial of crimes; and the Cutcherry for civil causes; besides the Collector's Court for matters of revenue. The

judges, in these tribunals, were servants of the Company, appointed by the Governor and Council, and holding their offices during pleasure; the rule of judgment was the supposed usage of the country, and the discretion of the court; and the mode of procedure was summary. Punishments extended to fine; imprisonment; labour upon the roads in chains for a limited time, or for life; and flagellation, either to a limited degree, or death. The ideas of honour, prevalent among the natives, induced the Mogul government to forbid the European mode of capital punishment, by hanging, in the case of a Mussulman. In compensation, however, it had no objection to his being whipped to death; and the flagellants in India are said to be so dexterous, as to kill a man with a few strokes of the chawbuck.<sup>1</sup>

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The executive and judicial functions were combined in the Councils, at the Indian presidencies; the powers even of justices of the peace being granted to the members of Council, and to them alone. If complaints were not wanting of the oppression by these authorities upon their fellow-servants; it is abundantly evident that the Company were judge in their own cause in all cases in which the dispute existed between them and any other party.

The President was Commander-in-Chief of the military force maintained within his presidency. It consisted, partly of the recruits sent out in the ships

<sup>1</sup> Seventh Report from the Committee of Secrecy on the State of the East India Company, in 1773.—M. These latter particulars are not found in the Report referred to.—W.

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of the Company ; partly of deserters from the other European nations settled in India, French, Dutch, and Portuguese ; and partly, at least at Bombay and Surat, of Topasses, or persons whom we may denominate Indo-Portuguese, either the mixed produce of Portuguese and Indian parents, or converts to the Portuguese, from the Indian faith. These were troops disciplined and uniformed ; besides whom the natives were already, to a small extent, employed by the Company in military service, and called Sepoys, from the Indian term Sipahi, equivalent to soldier. They were made to use the musket, but remained chiefly armed in the fashion of the country, with sword and target ; they wore the Indian dress, the turban, *cabay* or vest, and long drawers ; and were provided with native officers according to the custom of the country ; but ultimately all under English command. It had not as yet been attempted to train them to the European discipline, in which it was possible to render them so expert and steady ; but considerable service was derived from them ; and under the conduct of European leaders they were found capable of facing danger with great constancy and firmness. What at this time was the average number at each presidency, is not particularly stated. It is mentioned, that at the time when the presidency was established at Calcutta in 1707, an effort was made to augment the garrison to 300 men.

The President was the organ of correspondence, by letter, or otherwise, with the country powers. It rested with him to communicate to the Council the account of what he thus transacted, at any time,

and in any form, which he deemed expedient; and from this no slight accession to his power was derived.

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The several denominations of the Company's servants in India were, writers, factors, junior merchants, and senior merchants: the business of the writers, as the term, in some degree, imports, was that of clerking, with the inferior details of commerce; and when dominion succeeded, of government. In the capacity of writers they remained during five years. The first promotion was to the rank of factor; the next to that of junior merchant; in each of which the period of service was three years. After this extent of service, they became senior merchants. And out of the class of senior merchants were taken by seniority the members of the Council, and when no particular appointment interfered, even the presidents themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after the first great era, in the history of the British commerce with India, the nation was delivered from the destructive burden of the long war with France which preceded the treaty of Utrecht: and though the accession of a new family to the throne, and the resentments which one party of statesmen had to gratify against another, kept the minds of men for a time in a feverish anxiety, not the most favourable to the persevering studies and pursuits on which the triumphs of industry depend, the commerce and wealth of the nation made rapid advances. The town of Liverpool, which was not

<sup>1</sup> See Ninth Report, Select Committee, 1783, p. 11.



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formed into a separate parish till 1699, so rapidly increased, that in 1715 a new parish, with a church, was erected; and it doubled its size between 1690 and 1726. The town of Manchester increased in a similar proportion; and was computed in 1727 to contain no less than 50,000 inhabitants: the manufactures of Birmingham, which thirty years before was little more than a village, are stated as giving maintenance at that time to upwards of 30,000 individuals.<sup>1</sup> In 1719, a patent was granted to Sir Thomas Lombe, for his machine for throwing silk, one of the first of those noble efforts of invention and enterprise which have raised this country to unrivalled eminence in the useful arts. The novelty and powers of this machine, the model of which he is said to have stolen from the Piedmontese, into whose manufactories he introduced himself in the guise of a common workman, excited the highest admiration; and its parts and performances are described to us by the historians of the time with curious exactness; 26,586 wheels, 97,476 movements, which worked 73,726 yards of organzine silk by every revolution of the water-wheel, 318,504,960 yards in one day and a night: a single water-wheel giving motion to the whole machine, of which any separate movement might be stopped without obstructing the rest; and one fire communicating warmth by heated air to every part of the manufactory, not less than the eighth part of a mile in length.<sup>2</sup> London was increased by several

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's History of Commerce, Anno 1727.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson's History of Commerce, A. D. 1719.

new parishes. And from the year 1708 to the year 1730, the imports of Great Britain, according to the valuation of the custom-house, had increased from 4,698,663*l.* to 7,780,019*l.*; the exports from 6,969,089*l.* to 11,974,135*l.*<sup>1</sup>

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During this period of national prosperity, the imports of the East India Company rose from 493,257*l.*, the importation of 1708, to 1,059,759*l.* the importation of 1730. But the other, and not the least important, the export branch of the Company's trade, exhibited another result: As the exportation of the year 1708 was exceedingly small, compared with that of 1709 and the following years, it is fair to take an average of four years from 1706 to 1709 (two with a small, two an increased exportation), producing 105,773*l.*: The exportation of the year 1730 was 135,484*l.*; while that of 1709 was 168,357*l.*; that of 1710, 126,310*l.*; that of 1711, 151,874*l.*; and that of 1712, 142,329*l.*

With regard to the rate of profit, during this period, or the real advantage of the Indian trade, the Company, for part of the year 1708, divided at the rate of five per cent. per annum to the proprietors upon 3,163,200*l.* of capital; for the next year, eight per cent.; for the two following years, nine per cent.; and thence to the year 1716, ten per cent. per annum. In the year 1717, they paid dividends on a capital of 3,194,080*l.*, at the same rate of ten per cent. per annum, and so on till the year 1723. That year the dividend was reduced to

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Whitworth's Tables, part i. p. 78.

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eight per cent. per annum, at which rate it continued till the year 1732.<sup>1</sup>

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In the year 1712, on the petition of the Company, the period of their exclusive trade was extended by act of parliament, from the year 1726, to which by the last regulation it stood confined, to the year 1733, with the usual allowance of three years for notice, should their privileges be withdrawn.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1716, they obtained a proclamation against interlopers. Their complaints, it seems, were occasioned by the enterprises of British subjects, trading to India under foreign commissions. As this proclamation answered not the wishes of the Company, nor deterred their countrymen from seeking the gains of Indian traffic, even through all the disadvantages which they incurred by intrusting their property to the protection of foreign laws, and the fidelity of foreign agents; they were able, in 1718, to procure an act of parliament for the punishment of all such competitors. British subjects, trading from foreign countries, and under the commission of a foreign government, were declared amenable to the laws for the protection of the Company's rights; the Company were authorized to seize merchants of this description when found within their limits, and to send them to England, subject to a penalty of 500*l.* for each offence.<sup>3</sup>

The Company's present alarm for their monopoly

<sup>1</sup> Third Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Commons on the State of the East India Company, in 1773, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> 10 Ann, c. 28. See Collection of Statutes, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson's History of Commerce, A. D. 1716 and 1718, and Collection of Statutes.

arose from the establishment for trading with India, which, under the authority of the Emperor, was formed at his port of Ostend. After the peace of Utrecht, which bestowed the Netherlands upon the house of Austria, the people of those provinces began to breathe from the distractions, the tyranny, and the wars which had so long wasted their fruitful country. Among other projects of improvement, a trade to India was fondly embraced. Two ships, after long preparations, sailed from Ostend in the year 1717, under the passports of the Emperor; and several more soon followed their example. The India Companies of Holland and England were in the highest degree alarmed; and easily communicated their fears and agitations to their respective governments. These governments not only expostulated, and to the highest degree of importunity, with the Emperor himself; but, amid the important negotiations of that diplomatic period, hardly any interest was more earnestly contended for in the discussions at the courts both of Paris and Madrid.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch captured some of the Ostend East India ships: The Emperor, who dreamed of an inundation of wealth from Indian trade, persevered in his purpose; and granted his commission of reprisal to the merchants of Ostend. In the beginning of 1720, they sent no fewer than six vessels to India, and as many the year that followed. The English East India Company pressed the Government with renewed terrors and complaints. They asserted that,

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<sup>1</sup> See Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert, and Lord Walpole, and History of the House of Austria, *ad annos*.



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not only the capital, with which the trade was carried on, was to a great degree furnished by British subjects, but the trade and navigation were conducted by men who had been bred up in the trade and navigation of the British Company : They procured, in 1721, another act of parliament, enforcing the penalties already enacted ; and as this also failed in producing the intended effects, another act was passed in the spring of 1723 ; prohibiting foreign adventures to India, under the penalty of triple the sum embarked ; declaring all British subjects found in India, and not in the service, or under the license of the East India Company, guilty of a high misdemeanour ; and empowering the Company to seize, and send them home for punishment.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor had been importuned, by the adventurers of Ostend, for a charter to make them an exclusive company ; but, under the notion of saving appearances in some little degree with England and Holland, or the maritime powers, as they were called in the diplomatic language of the day, he had induced them to trade under passports as individuals. In the month of August, however, of 1723, the charter was granted ; in less than twenty-four hours the subscription-books of the Company were filled up ; and in less than a month the shares were sold at a premium of fifteen per cent. Notwithstanding the virulent opposition of all the other nations, already engaged in the Indian trade, the Ostend Company experienced the greatest success. At a meeting of Proprietors, in 1726, the remaining instalment on the subscriptions, equal to

<sup>1</sup> 5 Geo. I. c. 24 ; 7 Geo. I. c. 21 ; 9 Geo. I. c. 26.

a dividend of thirty-three and one-third per cent.,  
 was paid up from the gains of the trade. But by  
 this time political difficulties pressed upon the Em-  
 peror. He was abandoned by his only ally, the  
 King of Spain, and opposed by a triple alliance of  
 France, England, and Holland. To give satisfaction  
 to this potent confederacy, and to obtain their sup-  
 port to the pragmatic sanction, or the guarantee of  
 his dominions to his daughter and only child, he  
 submitted to sacrifice the Ostend Company. To  
 save appearances, and consult the imperial dignity,  
 nothing was stipulated in words, except that the  
 business of the Ostend Company should be suspended  
 for seven years; but all men understood that, in this  
 case, suspension and extinction were the same.

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By the act of 7 Geo. I. c. 5, the Company were authorized to borrow money on their common seal, to the amount of the sums lent by them to government, if not beyond the sum of five millions sterling in the whole. They were permitted, however, to borrow solely for the purposes of their trade. They were expressly interdicted from receiving moneys in any of the capacities of a banker; and for that purpose several restrictive clauses were inserted in the act; they were not to borrow any sums payable on demand, or at a shorter date than six months; they were not to discount any bills; or to keep books or cash for any persons sole or corporate, or otherwise than for the real business of the Company.<sup>1</sup>

When the Company commenced operations in India, upon the new foundation on which their affairs

<sup>1</sup> Collection of Statutes, p. 50.

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were placed by the grand arrangements in 1708, Shah Aulum, successor of Aurungzebe, was Emperor of the Moguls. His second son Azeem-oos-Shaun had been appointed Viceroy of Bengal before the death of Aurungzeb, and having bent his chief attention to the amassing of a treasure, against the impending contest between the competitors for the throne, he accepted the bribes of the company, and granted them proportional privileges. Under his authority they had purchased, in 1698, the Zemindarship of the three towns of Sutanutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, with their districts. When Azeem-oos-Shaun left Bengal to assist his father, in the war which ensued upon the death of Aurungzeb, he left his son Ferokhser his deputy. In 1712 Shah Aulum died; Azeem-oos-Shaun lost his life in the struggle for the succession; and Ferokhser, by the help of two able chiefs, the Syed brothers, gained the throne. The government of Bengal now devolved upon Jaffier Khan, and the company experienced a change. This chief, of Tartar extraction, was born at Boorhanpore, in the Deccan, and rose to eminence in the latter part of the reign of Aurungzeb, by whom he had been appointed dewan (or comptroller of the revenues) of Bengal. It would appear that he was nominated, by Shah Aulum, to the viceroyalty of Bengal, shortly after his accession to the throne; but it is probable that, during the short reign of that prince, the appointment never took place; as, at the time of his death, Ferokhser was in possession of the province. Upon the departure, however, of Ferokhser to ascend the imperial throne, Jaffier Khan was invested with entire authority, as subahdar of Ben-

gal; and the English Company, along with his other subjects, began speedily to feel the effects of his severe and oppressive administration.<sup>1</sup>

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In 1713, the first year of the reign of Feroekhser, the President of Calcutta applied to the Company at home for leave to send an embassy, with a handsome present, to the Mogul durbar, in hopes of obtaining greater protection and privileges. Two of the Company's factors, under the direction of an Armenian merchant, named Serhaud, set out for Delhi; and the Emperor, who had received the most magnificent account of the presents of which they were the bearers, ordered them to be escorted by the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass.

They arrived at the capital on the eighth of July, 1715, after a journey of three months; and, in pursuance of the advice which had been received at Calcutta, applied themselves to gain the protection of Khan Dowran,<sup>2</sup> a nobleman in favour with the Em-

<sup>1</sup> Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in India, i. 17—19. See Mutakhareen, i. 17 and 296.

<sup>2</sup> He is named Caundorah by Mr. Orme (Ibid. p. 20), who erroneously makes Houssein, instead of Abdoolah Khan, vizir.—M. It has already been intimated, that a great distinction is to be made in the merits of Orme as an historian. For all that regards the transactions of the British in India he may be relied on: he was present at much that he relates; he was acquainted with the principal persons engaged, and maintained an active correspondence with them; and he made diligent use of many valuable public and private documents in the English language; but it is evident that he was no Orientalist, and, consequently, had no access to written native information in what regards transactions purely Indian; therefore he is by no means a safe authority, as he constantly misstates names, and confounds persons and events. Khan Dowran was the name of the nobleman whom he calls by the vulgar corruption, Caundourah, and besides the misstatement of one Syed brother for the other, here pointed out, he is wrong as to the name of the father of Farokhser's bride, who was Ajit Sinh, not Jesswant Sinh as he calls him, and who bore an important part



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peror, and in the interest of Emir Jumla. What-  
ever was promoted by the interest of Emir Jumla  
was opposed by that of the vizir. The influence  
also of Jaffier Khan was exerted to defeat an appli-  
cation, which tended to abridge his authority, and  
impeach his government. The embassy and costly  
present of the Company were doomed to imperial  
neglect, had not an accident, over which they had  
no control, and the virtue of a public-spirited man,  
who preferred their interest to his own, opened an  
avenue to the grace of Ferokhsar. The intemper-  
ance of that prince had communicated to him a  
secret disease, from which the luxury of the harem  
does not always exempt: Under the unskilful  
treatment of Indian physicians the disorder lingered:  
and the Emperor's impatience was augmented, by  
the delay which it imposed upon the celebration of  
his marriage with the daughter of the Raja of  
Jodpore. A medical gentleman of the name of  
Hamilton accompanied the embassy of the English  
Company: The Emperor was advised to make trial  
of his skill: a cure was the speedy consequence:  
The Emperor commanded his benefactor to name  
his own reward: and the generous Hamilton soli-  
cited privileges for the Company.<sup>1</sup> The festival of  
the marriage however ensued; during which it

in the events of this period. Scott, who derives his knowledge from native historians, is much more accurate. *Aurangzebe's Successors*, 136. *Tod's Rajasthan*, i. 401.—W.

<sup>1</sup> This incident is related with some additional circumstances by Scott, *History of Aurungzebe's Successors*, p. 139. From the manner in which he speaks of the Emperor's disease (he speaks very vaguely), he appears not to have thought it of the sort which is generally represented; the question is of small importance.

would not have been decorous to importune with business the imperial mind; and six months elapsed before the ambassadors could present their petition. It was delivered in January, 1716; and prayed, “that the cargoes of English ships, wrecked on the Mogul’s coast, should be protected from plunder; that a fixed sum should be received at Surat in lieu of all duties; that three villages, contiguous to Madras, which had been granted and again resumed by the government of Arcot, should be restored in perpetuity; that the island of Diu, near the port of Masulipatam, should be given to the Company, for an annual rent; that all persons in Bengal, who might be indebted to the Company, should be delivered up to the presidency on the first demand; that a passport (*dustuck*, in the language of the country), signed by the President of Calcutta should exempt the goods which it specified from stoppage or examination by the officers of the Bengal government; and that the Company should be permitted to purchase the Zemindarship of thirty-seven towns, in the same manner as they had been authorized by Azeem-oos-Shaun to purchase Calcutta, Suttanutty, and Govindpore.” The power of the vizir could defeat the grants of the Emperor, himself; and he disputed the principal articles. Repeated applications were made to the Emperor, and at last the vizir gave way; when mandates were issued confirming all the privileges for which the petition had prayed. To the disappointment, however, and grief of the ambassadors, the mandates were not under the seals of the Emperor, but only those of the vizir, the authority of which the distant

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viceroy would be sure to dispute. It was resolved to remonstrate, how delicate soever the ground on which they must tread; and to solicit mandates to which the highest authority should be attached. It was now the month of April, 1716, when the Emperor, at the head of an expedition against the Seiks, began his march towards Lahore. No choice remained but to follow the camp. The campaign was tedious: It heightened the dissensions between the favourites of the Emperor and the vizir; the ambassadors found their difficulties increased; and contemplated a long, and probably a fruitless negotiation, when they were advised to bribe a favourite eunuch in the seraglio. No sooner was the money paid, than the vizir himself appeared eager to accomplish their designs, and the patents were issued under the highest authority. There was a secret, of which the eunuch had made his advantage. The factory of Surat, having lately been oppressed by the Mogul governor and officers, had been withdrawn by the Presidency of Bombay, as not worth maintaining. It was recollected by the Moguls, that in consequence of oppression the factory of Surat had once before been withdrawn; immediately after which an English fleet had appeared; had swept the sea of Mogul ships, and inflicted a deep wound upon the Mogul treasury. A similar visitation was now regarded as a certain consequence; and, as many valuable ships of the Moguls were at sea, the event was deprecated with proportional ardour. This intelligence was transmitted to the eunuch, by his friend the viceroy of Guzerat. The eunuch knew what effect it would produce upon the mind of the vizir; obtained his bribe from the English; and then

communicated to the vizir the expectation prevalent in Guzerat of a hostile visit from an English fleet. BOOK IV  
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The vizir hastened to prevent such a calamity, by granting satisfaction. The patents were despatched; and the ambassadors took leave of the Emperor in the month of July, 1717, two years after their arrival. 1708-23.

The mandates in favour of the Company produced their full effect in Guzerat and the Deccan: but in Bengal, where the most important privileges were conceded, the subahdar, or nabob as he was called by the English, had power to impede their operation. The thirty-seven towns which the company had obtained leave to purchase, would have given them a district extending ten miles from Calcutta on each side of the river Hoogley; where a number of weavers, subject to their own jurisdiction, might have been established. The viceroy ventured not directly to oppose the operation of an imperial mandate, but his authority was sufficient to deter the holders of the land from disposing of it to the Company; and the most important of the advantages aimed at by the embassy was thus prevented. The nabob, however, disputed not the authority of the President's dusters; a species of passport which entitled the merchandise to pass free from duty, stoppage, or inspection; and this immunity, from which the other European traders were excluded, promoted the vent of the Company's goods.<sup>1</sup>

The trade of the Company's servants occasioned another dispute. Besides the business which the factors and agents of the Company were engaged to perform on the Company's account, they had been

<sup>1</sup> Orme, Hist. ut supra, ii. 20—25.



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allowed to carry on an independent traffic of their own, for their own profit. Every man had in this manner a double occupation and pursuit; one for the benefit of the Company, and one for the benefit of himself. Either the inattention of the feebly interested Directors of a common concern had overlooked the premium for neglecting that concern, which was thus bestowed upon the individuals intrusted with it in India; or the shortness of their foresight made them count this neglect a smaller evil, than the additional salaries which their servants, if debarred from other sources of emolument, would probably require. The President of Calcutta granted his dustucks for protecting from the duties and taxes of the native government, not only the goods of the Company, but also the goods of the Company's servants; and possibly the officers of that government were too little acquainted with the internal affairs of their English visitants to remark the distinction. The Company had appropriated to themselves, in all its branches, the trade between India and the mother country. Their servants were thus confined to what was called the country trade, or that from one part of India to another. This consisted of two branches, maritime, and inland; either that which was carried on by ships from one port of India to another, and from the ports of India to the other countries in the adjacent seas; or that which was carried on by land between one town or province and another. When the dustucks of the President, therefore, were granted to the company's servants, they were often granted to protect from duties, commodities, the produce of

the kingdom itself, in their passage by land from one district or province to another. This, Jaffier Khan, the viceroy declared it his determination to prevent; as a practice at once destructive to his revenue, and ruinous to the native traders, on whom heavy duties were imposed: and he commanded the dustucks of the President to receive no respect, except for goods, either imported by sea, or purchased for exportation, The Company remonstrated, but in vain. Nor were the pretensions of their servants exempt from unpleasant consequences; as the pretext of examining whether the goods were really imported by sea, or really meant for exportation, often produced those interferences of the officers of revenue, from which it was so great a privilege to be saved. Interrupted and disturbed in their endeavours to grasp the inland trade, the Company's servants directed their ardour to the maritime branch; and their superior skill soon induced the merchants of the province, Moors, Armenians, and Hindus, to freight most of the goods, which they exported, on English bottoms. Within ten years, from the period of the embassy, the shipping of the port of Calcutta increased to 10,000 tons.

The year 1730, was distinguished by transactions of considerable moment in the history of the Company. In England a new sovereign had but lately ascended the throne; an active and powerful Opposition made a greater use of the press, and more employed the public mind as a power in the state, than any party which had gone before them; success rendered the trading interest enterprising and high-minded; intellect was becoming every day more en-

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lightened, more penetrating, more independent; and experience testified the advantages of freedom in all the departments of trade.

Though the gains of the East India Company, had they been exactly known, would not have presented an object greatly calculated to inflame mercantile cupidity; yet the riches of India were celebrated as proverbially great; the boastings of the Company, in the representations they had made of the benefit derived to the nation from trading with India, had confirmed the popular prejudice; and a general opinion seems to have prevailed, that the British subjects at large ought to be no longer debarred from enriching themselves in the trade which was invidiously, and, it seemed imprudently, reserved for the East India Company.

Three years were still unexpired of the period of the Company's exclusive charter: yet the plans of those who desired a total alteration in the scheme of the trade were moulded into form, and a petition, grounded upon them, was presented to the legislature so early as February, 1730.

As the payment of 3,200,000*l.* which the Company had advanced to government at an interest of five per cent. was a condition preliminary to the abolition of their exclusive privileges, the petitioners offered to lend to government an equal sum on far more favourable terms. They proposed to advance the money in five instalments, the last at Lady-day in 1733, the date of the expiration of the Company's charter; requiring, till that period, interest on the money paid at the rate of four per cent., but offering to accept of two per cent. for the whole sum, from that time for-

ward: whence, they observed, a saving would accrue to the public of 92,000*l.* per annum, worth, at twenty-five years' purchase, 2,500,000*l.*<sup>1</sup>

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For the more profitable management of this branch of the national affairs, the following was the scheme which they proposed. They would constitute the subscribers to this original fund a company, for the purpose of opening the trade, in its most favourable shape, to the whole body of their countrymen. It was not intended that the Company should trade upon a joint stock, and in their corporate capacity; but that every man in the nation, who pleased, should trade in the way of private adventure. The company were to have the charge of erecting and maintaining the forts and establishments abroad; and for this, and for other expenses, attending what was called "the enlargement and preservation of the trade," it was proposed that they should receive a duty of one per cent. on all exports to India, and of five per cent. on all imports from it. For ensuring obedience to this and other regulations, it should be made lawful to trade to India only under the license of the Company. And it was proposed that thirty-one years, with three years' notice, should be granted as the duration of the peculiar privileges.

It appears from this account, that the end which was proposed to be answered, by incorporating such a company, was the preservation and erection of the forts, buildings, and other fixed establishments,

<sup>1</sup> See a distinct summary of the proposals, and of the arguments *pro* and *con*, in Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, A. D. 1730. For the proceedings in parliament, consult the Journals, with Boyer's Political State, and Hansard's Parliamentary History.



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required for the trade in India. This was its only use, or intent; for the business of trading, resigned to private hands, was to be carried on by the individuals of the nation at large. And, if it were true, as it has been always maintained, that for the trade of India, forts and factories are requisite, of such a nature as no individual, or precarious combination of individuals, is competent to provide, this project offers peculiar claims to consideration and respect. It promised to supply that demand which has always been held forth, as peculiar to Indian trade, as the grand exigency which, distinguishing the traffic with India from all other branches of trade, rendered monopoly advantageous in that peculiar case, how much soever proved to be injurious in others. While it provided for this real or pretended want, it left the trade open to all the advantages of private enterprise, private vigilance, private skill, and private economy; the virtues by which individuals thrive, and nations prosper: and it afforded an interest to the proposed Company, in the careful discharge of its duty; as its profits were to increase in exact proportion with the increase of the trade, and of course, with the facilities and accommodation by which the trade was promoted.

As no trade was to be carried on by the Company, the source, whence dividends to the proprietors would arise, was the interest to be received from Government, and the duties upon the exports and imports: and as the territorial and other duties belonging to the forts and establishments in India were deemed sufficient to defray the expense of those establishments, this source was described as

competent to yield an annual return of five or six per cent. upon the capital advanced. Under absence of risk, and the low rate of interest at the time, this was deemed a sufficient inducement to subscribe. Had the pernicious example, of lending the stock of trading companies to Government, been rejected, a very small capital would have sufficed to fulfil the engagements of such a company; and either the gains upon it would have been uncommonly high, or the rate of duties upon the trade might have been greatly reduced.

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The friends of this proposition urged; that, as the change which had taken place in the African trade, from monopoly to freedom, was allowed to have produced great national advantages, it was not to be disputed, that a similar change in the India trade would be attended with benefits so much the greater, as the trade was more valuable; that it would produce a larger exportation of our own produce and manufactures to India, and create employment for a much greater number of ships and seamen; that it would greatly reduce the price of all Indian commodities to the people at home; that it would enable the nation to supply foreign markets with Indian commodities at a cheaper rate, and, by consequence, to a larger amount; that new channels of traffic would thence be opened, in Asia and America, as well as in Europe; that a free trade to India would increase the produce of the customs and excise, and “thereby lessen the national debt;” that it would introduce a much more extensive employment of British shipping from one part of India to another, from which great profit would arise; and that it would prevent the nation from being deprived of the

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resources of those who, for want of permission or opportunity at home, were driven to employ their skill and capital in the Indian trade of other countries.

The attention of the nation seems to have been highly excited. Three petitions were presented to the House of Commons, from the merchants, traders, &c. of the three chief places of foreign trade in England, London, Bristol, and Liverpool, in behalf of themselves and all other His Majesty's subjects, praying that the trade to India might be laid open to the nation at large, and that they might be heard by their counsel at the bar of the House. The press, too, yielded a variety of productions, which compared with one another the systems of monopoly and freedom, and showed, or pretended to show, the preference due to the last. Though competition might appear to reduce the gains of individuals, it would, by its exploring sagacity, its vigilance, address, and economy, even with an equal capital, undoubtedly increase the mass of business; in other words, the annual produce; that is to say, the riches and prosperity of the country. The superior economy, the superior despatch, the superior intelligence, and skill of private adventure, while they enable the dealers to traffic on cheaper terms, were found by experience to yield a profit on the capital employed, not inferior to what was yielded by monopoly; by the business, for example, of the East India Company, whose dividends exceeded not eight per cent. Whatever was gained by the monopolizing company, in the high prices at which it was enabled to sell, or the low prices at which it was

enabled to buy, was all lost by its dilatory, negligent, and wasteful management. This was not production, but the reverse; it was not enriching a nation, but preventing its being enriched.<sup>1</sup>

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The Company manifested their usual ardour in defence of the monopoly. They magnified the importance of the trade; and asked if it was wise to risk the loss of known advantages, of the greatest magnitude, in pursuit of others which were only supposed; they alleged that it was envy which stimulated the exertions of their opponents; coveting the gains of the Company, but unable to produce any instance of misconduct, without going forty years back for the materials of their interested accusations: the Company employed an immense stock in trade, their sales amounting to about three millions yearly. The customs, about 300,000*l.* per annum, for the service of Government, ought not to be sacrificed for less than a certainty of an equal supply; and the maintenance of the forts and factories cost 300,000*l.* a year. Where, they asked, was the security, that an open trade, subject to all the fluctuation of individual fancy, one year liable to be great, another to be small, would afford regularly an annual revenue of 600,000*l.* for customs and forts? By the competition of so many buyers in India, and of so many sellers in Europe, the goods would be so much enhanced in price in the one

<sup>1</sup> It was asserted by the merchants, and, as far as appears, without contradiction, that foreigners possessed at least a third part of the stock of the East India Company; and one third of their gain was thus made for the benefit of other countries. Political State, A. D. 1730, xxxix. 240.



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place, and so much reduced in the other, that all profit would be destroyed, and the competitors, as had happened in the case of the rival companies, would end with a scene of general ruin.

Under the increased experience of succeeding times, and the progress of the science of national wealth, the arguments of the Company's opponents have gained, those of the Company have lost, a portion of strength. To exaggerate the importance of the Indian trade; and because it is important, assume that the monopoly ought to remain, is merely to say, that when a thing is important, it ought never to be improved; in things of no moment society may be allowed to make progress; in things of magnitude that progress ought ever to be strenuously and unbendingly opposed. This argument is, unhappily, not confined to the use of the East India Company. Whoever has attentively traced the progress of government, will find that it has been employed by the enemies of improvement, at every stage; and only in so far as it has been disregarded and contemned, has the condition of man ascended above the miseries of savage life. Instead of the maxim, A thing is important, therefore it ought not to be improved; reason would doubtless suggest that the more any thing is important, the more its improvement should be studied and pursued. When a thing is of small importance, a small inconvenience may suffice to dissuade the pursuit of its improvement. When it is of great importance, a great inconvenience alone can be allowed to produce that unhappy effect. If it be said, that where much is enjoyed, care should be taken to avoid its loss; this

is merely to say that men ought to be prudent; which is very true, but surely authorizes no such inference, as that improvement, in matters of importance, should be always opposed.

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The Company quitted the argument, to criminate the arguers: The objections to the monopoly were the impure and odious offspring of avaricious envy. But, if the monopoly, as the opponents said, was a bad thing, and free trade a good thing; from whatever motive they spoke, the good thing was to be adopted, the evil to be shunned. The question of their motives was one thing; the truth or falsehood of their positions another. When truth is spoken from a bad motive, it is no less truth; nor is it less entitled to its command over human action, than when it is spoken from the finest motive which can enter the human breast; if otherwise, an ill-designing man would enjoy the wonderful power, by recommending a good course of action, to render a bad one obligatory upon the human race.

If, as they argued, the East India Company had a large stock in trade, that was no reason why the monopoly should remain. The capital of the mercantile body of Great Britain was much greater than the capital of the East India Company, and of that capital, whatever proportion could find a more profitable employment in the Indian trade, than in any other branch of the national industry, the Indian trade would be sure to receive.

With regard to the annual expense of the forts and factories, it was asserted by the opponents of the Company; and, as far as appears, without contradic-

tion, that they defrayed their own expense, and supported themselves.

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As to the customs paid by the East India Company; all trade paid customs, and if the Indian trade increased under the system of freedom, it would pay a greater amount of customs than it paid before; if it decreased, the capital now employed in it would seek another destination, and pay customs and taxes in the second channel as well as the first. To lay stress upon the customs paid by the Company, unless to take advantage of the gross ignorance of a minister, or of a parliament, was absurd.

The argument, that the competition of free trade would make the merchants buy so dear in India, and sell so cheap in England, as to ruin themselves, however depended upon, was contradicted by experience. What hindered this effect, in trading with France, in trading with Holland, or any other country? Or what hindered it in every branch of business within the kingdom itself? If the two East India Companies ruined themselves by competition, why reason from a case, which bore no analogy whatsoever to the one under contemplation; while the cases which exactly corresponded, those of free trade, and boundless competition, led to a conclusion directly the reverse? If two East India Companies ruined one another, it was only an additional proof, that they were ineligible instruments of commerce. The ruin proceeded, not from the nature of competition, but the circumstances of the competitors. Where two corporate bodies contended against one another, and the ruin of the one left the field vacant to the other, their contention might very well be ruinous; because each might

hope, that, by exhausting its antagonist in a competition of loss, it would deliver itself from its only rival. Where every merchant had not one, but a multitude of competitors, the hope was clearly vain of wearing all of them out by a contest of loss. Every merchant therefore would deal on such terms alone, as allowed him the usual, or more than the usual rate of profit; and he would find it his interest to observe an obliging, rather than an hostile deportment towards others, that they might do the same toward him. As it is this principle which produces the harmony and prosperity of trade in all other cases in which freedom prevails, it remained to be shown why it would not produce them in the Indian trade.

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The subject was introduced into parliament, and discussed. But the advocates for the freedom of the trade were there overruled, and those of monopoly triumphed.

In order to aid the parliament in coming to such a decision as the Company desired, and to counteract in some degree the impression likely to be made by the proposal of their antagonists to accept of two per cent. for the whole of the loan to government, they offered to reduce the interest from five to four per cent., and, as a premium for the renewal of their charter, to contribute a sum of 200,000*l.* to the public service. On these conditions it was enacted that the exclusive privileges should be prolonged to Lady Day in the year 1766, with the usual addition of three years' notice, and a proviso that nothing in this arrangement should be construed to limit their power of continuing a body corporate, and of trading to India on their joint stock with other of their fellow-



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subjects, even after their exclusive privileges should expire.<sup>1</sup>

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On the ground on which the affairs of the East India Company were now established, they remained till the year 1744. From 1730 to that year, the trade of the Company underwent but little variation. Of goods exported, the amount indeed was considerably increased; but as in this stores were included, and as the demand for stores, by the extension of forts, and increase of military apparatus, was augmented, the greater part of the increase of exports may be justly set down to this account. The official value of the goods imported had kept rather below a million annually; sometimes indeed exceeding that sum, but commonly the reverse, and some years to a considerable amount; with little or no progressive improvement from the beginning of the period to the end. The exports had increased from 135,484*l.*, the exportation of the first year, to 476,274*l.*, that of the last; But the greater part of the increase had taken place after the prospect of wars and the necessity of military preparations; when a great addition was demanded in the article of stores.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1732, the Company first began to make up annual accounts; and from that period we have regular statements of the actual purchase of their exports, and the actual sale of their imports.

<sup>1</sup> As a corporate body is seldom hurt by its modesty, the Company alleged that they had a right, by a preceding act of parliament, to the *monopoly* in perpetuity; but to avoid disputes, they consented to waive this claim, for a certainty of thirty-six years. 3 Geo. II. c. 14. Collection of Statutes, p. 73. Anderson, ad an. 1730. Political State, xxxix. 258.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Whitworth's Tables, part ii. p. 9.

In the year 1732, the sales of the Company amounted to 1,940,996*l*. In 1774, they amounted to 1,997,506*l*.; and in all the intermediate years were less. The quantity of goods and stores paid for in the year 1732 amounted to 105,230*l*.; the quantity paid for in 1744, to 231,318*l*. The quantity of bullion exported in 1732 was 393,377*l*.; the quantity exported in 1744 was 458,544*l*. The quantity then of goods exported was increased, and in some degree, also, that of bullion, while the quantity of goods imported remained nearly the same. It follows, that the additional exportation, not having been employed in the additional purchase of goods, must have been not merchandise, but stores. It is to be observed also, that in the amount of sales, as exhibited in the Company's accounts, were included at this time the duties paid to government, stated at thirty per cent.; a deduction which brings the amount of the sales to nearly the official valuation of the imports at the custom-house.<sup>1</sup>

In 1732, the Company were obliged to reduce their dividends from eight to seven per cent. per annum; and at this rate they continued till 1744, in which year they returned to eight per cent.<sup>2</sup> The Dutch East India Company, from 1730 to 1736, divided twenty-five per cent. per annum upon the capital stock; in 1736, twenty per cent.; for the next three years, fifteen per cent. per annum; for the next four, twelve and a half per annum: and

<sup>1</sup> Third Report of the Committee of Secrecy, on the State of the East India Company (House of Commons, 1773), p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 73.

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in 1744, as much as fifteen per cent.<sup>1</sup> The grand advantage of the English East India Company, in the peculiar privilege of having their trade exempted from duties in Bengal and in the other concessions obtained by their embassy to the court of the Mogul, had thus produced no improvement in the final result, the ultimate profits of the trade.

The Company seem to have been extremely anxious to avoid a renewal of the discussion on the utility or fitness of the monopoly, and, for that purpose, to forestal the excitement of the public attention by the approach to the conclusion of the privileged term. At a moment accordingly when no one was prepared to oppose them; and in the middle of an expensive war, when the offer of any pecuniary facilities was a powerful bribe to the government, they made a proposal to lend to it the sum of one million, at an interest of three per cent., provided the period of their exclusive privileges should be prolonged to three years' notice after Lady-day, 1780. On these conditions, a new act was passed in 1744; and to enable the Company to make good their loan to government, they were authorised to borrow to the extent of a million on their bonds.<sup>2</sup>

On the death of the Emperor Charles VI. in the year 1740, a violent war, kindled by competition for the imperial throne, and for a share in the spoils of the house of Austria, had begun in Germany. In

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire Philosoph. et Polit. des Etablissements, &c. dans les Deux Indes*, par Guillaume Thomas Raynal, liv. ii. sect. 21. Table at the end of the volume.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson's *History of Commerce*, ad an. 1744; *Collection of Statutes*, p. 84, 17 Geo. II. c. 17,

this contest, France and England, the latter involved by her Hanoverian interests, had both engaged as auxiliaries; and in the end had become nearly, or rather altogether, principals. From 1739, England had been at war with Spain, a war intended to annul the right claimed and exercised by the Spaniards, of searching English ships on the coast of America for contraband goods. England and France, though contending against one another, with no ordinary efforts, in a cause ostensibly not their own, abstained from hostilities directly on their own account, till 1744; when the two governments came to mutual declarations of war. And it was not long before the most distant settlements of the two nations felt the effects of their destructive contentions.

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On the 14th<sup>1</sup> of September, 1746, a French fleet anchored four leagues to the south of Madras; and landed five or six hundred men. On the 15th the fleet moved along the coast, while the troops marched by land; and about noon it arrived within cannon-shot of the town. Labourdonnais, who commanded the expedition, then landed, with the rest of the troops. The whole force destined for the siege, consisted of 1000 or 1100 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and 400 Caffres, or blacks of Madagascar, brought from the island of Mauritius: 1700 or 1800 men, all sorts included, remained in the ships.<sup>2</sup>

Madras had, during the space of 100 years, been the principal settlement of the English on the Coro-

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoire pour Labourdonnais*, i. 124. Mr. Orme, i. 67, says the third, the difference being that of the styles: the old style, it appears, was used by the English historian.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoire*, ut supra, p. 125. Orme, p. 67.



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mandel coast. The territory belonging to the Company extended five miles along the shore, and was about one mile in breadth. The town consisted of three divisions. The first, denominated the white town, in which resided none but the English, or Europeans under their protection, consisted of about fifty houses, together with the warehouses and other buildings of the Company, and two churches, one an English, the other a Roman Catholic church. This division was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions, and four batteries, but weak and badly constructed, decorated with the title of Fort St. George. Contiguous to it, on the north side, was the division in which resided the Armenian, and the richest of the Indian merchants, larger, and still worse fortified than the former. And on the northern side of this division was a space, covered by the hovels of the country, in which the mass of the natives resided. These two divisions constituted what was called the black town. The English in the colony exceeded not 300 men, of whom 200 were the soldiers of the garrison. The Indian Christians, converts or descendants of the Portuguese, amounted to three or four thousand; the rest were Armenians, Mohammedans, or Hindus, the last in by far the largest proportion; and the whole population of the Company's territory amounted to about 250,000. With the exception of Goa and Batavia, Madras was, in point both of magnitude and riches, the most important of the European establishments in India.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Letter to a Proprietor of India Stock, published in 1750, by a per-

The town sustained the bombardment for five days, when the inhabitants, expecting an assault, capitulated. They had endeavoured to save the place, by the offer of a ransom; but Labourdonnais coveted the glory of displaying French colours on the ramparts of fort St. George. He engaged however his honour to restore the settlement, and content himself with a moderate ransom; and on these terms he was received into the town.<sup>1</sup> He had not lost so much as one man in the enterprise. Among the English four or five were killed by the explosion of the bombs, and two or three houses were destroyed, Labourdonnais protected the inhabitants, with the care of a man of virtue; but the magazines and warehouses of the Company, as public property, were taken possession of by the commissaries of the French.<sup>2</sup>

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Labourdonnais, with the force under his command, had arrived in India in the month of June 1746. At that time the settlements of France in the Indian seas were under two separate governments, analogous to the English Presidencies; one established at the Isle of France, the other at Pondicherry. Under the former of these governments were placed the two

son who was evidently concerned in the government of Madras at the time, states, that the soldiers were not only few, but of a very indifferent description; that the town was ill provided with ammunition-stores, and that its fortifications were in a ruinous condition. The necessity for rigid economy at home, having withheld the means of maintaining the establishment abroad in a state of efficiency.—W.

<sup>1</sup> The memoir cited in the preceding note, describes discussions which took place at home, in regard to the payment of certain bouds given by the government of Madras, to raise money to the extent of 100,000 pagodas, which it is intimated, were presented to the French commander as the price of his moderation.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, i. 126—142. Ormc, i. 64—69.

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islands; the one called the isle of France, about sixty leagues in circumference; the other that of Bourbon, of nearly the same dimensions. These islands, lying on the eastern side of Madagascar, between the nineteenth and twentieth degrees of latitude, were discovered by the Portuguese, and by them called Cerne, and Mascarenhas. In 1660 seven or eight Frenchmen settled on the island of Mascarenhas; five years afterwards they were joined by twenty-two of their countrymen; the remains of the French colony which was destroyed in Madagascar sought refuge in this island; and when it became an object of some importance, the French changed its name to the island of Bourbon. The island of Cerne was, at an early date, taken possession of by the Dutch, and by them denominated the island of Mauritius, in honour of their leader Maurice, Prince of Orange; but, after the formation of their establishment at the Cape of Good Hope, was abandoned as useless. The French, who were subject to great inconvenience by want of a good harbour on the island of Bourbon, took possession of it in 1720, and changed its name from the isle of Mauritius, to the isle of France. Both islands are fruitful, and produce the corn of Europe, along with most of the tropical productions. Some plants of coffee, accidentally introduced from Arabia, succeeded so well on the island of Bourbon, as to render that commodity the staple of the island.<sup>1</sup>

Pondicherry was the seat of the other Indian government of the French. It had under its juris-

<sup>1</sup> Raynal, ii. 271. Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, i. 88, 95. Orme, i. 92.

diction the town and territory of Pondicherry ; and three factories, or *Comptoirs*, one at Mahé, not far south from Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, one at Karical on one of the branches of the Coleroon on the Coromandel coast, and one at Chandernagor on the river Hoogley in Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

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The form of the government at both places was the same. It consisted, like the English, the form of which was borrowed from the Dutch, of a Governor, and a Council; the Governor being President of the Council, and allowed according to the genius of the government in the mother country, to engross from the council a greater share of power than in the colonies of the English and the Dutch. The peculiar business of the Governor and Council was, to direct, in conformity with instructions from home, all persons in the employment of the Company; to regulate the expenditure, and take care of the receipts; to administer justice, and in general to watch over the whole economy of the establishment. Each of the islands had a Council of its own; but one Governor sufficed for both.<sup>2</sup>

In 1745 Labourdonnais was appointed Governor of the islands. This was a remarkable man. He was born at St. Malo, in 1699, and was entered on board a ship bound for the South Sea at the age of ten. In 1713 he made a voyage to the East Indies, and the Philippine islands; and availed himself of the presence of a Jesuit, who was a passenger in the ship, to acquire a knowledge of the mathematics. After performing several voyages to other parts of the

<sup>1</sup> Mémoire, ut supra, p. 94. Raynal, ut supra, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, i. 95. Mémoire contre Dupleix, p. 8.



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world, he entered for the first time, in 1719, into the service of the East India Company, as second lieutenant of a vessel bound to Surat. He sailed again to India, as first lieutenant in 1723; and a third time, as second captain in 1724. In every voyage he found opportunity to distinguish himself by some remarkable action; and during the last he acquired, from another passenger, an officer of engineers, a knowledge of the principles of fortification and tactics. He now resolved to remain in India, and to navigate a vessel on his own account. He is said to have been the first Frenchman who embarked in what is called the country trade; in which he conducted himself with so much skill, as to realize in a few years a considerable fortune. The force of his mind procured him an ascendancy wherever its influence was exerted: a violent quarrel was excited between some Arabian and Portuguese ships in the harbour of Mocha, and blood was about to be shed, when Labourdonnais interposed, and terminated the dispute to the satisfaction of the parties. So far did his service on this occasion recommend him to the Viceroy of Goa, that he invited him into the service of the King of Portugal, gave him the command of a King's ship, the order of Christ, the rank of Fidalgo, and the title of agent of his Portuguese Majesty on the coast of Coromandel. In this situation he remained for two years, and perfected his knowledge of the traffic and navigation of India; after which, in 1733, he returned to France. Apprized of his knowledge and capacity, the French government turned its eyes upon him, as a man well qualified to aid in raising the colonies in the eastern seas from

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that state of depression in which they remained. In 1734 he was nominated Governor General of the isles of France and Bourbon; where he arrived in June 1735. So little had been done for the improvement of these islands, that the people, few in number, were living nearly in the state of nature. They were poor, without industry, and without the knowledge of almost any of the useful arts. They had neither magazine, nor hospital, neither fortification, nor defensive force, military or naval. They had no roads; they had no beasts of burden, and no vehicles. Every thing remained to be done by Labourdonnais; and he was capable of every thing. With the hand to execute, as well as the head to contrive, he could construct a ship from the keel: he performed the functions of engineer, of architect, of agriculturist: he broke bulls to the yoke, constructed vehicles, and made roads: he apprenticed blacks to the few handicrafts whom he carried out with him: he prevailed upon the inhabitants to cultivate the ground; and introduced the culture of the sugar-cane and indigo: he made industry and the useful arts to flourish; contending with the ignorance, the prejudices, and the inveterate habits of idleness, of those with whom he had to deal, and who opposed him at every step. To introduce any degree of order and vigilance into the management even of the hospital which he constructed for the sick, it was necessary for him to perform the office of superintendent himself, and for a whole twelvemonth he visited it regularly every morning. Justice had been administered by the Councils, to whom that function regularly belonged, in a manner which produced great dissatisfaction.

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During eleven years that Labourdonnais was Governor, there was but one law-suit in the Isle of France, he himself having terminated all differences by arbitration.

The vast improvements which he effected in the islands did not secure him from the disapprobation of his employers. The captains of ships, and other visitants of the islands, whom he checked in their unreasonable demands, and from whom he exacted the discharge of their duties, filled the ears of the Company's Directors with complaints; and the Directors, with too little knowledge for accurate judgment, and too little interest for careful inquiry, inferred culpability, because there was accusation. He returned to France in 1740, disgusted with his treatment; and fully determined to resign the government: But the minister refused his consent. It is said that being asked by one of the Directors of the Company, how it was, that he had conducted his own affairs so prosperously, those of the Company so much the reverse; he replied that he had conducted his own affairs according to his own judgment: those of the Company according to that of the Directors.<sup>1</sup>

Perceiving, by the state of affairs in Europe, that a rupture was approaching between France and the maritime powers, his fertile mind conceived a project for striking a fatal blow at the English trade in the East. Imparting the design to some of his friends, he perceived that he should be aided with funds sufficient to equip, as ships of war, six vessels and two

<sup>1</sup> Raynal, liv. iv. sect. 20.

frigates; with which, being on the spot when war should be declared, he could sweep the seas of the English commerce, before a fleet could arrive for its protection. He communicated the scheme to the ministry, by whom it was embraced, but moulded into a different form. They proposed to send out a fleet, composed partly of the King's and partly of the Company's ships, with Labourdonnais in the command: And though he foresaw opposition from the Company, to whom neither he nor the scheme was agreeable, he refused not to lend himself to the ministerial scheme. He sailed from L'Orient on the 5th of April, 1741, with five ships of the Company: one carrying fifty-six; two carrying fifty; one, twenty-eight; and one, sixteen guns; having on board about 1200 sailors, and 500 soldiers. Two King's ships had been intended to make part of his squadron; but they, to his great disappointment, received another destination. He also found that, of the ship's crews, three-fourths had never before been at sea: and that of either soldiers or sailors hardly one had ever fired a cannon or a musket. His mind was formed to contend with, rather than yield to difficulties: and he began immediately to exercise his men with all his industry: or rather with as much industry as their love of ease, and the opposition it engendered, rendered practicable. He arrived at the Isle of France on the 14th of August, 1741; where he learned, that Pondicherry was menaced by the Mahrattas, and that the islands of France and Bourbon had sent their garrisons to its assistance. After a few necessary operations to put the islands in security, he sailed for Pondicherry on the 22d of



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August, where he arrived on the 30th of September. The danger there was blown over; but the settlement at Mahé had been eight months blockaded by the natives. He repaired to the place of danger; chastised the enemy; re-established the factory; and then returned to the islands to wait for the declaration of war between France and England. There he soon received the mortifying orders of the Company to send home all the vessels under his command. Upon this he again requested leave to resign, and again the minister refused his consent. His views were now confined to his islands, and he betook himself with his pristine ardour to their improvement. On the 14th of September, 1744, in the midst of these occupations, the intelligence arrived of the declaration of war between France and England; and filled his mind with the mortifying conception of the important things he now might have achieved, but which the mistaken policy or perversity of his employers had prevented.

Unable to do what he wished, he still resolved to do what he could. He retained whatever ships had arrived at the islands, namely, one of forty-four guns, one of forty, one of thirty, one of twenty-six, one of eighteen, and another of twenty-six, which was sent to him from Pondicherry with the most pressing solicitations to hasten to its protection. The islands, at which unusual scarcity prevailed, were destitute of almost every requisite for the equipment of the ships; and their captains, chagrined at the interruption of their voyages, seconded the efforts of the Governor with all the ill-will it was safe for them to

show. He was obliged to make even a requisition of negroes to man the fleet. In want of hands trained to the different operations of the building and equipping of ships, he employed the various handicrafts whom he was able to muster; and by skillfully assigning to them such parts of the business as were most analogous to the operations of their respective trades, by furnishing them with models which he prepared himself, by giving the most precise directions, and with infinite diligence superintending every operation in person, he overcame in some measure the difficulties with which he was surrounded. In the mean time intelligence was brought by a frigate, that five of the Company's ships which he was required to protect, and which he was authorized by the King to command, would arrive at the islands in October. They did not arrive till January, 1746. The delay had consumed a great part of the provisions of the former ships: those which arrived had remaining for themselves a supply of only four months; they were in bad order: and there was no time, nor materials, nor hands to repair them. Only one was armed. It was necessary they should all be armed; and the means for that purpose were totally wanting. The ships' crews, incorporated with the negroes and the handicrafts, Labourdonnais formed into companies; he taught them the manual exercise, and military movements; showed them how to scale a wall, and apply petards; exercised them in firing at a mark; and employed the most dexterous among them in preparing themselves to use a machine, which he had

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invented, for throwing with mortars grappling-hooks for boarding to the distance of thirty toises.<sup>1</sup>

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He forwarded the ships, as fast as they were prepared, to Madagascar, where they might add to their stock of provisions, or at any rate save the stock which was already on board; and he followed with the last on the 24th of March. Before sailing from Madagascar, a storm arose by which the ships were driven from their anchorage. One was lost; and the rest, greatly damaged, collected themselves in the bay of a desert island on the coast of Madagascar. Here the operations of repairing were to be renewed; and in still more unfavourable circumstances. To get the wood they required, a road was made across a marsh, a league in circumference; the rains were incessant; disease broke out among the people; and many of the officers showed a bad disposition; yet the work was prosecuted with so much efficiency, that in forty-eight days the fleet was ready for sea. It now consisted of nine sail, containing 3342 men, among whom were 720 blacks, and from three to four hundred sick.

In passing the island of Ceylon, they received intelligence that the English fleet was at hand. Labourdonnais summoned his captains on board,

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the same invention, exactly, with that of Captain Manby, for throwing a rope on board a vessel threatened with shipwreck. See an Essay on the Preservation of Shipwrecked Persons, by G. W. Manby, Esq., and *Mémoire pour Labourdonnais*, i. 80. The obvious expedient of training the sailors for land operations is of high importance; and it argues little for the heads of those who have conducted enterprises in which the mariners might have been, or were to be, employed for land operations, that such training has so rarely been resorted to. How much more instructive, than that of the vulgar details of war, is the contemplation of the ingenuity, the industry, and the perseverance of such a man as Labourdonnais, in the various critical situations in which he was placed!

many of whom had shown themselves ill-disposed in the operations of industry ; but all of whom manifested an eagerness to fight. As Labourdonnais understood that he was superior to the English in number of men, but greatly inferior in weight of metal, he declared his intention to gain, if possible, the wind, and to board. On the 6th of July, on the coast of Coromandel, the English fleet appeared to windward, advancing with full sail toward the French.<sup>1</sup>

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Immediately after the declaration of war between France and England, a fleet, consisting of two ships of sixty guns each, one of fifty, and a frigate of twenty, commanded by Commodore Barnet, had been despatched to India. It cruized, at first, in two divisions ; one in the straits of Sunda, the other in the straits of Malacca, the places best fitted for intercepting the French traders, of which it captured four. After rendezvousing at Batavia, the united fleet appeared on the coast of Coromandel, in the month of July, 1745. The Governor of Pondicherry, the garrison of which at that time consisted of only 436 Europeans, prevailed on the Mogul Governor of the province, to declare Pondicherry under his protection, and to threaten Madras, if the English fleet should commit hostilities on any part of his dominions. This intimidated the government of Madras, and they requested Commodore Barnet to confine his operations to the sea ; who accordingly left the coast of Coromandel, to avoid the stormy season, which he passed at Mergui, a port on the opposite coast ; and returned in the beginning of

<sup>1</sup> For the above details respecting Labourdonnais, see *Mémoire*, ut supra, pp. 10—92.



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His fleet was now reinforced by two fifty gun ships, and a frigate of twenty guns from England; but one of the sixty gun ships had become unfit for service, and, together with the twenty gun frigate, went back to England. Commodore Barnet died at Fort St. David in the month of April; and was succeeded by Mr. Peyton, the second in command; who was cruising to the southward of Fort St. David, near Negapatnam, when he descried the enemy just arriving on the coast.<sup>1</sup>

Labourdonnais formed his line, and waited for the English, who kept the advantage of the wind, and frustrated his design of boarding. A distant fight began about four in the afternoon, and the fleets separated for want of light about seven. Next morning Mr. Peyton called a council of war, and it was resolved, because the sixty gun ship was leaky, to sail for Trincomalee. The enemy lay to, the whole day, expecting that the English, who had the wind, would return to the engagement. The French, however, were in no condition to pursue, and sailed for Pondicherry, at which they arrived on the eighth day of the month.<sup>2</sup>

Joseph Francis Dupleix was at that time Governor of Pondicherry; having succeeded to the supreme command of the French settlements in 1742. To

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 60—63.

<sup>2</sup> Orme, i. pp. 62, 63. *Mémoire*, ut supra, pp. 83—90. Mr. Orme says, the challenge of Labourdonnais was only a feint, and that he was in no condition to renew the engagement; he himself in the *Mémoire*, says, that it was not a feint, and that *ce fut avec un extrême regret qu'il vit les Anglois lui échapper*.—M. This assertion can scarcely be credited, as, although, the French squadron was more numerous than the English, the former consisting of nine, the latter of five ships, yet of the latter, four exceeded in number and weight of guns the largest vessel in Labourdonnais' fleet. It is very probable, therefore, that Orme was right.—W.

this man are to be traced some of the most important of the modern revolutions in India. His father was a farmer-general of the revenues, and a Director of the East India Company. He had set his heart upon rearing his son to a life of commerce; and his education, which was liberal, was carefully directed to that end. As the study of mathematics, of fortification, and engineering, seemed to engross his attention too exclusively,<sup>1</sup> his father in 1715 sent him to sea; and he made several voyages to the Indies and America. He soon imbibed the taste of his occupation, and, desiring to pursue the line of maritime commerce, his father recommended him to the East India Company, and had sufficient interest to send him out in 1720 as first Member of the Council at Pondicherry. Impatient for distinction, the young man devoted himself to the business of his office; and became in time minutely acquainted with the commerce of the country. He embarked in it, on his own account; a species of adventure from which the poverty of the servants of the French Company had in general debarred them. In this station he continued for ten years, when his know-

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<sup>1</sup> The character he manifested at school bears a resemblance to what is reported of Napoleon Bonaparté: "La passion avec laquelle il se livra à l'étude des mathématiques, le dégoût qu'elle lui inspira pour tous les arts aimables qui ne lui paroisoient que frivoles, le caractère taciturne, distrait, et méditatif, qu'elle parut lui donner, et la retraite qu'elle lui faisoit toujours préférer aux amusemens ordinaires de la société." *Mémoire pour Dupleix*, p. 2. The coincidence in character with these men of another remarkable personage, Frederick the Great of Prussia, while a boy, is, perhaps, worth the remarking. His sister says, "Il avoit de l'esprit; son humeur étoit sombre et taciturne; il pensoit long temps, avant que de répondre, mais, en récompense, il répondoit juste." *Mémoires de Frédérique Sophie Wilhelmine de Prusse, Margravine de Bareith*, i. 8—22.

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ledge and talents pointed him out as the fittest person to superintend the business of the Company at their settlement at Chandernagor in Bengal. Though Bengal was the richest part of India, the French factory in that province had, from want of funds and from bad management, remained in a low condition. The colony was still to be formed; and the activity and resources of the new manager soon produced the most favourable changes. The colonists multiplied; enterprise succeeded to languor; Dupleix on his own account entered with ardour into the country trade, in which he employed the inheritance he derived from his father, and had frequently not less than twelve vessels, belonging to himself and his partners, navigating to Surat, Mocha, Jedda, the Manillas, the Maldivias, Goa, Bussora, and the coast of Malabar. He realized a great fortune: during his administration more than 2000 brick houses were built at Chandernagor; He formed a new establishment for the French Company at Patna; and rendered the French commerce in Bengal an object of envy to the most commercial of the European colonies.

The reputation which he acquired in this situation pointed him out as the fittest person to occupy the station of Governor at Pondicherry. Upon his appointment to this chief command, he found the Company in debt; and he was pressed by instructions from home, to effect immediately a great reduction of expense.

The reduction of expense, in India, raising up a host of enemies, is an arduous and a dangerous task to a European governor. Dupleix was informed

that war was impending between France and the maritime powers. Pondicherry was entirely open to the sea, and very imperfectly fortified even toward the land. He proceeded, with his usual industry, to inquire, to plan, and to execute. Though expressly forbidden, under the present circumstances of the Company, to incur any expense for fortifications, he, on the prospect of a war with the maritime powers, made the works at Pondicherry a primary object. He had been struggling with the difficulties of narrow resources, and the strong temptation of extended views, about four years, when Labourdonnais arrived in the roads.<sup>1</sup>

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The mind of Dupleix, though ambitious, active, and ingenious, seems to have possessed but little elevation. His vanity was excessive, and even effeminate; and he was not exempt from the infirmities of jealousy and revenge. In the enterprises in which the fleet was destined to be employed, Labourdonnais was to reap the glory; and from the very first he had reason to complain of the air of haughtiness and reserve which his rival assumed. As the English traders were warned out of the seas, and nothing was to be gained by cruising, Labourdonnais directed his thoughts to Madras. The danger, however, was great, so long as his ships were liable to be attacked, with the greater part of their crews on shore. He, therefore, demanded sixty pieces of cannon from Dupleix, to place him on a level, in point of metal, with the English fleet, and resolved to proceed in quest of it. Dupleix alleged the danger of leaving

<sup>1</sup> Mémoire pour Dupleix, pp. 2—26.



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Pondicherry deprived of its guns, and refused. With a very inferior reinforcement of guns,<sup>1</sup> with a very inadequate supply of ammunition, and with water given him at Pondicherry, so bad, as to produce the dysentery in his fleet, Labourdonnais put to sea on the 4th of August. On the 17th, he descried the English fleet off Negapatnam, and hoisted Dutch colours as a decoy. The English understood the stratagem; changed their course; and fled. Labourdonnais says he pursued them all that day and the next; when, having the wind, they escaped.<sup>2</sup> He returned to Pondicherry on the 23d, much enfeebled by disease, and found all hearty co-operation on the part of the governor and council still more hopeless than before. After a series of unfriendly proceedings, under which he had behaved with a manly temperance; after Dupleix had even commanded him to re-land the Pondicherry troops, he resolved to send the fleet, which he was still too much indisposed to command, towards Madras, for the double purpose, of seizing the vessels by which the people of Madras were preparing to send away the most valuable of their effects, and of ascertaining whether his motions were watched by the English fleet. The cruize was unskilfully conducted, and yielded little in the way of prize; it afforded presumption, however, that the English fleet had abandoned the coast. Labourdonnais saw, therefore, a

<sup>1</sup> Labourdonnais (*Mémoire*, i. 109,) does not state the number of the guns from Pondicherry, with which he was obliged to content himself. Orme, i. 64, says, he obtained thirty or forty pieces; but it is a grievous defect of Mr. Orme's history, that he never gives his authorities.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoire pour Labourdonnais*, ut supra, p. 110, and Orme, p. 64, who here adopts the account of Labourdonnais.

chance of executing his plan upon Madras. He left Pondicherry on the 12th of September, and on the 14th commenced the operations, which ended, as we have seen, in the surrender of the place.

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It was in consequence of an express article in his orders from home, that Labourdonnais agreed to the restoration of Madras.<sup>1</sup> But nothing could be more adverse to the views of Dupleix. He advised, he entreated, he menaced, he protested; Labourdonnais, however, proceeded with firmness to fulfil the conditions into which he had entered. Dupleix not only refused all assistance to expedite the removal of the goods, and enable the ships to leave Madras before the storms which accompany the change of monsoon; he raised up every obstruction in his power, and even endeavoured to excite sedition among Labourdonnais' own people, that they might seize and send him to Pondicherry. On the night of the 13th of October a storm arose, which forced the ships out to sea. Two were lost, and only fourteen of the crew of one of them were saved. Another was carried so far to the southward, that she was unable to regain the coast; all lost their masts, and sustained great and formidable injury. Disregarding the most

<sup>1</sup> Il est expressément défendu au sieur de la Bourdonnais de s'emparer d'aucun établissement ou comptoir des ennemis pour le conserver. Mém. p. 105. This was signed by M. Orry, Controleur Général. It appears, by the orders both to Labourdonnais and Dupleix, that the French government, and East India Company, shrunk from all idea of conquest in India.—M. The letter to the proprietors explains the purport of M. Labourdonnais' instructions more correctly. He was not to form any new settlement, and the only alternatives in his power with regard to Madras, were to restore or destroy it. The object of the French East India Company was to improve their existing settlements, at least before new ones were established.—W.

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urgent entreaties for assistance, Dupleix maintained his opposition. At last, a suggestion was made, that the articles of the treaty of ransom should be so far altered, as to afford time to the French, for removal of the goods; and Labourdonnais and the English, though with some reluctance, agreed, that the period of evacuation should be changed from the 15th of October to the 15th of January. This was all that Dupleix desired. Upon the departure of Labourdonnais, which the state of the season rendered indispensable, the place would be delivered into the hands of Dupleix, and he was not to be embarrassed with the fetters of a treaty.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining history of Labourdonnais may be shortly adduced. Upon his return to Pondicherry,

<sup>1</sup> Mémoire, ut supra, pp. 142—220. Orme, i. 69—72. Dupleix, in his apology, involves the cause of his opposition to Labourdonnais in mystery. It was a secret, forsooth! And a secret, too, of the ministry and the company! The disgrace, then, was tripartite: Great consolation to Labourdonnais! And great satisfaction to the nation! “Le Sieur Dupleix,” says the Mémoire, “respecte trop les ordres du ministère et ceux de la Compagnie pour oser publier ici ce qu’il lui a été enjoint d’ensévelir dans le plus profond secret:” p. 27. In the usual style of subterfuge and mystery, this is ambiguous and equivocal. The word *ordres* may signify orders given him to behave as he did to Labourdonnais; and this is the sense in which it is understood by Voltaire, who says, “Le gouverneur Dupleix s’excusa dans ses Mémoires sur des ordres secrets du ministère. Mais il n’avait pu recevoir à six mille lieues des ordres concernant une conquête qu’on venait de faire, et que le ministère de France n’avait jamais pu prévoir. Si ces ordres funestes avaient été donnés par prévoyance, ils étoient formellement contradictoires avec ceux que la Bourdonnais avait apportés. Le ministère aurait eu à se reprocher la perte de neuf millions dont on priva la France en violant la capitulation, mais surtout le cruel traitement dont il paya le génie, la valeur, et la magnanimité de la Bourdonnais.” *Fragm. Histor. sur l’Inde*, Art. 3. But the word *ordres* may also signify orders merely not to disclose the pretended secret. This is a species of defence which ought ever to be suspected; for it may as easily be applied to the greatest villany as to the greatest worth, and is far more likely to be so.

the opposition, which he had formerly experienced, was changed to open hostility. All his proposals for a union of councils and of resources were rejected with scorn. Three fresh ships had arrived from the islands; and, notwithstanding the loss occasioned by the storm, the force of the French was still sufficient to endanger, if not to destroy, the whole of the English settlements in India.<sup>1</sup> Convinced, by the counteraction which he experienced, that he possessed not the means of carrying his designs into execution, Labourdonnais acceded to the proposition of Dupleix that he should proceed to Acheen with such of the ships as were able to keep the sea, and return to Pondicherry after they were repaired; resigning five of them to Dupleix to carry next year's investment to Europe. At its departure, the squadron consisted of seven ships, of which four were in tolerable repair; the rest were in such a condition that it was doubted whether they could reach Acheen: if this was impracticable, they were to sail for the islands. In conformity with this plan, Labourdonnais divided them into two parts. The first, consisting of the sound vessels, was directed to make its way to Acheen, without waiting for the rest: he himself remained with the second, with intention to follow, if that were in his power. The first division out-sailed, and soon lost sight of the other; with which Labourdonnais, finding it in vain to strive for Acheen, at last directed his course to the islands. Hastening to Europe, to make his defence, or answer the accusations of his enemies, he took his passage in a

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<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 69, 73.



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ship belonging to Holland. In consequence of the declaration of war she was forced into an English harbour. Labourdonnais was recognised, and made a prisoner; but the conduct which he had displayed at Madras was known and remembered. All ranks received him with favour and distinction. That he might not be detained, a Director of the East India Company offered to become security for him with his person and property. With a corresponding liberality, the government declined the offer, desiring no security but the word of Labourdonnais. His treatment in France was different. The representations of Dupleix had arrived: A brother of Dupleix was a Director of the East India Company; Dupleix had only violated a solemn treaty; Labourdonnais had only faithfully and gloriously served his country; and he was thrown into the Bastille. He remained in that prison three years; while the vindication which he published, and the authentic documents by which he supported it, fully established his innocence, and the ardour and ability of his services. He survived his liberation a short time, a memorable example of the manner in which a blind government encourages desert.<sup>1</sup>

He had not taken his departure from Madras, when the troops of the Nabob appeared. Dupleix had been able to dissuade that native ruler from yielding his protection to Madras, a service which

<sup>1</sup> Mémoire, ut supra, pp. 221—280. Orme, i. 72, Raynal, liv. iv. sect. 20. Voltaire, amid other praises, says of him, “ Il fit plus; il dispersa une escadre Angloise dans la mer de l’Inde, ce qui n’étoit jamais arrivé qu’à lui, et ce qu’on n’a pas revu depuis.” *Fragm. Histor. sur l’Inde*, Art. 3.

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the English, who had prevailed on Commodore Barnet to abstain from molesting Pondicherry, claimed as their due. Dupleix had gained him by the promise of Madras. The Moor (so at that time the Moslems in India were generally called) quickly however perceived, that the promise was a delusion; and he now proposed to take vengeance by driving the French from the place. As soon as Labourdonnais and his fleet disappeared, a numerous army of the Nabob, led by his son, invested Madras. From the disaster however which had befallen the fleet, Labourdonnais had been under the necessity of leaving behind him about 1200 Europeans, disciplined by himself: the French, therefore, encountered the Indians; astonished them beyond measure by the rapidity of their artillery; with a numerical force which bore no proportion to the enemy, gained over them a decisive victory; and first broke the spell which held the Europeans in subjection to the native powers.<sup>1</sup>

The masters of mankind, how little soever disposed to share better things with the people, are abundantly willing to give them a share of their disgrace. Though, on other occasions, they may affect a merit in despising the public will, they diligently put on the appearance of being constrained by it in

<sup>1</sup> Mémoire pour Dupleix, p. 28; Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, i. 243. "It was now more than a century," (says Mr. Orme, i. 76,) "since any European nations had gained a decisive advantage in war against the officers of the Great Mogul. The experience of former unsuccessful wars, and the scantiness of military abilities which prevailed in all the colonies, from a long disuse of arms, had persuaded them that the Moors were a brave and formidable enemy; when the French at once broke through the charm of this timorous opinion, by defeating a whole army with a single battalion."

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any dishonourable action which they have a mind to perform. In violating the treaty with the English, Dupleix recognised his own baseness; means were therefore used to make the French inhabitants of Pondicherry assemble and draw up a remonstrance against it, and a prayer that it might be annulled. Moved by respect for the general voice of his countrymen, Dupleix sent his orders to declare the treaty of ransom annulled; to take the keys of all magazines; and to seize every article of property, except the clothes of the wearers, the moveables of the houses, and the jewels of the women; orders which were executed with avaricious exactness. The governor and principal inhabitants were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and exhibited, by Dupleix, in a species of triumph.<sup>1</sup>

The English still possessed the settlement of Fort St. David, on the coast of Coromandel. It was situated twelve miles south from Pondicherry; with a territory still larger than that of Madras. Besides Fort St. David, at which were placed the houses of the Company, and other Europeans, it contained the town of Cuddalore, inhabited by the Indian mer-

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoire pour Labourdonnais*, i. 252. Orme, i. 77. Dupleix, in his Apology, (*Mém.* p. 27,) declines defending this breach of faith, repeating the former pretence of secrecy, to which, he says, the Ministry and the Company enjoined him. Experience justifies three inferences; 1. That the disgrace was such as explanation would enhance; 2. That the Ministry and the Company were sharers in it; 3. That having such partners, his safety did not depend upon his justification. He adds, that it is certain he was innocent, because the Ministry and the Company continued to employ him. It was certain, either that he was innocent, or that the Ministry and the Company were sharers in his guilt. And it was a maxim at that time in France, that a Ministry never can have guilt: if so, the inference was logical.

chants, and other natives ; and two or three populous villages. The fort was small ; but stronger than any of its size in India. Cuddalore was surrounded, on the three sides towards the land, by walls flanked with bastions. On the side towards the sea, it was open, but skirted by a river, which was separated from the sea by a mound of sand. A part of the inhabitants of Madras had, after the violation of the treaty of ransom, made their way to Fort St. David ; and the agents of the Company at that place now took upon themselves the functions of the Presidency of Madras, and the general administration of the English affairs on the Coromandel coast.<sup>1</sup>

Dupleix lost no time in following up the retention of Madras with an enterprise against Fort St. David, the reduction of which would have left him without a European rival. In the night of the 19th of December, a force consisting of 1700 men, mostly Europeans, of which fifty were cavalry, with two companies of the Kaffre slaves trained by Labourdonnais, set out from Pondicherry, and arrived next morning in the vicinity of the English fort. The garrison, including the men who had escaped from Madras, amounted to no more than about 200 Europeans, and 100 Topasses. At this time the English had not yet learned to train Sepoys in the European discipline, though the French had already set the example, and had four or five disciplined companies at Pondicherry.<sup>2</sup> They had hired, how-

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 78.

<sup>2</sup> The two important discoveries for conquering India were ; 1st, the weakness of the native armies against European discipline ; 2dly, the facility of imparting that discipline to natives in the European service. Both discoveries were made by the French.



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ever, 2000 of the undisciplined soldiers of the country, who are armed promiscuously with swords and targets, bows and arrows, pikes, lances, matchlocks or muskets, and known among the Europeans by the name of Peons ; among these men they had distributed eight or nine hundred muskets, and destined them for the defence of Cuddalore. They had also applied for assistance to the Nabob ; and he, exasperated against the French, by his defeat at Madras, engaged, upon the promise of the English to defray part of the expense, to send his army to assist Fort St. David. The French, having gained an advantageous post, and laid down their arms for a little rest, were exulting in the prospect of an easy prey, when an army of nearly 10,000 men advanced in sight. Not attempting resistance, the French made good their retreat, with twelve Europeans killed, and 120 wounded. Dupleix immediately entered into a correspondence with the Moors, to detach them from the English ; and, at the same time, meditated the capture of Cuddalore by surprise. On the night of the 10th of January, 500 men were embarked in boats, with orders to enter the river and attack the open quarter of the town at daybreak. But, as the wind rose, and the surf was high, they were compelled to return.<sup>1</sup>

Dupleix was fertile in expedients, and indefatigable in their application. He sent a detachment from Madras into the Nabob's territory, in hopes to withdraw him to its defence. The French troops disgraced themselves by the barbarity of their ravages ; but

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 79—83.

the Indian army remained at Fort St. David, and the resentment of the Nabob was increased. On the 20th of January, the four ships of Labourdonnais' squadron, which had sailed to Acheen to refit, arrived in the road of Pondicherry. Dupleix conveyed to the Nabob an exaggerated account of the vast accession of force which he had received; describing the English as a contemptible handful of men, devoted to destruction. "The governments of Indostan," says Mr. Orme on this occasion, "have no idea of national honour in the conduct of their politics; and as soon as they think the party with whom they are engaged is reduced to great distress, they shift, without hesitation, their alliance to the opposite side, making immediate advantage the only rule of their action." A peace was accordingly concluded; the Nabob's troops abandoned the English; his son, who commanded the army, paid a visit to Pondicherry; was received, by Dupleix, with that display in which he delighted; and was gratified by a considerable present.<sup>1</sup>

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Blocked up, as it would have been, from receiving supplies, by the British ships at sea, and by the Nabob's army on land, Pondicherry, but for this treaty, would soon have been reduced to extremity.<sup>2</sup> And now the favourable opportunity for accomplishing the destruction of Fort St. David was eagerly seized. On the morning of the 13th of March, a French army was seen approaching the town. After some resistance, it had crossed the river, which

<sup>1</sup> Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, i. 259. Mémoire pour Dupleix, p. 29. Orme, i. 84, 85.

<sup>2</sup> So says Dupleix himself, Mém. p. 29.

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flows a little way north from the fort, and had taken possession of its former advantageous position; when an English fleet was seen approaching the road. The French crossed the river with precipitation, and returned to Pondicherry.<sup>1</sup>

The fleet under Captain Peyton, after it was lost sight of by Labourdonnais, on the 18th of August, off Negapatnam, had tantalized the inhabitants of Madras, who looked to it with eagerness for protection, by appearing off Pullicat, about thirty miles to the northward, on the 3rd of September, and again sailing away. Peyton proceeded to Bengal; because the sixty gun ship was in such a condition as to be supposed incapable of bearing the shock of her own guns. The fleet was there reinforced by two ships, one of sixty and one of forty guns, sent from England with admiral Griffin; who assumed the command, and proceeded with expedition to save Fort St. David, and menace Pondicherry. The garrison was reinforced by the arrival of 100 Europeans, 200 Topasses, and 100 Sepoys, from Bombay, besides 400 Sepoys from Tellichery; in the course of the year 150 soldiers were landed from the Company's ships from England: and in the month of January, 1748, Major Lawrence arrived, with a commission to command the whole of the Company's forces in India.<sup>2</sup>

The four ships which had arrived at Pondicherry from Acheen, and which Dupleix foresaw would be in imminent danger, when the English fleet should return to the coast, he had, as soon as he felt assured of concluding peace with the Nabob, ordered from

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 87. *Mém. pour Dupleix*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Orme, i. 66, 87, 88.

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Pondicherry to Goa. From Goa they proceeded to Mauritius, where they were joined by three other ships from France. About the middle of June, this fleet was descried off Fort St. David, making sail, as if it intended to bear down upon the English. Admiral Griffin waited for the land-wind, and put to sea at night, expecting to find the enemy in the morning. But the French Admiral, as soon as it was dark, crowded sail, and proceeded directly to Madras, where he landed 300 soldiers, and 200,000*l.* in silver, the object of his voyage; and then returned to Mauritius. Admiral Griffin sought for him in vain.<sup>1</sup> But Dupleix knowing that several days would be necessary to bring the English ships back to fort St. David, against the monsoon, contrived another attack upon Cuddalore. Major Lawrence, by a well-executed feint, allowed the enemy at midnight to approach the very walls, and even to apply the scaling ladders, under an idea that the garrison was withdrawn, when a sudden discharge of artillery and musketry struck them with dismay, and threw them into precipitate retreat.<sup>2</sup>

The government of England, moved by the dis-

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Griffin, on his return to England, was brought to a court-martial and suspended the service, for negligence in not having stood out to sea upon first receiving information of the enemy's approach; by doing which, it was argued, he might have frustrated the object of the French squadron, if not have brought them to action. He published an appeal against the sentence, grounding his defence upon his having missed the land-wind on the day before the squadron was in sight, in necessary preparations to strengthen his own ships for an encounter with what his information represented as a superior force, by which he expected to be attacked.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Orme, i. 88—91. Orme says that 200 soldiers only were landed by the French at Madras. Dupleix himself says, *Trois cent hommes, tant sains que malades.* Mém. p. 32.



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asters of the nation in India, and jealous of the ascendancy assumed by the French, had now prepared a formidable armament for the East. Nine ships of the public navy, one of seventy-four, one of sixty-four, two of sixty, two of fifty, one of twenty guns, a sloop of fourteen, a bomb-ketch with her tender, and an hospital-ship, commanded by Admiral Boscawen; and eleven ships of the Company, carrying stores and troops to the amount of 1400 men, set sail from England toward the end of the year 1747. They had instructions to capture the island of Mauritius in their way; as a place of great importance to the enterprises of the French in India. But the leaders of the expedition, after examining the coast, and observing the means of defence, were deterred, by the loss of time which the enterprise would occasion. On the 9th of August they arrived at Fort St. David, when the squadron, joined to that under Griffin, formed the largest European force that any one power had yet possessed in India.<sup>1</sup>

Dupleix, who had received early intelligence from France of the preparations for this armament, had been the more eager to obtain an interval of friendship with the Nabob, and to improve it to the utmost for laying in provisions and stores at Pondicherry and Madras; knowing well, as soon as the superior force of the English should appear, that the Nabob would change sides, and the French settlements, both by sea and land, would again be cut off from supplies.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 91—98.

<sup>2</sup> Mémoire pour Dupleix, p. 31, 32.

Preparations at Fort St. David had been made, to expedite the operations of Boscawen, and he was in a very short time ready for action; when all Englishmen exulted in the hope of seeing the loss of Madras revenged by the destruction of Pondicherry. Amid other points of preparation for attaining this desirable object, there was one, to wit, knowledge, which they had, unfortunately, overlooked. At a place called Ariancopang, about two miles to the southwest of Pondicherry, the French had built a small fort. When the English arrived at this place, not a man was found who could give a description of it. They resolved, however, to take it by assault; but were repulsed, and the repulse dejected the men. Time was precious; for the season of the rains, and the change of monsoon, were at hand: A small detachment, too, left at the fort, might have held the feeble garrison in check: But it was resolved to take Ariancopang at any expense: batteries were opened; but the enemy defended themselves with spirit: Major Lawrence was taken prisoner in the trenches: Several days were consumed, and more would have been added to them, had not a part of the enemy's magazine of powder taken fire, which so terrified the garrison, that they blew up the walls and retreated to Pondicherry. As if sufficient time had not been lost, the English remained five days longer to repair the fort, in which they resolved to leave a garrison, lest the enemy should resume possession during the siege.

They advanced to Pondicherry, and opened the trenches on the northwest side of the town, at the

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distance of 1500 yards from the wall, though it was even then customary to open them within 800 yards of the covered way. The cannon and mortars in the ships were found capable of little execution; and, from want of experience, the approaches, with much labour, went slowly on. At last they were carried within 800 yards of the wall; when it was found impossible to extend them any further, on account of a large morass; while, on the northern side of the town, they might have been carried to the foot of the glacis. Batteries, at the distance of 800 yards, were constructed on the edge of the morass; but the enemy's fire proved double that of the besiegers; the rains came on; sickness prevailed in the camp; very little impression had been made on the defences of the town; a short time would make the roads impracticable; and hurricanes were apprehended, which would drive the ships from the coast. It was therefore determined, by a council of war, thirty-one days after the opening of the trenches, that the siege should be raised. Dupleix, as corresponded with the character of the man, made a great ostentation and parade on this unexpected event. He represented himself as having gained one of the most brilliant victories on record; he wrote letters in this strain, not only to France, but to the Indian princes, and even to the Great Mogul himself; he received in return the highest compliments on his own conduct and bravery, as well as on the prowess of his nation; and the English were regarded in India as only a secondary and inferior people.<sup>1</sup>

In November news arrived that a suspension of

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 80, 98—106. Dupleix (*Mém.* p. 32) says that the trenches were open forty-two days, and that the siege altogether lasted fifty-eight.

arms had taken place between England and France: BOOK IV  
CHAP. 1. and this was shortly after followed by intelligence 1749. of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in which the French government had agreed to restore Madras. It was delivered up in August, with its fortifications much improved. At the distance of four miles south from Madras was the town of San Tomé, or St. Thomas, built by the Portuguese, and, in the time of their prosperity, a place of note. It had long however been reduced to obscurity, and though inhabited mostly by Christians, had hardly been regarded as a possession by any of the European powers. It had been found that the Roman Catholic priests, from the sympathy of religion, had conveyed useful information to the French in their designs upon Madras. To prevent the like inconvenience in future, it was now taken possession of by the English, and the obnoxious part of the inhabitants ordered to withdraw.<sup>1</sup>

No events of any importance had occurred at the other presidencies, during these years of war. The Viceroy of Bengal had prohibited the French and English from prosecuting their hostilities in his dominions. This governor exacted contributions from the European colonies, for the protection which he bestowed; that however which he imposed upon the English did not exceed 100,000*l*. A quantity of raw silk, amounting to 300 bales, belonging to the Company, was plundered by the Mahrattas;

The memoir drawn up by the French East India Company, in answer to Dupleix, alleges more than once that Dupleix was defective in personal courage; and says he apologized for the care with which he kept at a distance from shot, by acknowledging *que le bruit des armes suspendoit ses réflexions, et que le calme seul convenoit à son génie*: p. 18.

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 107, 75, 131.



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and the distress which the incursions of that people produced in the province, increased the difficulties of traffic.<sup>1</sup>

The trade of the Company exhibited the following results :—

	Goods and Stores exported.	Bullion ditto.	Total.
1744..	£231,318..	£458,544..	£689,862
1745..	91,364..	476,853..	568,217
1746..	265,818..	560,020..	825,838
1747..	107,979..	779,256..	887,235
1748..	127,224..	706,890..	834,114

The bills of Exchange for which the Company paid during those years were :

1744..	£103,349	1747..	£441,651
1745..	98,213	1748..	178,419
1746..	417,647		

The amount of sales for the same years (including thirty per cent. of duties, which remained to be deducted) was :

1744..	£1,997,506	1747..	£1,739,159
1745..	2,480,966	1748..	1,768,041 <sup>2</sup>
1746..	1,602,388		

The official value at the custom-house of the imports and exports of the Company, during that period, was as follows :

	Imports.	Exports.
1744....	£743,508....	£476,274
1745....	973,705....	293,113
1746....	646,697....	893,540
1747....	821,733....	345,526
1748....	1,098,712....	306,357 <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orme, ii. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Third Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Sir C. Whitworth's Tables, part. ii. p. 9.

The dividend was eight per cent. per annum, during the whole of the time.<sup>1</sup>

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During the same period, the trade of the nation, notwithstanding the war, had considerably increased. The imports had risen from 6,362,971*l.* official value, to 8,136,408*l.*; and the exports from 11,429,628*l.* to 12,351,433*l.*; and, in the two following years, to 14,099,366*l.* and 15,132,004*l.*<sup>2</sup>

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## CHAPTER II.

### *Origin, Progress, and Suspension, of the Contest for establishing Mohammed Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic.*

A NEW scene is now to open in the history of the East India Company. Before this period they had maintained the character of mere traders, and, by humility and submission, endeavoured to preserve a footing in that distant country, under the protection or oppression of the native powers. We shall now behold them entering the lists of war; and mixing with eagerness in the contests of the princes. Dupleix, whose views were larger than, at that time, those of any of the servants of the Company, had already planned, in his imagination, an empire for the French, and had entered pretty deeply into the intrigues of the country powers. The English were the first to draw the sword; and from no higher inducement than the promise of a trifling settlement on the Coromandel coast.

<sup>1</sup> Report, ut supra, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Whitworth's Tables, p. i. part 78.

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A prince who, amid the revolutions of that country, had, some years before, possessed and lost the throne of Tanjore, repaired to Fort St. David, and entreated the assistance of the English. He represented his countrymen as ready to co-operate for his restoration; and promised the fort and country of Devi-Cotah, with the payment of all expenses, if, with their assistance, he should recover his rights. The war between the French and English had brought to the settlements of both nations in that quarter of India, a greater quantity of troops than was necessary for their defence; and with the masters of troops it seems to be a law of nature, whenever they possess them in greater abundance than is necessary for defence, to employ them for the disturbance of others. The French and English rulers in India showed themselves extremely obedient to that law. The interests of the Tanjore fugitive were embraced at Fort St. David; and in the beginning of April, 1749, 430 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, with four field-pieces and four small mortars, marched with him for Tanjore.

Tanjore was one of those rajaships, or small kingdoms, into which the Mohammedans, at their first invasion of India, found the country in general divided. It occupied little more than the space enclosed and intersected by the numerous mouths of the river Cavery. The Coleroon, or most northern branch of that river, bounded it on the north, and it extended about seventy miles along the coast, and nearly as much inland from the sea. Like the rest of the neighbouring country, it appears to have become dependent upon the more powerful rajaship of

Beejanuggur, before the establishment of the Moham-  
 medan kingdoms in the Deccan; and afterwards upon  
 the kingdom of Beejapore, but subject still to its own  
 laws and its own sovereign or raja, who held it in  
 the character of a Zemindar. In the time of Aurung-  
 zeb, it has been already seen, that a very remark-  
 able personage, the father of Sivajee, who had ob-  
 tained a footing in the Carnatic, had entered into a  
 confederacy with the Raja or Polygar of Mudkul or  
 Madura, against the Raja or Zemindar or Naig (for  
 we find all these titles applied to him) of Tanjore,  
 whom they defeated and slew; that afterwards quar-  
 relling with the Raja of Mudkul, about the division  
 of the conquered territory, the Mahratta stripped  
 him of his dominions, took possession both of Mudkul  
 and Tanjore, and transmitted them to his posterity.<sup>1</sup>  
 His grandson Shaojee was attacked and taken pri-  
 soner by Zulfikar Khan, who, to strengthen his  
 party, restored him to his government or zemindary,  
 upon the death of Aurungzeb. Shaojee had two  
 brothers, Shurfajee and Tukojee. They succeeded  
 one another in the government, and all died without  
 issue, excepting the last. Tukojee had three sons  
 Baba Saib, Nana, and Sahujee. Baba Saib suc-  
 ceeded his father, and died without issue. Nana  
 died before him, but left an infant son, and his widow  
 was raised to the government, by the influence of  
 Seid the commander of the fort. This powerful  
 servant soon deprived the Queen of all authority,  
 threw her into prison, and set up as raja a pretended  
 son of Shurfagee. It suited the views of Seid to

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra. Also Aurungzeb's Operations in Deccan, by Scott, p. 6.  
 —M. Also Duff's History of the Mahrattas, i. 199.—W.



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allow a very short existence to this prince and his power. He next placed Sahujee, the youngest of the sons of Tukojee, in the seat of government. Sahujee also was soon driven from the throne. Seid now vested with the name of sovereign Prataup Sing, a son by one of the inferior wives of Tukojee. This was in 1741. The first act of Prataup Sing's government was to assassinate Seid. It was Sahujee who now craved the assistance of the English.<sup>1</sup> And it was after having corresponded for years with Prataup Sing, as King of Tanjore; after having offered to him the friendship of the English nation; and after having courted his assistance against the French; that the English rulers now, without so much as a pretence of any provocation, and without the allegation of any other motive than the advantage of possessing Devi-Cotah, despatched an army to dethrone him.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> History and Management of the East India Company, from an authentic MS. account of Tanjore. See also Orme, i. 108, who in some particulars was misinformed.—M. Duff calls him Syajee, and adds he was a legitimate son. Prataup Sing, was the son of a concubine.—W.

<sup>2</sup> "The meaning of this letter is to let your Majesty know, I shall esteem it a great honour to be upon such terms with your Majesty, as may be convenient to both; for which reason, I hope, this will meet with a gracious acceptance, as likewise the few things I send with it." Letter from Governor Floyer to Prataup Sing, King of Tanjore, dated 30th November 1746. — "I received your letter, and am glad to hear of the King of Tanjore's regard and civility towards the English: You may be assured, that after the arrival of our ships, which will be very soon, I will serve the King, and all the people that will do us good against the French, who are enemies to all the world." Letter from Governor Floyer to Maeeajeeniko, officer of the King of Tanjore, dated 3d Jan. 1747.— "This is to acquaint your Majesty of the good news we have received from Europe two days past. The French nation (enemies both to your Majesty and the English) had fitted out a fleet with design to drive the English out of India; and had they been successful, they would never have stopped there; but would have made settlements in whatever parts of your country they liked best; as they have already done at Carical. But it pleased God that their vile designs have been prevented; for our ships met them at sea, and took and

The troops proceeded by land, while the battering-  
 cannon and provisions were conveyed by sea. They  
 had begun to proceed when the monsoon changed,  
 with a violent hurricane. The army, having crossed  
 the river Coleroon, without opposition, were on the  
 point of turning into a road among the woods, which  
 they would have found inextricable. Some of the  
 soldiers, however, discovered a passage along the  
 river, into which they turned by blind but lucky  
 chance; and this led them, after a march of about  
 ten miles, to the neighbourhood of Devi-Cotah.  
 They had been annoyed by the Tanjorines; no par-  
 tisans appeared for Sahujee; it indeed appears not  
 that so much as a notice had been conveyed to them  
 of what was designed; and no intelligence could be  
 procured of the ships, though they were at anchor  
 only four miles off at the mouth of the river. The  
 army threw at the fort what shells they had, and  
 then retreated without delay.

The shame of a defeat was difficult to bear; and  
 the rulers of Madras resolved upon a second attempt.  
 They exaggerated the value of Devi-Cotah; situated  
 in the most fertile spot on the coast of Coromandel;  
 and standing on the river Coleroon, the channel of  
 which, within the bar, was capable of receiving ships  
 of the largest burden, while there was not a port from  
 destroyed the whole of them. . . . . I do not at all doubt, but that in a  
 short time we shall be able to put you in possession of Carical, which I hear  
 you so much wish for." Letter from Governor Floyer to the King of Tan-  
 jore, dated 19th Jan. 1743. See i. 25, 26, of a Collection of Papers, enti-  
 tled Tanjore Papers, published by the East India Company in three 4to  
 volumes, in 1777, as an Appendix to a Vindication of the Company, drawn  
 up by their counsel Mr. Rous, in answer to two pamphlets; one entitled,  
 "State of Facts relative to Tanjore:" the other, "Original Papers rela-  
 tive to Tanjore." This Collection of Papers, I shall commonly quote, under  
 the short title of Rous's Appendix.

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Masulipatam to Cape Comorin, which could receive one of 300 tons: it was true the mouth of the river was obstructed by sand; but if that could be removed, the possession would be invaluable. This time, the expedition, again commanded by Major Lawrence,<sup>1</sup> proceeded wholly by sea; and from the mouth of the river the troops and stores were conveyed up to Devicotah in boats. The army was landed on the side of the river opposite to the fort, where it was proposed to erect the batteries, because the ground on the same side of the river with the fort, was marshy, covered with wood, and surrounded by the Tanjore army. After three days' firing a breach was made; but no advantage could be taken of it till the river was crossed. This was dangerous, as well from the breadth and rapidity of the stream, as from the number of soldiers in the thickets which covered the opposite shore. To the ingenuity of a common ship's carpenter, the army was indebted for the invention by which the danger was overcome. A raft was constructed sufficient to contain 400 men; but the difficulty was to move it across. John Moore, the man who suggested and constructed the raft, was again ready with his aid. He swam the river in the night; fastened to a tree on the opposite side a rope which he carefully concealed in the bushes and water; and returned without being perceived. Before the raft began to move, some pieces of artillery were made to fire briskly upon the spot where the rope was attached; and moved the Tanjorines to a distance too great to perceive it. The raft was

<sup>1</sup> Major Lawrence did not command on the first invasion of Tanjore, the force was led by Captain Cope. Rous's Appendix, 30.—W.

moved across; it returned, and recrossed several times, till the whole of the troops were landed on the opposite bank. Major Lawrence resolved to storm the breach without delay. Lieutenant Clive, who had given proofs of his ardent courage at the siege of Pondicherry, offered to lead the attack. He proceeded with a platoon of Europeans and 700 Sepoys; but rashly allowing himself, at the head of the platoon, to be separated from the Sepoys, he narrowly escaped with his life; and the platoon was almost wholly destroyed. Major Lawrence advanced with the whole of his force, when the soldiers mounted the breach, and after a feeble resistance took possession of the place. An accommodation between the contending parties was effected soon after. The reigning king agreed to concede to the English the fort for which they contended, with a territory of the annual value of 9000 pagodas; and they, on their part, not only renounced the support of him for whom they had pretended to fight as the true and lawful king, but agreed to secure his person, in order that he might give no further molestation to Prataup Sing, and demanded only 4000 rupees, about 400*l.*, for his annual expenses.<sup>1</sup> It may well be supposed, that to conquer Tanjore for him would have been a frantic attempt. But no such reflection was made when a zeal for the justice of his cause was held up as the impelling motive to the war; nor can it be denied that his interests were very coolly resigned. It is even asserted that, but for the humanity of Boscawen, he would have been delivered into the hands

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 109—119. History and Management of the East India Company, p. 68—70.



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of Prataup Sing.<sup>1</sup> He found means to make his escape from the English; who imprisoned his uncle and kept him in confinement for nine years, till he was released by the French, when they took Fort St. David in 1758.<sup>2</sup>

While the English were occupied with the unimportant conquest of Devi-Cotah, the French had engaged in transactions of the highest moment; and a great revolution was accomplished in the Carnatic. This revolution, on which a great part of the history of the English East India Company depends, it is now necessary to explain. Carnatic is the name given to a large district of country along the coast of Coromandel, extending from near the river Kistna, to the northern branch of the Cavery. In extending westward from the sea, it was distinguished into two parts, the first, including the level country between the sea and the first range of mountains, and entitled Carnatic below the Ghauts; the second, including the tableland between the first and second range of mountains, and called Carnatic above the Ghauts. A corresponding tract, extending from the northern branch of the Cavery to Cape Comorin, sometimes also receives the name of Carnatic; but in that case it is distinguished by the title of the Southern Carnatic.<sup>3</sup> The district of Carnatic had fallen into de-

<sup>1</sup> History and Management, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> This is related by Orme, (ii. 318,) who tells us not who this uncle was, (he must have been maternal), but only that he was the guide of his nephew, and the head of his party.

<sup>3</sup> According to Colonel Wilks, (p. 5,) the ancient name was Canara, and the Canara language is only found within a district bounded by a line, beginning near the town of Beder, about sixty miles N. W. from Hyderabad, waving S. E. by the town of Adoni, then to the west of Gooti, next by the town of Anatpoor, next Nundidroog, next to the eastern Ghauts, thence along the range of the eastern Ghauts southwards to the pass of

pendence upon the great rajaships of Beejanuggur and Warankul; and after the reduction of these Hindu powers, had been united to the Mohammedan kingdoms of Beejapore and Golconda. Upon the annexation of these kingdoms to the Mogul empire, in the reign of Aurungzeb, the Carnatic was included in the general subjugation, and formed part of the great Subah of the Deccan. In the smaller provinces or viceroyalties, the districts or subdivisions, were proportionally small; and the sub-governors of these divisions were known by the titles of Zemindar, and Phouzdar or Foujdar. In the great Subahs, however, particularly that of the Deccan, the primary divisions were very large, and the first rank of sub-governors proportionally high. They were known by the name of nabob or deputy; that is, deputy of the Subahdar, or Viceroy, governor of the Subah; and under these deputies or nabobs were the Zemindars and Foujdars of the districts. The Carnatic was one of the nabobships, or grand divisions of the great Subah of the Deccan. During the vigour of the Mogul government, the grand deputies or nabobs, though immediately subject to the Subahdar, or Viceroy, were not always nominated by him. They were often nominated immediately by the emperor; and not unfrequently as a check upon the

Gujjelhuty, thence by the chasm of the western hills, between the towns of Coimbeoor, Palatchi, and Palgaut, thence northwards along the skirts of the western Ghauts, nearly as far as the sources of the Kistna, thence in an eastern and afterwards north-eastern direction to Beder. He adds, (p. 6,) that the Tamul language was spoken in the tract extending from Pullicat, (the boundary of the Talinga language on the south,) to Cape Comorin, and from the sea to the eastern Ghauts. This tract bore, anciently, the name of Dravida, "although," says the Colonel, "the greater part of it is known to Europeans exclusively by the name of Carnatic." It was called by the Mohammedans, Carnatic below the Ghauts, as Canara proper was called Carnatic above the Ghauts.

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dangerous power of the Subahdar. When the Subahdar however was powerful, and the emperor weak, the nabobs were nominated by the Subahdar.

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When Nizam al Mulk was established Subahdar of the Deccan, a chief, named Sadatullah, was nabob of the Carnatic, and held that command under the Nizam till the year 1732, when he died. Sadatullah, who had no issue male, adopted the two sons of his brother; Dost Ali, and Bâkir Ali. Bâkir Ali he made governor of Velore: and he had influence to leave Dost Ali in possession of the nabobship at his death. Nizam al Mulk claimed a right to nominate his deputy in the government of the Carnatic; and took displeasure that Dost Ali had been intruded into the office with so little deference to his authority; but he happened to be engaged at the time in disputes with the emperor, which rendered it inconvenient to resent the affront. Dost Ali had two sons and four daughters. Of these daughters one was married to Mortiz Ali, the son of his brother Bâkir Ali, governor of Velore; another to Chunda Saheb, a more distant relative, who became dewan, or minister of the finances, under Dost Ali his father-in-law.

Trichinopoly was a little sovereignty bordering on the west upon Tanjore. Though subdued by the Mogul, it had been allowed, after the manner of Tanjore, to retain, as Zemindar, its own sovereign, accountable for the revenues and other services, required from it as a district of the Mogul empire. The rajas of Tanjore and Trichinopoly were immediately accountable to the nabobs of the Carnatic; and, like other Zemindars, frequently required the terror

of an army to make them pay their arrears. In the year 1736 the Raja of Trichinopoly died, and the sovereignty passed into the hands of his wife. The supposed weakness of female government pointed out the occasion as favourable for enforcing the payment of the arrears; or for seizing the immediate government of the country. By intrigue and perfidy, Chunda Saheb was admitted into the city; when, imprisoning the queen, who soon died with grief, he was appointed by his father-in-law governor of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

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The Hindu Rajas were alarmed by the ambitious proceedings of the Nabob of the Carnatic and his son-in-law, and incited the Mahrattas, as people of the same origin and religion, to march to their assistance. The attention of Nizam al Mulk was too deeply engaged in watching the motions of Nadir Shah, who at that very time was prosecuting his destructive

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. Orme, i. 41. Colonel Wilks states, on verbal authority, that the Mahrattas were invited by the eldest son of the Nabob, jealous of Chunda Saheb, *ubi supra*, p. 251.—M.

This is rather incorrectly abridged from Orme, who states that the collection of the revenue was only a pretext, the real object being to take advantage not of female weakness, but of a disputed succession. The Hindu princes of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, had never been subdued by the Mogul, and although at times compelled to purchase the forbearance of the Mohammedan states of Bijapur or Golconda, they had preserved their independence from a remote date. The expulsion of their native princes was owing to domestic dissensions, which transferred Tanjore to a Mahratta ruler, and gave Trichinopoly to a Mohammedan. The latter was a relic of the Hindu kingdom of Madura, and according to original authorities, Chanda Sahib obtained possession of it not under the circumstances described by the European writers, who were avowedly ill informed of the real merits of the case, but by an act of treachery to his ally Minakshi Amman, the reigning queen, whose adopted son he had zealously defended against a competitor for the principality—grateful for his support, and confiding in his friendship, the Queen gave him free access to the citadel, and he abused her confidence by making himself treacherously master of the fortress. See *Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya*. J. Roy, As. Society, vol. iii. p. 199.—W.



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war in Hindustan, to oppose a prompt resistance to the Mahrattas; it has indeed been asserted, though without proof, and not with much probability, that, as he was but little pleased with the appointment or proceedings of Dost Ali, he instigated the Mahrattas to this incursion, for the sake of chastising the presumption of his deputy.

An army, commanded by Ragojee Bonslah, appeared on the confines of Carnatic, in the month of May, 1740. The passes of the mountains might have been successfully defended by a small number of men; but an officer of Dost Ali, a Hindu, to whom that important post was committed, betrayed his trust, and left a free passage to the Mahrattas. Dost Ali encountered the invaders; but lost his life in the battle. Sufder Ali, the eldest son of the deceased, retired to the strong fort of Velore, and began to negotiate with the Mahrattas. A large sum of money was partly promised, and partly paid; and Trichinopoly, which rendered Chunda Saheb an object of jealousy to the new Nabob, was secretly offered to them, if they chose the trouble of making the conquest. They returned in a few months and laid siege to Trichinopoly. Chunda Saheb defended himself gallantly for several months, but was obliged to yield on the 26th of March, 1741; and was carried a prisoner to Satarah; while Morari Row, a Mahratta chief, was left Governor of Trichinopoly. Sufder Ali, afraid to trust himself in the open city of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, took up his residence in Velore. Bâkir Ali was dead, the late governor of Velore, and uncle of the Nabob; and Mortiz Ali, his son, was now governor in his place. By instigation of this man, whose disposition was perfidious and

cruel, Sufder Ali was assassinated; and an attempt was made by the murderer to establish himself in the government of the province; but, finding his efforts hopeless, he shut himself up in his fort of Velore; and the infant son of Sufder Ali was proclaimed Nabob.<sup>1</sup>

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Nizam al Mulk, however, had now left the court of Delhi, and returned to his government of the Deccan. To arrange the troubled affairs of the Carnatic, he arrived at Arcot in the month of March, 1743. He treated the son of Sufder Ali with respect; but appointed his general Cojah Abdoolla, to the government of the Carnatic; and compelled Morari Row, and the Mahrattas, to evacuate Trichinopoly. Cojah Abdoolla died suddenly, apparently through poison, before he had taken possession of his government; and the Nizam appointed Anwar ad din Khan, to supply his place. Anwar ad din Khan, the son of a man noted for his learning and piety, had been promoted to a place of some distinction, by the father of Nizam al Mulk, and after his death attached himself to the fortunes of his son. When Nizam al Mulk became Subahdar of the Deccan, he made Anwar ad din Nabob of Ellore and Rajamundry where he governed from the year 1725 to 1741; and from that period till the death of Cojah Abdoolla, he served as Governor of Golconda. In ostent,

<sup>1</sup> For this part of the History of the Deccan in detail, see Orme, i. 36—62; Cambridge's War in India, p. 1—6; History and Management of the East India Company, p. 50—72; Mémoire pour Dupleix, p. 35—43; Mémoire contre Dupleix, p. 19—59; Révolution des Indes, i. 67—289. This last work was published anonymously in two volumes 12mo. in 1757. It is written with partiality to Dupleix; but the author is well informed, and a man of talents. The leading facts are shortly noticed by Wilks, ch. vii.

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Nizam al Mulk conferred the government of the Carnatic upon Anwar ad din, only for a time, till Seid Mohammed, the young Son of Sufder Ali, should arrive at the years of manhood; but, in the mean while, he consigned him to the guardianship of Anwar ad din, and in a short time the young Nabob was murdered by a party of Patan soldiers, who clamoured for arrears of pay, due to them, or pretended to be due, by his father. Anwar ad din escaped not the imputation of being author of the crime, but he was supported by Nizam al Mulk, and appointed Nabob in form. It was Anwar ad din, who was the Governor of the Carnatic when the French and English contended for Madras, and whom Dupleix treated alternately as a friend and a foe.

Nizam al Mulk, whose abilities and power were calculated to confirm the arrangements which he had made in the Deccan, died in 1748, after a whole life spent in the toils and agitations of oriental ambition, at the extraordinary age of 104. The government of Sadatullah and his family had been highly popular in the Carnatic; that of Anwar ad din Khan was very much hated. A strong desire prevailed that the government of Anwar ad din should be subverted, and that of the family of Sadatullah restored: the death of Nizam al Mulk opened a channel through which the hope of change made its way. Chunda Saheb was the only member of the family of Sadatullah, who possessed talents likely to support him in the ascent to the proposed elevation. The keen eye of Dupleix had early fixed itself upon the prospect of the ascendancy of Chunda Saheb; and if that chief should, by the assistance of the French,

acquire the government of the Carnatic, the most important concessions might be expected from his gratitude and friendship. At the first irruption of the Mahrattas, the whole family of Dost Ali had been sent to Pondicherry, (so strongly had the Indians already learned to confide in the superiority of European power,) as the place of greatest safety in the province. They received protection and respect; and the wife and family of Chunda Saheb, during the whole time of his captivity, had never been removed. Dupleix treated them with the attention calculated to make a favourable impression on the man whom he wished to gain. He even corresponded with Chunda Saheb in his captivity; and agreed to advance money to assist in raising the sum which the Mahrattas demanded for his ransom. He was liberated in the beginning of the year 1748, and even furnished, it is said, with 3000 Mahratta troops. He entered immediately into the quarrels of some contending Rajas, whose dominions lay inland between the coast of Malabar and the Carnatic, with a view to increase his followers, and collect treasure; and he was already at the head of 6000 men, when the death of Nizam al Mulk occurred.

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To maintain his authority, in his absence, both at court and in his province, Nizam al Mulk had procured the high office of Ameer al Omrah, for his eldest son, Ghazee ad din Khan, who always attended the person of the Emperor. His second son, Nazir Jung, had resided for the most part in the Deccan, and had officiated as his father's deputy as often as the wars of the empire, or the intrigues of



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the court, had called him away. Though the obedience of Nazir Jung had been so little perfect as to have been lately chastised even by imprisonment, he was present when his father died; the army was accustomed to obey him; he got possession of his father's treasures; the Emperor was far too weak to assert his right of nomination; and Nazir Jung assumed the power and titles of Subahdar of the Deccan.

There was, however, a favourite grandson of Nizam al Mulk, the son of a descendant of Sadhoollah Khan, Vizir to Shah Jehan, by a daughter of Nizam al Mulk. His name was Hedayet Mohy ad dien; to which he added the title of Moozuffer Jung. He had been Nabob of Beejapore for several years, during the life of his grandfather; who, it was now given out and believed, had nominated him successor by his will.<sup>1</sup> Such a competitor for the government of the Deccan appeared to Chunda Saheb the very man on whom his hopes might repose. He offered his services, and they were greedily received. To attain the assistance of Dupleix was regarded by them both as an object of the highest importance; and in a Subahdar of the Deccan, and a Nabob of the Carnatic, whom he himself should be the chief instrument in raising to power, Dupleix contemplated the highest advantages, both for himself and for his country. Chunda Saheb persuaded Moozuffer Jung that they ought to commence their operations in the Carnatic; where the interest of the family of Chunda Saheb would afford advantages. Their troops had

<sup>2</sup> Seer Mutakhareen, iii. 115. Wilks says he was Governor of the strong fort of Adoni, ch. vii.

increased to the number of 40,000 men, when they approached the confines of the Carnatic. They were joined here by the French, who consisted of 400 Europeans, 100 Caffres, and 1800 Sepoys, commanded by M. d'Auteuil.<sup>1</sup> They immediately advanced towards Anwar ad din, whom on the 3d of August, 1749, they found encamped under the fort of Amboor, fifty miles west from Arcot. The French offered to storm the intrenchment; and though twice beaten back, they advanced three times to the charge, and at last prevailed. Anwar ad din was slain in the engagement, at the uncommon age of 107 years; his eldest son was taken prisoner; and his second son Mohammed Ali, with the wreck of the army, escaped to Trichinopoly, of which he was Governor.<sup>2</sup>

Dupleix affirms, that had the victorious leaders, according to his advice, advanced without delay against Trichinopoly, while the consternation of defeat remained, they would have obtained immediate possession of the place, and the success of their enterprise would have been assured. They chose, however, to go first to Arcot, that they might play for a while the Subahdar and Nabob; they afterwards paid a visit at Pondicherry to M. Dupleix, who gratified himself by receiving them with oriental display; and was gifted with the sovereignty of eighty-one villages in the neighbourhood of the settlement.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mémoire pour la Compagnie des Indes contre le Sieur Dupleix, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Orme, i. 127; Mémoire, ut supra, p. 40; Mémoire pour le Sieur Dupleix, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Mémoire pour Dupleix, p. 47. The French Company assert, in their Memoir against Dupleix, (p. 44), that it was to gratify his vanity by this

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They marched not from Pondicherry till the very end of October; and instead of proceeding directly against Trichinopoly, as they had settled with Dupleix, they directed their march to the city of Tanjore. The urgency of their pecuniary wants, and the prospect of an ample supply from the hoards of Tanjore, made them undervalue the delay. The king was summoned to pay his arrears of tribute, and a large sum as a compensation for the expense of the war. By negotiation, by promises, and stratagems, he endeavoured; and the softness of his enemies enabled him, to occupy their time till the very end of December, when news arrived that Nazir Jung, the Subahdar, was on his march to attack them.<sup>1</sup>

Nazir Jung had been summoned, upon his accession, to the imperial presence; and had advanced with a considerable army as far as the Nerbudda, when a counter-order arrived. Informed of the ambitious designs of his nephew, he accelerated his return; and was arrived at Aurengabad, when he heard of the overthrow and death of the Nabob of the Carnatic.<sup>2</sup> The impolitic delays of his enemies afforded time for his preparations; and they were

display, that the chiefs delayed the march to Trichinopoly: which seems the invention of malignity. Orme says, with better reasons, that to keep the army in obedience, it was necessary to obtain money, which they levied by contribution in the province.

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 133—136; *Mém. pour Dupleix*, p. 51. The French Company accuse Dupleix again falsely of being the author of the ill-timed invasion of Tanjore: *Mém. contre Dupleix*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Seer Mutakhareen*, iii. 115. Mr. Orme (i. 136) is mistaken when he says that Nazir Jung had marched toward Delhi, to oppose his elder brother: it was at a subsequent date that Ghazee ad din marched for the Deccan.

struck with consternation when they now heard of his approach. They broke up their camp with precipitation; and, harassed by a body of Mahrattas, in the service of Nazir Jung, returned to Pondicherry.<sup>1</sup>

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Dupleix was admirably calculated for the tricks of Indian policy. Though he exerted himself with the utmost vigour to animate the spirits, and augment the force of his allies; lending them 50,000*l.*, declaring that he would lend them still more, and increasing the French forces to the number of 2000 Europeans; yet contemplating now, with some terror, the chance of a defeat, he sought to be prepared for all events, and endeavoured secretly to open a negotiation with Nazir Jung. He addressed to him a memorial, in which he set forth the enmity which was borne by Anwar ad Din to the French nation; and the necessity under which they were placed to avail themselves of any allies, to secure themselves from its effects; that the death of that Nabob, however, had now freed them from such obligation, and they were ready to detach themselves from the enemies of Nazir Jung; that they had already manifested their friendly dispositions towards him, in sparing Tanjore, and suspending the siege of Trichinopoly, which the victorious army of them and their allies, there was no doubt, might have easily taken.<sup>2</sup> It was only, says Dupleix, the arrival of an English force in the camp of Nazir Jung, that prevented the Subahdar from embracing the proposal.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 136, 137.

<sup>2</sup> Mémoire pour Dupleix, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 54.



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From the beginning of 1747, the English had been intriguing, both with Nizam al Mulk and with Nazir Jung, against the French. Besides a letter from the English Governor to the same effect, Commodore Griffin, in a letter to Nizam al Mulk, dated March 6, 1747, said, "I shall not enter into a particular detail of all the robberies, cruelties, and depredations, committed on shore upon the King my Master's subjects, by that insolent, perfidious nation the French; connived at, and abetted by those under your Excellency, (the Nabob of Arcot,) whose duty it was to have preserved the peace of your country, instead of selling the interest of a nation, with whom you have had the strictest friendship time out of mind; a nation that has been the means not only of enriching this part of the country, but the whole dominions of the grand Mogul; and that to a people who are as remarkable all over the world for encroaching upon, and giving disturbances and disquiet to all near them; a people who are strangers in your country, in comparison of those who have been robbed by them of that most important fortress and factory, Madras; and now they are possessed of it, have neither money nor credit, to carry on the trade.—And now, excellent Sir, we have laid this before you, for your information and consideration; and must entreat you, in the name of the King of Great Britain, my Royal Master, to call the Nabob to an account for his past transactions, and interpose your power to restore, as near as possible in its original state, what has been so unjustly taken from us." Application was at the same time made to Nazir Jung for his interest with his father, which

that prince assures the English by letter he had effectually employed. A favourable answer was received from Nizam al Mulk, and a mandate was sent to Anwar ad din Khan, called at that time by the English Anaverdy Khan, in which were the following words: "The English nation, from ancient times, are very obedient and serviceable to us: besides which they always proved to be a set of true people, and it is very hard that they met with these troubles, misfortunes, and destruction. I do therefore write you, to protect, aid, and assist them in all respects, and use your best endeavours in such a manner, that the French may be severely chastised and rooted off, that his Majesty's sea-port town may be recovered, and that the English nation may be restored to their right, establish themselves in their former place, as before, and carry on their trade and commerce for the flourishment of the place." An agent of the English, a native, named Hajee Hodee, who dates his letter from Arcot, the 10th of March, 1747, presents them with the real state of the fact in regard to Anwar ad din, the Nabob: "I take the liberty to acquaint your worship, that as the Nabob is but a *Renter*, he does not much regard the distress of the people of this province, but in all shapes has respect to his own interest and benefit; therefore there is no trusting to his promises. The French are very generous in making presents of other people's goods, both to the old and young." He advises the English to be equally liberal with their gifts, and says, "Don't regard the money, as Governor Morse did, but part with it for the safety of your settlement." Another of their agents, Boundla

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Mootal, informed them that if they expected any cordial assistance from Anwar ad din, they must send him money for it. The second son of Anwar ad din, Mohammed Ali Khan, showed himself during this period of French ascendancy, rather favourable to the English: probably, from that spirit of discord which prevails in the ruling families of the East, because his eldest brother displayed a partiality to the French.<sup>1</sup>

When, after the deaths of Nizam al Mulk and Anwar ad din Khan, and the captivity of the eldest son of Anwar ad din Khan, Nazir Jung marched into the Carnatic against Chunda Saheb and Moozuffer Jung, he summoned Mohammed Ali to join him from Trichinopoly, and sent to Fort St. David to solicit assistance from the English. The arrival of Moozuffer Jung, the defeat of Anwar ad din, which happened when they were engaged in the attack of Tanjore, and the apprehended schemes of Dupleix, had struck the English with alarm. "They saw," says Mr. Orme, "the dangers to which they were exposed, but were incapable of taking the vigorous resolutions which the necessity of their affairs demanded." They allowed Mr. Boscawen, with the fleet and troops, to set sail for England, at the end of October, and sent only 120 Europeans to support Mohammed Ali at Trichinopoly.<sup>2</sup> The presence, however, of Nazir Jung, at the head of a great army, encouraged them to command the detachment at Trichinopoly to accompany Mohammed Ali; and a few days after their arrival in the camp, Major

<sup>1</sup> Rous's Appendix, i. 8—22.

<sup>2</sup> Orme, i. 130, 133, 138.

Lawrence, with 600 Europeans from Fort St. David, joined the army of the Subahdar.

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The two armies were now sufficiently near to skirmish; when thirteen French officers, displeased that they had not shared in the spoils of Tanjore, resigned their commissions, and infused terror and alarm into the men they were destined to command. D'Auteuil, considering it no longer safe to venture into action with men thus affected, decamped the night before the expected battle, and retreated in the direction of Pondicherry; leaving Moozuffer Jung and Chunda Saheb, in a state of despair. Moozuffer Jung thought it best to yield himself up to his uncle, by whom he was immediately put in fetters; Chunda Saheb, with his own troops, made his way to Pondicherry.<sup>1</sup>

The dangers were formidable and imminent which now stared Dupleix in the face; but he had confidence in the resources of his own genius, and the slippery footing of an oriental prince. He sent an embassy to the camp of the victorious subahdar, offering terms of peace; and at the same time entered into correspondence with some disaffected chiefs in his army; these were leaders of the Patan troops, which Nizam al Mulk, as the principal instrument of his ambition, had maintained in his service; and of which he had made the principal captains Nabobs of different districts in his Subah. It was the standing policy of all the Mohammedan princes in India to

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge's War in India, p. 6—11; Orme, i. 138—142; History and Management of the East India Company, p. 73; Mémoire pour Dupleix, p. 54; Mémoire contre Dupleix, p. 47; Révolution des Indes, i. 232—238.



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compose a great part of their armies of men drawn from the more hardy people of the north, the Tartars and Afghans. Of these people the men who arrived in India were mere soldiers of fortune, accustomed to seek for wealth and distinction through crimes. If the master whom they served were able to chastise their perfidy, and feed their hopes of plunder and aggrandizement by the prospect of his conquests, they were useful and important instruments. The moment they appeared to have more to gain by destroying than by serving him, they were the most alarming source of his danger.

Nazir Jung had the usual character of a man educated a prince. He devoted his time to pleasure, and withdrew it from business; decided without consideration, hence unwisely; and was at once too indolent and too proud to correct his mistakes. Under such a master, the Patan lords expected, by selling their services to a competitor, to add both to their treasures, and to the territories of which the government was lodged in their hands.

The deputies of Dupleix had returned from the camp of Nazir Jung, when D'Auteuil, who continued to watch the motions of the army, observing the negligence with which the camp was guarded during the night, detached an officer with 300 men, who entered it unobserved; penetrated into it a mile; spread terror and alarm; killed upwards of a thousand of the enemy; and returned with the loss of only two or three men; another proof of the extraordinary weakness of an Indian army, when opposed to the force of the European mind.

The Subahdar, alarmed at the presence of so

enterprising an enemy, hastened to Arcot; while the English quarrelling with him about the performance of his promises, and the abandonment of their cause by withdrawing his army, left the camp in disgust, and removed the only important obstacle to the machinations of the conspirators and Dupleix.

While the Subahdar spent his time at Arcot in the pleasures of the harem and the chase, of both of which he was immoderately fond, the French exhibited new specimens of their activity and enterprise. A small body of troops sailed to Masulipatam, at the mouth of the river Kistna, once the principal mart of that region of India; attacked it by surprise in the night; and gained possession with a trifling loss: and another detachment seized the Pagoda of Trivadi, about fifteen miles west from Fort St. David. Mohammed Ali obtained permission to detach himself from the army of the Subahdar, for the purpose of dislodging them from Trivadi; in this he obtained assistance from the English, who were deeply interested in preventing the French from gaining a position so near. Some attacks which Mohammed Ali and the English made upon the pagoda were unsuccessful; and these allies began to quarrel. Mohammed Ali would neither advance pay to the English, nor move his troops between the pagoda and Pondicherry; upon which they left him. The French, who expected this event, waited for its arrival; attacked Mohammed Ali; gained an easy victory, and made him fly to Arcot, with two or three attendants. The French, still aiming at further acquisitions, advanced against the celebrated Fort of Gingee, situated on a vast insulated rock, and deemed the strongest fortress in the Carnatic.

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They stormed the fortifications to the very summit of the mountain; and contemplating afterwards the natural strength of the place, felt astonished at their own success.

This last exploit disturbed the tranquillity and the amusements of the Subahdar; and he offered to enter upon negotiation. The demands of the French were lofty; Nazir Jung, therefore, began his march to Gingee. But it was now October, 1750, and the rains began. The Subahdar kept the field; but felt exceedingly weary of the contest; and at last appeared inclined to concede whatever was demanded by the French. Dupleix negotiated at once with the traitors and the Subahdar. He had just concluded his treaty with the Subahdar, when his commander at Gingee receives from the traitors the concerted call. He marches with his whole force; attacks the camp of the Subahdar, and is joined by the traitors; by one of whom Nazir Jung is shot through the heart. In his Memoir, Dupleix affirms, that he wrote immediately to inform the Commander at Gingee of the conclusion of the treaty, and to prevent further hostilities, but that his letter arrived not till after the revolution was performed.<sup>1</sup>

Moozuffer Jung was now freed from his imprisonment, and vested with the authority of Subahdar.

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of remark that the death of Nazir Jung, and the troubles that ensued, might possibly have been prevented if there had been one amongst the English qualified to converse with the Subahdar in any native language. Major Lawrence had been informed of some of the intrigues between the Patans and the French, and "at an audience endeavoured to acquaint Nazir Jung with what he had heard, but his interpreter had not courage to make a declaration which would probably have cost him his life, and misrepresented what he was ordered to say.—Orme i. 145.—W.

Immediately, however, the enormous demands of the Patan nobles, to whose perfidy he owed his power, began to oppress him; and he only parried their importunities by asserting the necessity of forming his arrangements in concert with Dupleix. Lofty were the hopes, in which that ambitious leader seemed now entitled to indulge himself. Moozuffer Jung advanced to Pondicherry, and lavished upon him every testimony of gratitude and friendship. Dupleix exerted himself to satisfy the Patan lords; who, seeing his determination to support their master, permitted him to retrench their demands, and treasured up their resentments for a future day. An adept in Indian policy, when he had men of their dangerous character within the walls of Pondicherry, would have taken care how they made their escape.

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Dupleix was appointed Governor of the Mogul dominions on the coast of Coromandel from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin; and Chunda Saheb his Deputy at Arcot. Mohammed Ali, who had fled to Trichinopoly, upon the assassination of Nazir Jung, now offered to resign his pretensions to the nabobship of the Carnatic, provided Dupleix, who listened to the overture, would obtain from the new Subahdar a command for him, in any other part of his dominions.

Moozuffer Jung left Pondicherry in the month of January, 1751, accompanied by a body of French troops, with M. Bussy, who had signalized himself in the late transactions, at their head. The army had marched about sixty leagues; when a disturbance, in appearance accidental, arose among a part



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of the troops; presently it was discovered, that the Patan chiefs were in revolt; and that they had seized a pass in front through which it behoved the army to proceed. They were attacked with great spirit; the French artillery carried every thing before it; and a victory was gained, when the impetuosity of the Subahdar carried him too far in the pursuit, and he was shot dead with an arrow.<sup>1</sup> M. Bussy was not a man who lost his presence of mind, upon an unexpected disaster. He represented to the principal commanders the necessity of agreeing immediately upon the choice of a master; and as the son of Moozuffer Jung was an infant, and the present state of affairs required the authority of a man of years, he recommended Salabut Jung, the eldest surviving son of Nizam al Mulk, who was present in the camp, and who without delay was raised to the vacant command. Salabut Jung promised the same concessions to the French which had been made by his predecessor, and the army continued its march towards Golconda.<sup>2</sup>

The Europeans in India, who hitherto had crouched at the feet of the meanest of the petty governors of a district, were astonished at the progress of the French, who now seemed to preside over the whole

<sup>1</sup> Orme says he was killed in personal conflict with the Nabob of Canoul by whom he was thrust through the forehead with a javelin.—i. 64.—W.

<sup>2</sup> For the above details see Orme, i. 142—166. History and Management of the East India Company, p. 74—79; Cambridge's War in India, p. 10—16; Seer Mutakhareen, iii. 116—118, the author of which says that Moozuffer Jung had a plot against the Patans, who on this occasion were not the aggressors; Mémoire pour Dupleix, p. 55—68, who says he entered into the conspiracy against Nazir Jung because he would not listen to peace; Mémoire contre Dupleix, p. 47—61; Wilks, chap. vii. with whom Dupleix is a favourite.

region of the Deccan. A letter to Dupleix, from a friend in the camp of Salabut Jung, affirmed that in a little time the Mogul on his throne would tremble at the name of Dupleix;<sup>1</sup> and however presumptuous this prophecy might appear, little was wanting to secure its fulfilment,

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The English, sunk in apathy or despair, were so far as yet from taking any vigorous measures to oppose a torrent by which they were likely to be overwhelmed, that Major Lawrence, the commander of the troops, on whose military talents and authority their whole dependence was placed, took the extraordinary resolution, not opposed, it should seem, by the Council, of returning at this critical juncture to England. They used their influence, indeed, to prevent Mohammed Ali from carrying into execution the proposal he had made to the French of surrendering Trichinopoly; but Mohammed Ali, and the English in concert, made offer to acknowledge Chunda Saheb, Nabob of all the Carnatic; with the exception of Trichinopoly and its dependencies. This the French treated as a departure from the original proposal of Mohammed Ali, and replied with haughtiness and contempt. The English now engaged to support him, and he resolved to hold out. The Governor of Madura, however, a small adjacent province, formerly a Hindu rajaship, declared for Chunda Saheb, and an attempt, made by a party of the English, to reduce it, was repelled.

Toward the beginning of April, Chunda Saheb began his march from Arcot; and about the same

<sup>1</sup> Mémoire contre Dupleix.

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time Captain Gingsens, with the English, was despatched from Fort St. David. Chunda Saheb was encamped near the Fort of Volconda, on the great road between Trichinopoly and Arcot, when the English approached. A battle was brought on; but the English officers spent so much time in deliberation as to discourage the men; and the European soldiers fled shamefully from the field, even while the Caffres and native troops maintained the contest. The army retreated; and though it posted itself, and encamped at two different places, Utatoor and Pichonda; it quitted both upon the arrival of the enemy, and at last took shelter under the walls of Trichinopoly. Chunda Saheb and the French lost no time in following, and sat down on the opposite side of the town.

The city of Trichinopoly, at the distance of about ninety miles from the sea, is situated on the south side of the great river Cavery, about half a mile from its bank; and, for an Indian city, was fortified with extraordinary strength. About five miles higher up than Trichinopoly, the Cavery divides itself into two branches, which, after separating to the distance of about two miles, again approach, and being only prevented from uniting, about fifteen miles below Trichinopoly, by a narrow mound, they form a peninsula, which goes by the name of the island of Seringham; celebrated as containing one of the most remarkable edifices, and one of the most venerated pagodas, in India; and henceforward remarkable for the struggle, constituting an era in the history of India, of which it was now to be the scene.

The presidency of Fort St. David, somewhat roused by seeing the army of Mohammed Ali driven out of the Carnatic, and obliged to take shelter beyond the Cavery, made several efforts to reinforce the troops they had sent him ; whom, after all, they were able to augment to the number of only 600 men. There was another misfortune ; for notwithstanding the urgency with which, in the depressed and alarming state of their affairs, the English were called upon for the utmost exertions of their virtue, “ a fatal spirit of division,” says Major Lawrence, “ had unhappily crept in among our officers, so that many opportunities and advantages were lost, which gave the country alliance but an indifferent opinion of our conduct.”<sup>1</sup> The French, however, made but feeble efforts for the reduction of the place ; and the English were too much impressed with an opinion of their own weakness to hazard any enterprise to dislodge them.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lawrence's Narrative in Cambridge's War in India, p. 28. “ In the middle of July,” says Orme, i. 182, “ the discontent which prevailed among the officers made it necessary to remove several of them at a time when there were very few fit to succeed to their posts.

<sup>2</sup> Law, the commander of the French forces, whom I am much more inclined to believe than Dupleix, one of the most audacious contemners of truth that ever engaged in crooked politics, asserts his want of strength for any efficient operation ; as Dupleix, who had entered into a correspondence with Mohammed Ali, and relied upon his promise to open to the French the gates of Trichinopoly, sent him not to attack Trichinopoly, but to receive possession of it ; he adds, that when they were surprised by Mohammed Ali's firing upon them from the walls, they had not a single piece of battering or heavy cannon in the camp ; that it was three months before they were supplied with any ; that at first the whole army consisted of 11,860, but after the detachment sent for the recovery of Arcot, it consisted only of 6680, of whom 600 only were Europeans. See *Plainte du Chevalier Law contre le Sieur Dupleix*, p. 21—23. Dupleix, on the other hand (*Mémoire*, p. 74,) speaking in round numbers, says that the natives, who had joined Chunda Saheb, raised the army to 30,000 men. So



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While the war thus lingered at Trichinopoly, Clive, who had been made a captain, to supply some of the removals occasioned by the recent discontents, persuaded the Presidency to create a diversion, by sending him to attack Arcot, the Capital of Chunda Saheb, left with a very slender defence. This young man was the son of a gentleman of small fortune in Shropshire. From the untractableness of his own disposition, or the unsteadiness of his father's, he was moved when a boy, from one to another, through a great variety of schools; at which he was daring, impetuous, averse to application, and impatient of control. At the age of nineteen he was appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company, and sent to Madras. There his turbulence, though he was not ill-natured, engaged him in quarrels with his equals; his dislike of application and control prevented his acquiring the benevolence of his superiors.<sup>1</sup> When the capitulation with Madras was violated, Clive made his escape in a Mohammedan dress, to Fort St. David, and when the siege of Pondicherry was undertaken, he was allowed to enter into the military service, with the rank of an ensign. At the siege of Pondicherry, and the enterprise against Devi-Cotah, he rendered himself conspicuous by courting posts of danger, and exhibiting

widely assunder are the statements of these two men, at the head of the departments, civil and military.

<sup>1</sup> See a panegyric life of him, for which his family furnished materials, in Kippis's *Biographia Britannica*, vol. iii. art. Clive.—M. The late biographer of Clive, Sir J. Malcolm, adverting to this passage, remarks, that the justice of the application of the epithet turbulent is not borne out by the facts. Certainly there is nothing in the history of his adolescence to warrant the application; he seems to have been stubborn and dogged rather than turbulent.—W.

in them a daring intrepidity. Discerning men, however, perceived, along with his rashness, a coolness and presence of mind, with a readiness of resource in the midst of danger, which made Lawrence, at an early period, point him out as a man of promise. Upon the conclusion of the affair at Devi-Cotah, Clive returned to his civil occupation; but no sooner did his countrymen resume the sword, than his own disposition, and the scarcity of officers, again involved him in operations, far better suited to his restless, daring, and contentious mind. He had accompanied the troops sent for the defence of Trichinopoly, till after the affair at Volcondah, and had been employed by the Presidency in conducting the several reinforcements which they had attempted to forward. He was now furnished with 200 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys: and to spare even these, Fort St. David and Madras were left, for their defence, the one with 100, the other with fifty men. To command them he had eight officers, of whom six had never been in action, and four were young men in the mercantile service of the Company, whom his own example had inflamed. For artillery they had three field-pieces; and two eighteen pounders were sent after him. The enemy, who remained in garrison at Arcot, which was an open town, defended by a fort, abandoned the place, and gave him possession without resistance. Expecting a siege, he exerted his utmost diligence to supply the fort; and that he might prevent the fugitive garrison, who hovered around, from resuming their courage, he made frequent sallies; beat up their camp in the middle of the night; defended himself with vigour when

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assailed; and harassed them by incessant and daring attacks. In the mean time Chunda Saheb detached 4000 men from his army at Trichinopoly, which were joined by his son with 150 Europeans from Pondicherry; and, together with the troops already collected in the neighbourhood, to the number of 3000, entered the city. Clive immediately resolved upon a violent attempt to dislodge them. Going out with almost the whole of the garrison, he with his artillery forced the enemy to leave the street in which they had posted themselves; but filling the houses they fired upon his men, and obliged him to withdraw to the fort. In warring against the people of Hindustan, a few men so often gain unaccountable victories over a host, that on a disproportion of numbers solely no enterprise can be safely condemned as rash; in this, however, Clive ran the greatest risk, with but a feeble prospect of success. He lost fifteen of his Europeans, and among them a lieutenant; and his only artillery officer, with sixteen other men, was disabled.

Next day the enemy were reinforced with 2000 men from Velore. The fort was more than a mile in circumference; the walls in many places ruinous; the towers inconvenient and decayed; and every thing unfavourable to defence: yet Clive found the means of making an effectual resistance. When the enemy attempted to storm at two breaches, one of fifty and one of ninety feet, he repulsed them with but eighty Europeans and 120 Sepoys fit for duty; so effectually did he avail himself of his feeble resources, and to such a pitch of fortitude had he exalted the spirit of those under his command. During the fol-

lowing night the enemy abandoned the town with precipitation, after they had maintained the siege for fifty days. A reinforcement from Madras joined him on the following day ; and, leaving a small garrison in Arcot, he set out to pursue the enemy. With the assistance of a small body of Mahrattas, who joined him in hopes of plunder, he gave the enemy, now greatly reduced by the dropping away of the auxiliaries, a defeat at Arni, and recovered Conjeveram, into which the French had thrown a garrison, and where they had behaved with barbarity to some English prisoners ; among the rest two wounded officers, whom they seized returning from Arcot to Madras, and threatened to expose on the rampart, if the English attacked them. After these important transactions, Clive returned to Fort St. David about the end of December. The enemy no sooner found that he was out of the field than they re-assembled, and marched to ravage the Company's territory. Reinforced by some troops which had arrived from Bengal, he went out to meet them in the end of February. They abandoned their camp upon his approach ; but with intent to surprise Arcot, from which the principal part of the garrison had marched to the reinforcement of Clive. They expected the gates to be opened by two officers of the English Sepoys, whom they had corrupted ; but the plot being discovered, and their signals not answered, they did not venture to make an attack, and suddenly withdrew. Though informed of their retreat, Clive was still hastening his march to Arcot, when at sun-set his van was unexpectedly fired upon by the enemy's artillery ; and a hot engagement ensued. The superior force of the

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enemy afforded them great advantages, and seemed likely to decide the contest, unless by some expedient their cannon could be seized. At ten at night Clive detached a party, who, favoured by the darkness, came upon it unexpectedly in the rear; defeated the troops who were placed for its defence; and succeeded completely in that important enterprise. After this disaster, the enemy dispersed; and before Clive could undertake any new exploit, he was ordered to the presidency; where it was determined to send him, with all the troops under his command, to Trichinopoly. It was fortunate that the enemy, dispirited by the last, in addition to so many former disappointments and defeats, disbanded themselves at the same moment; the country troops departing to their homes, and the French being recalled to Pondicherry.

While these active operations were performing in the province of Arcot, Mohammed Ali, though he appeared to have little to fear from the attacks of the French upon Trichinopoly, began to have every thing to dread from the deficiency of his funds. The English, whom he engaged to maintain out of his own treasury, were now obliged to be maintained at the cost of the Presidency. His own troops were without pay, and there was no prospect of keeping them long from mutiny or dispersion. He had applied for assistance to the Government of Mysore, a considerable Hindu kingdom, which had risen out of the wreck of the empire of Beejanuggur, and viewed with dread the elevation of Chunda Saheb, who had formerly aimed at its subjugation. Mohammed Ali renewed his importunities; and, by promising to the

Mysoreans whatever they chose to ask, prevailed upon them to march to his assistance. They arrived at Trichinopoly about the middle of February, 20,000 strong, including 6000 Mahrattas, who had entered into their pay, and of whom a part were the same with those who had assisted Clive after the siege of Arcôt. Their arrival determined the King of Tanjore, who till then had remained neutral, to send 5000 men. A few days after Clive was recalled to Fort St. David, he was again prepared to take the field; but on the 26th. of March, Major Lawrence returned from England, and put himself at the head of the reinforcement which consisted of 400 Europeans and 1100 Sepoys, with eight field-pieces, and a large quantity of military stores. Both parties had their eyes fixed upon the reinforcement, and Dupleix sent repeated orders that it might be intercepted at all events. The efforts, however, of the enemy, proved unavailing; and Lawrence in safety joined the camp.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dupleix accuses Law with great violence, for not intercepting this convoy, and the English writers have very readily joined with him. But if the facts asserted by Law are true, it was from want of means, not of capacity or inclination, that he failed. He says that the whole army, even after it was joined by the remains of the detachment sent to Arcot, and by the body under Aulum Khan, did not amount to 15,000, while the enemy were three times the number: That the cavalry of Chunda Sahcb, who had long been without pay, refused to act; and were joined by several other corps of the native army: That from the importunate commands of Dupleix to blockade and starve Trichinopoly, he had extended his posts much beyond what the smallness of his means rendered advisable; and was weak at every point: That he made every effort to intercept the convoy at a distance; but the cavalry of Chunda Sahcb refused to act; and Aulum Khan, after promising to support the detachment, failed, on the pretext that there was not a farthing to give him. See the details as stated by Law, *Plainte*, p. 23—28. The Company, in their reply to Dupleix, defend the conduct of Law. *Mém. contre Dupleix*, p. 74.

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It was now determined to attack the enemy in their camp. This attack the French had not the resolution, or the means to withstand, and formed the determination of passing over to the island of Seringham. Chunda Saheb, it is said, remonstrated, but without avail. In the hurry of their retreat, the enemy were able to carry over only a part of their baggage, and burned what they were unable to remove of the provisions which they had collected in their magazines.<sup>1</sup>

As delay was dangerous to the English, from the circumstances of their allies, it was their policy to reduce the enemy to extremities within the shortest possible time. With this view Clive advised them to detach a part of the army to the other side of the Coleroon, for the purpose of intercepting the enemy's supplies. Though there was hazard in this plan; for an enterprising enemy, by attacking one of the divisions, might gain a decisive advantage before the other could arrive, Lawrence accepted the advice; and Clive was detached for the performance

<sup>1</sup> This movement has been violently condemned, and Dupleix ascribes to it the defeat of his schemes; but Major Lawrence (Narrative, p. 31) says that "they (the English officers) reckoned it a prudent measure at the time." From the weakness of the French a retreat was unavoidable. Law asserts that had they permitted the English to take possession of Seringham, they were taken in Caudine forks. He asserts also that they were already suffering for want of provisions; and that between abandoning Trichinopoly altogether, and the resolution which he adopted, there was no middle course. The wise course would have been, no doubt, to abandon Trichinopoly; and of this, Law says, he was abundantly aware. But this the reiterated and pressing commands of Dupleix absolutely forbid. I confess the defence of Law seems to me satisfactory. *Plainte du Chev. Law*, p. 29—31. Orme says that the enemy burned a great store of provisions, when they passed over into Seringham; but what Law says is much more probable, that the army was already beginning to be in want.

of the service. It was executed with his usual activity, spirit, and success. Dupleix made the strongest exertions to reinforce and supply his army; but was baffled in every attempt. D'Auteuil, at the head of a large convoy, was first compelled to suspend his march; was afterwards attacked in the fort to which he had retired; and at last taken prisoner. The enemy were soon in distress for provisions; their camp was cannonaded by the English; the troops of Chunda Saheb left his service; and he himself, looking round for the means of personal safety, chose at last to trust to the generosity of the King of Tanjore, and delivered himself, under the promise of protection, into the hands of the Tanjorine commander. The French soon after capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

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The fate of Chunda Saheb was lamentable. He was immediately put in fetters by the faithless Tanjorine. A dispute, under the power of which of them he should remain, arose between the Mysorean and Mahratta chiefs, the Tanjorine Generals, and Mohammed Ali. To compromise the dispute, Major Lawrence proposed that he should be confined in one of the English forts. The parties separated without coming to an agreement; and the Tanjorine immediately ordered him to be assassinated. Dupleix affirms that he was murdered by the express command of Major Lawrence, which it is difficult to suppose that Dupleix must not have known to be untrue. But it is true, that Lawrence showed an indifference about his fate which is not very easy to be reconciled with either humanity or wisdom. He



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well knew that his murder was, in the hands of any of them, the probable, in those of some of them, the certain consequence, of their obtaining the charge of his person. He well knew, that if he demanded him with firmness, they would have all consented to his confinement in an English fort.<sup>1</sup> And, if he did not know, it is not the less true, that in the hands of the English he might have become a powerful instrument with which to counterwork the machinations of Dupleix. At any rate Dupleix, of all men, on this ground, had the least title to raise an accusation against the English; since he had resolved to imprison for life his unfortunate ally, and to reign sole Nabob of the Carnatic himself.<sup>2</sup>

The failure of the enemy at Trichinopoly, the possession of which both parties appear to have valued too high, produced in the breasts of the English hopes of undisputed superiority and of that tide of riches, which unbounded sway in the affairs of the Carnatic promised to their deluded imaginations. Major Lawrence was in haste to march through the province, investing his triumphant Nabob; and saw no

<sup>1</sup> Orme says it was so proposed by Lawrence, but that the confederates would not assent. At this period the English were not so well assured of their power as to pretend to dictate to the native princes with whom they co-operated.—W.

<sup>2</sup> This is directly affirmed by the French East India Company (*Mémoire contre Dupleix*, p. 70), and evidenced by extracts which they produce from the letters to Dupleix, written by his own agent at the court of the Subahdar. Mr. Orme says (i. 252) that the patent of Nabob was actually procured before Chunda Saheb's death. The truth is, that each of them, Chunda Saheb, and himself, wished to get rid of the other, and to be Nabob alone; and they were endeavouring, by mutual treachery, to disappoint each other's designs. *Mém. ut supra*, and its Appendix No. vi. For the above details, from the death of Moozuffer Jung, see Orme, i. 186—242; *History and Management of the East India Company*,

place, except Gingee, which he imagined would retard his progress.<sup>1</sup>

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He was not a little surprised when the delays of the Nabob indicated much less impatience. The Nabob was, in fact, engaged in a troublesome dispute. Among the inducements which he had employed to gain the assistance of the Mysoreans, he had not scrupled to promise the possession of Trichinopoly and its dependencies. The Mysorean chief now insisted upon performance; and the Mahratta captain, who eagerly desired an opportunity of obtaining Trichinopoly for himself, encouraged his pretensions,

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Intelligence of this dispute was a thunderstroke to Lawrence. His country had paid dear for Trichinopoly; yet now it appeared that it could not be retained, by him for whom it was gained, without a flagrant violation of honour and faith. The violation of honour and faith the Nabob, in the Indian manner, treated as a matter of entire insignificance. The Mysorean could not but know, he said, that such a promise was never made to be fulfilled; and doubtless no Indian can believe of any man, that he will keep more of a promise, than it is his interest, or than he is compelled, to keep.<sup>2</sup>

After some time lost in altercation, the Nabob

p. 80—82; Cambridge's War in India, 16—37; *Mémoire pour Dupleix*, p. 71—77; *Mémoire contre Dupleix*, p. 70—74; *Plainte du Chevalier Law*, p. 19—35. Law says, p. 33, that they made some attempts for the escape of Chunda Saheb, by water; but the river was too shallow at the time to float the boat.

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence's Narrative, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Wilks is very severe on the treachery of the Nabob, and on the English for abetting it. *Historical Sketches*, ut supra, p. 285—291.

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promised to fulfil his engagement, and deliver up the fort in two months ; and with this the Mysorean, finding no more could be obtained, allowed himself for the present to appear satisfied. The English, leaving a garrison in the fort, set forward to establish their Nabob ; but the auxiliary troops of Tanjore, and of Tondeman, had marched to their homes ; and the Mysoreans and Mahrattas refused to depart from Trichinopoly.

Dupleix was not reduced to despondency, by the stroke which the English imagined had realized their fondest hopes. As it was the character of this man to form schemes, which from their magnitude appeared romantic, so was it his practice to adhere to them with constancy, even when the disasters which he encountered in their execution seemed to counsel nothing but despair. Nor did the resources of his mind fail to second its firmness. He still found means to oppose a nearly equal, in a little time a more than equal, force to his opponents.

It was resolved, and very unwisely, that the first operation of the English should be the reduction of Gingee ; garrisoned by the French ; and the only place in the province expected to yield a serious resistance. Major Lawrence condemned this plan of operations ; and recommended the previous recovery of the province, and the collection of the rents ; but by the influence of Mr. Saunders, the President, his opinion was over-ruled.<sup>1</sup> Dupleix despatched a force for the purpose of seizing the passes of the mountains by which Gingee is surrounded, and of intercepting

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence's Narrative, p. 42.

the English convoys. The detachment of the Eng- BOOK IV  
lish army, which had arrived at Gingee, marched to CHAP. 2.  
dislodge them; but, instead of succeeding in their 1752.  
object, sustained a defeat.

The French, elevated by this advantage, reinforced their victorious party with as many troops as they found it possible to send into the field. This army, by way of triumph, marched close to the very bounds of Fort St. David. A company of Swiss, in the English service, were sent on this emergency from Madras to Fort St. David, in boats, contrary to the advice of Lawrence, who entreated they might be sent in a ship of force; and Dupleix, unrestrained by the vain forms of a treaty of peace, subsisting between England and France, while both parties were violating the substance of it every day, took them prisoners of war by a ship from Pondicherry road. Lawrence hastened toward the enemy. His force consisted of 400 Europeans, 1700 Sepoys, 4000 troops belonging to the Nabob, and nine pieces of cannon. The French army consisted of 400 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, and 500 horse; who declined a battle, till Lawrence, by a feigned retreat, inspired them with confidence. The action, which took place near Bahoor, two miles from Fort St. David, was decidedly in favour of the English; but would have been far more destructive to the French, had the Nabob's cavalry done their duty, who instead of charging the routed foe, betook themselves to the more agreeable operation of plundering their camp. After this seasonable victory, Captain Clive was employed, with a small detachment, to reduce the two forts, called Covelong and Chingliput, which he



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executed with his usual vigour and address ; and then returned to Europe for his health. About the same time the monsoon compelled the army to withdraw from the field.

During these transactions, Nunjeraj, the Mysorean General, was not idle before Trichinopoly. He made several attempts to get into the fort by surprise, as well as to corrupt the troops ; and his efforts held Captain Dalton, commanding the English garrison, perpetually on the watch. The views of that chief were now, also, directed toward the French ; and so much progress had been made in the adjustment of terms, that a body of 3000 Mahrattas were actually on their march to join the enemy, when the victory at Bahoor produced a revolution in their minds ; and they joined the English, as if they had marched from Trichinopoly with that express design. During the interval of winter quarters, the negotiations with the French were completed, and the Mahrattas, at an early period, marched to Pondicherry ; while the Mysoreans, to give themselves all possible chances, remained before Trichinopoly, as still allies of the English ; but they declared themselves, before the armies resumed their operations ; and attacked an advanced post of Captain Dalton's, defended by sixty Europeans and some Sepoys, whom they destroyed to a man.

Before these designs of the Mysorean and Mahratta chiefs were brought to maturity, Major Lawrence had given his advice to seize them, in one of their conferences with Captain, Dalton.<sup>1</sup> If there was

<sup>1</sup> In justice to Major Lawrence it must be remarked that this advice was

any confidence, during negotiation, reposed in the English by the Indians, beyond what they reposed in one another, a confidence of which the loss would have been risked by such a blow, we are not informed; the danger which might have been averted by securing the persons of those enemies, was of considerable amount.

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Dupleix, though so eminently successful in adding to the number of combatants on his side, was reduced to the greatest extremity for pecuniary supplies. The French East India Company were much poorer than even the English; the resources which they furnished from Europe were proportionally feeble; and though perfectly willing to share with Dupleix in the hopes of conquest, when enjoyment was speedily promised, their impatience for gain made them soon tired of the war; and they were now importunately urging Dupleix to find the means of concluding a peace. Under these difficulties Dupleix had employed his own fortune, and his own credit, in answering the demands of the war; and, as a last resource, he now turned his thoughts to Mortiz Ali, the Governor of Velore. He held up to him the prospect of even the Nabobship itself, in hopes of drawing from him the riches which he was reputed

given only upon the detection of a plot set on foot by the Mysorean General to assassinate Captain Dalton, and surprise Trichinopoly, there being no open rupture yet even with Mohammed Ali, much less with the English. "It was on the discovery of this," says the Major, "that I proposed Dalton should seize on the Maissorean and Morarow, which he might easily have done by a surprise, as he often had conferences with them, and I must own I thought, in justice it would have been right to have done it, but the Presidency were of another opinion. Lawrence's Narrative, p. 39.—W.

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to possess. Mortiz Ali repaired to Pondicherry, and even advanced a considerable sum; but finding that much more was expected, he broke off the negotiation, and retired to his fort.

The contending parties looked forward with altered prospects to the next campaign. By the co-operation of the Mysoreans, and the junction of the Mahrattas, the latter of whom, from the abilities of their leader, and their long experience of European warfare, were no contemptible allies, the French had greatly the advantage in numerical force. In the capacity, however, of their officers, and in the quality of their European troops, they soon felt a remarkable inferiority. Lawrence, without being a man of talents, was an active and clear-headed soldier; and the troops whom he commanded, both officers and men, appeared by a happy contingency, to combine in their little body all the virtues of a British army. The European troops of the enemy, on the other hand, were the very refuse of the French population; and Lawrence himself candidly confesses that their officers were frequently seen in the hour of action, making the greatest efforts, and without effect, to retain them in their ranks. Among their commanders, not a man showed any talents; and Duplex with great bitterness complains, that, with the exception of Bussy, he never had an officer on whose ability he could place the smallest reliance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In his letter to the French minister, dated 16th October, 1753, he says the recruits whom the Company sent him were, *enfants, décroteurs, et bandits*. He says, “L'exemple que vous a présenté l'Angleterre en n'envoyant que des troupes aguerries auroit du engager la Compagnie à avoir la même attention dans le choix.” He adds, “Je ne sais que penser de celui qui est chargé des recrues, mais je crois qu'il n'y employe pas la

Early in January the two armies again took the field: The French, consisting of 500 European infantry and sixty horse, 2000 Sepoys; and 4000 Mahrattas, commanded by Morari Row. The English consisted of 700 European infantry, 2000 Sepoys, and 1500 horse belonging to the Nabob. The French, to avail themselves of their superiority in cavalry, avoided an action, and employed themselves in making war upon the English convoys. This they did, with so much effect, that Major Lawrence was frequently obliged to escort his stores and provisions with his whole army from Fort St. David. In this manner the time was consumed till the 20th of April, when an express arrived from Captain Dalton, that he had only three weeks' provisions remaining in the fort.

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When the English, after the capitulation of the

somme que la Compagnie lui passe pour chaque homme : ce n'est sans doute pas votre intention ni la sienne, mais il n'en est pas moins vrai que tout ce qui nous parvient n'est qu'un ramassis de la plus vile canaille.— Permettez moi, monseigneur, de vous supplier de donner à ce sujet les ordres les plus précis; la gloire du roi y est intéressée, ce motif vous paroitra plus que suffisant pour exiger toute votre attention. Je n'ose vous dire tous les mauvais propos qui se tiennent sur l'envoi de ces malheureuses troupes; l'Anglois en fait de gorges chaudes, il n'a eu que trop d'occasions de les mépriser; les Maures et les Indiens commencent à perdre la haute idée qu'ils avoient conçue de nous, et nos officiers ne se mettent que malgré eux à leur tête; ce n'est qu'un cri à ce sujet." *Mémoire pour Dupleix, Pièces Justific.* Lett. de M. Dupleix, à M. de Machault, p. 50. In the same letter he says, "Pour les officiers il y en a peu, ou pour mieux dire point du tout qui soient en état de commander; la bravoure ne leur manque point, mais les talens n'y répondent pas; dans le nombre sur-tout de ceux arrivés l'année dernière, la plupart n'étoient que des enfans, sans la moindre teinture du service; le soldat s'en moque, et souvent avec juste raison." *Ibid.* p. 51. Speaking in the same letter of the services of Bussy, along with Salabut Jung, he says, "Si j'en avois un second ici, je vous proteste, monseigneur, que toutes les affaires de cette partie seroient terminées, il y a plus de deux ans." *Ibid.* p. 57. Nor was this an empty boast: So near was he to the accomplishment of his object,



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French at Seringham, marched from Trichinopoly, and left Captain Dalton Commandant of the English garrison, the brother of the Nabob was at the same time appointed Governor of the town. By an unhappy oversight the magazines were left under direction of the Mohammedan Governor; and Captain Dalton satisfied himself with asking from time to time in what condition they remained. When the Mysoreans, however, had shut him up in his fort, and, scouring the adjacent country with their cavalry, had prevented for some time the arrival of supplies, it occurred to him, rather too late, that he had better see with his own eyes on what he had to depend. His ally, he found, had been selling the provisions at an enormous price to the people of the town; and he was left in that alarming condition, of which he hastened to make report to Major Lawrence.

Only one resolution was left to the English commander, that of marching directly to the support of Trichinopoly. His army suffered greatly on the march, both by desertion and sickness; and, upon his arrival at the place, he found that all the force he could muster for offensive operations, after leaving the proportion necessary for the duties of the garrison, consisted of 500 Europeans, and 2000 Sepoys. The Nabob had 3000 horse; but they were badly paid; and executed their duty with proportional neglect and disobedience. The French followed with 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, to the support of the Mysoreans; and Trichinopoly became once more the seat of a tedious and harassing warfare,

without any such important assistance, that the talents of a man like Bussy, in the Carnatic, would soon have placed him at its head.

It deserves remark, that Major Lawrence, who had recommended the seizure of the Mysorean and Mahratta chiefs, uniformly disapproved of the attempt to retain Trichinopoly after the promise to give it up.<sup>1</sup> It is equally worthy of remark, that the delicacy of the Presidency withheld their hands from the persons of the hostile chiefs ; but easily endured the violation of the engagement respecting Trichinopoly. Delicacy would have been less violated in the one instance, by following the advice of Lawrence, and prudence would have been more consulted by following it in both. The cession of Trichinopoly to the Mysoreans would have enabled the English to establish their nabob, with little opposition, in the sovereignty of the Carnatic, and would have saved them from two years of expensive warfare.

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It was on the 6th of May, 1753, that Major Lawrence again arrived at Trichinopoly ; and from that day to the 11th of October, 1754, the most active operations were carried on. Neither the French, with their allies, were sufficiently powerful to reduce Trichinopoly ; nor had the English sufficient force to compel them to raise the siege. The two parties, therefore, bent their endeavours ; the English, to supply the garrison with a sufficient quantity of food, to enable them to prosecute their objects in another quarter ; the French, by cutting off the supplies, to compel the garrison to surrender. On both sides the greatest exertions were made ; severe conflicts were frequently sustained, in some of which decisive

<sup>1</sup> This fact is stated on the satisfactory authority of Col. Wilks, who had an opportunity of perusing the correspondence of Lawrence with the Presidency. Historical Sketches, ut supra, p. 342.

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advantages, at one time on one side, at another on the other, were on the point of being gained : and never did English troops display more gallantry and good conduct, than in defence of the unimportant city of Trichinopoly. More than a year had been spent ; and neither of the contending parties seemed nearer their object, when a new scene was introduced.<sup>1</sup>

The objects, which fired the ambition of the European Governors in India, were too distant to warm the imaginations of the Directors and Proprietors of the French and English Companies in Europe ; and to them the burden of the war had become exceedingly hateful. Aware of the passion for peace which now animated his employers, and of the opinion disseminated in Europe of his ambitious and warlike views, Dupleix had opened a negotiation with Saunders, the Governor of Madras, in January, 1754. The real point in dispute was whether or not Mohammed Ali should be acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic ; the English contending that he should be recognised by the French, the French contending that he should be given up by the English. The parties were far from being disposed, on either side, to concede the point ; and the state of circumstances was little calculated to facilitate a compromise : the negotiation turned, therefore, on matters of form ; and never, surely, did negotiation find more ridiculous matters of form on which to employ itself. In a country in which all questions of dominion are deter-

<sup>1</sup> For this war, Lawrence's Narrative, in Cambridge's War, p. 38—95 ; Orme, i. 245—249, 253—322, 337—365 ; *Mém. pour Dupleix*, p. 78—111 ; Wilks, *ut supra*, p. 285—340, yield the most important materials.

mined by the sword; in a question which, without any consideration of right, they themselves had, during four years, been labouring to decide by the sword, they affected to sit down gravely to a comparison of pretended titles and grants. The authority to which both parties appealed was that of the Mogul, though the Mogul himself, in the district in question, was an usurper, and that of a very recent date; though the power too of the Mogul was such, that he had no more authority in the Deccan than he had at Rome. The authority on which the government of the Carnatic immediately depended was that of the Subahdar of the Deccan; and the Subahdar of the Deccan was Salabut Jung, the friend of the French: so far in point of title, they had the undoubted advantage. The patents, however, which Dupleix had received from Salabut Jung, and which placed the nabobship of the Carnatic entirely at his disposal, he asserted to have been confirmed by the Mogul. The English, on their side, affirmed that they had a patent constituting Mohammed Ali Nabob of the Carnatic; and they called upon the French to produce their documents. The French did exhibit some papers, which the English, and probably with truth, asserted to be forged. The English were called upon to produce their pretended patent, and had none to produce: upon this with mutual crimination the proceedings broke off.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 337; Lawrence's Narrative, p. 81; *Mém. pour Dupleix*, p. 83; Wilks, p. 338. The English writers, with the exception of Wilks, make no allusion to any pretence of a patent held out by the English. But it is so distinctly asserted by Dupleix, who appeals to the letters of Saunders, to which his opponents had access, that I doubt not the fact. The English writers, who are very severe upon the French forgeries, say,



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The parties upon whom the decision depended in Europe came together with minds more disposed to accommodation. The English Company had, from an early period of the war, importuned the ministry with complaints, that during the existence of a treaty of peace between England and France, they were oppressed by the burden of a dangerous war, produced by the ambition of a French governor in India. The same subject had formed the matter of remonstrance between the English and French governments; and it was at last agreed that the dispute should be terminated by a distinct negotiation. M. Duvelaer arrived in London, vested with the powers of the French East India Company; Lord Holderness negotiated on the part of the English; while the Duke of Newcastle, as minister of England, and the Duc de Mirepoix, as ambassador of France, shared, when necessary, in the conferences and decisions.

Dupleix, in stating afterwards the reasons of his conduct, asserted that, in the situation into which the Deccan was thrown, upon the death of Nizam al Mulk, an interference in the affairs of the country was not a matter of choice. The chiefs who contended for power, supreme and subordinate, were all ready to tempt, and by the most important concessions, the European nations to grant them support. If one nation, from an extraordinary effort of self-denial,

that the conferences were broken off when the French, who had permitted their papers to be so far copied by the English, withdrew them upon the English allegations that they were forged. Dupleix on the other hand says, that he refused to permit the French papers any longer to be copied, when the English failed to produce any on their side which might undergo the same operation.

should decline such advantages, what was to be expected but that another would embrace them? and that, rising in power above its rivals, it should first oppress, and finally expel them from the country? Dupleix was the first to perceive these consequences; and, from the promptitude and decision of his character, the first to act upon this discovery. This priority, which naturally promised to be advantageous to him, was the reverse. It stamped his whole career with the character of aggression; though the English themselves drew the same conclusions, as soon as they were suggested to them by the proceedings of Dupleix; and guided their proceedings by the belief, that it was not safe for them to see their rival aggrandized by favour of the native powers. That to play a high game in India, was a wish dear to the heart of Dupleix, sufficiently appears; but that there were strong reasons for the part which he acted, no one acquainted with the affairs of India will attempt to dispute.

The French East India Company, however, and the French Ministers, were but little acquainted with the affairs of India; those who envied, and those who hated Dupleix, accused him of wasting the resources of the Company in ambitious wars; the English Company and the English ministry accused him of embroiling the two nations in India; and there was a general prejudice against him and his proceedings, both in France and in England, at the time when the conferences in London were held. The English Ministry prudently despatched a considerable fleet to India while the negotiation was still proceeding. The French ministry had no fleet to

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spare ; and dreaded the superiority which such a force might bestow. The French Company were, at the same time, extremely eager to taste the gains of commerce, which they promised themselves in peace ; and, from all these causes, were disposed to make ample concessions. It ultimately appeared, that no definitive arrangement could be made except upon the spot. The English, however, exclaimed against any negotiation which was to be conducted by Dupleix, the object of which, they affirmed, his ambition and artifice would be sure to defeat. The French Ministry were not far from harbouring the same opinion ; and easily enough assented to the proposition of sending commissioners from Europe to settle the differences of the two nations in India.

A point was thus gained in favour of the English, on which their fortune in India very probably hinged ; for when, after the short interval of two years, war was renewed between the English and French ; when the English were expelled from Bengal ; and the influence of Bussy was paramount at the court of the Subahdar ; had Dupleix remained at the head of French affairs in India, the scheme of that enterprising governor, to render himself master of the Carnatic, and the Subahdar master of Bengal, would have stood a fair chance of complete accomplishment.

On the second of August, 1754, M. Godheu, appointed commissary to negotiate a peace with the English, and vested with authority to supersede Dupleix in the government of all the French possessions in India, arrived at Pondicherry. Dupleix affirms, that in the negotiations at London, for the

sake of removing all local prejudices and views, it had been established that the governors in India on both sides should be removed; and commissioners, free from all bias, should be sent from England to terminate the costly disputes.<sup>1</sup> If this was a condition really made, the French, it would appear, consented to a departure from it, as they raised no complaint against Mr. Saunders, who continued the President of Madras. The English in this manner obtained the important advantage of having the negotiation conducted on their side by a person conversant with the affairs and interests of the two nations in India, while it was conducted, on the part of their antagonists, by a man to whom they were in a great measure unknown.

Godheu lost no time in taking upon himself the exercise of his authority, and in commencing his negotiations with Saunders. The strong desire of his employers for peace appears to have been the predominating consideration in his mind; and he manifested, from the beginning, a disposition to concede, of which the English made ample advantage. On the 11th of October, a suspension of arms was established for three months; and on the 26th of December, a provisional treaty, to be confirmed or altered in Europe, was signed at Pondicherry. By this treaty, every thing for which they had been contending was gained by the English; every advantage of which they had come into possession was given up

<sup>1</sup> Mém. pour Dupleix, p. 89. As this assertion (made before persons highly competent to contradict it, and for which an appeal is made to the Journal of Duvelaer) is not denied in the Answer of the Company to the Mémoire of Dupleix, it is entitled to credit.



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by the French. By the stipulation to withdraw effectually from interference in the affairs of the native princes, Mohammed Ali was left, by the fact, Nabob of the Carnatic or Arcot. And by the stipulation to arrange the territorial possessions of the two nations on the principle of equality, the important acquisition of the four Circars was resigned.<sup>1</sup> Till the decision of the two Companies in Europe should be given, the contracting parties were to abstain from hostilities, direct or indirect; and their possessions to remain as they were.

That the severe strictures which Dupleix made upon this treaty were in some degree overcharged, is not to be denied. There is no reason to believe him, when he asserts that Trichinopoly was on the point of surrendering for want of supplies; for, at the time of the suspension of arms, the relative advantages of the contending parties appear to have been nearly the same as they had been twelve months before. It is equally impossible to believe, what the English writers affirm, that the advantages of the English were now so great as to make it politic on the part of the French to conclude the treaty, unfavourable as it was. Admiral Watson had indeed arrived with a

<sup>1</sup> Col. Wilks (p. 345) must have read the treaty very carelessly, to imagine that "the substantial Moorish government and dignity of the extensive and valuable provinces of the Northern Circars were not noticed in the treaty," when the very first article of the treaty says, "The two Companies, English and French, shall renounce for ever *all* Moorish government and dignity, and shall never interfere in any differences that arise between the princes of the country." Mr. Orme too (so easily is the judgment warped of the best of men when their passions are engaged) imagined it would have been no infringement of the treaty, to assist the Mahrattas with English troops from Bombay, for the purpose of compelling Salabut Jung to dismiss Bussy and the French, and deprive them of the Northern Circars. Orme, i. 406.

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fleet, consisting of three ships and a sloop; having on board a king's regiment of 700 men, with forty artillery-men, and 200 recruits. But 1500 European troops had arrived with Godheu on the part of the French;<sup>1</sup> and Dupleix boasts, with some reason, that he could have added to these the Mahrattas, the Mysoreans, and, on certain conditions, the King of Tanjore.<sup>2</sup> Bussy too had improved with so much ability his situation with Salabut Jung, that he ruled in a great measure the councils of the Subahdar of the Deccan.

After displaying, in the most brilliant manner, the extraordinary superiority of European soldiers, in the subjugation of the Patan rebels, he compelled Salabut Jung to raise the son of Moozuffer Jung, the late Subahdar, and friend of the French, to the government, originally enjoyed by that unfortunate prince, of the strong-hold of Adoni and its territory, augmented by the possessions of two of the Patan nobles, by whose treachery the father was slain. "An example of generosity," says Mr. Orme, "which, if true, could not fail to raise admiration in a country, where the merits of the father are so seldom of advantage to the distresses of the son."<sup>3</sup>

The settlement of the dominions of Salabut Jung was formidably opposed by the Mahrattas, who, in the weakness which ensued upon the death of Nizam

<sup>1</sup> This is the number stated by Lawrence, Narrative, p. 95; Orme, i. 371, calls it 1200; Godheu, in his letter to Dupleix, received two days before his landing, calls it 2000 (*Mém. pour Dupleix*, p. 101). And Dupleix himself asserts (*Ibid.* p. 111), that by the troops newly arrived his force was rendered superior to that of the English.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoire pour Dupleix*, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Orme, i. 249.

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al Mulk, were actively employed in adding to their conquests as much as possible of the Subah of the Deccan. A Mahratta general, named Balajee Row, had opposed himself, at the head of 25,000 horse, to the march of the Subahdar, between the Kistnah and Golconda, but, by negotiation and a suitable present, was induced to withdraw. Within a few months he appeared again, with a force which would have enabled him to gain important advantages, had not the talents of Bussy, and the execution of European fire-arms, which astonished the Indians, decided in a variety of engagements the fortune of the day. Danger came not from one quarter alone. Ghazee ad din Khan, the eldest son of Nizam al Mulk, destined by his father to maintain the interests of his family at the court of the Mogul, had apparently acquiesced in the accession of his second brother to the government of the Deccan, to which, as to a destined event, he had been accustomed to look. Upon the death however of Nazir Jung, as he had become very uneasy in his situation at court, he solicited, as the eldest son and successor of Nizam al Mulk, the appointment of Subahdar of the Deccan. The assent of the Emperor, which was now a mere form without power, was easily obtained; and Ghazee ad din arrived at Aurungabad in the beginning of October, 1752, at the head, it is said, of 150,000 men, of whom a large body were Mahrattas, commanded by Holkar Malhar Rao. At the same time Balajee Row, and another Mahratta general, named Ragojee Bonsla, in concert, it is said, with Ghazee ad din Khan, entered the province of Golconda with 100,000 horse. To meet these formidable

armies, Salabut Jung and Bussy took the field with very unequal numbers; when Ghazee ad din Khan suddenly died. He was an old man, worn out by the pleasures of the harem; and his sudden death was by no means a surprising event; but, as it was singularly opportune for Salabut Jung, it was ascribed to poison, said to be administered, at his instigation, by the mother of the deceased; and, as the event was favourable to the French, the story of its odious cause has been adopted, with patriotic credulity, by the English historians.<sup>1</sup> The Mahratta generals still continued the war; but were in every encounter repulsed with so much slaughter by the French, that they soon became desirous of peace, and Salabut Jung was happy to purchase their retreat by the cession of some districts, to Balajee Row in the neighbourhood of Boorhanpore, and to Ragojee Bonsla, in the neighbourhood of Berar; where that Mahratta chief had acquired for himself an extensive dominion. By the services which, in all these dangers, Bussy had rendered to the cause of Salabut Jung,<sup>2</sup> whom he alone preserved upon the throne, his influence with that prince had risen to the greatest height: And though the envy and

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<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Seer Mutakhareen*, whom as better informed I follow in all affairs relating at this period to the court of Delhi, says, (iii. 19) that he died suddenly, without any mention of poison. The story of the poison is, indeed, presented in a note by the translator; who does not however impute the fact to the mother of Ghazee ad din, but to the ladies of his harem in general.

<sup>2</sup> The oriental historian describes the efficacy of the French operations in battle in such expressions as these: "At which time the French, with their quick musketry and their expeditious artillery, drew smoke from the Mahratta breasts:" "they lost a vast number of men, whom the French consumed in shoals at the fire-altars of their artillery." *Seer Mutakhareen*, ii. 118.



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jealousy of the Ministers, and the weak character of the Subahdar, exposed his power to perpetual jeopardy; and on one occasion, when he was absent for the recovery of his health, had almost destroyed it; the prudence and dexterity of that able leader enabled him to triumph over all opposition. In the latter end of 1753, he obtained for his country the four important provinces of Mustaphanagar, Ellore, Rajamundry, and Chicacole, called the Northern Circars; "which made the French," says Mr. Orme, "masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orixá, in an uninterrupted line of 600 miles from Medapilly to the Pagoda of Jagernaut;"<sup>1</sup> and "which," says Colonel Wilks, "not only afforded the requisite pecuniary resources, but furnished the convenient means of receiving reinforcements of men and military stores from Pondicherry and Mauritius; and thus enabled Bussy to extend his political views to the indirect or absolute empire of the Deccan and the south."<sup>2</sup> All these brilliant advantages were now cordially resigned by M. Godheu; and it will certainly be allowed that few nations have ever made, to the love of peace, sacrifices relatively more important.

Dupleix, says Mr. Orme, whose concluding strictures upon his enemy are equally honourable to the writer and the subject, "departed on his voyage to Europe, on the 14th of October, having first delivered his accounts with the French Company to M. Godheu, by which it appeared that he had disbursed on their account near three millions of rupees more than he had received during the course of the war.

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Wilks, ut supra, p. 338.

A great part of this sum was furnished out of his own estate, and the rest from moneys which he borrowed at interest, from the French inhabitants at Pondicherry, upon bonds given in his own name. M. Godheu referred the discussion of these accounts to the Directors of the Company in France, who, pretending that M. Dupleix had made these expenses without sufficient authority, refused to pay any part of the large balance he asserted to be due to him; upon which he commenced a law-suit against the Company; but the ministry interfered and put a stop to the proceedings by the King's authority, without entering into any discussion of M. Dupleix's claims, or taking any measures to satisfy them. However, they gave him letters of protection to secure him from being prosecuted by any of his creditors. So that his fortune was left much less than that which he was possessed of before he entered upon the government of Pondicherry, in 1742. His conduct certainly merited a very different requital from his nation, which never had a subject so desirous and capable of extending its reputation and power in the East Indies; had he been supplied with the forces he desired immediately after the death of Anwar-ad-din Khan, or had he afterwards been supported from France in the manner necessary to carry on the extensive projects he had formed, there is no doubt but that he would have placed Chunda Saheb in the Nabobship of the Carnatic, given law to the Subah of the Deccan, and perhaps to the throne of Delhi itself, and have established a sovereignty over many of the most valuable provinces of the empire; armed with which power he

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would easily have reduced all the other European settlements to such restrictions as he might think proper to impose. When we consider that he formed this plan of conquest and dominion at a time when all other Europeans entertained the highest opinion of the strength of the Mogul government, suffering tamely the insolence of its meanest officers, rather than venture to make resistance against a power which they chimerically imagined to be capable of overwhelming them in an instant, we cannot refrain from acknowledging and admiring the sagacity of his genius, which first discovered and despised this illusion.”<sup>1</sup>

In a short time after the conclusion of this treaty, both Saunders and Godheu took their departure for Europe; pleasing themselves with the consideration that, by means of their exertions, the blessings of peace between the two nations in India were now permanently bestowed. Never was expectation more completely deceived. Their treaty procured not so much as a moment's repose. The English proceeded to reduce to the obedience of their Nabob the districts of Madura and Tinivelly. The French exclaimed against these transactions, as an infringement of the treaty with Godheu; but finding their remonstrances without avail, they followed the English example, and sent a body of troops to reduce to their obedience the petty sovereignty of Terriore.

Madura was a small kingdom, bordering on Tri-

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 377. Voltaire says, (*Précis du Siècle de Louis XIV.* ch. xxxix.) Dupleix fut réduit à disputer à Paris les tristes restes de sa fortune contre la Compagnie des Indes, et à solliciter des audiences dans l'antichambre de ses juges. Il en mourut bientôt de chagrin.

chinopoly towards the south; and Tinivelly was a kingdom of similar extent, reaching from the southern extremity of Madura to Cape Comorin. These countries had acknowledged the supremacy of the Mogul government of the Deccan, and had paid tribute through the Nabob of Arcot. When Chunda Saheb was master of Trichinopoly, he had set up his own brother as Governor of Madura; but during the disturbances which followed, a soldier of fortune, named Aulum Khan, obtained possession of the city and government. When Aulum Khan marched to the assistance of Chunda Saheb at Trichinopoly, where he lost his life, he left four Patan chiefs to conduct his government, who acted as independent princes, notwithstanding the pretensions of Mohammed Ali, as Nabob of Arcot. To compromise the dispute about Trichinopoly, Mohammed Ali had offered to resign Madura to the Mysoreans. And upon his liberation from the terror of the French arms, by the treaty of Godheu, he prevailed upon the English to afford him a body of troops to collect, as he hoped, and as the English believed, a large arrear of tribute from the southern dependencies of his nabobship.

The troops proceeded to the city of Madura, which they took. The Polygars, as they are called; the lords, or petty sovereigns of the several districts; overawed by the terror of European arms, offered their submissions, and promised to discharge the demanded arrears; but for the present had little or nothing which they were able to pay. Instead of the quantity of treasure which the Nabob and English expected to receive, the money



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collected sufficed not to defray the expense of the expedition. The disappointment and ill-humour were consequently great. The conduct of the English officer who commanded became the subject of blame. He formed a connexion, which promised to be of considerable importance, with Marawar; a district, governed by two Polygars, which extended along the coast on the eastern side of Madura, from the kingdom of Tanjore till it joined Tinivelly; but this connexion gave umbrage to the Polygar Tondeman, and the Raja of Tanjore, in satisfaction to whom it was renounced. With Maphuz Khan, the brother of the Nabob, who attended the expedition, as future governor of the country, the officer formed an agreement, at a rent which was afterwards condemned, as not one half of the requisite amount: and the English detachment, upon its return, was imprudently exposed in a narrow pass, where it suffered severely by the people of the country. From all these causes, the existing displeasure found an object and a victim, in the unlucky officer, who was tried, and dismissed from the Company's service.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time with these transactions in Madura, Salabut Jung, accompanied by Bussy and the French troops, marched against the kingdom of Mysore, to extort arrears of tribute, said to be due from it, as a dependency of the Subah of the Deccan. Upon this emergency, the Mysorean army before Trichinopoly (the Mysoreans had refused to abandon their pretensions upon Trichinopoly, when the treaty

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 380—387; Cambridge's War in India, p. 109—113.

was concluded between the English and French,) was recalled. As the Mysoreans were threatened at the same time by an army of Mahrattas under Balajee Row, they were happy to acquire the protection of Salabut Jung, by acknowledging his authority, and paying as large a sum as it was possible for them to raise.

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By the departure of the Mysoreans from Trichinopoly, Mohammed Ali was left without an ostensible opponent in the Carnatic : and he was vested, as pompously as circumstances would permit, with the ensigns of his office and dignity, at Arcot. It still remained to compel the Zemindars or Polygars, and other Governors of forts and districts, to yield him a revenue. The English, after stipulating to receive one half of all the moneys collected, sent with him a large detachment to enforce a tribute from the northern chiefs, who recognised the authority of the Nabob, and produced a portion of the demanded sums. The reputed riches of Mortiz Ali, the Governor of Velore, rendered his subjugation the main object of desire. The English detachment was strongly reinforced ; and encamped with the Nabob within cannon-shot of the fort. Mortiz Ali applied to the French. M. Deleyrit, who was Governor of Pondicherry, informed the English Presidency, that he regarded their proceedings at Velore as a violation of the treaty ; and that he should commence hostilities, if their troops were not immediately withdrawn. The English rulers, soon aware that Velore could not be easily taken ; and unwilling to put to proof the threat of Deleyrit, who had made 700 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys take the field ; recalled the army

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to Madras. An attempt was made to obtain a contribution for the Company from Mortiz Ali ; but the negotiation terminated without any effect.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the Polygars of Madura and Tinivelly, who had made an ostensible submission during the presence of the English troops, were affording dangerous employment to the Governor Maphuz Khan. A confederacy was formed, which it soon appeared that the Governor was altogether unable to withstand. The English sent a large body of Sepoys, But in spite of this support, the refractory chiefs continued unsubdued ; the country was thrown into confusion by a petty warfare which extended itself into every corner of the provinces ; and no tribute could be raised. Highly dissatisfied with the unproductive state of a country, which they had fondly believed to be the richest dependency of the Carnatic Nabob, the English determined to manage it themselves ; and Maphuz Khan was ordered to return to Trichinopoly. But that chief entered immediately into confederacy with the Polygars ; set himself in opposition to the English ; obtained possession of the town and fort of Madura by a stratagem : And, with much uneasiness to the English, the disturbances in Madura and Tinivelly were prolonged for several years.<sup>2</sup>

During these transactions of the English, not very consistent with their agreement not to interfere in the disputes of the native princes, or add to their territory in India, the French were restrained from that active opposition which, otherwise, it is pro-

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 388, 398, 419 ; Cambridge, p. 111, 117, 119.

<sup>2</sup> Orme, i. 399, 420 ; Cambridge, p. 188.

bable, they would have raised, by the dangerous situation of their affairs under the government of the Subahdar.

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The enemies of Bussy, in the service and in the confidence of Salabut Jung, were both numerous and powerful; and exerted themselves in concert, and with eagerness, to change the confidence and attachment of their feeble-minded master into distrust and hatred. It was now about two years and a half since the grant of the northern Circars; when certain favourable circumstances<sup>1</sup> enabled them to make so deep an impression on the mind of this prince, that the French troops were ordered to quit his territories without delay. Bussy, in expectation, probably, that the necessities of the Subahdar would speedily make him eager to retract his command, showed no hesitation in commencing his march. It was continued for eight days without interruption: but his enemies had a very different

<sup>1</sup> It is not extraordinary that there should have been a strong party in the court of the Nizam opposed to the French, who were ready to avail themselves of every opportunity to influence the mind of Salabut Jung against them. Native accounts confirm the statement of Orme that Shahnavaz Khan, the chief minister, was at their head; the circumstance of which he made present use might have been related, as it is fully detailed by Orme. The Nizam had laid siege to Savanore, the residence of a disobedient vassal, who was supported in his resistance by the Mahratta partisan, Morari Rao. The government of Pondicherry was indebted to the latter, who finding himself and his ally hard pressed, engaged to relinquish his claims upon the French on condition that Bussy, who was with the Nizam, should negotiate a peace, and the preservation of the citadel of Savanore. The condition was effected, and Shahnavaz Khan represented to the Nizam what was no more than the truth, that Bussy had preferred the interests of his countrymen to those of Salabut Jung. It was in resentment of this conduct that the French were dismissed from his service upon the strong representation, as is stated by the author of the life of Shahnavaz Khan, of that nobleman. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine*, Dec. 1825.—W.



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intention from that of allowing him to depart in safety. When he approached the city of Hyderabad, he found his progress impeded by large bodies of troops; and the road obstructed by all the chiefs of the neighbouring countries; who had orders to intercept his march. Upon this he resolved to occupy a post of considerable strength, adjoining the city of Hyderabad; to defend himself; and try the effect of his arms, and of his intrigues among the chiefs, whom he well knew, till the reinforcements which he expected from Pondicherry should arrive. Though surrounded by the whole of the army of the Subahdar, and so feeble in pecuniary means, that his Sepoys deserted for want of pay, and he durst not venture them in sallies, for fear of their joining the enemy, he found the means of supplying himself fully with provisions, and of resisting every attack, till his succours arrived; when the Subahdar sent to demand a reconciliation, and he was restored to a still higher degree of influence and authority than he had previously enjoyed.

Among the means which had been employed to reconcile the mind of Salabut Jung to the dismissal of the French, was the prospect held up to him of replacing them by the English. No sooner therefore were the measures against Bussy devised, than an application was made for a body of troops to the Presidency of Madras. To the Presidency of Madras, few things could have presented a more dazzling prospect of advantage; and in any ordinary situation of their affairs, the requisition of the Subahdar would have met with an eager acceptance. But events had before this time taken place in

Bengal which demanded the utmost exertions of the English from every quarter; made them unable to comply with the proposal of the Subahdar; and thenceforward rendered Bengal the principal scene of the English adventures in India.<sup>1</sup>

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### CHAPTER III.

*Suraja Dowla, Subahdar of Bengal—takes Calcutta—attacked by an army from Madras—de-throned—Meer Jaffier set up in his stead.*

DURING the latter part of the reign of Aurungzeb, the Subahs of Bengal and Orissa, together with those of Allahabad and Bahar, were governed by his grandson Azeem-oos-Shan, the second son of Shah Aulum, who succeeded to the throne. Azeem-oos-Shan appointed as his deputy, in the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, Jaffier Khan, who had been for some time the dewan, or superintendent of the finances, in Bengal; a man of Tartar descent, but a native of Boorhanpore in the Deccan, who had raised himself to eminence in the wars of Aurungzeb. Upon the death of Shah Aulum, and the confusions which ensued, Jaffier Khan remained in possession

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 429—436, and ii. 89—104; Wilks, p. 380—388. It is amusing to compare the account of Bussy's transactions on this trying occasion, in the pages of Owen Cambridge (War in India, p. 132—135,) written under half information, and fulness of national prejudice, with the well-informed and liberal narratives of Orme and of Wilks.

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of his important government, till he was too powerful to be removed. While yet a resident in his native city, he had married his daughter and only child to a man of eminence in the same place, and of similar origin with himself, by name Shujah Khan. This relative had repaired with him to Bengal; and when Jaffier Khan was elevated to the Subahdarry of Bengal and Orissa, Orissa was placed under the government of Shujah Khan, as deputy or nawab of the Subahdar.<sup>1</sup>

Among the adventurers who had been in the service of Azeem Shah, the second son of Aurungzeb, was a Tartar, named Mirza Mohammed. Upon the death of that prince, and the ruin of his party, Mirza Mohammed remained without employment; and was overtaken, after some years, with great poverty. His wife not only belonged to the same place from which the family of Shujah Khan was derived; but was actually of kin to that new ruler. By this wife he had two sons: the eldest named Hajee Ahmed; the youngest, Mirza Mohammed Ali. Upon the news of the elevation of their kinsman, it was determined, in this destitute family, that Mirza Mohammed, with his wife, should repair to his capital, in hopes of receiving his protection and bounty. The disposition of Shujah Khan was benevolent and generous. He received them with favour. The success of his father and mother induced Mirza Mohammed Ali, the youngest of the two sons, to hope for similar advantages. With great difficulty his poverty allowed him to

<sup>1</sup> Seer Mutakhareen, i. 17, 43, 296.

find the means of performing the journey. He obtained employment, and distinction. His prospects being now favourable, he sent for his brother Hajee Ahmed; and removed the whole of his family to Orissa. The talents of the two brothers were eminent. Hajee Ahmed was insinuating, pliant, discerning; and in business equally skilful and assiduous. Mirza Mohammed Ali to all the address and intelligence of his brother added the highest talents for war. They soon acquired a complete ascendancy in the councils of Shujah Khan; and by their abilities added greatly to the strength and splendour of his administration.

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Jaffier Khan died in 1725; but destined Sereffraz Khan, his grandson, instead of Shujah Khan, the father of that prince, with whom he lived not on friendly terms, to the succession. By the address and activity of the two brothers, the schemes of Jaffier were entirely defeated; patents were procured from Delhi; and Shujah Khan, with an army, was in possession of the capital and the government before any time was given to think of opposition. The province of Bahar was added to the government of Shujah Khan in 1729; and the younger of the two brothers, on whom was bestowed the title of Aliverdi Khan, was intrusted with its administration. He exerted himself, with assiduity and skill, to give prosperity to the province, and to acquire strength in expectation of future events.<sup>1</sup> In 1739, the same year

<sup>1</sup> Holwell (Interesting Historical Events, i. 70) represents his conduct as highly cruel and unjust, and gives an account of five baskets of human heads, which he saw conveying to him in a boat.



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in which Nadir Shah ravaged Delhi, Shujah Khan died, and was succeeded by Sereffraz Khan, his son. Sereffraz Khan had been educated a prince ; and had the incapacity, and the servile subjection to pleasure, which that education usually implies. He hated the brothers ; and began with disgusting and affronting when he should have either exterminated, or reconciled. The resolution of Aliverdi was soon taken. He employed his influence, which was great, at Delhi, to obtain his nomination to the government of Bengal and the united provinces ; and marched with an army to dethrone Sereffraz, who lost his life in the battle. With the exception of the Governor of Orissa, whom he soon reduced, the whole country submitted without opposition. He governed it with unusual humanity and justice ; and defended it with splendid ability and unwearied perseverance.

The Mahrattas, who had spread themselves at this time over a great part of the continent of India, seemed resolved upon the conquest of Bengal, the richest portion of the Mogul empire.<sup>1</sup> The dependence of the greatest events upon the slightest causes is often exemplified in Asiatic story. Had Sereffraz Khan remained Subahdar of Bengal, the Mahrattas might have added it, and all the adjoining provinces, to their extensive dominion : The English and other European factories might have been expelled : Nothing afterwards remained to check the Mahratta progress : The Mohammedans might have been exterminated : And the government of Brahmens and Kshatriyas might have extended once more from Caubul to Cape Comorin.

<sup>1</sup> Seer Mutakhareen, i. 298—382 ; Orme, ii. 26—32.

Aliverdi was on his return from the expedition against the Governor of Orissa, and had disbanded a great portion of his army, in contemplation of tranquillity and enjoyment, when he learned that a large army of Mahrattas had entered through the valleys in the mountains, at eight days' journey west of his capital Moorshedabad. The Mahrattas, besides possessing themselves of Kandeish and Malwa, had, before this period, overrun and subdued the whole province of Berar, where a general, named Ragojee Bhonsla, of the family of Sivajee, had established himself in a widely-extended sovereignty which acknowledged but a nominal subjection to the primitive throne. The dominions of Ragojee Bhonsla were separated from Bahar, Bengal, and Orissa, by only a chain of mountains, which it was easy for the Mahrattas to penetrate in many parts. And now it was that the said chief, either urged by the hope of adding the richest part of Hindustan to his empire, or at the instigation, as was alleged, of Nizam al Mulk, sent an army under a Brahmen general to invade Bengal.<sup>1</sup> Aliverdi marched against them instantly with the small number of troops which he had about his person, and was hardy enough to venture a battle; but the Afghan troops in his

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<sup>1</sup> The Mahratta accounts, which appear to be most authentic, refer the invasion of Bengal to a different cause—the invitation of Meer Hubeeb the Dewan of the Governor of Orissa. The Mahrattas, however, were too late in their invasion of the latter province, and therefore turned northwards, penetrating into the districts of Midnapore and Burdwan; in the latter they defeated Aliverdi Khan. They were prevented from following up their success, and marching to Moorshedabad, by the rise of the Ganges, but a party of horse under Meer Hubeeb made a predatory incursion to the capital, where he carried off his brother, and plundered the banker Jagat Set of two millions and a half sterling, in Arcot Rupees. Seir Mutakha-reen, i. 426.—W.

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service were discontented with some recent treatment, and were inclined to make their advantage of his necessities. They acted coldly and feebly during the engagement. Aliverdi found it difficult to avoid a total defeat, and remained surrounded on all sides by a numerous and active enemy. He resolved to fight his way back; and though he suffered prodigiously from the sword, from fatigue, and from famine, he effected a glorious retreat; but reached not his capital till a detachment of the enemy had taken and plundered the suburbs.<sup>1</sup>

The Mahrattas, instead of returning to their own country, determined to remain during the period of the rains: and collected the revenue of almost the whole of the territory south of the Ganges. Aliverdi made the greatest exertions to collect an army; and marching out at the termination of the rains, surprised the Mahrattas in their camp, and put them to flight; pursued them from post to post; and at last compelled them to evacuate his dominions.<sup>2</sup>

If Aliverdi flattered himself that he was now delivered from a dangerous foe, he knew not the people with whom he had to contend. The Mahrattas appeared the very next year with Ragojee Bhonsla himself at their head. Another army of

<sup>1</sup> Holwell, who was in the province, and must have had opportunities of learning many of the particulars, gives (*Interesting Historical Events*, i. 118) a detailed account of this retreat, which he celebrates as one of the most brilliant exploits in the annals of warfare.

<sup>2</sup> *Seer Mutakhareen*, i. 407—438; Orme, ii. 35. Both Orme and the author of the *Seer Mutakhareen* mention the instigation of Nizam al Mulk, but after all it seems to have been only a vague conjecture; and there were motives enough to Ragojee Bhonsla without prompting. Holwell (*Interesting Historical Events*, i. 108) says they were instigated by the Court of Delhi.

Mahrattas, belonging to the government of Satarah, entered the province; but whether with hostile or friendly intentions, is variously asserted. It is not doubtful that, at this time, Aliverdi delivered himself from his enemies, by a sum of money; upon receipt of which they retired.<sup>1</sup>

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After a little time the general of Ragojee again entered by the province of Orissa, whence he advanced toward Bengal. By a train of artful and base negotiation, he was brought to trust himself at a conference in the tent of Aliverdi. He was there assassinated; and his death was the signal of dispersion to his troops.

The next invasion of the Mahrattas was encouraged by the rebellion of one of Aliverdi's principal officers. The good fortune of that chief still seconded his vigour. The formidable rebel was killed in battle, and the Mahrattas were compelled to retire.

The Mahratta pressure, incessantly returning, though frequently repelled, seldom failed, in the long run, to make the opposing body recede. The subjects of Aliverdi were grievously harassed, and the produce of his dominions was greatly impaired, by these numerous invasions, and by the military

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Seer Mutakhareen*, who had the best opportunities of knowing, says, (i. 450,) that the Emperor claimed, as due on account of the payment of the chout, the assistance, for the province of Bengal, of the government of Satarah, against Ragojee Bhonsla; and that it was in compliance with this request, that the army of Balajee Row came into Bengal. Holwell, i. 140, and Orme, ii. 37, say, that the two armies came in concert, and only differed about the division of the plunder.—M. The native authority is best entitled to confidence; especially as the Peshwa and Ragojee Bhonsla had been at variance, and were but imperfectly reconciled. Duff, *Mahrattas*, ii. 10.—W.



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exertions which were necessary to oppose them. In a new incursion, headed by Janojee the son of Ragojee, the Mahrattas possessed themselves almost completely of Orissa. The attention of the Subahdar was engaged in another quarter: Discontent again prevailed among his Afghan and Tartar officers, which it required some address to allay: His youngest nephew, who was the most distinguished for ability of all his relations, and whom he had appointed Nabob or Deputy Governor of Bahar, had taken into his pay two Afghan officers, who had retired in discontent from the service of Aliverdi: These leaders murdered their young master, the nephew of the Subahdar; and with a body of Mahrattas, who had entered the province on purpose to join them, and a considerable army of their own countrymen, whom the host of Ahmed Shah Abdallee, then covering the upper provinces of Hindustan, enabled them to collect, erected against Aliverdi the standard of revolt. Never was that governor, or rather king, for it was but a nominal obedience which he now paid to the throne of Delhi, in greater danger. He was obliged to meet the enemy, with a very inferior force: Yet he gained a complete victory; and the Afghan lords were killed in the battle. The Mahrattas, however, only retired on the road towards Orissa, without crossing the mountains; and halted at Midnapore. He followed; pursued them into Orissa, with great slaughter; and even recovered the capital Cuttack; but was obliged to leave the province in so defenceless a condition, that the Mahrattas were not long deprived of their former acquisitions.

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During the fifteen years of Aliverdi's government or reign, scarcely a year passed free from the ruinous invasions of the Mahrattas; though during the infirmities of his latter years he had, by a tributary payment, endeavoured to procure some repose. He died at the age of eighty on the 9th of April, 1756.<sup>1</sup> Aliverdi never had a son. He had three daughters, and his brother had three sons.<sup>2</sup> He married his three daughters to his three nephews; all of whom were men of considerable merit. The youngest was slain by the Afghan lords, as already related; and the two elder both died a little before the decease of Aliverdi. The eldest son of his youngest nephew had from his birth been taken under the immediate care of Aliverdi himself; and was the object of extreme and even doting fondness. This youth, on whom had been bestowed the title of Suraj-ad-dowla, was, upon the death of his uncles, regarded as the destined successor of Aliverdi;<sup>3</sup> and took the reins of government without opposition upon his decease.

Suraj-ad-dowla was educated a prince, and with more than even the usual share of princely considera-

<sup>1</sup> For a minute and very interesting account of the government of Aliverdi, see *Seer Mutakhareen*, i. 355—681. The narrative of Orme, (ii. 28—52,) and that of Holwell (*Interesting Historical Events*, i. 85—176), do not exactly agree either with Gholam Hosein or with one another. Scrafton's account (*Reflections, &c.*) Holwell says was stolen from him.

<sup>2</sup> Orme, ii. 34, says that Aliverdi had only one daughter. The author of the *Seer Mutakhareen*, who was his near relation, says he had three, i. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Orme, ii. 47, says that Aliverdi had declared Suraj-ad-dowla his successor, before the death of his uncle. But the author of the *Seer Mutakhareen*, who was in the confidential service of Seid Hamet, the surviving nephew, tells us that he regarded himself as the successor of Aliverdi till the time of his death; which was during the last illness of Aliverdi.

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tion and indulgence. He had, accordingly, more than the usual share of the princely vices. He was ignorant ; he was voluptuous ; on his own pains and pleasures he set a value immense, on the pains and pleasures of other men no value at all ; he was impatient, irascible, headstrong.

The first act of Suraj-ad-dowla's government was to plunder his aunt, the widow of his senior uncle, eldest daughter of Aliverdi, reputed immensely rich. To this uncle had belonged the government of the province of Dacca ; and orders were despatched to that place, to seize the receivers and treasurers of the family. His second uncle, who was Nabob of Poonah or Purneah, a province on the northern side of the Ganges, died during the last illness of Aliverdi, and left the government in the hands of his son, whose conduct was imprudent, and his mind vicious. Jealousy, or the desire of showing power by mischief, excited the young subahdar to resolve upon the destruction of his cousin, the nabob of Purneah. He had advanced as far as Raj Mahl, when he received intelligence that one of the principal officers of finance in the service of his late uncle at Dacca, had given the slip to his guards ; and found an asylum at Calcutta.

Suraj-ad-dowla had manifested aversion to the English, even during the life of his grandfather ; the appearance of protection, therefore, shown to a man, who had disappointed his avarice, and was probably imagined to have escaped with a large treasure, kindled his rage ; the army was that moment commanded to halt, and to march back towards the capital. A Messenger was despatched to Calcutta to

remonstrate with the Governor; but as the messenger entered the town in a sort of disguise, the Governor thought proper to treat him as an impostor, and dismissed him from the Company's territory. With a view to the war between France and England, the Presidency had begun to improve their fortifications. This too was matter of displeasure to the Subahdar; and the explanation offered by the English, which intimated that those strangers were audacious enough to bring their hostilities into his dominions, still more inflamed his resentment. The factory at Cossimbuzar, near Moorshedabad, was seized; and its chief, Mr. Watts, retained a prisoner. The Presidency were now very eager to appease the Subahdar; they offered to submit to any conditions which he pleased to impose; and, trusting to the success of their humility and prayers, neglected too long the means of defence. The Subahdar had a wish for a triumph, which he thought might be easily obtained; and he was greedy of riches, with which, in the imagination of the natives, Calcutta was filled.

The outposts of Calcutta were attacked on the 18th of June, 1756. There was but little of military skill in the place, and it was badly defended. After a short experiment of resistance, a general consultation decided upon the policy of retreat. It was agreed that the women and effects should be put on board the ships in the course of the next day; and that the persons employed in the work of defence should escape in the same manner the following night. There was hardly a chance of mishap, for the natives always close their operations with the close of the

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day; but by some strange inadvertence no orders were published respecting the mode in which the plan was to be carried into effect. It was generally known that retreat was intended: when the embarkation next morning began, every person imagined he was to shift for himself, and hurried on board by the readiest conveyance: during the confusion an apprehension arose in the ships respecting the security of their situation; and they began to move down the river: the danger of being left without the means of retreat now flashed on the minds of the spectators on shore; and the boats were filled and gone in an instant. "Among those who left the factory in this unaccountable manner were, the Governor Mr. Drake, Mr. Macket, Captain Commandant Minchin, and Captain Grant."<sup>1</sup> Great was the indignation among the people of the fort, upon hearing that they were in this manner abandoned. Mr. Holwell, though not the senior servant, was by the general voice called to assume the command; and exerted himself with great vigour to preserve order, and maintain the defence. "Signals were now thrown out," says Mr. Cooke, "from every part of the fort, for the ships to come up again to their stations, in

<sup>1</sup> Evidence of John Cooke, Esq. (who at that time was Secretary to the Governor and Council of Calcutta), in the First Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed "to inquire into the Nature, State, and Condition of the East India Company," in 1772.—M. Mr. Holwell adds to these Messrs. Manningham and Frankland, members of the Council, who set the example of this disgraceful desertion. They, in the *Dodaly*, dropped down the river on the night of the 18th of June. The President with the rest of the ships followed on the morning of the 19th. The Fort was taken on the 20th. There can be no doubt that the whole of the garrison might have been carried off by the shipping had there been either conduct or courage amongst the principal servants of the Company. Holwell's Address to the Secret Committee. *India Tracts*.—W.

hopes they would have reflected (after the first impulse of their panic was over) how cruel as well as shameful it was, to leave their countrymen to the mercy of a barbarous enemy, and for that reason we made no doubt they would have attempted to cover the retreat of those left behind, now they had secured their own; but we deceived ourselves; and there never was a single effort made, in the two days the fort held out after this desertion, to send a boat or vessel to bring off any part of the garrison.”<sup>1</sup> “Never perhaps,” says Mr. Orme, “was such an opportunity of performing an heroic action so ignominiously neglected; for a single sloop with fifteen bravemen on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and anchoring under the fort, have carried away all who suffered in the dungeon.”<sup>2</sup> During these trying days Mr. Holwell made several efforts, by throwing letters over the wall, to signify his wish to capitulate; and it was during a temporary pause in the fire of the garrison, while expecting an answer, that the enemy approached the walls in numbers too great to be resisted, and the place was carried by storm. The Subahdar, though humanity was no part of his character, appears not on the present occasion to have intended cruelty; for when Mr. Holwell was carried into his presence with his hands tied, he ordered them to be set loose, and assured him, upon the faith of a soldier, that of the heads of him and his companions not a hair should be touched.

<sup>1</sup> Report, ut supra. Mr. Cooke, from notes, written immediately after the transactions, gives a very interesting narrative, from the death of Aliverdi, till the morning after the night of the *Black Hole*.

<sup>2</sup> Orme, ii. 78.

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When evening however came, it was a question with the guards to whom they were intrusted, how they might be secured for the night. Some search was made for a convenient apartment; but none was found; upon which information was obtained of a place which the English themselves had employed as a prison. Into this, without further inquiry, they were impelled. It was unhappily a small, ill-aired, and unwholesome dungeon, called, the Black Hole; and the English had their own practice to thank for suggesting it to the officers of the Subahdar as a fit place of confinement.<sup>1</sup> Out of 146 unfortunate individuals thrust in, only twenty-three were taken out alive in the morning. The horror of the situation

<sup>1</sup> The atrocities of English imprisonment at home, not then exposed to detestation by the labours of Howard, too naturally reconciled Englishmen abroad to the use of dungeons; of *Black Holes*. What had they to do with a *black hole*? Had no *black hole* existed, (as none ought to exist anywhere, least of all in the sultry and unwholesome climate of Bengal,) those who perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta would have experienced a different fate. Even so late as 1782, the common gaol of Calcutta is described by the Select Committee, "a miserable and pestilential place." That Committee examined two witnesses on the state of the common gaol of Calcutta. One said, "The gaol is an old ruin of a house; there were very few windows to admit air, and those very small. He asked the gaoler how many souls were then confined in the prison? Who answered, upwards of 170, blacks and whites included—that there was no gaol allowance, that many persons had died for want of the necessities of life. The nauseous smells, arising from such a crowded place, were beyond expression. Besides the prisoners, the number of women and attendants, to carry in provisions and dress victuals, was so great, that it was astonishing that any person could long survive such a situation. It was the most horrible place he ever saw, take it altogether." The other, witness said, "It is divided into small apartments, and those very bad; the stench dreadful, and more offensive than he ever experienced in this country—that there is no thorough draft of air—the windows are neither large nor numerous—the rooms low—that it would be impossible for any European to exist any length of time in the prison—that debtors and criminals were not separated—nor Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Europeans." First Report, Appendix, No. xi.

may be conceived, but it cannot be described. "Some of our company," says Mr. Cooke. "expired very soon after being put in; others grew mad, and having lost their senses, died in a high delirium." Applications were made to the guard, with the offer of great rewards; but it was out of their power to afford relief. The only chance consisted in conveying intelligence, by means of a bribe, to some officer of high authority; and to no one does it appear that this expedient occurred.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The account of the capture of Calcutta has been taken from the Report above quoted; from the accounts of Mr. Holwell and Mr. Watts; from Scrafton, p. 52—62; Orme, ii. 49—80; and Seer Mutakhareen, i. 716—721. The translator of this work, says in a note, "There is not a word here of those English shut up in the Black Hole, to the number of 131, where they were mostly smothered. The truth is, that the Hindoostanees wanting only to secure them for the night, as they were to be presented the next morning to the prince, shut them up in what they heard was the prison of the fort, without having any idea of the capacity of the room; and indeed the English themselves had none of it. This much is certain, that this event, which cuts so capital a figure in Mr. Watts' performance, is not known in Bengal; and even in Calcutta it is unknown to every man out of the 400,000 that inhabit that city: at least it is difficult to meet a single native that knows any thing of it: so careless and so incurious are those people. Were we therefore to accuse the Indians of cruelty, for such a thoughtless action, we should of course accuse the English, who, intending to embark 400 Gentoo Sepoys, destined for Madras, put them in boats, without one single necessary, and at last left them to be overset by the bore, when they all perished after a three days' fast."—M. The spirit in which this transaction is noticed, in this and the preceding note, as well as in the text, is wholly unjustifiable. It extenuates a deliberate act of wanton cruelty by erroneous assumptions and inapplicable analogies. The Black Hole was no dungeon at all; it was a chamber above ground—small and ill-aired only with reference to the number of persons forced into it, but affording abundant light and air to many more than it had ever lodged under the English administration. According to Holwell (Letter to Dr. Davis, 28th Feb. 1757; published in Holwell's India Tracts,) it was a room eighteen feet square, with a door on one side, and two windows on another. In 1808 a chamber was shown in the Old Fort of Calcutta then standing, said to be the Black Hole of 1756: its situation did not correspond exactly



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1756. The news of the capture of Cossimbuzar arrived at Madras on the 15th of July, of that of Calcutta on the 5th of August. It was fortunate that Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive were now both upon the coast. Admiral Watson was commander of the squadron which the English ministry had prudently sent to India during the progress of the negotiation in 1754. Soon after his arrival on the coast of Coromandel, the monsoon obliged him to sail to Bombay, from which he returned in the January

with Mr. Holwell's description of it, but if not the same, it was a room of the same description and size, such as is very common amongst the offices of both public and private buildings in Calcutta, and no doubt accurately represented the kind of place which was the scene of this occurrence. It bore by no means the character of a prison. It was much more light, airy, and spacious, than most of the rooms used formerly by the London watch, or at present by the police, for purposes of temporary durance. Had a dozen or twenty people been immured within such limits for a night, there would have been no hardship whatever in their imprisonment, and in all probability no such number of persons ever was confined in it. The English then in the objectionable sense in which the author chooses to understand the 'Black Hole' never had such a prison. The state of the Calcutta gaol in 1782, like that of the common gaols in England or in Europe, was no doubt bad enough, but it is not said that its inmates had ever died of want of air, or that one hundred and twenty perished in a single night, and as to the story which the translator of the *Seer Muta-khareen* relates, it requires to be authenticated. If the boats were upset by the bore, the men perished in the Ganges; but if they were in the Ganges, it is quite impossible that they should have been there three days without food. There is no doubt some gross exaggeration in the anecdote, but a case of inadvertency, however culpable, is no set-off against deliberate persevering barbarity. Even if the excuse of inconsiderateness might be urged for driving the prisoners into a space so utterly inadequate to their numbers, there was abundant opportunity to correct the mistake, when it was seen what suffering it occasioned. The whole transaction admits of no defence: it was an exemplification of Mohammedan insolence, intolerance, and cruelty; and in contemplating the signal retribution by which it has been punished, a mind susceptible of reverence, though free from superstition, can scarcely resist the impression, that the course of events was guided by higher influences than the passions and purposes of man.—W.

following, by a very able navigation against a contrary monsoon ; and was now joined by Mr. Pocock, who had arrived from England with two ships of superior force. He remained on the coast of Coromandel till the 10th of October, when he again sailed to Bombay, to escape the monsoon. At this place matters of great importance were already in agitation.

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Captain Clive had arrived from England, where he had obtained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in his Majesty's service, and the appointment of Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. He had landed at Bombay, with three companies of the King's artillery, and between three and four hundred of the King's troops, with a view to a project, concerted in England, of attacking Salabut Jung, in conjunction with the Mahrattas, and driving the French out of the Deccan. The report which the directors in England had received of the brilliant exploits of Captain Clive in India had made them desirous of intrusting to *him* a service, highly delicate, of the greatest importance, and requiring the fullest acquaintance with the manners and circumstances of the country. "But from that dependence on the ministry," says Mr. Orme, to which their affairs will always be subject, whilst engaged in military operations, the Court of Directors, in compliance with very powerful recommendations, appointed Lieutenant Colonel Scott to command the expedition."<sup>1</sup> This officer had sailed to India, in the capacity of

<sup>1</sup> Orme, i. 406. "Colonel Scott," says Clive himself, in his evidence before the Committee, (See Report, ut supra,) "had been strongly recommended by the Duke of Cumberland."

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Engineer-General, the preceding year. Clive was still directed to land at Bombay, in hopes that some accident might take the business out of the hands of Scott; which in reality happened, for that officer died before the other arrived. But in the mean time, the truce had been concluded between the English and French; and the Presidency of Bombay refused to engage in a measure by which it would be violated. There was another enterprise, however, in which they had already embarked, and in which, with the great force, military and naval, now happily assembled at Bombay, they had sanguine hopes of success.

The Mahrattas as early as the time of Sivajee, had raised something of a fleet, to protect them against the enterprise of the Siddees. In this service a common man distinguished himself; and rose from one post to another, till he became Admiral of the fleet. He was appointed Governor of a strong fort, called Severndroog, situated on a rocky island, within cannon-shot of the continent, about eight miles north from Dabul. This adventurer quarrelled with the Mahratta government; and revolted with the greater part of the fleet. He not only set the Mahratta state at defiance; but was able to render himself master of the coast to an extent of sixty leagues, from Tanna to Rajapore; and the Mahrattas compounded their dispute with him, by receiving a small annual tribute as a mark of subjection. The name of the successful rebel was Conajee Angria; and he made piracy his trade.<sup>1</sup> The nature of the

<sup>1</sup> These circumstances are not quite correctly stated. It was the father

coast is well adapted to that species of depredation ;  
 because it is intersected by a great number of rivers,  
 and the breezes compel ships to keep close to the  
 land. The European nations had been harassed by  
 this predatory community for nearly half a century ;  
 they had made several efforts to subdue them ; but  
 the power of Angria had always increased ; and his  
 fleets now struck terror into all commercial navi-  
 gators on the western coast of India.

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Several approaches towards the formation of a union for the extirpation of these corsairs had been made by the English and Mahrattas ; but without effect, till 1755, when an English squadron, under Commodore James, and a land-army of Mahrattas, attacked Severndroog, and took it, as well as the fort of Bancoote. It was toward the conclusion of the same year that Admiral Watson with his fleet, and Colonel Clive with his forces, arrived at Bombay : the final reduction of the piratical state was therefore decreed. On the 11th of February, 1756, the fleet, consisting of eight ships, besides a grab, and five bomb-ketches, having on board 800 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, commanded by Colonel Clive, arrived at Gheriah : while a Mahratta army approached on the other side. Gheriah, the capital of Angria, stood on a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, and had a fort of extraordinary strength. But the number of the assailants, and the violence of

of Kanhajee who first acquired distinction in the service of Sivajec, he was made admiral of the fleet by Raja Ram, and took part with his widow against Shao, the grandson of Sivajec, but was induced to acknowledge the latter by the grant of ten forts, including Severndroog and Viziadroog, or Gheriah. Duff's Mahrattas, i. 436.—W.



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the cannonade, terrified both Angria and his people, and they made a feeble use of their advantages.<sup>1</sup>

1756. Angria, with a view to effect an accommodation, placed himself in the hands of the Mahrattas; the fort surrendered; and the object of the expedition was completely attained.<sup>1</sup> Watson arrived at Madras on the 16th of May, and Clive repaired to his government at Fort St. David, from which, in the month of August, he was summoned to assist in the deliberations for recovering Calcutta.<sup>2</sup>

It was resolved, after some debate, that the re-establishment of the Company's affairs in Bengal should be pursued at the expense of every other enterprise. A dispute, however, of two months ensued, to determine in what manner prizes should be divided; who should command; and what should be the degree of power intrusted with the commander. The parties, of whom the pretensions were severally to be weighed, were Mr. Pigot, who had been Governor of Madras since the departure of Saunders, but was void of military experience; Colonel Aldercon, who claimed as senior officer of the King, but was unacquainted with the irregular warfare of the natives; Colonel Lawrence, whose experience and merit were unquestionable, but to whose asthmatical complaints the close and sultry climate of Bengal

<sup>1</sup> This was Toolajee Angria, son of Kanhajee.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The author was not aware of the circumstances under which Gheriah was taken and retained by the English, in contravention of the terms under which they were engaged to co-operate with the Mahrattas, whom they contrived to anticipate in a mutually projected scheme of deception. See Duff's Mahratta History, ii. 88.—W.

<sup>3</sup> See for this account, Orme, i. 406—417; Cambridge's War in India, p. 120—130; Lord Clive's Evidence, Report, ut supra.

was injurious; and Clive, to whom none of these exceptions applied. It was at last determined, that Clive should be sent. It was also determined, that he should be sent with powers independent of the Presidency of Calcutta. Among his instructions, one of the most peremptory was, that he should return, and be again at Madras with the whole of the troops, in the month of April; about which time it was expected that in consequence of the war between France and England, a French fleet would arrive upon the coast. It was principally, indeed, with a view to this return, that independence of the Calcutta rulers, who might be tempted to retain him, was bestowed upon Clive.

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The force which sailed from the road of Madras, on the 16th of October, consisted of five King's ships with Admiral Watson as Commander, and five Company's ships, serving as transports; having on board 900 European troops, and 1500 Sepoys. All the ships, with the exception of two, arrived in the Ganges on the 20th of December, and found the fugitives from Calcutta at Fulta, a town at some distance down the river, to which the ships had descended, and where they had found it practicable to remain.

After forwarding letters, full of threats, to Suraj-ad-dowla, which the Governor of Calcutta sent word that he dared not deliver, it was resolved to commence operations, by the capture of a fort, which stood, on the river, between Fulta and Calcutta. On the 27th of December, at the time when the fort was to be attacked by the ships, Clive marched out,

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with the greater part of the troops, to lay an ambush for intercepting the garrison, who were not expected to make a tedious defence. The troops, fatigued in gaining their position, were allowed to quit their arms to take a little repose; "and from a security," says Mr. Orme, "which no superiority or appearances in war could justify, the common precaution of stationing sentinels was neglected." In a few minutes they were all asleep; and in this situation, surprised by a large body of the enemy. The presence of mind and steady courage, which never deserted Clive in sudden emergencies, enabled him, even in those unfavourable circumstances, to disperse a band of irregular troops, led by a cowardly commander. "But had the enemy's cavalry," says Orme, "advanced and charged at the same time that the infantry began to fire, it is not improbable that the war would have been concluded on the very first trial of hostilities."<sup>1</sup>

The ships came up and cannonaded the fort; but the garrison frustrated the project of Clive; and, totally unperceived, made their escape in the night. The other forts on the river were deserted, as the English approached; and on the 2d of January, 1757, the armament arrived at Calcutta. The garrison withstood not the cannon of the ships for two hours; and evacuated the place. The merchandise belong-

<sup>1</sup> Scrafton, p. 62, sinks the culpable circumstances.—M. Sir J. Malcolm, himself a soldier, shows that no such catastrophe was possible, "the thick jungle which concealed the approach of the infantry, was impervious to cavalry, who had no means of advancing, except through openings where they must have been seen, and the possibility of surprise defeated. Life of Clive, i. 152.—W.

ing to the Company was found mostly untouched, because it had been reserved for the Subahdar; but the houses of individuals were totally plundered.

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Intelligence was received from the natives, who began to enter the town, that Hoogly, a considerable city, about twenty-three miles up the river from Calcutta, was thrown into great consternation by these recent events. In this situation an attack upon it was expected to produce a very favourable result. One of the ships sent on this service struck on a sandbank, and five days retarded the progress of the detachment. On the 10th of January they reached the spot; made a breach in the wall before night; and the troops no sooner mounted the rampart, than the garrison fled and escaped.

During the expedition to Hoogly news arrived of the commencement of hostilities between England and France.<sup>1</sup> The French in Bengal had a force of 300 Europeans, and a train of field artillery; which, if added to the army of the Subahdar, would render him an irresistible enemy. The English were now very desirous to make their peace with that formidable ruler; but the capture of Hoogly, undertaken solely with a view to plunder,<sup>2</sup> had so augmented his

<sup>1</sup> The Indian historian gives an amusing account of the relations between England and France: "Just at this crisis," says he, "the flames of war broke out between the French and English; two nations who had disputes between themselves of five or six hundred years' standing; and who, after proceeding to bloodshed, wars, battles, and massacres, for a number of years, would lay down their arms by common agreement, and take breath on both sides, in order to come to blows again, and to fight with as much fury as ever." *Seer Mutakhareen*, i. 759.

<sup>2</sup> As observed by the biographer of Clive, there are no facts to warrant the imputation that plunder was the sole object of the attack upon Hoogly. The opportunity of striking a successful blow against an enemy's town.



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rage, that he was not in a frame of mind to receive from them any proposition; and his army received its orders to march. Happily for the English, the same spirit by which Dupleix was reproached for not having negotiated a neutrality between the French and English Companies in India, though the nations were at war in Europe, prevailed in the Councils at Chandernagor. The rulers at that settlement refused to assist Suraj-ad-dowla; and proposed that they and the English should engage by treaty, notwithstanding the war between their respective countries, to abstain from hostilities against one another in Bengal.<sup>1</sup> Still the power of the Subahdar presented an appalling aspect to Clive; and no sooner had he received intimation of an abatement in the irritation of that enemy, than he renewed his application for peace. The Subahdar received his

was so obvious a reprisal for his capture of Calcutta, that it is very unnecessary to seek for any other motives than the most ordinary rules of warfare.—W.

<sup>1</sup> There is some contradiction in the statements of different authorities on this subject, which can be reconciled only by a consideration of dates and circumstances. It appears probable, that the French were not informed of the war in Europe, until after the march of the Nawab to Calcutta, and the negotiations for peace with the English. They could not, therefore, have joined him sooner, and to prevent that junction taking place, was one of Clive's reasons for agreeing to the treaty more readily than was thought advisable by Admiral Watson. He writes to the Chairman, "I know there are many who think I have been too precipitate in the conclusion of the treaty, but they never knew that the delay of a day or two might have ruined the Company's affairs, by the junction of the French with the Nawab, which was on the point of being carried into execution." Life, i. 179. With the conclusion of the treaty, the French lost their opportunity of co-operating with the Nawab. Their negotiations for a neutrality, were subsequent to the Nawab's retreat; and if Clive's account of the matter be correct, the English had not much reason to be grateful for their forbearance.—W.

letter, and even proposed a conference; but continued his march, and on the 3d of February surrounded Calcutta with his camp. Clive resolved to surprise it before dawn of the following morning. The design was no less politic than bold; both as the audacity of it was likely to alarm a timorous enemy; and as the difficulty of procuring provisions, surrounded by a large body of cavalry, must soon have been great. The execution, however, was badly planned; and a thick mist augmented the causes of misfortune. The troops suffered considerably; and were several times exposed to the greatest dangers. Yet they marched through the camp; and produced on the minds of the Subahdar and his army the intended effect. Eager to be removed from an enemy capable of those daring attempts, Suraj-adowla was now in earnest to effect an accommodation. Overtures were received and returned; and on the 9th of February a treaty was concluded, by which the Nabob, as he was styled by the English, agreed to restore to the Company their factories, and all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed; to permit them to fortify Calcutta; and to make compensation to them for such of the plundered effects as had been brought to account in the books of his government. So greatly was he pleased with this treaty, that two days after its conclusion, he proposed to conclude with the English an alliance offensive and defensive; a contract which the English eagerly formed, and which both parties ratified on that very day.

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theirs which had saved the English,<sup>1</sup> Clive, at the very moment of making peace with the Nabob, sounded him to know if he would permit the English to attack the settlement at Chandernagor, for which there still would be time before the setting in of the southern monsoon. The proposition was hateful to the Subahdar; but for the present he returned an evasive answer. As this was not a prohibition, Clive resolved to construe it as a permission; and he sent his army across the river. The Subahdar now interfered with efficacy; sent an express prohibition; and took measures for opposing the attempt.

The Council at Calcutta, no longer expecting the consent of the Subahdar, and alarmed at the thought of attempting the enterprise in defiance of his authority, entered into negotiation with the French. They had mutually agreed upon terms; and obtained the assent of the Subahdar to guarantee between them a treaty of neutrality and pacification. But the factory at Chandernagor was dependent on the government of Pondicherry, and could only ratify the treaty provisionally; the government of Calcutta signed with definitive powers. This difference started a scruple in the brain of Admiral Watson; and he refused to sign. In the opinion of Clive, there was but one alternative: that of embracing the neutrality, or instantly attacking Chandernagor. But Watson refused to attack without the Nabob's consent; and Clive urged the necessity of accepting the neutrality. In a letter to the Select Committee he said, "If the neutrality be refused, do but reflect, Gentlemen,

<sup>1</sup> See preceding note.

what will be the opinion of the world of these our late proceedings. Did we not, in consequence of a letter received from the Governor and Council of Chandernagor, making offers of a neutrality within the Ganges, in a manner accede to it, by desiring they would send deputies, and that we would gladly come into such neutrality with them?<sup>1</sup> And have we not, since their arrival, drawn out articles that were satisfactory to both parties; and agreed that such articles should be reciprocally signed, sealed, and sworn to? What will the Nabob think, after the promise made him on our side, and after his consenting to guarantee this neutrality? He, and all the world, will certainly think, that we are men without principles, or that we are men of a trifling insignificant disposition.”<sup>2</sup> While the altercations on this subject continued, news reached the Subahdar, that Ahmed Shah, the Abdallee, had taken Delhi; and meant to extend his conquests to the eastern provinces of the Mogul empire. This intelligence, which filled him with consternation, suggested the vast importance of securing the co-operation of the English; and he immediately sent a letter to Colonel Clive, the object of which was to pave the way for attaining it, on almost any terms. The very same day on which the letter of the Nabob reached Cal-

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<sup>1</sup> Admiral Watson asserts, in a letter to the Nawab, that the proposal for a neutrality originated with the English. *Life of Clive*, i. 187. This account of the failure of the negotiation, agrees in the main with that in the text; but there can be little doubt, that neither of the parties had the power of exempting themselves from the consequences of international warfare. It was the duty of the English to attempt the reduction of Chandernagore, as it would have been that of the French to capture Calcutta, had they been in sufficient strength.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Report *ut supra*, Appendix, No. vi.



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cutta, the arrival was announced of three ships with troops from Bombay, and of one of the ships, also bearing troops, which sailed with Clive from Madras, but was compelled to return. "With such additions," says Mr. Orme, "the English force was deemed capable of taking Chandernagor, although protected by the Nabob's army: Colonel Clive therefore immediately dismissed the French deputies, who were then with him waiting to sign the treaty, which was even written out fair, and which they supposed had been entirely concluded."<sup>1</sup>

The English force advanced; while the scruples of Admiral Watson, under the great accession of force, were vanquished by some supposed contradictions in the letters of the Subahdar; and the opposition of the Subahdar was suspended by his apprehension of the Afghans. On the 14th of March, the detachment from Bombay having joined the English army, hostilities commenced. The French defended themselves with great gallantry: the Nabob, roused

<sup>1</sup> Orme, ii. 139. Clive himself gives a curious account of the deliberation upon this measure: "That the members of the Committee were Mr. Drake (the Governor), himself (Col. Clive), Major Kilpatrick, and Mr. Becher:—Mr. Becher gave his opinion for a neutrality, Major Kilpatrick, for a neutrality; he himself gave his opinion for the attack of the place; Mr. Drake gave an opinion that nobody could make any thing of. Major Kilpatrick then asked him, whether he thought the forces and squadron could attack Chandernagor and the Nabob's army at the same time?—he said, he thought they could; upon which Major Kilpatrick desired to withdraw his opinion, and to be of his. They voted Mr. Drake's no opinion at all; and Major Kilpatrick and he being the majority, a letter was written to Admiral Watson, desiring him to co-operate in the attack on Chandernagor." Report, *ut supra*. There is something ludicrous in voting a man's opinion, to be no opinion; yet the undecisive, hesitating, ambiguous propositions, of men who know not what resolution to take, cannot, in general, perhaps, be treated by a better rule.

at last, and eager to prevent their fall, sent peremptory orders to the English to desist; and even put a part of his army in motion: But the fire from the ships was irresistible, and the reduction of the fort anticipated the effects of his intended resistance. The resentment of the Nabob was checked by his remaining dread of the Abdallees; and he still courted the friendship of the invaders: He, however, eluded their request to give up all the other French factories and subjects in his dominions; and afforded protection to the troops who had escaped from the fort of Chandernagor.

The time was now arrived when, according to his instructions, Clive ought no longer to have deferred his return to Madras. He himself, in his letter to the Select Committee; dated the 4th of March, had said respecting Watson's objection to the treaty of neutrality; "This leads me to consider seriously the situation of the Company's affairs on the *coast*, and the positive orders I have received from the President and the Committee at Madras, to return at all events with as great a part of the forces under my command as could possibly be spared."<sup>1</sup> "The situation of the Company's affairs on the coast," that is, in the Carnatic, was indeed in no small degree alarming, if they remained without the protection of their military force, sent for the restoration of the settlements in Bengal. The Presidency of Madras had not left themselves troops sufficient to make head against the French even then in the country; and it was known at Madras, before the departure of Clive, that, in conse-

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quence of the expected hostilities, a powerful armament was destined by the French government for India; and without doubt would make its first landing in the Carnatic. On the other side Clive beheld an opening for exploits, both splendid and profitable, in Bengal; overlooked all other considerations; violated his instructions; and remained.<sup>1</sup>

The French, who had collected themselves at Cossimbuzar, became the first subject of dispute. Instead of yielding them up, on the repeated solicitations of the English, the Nabob furnished M. Law, who was the head of the factory at Cossimbuzar, with money, arms, and ammunition, and sent them into Bahar; Clive, to the great displeasure of his new ally, threatening, and even preparing, to detach a part of his army to intercept them. By the author of the *Seer Mutakhareen*, we are told that M. Law, before his departure, revealed to Suraj-ad-dowla the disaffection of his principal officers; the connexion which they would be sure to form with the English for his destruction; and the necessity of retaining the French about his person if he wished to preserve himself from that deplorable fate. The persons, however, who meditated his ruin, and who saw the importance of removing the French, pressed

<sup>1</sup> It is quite clear, that Clive judged soundly what was his duty, when he determined to remain. To have withdrawn any part of the force from Bengal, would have been not only to forfeit the advantages that had been gained, but would have ensured the expulsion of the English from the province. The feelings of Suraj-ad-dowla were unchanged, his power was unbroken, and he had now the certain assistance of the French. It is quite impossible that the English could have made head against them, or could have hoped for any conditions whatever. Clive would have been a traitor, not only to his own fame, but the interests of his country, had he obeyed the calls from Madras, where the danger was less imminent, and the consequences of discomfiture less irreparable.—W.

upon his mind the impolicy of quarrelling with the victorious English on account of the vanquished and fugitive French. He therefore dismissed M. Law, telling him, "that if there should happen any thing new, he would send for him again."—"Send for me again?" answered Law, "Be assured, my lord nawab, that this is the last time we shall see each other; remember my words,—we shall never meet again; it is nearly impossible."<sup>1</sup>

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Lord Clive, in his statement to the House of Commons, said, "that after Chandernagor was resolved to be attacked, he repeatedly said to the committee, as well as to others, that they could not stop there, but must go further; that, having established themselves by force, and not by consent of the Nabob, he would endeavour to drive them out again; that they had numberless proofs of his intentions, many upon record; and that he did suggest to Admiral Watson and Sir George Pococke, as well as to the Committee, the necessity of a revolution; that Mr. Watson and the gentlemen of the Committee agreed upon the necessity of it;<sup>2</sup> and that the management of that revolution was, with consent of the committee, left to Mr. Watts, who was resident at the Nabob's capital, and himself; that great dissatisfaction arising among

<sup>1</sup> Seer Mutakhareen, i. 762.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Brereton, who was Lieutenant with Admiral Watson, declared in evidence, "that he had heard Admiral Watson say, he thought it an extraordinary measure to depose a man they had so lately made a solemn treaty with." Report, ut supra.—M.

Better evidence, Admiral Watson's own, proves, that he entirely approved of the proceedings. He writes to Clive: "I am glad to hear that Meer Jaffier's party increases, I hope every thing will turn out in the expedition to your wishes, and that I may soon have to congratulate you on the success of it." Life of Clive, i. 242.—W.



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Suraj-ad-dowla's troops, Meer Jaffier was pitched upon to be the person to place in the room of Suraj-ad-dowla, in consequence, of which a treaty was formed."<sup>1</sup>

A complicated scene took place, which it would be little instructive to unfold,<sup>2</sup> of plotting and intrigue. The first proposals were made by an officer named Yar Khan Latty; and they were greedily embraced; till intimation was received that Meer Jaffier Khan was inclined to enter into a confederacy for deposing the Subahdar. This was a personage of much greater power and distinction. He had been married at an early period to the sister of Aliverdi, and held a high rank in his army. Between him and Aliverdi had not been always the best understanding; and Meer Jaffier had at one time entered into a project of treason. But the interest of the two parties taught them to master their dissatisfaction; and at the death of Aliverdi, Meer Jaffier was paymaster general of the forces, one of the highest offices in an Indian government. Suraj-ad-dowla hated Meer Jaffier, and was too ignorant and headstrong to use management with his dislikes. Shortly after his accession, Meer Jaffier was removed from his office, and remained exposed to all that might result from the violent disposition of the Subahdar. According

<sup>1</sup> Report, ut supra.—M. From the manner in which this is stated, it would seem as if the project of a revolution originated with the English, although, from what follows, it is clear that it was suggested to them by proposals from the principal persons at Murshedabad, both Mohammedan and Hindu: amongst the latter, and a most influential individual, was the opulent banker Juggut Set. *Life of Clive*, i. 227.—W.

<sup>2</sup> It has been done with exemplary minuteness and patience by Mr. Orme, ii. 149—175.

to the constitution however of an Indian army, in which every General maintains his own troops, a considerable portion of the army belonged to Meer Jaffier; and this he exerted himself to increase, by enlisting as many as possible of the adventurers, with whom the nature of Indian warfare made the country abound.

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In manufacturing the terms of the confederacy, the grand concern of the English appeared to be money. "The Committee really believed," says Mr. Orme, "the wealth of Suraj-ad-dowla much greater than it possibly could be, even if the whole life of the late Nabob Aliverdi had not been spent in defending his own dominions against the invasion of ruinous enemies; and even if Suraj-ad-dowla himself had reigned many, instead of only one year."<sup>1</sup> They resolved accordingly not to be sparing in their demands; and the situation of Jaffier Khan, and the manners and customs of the country, made him ready to promise whatever they desired. In name of compensation for losses by the capture of Calcutta, 10,000,000 rupees were promised to the English Company, 5,000,000 rupees to English inhabitants, 2,000,000 to the Indians, and 700,000 to the Armenians. These sums were specified in the formal treaty. Over and beside this, it was resolved by the Committee of the Council, that is, the small number of individuals by whom the business was performed, that a donation of 2,500,000 rupees should be asked for the squadron; and another of equal amount for the army.<sup>2</sup> "When this was settled," says Lord

<sup>1</sup> Orme, ii. 163.

<sup>2</sup> These presents, which were afterwards made use of by the personal

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Clive,<sup>1</sup> “Mr. Becher (a member) suggested to the Committee, that he thought that Committee, who managed the great machine of government, was entitled to some consideration, as well as the army and navy.” Such a proposition, in such an assembly, could not fail to appear eminently reasonable. It met with a suitable approbation. Mr. Becher in-

enemies of Clive, to effect his annoyance and attempt his ruin, detract much from the splendour of his reputation, and reflect discredit upon all who were parties to their acceptance. That General, Admiral, and Members of the Select Committee, were alike influenced by a grasping and mercenary spirit is undeniable, and they seized, with an avidity which denoted a lamentable absence of elevated principles, upon an unexpected opportunity of realizing princely fortunes. At the same time, many considerations may be urged in their excuse, and a more disinterested conduct would have exhibited in them, a very extraordinary exception to the prevailing practices and feelings of the times. The servants of the Company had never been forbidden to receive presents from the natives of rank, and as they were very ill paid, it was understood that they were at liberty to pay themselves in any manner they could which did not injure their employers. The making of presents was an established practice amongst the natives, and is one which they even yet consider as a necessary part of friendly or formal intercourse, and although, agreeably to their notions, it is most incumbent on the inferior to approach his superior with an offering, yet on great public occasions, and especially upon any signal triumph, the distribution of liberal donations to the army and the chief officers of the court is a natural result. There was nothing more than customary, therefore, in the gift of large sums of money by Mir Jaffier to those to whom he was indebted for his accession; and, as there was neither law nor usage opposed to the acceptance of his donations by the servants of the Company, and as they were avowedly expected and openly received, there was nothing dishonest in the transaction. That the amount of the presents was excessive, may be attributed, in some degree, to the erroneous opinion entertained probably by Mir Jaffier, and certainly by the Company's servants, of the great wealth in the treasury of Suraj-ad-dowla, which admitted of such deductions. With a just regard to circumstances and seasons, therefore, it is unjust to expect from the servants of the Company a lofty disregard of personal advantages, although they would have merited more unqualified admiration had they disdained their private enrichment in the noble aim of promoting the public good: much unhappiness would have been avoided by themselves, much misery would have been spared to Bengal.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Evidence before the Committee, Report, ut supra.

forms us, that the sums received were 280,000 rupees by Mr. Drake the Governor; 280,000 by Colonel Clive; and 240,000 each, by himself, Mr. Watts, and Major Kilpatrick, the inferior members of the Committee.<sup>1</sup> The terms obtained in favour of the Company were, that all the French factories and effects should be given up; that the French should be for ever excluded from Bengal; that the territory surrounding Calcutta to the distance of 600 yards beyond the Mahratta ditch, and all the land lying south of Calcutta as far as Culpee, should be granted them on Zemindary tenure, the Company paying the rents in the same manner as other Zemindars.

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For effecting the destruction of Suraj-ad-dowla it was concerted, that the English should take the field; and that Meer Jaffier should join them at Cutwa, with his own troops, and those of as many of the other commanders as it should be in his power to debauch. When the English arrived at Cutwa, no allies, however, appeared: Letters were received from Moorshedabad by some of the natives in the camp, stating that the conspiracy was discovered, and that Meer Jaffier had obtained his pardon, on condition of aiding the Nabob with all his resources against the English. Instead of Meer Jaffier and his troops, a letter from Meer Jaffier arrived. In

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. These latter receipts were the occasion of a dispute. "Upon this being known," said Clive, (Report, ut supra) "Mr. Watson replied, that *he* was entitled to a share in that money. He (Clive) agreed in opinion with the gentlemen, when this application was made, that Mr. Watson was not one of the Committee, but at the same time did justice to his services, and proposed to the gentlemen to contribute as much as would make his share equal to the Governor's and his own; that about three or four consented to it, the rest would not."



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this it was stated, that the suspicions of the Nabob had been raised ; that he had constrained Meer Jaffier to swear fidelity on the Koran ; that it had thus become impossible for Meer Jaffier to join the English before the day of battle ; but that it would be easy for him, in the action, to desert the Nabob, and decide the fortune of the day. The mind of the English commander was disturbed. The treachery of Meer Jaffier could not be regarded as improbable ; and “ he thought it extremely hazardous ” (to use his own words) “ to pass a river which is only fordable in one place, march 150 miles up the country, and risk a battle, when, if a defeat ensued, not one man would have returned to tell it.”<sup>1</sup>

In these difficulties he called a council of war. “ It is very rare,” says Mr. Orme, “ that a council of war decides for battle.”<sup>2</sup> Clive himself says, “ that this was the only council of war that ever he held, and if he had abided by that council, it would have been the ruin of the East India Company.”<sup>3</sup> The singularity is, that in the council Clive himself was of the same opinion with the majority, and by delivering his opinion first, which was far from the usual practice, had no doubt considerable influence in determining others ; yet that afterwards he disregarded that decision ; and took upon himself to act in direct opposition to it. The army was ordered to cross the river the next morning ; and at a little past midnight arrived at Plassy.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evidence, *ut supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Orme, ii. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Evidence, Report, *ut supra*.

<sup>4</sup> Serafton (Reflections, p. 90,) says, that the Colonel's resolution was founded upon a letter he received from Jaffier in the course of the day.

At this place, a part of the army of the Subahdar had been intrenched for a considerable time ; and the Subahdar himself had reached it with the remainder of his forces the evening before the arrival of the English. The army with which he was now to contend for his power and his life consisted of 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and fifty pieces of cannon.<sup>1</sup> Of the English force, 900, including 100 artillery-men and fifty sailors, were Europeans ; 100 were Topasses ; and 2100 Sepoys. The battle was nothing but a distant cannonade. This was maintained during the greatest part of the day, and sufficed to terrify the Subahdar, who, by the advice of those who desired his ruin, issued orders of preparation for retreat. Upon this, Jaffier Khan was observed moving off with his troops : Clive was then convinced of his intention to join him : he now, therefore, ordered the English to advance, and attack that part of the line which still maintained its position. The knowledge of these two events determined the mind of the Subahdar, he mounted a fleet camel and fled with 2000 attendants. No further resistance was offered ; and the English entered the camp at five o'clock, having, by the assistance of a weak and vicious sovereign, determined the fate of a great kingdom, and of

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Orme, who loves a little of the marvellous, says, "that as soon as the council of war broke up he retired alone into the adjoining grove, where he continued near an hour in deep meditation ; and gave orders, on his return to his quarters, that the army should cross the river the next morning." ii. 170.—M. It is clear that the alteration in Clive's views must have been the result of his private meditations ; and the circumstances particularized by Orme, are not unlikely to have been communicated to him by Clive himself.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Clive says 15,000 horse and 35,000 foot, and forty pieces of cannon. Letter to the Secret Committee. Life, i. 263.

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30,000,000 of people, with the loss of twenty Europeans killed and wounded, of sixteen Sepoys killed, and only thirty-six wounded.<sup>1</sup>

The army advanced, about nine miles, to Daudpore, the same evening, with little occasion to pursue the enemy, who had almost entirely dispersed. At this place, Meer Jaffier sent a message to the English commander, that he, with many more of the great officers, and a considerable part of the army, waited his commands. The next morning Clive sent to conduct him to his quarters; and he arrived, under some apprehensions, which the Colonel, thinking it no time for reproaches, hastened to dispel. It was arranged that Meer Jaffier should march to the capital immediately, to prevent the escape of Suraj-ad-dowla, and the removal of his wealth.

That wretched prince had arrived at his palace the night after the battle, where, now apprized that he had not a friend on whom he could rely, and utterly uncertain what course to pursue, he remained till the evening of the following day, when Meer Jaffier entered the city. Then his fears dictated a resolution. He disguised himself in a mean dress, and about ten o'clock at night went secretly out of a window of the palace, with his favourite concubine and a single eunuch, intending to join M. Law, and escape into Bahar, where he counted upon the protection of the Governor. The rowers, however, of his boat, worn

<sup>1</sup> Lord Clive stated (Report, ut supra,) "that the battle's being attended with so little bloodshed arose from two causes; first, the army was sheltered by so high a bank that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly do them much mischief; the other was, that Suraj-ad-dowla had not confidence in his army, nor his army any confidence in him, and therefore they did not do their duty upon that occasion."

out before the morning with fatigue, stopped at Raj Mahl, where he endeavoured to conceal himself in a garden. He was there, at break of day, discovered by a man, whom he had formerly treated with cruelty; and who now revealed him to the Governor. Covered with indignity, he was hurried back to Moórshedabad; and presented to Meer Jaffier, who placed him under the custody of his son. The son, a brutal, ferocious youth, the same night gave orders for his assassination. M. Law, who received the summons to join the Nabob as soon as war with the English appeared inevitable, immediately began his march; but had not passed Tacriagully when he received reports of the battle of Plassy; and halted for further information. “Had he immediately proceeded twenty miles further,” says Mr. Orme, “he would the next day have met and saved Suraj-ad-dowla, and an order of events, very different from those which we have to relate, would in all probability, have ensued.”<sup>1</sup>

The battle was fought on the 23rd of June, and on the 25th Colonel Clive with his troops arrived at Moorshedabad. On the next day, a meeting was held to confer about the stipulated moneys; when the chief officer of finance declared that the whole of Suraj-ad-dowla’s treasures was inadequate to the demand. “The restitution,” says Mr. Orme, “with the donations to the squadron, the army, and the committee, amounted to 22,000,000 of sicca rupees, equal to 2,750,000*l*. But other donations were promised, which have since been the foundation of

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<sup>1</sup> Orme, ii. 185.



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several fortunes.”<sup>1</sup> The scantiness of the Bengal treasury was most unexpected, as well as most painful news, to the English; who had been accustomed to a fond and literal belief of Oriental exaggeration on the subject of Indian riches. With great difficulty were they brought to admit so hateful a truth. Finding at last that more could not be obtained, they consented to receive one half of the moneys immediately, and to accept of the rest by three equal payments, in three years. Even of the portion which was now to be received, it was necessary to take one third not in specie, which was all exhausted, but in jewels, plate, and other effects, at a valuation. Before the 9th of August, after a multitude of difficulties, the stipulated half, all but 584,905 rupees, was delivered and discharged.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid ii. 180.

<sup>2</sup> A piece of consummate treachery was practised upon an individual. Among the Hindu merchants established at Calcutta was Omichund, “a man,” says Mr Orme, “of great sagacity and understanding,” who had traded to a vast amount, and acquired an enormous fortune. “The extent of his habitation,” continues Mr. Orme, “divided into various departments, the number of his servants continually employed in various occupations, and a retinue of armed men in constant pay, resembled more the state of a prince than the condition of a merchant. His commerce extended to all parts of Bengal and Bahar, and by presents and services he had acquired so much influence with the principal officers of the Bengal government, that the Presidency, in times of difficulty, used to employ his mediation with the Nabob. This pre-eminence, however, did not fail to render him the object of much envy.” (Orme, ii. 50.) When the alarm, excited by the hostile designs of Suraj-ad-dowla, threw into consternation the minds of Mr. Drake and his council, among other weak ideas which occurred to them, one was, to secure the person of Omichund, lest, peradventure, he should be in concert with their enemies. He was seized and thrown into confinement. His guards, believing that violence, that is, dishonour, would next fall upon his house, set fire to it, after the manner of Hindus, and slaughtered the inmates of his harem. Notwithstanding this, when Mr. Holwell endeavoured to parley with the Nabob, he employed Omichund to write letters to his friends, importuning them to intercede, in that extremity, with the prince. At the capture, though his person was liberated, his valuable effects and merchandise

Upon the news of the seizure and death of Suraj-  
ad-dowla, M. Law, with the French party, hastened

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were plundered. No less than 400,000 rupees in cash were found in his treasury. When an order was published that such of the English as had escaped the black hole might return to their homes, they were supplied with provisions by Omichund, "whose intercession," says Orme, "had probably procured their return." Omichund, upon the ruin of Calcutta, followed the Nabob's army, and soon acquired a high degree of confidence both with the Nabob's favourite, and with himself. After the recovery of Calcutta, when the Nabob, alarmed at the attack of his camp, entered into negotiation, and concluded a treaty, Omichund was one of the principal agents employed. And when Mr. Watts was sent to Moorsshedabad as agent at the durbar (court) of Suraj-ad-dowla, "he was accompanied," says Mr. Orme, (ii. 137,) "by Omichund, whose conduct in the late negotiation had effaced the impression of former imputations, insomuch that Mr. Watts was permitted to consult and employ him without reserve on all occasions." He was employed as a main instrument in all the intrigues with Jaffier. It was never surmised that he did not second with all his efforts, the projects of the English; it was never denied that his services were of the utmost importance. Mr. Orme says expressly (p. 182) that "his tales and artifices prevented Suraj-ad-dowla from believing the representations of his most trusty servants, who early suspected, and at length were convinced, that the English were confederated with Jaffier." When the terms of compensation for the losses sustained by the capture of Calcutta were negotiated between Mr. Watts and Meer Jaffier, 3,000,000 of rupees were set down for Omichund, which, considering the extent of his property, and that "most of the best houses in Calcutta were his," (Orme, ii. 128,) was probably not more than his loss. Looking forward to the rewards, which he doubted not that Jaffier, if successful, would bestow upon those of the English who were the chief instruments of his exaltation; estimating also the importance of his own services, and the risk, both of life and of fortune, which, in rendering those services, he had incurred, Omichund conceived that he too might put in his claim for reward; and, according to the example of his countrymen, resolved not to injure himself by the modesty of his demand. He asked a commission of five per cent., on the money which should be received from the Nabob's treasury, and a fourth part of the jewels; but agreed, upon hearing the objections of Mr. Watts, to refer his claims to the committee. When the accounts were sent to Calcutta, the sum to be given to Omichund, even as compensation for his losses, seemed a very heavy grievance to men who panted for more to themselves. To men whose minds were in such a state, the great demands of Omichund appeared (the reader will laugh—but they did literally appear) a crime. They were voted a crime; and so great a crime, as to deserve to be punished—to be punished, not only by depriving him of all reward, but depriving him of his compensation,

back, to join the Governor of Bahar, at Patna, the capital of the province. Upon the assassination of

that compensation which was stipulated for to every body : It was voted that Omichund should have nothing. They were in his power, however, therefore he was not to be irritated. It was necessary he should be deceived. Clive, whom deception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang, proposed, that two treaties with Meer Jaffier should be drawn up, and signed : One, in which satisfaction to Omichund should be provided for, which Omichund should see ; another, that which should really be executed, in which he should not be named. To his honour be it spoken, Admiral Watson refused to be a party in this treachery. He would not sign the false treaty ; and the committee forged his name. When Omichund, upon the final adjustment, was told that he was cheated, and found that he was a ruined man, he fainted away, and lost his reason. He was from that moment insane. Not an Englishman, not even Mr. Orme, has yet expressed a word of sympathy or regret —M.

In this statement some very material circumstances are omitted, which palliate, if they do not justify the deception that was practised. Before the attack upon Calcutta, Omichund was in friendly correspondence with the ministers and servants of the Nawab, and upon its being taken, was treated with civility by Suraj-ad-dowla, whom he accompanied to Murshedabad, and there obtained from him repayment of the money which in the plunder of Calcutta had been carried off from his house. Notwithstanding this, he was one of the first, through his connexion, no doubt, with the Hindu ministers, and Sets the bankers, to engage in the plot against Suraj-ad-dowla. The English had therefore no great reason to look upon him as their friend, and as it is evident that he was a stranger to every principle except love of money, there is nothing in his character to awaken any sympathy for his fate. Still it is undeniable, that thus far he merited no treachery, and that his services were entitled to consideration. It was intended to reimburse his losses and remunerate his assistance, but his want of principle instigated him to enrich himself by the secret to which he had been admitted, and when all was prepared for action, he waited on Mr. Watts, the agent at Casimbazar, and threatened to acquaint the Nawab with the conspiracy, unless a donation was secured to him of thirty lacs of rupees, about 350,000*l*. The demand was exorbitant, and infinitely beyond the amount of any losses he could have sustained by the plunder of Calcutta, for which losses, also, it is to be remembered, he had already received compensation. Mr. Mill thinks it probably not more than his loss, because the best houses in Calcutta, according to Orme, were his. But admitting that they were of great value, which is not very likely, they were still his. Calcutta was not razed to the ground, the buildings were still there, and on its recapture had of course reverted to their owners. The claim was wholly inadmissible, and its unreasonableness was aggravated by the threat of treachery with which it was enforced. What was to be done ? To

the father of Suraj-ad-dowla, Aliverdi had nominated Suraj-ad-dowla himself to the nabobship of that important province; but appointed Ramnarain, a Hindu, in whom he reposed great confidence, to be Deputy Governor in the absence of the Prince. Ramnarain had administered the affairs of the province during the life of Aliverdi, and had continued in the government since the accession of Suraj-ad-dowla. From him Meer Jaffier expected no co-operation, and displayed anxiety that the French party should be pursued. He suspected, however, the fidelity of any part of his own army; and a large detachment of the English were sent under Major Coote. They were detained too long in preparation; they were poorly provided with the means of expedition; and the European part of the detach-

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have rejected it at once would have been followed by the certain murder of the Company's servants at Cassimbazar, and of Mir Jaffier with all his family and adherents, and by the probable defeat of the British projects and their destruction. The menaced treason of Omichund, and its fatal consequences, are scarcely adverted to in the preceding account, although it was that, and not the mere demand of extravagant compensation, which was naturally enough denounced by the committee as a crime, and determined to be worthy of punishment. Clive, who had all along advocated his cause, and defended his character, "received with equal surprise and indignation the incontrovertible proofs offered of his guilt. Viewing him as a public enemy, he considered, as he stated at the period, and publicly avowed afterwards, every artifice that could deceive him to be not only defensible, but just and proper." There may be a difference of opinion on this subject, and it would have been more for the credit of the European character, that however treacherously extorted, the promise should have been performed, the money should have been paid; but there can be no doubt, that in order to appreciate with justice the conduct of Clive and the Committee, the circumstance of Omichund's menaced treason should not be kept out of sight. As to the reputed effects of his disappointment upon his intellects and life, there is good reason to doubt their occurrence, for in the month of August following, Clive recommends him to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, as "a person capable of rendering great services, and, therefore, not wholly to be discarded." See *Life of Clive*, i. 289.—W.



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ment, exasperated at the fatigue they had to endure, behaved mutinously on the way. Before they reached Patna, the French had arrived; and, to obviate disputes, had been sent forward by Ramnarain into the territory of the Subahdar of Oude, with whom he had begun to negotiate an alliance. Major Coote was at first instructed to endeavour by intrigue and by force to wrest the government from Ramnarain: but while he was meditating the execution of these orders, he received further instructions which led to an accommodation;<sup>1</sup> and he returned to Moorshedabad on the 13th of September. The detachment which he had conducted was stationed at Cossimbuzar, near Moorshedabad; the rest of the army was sent into quarters at Chandernagor as a more healthy situation than the seat of the Presidency; and on the day after the arrival of Major Coote, Colonel Clive left Moorshedabad and returned to Calcutta.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ramnarain was avowedly a subject of the Subahdar of Bengal and Behar. His conduct was equivocal, and it was necessary to compel him to submission, or deprive him of his government. As soon as he saw that Meer Jaffier was resolutely supported by the English, he satisfied Clive of his being free from all treasonable intentions, and there was no longer any motive for his removal.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The chief authorities which have been followed for this series of transactions in Bengal, have been the *Seer Mutakhareen*, i. 298—772; the *First Report from the Committee on the Nature, State, and Condition of the East India Company*, in 1772, which is full of curious information; *Orme's War in India*, ii. 28—196; and the tracts published by the various actors in the scene, Scrafton, Watts, &c.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Renewal of the War with the French in the Carnatic.*

*—Arrival of Lally.—French power superior to the English. — English power superior to the French.—Pondicherry taken.—And the French driven out of the Carnatic.*

WHEN the English detachment for the recovery of Calcutta, and the French detachment for the relief of Bussy, left the Carnatic, the contending parties were so far diminished in force, as to meditate quietness and forbearance: the English, till the troops which they had sent to Bengal should return; the French, till the armament should arrive, which they expected from Europe. In the mean time it was felt by the English as a grievous misfortune, that though their Nabob Mohammed Ali was now without a rival in the Carnatic, its pecuniary produce was remarkably small.<sup>1</sup> The governors of forts and districts, the zemindars, polygars, and renters, employed, as usual, all their means of artifice and force, to withhold their payments; and the rabble employed by Mohammed Ali, 'as soldiers, ill paid and weakly governed, were found altogether inadequate to the establishment of an efficient authority in the province. The notion which was early entertained of the great pecuniary supplies capable of being drawn

<sup>1</sup> It was a real evil to the government, that the revenues were withheld by refractory tributaries and contumacious dependants.—W.

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from Madura and Tinivelly, appears still to have maintained a determining influence in the councils of Madras; and notwithstanding the general resolution to remain inactive, Captain Calliaud, the commanding officer at Trichinopoly, before the end of the year 1756, received instructions to renew his attempts for the reduction of those dependencies. In the hope of prevailing upon the King of Tanjore to afford some assistance; a hope which, as usual, he took care to disappoint; Captain Calliaud directed his march through Tanjore, and crossing Marawar, arrived in Tinivelly. The troops who accompanied him, joined to the body of Sepoys who had remained in the country, and the troops of the Polygars who had espoused the English interest, composed a formidable army. But it was unable to proceed to action for want of money; and the utmost exertions of Calliaud produced but an insignificant supply. Intelligence that the rebellious polygars were treating with the Mysoreans, who had a station at the fort of Dindigul, presented in strong colours the necessity of expedition; yet he was unable to leave Tinivelly before the 10th of April; when he marched to attack Madura with 180 Europeans, 2500 Sepoys, six field-pieces, and 500 horse. Upon arriving at the town, he found it a place of much greater strength than he had been led to suppose; and, without battering cannon, not easy, if possible to be reduced. He planned an effort to take it by surprise. The first ladders were planted; and Calliaud himself, with twenty men, had got into the *fausse-bray*, when the guard within received the alarm, and they were obliged to retreat. Two companies of Sepoys were

soon after despatched to bring pieces of battering BOOK IV  
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During these efforts to obtain possession of the revenues of Madura and Tinivelly, similar efforts had been undertaken in other parts of the province. A brother of the Nabob, by name Nujeeb Oolla, who was Governor of Nelore and its district, situated in the northern quarter of the Carnatic, evaded or refused payment of the sums demanded of him; and the Nabob, who possessed not the means of coercion, was urgent with the English to perform it in his stead. The rupture between the two brothers took place towards the end of February, and it was the 1st of April before the English troops were ready to march. By the end of the month they had erected batteries against the fort; on the 2d of May a breach was effected, which they deemed practicable; and a storm was attempted the next morning. But the English were repulsed from the breach, nor was it deemed expedient to renew the attack till more battering-cannon should be received from Madras. In the mean time the detachment received orders to return to the Presidency with all expedition.

The Government of Pondicherry, notwithstanding the pacific policy inculcated by the recall of Dupleix, and the commands which they had received to abstain from all operations of hazard, till the arrival of the forces which they expected from Europe, determined, when they saw the English so largely at work,



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and their small force separated to such a distance as Tinivelly and Nelore, to avail themselves of an opportunity which good fortune seemed to present. They took the field on the 6th of April; but, to cover their designs, with only a small number of troops, and for an object of minor importance. By forced marches they appeared before Ellavanasore on the 10th, a fort possessed by a chief, who had hitherto refused to acknowledge either the English or the French Nabob. In a sally, in which he threw the French army into great jeopardy, he received a mortal wound, of which he died in a few days, and the garrison, during the night, evacuated the fort. The French, after this acquisition, marched in the direction leading to the territory of some polygars with whom they had disputes; and Captain Calliaud received a letter from the Madras Presidency, on the very day on which he attempted to surprise Madura, that from the late intelligence received of the motions of the French, no design on their part was apprehended against Trichinopoly.<sup>1</sup> The season for the arrival of the English troops from Bengal was elapsed; and it was impossible now that any should return before September. The French, therefore, suddenly, barring their garrisons; leaving in Pondicherry itself none but invalids; and enrolling the European inhabitants to man the walls, despatched every soldier to the field; and the army took post before Trichinopoly on the 14th of May. The garrison, deprived of the troops which had marched to Madura, were insufficient to guard the walls; and

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge, p. 140.

they had 500 French prisoners in the fort. Calliaud received intelligence before Madura of the imminent danger of Trichinopoly, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st; at six he was on his march; on the 25th at day-break he halted nineteen miles from Trichinopoly. An army five times as great as his watched his approach, and guarded every avenue by which it was supposed he could enter the fort. On one side of the town was a large plain, about seven miles in extent, consisting of rice-fields, covered with water, which the French deemed impassable. Calliaud continued his march, as if he intended to enter by one of the ordinary inlets, till night; when he suddenly took another direction, and arrived at the margin of the rice-fields about ten o'clock. The fatigue of marching through the rice-fields up to the knees in mud, after forced marches of several days, was excessive. At day-break, however, the main body of the detachment reached the fort, and were received with that ardent welcome by its inmates, which the greatness of the danger, and the exertions which the detachment had made to save it, naturally inspired. The French commander, astonished at the news of their entrance, and now despairing of success, marched away for Pondicherry the following day.<sup>1</sup>

Intelligence of the march of the French against Trichinopoly, and of the repulses sustained by their own troops, in the two assaults upon Madura and Nelore, reached the Presidency of Madras at nearly the same time. They recalled immediately the de-

<sup>1</sup> Orme, ii. 197—217; Cambridge's War in India, p. 137—153; Wilks' Historical Sketches of the South of India, p. 392, 393.

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tachment from Nelore: sent as many troops as possible into the field; and were uncertain whether, to relieve Trichinopoly, they should recall the French to the defence of their own settlements, or march to attack them before the place; when the welcome news arrived of the fact and consequences of Calliaud's return. To possess and garrison the forts which were scattered over the country, and which, by commanding the adjacent districts, afforded the only chance of revenue, was a principal object of desire to both contending parties. Several transactions took place about this time, relating to places of minor importance; but Wandewash was a fortress to the reduction of which peculiar value was attached. The Governor of Wandewash had paid no revenue since 1752; he had perpetually favoured the French; who from that station had been enabled to make incursions into every part of the province; it not only afforded a large revenue, it was also a barrier to the surrounding districts. In hopes that it might be taken before the French army could arrive from Trichinopoly to its relief, the English commander, sent to the attack, was ordered to push his operations with the greatest vigour. He got possession of the town, which was contiguous to the fort, after a slight resistance. The French, however, were now hastening to its relief; and Colonel Aldercron, whose march had not displayed any wonderful despatch, thought it prudent to renounce the enterprise before they arrived. At his departure he set fire to the defenceless town: though no peculiar circumstance is alleged to justify an act so cruel to the innocent inhabitants.

The English Presidency, to whom the Nabobship of Arcot continued as yet but little productive, were straitened in their treasury. Anxious therefore to diminish expense, they gave directions, upon hearing that the army had retired from Wandewash, for its proceeding immediately to the Presidency. Unhappily the enemy were in the field, of which they were thus left entirely the masters; and they performed a successful incursion as far as Conjeveram, where they burned the town, to revenge the outrage committed upon Wandewash. The Presidency, now aware of their blunder, ordered back the army into the field. The two armies were nearly equal. The English offered battle; but the French kept within their intrenchments. The English, after remaining in their presence for some weeks, retired again at the end of July; and marched to the several stations from which they had been drawn. The French were no sooner masters of the field, than they renewed their incursions, collected the revenues, and levied contributions in several districts.

A pressure was now sustained of another description. The Mahratta general Balajee Row had paid a visit of exaction to the kingdom of Mysore the preceding season; and, upon marching back to his own country, before the period of the rains, left an officer with a large detachment, who, after taking several intervening forts, made himself master of one of the passes into the Carnatic, about sixty miles north-west from the city of Arcot, and sent a peremptory demand of the chout for the whole nabobship. The city of Arcot was thrown into the utmost alarm: the Nabob dreaded the incursion of Mahratta parties

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into the very town; and accepted the invitation of the English to send his family to Madras. The Mahrattas pretended that the chout had been settled by Nizam al Mulk, at 600,000 rupees a year; two thirds for the Carnatic, and one for Trichinopoly and the southern dependencies. Of this they asserted that six years were due; and presented their demand, in the whole, at 4,000,000 of rupees. The Nabob, who knew the weakness of his physical, if not of his intellectual resources, was glad to negotiate. After much discussion, the Mahratta agent consented to accept of 200,000 rupees, in ready money, and the Nabob's draughts upon the governors of forts and the polygars, for 250,000 more. To these terms the Nabob agreed; but he required that the money should be found by the English, and should be furnished out of the revenues which he had assigned to them for the expenses of the war. At this time the English might have obtained important assistance against the Mahrattas. Morari Row, and the Patan Nabobs of Savanore, Canoul, Candanore, and Cudapa, who, since the assassination of Nazir Jung, had maintained a sort of independence, offered their alliance. But the English could spare no troops, and were as much afraid to admit such allies into the province as the Mahrattas themselves. After as much delay and evasion as possible, they were induced, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent, in fear of greater evils, to comply with the demand.

During all this period, the attention of the Presidency of Madras may be considered as chiefly divided between two objects; the French in the Carnatic, and the Polygars of Madura and Tinivelly. When

Calliaud was obliged to march from Madura for the defence of Trichinopoly, he left about sixty Europeans, and upwards of 1000 Sepoys, who were not inactive; and, as soon as he was convinced that no further danger was to be apprehended from the French, he despatched a reinforcement from Trichinopoly. In compliance with the recommendation of the Presidency, Calliaud himself, with as great a portion of the troops from Trichinopoly as it was safe to withdraw, marched on the 25th of June, and arrived at Madura on the 3rd of July. Having effected a breach on the 10th, he resolved to storm. He was repulsed with great loss. For some days the operations of the besiegers were retarded by the sickness of their leader. The admission of supplies into the town was now, however, cut off; and the negotiations for its surrender were renewed. After some time was spent in bargaining about the price, Calliaud, on the 8th of August, on payment of 170,000 rupees, was received into the town,

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On the 8th of September a French fleet of twelve ships anchored in Pondicherry road; but, after landing about a thousand men, it again set sail for Mauritius. This was not the grand armament which the government at Pondichery expected; and, till the arrival of which, all operations of magnitude were to be deferred. The army, however, which had been scouring the country, was still in its camp at Wandewash. It was now strongly reinforced by the troops newly arrived; and marched against the fort of Chittapet. The Nabob, Mohammed Ali, had a personal dislike to the Governor of Chittapet, and had infused into the English suspicions of his fidelity.

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which imprudently diminished the efforts necessary for his support. He fell, defending his fort to the last extremity ; and thus another place of considerable importance was gained by the French. From Chittapet they marched to Trincomalee, which was abandoned by the Governor and garrison, upon their approach. After this they divided themselves into several detachments ; and before the 6th of November, when they were recalled, they had reduced eight forts in the neighbourhood of Chittapet, Trincomalee, and Gingee ; and established collectors in the dependent districts.

On the news of the arrival of the French fleet, Captain Calliaud returned to Trichinopoly, with all the Europeans, and was soon after followed by the Sepoys, who, however, went back, as soon as it appeared that Trichinopoly was not in danger. The Mysoreans, who had been long expected to the assistance of the confederate Polygars, arrived in the month of November, took the fort of Sholavenden, and plundered to the walls of Madura, under which they remained for several days. They allowed themselves, however, to be attacked in a narrow pass, by the commander of the British Sepoys, and suffered a severe defeat. In the mean time Captain Calliaud, under the safeguard of a passport from Pondicherry, repaired in person to the Presidency, to represent the state of the southern dependencies, for the reduction of which so many useless efforts had been made ; and declared his opinion that the settlement of the country could not be achieved, or a revenue drawn from it, without a greater force, or the removal of Maphuz Khan. It was agreed with the Nabob that

an annual income, adequate to his maintenance should be offered to this his elder brother, provided he would quit the province and disband his tooops. Maphuz Khan, however, would listen to no terms importing less than the government of the whole country; and the confederates continued in formidable force.

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Though, after the recall of the French troops in November, no army was in the field; the garrisons left in the several forts continued to make incursions one upon another, and mutually ravaged the unhappy country. As these operations, "being always levelled at defenceless villages, carried," says Mr. Orme, "the reproach of robbery, more than the reputation of war;" each side, too, losing by them more than it gained; the French officer at Wandewash proposed a conference, for the purpose of ending this wretched species of warfare; and an English officer was authorized to conclude an agreement. The governments of Madras and Pondicherry were both now disposed to suspend their efforts—the French, till the arrival of the forces which they boasted were to render them irresistible in the Carnatic—the English, that they might husband their resources for the danger with which they were threatened. In this situation they continued till the 28th of April, when a French squadron of twelve sail arrived in the road of Fort St. David.

Upon the breaking out of the war between France and England in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. The Count de Lally, a member of one of those Irish families, which had transported themselves into France along with



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1757. James II., was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the French forces in India. He had distinguished himself in the battle of Fontenoy, where he took several English officers with his own hand, and received the rank of Colonel from the King, upon the field of battle: it was he who proposed the daring plan of landing in England with 10,000 men, while the Prince, Charles Edward, was trying his fortune for a crown in another part of the island: and his hatred of the English, and his reputation for courage, now pointed him out as the fittest person to crush the pretensions of that nation on the coast of Coromandel. He was accompanied by his own regiment of Irish, 1080 strong; by fifty of the royal artillery, and a great number of officers of distinction. They left the port of Brest on the 4th of May, 1757, when a malignant fever raged in the town, of which they carried the infection along with them. No fewer than 300 persons died in the fleet before they reached Rio Janeiro, where they remained for two months, and, after all, departed with a residue of the sickness on board. At Mauritius they were joined by a part of the ships which had landed the troops at Pondicherry in the preceding year: and, after a tedious voyage, made the coast of Coromandel on the 26th of April.

The court of Versailles anticipated nothing but triumphs from this splendid armament: and the presumption of Lally well assorted with that of his government. It was even laid down in the instructions of the ministers, that he should commence his operations with the siege of Fort St. David. For this purpose, before communicating with the land, he

made the fleet anchor at the place of attack. He proceeded with two of the vessels to Pondicherry, where he arrived at five in the afternoon;<sup>1</sup> and before the night closed he had 1000 Europeans, and as many Sepoys, on their march to Fort St. David. In military operations, notwithstanding the importance of despatch, something more than despatch is necessary. The troops marched without provisions, and with unskilful guides, who led them astray, and brought them to Fort St. David at seven o'clock in the morning, worn out with hunger and fatigue.<sup>2</sup> This gave them a motive and an apology for commencing a system of plunder and insubordination, from which they could not easily be recalled.

These troops had scarcely arrived at Fort St. David, when the ships in the road descried the English fleet making way from the south. Mr. Pococke, with the ships of war from Bengal, had arrived at Madras on the 24th of February; on the 24th of the following month a squadron of five ships

<sup>1</sup> He himself complains that little preparation was made to co-operate with him. Among the proofs of carelessness, one was that he was saluted with five discharges of cannon, loaded with ball, of which three pierced the ship through and through, and the two others damaged the rigging; *Mémoire pour Lally*, i. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Lally complains, and with good reason, of the deplorable ignorance of the French Governor and Council. They could not tell him the amount of the English forces on the coast; nor whether Cuddalore was surrounded with a dry wall or a rampart; nor whether there was any river to pass between Pondicherry and Fort St. David. He complains that he lost forty-eight hours at Cuddalore, because there was not a man at Pondicherry, who could tell him that it was open on the side next the sea; that he was unable to find twenty-four hours' provisions at Pondicherry; and that the Governor, who promised to forward a portion to him upon the road, broke his word; whence the troops were two days without food, and some of them died. *Ibid.* 40, 41.

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and on the 17th of April, the whole sailed to the southward, looking out for the French. Having in ten days worked as high to the windward as the head of Ceylon, they stood in again for the coast, which they made, off Negapatnam, on the 28th, and, proceeding along shore, discovered the French fleet at nine the next morning, riding near Cuddalore. The French immediately weighed, and bore down towards Pondicherry, throwing out signals to recall the two ships which had sailed with Lally ; and the English Admiral gave the signal for chase. The summons for the two ships not being answered, the French fleet stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle. The French consisted of nine sail, the English only of seven. The battle was indecisive ; the loss of a few men, with some damage to the ships, being the only result.<sup>1</sup> Both fleets fell considerably to leeward during the engagement ; and the French were six days in working up to the road of Pondicherry, where the troops were landed. Lally himself had some days before proceeded to Fort St. David with the whole force of Pondicherry, and the troops from the fleet were sent after him, as fast as they came on shore.

The English were thrown into the greatest alarm. So much was the power of the enemy now superior to their own, that they scarcely anticipated any other result, than their expulsion from the country ; and had Dupleix been still the guide and conductor of the enemy's affairs, it is more than probable, that

<sup>1</sup> A French ship was driven on shore, and obliged to be abandoned ; but this was owing to an accident after the battle.

their most gloomy apprehensions would have been realized.<sup>1</sup> Not only had an overwhelming addition been made to a force, against which they had previously found it difficult to maintain themselves; but in the mean time, Bussy, in the northern parts of the Deccan, had obtained the most important advantages, and brought upon the English the heaviest disasters. After the brilliant exploit of 1756, when he defended himself at Hyderabad against the whole power of the Subahdar, and imposed his own terms upon his enemies, he had proceeded to the Northern Circars, where his presence was necessary, to collect the revenues, and, by an adjustment of the government, to provide for the future regularity of their payment. He began his march on the 16th of November of that year, with 500 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys; leaving only a small detachment to attend to the person of the Subahdar.<sup>2</sup> In accomplishing his progress through the country, he encountered no considerable resistance. The Polygar of Bobilee defended his fort to the last extremity; and exhibited the customary spectacle of Hindu desperation, the fortress in flames, and the people in garrison butchered by their own hands: But he was excited to this desperation

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Clive himself said, in his evidence before the Committee, in 1772: "Mr. Lally arrived with such a force as threatened not only the destruction of all the settlements there, but of all the East India Company's possessions, and nothing saved Madras from sharing the fate of Fort St. David, at that time, but their want of money, which gave time for strengthening and reinforcing the place." Report, *ut supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Orme (ii. 103) says he left 100 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys. Wilks (Histor. Sketches, p. 387) says he left 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys. Orme again (Ibid. p. 264) speaks of the detachment as consisting of 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys.



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by the command to exchange the government of his present for that of another district, on account of the annoyance he gave to a neighbouring Chief, from whom Bussy had received a train of important services. When Bussy had nearly completed the arrangement which he intended to make, he received about the 1st of April letters from Surajad-dowla, inviting him, by the largest offers, to assist him in expelling the English from Bengal. Bussy waited on his northern frontier, ready to march through Orissa into Bengal, as soon as he should receive satisfactory intelligence; but, learning the capture of Chandernagor, and the imbecility of the Subahdar, he changed his purpose, and proceeded to the attack of the English establishments within the Circars. There were three factories, on three different branches of the Godavery, in a district remarkable for the excellence and cheapness of its cloths. They were places of no strength, and surrendered on the first requisition. Vizagapatam, however, was one of the places of greatest importance belonging to the English in India. It was a fort, garrisoned by 150 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; but so injudiciously constructed, that the attempt to defend it was unanimously determined to be vain. The van of Bussy's army appeared before it on the 24th of June; and a capitulation was concluded; that all the Europeans, both military and civil, should be regarded as prisoners, and all the effects of the Company as prize of war. The Sepoys, and other natives, Bussy allowed to go where they pleased; he also promised to respect the property of individuals. "And he kept his word," says Mr.

Orme, "with the utmost liberality, resigning, without discussion, whatsoever property any one claimed as his own."

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During these transactions, however, a great revolution was preparing in the army of Salabut Jung. He had two younger brothers, whom Bussy, acquainted with the temper of Oriental governments, had advised the Subahdar to provide with establishments, and every indulgence suitable to their rank, but from whom he had exhorted him carefully to withhold those governments and places of power, which, in the hands of the near relations of the Prince, were the cause of so many revolutions in India. This prudent course was pursued till the period of the alienation from Bussy of the mind of the Subahdar; when that Prince was easily persuaded, by his designing courtiers, to reverse the policy which the sagacity of Bussy had established. The eldest of the two brothers, Bassalut Jung, was appointed Governor of the strong fort and country of Adoni; and Nizam Ali, the youngest and most dangerous, was made Governor of Berar, the most extensive province of the Deccan, of which the Mahrattas now possessed the principal part.

Towards the end of the year 1757, while a body of Mahrattas insulted Aurungabad, which was then the residence of the Subahdar, a mutiny, under the usual shape of clamour for pay, was excited in his army. The utmost alarm was affected by the Dewan, or minister, who took shelter in a strong fort: The Subahdar, without resources, was driven to dismay: Nizam Ali, who had acquired some reputation, and intrigued successfully with the troops, offered to

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interpose and allay the tumult, provided the requisite powers, and among other things the great seal of the Subah, were committed to his hands: the requisition was obeyed: and Nizam Ali, leaving only the name of Subahdar to his brother, grasped the whole powers of the state. With an affectation of indifference he committed the seal to his brother Bassalut Jung, but under sufficient security that it would be used agreeably to his directions.<sup>1</sup>

Bussy received intelligence of these events in the beginning of January; immediately began his march with the whole of his army; and by a road never travelled before by European troops, arrived in twenty-one days at Aurungabad, a distance by the perambulator of nearly 400 miles.<sup>2</sup> Four separate armies were encamped about the city; that of Nizam Ali from Berar; that of the Subah, of which Nizam Ali had now the command; that of Bassalut Jung from Adoni; and that of the Mahrattas commanded by Balajee Row. The presence of Bussy, with his handful of Europeans, imposed respect upon them all; and every eye was fixed upon his movements. His first care was to restore the authority of the Subahdar, whom the presence alone of the French

<sup>1</sup> There are some important differences between Orme's account of these events, and that given by the biographer of Shahnawaz Khan, the dewan or minister of Salabut Jung. The discontent was real, and the dewan only saved his life by flying to Dowlatabad. Bassalut Jung was concerned in the disturbance, but the other brother, Nizam Ali, was not on the spot, nor did he join his brother for two or three months. The result of his junction was that described in the text. Nizam Ali was declared heir and successor of Salabut Jung, and associated with him in the government, engrossing the real authority. *Calcutta Magazine*, Dec. 1825.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Orme states the days on report merely; but we may presume it was the best information which that careful historian could procure.

detachment, which had vigilantly guarded his person, had probably saved from the assassination which generally forms the main ingredient of Indian revolutions. BOOK IV  
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The two brothers at first assumed a high tone; and when obliged to part with the seal, exhibited unusual marks of rage and indignation. Bussy clearly saw that the safety of the Subahdar, and the existence of the present government, demanded the resumption of the power which had been intrusted to Nizam Ali; but when the proposition of a large pension was made to him in lieu of his government, he had the art to interest his troops in his behalf, and Bussy found it necessary to temporize. To remove still further the umbrage which he found was gaining ground at the uncontrollable authority with which a stranger disposed of the powers of the Deccan, and of the sons of the great Nizam al Mulk, he re-committed the seal of state to Bassalut Jung, but under securities which precluded any improper use.

To provide a permanent security for his predominating influence in the government of the Subah, there was wanting, besides the distant provinces which yielded him the necessary revenue, a place of strength near the seat of government, to render him independent of the sudden machinations of his enemies. The celebrated fortress of Dowlatabad, both from locality and strength, was admirably adapted to his views. It was at present in possession of the prime minister, the mortal foe of Bussy, the chief actor in the late commotions, and the assured instrument of others in every hostile design. By a sum of



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money, Bussy gained the Deputy Governor to admit him secretly with his troops into the fort; and this invaluable instrument of power was gained without the loss of a man. As the utmost efforts, however, of the resentment of the minister were now assured, Bussy secured the means of rendering him a prisoner in the midst of the camp of the Subahdar, at the very hour when he himself was received into the fort of Dowlatabad. These events alarmed Nizam Ali into submission; and an accommodation was effected, by which he agreed to divest himself of his government of Berar, and accept of Hyderabad in its stead. When holding his court, to receive the compliments of the principal persons, before his departure for his new government, he was waited upon, among others, by Hyder Jung, the Dewan of Bussy. This personage<sup>1</sup> was the son of a Governor of Masulipatam, who had been friendly to the French; and he had attached himself to Bussy, since his first arrival at Golconda. Bussy was soon aware of his talents, and discovered the great benefit he might derive from them. He became a grand and dexterous instrument for unravelling the plots and intrigues against which it was necessary for Bussy to be incessantly on his guard; and a no less consummate agent in laying the trains which led to the accomplishment of Bussy's designs. To give him the greater weight with his countrymen, and more complete access to the persons and the minds

<sup>1</sup> His original name was Abd-al-Rahman, he was taken whilst young to Pondicherry, and early employed as an interpreter to Bussy's detachment, in which capacity he gained the confidence of that officer. *Life of Shahnawaz Khan.*—W.

of the people of consequence, he obtained for him titles of nobility, dignities, and riches; and enabled him to hold his Durbar, like the greatest chiefs. He was known to have been actively employed in the late masterly transactions of Bussy; and an occasion was chosen, on which a blow might be struck, both at his life, and that of Salabut Jung. A day was appointed by the Subahdar for paying his devotions at the tomb of his father, distant about twenty miles from Aurungabad; and on the second day of his absence, Nizam Ali held his court. Hyder Jung was received with marked respect; but, on some pretext, detained behind the rest of the assembly, and assassinated. The first care of Bussy, upon this new emergency, was, to strengthen the slender escort of Salabut Jung. The next was, to secure the person of the late minister;<sup>1</sup> of whose share in the present perfidy he had no doubt, and whom he had hitherto allowed to remain under a slight restraint in the camp. That veteran intriguer, concluding that his life was in danger, excited his attendants to resist, and was slain in the scuffle.

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Masir al Omra, whence the biography of Shahnawaz Khan is derived, he was already in confinement through the treachery of Hyder Jung, who was plotting, it is asserted, the arrest of Nizam Ali, when he paid that prince the visit in the course of which he was murdered. Upon the death of Hyder Jung, the prince mounted his horse and fled, and in the alarm which these occurrences excited amongst the French, some of Bussy's attendants hastened to the place where the minister was confined, and killed him along with his youngest son, and another of Salabut Jung's chief officers, Yamin-ad-dowlah. The native historian is no doubt misled by his prejudices, in ascribing to the French commandant any share, however indirect, in the assassination of the dewan; but had Clive been implicated in any similar transaction, it is very probable that the English historian would have given a very different account of it.  
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Struck with dismay, upon the news of this unexpected result, Nizam Ali abandoned the camp in the night, taking with him his select cavalry alone; and pursued his flight towards Boorhanpore, about 150 miles north from Aurungabad, with all the speed which the horses could endure. Thus was Bussy delivered from his two most formidable enemies, by the very stroke which they had aimed against him; and in this state of uncontrollable power in the wide-extended government of the Deccan, was he placed, when the arrival of Lally produced an extraordinary change in his views; and ensured a new train of events in the Subah.

The character of that new Governor was ill adapted to the circumstances in which he was appointed to act. Ardent and impetuous, by the original structure of his mind, his early success and distinction had rendered him vain and presumptuous.

With natural talents of considerable force, his knowledge was scanty and superficial. Having never experienced difficulties, he never anticipated any: For him it was enough to will the end; the means obtained an inferior portion of his regard. Acquainted thoroughly with the technical part of the military profession, but acquainted with nothing else, he was totally unable to apply its principles in a new situation of things. Unacquainted with the character and manners of the people among whom he was called upon to act; he was too ignorant of the theory of war, to know, that on the management of his intellectual and moral instruments, the success of the General mainly depends.

He began by what he conceived a very justifiable act of authority, but which was in reality a cruel violation of the customs, the religion, and, in truth, the legal rights of the natives. As there was not at Pondicherry, of the persons of the lower castes, who are employed in the servile occupations of the camp, a sufficient number to answer the impatience of M. Lally, in forwarding the troops to Fort St. David, he ordered the native inhabitants of the town to be pressed, and employed, without distinction of caste, in carrying burdens, and performing whatever labour might be required. The terror and consternation created by such an act was greater than if he had set fire to the town and butchered every man whom it contained. The consequence was, that the natives were afraid to trust themselves in his power; and he thus ensured a deficiency of attendants.<sup>1</sup>

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The feeble bullocks of the country, and the smallness of the number which the Governor and Council of Pondicherry were able to supply, but ill accorded

<sup>1</sup> This, at least, is stated by the English historians, and by the numerous and too successful enemies of Lally. In the original correspondence, there is no proof that I can perceive. In one of Lally's letters, (to De Leyrit, 18th of May,) he presses him to prevail upon the inhabitants of Pondicherry, by extra rewards, to lend their assistance. This looks not like a general order to impress the inhabitants. The truth is, that he himself brings charges, which were too well founded, of oppression committed by others against the natives. In his letter to De Leyrit, 25th of May, 1758, he says, "J'apprend que dans votre civil et dans votre militaire, il se commet des vexations vis-à-vis des gens du pays qui les éloignent et les empêchent de vous faire les fournitures nécessaires à la subsistance de l'armée." Lally says in his Mémoire. p. 50, "Des employés du Sieur Des Vaux, protégé par le Sieur de Leyrit, arrêtoient des provisions qui arrivoient au camp, et exigeoient de l'argent des noirs, pour leur accorder la liberté du passage. Un de ces brigands avoit été pris en flagrant délit. On avoit saisi sur lui un sac plein d'espèces et de petits bijoux enlevés aux paysans."



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with Lally's ideas of a sufficiency of draught cattle. The very depressed state of the treasury precluded the possibility of affording other facilities, the want of which his impatience rendered a galling disappointment. He vented his uneasiness in reproaches and complaints. He had carried out in his mind one of those wide and sweeping conclusions, which men of little experience and discrimination are apt to form; that his countrymen in India were universally rogues: And to this sentiment, that ignorance and avidity, at home, which recalled Dupleix, were well calculated to conduct him. The Directors had told him in their instructions; "As the troubles in India have been the source of fortunes, rapid and vast, to a great number of individuals, the same system always reigns at Pondicherry, where those who have not yet made their fortune hope to make it by the same means; and those who have already dissipated it hope to make it a second time. The Sieur de Lally will have an arduous task to eradicate that spirit of cupidity; but it would be one of the most important services which he could render to the Company."<sup>1</sup> Every want, therefore, which he experienced; every delay which occurred, he ascribed to the dishonesty and misconduct of the persons employed;<sup>2</sup> and had

<sup>1</sup> Mém. pour Lally, p. 21. In their letter of the 20th March, 1759, they say, "Vous voudrez bien prendre en considération l'administration des affaires de la Compagnie, et l'origine *des abus sans nombre* que nous y voyons: *Un despotisme absolu* nous paroît la première chose à corriger." —They add, "Nous trouvons par-tout des preuves de la prodigalité la plus outrée, et du plus grand désordre."

<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt at all, that the neglect of all preparation, to enable him to act with promptitude, though they had been expecting him at Pondicherry for eight months, was extreme, and to the last degree culpable. There was a total want of talent at this time at Pondicherry; a weak

so little prudence as incessantly to declare those opinions in the most pointed and offensive terms which his language could supply. These proceedings rendered him in a short time odious to every class of men in the colony ; precluded all cordial co-operation, and ensured him every species of ill-office which it was safe to render. The animosity at last between him and his countrymen became rancour and rage ; and the possibility of a tolerable management of the common concerns was utterly destroyed.

On the 1st of May, Lally himself arrived at Fort St. David ; and when joined by the troops from the ships, and those whom he had drawn from the forts in the Carnatic, he had, according to Mr. Orme, 2500 Europeans, exclusive of officers, and about the same number of Sepoys, assembled for the attack. The garrison consisted of 1600 natives, and 619 Europeans, of whom eighty-three were sick or infirm, and 250 were seamen.<sup>1</sup> The place held out till the 1st of June, when, having nearly expended its ammunition, it yielded on capitulation. It was expected to have made a better defence ; and the English historians have not spared the conduct of the commanding officer. He had courage and spirit in sufficient abundance ; but was not very rich in

imagination that the expected armament was to do every thing, and that those who were there before had no occasion to do any thing ; otherwise, with the great superiority of force they had enjoyed since the arrival of the 1000 Europeans, in the beginning of September, they might have performed actions of no trifling importance, and have at least prepared *some* of the money and other things requisite for the operations of Lally.

<sup>1</sup> Orme. Lally (Mém. p. 42) says, " Il y avoit dans le Fort de Saint David sept cent Européens, et environ deux mille Cipayes. Les troupes du Comte de Lally consistoient en seize cents Européens, et six cents

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mental resources, or very accurate in ascertaining the conduciveness of his means. In consequence of instructions brought from France, Lally immediately issued orders for razing the fortifications to the ground: As soon as the fort capitulated, he sent a detachment against Devi-Cotah, which the garrison immediately abandoned; and on the 7th of June, he returned with the army, in triumph, and sung *Te Deum* at Pondicherry.

The English, in full expectation that the next operation of Lally would be the siege of Madras, had called in the troops from all the forts in the interior, except Trichinopoly; and had even debated whether they should not abandon that city itself. All the troops from Tinivelly and Madura were ordered to return to Trichinopoly, and, together with the garrison, to hold themselves in readiness for any emergency.

The great poverty, however, of the French exchequer; and the inability, created or greatly enhanced by the unpopular proceedings of Lally, of supplying its deficiencies by credit; cramped his operations, and sharpened the asperities of his temper. He had written from Fort St. David to the Governor of Pondicherry, in the following terms; "This letter shall be an eternal secret between you, Sir, and me, if you afford me the means of accomplishing my enterprise.

noirs, tant cavalerie qu'infanterie, ramassés à la hâte. Son régiment qui avoit essayé un combat de mer, où il avoit perdu quatre-vingt-quatre hommes, et à qui on n'avoit donné depuis son débarquement à Pondicherry, que quarante-huit heures de repos, étoit à peine en état de lui fournir deux piquets." It is at least to be remembered, that this statement of facts was made in the face of Lally's numerous and bitter enemies.

I left you 100,000 livres of my own money to aid you in providing the funds which it requires. I found not, upon my arrival, in your purse, and in that of your whole council, the resource of 100 pence. You, as well as they, have refused me the support of your credit. Yet I imagine you are all of you more indêbted to the Company than I am. If you continue to leave me in want of every thing, and exposed to contend with universal disaffection, not only shall I inform the King and the Company of the warm zeal which their servants here display for their interest, but I shall take effectual measures for not depending, during the short stay I wish to make in this country, on the party spirit and the personal views, with which I perceive that every member appears occupied, to the total hazard of the Company.”<sup>1</sup>

Despairing of funds from any other source, he resolved to devote to this object the next operations of the war.<sup>2</sup> He at the same time recalled Bussy,

<sup>1</sup> Mémoire, ut supra, Pièces Justificatives, p. 30. De Leyrit defended himself by asserting the want of means; “Je vous rendrai compte,” says he, “de ma conduite, et de la disette de fonds dans laquelle on m’a laissé depuis deux ans, et je compte vous faire voir que j’ai fait à tous égards plus qu’on ne devoit attendre de moi. Mes ressources sont aujourd’hui épuisées, et nous n’en avons plus à attendre que d’un succès. Où en trouverois-je de suffisantes dans un pays ruiné par quinze ans de guerre, pour fournir aux depenses considérables de votre armée et aux besoins d’une escadre, par laquelle nous attendions bien des espèces de secours, et qui se trouve au contraire dénuée de tout?” Ib. No. 20. Lett. du Sieur De Leyrit au Comte de Lally, 24th May, 1758. Lally, however, asserts that he had received two millions of livres by the arrival of the fleet. Mém. p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> This at least is the account of the English historians. Lally himself says, that it was his own design to proceed directly from Fort St. David to Madras; but the commander of the fleet absolutely refused to co-operate with him; *would* go upon a cruize to the south, for the purpose of intercepting such vessels as might arrive from England; and carried



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against whose character he fostered the strongest prejudices, and the importance of whose transactions under the Subahdar he treated as interested pretence and imposture.

Two plans presented themselves for the supply of his wants. All the western and northern districts of the Nabobship, evacuated by the English, lay open to his incursions, and in the rents which might be collected offered a certain resource. But the collection of rents was a tedious operation, and the expected produce a scanty supply. The King of Tanjore, when pressed in 1751 by Chunda Saheb and the French, had, among his other efforts to procrastinate and evade, given his bond, which still remained at Pondicherry, for 5,600,000 rupees. This sum, could it only be extorted from him, was a large and present resource; and in Fort St. David, as a prisoner, had been found the pretender to the throne of Tanjore, who might now be employed as an instrument to frighten the Rajah into compliance. The expedition against Tanjore was accordingly undertaken; and on the 18th of June Lally took the field.<sup>1</sup>

From the terror of the natives, the alienation of the Europeans, and the want of money, the equipment of the expedition, in attendants, draught cattle, and even provisions and ammunition, was in the highest degree defective. In seven days the army arrived

with him the detachment which Lally had put on board to prevail upon him to trust himself again at sea after the first engagement. *Mém.* p. 57.

<sup>1</sup> Lally repeats with what regret he postponed the siege of Madras; and shows that it was by earnest persuasions of the Governor, and the Jesuit Lavour (a missionary of a most intriguing spirit, who had contrived to gain a vast influence in the Councils of Pondicherry), that he undertook the expedition to Tanjore. *Mém.* p. 62.

at Carical, not without suffering, at this early stage, both from fatigue and from hunger.<sup>1</sup> At this place Lally was met by a messenger from the King, who was desirous to treat. Lally understood, that some of his predecessors had been duped into impolitic delay, by the artful negotiations of the King of Tanjore. He resolved to display superior wisdom, by a conduct directly the reverse. He proceeded to Nagore a town accounted rich, about four miles to the north of Negapatnam; but the merchants had time to remove their most valuable effects, and the acquisition yielded only a trifle. On the 28th he arrived at Kiveloor, the seat of a celebrated Pagoda, which eastern exaggeration represented as containing enormous riches, the accumulated offerings of the piety of ages: had it been plundered by a Mohammedan conqueror, and the transaction recorded by a Persian historian, he would have described his hero as bearing away, in his fortunate chariots, a mountain of gold. Under the vulgar persuasion, Lally ransacked, and even dug the houses; dragged the tanks, and took away the idols; but no treasures were found, and the idols, instead of gold, were only of brass. Six unhappy Brahmens lingered about the camp, in hopes, it is probable, of recovering some of their beloved divinities. The suspicions of Lally took them

<sup>1</sup> Lally was, of course, obliged to trust to the information of those acquainted with the country; and the letters of Lavour and De Leyrit make it sufficiently appear that they extenuated beyond measure the difficulties of the undertaking; and made him set out upon representations which they knew to be false, and promises which were never intended to be fulfilled. In fact it would have required a cooler, and a more fertile head than that of Lally, to counteract the malignity, to stimulate the indifference, and to supply the enormous deficiencies, by which he was surrounded.

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for spies ; his violence and precipitation took his suspicions for realities ; and he ordered the six Brahmens to be treated as the Europeans are accustomed to treat the natives convicted as spies ; that is, to be shot away from the muzzles of the guns. The King's army took the field ; but after a slight show of resistance retreated to the capital, near which Lally arrived on the 18th of July. Conferences ensued : The King offered a sum of money, but greatly inferior to what was required : Lally offered to abate in his pecuniary demand, provided he were furnished with 600 bullocks, and a supply of gunpowder. His agents were more prudent than himself, and suppressed the article of gunpowder, the deficiency of which, if known to the King, was not likely to improve his disposition to compliance : and the bullocks, the King observed, that his religion did not permit him to grant. The cannonade and bombardment began. After a few days the King renewed his efforts for an accommodation. The obliquities of Eastern negotiation wore out the temper of Lally ; and he threatened to carry the King and all his family slaves to Mauritius. This outrage produced in the Hindu a final resolution to defend himself to the last extremity. He had early, among his applications for assistance, implored the co-operation of the English ; and Captain Calliaud at Trichinopoly was commissioned to make all those efforts in his favour which his own security might appear to allow. That officer sent to him without delay a small detachment, which might feed his hopes of a more efficient support, and afford him no apology for making his peace with the French. But

he was afraid to intrust him with any considerable portion of his troops, fully aware that the French might at any time make with him an accommodation, and receive his assistance to destroy the very men who had come to protect him. Upon this last occurrence Calliaud inferred that the time for accommodation was elapsed, and sent an additional detachment. Lally continued his operations, and on the 7th of August effected a breach.

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At this time, however, only 150 charges of powder for the cannon, not twenty cartouches a man for the troops, and not provisions for two days, remained in the camp.<sup>1</sup> The next morning intelligence was received, that the English Fleet, after a fresh engagement with the French, had anchored before Carical; from which alone the French army could derive its supplies. Lally summoned a council of war. Out of thirteen officers, two, the Count d'Estaign, and M. Saubinet, advised an immediate assault, considering the success as certain, and the landing of the English at Carical, while the French fleet kept the sea, as highly improbable. It was determined, in conformity with the opinion of the other eleven, to raise the siege.<sup>2</sup> Intelligence of this resolution of the enemy,

<sup>1</sup> This is the statement of Orme (ii. 27). That of Lally is—*qu'il ne restoit au parc d'artillerie que trois milliers de poudre pour les canons, et vingt coups par soldat en cartouche*—he adds, that he had no other balls for the cannon but those which were shot by the enemy, of which few corresponded with the calibre of his guns; that twenty-four hours' battering were still requisite to make the breach practicable; that he had but a few days' provisions for the European part of his army, while the native part and the attendants were entirely without provisions, and had, the greater part of them, deserted. *Mém. ut supra*, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Lally says, that he had at the same time received a letter from the Commanding Officer at Pondicherry, announcing that a body of 1200 English, who had marched from Madras, were menacing Pondicherry;



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and of the negligence and security in which they encamped, encouraged the Tanjorines to attempt a surprise; which brought Lally and his army into imminent danger. After a disastrous march, in which they suffered severely, from the enemy, from fatigue, and from famine,<sup>1</sup> they arrived on the 28th at Carical, and saw the English fleet at anchor off the mouth of the river.

After the first of the naval engagements, the English fleet, before they could anchor, were carried a league to the north of Sadras; the French, which had suffered less in the rigging, and sailed better, anchored fifteen miles to the windward. The English as soon as possible weighed again, and after a fruitless endeavour to reach Fort St. David, discovered the French fleet on the 28th of May in the road of Pondicherry. The next day, the French, at the remonstrance of Lally, who sent on board a considerable body of troops, got under sail; but instead of bearing down on the English, unable to advance against the wind, proceeded to Fort St. David, where they arrived on the evening after the surrender. The English sailing badly, fell to leeward as far as Alamparva, where intelligence was received of the loss of the fort. The admiral, therefore, not having water on board for the consumption of five days, made sail, and anchored the next day in the road of Madras. The fleet had numerous wants; Madras had very scanty means of supply; and nearly

and one from Gopal Row the Mahratta, threatening with a visit the territory of the French, if their army did not immediately evacuate Tanjore. *Mém.* p. 73.

<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding their hardships and fatigues, Lally asserts that they lost but little. *Ib.* p. 81.

eight weeks elapsed before it was again ready for sea. BOOK IV  
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On the 3d of July three of the Company's ships arrived from Bengal, with money, merchandise, and stores, but no troops. The monsoon had obliged them to make the outward passage towards Acheen, and they came in from the southward. The French Admiral, after touching at Fort St. David, had stood to the southward, to cruize off Ceylon; in opposition to the remonstrances of Lally, who desired the fleet to co-operate in the destined enterprise against Madras. Lally hastened from Fort St. David to Pondicherry, and summoned a council by whose authority he recalled the fleet. The injunction reached the Admiral at Carical on the 16th of June, and he anchored the next day in the road of Pondicherry. Had he continued his destined course to the southward, he could not have missed the three English East Indiamen from Bengal, and by their capture would have obtained that treasure, the want of which alone disconcerted the scheme of English destruction. 1758.  
On the 25th of July the English fleet were again under sail; and on the 27th appeared before Pondicherry, where the French lay at anchor. They put to sea without delay; but the difficulties of the navigation, and the aims of the commanders, made it the 2d of August before the fleets encountered off Carical. The French line consisted of eight sail; the English, as before, of seven. The fight lasted scarcely an hour; when three of the French ships being driven out of the line, the whole bore away, under all the sail they could carry. The English Admiral gave chase; but in less than ten minutes the enemy were beyond the distance of certain shot.

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Toward night the English gave over the pursuit, and came to anchor off Carical. The French steered for Pondicherry, when the Admiral declared his intention of returning to Mauritius. Lally sent forward the Count D'Estaign to remonstrate with him on the disgrace of quitting the sea before an inferior enemy, and to urge him to renewed operations. D'Estaign offered to accompany him on board, with any proportion of the troops. Lally himself moved with the army from Carical on the 24th of August, and, having passed the Coleroon, hurried on with a small detachment to Pondicherry, where he arrived on the 28th. He immediately summoned a mixed Council of the administration and the army, who joined in a fresh expostulation to the Admiral on the necessity of repairing to Madras, where the success of an attack must altogether depend upon the union of the naval and military operations. That commander, representing his ships as in a state of the greatest disablement, and his crews extremely enfeebled and diminished by disease, would yield to no persuasion, and set sail with his whole fleet for Mauritius on the 2d of September.<sup>1</sup>

If we trust to the declaration of Lally, his intention of besieging Madras, still more his hopes of taking it, were abandoned from that hour. Before the fleet departed, an expedition against Arcot, with

<sup>1</sup> These events are minutely recorded by Orme, ii. 197—352. The Sketches and Criticisms of Colonel Wilks, p. 379—398, are professional and sensible. Cambridge, p. 135—185, goes over the same ground. A spirited abstract is given, p. 96—102, by the author of the History and Management of the East India Company. For the operations of Lally, his own Memoir, with the original documents in the Appendix, is in the highest degree instructive and entertaining.

a view to relieve the cruel pressure of those pecuniary wants which the disastrous result of the expedition to Tanjore had only augmented, was projected and prepared. Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, had been left under the government of one of the principal officers of Mohammed Ali, the English Nabob, with a small body of Sepoys and native cavalry. With this officer, Rajah Saheb, (the eldest son of the late Chunda Saheb,) now decorated by the French with the title of Nabob, had opened a correspondence; and a treaty was concluded, according to which the Governor was to deliver up the place, to receive as a reward 13,000 rupees, and to be taken, along with his troops, into the pay and service of Lally. As auxiliary measures, the previous possession of the secondary forts of Trivatore, Trinomalee, Carangoly, and Timery, was deemed expedient. Lally divided his army into four parts, to two of which the forts of Carangoly and Timery surrendered without resistance; Trivatore and Trinomalee were taken by assault. On the terms of a pretended capitulation, on the 4th of October, Lally, amid the thunder of cannon, made his entrance into Arcot.

The fort of Chinglapet, the occupation of which, from want of funds, or ignorance of its importance, Lally had postponed to the acquisition of Arcot, covered the country whence chiefly, in a case of siege, Madras would find it necessary to draw its provisions. In the consternation under which the English had withdrawn their troops from the country forts, upon the arrival of Lally, Chinglapet among the rest had been left in a very defenceless condition; and when the French marched against



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Carangoly, they might have taken Chinglapet by escalade in open day. The English, awakened to a sense of its importance, left Arcot to its fate, and made all their exertions to save Chinglapet. A fleet had arrived from England in the middle of September, which brought 850 of the king's troops, and with them Colonel Draper and Major Brereton: Captain Calliaud, with the whole of the European troops, was recalled from Trichinopoly: And before Lally entered Arcot, Chinglapet was supplied with a strong garrison. The applications of Lally to the government of Pondicherry for 10,000 rupees, which were necessary, after the acquisition of Arcot, to put the troops in motion for Chinglapet, were answered only by representations of the complete exhaustion of their resources; and that General, obliged for want of funds to place the troops in cantonments, returned to Pondicherry full of mortification and chagrin.<sup>1</sup>

He had been joined by Bussy about the time at which he entered Arcot. That officer, who had conducted himself with such rare ability in the dominions of the Subahdar, and with his handful of French had raised himself to an elevated station among the princes of India, had left the Subahdar on a tottering throne, which nothing but his strong support could much longer uphold. The Subahdar, when informed of the intended departure of the French, was too much amazed to believe the dreadful intelligence; and, when too well assured of its ominous reality, took his leave of Bussy, in an

<sup>1</sup> Mém. pour le Comte de Lally, p. 86—99; Orme, ii. 341—370.

agony of grief and despair. Bussy, it is possible, took his departure with the more alacrity, as he hoped, through the representations which in person he would be able to make, that he could prevail upon Lally to send him back, and with augmented force, to his important station. Having, on his march, been joined by Moracin, the Governor of Masulipatam, who with his troops was also recalled, he left the march to be conducted by Moracin, and under a safeguard granted him from Madras hastened to the meeting with Lally.

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The head of that General was filled with the importance of his own project, the expulsion of the English from India; and with contempt for the schemes of Bussy, as of all other men who had different views from his own. In his letter to Bussy, upon the taking of Fort St. David, he had said, "It is the whole of British India which it now remains for us to attack. I do not conceal from you that, having taken Madras, it is my resolution to repair immediately, by land or by sea, to the banks of the Ganges, where your talents and experience will be of the greatest importance to me." Bussy employed every effort to convince him of the importance of retaining the advantages which he had gained in the dominions of the Subahdar; and the most pressing and passionate letters arrived from the Subahdar himself.<sup>1</sup> But Lally, who had already treated the representations of Bussy as the visions

<sup>1</sup> Lally himself informs us, that these letters uniformly began with such expressions as these, "Renvoyez M. de Bussy avec un corps de troupes; vous savez que je ne peux pas m'en passer;" or, "vous savez que je ne peux pas me passer de M. de Bussy; renvoyez le moi avec un corps de troupes," &c. *Mém. pour le Comte de Lally*, p. 93.

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of a madman, and had told the Governor of Pondicherry that he thought himself too condescending in reading his letters, lent a deaf ear to remonstrances which inwardly he regarded as the fruit of delusion or imposture.<sup>1</sup> Apprized of the money which Dupleix had raised on his personal credit, he was not without hopes that Bussy might be possessed of similar resources; and he states as a matter of great surprise, mixed with incredulity, the averment of Bussy, that in this way he was altogether incapable of aiding the general cause.

A high testimony from another quarter was yielded to the merits of Bussy. His rank as an officer was only that of Lieutenant-Colonel. Besides a Major-General, six Colonels had arrived with the army of Lally. The six Colonels, yielding to the nobler impulses of the human mind, signed a requisition that Bussy might supersede them. "Their names," says Mr. Orme, "highly worthy of record on this occasion, were mostly of ancient and noble descent; D'Estaing, de Landivisiau, de la Faire, Breteuil, Verdière, and Crillon."

To whatever quarter Lally turned his eyes, he found himself beset with the greatest difficulties. The government of Pondicherry declared, as they had frequently declared before, that in their exhausted situation it was altogether impossible for them to find the means of subsisting the army at Pondicherry. When a council of war was called, the Count D'Estaing, and other officers, pronounced it better to die by a musket ball, under the ramparts of Madras,

<sup>1</sup> Letter to De Leyrit, 28th June, 1758. *Mém. ut supra*, Appen. No. xxxvi.

than by hunger, within those of Pondicherry. The idea of undertaking a siege, says Lally, the total want of funds excluded from the mind of every one. But it was deemed expedient to bombard the place, to shut up the English within the fort, to obtain the pillage of the black town, and to lay waste the surrounding country.<sup>1</sup>

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The Governor of Pondicherry declared that he was destitute of every species of resource, either for the pay or the maintenance of the soldiers. Lally advanced 60,000 rupees of his own money, and prevailed upon some members of the council, and other individuals in Pondicherry, to follow, in some degree, his example. From this species of contribution or loan, he obtained 34,000 rupees, which, added to his own, made a sum of 94,000. This was the treasure with which, at the head of 2700 European troops, and 4000 Indians, he marched against Madras.

The expedition was ready for its departure at the beginning of November, but the continuance of the rains retarded its arrival before Madras till the 12th of December, when Lally had not funds to ensure the subsistence of the army for a single week. The English had made active use of the intervening period for providing themselves with the means of defence. When Admiral Pocock quitted the coast in October to avoid the monsoon, he left behind him the marines of the squadron, and was expected back in January. A body of cavalry, under an adventurer of the country, was taken into pay; and so posted, along with the Sepoys from Trichinopoly, as to make war upon

<sup>1</sup> Mém. ut supra, i. 98, 100.



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the line of the enemy's convoys. The veteran Lawrence, who was still in Madras, was put at the head of the troops ; and took post with the greater part of the army on elevated ground at some distance from the town. It was not, however, his intention to run the risk of an action ; and as the enemy advanced, he gradually yielded ground, till on the 12th he entered the fort with all his army. The command in the fort belonged to the Governor Pigot. But he was an intelligent, and an active man ; and the harmony of the defence experienced no interruption. The military within the walls now consisted of 1758 Europeans, 2220 Sepoys, and 200 horse of the Nabob, on whom by experience little dependence was placed. The other Europeans were 150 men, who were employed without distinction in serving out stores, and other auxiliary operations.

On the 13th the enemy remained on the plain, and reconnoitred the place. On the 14th, early in the morning, they took possession of the black town, where the soldiery, from want of skill or authority on the part of their commander, abandoned themselves to intemperance and disorder. In hopes of profiting by this opportunity, the English made a strong sally with 600 chosen men. They penetrated into the black town before the enemy were collected in sufficient numbers ; but were at last opposed by a force which they could not withstand ; and, had the division of the enemy, which was under the command of Bussy, advanced with sufficient promptitude to cut off their retreat, it is highly probable that few of them would have made their escape. Lally adduces the testimony of the officers, who commanded

under Bussy, that they joined in urging him to intercept the English detachment; but that he, alleging the want of cannon, absolutely refused. Mr. Orme says that he justified himself by the delay of Lally's orders, without which it was contrary to his duty to advance. To gain, however, a great advantage at a critical moment, a zealous officer will adventure somewhat, under some deficiency both of cannon and of orders. The loss on the part of the English was not less than 200 soldiers, and six officers. In mere numbers that of the enemy was nearly the same.

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The capture of the black town had furnished to Lally for the demands of the service only 80,000 livres, lent to him by an Armenian merchant, whom he had saved from plunder; and to these were added 12,000 livres furnished by a Hindu partisan. With these funds he began to construct his batteries, in the intention, as he repeats, of only bombarding the place, when intelligence was brought, on the 24th of December, that a frigate from the islands had arrived at Pondicherry with a million of livres. It was this circumstance, he says, which now determined him to convert the bombardment into a siege.

With only two engineers, and three artillery officers, excepting the few who belonged to the Company, all deficient both in knowledge and enterprise; with officers in general dissatisfied and ill-disposed, with only the common men on whom he could depend, and of whose alacrity he never had reason to complain, he carried on the siege with a vigour and activity which commanded the respect even of the besieged, though they were little acquainted with the

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difficulties under which he toiled. By means of the supplies which had plentifully arrived from Bengal, and the time which the Presidency had enjoyed to make preparation for the siege, the English were supplied with an abundance both of money and of stores. The resolution to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, which has seldom been shared more universally and cordially by any body of men, inspired them with incessant vigilance and activity, The industry of the enemy was perpetually counteracted by a similar industry on the part of their opponents. No sooner had those without erected a work, than the most active, and enterprising, and often skilful exertions were made from within to destroy it. Whatever ingenuity the enemy employed in devising measures of attack, was speedily discovered by the keen and watchful eyes of the defenders. A breach, in spite of all those exertions, was however effected; and the mind of Lally was intensely engaged with preparations for the assault; when he found the officers of his army altogether indisposed to second his ardour. Mr. Orme declares his opinion that their objections were founded on real and prudential considerations, and that an attempt to storm the place would have been attended with repulse and disaster. Lally, however, says that the most odious intrigues were carried on in the army, and groundless apprehensions were propagated, to shake the resolution of the soldiers, and prevent the execution of the plan: that the situation of the General was thus rendered critical in the highest degree, and the chance of success exceedingly diminished; yet he still adhered to his design, and only waited for the

setting of the moon, which in India sheds a light not much feebler than that of a winter sun, on the very day on which an English fleet of six sail arrived at Madras.

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The fleet under Admiral Pocock, which had left Madras on the 11th of October, had arrived at Bombay on the 10th of December, where they found six of the Company's ships, and two ships of the line, with 600 of the King's troops on board. On the 31st of December the Company's ships, with all the troops, sailed from Bombay, under the convoy of two frigates, and arrived, on the 16th of February, at a critical moment, at Madras. "Words," says Lally, "are inadequate to express the effect which the appearance of them produced. The officer who commanded in the trenches deemed it even inexpedient to wait for the landing of the enemy, and two hours before receiving orders retired from his post."

Lally was now constrained to abandon the siege. The officers and soldiers had been on no more than half pay during the first six weeks of the expedition, and entirely destitute of pay during the remaining three. The expenses of the siege, and the half pay, had consumed, during the first month, the million of livres which had arrived from the islands. The officers were on the allowance of the soldiers. The subsistence of the army for the last fifteen days had depended almost entirely upon some rice and butter, captured in two small vessels from Bengal. A very small quantity of gunpowder remained in the camp; and not a larger at Pondicherry. The bombs were wholly consumed three weeks before. The Sepoys deserted for want of pay, and the European cavalry



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threatened every hour to go over to the enemy. The defence of Pondicherry rested upon 300 invalids; and, within twelve hours, the English, with their reinforcements, might land and take possession of the place. On the night of the 17th the French army decamped from Madras; and the English made no efforts to molest their retreat.<sup>1</sup>

We may judge of the feelings, towards one another, of Lally and his countrymen, when he tells us, that the retreat of the army from Madras produced at Pondicherry the strongest demonstrations of joy, and was celebrated by his enemies as an occasion of triumph.

The Nabob, Mohammed Ali, who had retreated into Madras when the French regained the ascendancy in the province, had been removed during the siege to Trichinopoly; and of his two refractory brothers Abdul Wahab and Nujeeb Oolla, who had taken the side of the French, the former returned to the English connexion, before the siege of Madras, and was joined to the party of the English kept in the field to act upon the enemy's communications: the latter, induced by the event of the siege to anticipate success to the party which he had renounced, murdered all the French in his service, except a single officer, and professed himself a partisan of the English.

The English now elevated their hopes to the re-

<sup>1</sup> Orme, ii. 383—459; *Mém. pour Lally*, p. 99—117. Of the sick and wounded, those who were too ill to be removed, to the number of thirty-three, according to Lally's own account, to that of forty-four according to Mr. Orme's, were left behind, and recommended by a letter of Lally to the English commander. They were treated, as Lally himself declares, with all the care which the laws, both of war and of humanity, prescribed.

covery of the province, but found their operations cramped by the narrowness of their funds. It was the 6th of March before the army, consisting of 1156 Europeans, rank and file, 1570 Sepoys, 1120 collieries (irregular troops of the southern Polygars,) and 1956 horse, was in a condition to move. The countries of Madura and Tinivelly at the same time recalled the attention of the Presidency. No sooner had the troops been withdrawn for the defence of Madras, than the refractory chiefs began their encroachments. Only the towns of Madura and Palam-Cotah, preserved by the steadiness of the Sepoys in garrison, remained in obedience to the English. And Mohammed Issoof, who had commanded with reputation the Company's native troops, in their former attempts in that country, was now sent back, in the quality of renter, with a body of Sepoys, for the recovery of the country.

The French army had marched from Madras in the direction of Conjeveram; and there the French and English armies remained in sight of one another, without any operation of importance, for two and twenty days. The English, at the end of this time, made a march upon Wandewash; took possession of the town, and began to open ground against the fort. This brought the French army to defend it; upon which the English decamped in the night; by a forced march of two days arrived at Conjeveram, and took it by assault. The two armies continued to watch one another till the 28th of May, when they both went into cantonments.

On the 28th of April, Admiral Pococke had arrived upon the coast from Bombay, but had con-

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tinued to windward of Pondicherry, and principally at Negapatnam, with a view to intercept the French squadron, which was expected from the isles. And near the end of June, three of the usual ships arrived at Madras, with 100 recruits of the Company, and intelligence that Lieutenant-Colonel Coote, with 1000 of the King's troops, might be shortly expected on the coast. The satisfaction, however, which this good fortune was calculated to excite, was grievously damped by an attendant piece of advice; that the Court of Directors, "dazzled," as Mr. Orme expresses it, "by representations of the great wealth acquired by the conquest of Bengal, and of its sufficiency to supply their other presidencies, had determined to send no more treasure to any of them till the year 1760." From the first moment of Indian conquests to a late period in their history, were the Company led into blunders, and were but too successful in misleading the councils of the nation, by their absurd estimates of the pecuniary value of Indian dominion. This intelligence was so disastrous, and full of discouragement, "that for every reason," says Mr. Orme, "it was kept within the Council."

Towards the end of July five of the expected ships, with the first division of the troops, arrived at Negapatnam, and having given out the provisions and stores which they had brought for the use of the squadron, sailed for Madras. On the 20th of August the squadron left Negapatnam, and sailed for Trincomalee in the island of Ceylon, where the French fleet was descried, on the 2d of September. D'Aché had been reinforced by the arrival of three ships

from France; but as the resources of the islands were inadequate to refit and supply the fleet, not only much time had been lost, but he had been compelled to return to sea, in a state of very imperfect equipment. It was the 10th of September before the state of the winds and the weather permitted the encounter of the fleets. The English having the wind, came down a-breast, while the French, who were farthest out at sea, lay-to in line of battle a-head. The English squadron consisted of nine ships of the line, a frigate, the *Queensborough*, two of the Company's ships, and a fire-ship. The French were eleven sail of the line, and three frigates; and their total battery exceeded that of the English by 174 guns, and consequently, by eighty-seven in action. The engagement lasted scarcely two hours, when the greater part of the French ships having quitted the line, the whole fleet sailed away, and, in a few minutes, were beyond the reach of the English shot. Such was the indecisive character of naval actions in general, at the period to which we now refer. The English, though they had clearly the victory, had also the principal share of the loss. In point of men the injury was supposed to be nearly equal on both sides; but all the French ships, one only excepted, carried topsails when they retired from the fight; none of the English ships, after the engagement, could set half their sails, and two were obliged to be taken in tow. The English fleet anchored the next day in the road of Negapatnam, and the French in four days arrived at Pondicherry.

As nothing could exceed the distress of the

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French in respect to supplies ; so their hopes were ardent of relief by the arrival of the ships. The fort of Covrepawk had surrendered upon summons, to a detachment of the English army, in the beginning of July. In the beginning of August, Lally's own regiment mutinied for want of pay, and, by their example, subverted the discipline of the whole army. The confidence of the English had mounted so high, that Major Brereton, who commanded the troops, and who burned for an opportunity of performing some exploit before the arrival of Coote, persuaded the Presidency to sanction an attempt for the reduction of Wandewash. After waiting till the roads were passable, the whole army marched from Conjeveram on the 26th of September. The principal part of the French forces were concentrated at Wandewash ; and the enterprise was unsuccessful. The English made a spirited attack on the night of the 29th, but were resisted with great gallantry, and finally repulsed with a loss of more than 200 men. In this action, a detachment of grenadiers were very expeditiously quitting the vicinity of danger ; when their officer, instead of calling after them, an imprudence which would, in all probability, have converted their retreat into a flight, ran till he got before them, and then, turning suddenly round, said, " Halt," as giving the ordinary word of command. The habit of discipline prevailed. The men stopped, formed according to orders, and marched back into the scene of action. But this success of the French, however brilliant, neither clothed the men, nor supplied them with provisions. Neither the English nor the French had ever been

able to draw from the districts which they held in the country sufficient funds to defray the expense of the troops, employed in conquering and defending them. A considerable portion of those districts, which the French had been able to seize upon the arrival of Lally, the English had again recovered. The Government of Pondicherry, left almost wholly destitute of supplies from Europe, was utterly exhausted, first, by the long and desperate struggle in which they had been engaged; and secondly, (for the truth must not be disguised, though the complaints of Lally have long been treated with ridicule,) by the misapplication of the public funds: a calamity, of which the violent passion of individuals for private wealth was a copious and perennial fountain. Lally had, from his first arrival, been struggling on the borders of despair, with wants which it was altogether out of his power to supply. The English had received, or were about to receive, the most important accession to their power. And nothing but the fleet, which had now arrived, and the supplies which it might have brought, could enable him much longer to contend with the difficulties which environed him.

M. d'Aché had brought, for the use of the colony, 16,000*l.* in dollars, with a quantity of diamonds, valued at 17,000*l.*, which had been taken in an English East Indiaman; and, having landed these effects, together with 180 men, he declared his resolution of sailing again immediately for the islands. Nothing could exceed the surprise and consternation of the colony upon this unexpected and alarming intelligence. Even those who were

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the most indifferent to the success of affairs, when the reputation of Lally, and the interest of their country alone were at stake, now began to tremble, when the very existence of the colony, and their interests along with it, were threatened with inevitable destruction. All the principal inhabitants, civil and military, assembled at the Governor's house, and formed themselves into a national council. A vehement protest was signed against the departure of the fleet. But the resolution of the Admiral was inflexible; and he could only be induced to leave 400 Caffres, who served in the fleet, and 500 Europeans, partly marines and partly sailors.

At the same time the departure of Bussy had been attended, in the dominions of the Subahdar, with a rapid succession of events, ruinous to the interests of the French. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circars, those important districts of which Bussy had obtained the dominion from Salabut Jung, had been attended with the most brilliant success; had not only driven the French entirely out of the country, but had compelled the Subahdar to solicit a connexion with the English. Nizam Ali, whose audacious and aspiring character rendered him extremely dangerous to the feeble resources and feebler mind of his brother, had returned from the flight, to which he had been urged by the spirit and address of Bussy, at the head of a considerable army; and compelled the Subahdar to replace him in that commanding situation, from which he had recently been driven. Bassalut Jung, the second of the three brothers, who anticipated the revolution which the victorious

return of Nizam Ali portended, promised himself important advantages from the assistance of the French, in the changes which he expected to ensue ; and despatched a letter to Lally, in which he told him he was coming to throw himself into his arms.<sup>1</sup> Bussy urged in strong terms the policy of declaring Bassalut Jung Nabob of the Carnatic. This was opposed by the step which had been recently taken by Lally, of making this declaration, with much ceremony and pomp, in favour of the son of Chunda Saheb. It was, however, agreed that a body of troops, under the command of Bussy, should be sent to join Bassalut Jung, who hovered upon the borders of the Carnatic. He had left Hyderabad, under pretence of regulating the affairs of his government of Adoni ; but he soon directed his march toward the south-east, supporting his army by levying contributions as he proceeded, and approached Nelore in the month of July.

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M. Bussy arrived at Wandewash the very day after the repulse of the English ; and, having placed himself at the head of the detachment, which was destined to accompany him to the camp of Bassalut Jung, proceeded on his march. But the French army, which had long been enduring extraordinary privations, now broke out into the most alarming disorders. More than a year's pay was due to them ; they were destitute of clothing, and many times ill supplied with provisions. The opinion was disseminated, that a much larger sum than was pretended had been left by the fleet ; and that the General was

<sup>1</sup> Mém. pour Lally, p. 135.



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acquiring immense wealth by dilapidation. On the 16th of October the whole army was in mutiny, and the officers deprived of all authority. Intelligence of these disastrous events overtook Bussy at Arcot, and induced him to suspend his march. The troops were at last restored to obedience by the payment of six months of their arrears, and a complete amnesty. But the delays which had intervened had exhausted the resources which enabled Bassalut Jung to remain on the borders of the Carnatic: He was at the same time solicited, by a promised enlargement of his territory, to join with Nizam Ali, who dreaded the reappearance of M. Bussy in the territories of the Subahdar: His ardour for the French alliance was cooled by the intelligence of the disorders among their troops: He was alarmed by the presence of an English corps of observation, which had been sent to act upon his rear, if he should advance into the province: And on the 19th of October he struck off across the hills into the district of Kurpa; where Bussy, who followed him by a different route, arrived on the 10th of November. Bassalut Jung offered to accompany the French detachment to Arcot, provided he was recognised by the French as sovereign of the Carnatic, and furnished with four lacks of rupees for the payment of his troops. The French were not without objections to the first of these conditions, and altogether incapable of fulfilling the last. The negotiation, therefore, proved fruitless; and Bussy returned; with an addition, however, of 400 good horse, whom he had found the means of attaching to his service.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the account of Bussy's march, I have followed his own and Ome's

Urged by the necessity of making efforts for the supply, and even subsistence, of the army, Lally, BOOK IV  
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The English took the field. Colonel Coote, with the last division of his regiment, had arrived on the 27th of October ; and on the 21st of November proceeded to Conjeveram, where the troops were cantoned for the rains. The first of his acts was to assemble a Council of the principal officers ; that he might obtain from them a knowledge of facts, and profit by their observations. To divide the attention of the enemy, he began with movements which indicated an attack upon Arcot ; but his real intention was to gain possession of Wandewash ; which was attacked and carried on the 29th. The inaction of the French army, at Chittapet, which, probably deeming itself too weak, made no effort for

account. Lally (*Mém.* p. 136) complains of his delays, and insinuates that to the misconduct through which these delays took place, the loss of Bassalut Jung's alliance ought to be ascribed.

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the protection of Wandewash, induced the English to march immediately to Carangoly, which made a feeble resistance, and surrendered on the 10th of December.

The loss of Arcot, and with it the command of all the northern districts of the province, now presented itself to the eyes of Lally as threatening to an alarming degree. The greater part of the troops was hastily recalled from Seringham; Bussy at the same time arrived from his expedition to the camp of Bassalut Jung; a Mahratta chief and his body of horse were taken into pay; and Lally was eager to strike a blow for the recovery of Wandewash.

Bussy, on the other hand, was of opinion, as the French were superior in cavalry, which would render it dangerous for the English to hazard a battle, except in circumstances of advantage, that they should avail themselves of this superiority, by acting upon the communications of the English, which would soon compel them either to fight at a disadvantage, or retire for subsistence to Madras: whereas if they besieged Wandewash, the English would have two important advantages; one, that of fighting with only a part of the French army, while another part was engaged in the siege; the other, that of choosing the advantage of the ground, from the obligation of the French to cover the besiegers.

At the same time the motives of Lally were far from groundless. The mental state of the soldiers required some brilliant exploit to raise them to the temper of animated action. He was deprived of all means of keeping the army for any considerable

time in the field. By seizing the English magazines, he counted upon retarding for several days their march to the relief of Wandewash; and as the English had breached the fort and taken it in forty-eight hours, he counted, and not unreasonably, upon rendering himself master of the place before the English could arrive.

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Amusing the English, by some artful movements, he surprised and took Conjeveram, which he concluded was the place of the English magazines. The fact however was, that the English had no magazines, but were dependent on the purchases of the day, and already straitened for supplies by the extensive excursions of his Mahratta horse. Lally repaired to Wandewash; but several days elapsed before his battery was ready to play; and in the mean time the English approached. Lally throws the blame upon his engineer; whom he ordered to batter in breach with three cannon upon one of the towers of the fort, which was only protected by the fire of a single piece, and which, five weeks before, the English with inferior means had breached in forty-eight hours. But the engineers insisted upon erecting a battery in exact conformity with the rules of the schools; and the soldiers in derision asked if they were going to attack the fortifications of Luxemburgh.<sup>1</sup>

The project of Lally having in this manner failed, now was the time, at any rate, to have profited by

<sup>1</sup> Mém. pour Lally, p. 161;—Orme, ii. 577, says that cannon for the battery, which did not open till the 20th, six days after Lally took possession of the Pettah or town adjoining the fort, were brought from Val-dore on carriages sent from Pondicherry.



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the judicious advice of Bussy, and, abandoning the siege, to have made war upon the English means of supply. But Lally, who was aware that his character had fallen low with the army, could not brook the imputation of retreating before his enemy; he prepared, therefore, to meet the attack of the English army, and to continue his operations. It was the policy of the English commander to leave the enemy at work, till they were ready to assault the fort, when he was sure of attacking separately, at his choice, either the troops engaged in the siege, or those who covered them. His movements were judiciously made; and on the morning of the 22d, he was on the ground before the French camp, his army drawn up in two lines in a most advantageous position, where he had a free communication with the fort, and one of his flanks protected by its fire. The French occupied the ground in front of their line, where the field of battle had previously been marked out. The English army consisted of 1900 Europeans, of whom eighty were cavalry, 2100 Sepoys, 1250 black horse, and twenty-six field-pieces. The French, including 300 marines and sailors from the squadron, consisted of 2250 Europeans, and 1300 Sepoys; for the Mahrattas kept aloof at the distance of some miles from the field of battle.<sup>1</sup> Lally, and apparently with

<sup>1</sup> Orme, ii. 582. Lally (*Mém.* p. 161) gives a very different account of the respective numbers: that the French had 900 infantry, 150 cavalry, 300 marines and sailors, in all 1350 Europeans, with 1800 Sepoys; and that the English had 2500 infantry, and 100 cavalry, all Europeans; of black troops nearly an equal number with the French.—There is some appearance that Mr. Orme's account of the French force is conjectural, and hence exaggerated, as all his numbers are round numbers, one regiment 400, another 700, another 400, cavalry 300, &c. Perhaps we ought

reason, complains that his troops did their duty ill in the action. While the English army were advancing, Lally, who imagined he perceived some wavering on their left, occasioned by the fire of his artillery, though Mr. Orme says they had not yet come within cannon-shot, put himself at the head of the cavalry, to profit by the favourable moment. The cavalry refused to march. The General suspended the Commanding Officer, and ordered the second Captain to take the command. He, also, disobeyed. Lally addressed himself to the men; and a Cornet crying out that it was a shame to desert their General in the day of battle, the officer who commanded on the left offered to put the troop in motion. They had not advanced many paces, when a single cannon-shot, says Lally, the rapid firing of two pieces, says Mr. Orme, put them to flight, and they galloped off, leaving him absolutely alone upon the plain.<sup>1</sup> Lally returned to the infantry, and brought up his line. The French fired rashly, and ineffectually, both with artillery and musketry; the English leader, who was cool, and perfectly obeyed, made his men reserve their fire, till sure of its execution. The regiment that occupied the enemy's right, when the distance between them and the English was now inconsiderable, threw themselves into column, and rushed forward at a rapid pace. Coote, directing the opposite

to trust to Lally's account of his own forces, because it was given in the face of his enemies, who were interested, and well able, to contradict it if untrue; and we need not hesitate to take Mr. Orme's account of the English, where his knowledge was complete.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Orme, ii. 583, says, that two field-pieces, which fired several times in one minute, and brought down ten or fifteen men or horses, caused the flight.

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regiment to be firm, and preserve their fire, gave the command when the enemy were at fifty yards' distance. The fire fell heavy, both on their front and flanks. Yet it stopped not the course of the column; and in an instant the two regiments were mingled at the push of the bayonet. The weight of the column bore down what was opposed to it; but as it had been left unprotected by the flight of the cavalry posted on its right, its flanks were completely exposed, and in a few moments the ground was covered with the slain, when it broke, and fled in disorder to the camp. Almost at the same time a tumbril blew up in the redoubt in front of the enemy's left; and during the confusion which this accident produced, the English took possession of the post. No part of the French line continued firm much longer. When ordered to advance, the sepoys absolutely refused. Bussy, who put himself at the head of one of the regiments, to lead them to the push of the bayonet, as the only chance of restoring the battle, had his horse wounded under him, was abandoned by the troops, and taken prisoner. Lally frankly acknowledges, that his cavalry, who had behaved so ill at the beginning of the action, protected his retreat with great gallantry: He was thus enabled to wait for the junction of the detachment at Wandewash, and to carry off his light baggage and the wounded. The black cavalry of the English were too timid, and the European too feeble in numbers, to impede the retreat.

Lally retired to Chittapet, from which, without strengthening the garrison, he proceeded the following day towards Gingee. The enterprise next re-

solved on by Colonel Coote was the reduction of Arcot, toward which, the day after the battle, he sent forward a body of troops. Intelligence, however, of the defenceless state in which the enemy had left Chittapet, gave him hopes of making that a previous acquisition. In two days the English effected a breach, and the garrison surrendered. On the 1st of February, Coote arrived at Arcot. On the 5th three batteries opened on the town. On the night of the 6th the army began their approaches. Although operations were retarded for want of ammunition, on the morning of the 9th the sap was carried near the foot of the glacis; and by noon, two breaches, but far from practicable, were effected; when, to the great surprise of the English, a flag of truce appeared, and the place was surrendered. Not three men had been lost to the garrison, and they might have held out ten days longer, before the assault by storm could have been risked.

From Gingee Lally withdrew the French troops to Valdore, both to prevent the English from taking post between them and Pondicherry, and to protect the districts to the south, from which alone provisions could be obtained. The difficulties of Lally, which had so long been great, were now approaching to extremity. The army was absolutely without equipments, stores, and provisions, and he was destitute of resources to supply them. He repaired to Pondicherry to demand assistance, which he would not believe that the governor and council were unable to afford. He represented them as embezzlers and speculators; and there was no imputation of folly, of

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cowardice, or of dishonesty, which was spared against him in return.

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To proceed with the reduction of the secondary forts which the enemy held in different parts of the province ; to straiten Pondicherry, and, if sufficient force should not arrive from France for its relief, to undertake the reduction of that important place, was the plan of operations which the English embraced.<sup>1</sup> The country between Alamparva and Pondicherry was plundered and burnt ; Timery surrendered on the 1st of February ; Devi-Cotah was evacuated about the same time : on the 29th of the same month Trinomalee surrendered ; the fort of Permacoil was taken after some resistance in the beginning of March ; and Alamparva on the 12th. Carical now remained the only station on the coast, except Pondicherry, in possession of the French ; and of this it was important to deprive them, before the shortly expected return of the fleet. A large armament was sent from Madras, and the officer who commanded at Trichinopoly was ordered to march to Carical with all the force which could be spared from the garrison. Lally endeavoured to send a strong detachment to its relief ; but the place made a miserable defence, and yielded on the 5th of April

<sup>1</sup> Lally says (*Tableau Histor. de l'Expédition de l'Inde*, p. 32), and apparently with justice, "Il n'est pas douteux que si l'ennemi se fût porté tout de suite [after the battle of Wandewash] sur Pondichéry, il s'en fût rendu maître en huit jours. Il n'y avoit pas un grain de riz dans la place ; les lettres, prières, ordres, et menaces que le Comte De Lally employoit depuis deux ans vis-à-vis du Sieur de Leyrit, n'avoient pu le déterminer à y former un seul magasin." The English leaders appear to have had no conception of the extremely reduced state of the French, and how safe it would have been to strike a decisive blow at the seat of the colony.

before assistance could arrive. On the 15th of that month Valdore surrendered after a feeble resistance ; as did Chillambaram on the 20th. Cuddalore was taken about the same time, and several strong attempts by the enemy to regain it were successfully resisted.

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By the 1st of May the French army was confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English encamped within four miles of the town ; the English powerfully reinforced from England, and elated with remembrance of the past, as well as hope for the future ; their antagonists abandoned, by neglect at home, to insuperable difficulties ; and looking with eager eyes to the fleet, which never arrived. On the part of the English, Admiral Cornish had reached the coast with six ships of the line, before the end of February : On the 25th of April Admiral Stevens, who now commanded in room of Pocock, arrived with four ships of the line ; and on the 23d of May came another ship of the line, with three companies of the royal artillery on board.

As the last remaining chance of prolonging the struggle for the preservation of the French colony, Lally turned his eyes towards the natives ; and fixed upon the Mysoreans as the power most capable of rendering him the assistance which he required. The adventurer Hyder Ali was now at the head of a formidable army, and, though not as yet without powerful opponents, had nearly at his disposal the resources of Mysore. Negotiation was performed ; and an agreement was concluded. On the one hand the Mysorean chief undertook to supply a certain quantity of bullocks for the provision of Pondicherry,

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and to join the French with 3000 select horse, and 5000 Sepoys. On the other hand the French consented to give the Mysoreans immediate possession of the fort of Thiagar, a most important station, near two of the principal passes into the Carnatic, at an easy distance from Baramhal, and about fifty miles E.S.E. from Pondicherry. Even Madura and Tinivelly were said to be promised, if by aid of such valuable allies the war in the Carnatic were brought to a favourable conclusion. This resource proved of little importance to the French. The Mysoreans (who routed however a detachment of the English army sent to interrupt their march) were soon discouraged by what they beheld of the condition of the French; and soon recalled by an emergency which deeply affected Hyder at home. They remained in the vicinity of Pondicherry about four weeks, during which time Lally had found it impossible to draw from them any material service; and departing in the night, without his knowledge, they marched back to Mysore. A few days before their departure six of the English Company's ships arrived at Madras with king's troops to the amount of 600 men: On the 2nd of September, one month later, several other ships of the Company arrived, and along with them three ships of war, and a portion of a Highland regiment of the King, increasing the fleet in India to the amount of seventeen sail of the line.

Lally had now, and it is no ordinary praise, during almost eight months since the total discomfiture of his army at Wandewash, imposed upon the English so much respect, as deterred them from the siege of Pondicherry; and, notwithstanding the desperate

state of his resources, found means to supply the fort, which had been totally destitute of provisions, with a stock sufficient to maintain the garrison for several months. And he still resolved to strike a blow which might impress them with an opinion that he was capable of offensive operations of no inconsiderable magnitude. He formed a plan, which has been allowed to indicate both judgment and sagacity, for attacking the English camp by surprise in four places on the night of the 4th of September. But one of the four divisions, into which his army was formed for the execution of the enterprise, fell behind its time, and disconcerted the operations of the remainder.

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A circumstance now occurred in the English army which affords another proof (we shall find abundance of them as we proceed) of the impossibility of governing any country well from the distance of half the circumference of the globe. No government, which had any regard to the maxims either of justice or of prudence, would deprive of his authority a commander, who, like Colonel Coote, had brought a great and arduous service to the verge of completion, at the very moment when, without a chance of failure, he was about to strike the decisive blow which would give to his preceding operations the principal part of their splendour and renown. Yet the East India Company, without intending so reprehensible a conduct, and from their unavoidable ignorance of what after many months was to be the state of affairs, had sent out a commission, with the fleet just arrived, for Major Monson the second in command, to supersede Coote, who was destined for Bengal. Monson was



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indeed directed to make no use of his commission while Coote remained upon the coast ; but the spirit of Coote would not permit him to make any advantage of this indulgence ; and had he been less a man of sense and temper, had he been more governed by that boyish sensibility to injury, which among vulgar people passes for honour, this imprudent step of the Company would have been attended with the most serious consequences. When Coote was to proceed to Bengal it was the destination of his regiment to proceed along with him. The Council of Madras were thrown into the greatest alarm. Monson declared that if the regiment were removed he would not undertake the siege of Pondicherry. Coote consented that his regiment should remain, to encircle the brows of another with laurels which belonged to his own.

Around Pondicherry, like many other towns in India, ran a hedge of the strong prickly shrubs of the country, sufficiently strong to repel the sudden incursions of the irregular cavalry of the country. As the position of the French was contrived to give it whatsoever protection this rampart could yield, the first operation of Monson was intended to deprive them of that advantage. The attack was indeed successful ; but through mismanagement on the part of some of the officers, the plan was badly executed ; and considerable loss was incurred. Among the rest, Monson himself was wounded, and rendered incapable for a time of acting in the field. Colonel Coote had not yet sailed for Bengal ; and Monson and the Council joined in requesting him to resume the command. He returned to the camp on the 20th of

September, and actively proceeded with the reduction of the outposts. When the rains began, in the beginning of October, the camp was removed to an elevated ground at some distance from the town; and during the rains no efforts were made, except those on the part of the French, to introduce provisions, and those on the part of the English, to frustrate their attempts. About the beginning of December, the rains drawing to a close, preparations were made for improving the blockade into more expeditious methods of reduction. Several batteries were prepared, which played on the town from the 8th to the 30th of December. On that day a dreadful storm arose, which stranded three of the English ships in the road, and seriously damaged the greater part of the fleet; while it tore up the tents of the soldiers, and threw the camp into the utmost confusion. Fortunately the inundation produced by the storm rendered it impracticable for the enemy to move their artillery, nor could the troops carry their own ammunition dry. The greatest diligence was exerted in restoring the works. An attempt failed, which was made on the 5th of January, to obtain possession of a redoubt still retained by the enemy. But on the 12th of January the trenches were opened. The enemy were now reduced to the last stage of privation. Lally himself was sick; worn out with vexation and fatigue. The dissensions which raged within the fort had deprived him of almost all authority: a very feeble resistance was therefore made to the progress of the English works. The provisions, which such arduous efforts had been required to introduce into the fort, had been managed without

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economy; the importunities of Lally to force away the black inhabitants, who consumed the stores of the place with so much rapidity, were resisted, till matters were approaching to the last extremity. While provisions for some days yet remained, Lally urged the Council, since a capitulation must regard the civil as well as the military affairs of the colony, to concert general measures for obtaining the most favourable terms; and procured nothing but chicanery in return. The device of the Council was to preserve to themselves, if possible, the appearance of having had no share in the unpopular transaction of surrender, and the advantage, dear to their resentments, of throwing with all its weight the blame upon Lally. When at last not two days' provisions remained in the magazines, Lally informed them that he was reduced to the necessity of delivering up the military possession of the place; for the civil affairs it rested with them to make what provision was in their power. Towards the close of day on the 14th, a commissioner from Lally, together with a deputation from the Council, approached the English camp. The enemy claimed the benefit of a cartel which had been concluded between the two crowns, and which they represented as precluding them from proposing any capitulation for the town of Pondicherry. As a dispute respecting that cartel remained still undecided, Coote refused to be guided by it, or to accept any other terms than those of an unconditional surrender. Their compliance, as he concluded with sufficient assurance, the necessity of their affairs rendered wholly indispensable.

On the fourth day after the surrender, there arose

between the English civil and military authorities a dispute, which, had the military been as daring as the civil, might have been attended with the most serious consequences. Mr. Pigot, the Governor of Madras, made a formal demand, that Pondicherry should be given up to the Presidency, as the property of the East India Company. Coote assembled a council of war, consisting of the chief officers, both of the fleet and the army, who were of opinion that the place ought to be held for the disposal of the King. Pigot, with a hardihood which subdued them; though, in a man without arms in his hands, toward men on whose arms he totally depended, it might have been a hardihood attended with risk; declared that, unless Pondicherry were given up to the Presidency, he would furnish no money for the subsistence of the King's troops or the French prisoners. Upon this intimation the military authorities submitted.

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Two places in the Carnatic, Thiagar, and the strong fort of Gingee, still remained in possession of the French. The garrisons, however, who saw no hope of relief, made but a feeble resistance; and on the 5th of April Gingee surrendered, after which the French had not a single military post in India: for even Mahé and its dependencies, on the Malabar coast, had been attacked and reduced by a body of troops which the fleet landed in the month of January. The council of Madras lost no time in levelling the town and fortifications of Pondicherry with the ground.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This, as Orme remarks, was in retaliation of the design of the French



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Dreadful was the fate which awaited the unfortunate Lally, and important are the lessons which it reads. By the feeble measures of a weak and defective government, a series of disasters, during some preceding years, had fallen upon France; and a strong sentiment of disapprobation prevailed in the nation against the hands by which the machine of government was conducted. When the total loss of the boasted acquisitions of the nation in India was reported, the public discontent was fanned into a flame: and the ministry were far from easy with regard to the shock which it might communicate to the structure of their power. Any thing was to be done which might have the effect to avert the danger. Fortunately for them, a multitude of persons arrived from India, boiling with resentment against Lally, and pouring out the most bitter accusations. Fortunately for them, too, the public, swayed as usual by first appearances, and attaching the blame to the man who had the more immediate guidance of the affairs upon which ruin had come, appeared abundantly disposed to overlook the ministry in their condemnation of Lally. The popular indignation was carefully cultivated; and by one of those acts of imposture and villany of which the history of ministries in all the countries of Europe affords no lack of instances, it was resolved to raise a screen between the ministry and popular hatred, by the cruel and disgraceful de-

Government, avowed as the object of the expedition of De Labourdonnais, the policy of Dupleix, and the armament of Lally, the utter extirpation of the English, and destruction of their settlements in the Peninsula.  
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struction of Lally. Upon his arrival in France, he was thrown into the Bastille; from the Bastille, as a place too honourable for him, he was removed to a common prison. An accusation, consisting of vague or frivolous imputations, was preferred against him. Nothing whatsoever was proved, except that his conduct did not come up to the very perfection of prudence and wisdom, and that it did display the greatest ardour in the service, the greatest disinterestedness, fidelity, and perseverance, with no common share of military talent, and of mental resources. The grand tribunal of the nation, the parliament of Paris, found no difficulty in seconding the wishes of the ministry, and the artificial cry of the day, by condemning him to an ignominious death. Lally, confident in his innocence, had never once anticipated the possibility of any other sentence than that of an honourable acquittal. When it was read to him in his dungeon, he was thrown into an agony of surprise and indignation; and taking up a pair of compasses, with which he had been sketching a chart of the Coromandel coast, he endeavoured to strike them to his heart; but his arm was held by a person that was near him. With indecent precipitation he was executed that very day. He was dragged through the streets of Paris in a dirty dung-cart; and lest he should address the people, a gag was stuffed into his mouth, so large as to project beyond his lips. Voltaire, who had already signaled his pen by some memorable interpositions in favour of justice and the oppressed, against French judges and their law, exerted himself to expose, in a clear light, the real circumstances of this horrid

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transaction; which Mr. Orme scruples not to call “a murder committed with the sword of justice.” It was the son of this very man, who, under the name of Lally Tolendal, was a member of the Constituent Assembly, and by his eloquence and ardour in the cause of liberty, contributed to crumble into dust a monarchy, under which acts of this atrocious description were so liable to happen. Thus had the French East India Company, within a few years, destroyed three, the only eminent men who had ever been placed at the head of their affairs in India, Labourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally. It did not long survive this last display of its imbecility and injustice.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For these events see *Mém. pour le Comte de Lally*; *Mém. pour le Sieur De Leyrit*; *Mém. pour Bussy*; Orme, vol. ii.; Cambridge; Wilks; Voltaire, *Fragmens Hist. sur l'Inde, et sur la Mort du Comte de Lally*.

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## CHAPTER V.

*First Nabobship of Meer Jaffier.—Expedition against the Northern Circars.—Emperor's eldest Son, and Nabobs of Oude and Allahabad, invade Bengal.—Clive resigns the Government, and is succeeded by Mr. Vansittart.—Jaffier dethroned, and Meer Casim set up.—Disorders by the private Trade of Company's Servants.—War with Casim.—He is dethroned, and Jaffier again set up.—War with the Nabob of Oude.—Death of Jaffier.—His Son made nominal Nabob.—Courts of Proprietors and Directors.—Clive sent back to govern Bengal.*

A DEFECTIVE treasury is the grand and perennial source of the difficulties which beset the sovereigns of India. This evil pressed with peculiar weight upon Meer Jaffier. Before the battle of Plassy, which rendered him Subahdar, his own resources were scanty and precarious. The liberality of Ali-verdi, the expense of his war with the Mahrattas, and the ravages of that destructive enemy, left in the treasury of the province a scanty inheritance to Suraj-ad-dowla: The thoughtless profligacy of that prince, even had his reign been of adequate duration, was not likely to add to the riches of the state: To purchase the conspiracy of the English, Meer Jaffier, with the prodigality of Eastern profession, had promised sums which he was altogether unable to pay;

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the chiefs whom he had debauched by the hopes of sharing in his fortunes, were impatient to reap the fruits of their rebellion: and the pay of the troops was deeply in arrear. In these circumstances it was almost impossible for any man to yield satisfaction. The character of Meer Jaffier was ill calculated for approaching to that point of perfection.

In making promises, with a view to the attainment of any great and attractive object, an Indian sovereign seldom intends to perform any more, than just as much as he may find it unavoidable to perform; and counts, in general, too, with a well-grounded certainty, upon evading a considerable part at least of that for which he had engaged. To Meer Jaffier the steadiness with which the English adhered to the original stipulations appeared, for a time, the artifice merely of cunning men, who protract an accommodation for the purpose of rendering it more advantageous. Private bribes to defeat public ends, in Oriental politics, an engine seldom worked in vain, were applied with some perseverance. When he found the rigid fulfilment of the vast engagements to the English, still peremptorily and urgently claimed, he was not only surprised but exasperated; and began to hope, that some favourable event would deliver him from such obstinate and troublesome associates.<sup>1</sup>

The English were not the parties against whom his animosities were first displayed. Aliverdi Khan, aware of the rebellious and turbulent spirit, which almost always reigned among those adventurers from Iran and Turan, who commonly rose to the chief

<sup>1</sup> Clive's Letter to the Proprietors of E. I. Stock, in 1764, p. 30.

command in the armies of the Mohammedan princes in Hindustan, had adopted the sagacious policy of bringing forward the gentle, the less enterprising, and less dangerous Hindus. And he had raised various individuals of that race to the principal places of power and emolument under his government. Of Ramnarain, whom he intrusted with the important government of Berar, the reader has already received information. Dooloob Ram, another Hindu, held the grand office of Dewan, or Superintendent of the Finances. That celebrated family, the Sets, of Moorshedabad, who by merchandise and banking had acquired the wealth of princes, and often aided him in his trials, were admitted largely to share in his councils, and to influence the operations of his government. Aliverdi had recommended the same policy to Suraj-ad-dowla ; and that prince had met with no temptation to depart from it.<sup>1</sup>

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Meer Jaffier was placed under the deepest obligations to Dooloob Ram. When he was convicted of malversation in his office, and stood in disgrace with his master, it was Dooloob Ram who had made his peace.<sup>2</sup> In the late revolution, Dooloob Ram had espoused his interests, when the influence of that minister, and his command of treasure, might have conferred the prize upon another chief. Whether he dreaded the power of the Hindu connexion, or was stimulated with a desire of their wealth, Meer Jaffier resolved to crush them ; and with Dooloob Ram, as the most powerful individual, it was prudent to begin. Before the departure of Clive, he had sum-

<sup>1</sup> Orme, ii, 53,

<sup>2</sup> Seer Mutakhareen, ii, 8.

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moned Ramramsing, the Governor of Midnapore, and head of the Spy-office, to repair to the capital to answer for the arrears of his government; but the cautious Hindu, already alarmed, evaded the mandate by sending two of his relations. The Nabob, so by the English now was Jaffier styled, threw both into prison; and easily reconciled Clive, by informing him, that Ramramsing was an enemy to the English, and had been the agent through whom the correspondence between Suraj-ad-dowla and Bussy had been carried on. A close connexion had long subsisted between Ramramsing and Dooloob Ram; and the latter, to whose sagacity the designs of Jaffier were not a secret, regarded the present step as a preliminary part of the plan which was laid for his own destruction.

Meantime opposition began to display itself in various parts of the provinces. The Raja of Midnapore took arms upon the news of the detention of his relatives: An insurrection in favour of a son of Sereffraz Khan, whom Aliverdi deposed, was raised at Dacca: In the province of Poorania, the dewan of the late governor had raised a creature of his own to the chief command: And Jaffier had resolved on the removal of Ramnarain from the province of Berar. Colonel Clive found the means of reconciling Ramramsing; and, with the assistance of the English, the insurrection at Dacca was easily quelled. But when the troops were drawn out to proceed to Poorania, they refused to march, without payment of their arrears. Clive was preparing to join the Nabob; but his troops, with the prize-money distributed among them in consequence of the battle of Plassy,

had indulged in such intemperance, that many of the Europeans had died, a still greater proportion were sick, and the army was unable to leave Chander-nagor before the 17th of November.

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The Nabob's troops were ordered to march on the 6th of October. Partial payments, and other means of overcoming their disobedience, were employed till the 7th of November, when the Nabob repaired to the camp. No sooner had he left the city, than his son Meeran, who was to act as Governor, distributed intelligence, that a confederacy was formed, under the authority of the Emperor at Delhi, between Ram-narain, the Subahdar of Oude, and Dooloob Ram, to raise to the government of Bengal the son of a younger brother of Suraj-ad-dowla.<sup>1</sup> He then commissioned a band of ruffians to enter in the night the palace of the widow of Aliverdi, with whom the mother of Suraj-ad-dowla, and grandmother of the prince, resided. They murdered the child, and sent the two princesses to Dacca. The Nabob, who denied all participation in the action, received from the English, says Mr. Orme, "no reproaches."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orme, ii. 272. Clive, however, (Report, ut supra,) and the author of the *Seer Mutakhareen* (ii. 8), both say that the murdered prince was a brother of Suraj-ad-dowla.

<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt that many treasonable projects were on foot against Mir Jaffier for some time after his accession, which were only prevented from effecting his downfall and destruction by dread of his English friends. His fears, and those of his son, explain, if they do not excuse, some of their cruelties. It may also be observed, that although some acts of atrocity are unquestioned, yet we must not assent to all that is avouched by the author of the *Seer Mutakhareen* without hesitation. He and the other members of his family had been intimate with Mir Jaffier and his son before the elevation of the former, and somewhat too sanguinely anticipated distinguished notice from him. For reasons that do not appear they were treated with contumely, and ordered not to approach



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Clive arrived at Moorshedabad, on the 25th of November, where Dooloob Ram, who, under pretence of sickness, had refused to accompany Jaffier, remained with his troops. On the 3d of December he joined the Nabob at Raj Mahl. Cuddum Hussun, who had long been an associate in the pleasures of Jaffier, was destined for the government of Poorania;<sup>1</sup> and some days had elapsed since he crossed the river into that province, with a body of troops. The terror inspired by the Nabob's army, the intrigues which Cuddum Hussun, by means of letters and spies, was able to raise in the enemy's camp, together with the rawness of the insurgent troops, made them take flight and disperse, upon the very approach of Cuddum Hussun; who took quiet possession of the government, and began immediately to gratify his avarice by the severest exactions.

The mind of the Nabob, now tranquil on account of other quarters, turned itself to the more arduous proceedings which it meditated in Bahar. Clive perceived his opportunity; and refused to proceed with him, unless all the sums due upon the agreements with the English were previously discharged. No payments could be made without Dooloob Ram. A reconciliation, therefore, was necessary; and, Clive undertaking for his security, Dooloob Ram joined the camp with 10,000 troops. Twenty-three lacks of

Murshedabad. The author himself afterwards became intimate with Ramnarain, and still further therefore an object of dislike to the Nawab. The resentment thus inspired, pervades all his notices of Mir Jaffier and his son.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Orme calls him Jaffier's relation; but the author of the *Seer Muta-khareen* (ii. 9), who had better opportunities of knowing, says he was only the son, by a concubine, of a man who had married Jaffier's sister.

rupees were now due: Orders were signed upon the treasury for one-half; and tuncaws, that is, orders to the local receivers to make payment out of the revenues as they come in, were granted on certain districts for the remainder.

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Clive, however, now stated, as objections to the removal of Ramnarain; the strength of his army; the probability that he would receive assistance from the Subahdar of Oude; the likelihood that the English would be recalled to the defence of their own settlements by the arrival of the French; and the danger lest Ramnarain should bring an army of Mahrattas to his aid. Jaffier was not willing to oppose directly an opinion of Clive; and offered to accept of his mediation; reserving in his mind the use of every clandestine effort to accomplish his own designs. The army began its march to Patna; and was joined by Ramnarain, after receipt of a letter from Clive, assuring him, that both his person and government should be safe. The intended delays and machinations of the Nabob were cut short, by intelligence that the Subahdar of Oude, with the French party under M. Law, and a great body of Mahratta horse, was about to invade the province; and by the actual arrival of a Mahratta chief, who came in the name of the principal Mahratta commanders to demand the arrears of chout, amounting to twenty-four lacks of rupees, which were due from Bengal. These events produced a speedy accommodation with Ramnarain. The Nabob, indeed, used various efforts to remain behind the English, in order to defeat the securities which that Governor had obtained. But Clive penetrated, and disappointed his designs. He even ex-

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torted from him another grant, of no small importance to the English treasury. A leading article in the European traffic was the salt-petre produced in Bengal, the whole of which was made in the country on the other side of the Ganges above Patna. This manufacture had in general been farmed for the benefit of the Government; and Clive saw the advantage of obtaining the monopoly for the English. He offered the highest terms which the government had ever received; but the Nabob knew he could not demand from the English the regular presents which he would derive from a renter placed at his mercy; he was not, therefore, inclined to the arrangement; but, after a variety of objections, the necessity of his circumstances compelled him to comply.

Clive got back to Moorshedabad on the 15th of May; and, on the same day, received intelligence from the coast of Coromandel, of the arrival of the French fleet, and of the indecisive first engagement between it and the English. A friend to the use which governments commonly make of their intelligence of the events of war, “Clive spread,” says Orme, “the news he received, as a complete naval victory; two of the French ships sunk in the fight, instead of one stranded afterwards by a mischance; the rest put to flight, with no likelihood of being able to land the troops which they had brought from Pondicherry.”

On the 24th, Clive departed from Moorshedabad without waiting for the Nabob. On the 20th of June, a ship arrived at Calcutta from England; and brought along with it a commission for new modelling the government. A council was nominated

consisting of ten; and, instead of one Governor, as in preceding arrangements, four were appointed, not to preside collectively, but each during three months in rotation. The inconvenience of this scheme of government was easily perceived. "But there was another cause," says Mr. Orme, "which operated on opinions more strongly. Colonel Clive had felt and expressed resentment at the neglect of himself in the Company's orders, for no station was marked for him in the new establishment." Convinced that he alone had sufficient authority to over-awe the Nabob into the performance of his obligations, the council, including the four gentlemen who were appointed the governors, came to a resolution, highly expressive of their own disinterestedness and patriotism, but full of disregard and contempt for the judgment and authority of their superiors.<sup>1</sup> This high legislative act of the Company they took upon them to set aside, and, with one accord, invited Clive to accept the undivided office of President.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Scrafton (*Reflections on the Government, &c., of Indostan*, p. 115) says, "At this crisis, when military virtue and unanimity were more immediately necessary, the Directors, divided by violent contests among themselves, which certainly did them no honour, were so unfortunate in their judgment, as to appoint four Governors of Bengal, to govern each four months, and left Colonel Clive entirely out of this list. The absurdity of such a system was too apparent to take place," &c.—M. There was no display of disregard or contempt, however for their superiors. The council, in writing to Clive, express their belief "that had their employers been apprized of the present state of affairs in Bengal, they would have placed the presidentship in some one person, as the clearest and easiest method of conducting their concerns." And that they had rightly judged, appeared from the event, for as soon as the Directors heard of the battle of Plassy, they appointed Clive to the station of Governor. Life, i. 352.—W.



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With this invitation he assures us, that "he hesitated not one moment to comply."<sup>1</sup>

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In the mean time considerable events were preparing at Moorshedabad. On the approach of Clive and Dooloob Ram, Meeran had thrown the city into violent agitation, by quitting it with demonstrations of fear, summoning all the troops and artillery of the government, and giving it out as his intention to march for the purpose of joining his father. Clive wrote with much sharpness to the Nabob; and Meeran apologized in the most submissive strain. Though inability to discharge the arrears due to the troops, who could with much difficulty be preserved from tumults, compelled the Nabob to delay his proceedings, he was impatient for the destruction of Dooloob Ram; the severity of his despotism increased; and he declared to one of his favourites, who betrayed him, "that if a French force would come into the province he would assist them, unless the English released him from all their claims of

<sup>1</sup> Report, ut supra. The influence of the Colonel is depicted by the following anecdote. There was an officer of rank, to whom Jaffier had been often indebted before his elevation, remarkable for his wit. This, from their former intimacy, and a jealousy of present neglect, he did not spare on the Nabob himself. While the armies of the Nabob and of Clive were at Patna, he was one day accused to the Nabob of having permitted a fray between some of his own soldiers and some of Clive's. "It chanced," says the author of the *Seer Mutakhareen*, ii. 19, "that Mirza Shemseddin himself made his appearance at that very moment: it was in full durbar and in the hall of audience. The Nawab fixed his eyes upon him, and spoke a few words that seemed to border upon reprimand: 'Sir,' said he, 'your people have had a fray with the Colonel's people: Is your honour to learn who is that Colonel Clive, and in what station heaven has seated him?' 'My Lord Nawab,' answered the Mirza, getting up instantly, and standing bolt-upright before him: 'Me, to quarrel with the Colonel! me! who never get up in the morning, without making three profound bows to his very jackass! How then could I be daring enough, after that, to fall out with the rider himself!'"

money, territory, and exemptions.”<sup>1</sup> Among the Hindus, who had risen to high employment under the encouraging policy of the late Subahdars, was Nuncomar, who acted as Governor of Hoogly at the time of Suraj-ad-dowla’s march against Calcutta. Nuncomar had followed the armies to Patna, and, as conversant with the details of the revenue, was employed by Dooloob Ram. When the difficulties of obtaining payment upon the tuncaws granted to the English began to be felt, he proffered his assistance; and, if supported by the government of the Nabob, assured the English, that he would realize the sums. He was vested with such authority as the service appeared to require; but as he expected not to elude the knowledge of Dooloob Ram, in the practices which he meditated, for raising out of his employment a fortune to himself, he resolved to second the designs of the Nabob for the removal of that vigilant Dewan. He persuaded the Sets to withdraw their protection from this troublesome inspector, by awakening their fears of being called upon for money, if Dooloob Ram withheld the revenues, and supplied not the exigencies of the state. He assured the Nabob and Meeran, that the English would cease to interfere in their government, if the money was regularly paid. Dooloob Ram took the alarm, and requested leave to retire to Calcutta, with his family and effects. Permission was refused, till he should find a sum of money sufficient to satisfy the troops. Under profession of a design to visit Colonel Clive at Calcutta, the Nabob quitted the capital; but, under pretence of

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<sup>1</sup> Orme, ii. 356.

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hunting, remained in its neighbourhood. On the second day after his departure, Meeran incited a body of the troops to repair to the residence of Dooloob Ram, and to clamour tumultuously for their pay. The English agent interfered; but, as the troops were directed by Meeran to make sure of Dooloob Ram, the agent found great difficulty in preserving his life. Clive at last desired that he should be allowed, with his family, to repair to Calcutta; and the consent of the Nabob was no longer withheld.

Within a few days after the return of the Nabob from Calcutta, a tumult was excited in his capital by the soldiers of one of the chiefs, and assumed the appearance of being aimed at the Nabob's life. A letter was produced, which bore the character of a letter from Dooloob Ram to the commander of the disorderly troops, inciting him to the enterprise, and assuring him that the concurrence of Clive, and other leading Englishmen, was obtained. Clive suspected that the letter was a forgery of Jaffier and Meeran, to ruin Dooloob Ram in the opinion of the English, and procure his expulsion from Calcutta; when his person and wealth would remain in their power. All doubts might be resolved by the interrogation and confrontation of the commander, to whom the letter was said to be addressed. But he was ordered by the Nabob to quit his service, was way-laid on his departure, and assassinated.

In the mean time advices had arrived from the Presidency at Madras, that Fort St. David had yielded, that a second engagement had taken place between the fleets, that the French army was before

Tanjore, that M. Bussy was on his march to join Lally: And the most earnest solicitations were sub-joined, that as large a portion of the troops as possible might be sent, to afford a chance of averting the ruin of the national affairs in the Carnatic. "No one," says Orme, "doubted that Madras would be besieged, as soon as the monsoon had sent the squadrons off the coast, if reinforcements should not arrive before."<sup>1</sup> Clive chose to remain in Bengal, where he was master, rather than go to Madras, where he would be under command; and determined not to lessen his power by sending troops to Madras, which the Presidency, copying his example, might forget to send back. An enterprise, at the same time, presented itself, which, though its success would have been vain, had the French in the Carnatic prevailed, bore the appearance of a co-operation in the struggle, and afforded a colour for detaining the troops.

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One of the leading Polygars in the Northern Circars, fixing his eye upon the advantages which he might expect to derive from giving a new master to the provinces, communicated to the English in Bengal his desires to co-operate with them in driving out the French, while Bussy was involved in a struggle with the brothers of the Subahdar. The brilliancy of the exploit had no feeble attractions for the imagination of Clive; and after the recall of Bussy to Pondicherry,

<sup>1</sup> Orme says (ii. 363,) "Clive did not entertain a surmise that it would be taken whilst it had provisions." But Clive himself says, (Report, ut supra,) Nothing saved Madras from sharing the fate of Fort St. David, but their [the French] want of money, which gave time for strengthening and reinforcing the place."



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he imparted his intentions to the Council. The project met with unanimous condemnation.<sup>1</sup> But Clive, disregarding all opposition, prepared his armament. It consisted of 500 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, and 100 Lascars, with six field-pieces, six battering cannon, one howitz, and one eight-inch mortar. This expedition, commanded by Colonel Forde, was destined to proceed by sea; but the altercations in the council, which the disapprobation of the measure produced, and the delays which occurred in the equipment of the ships, retarded its departure till the end of September.<sup>2</sup>

On the 20th of October Colonel Forde disembarked at Vizagapatam, and joined his troops with those of the Raja Anunderauz; at whose instigation the exploit was undertaken. It was expected, that this chief would afford money for the maintenance of the troops; and hence but a small supply of that necessary article was brought from Bengal. The Raja was in the usual state of Rajas, Nabobs, Subahdars, and Emperors in India; he was reputed by the English immensely rich, while in reality he was miserably poor: He was, therefore, not very able to provide the sums expected from him; and still less willing. The delays by which he contrived to elude the importunities of the English were highly provoking; and, by retarding their movements, threatened to deprive them of all the great advantages of rapidity

<sup>1</sup> Orme only says, (ii. 364,) "The measure was too vigorous to be acceptable to all the members of the council." But Clive, himself says (Report, ut supra), that he undertook it, "contrary to the inclination of his *whole* council."

<sup>2</sup> Orme, ii. 269—287, and 352—363; Scer Mutakharecn, ii. 4—24.

and surprise. A sort of treaty was at last concluded by which it was agreed that, excepting the seaports, and towns at the mouths of the rivers, the conquered country should all be given up to Anunderauz, upon the condition of his advancing a certain monthly sum for the maintenance of the troops.

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M. Conflans, who had been sent to command the French troops upon the recall of Bussy, had concentrated his forces about Rajamundri; towards which the English and the Raja directed their march. The force, which remained under the command of Conflans, after the departure of the troops which were recalled with Bussy, was still considerably superior to that which had arrived with the English; but when the troops for other services were deducted, he took the field against the English with numbers nearly equal. A battle was brought on; and the French were completely defeated; they were not only stript of their camp, but fled from Rajamundri.

During the battle, the Raja and his troops remained cowering in the hollow of a dry tank, which protected them from shot. After the battle all his operations were tardy; what was worse, no money could be extracted from him; all the cash which had been brought from Bengal was expended; and during fifty days, when advantage might have been taken of the want of preparation on the part of the enemy, and of the dejection arising from their defeat, the English were unable to move. At last, by a new arrangement, a small sum was obtained from the Raja; the troops were put in motion, and on the 6th of February arrived at Ellore or Yalore, where

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they were joined by the Zemindar or chief of the district.

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Conflans had no longer confidence to meet the English in the field, but withdrew to defend himself in Masulipatam, the principal fort, and principal station of the French, on that part of the coast ; while he urged the Subahdar of the Deccan to march to the defence of his own territories, the French being occupants under his authority, and subject to his law, while the English intended to wrest the country wholly from his hands. The views of the courtiers of the Subahdar happened at the moment to coincide with his own wishes to preserve for himself the protection of the French, and he put his army in motion towards Masulipatam.

This prevented not the English commander from hastening to attack the place. He arrived on the 6th of March. The French treated his pretensions with ridicule. Masulipatam, for an Indian town, and against Indian means of attack, was of no inconsiderable strength : The defenders within were more numerous than the besiegers : A considerable army of observation was left in the field : The Subahdar, with the grand army of the Deccan, was on the march : And a reinforcement of Europeans was expected from Pondicherry. A sum of money for the English had arrived from Bengal ; but the French army of observation rendered it dangerous, or rather impracticable, to send it to the camp. The English troops mutinied for want of pay ; and it was with much difficulty, and by large promises, that they were induced to resume the discharge of their duty.

Three batteries continued a hot fire on three different parts of the town, without having effected any considerable damage, from the 25th of March to the 6th of April, when the situation of the English began to wear a very threatening aspect. Salabut Jung was approaching; the French army of observation had retakén Rajamundri, and might effect a junction with the Subahdar; it was impossible for the English now to retreat by the way which they had come, or even to embark at Masulipatam with their cannon and heavy stores; the monsoon had begun; the reinforcement from Pondicherry was expected; and to crown all, the engineers reported that no more than two days' ammunition for the batteries remained unconsumed. In these circumstances, however apparently desperate, Colonel Forde resolved to try the chance of an assault. The batteries were directed to play with the utmost activity during the whole of the day; and the troops to be under arms at ten at night. The attack, in order to divide the attention of the enemy, and render uncertain the point of danger, was to be in three places at once; and the three divisions of the army were to be on their respective grounds exactly at midnight. The struggle was expected to be severe; from the superior numbers of the enemy, and the little damage which the works had sustained. A part of the army faltered considerably; nor did all the officers meet the danger with perfect composure. They got, however, within the walls with comparative ease; where, being met by superior forces, they might have paid dear for their temerity, had not surprise aided their arms, and

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had not M. Conflans, confounded by uncertainty, and by various and exaggerated reports, after a short resistance, surrendered the place.

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Within one week two ships appeared with a reinforcement of 300 troops from Pondicherry. The Subahdar, whose arrival had been anticipated but a very few days by the fall of Masulipatam, found himself in circumstances ill calculated to carry on by himself a war against the English. He was anxious on the other hand, being now deprived of the French, to cultivate a friendship with the English, and to obtain from them a body of troops, to protect him against the dangerous ambition of his brother Nizam Ali, who, since the departure of Bussy, had returned at the head of a considerable body of troops, and filled him with serious alarm. Colonel Forde repaired to his camp, where he was received with great distinction, and concluded a treaty, by which a considerable territory about Masulipatam was ceded to the English, and the Subahdar engaged to allow no French settlement for the future to exist in his dominions. The French army of observation, which, it was by the same treaty stipulated, should cross the Kistna in fifteen days, joined the army of Bassalut Jung, the elder brother of the Subahdar, who had accompanied him on the expedition to the Northern Circars, and now marched away to the south. The two ships which had brought the reinforcement from Pondicherry, upon discovering the loss of Masulipatam, sailed away to the north, and landed the troops at Ganjam. They made several efforts to render some useful service, but entirely fruitless ; and after endur-

ing a variety of privations, returned greatly reduced in numbers to Pondicherry.<sup>1</sup>

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While the detachment from the army of Bengal was engaged in these operations, the solicitude of Clive was attracted by an enemy of high pretensions in a different quarter. Toward the close of the history of the Mogul Emperors, it appeared, that the eldest son of the Emperor Aulumgeer II., not daring to trust himself in the hands of the Vizir, the daring Umad al Mulk, by whom the emperor was held in a state of wretched servitude, had withdrawn into the district of Nujeeb ad Dowla, the Rohilla, who was an opponent of the Vizir, and a partisan of the Imperial family. At this time, the revolution effected by the English in Bengal, the unpopularity and disorders of Jaffier's administration, and the presumed weakness of his government, excited hopes in the neighbouring chiefs, that an invasion of his territories might be turned to advantage. The imagination of Mohammed Koollee Khan, the Subahdar of Allahabad, was the most highly elevated by the prospect of sharing in the spoils of the English Nabob. He was instigated by two powerful Zemindars, the Rajas, Sunder Sing, and Bulwant Sing. And the Nabob of Oude, his near kinsman, one of the most powerful chiefs in Hindustan, joined with apparent ardour in the design. The Nabob of Oude entertained a double purpose; that of obtaining, if any thing was to be seized, as great a share as possible of Bahar or Bengal; and that of watching his opportunity, while his ally and

<sup>1</sup> Orme, ii. 375—380, 472—491, 554; Wilks, p. 401.

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kinsman was intent upon his expected acquisitions, to seize by force or stratagem the fort of Allahabad.

The influence of the imperial name appeared to them of no small importance in the war with Jaffier ; and as the prince, who had fled into Rohilcund, was soliciting them for protection, it was agreed to place him ostensibly at the head of the enterprise. Preparations were made; and the Prince, having obtained from the Emperor legal investiture, as Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, crossed the Carumnassa, a river which bounds the province of Bahar, towards the conclusion of the year 1758. From the exhaustion of the treasury when Jaffier was raised to the government, the great sums which he had paid to the English, the difficulty of extracting money from the people, his own negligent and wasteful administration, and the cruel and brutal character of his son Meeran, Jaffier was ill-prepared to meet a formidable invasion. From his own rabble of ill-paid and mutinous soldiers, he was obliged to turn, and place all his hopes of safety in the bravery and skill of the English, whom, before the news of this impending danger, he had been plotting to expel. The English appear to have had no foresight of such an event. By the absence of the troops in the Northern Circars, their force was so inconsiderable, and both they and Jaffier needed so much time to prepare, that had the invaders proceeded with tolerable expedition and skill, they might have gained, without difficulty, the whole province of Bahar. A blow like this, at so critical a period, would have shaken to such a degree the tottering government of Jaffier, that the incipient

power of the English might have despaired of restoring it; and a momentary splendour might again have surrounded the throne of the Moguls.

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The march of the Prince and his confederates towards Patna placed Ramnarain the Governor between two dreadful fires. To Jaffier he neither felt, nor owed attachment. But, joining the prince, he risked every thing, if Jaffier; adhering to Jaffier, he risked as much, if the prince; should succeed. The situation was calculated to exercise Hindu duplicity and address. An application to Mr. Amyatt, the chief of the English factory, was the first of his steps; from whom as he could receive no protection, he expected such latitude of advice, as would afford a colour to any measures he might find it agreeable to pursue. It happened as he foresaw. Mr. Amyatt informing him that the English would remain at Patna, if assistance should arrive; if not, would retire from the danger; frankly and sincerely instructed him, to amuse the prince as long as possible; but if all hopes of succour should fail, to provide for himself as events might direct. Ramnarain studied to conduct himself in such a manner as to be able to join with the greatest advantage the party for whom fortune should declare. He wrote to Bengal importuning for succour; and he at the same privately sent a messenger to propitiate the Prince. He was even induced, when the English of the factory had retired down the river, to pay him a visit in his camp; and the troops of the Prince might have entered Patna along with him. The opportunity however was lost; and the observations which the Hindu made



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upon the Prince's camp and upon the councils which guided him, induced him to shut the gates of the city when he returned, and to prepare for defence.

The hardihood of Clive was seldom overcome by scruples. Yet the Emperor Aulumgeer was legitimate sovereign of Bengal; and had undoubted right to appoint his eldest son to be his deputy in the government of that province: To oppose him, was undisguised rebellion.<sup>1</sup> The English forces, a slender band, marched to Moorshedabad, and, being joined by the best part of Jaffier's troops, commanded by Meeran, they advanced towards Patna; where Ramnarain had amused the prince by messages and overtures as long as possible, and afterwards opposed him. Though the attack was miserably conducted, a breach was made, and the courage and resources of Ramnarain would have been soon exhausted;

<sup>1</sup> The prince, Holwell assures us, (Memorial, p. 2,) repeatedly offered to grant the English their own terms, if they would assist him in recovering his rights. On what side justice lay, is evident enough. On what side policy, whether on that which Clive rejected, or that which he chose, is a more subtle inquiry.—M.

It was not a question of policy, but one of good faith. By the treaty with Mir Jaffier, as well as by the nature of their connexion with him,—the English were pledged to assist him against all enemies whatever, and few of the Governors of the Provinces, would have scrupled to consider the Emperor as an enemy if he had sought to dispossess them of their Subahs. Even, however, if the theory of obedience to a monarch, who at the very seat of Empire was no longer his own master, could be urged with any show of reason, it would not be applicable in the present instance, for the Shah-zada was not appointed by the Emperor to be his deputy in Bengal, and as Clive pleaded to the Prince himself, no communication of his movements or purposes had been made from Delhi. On the contrary the Prince was there treated as a rebel to his father. He could not plead, therefore, the Emperor's authority for his incursion, and no other pretext could have afforded him the semblance even of right. Life of Clive, i. 406.—W.

when intelligence reached the camp, that the Subahdar of Oude, who was on his march with an army under pretence of joining the prince, had treacherously seized the fortress of Allahabad. Mohammed Koollee Khan, by whom the prince's affairs were conducted, and whose forces were his entire support, 'resolved to march immediately for the recovery or protection of his own dominions; and though he was joined at four miles' distance from the city by M. Law, who had hastened from Chutterpore with his handful of Frenchmen, and importuned him to return to Patna, of which he engaged to put him in possession in two days, the infatuated Nabob continued his march, and being persuaded by the Subahdar of Oude to throw himself upon his generosity, was first made a prisoner, and afterwards put to death.

When Clive and Meeran approached, the enemy had already departed from Patna; and the unhappy prince, the descendant of so many illustrious sovereigns, the legal Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and the undoubted heir of a throne, once among the loftiest on the globe, was so bereft of friends and resources, that he was induced to write a letter to Clive, requesting a sum of money for his subsistence, and offering in requital to withdraw from the province. Upon these easy terms was Clive, by his good fortune, enabled to extricate himself from a situation of considerable difficulty. Ramnarain obtained, or it was convenient to grant him, credit for fidelity; the Zemindars who had joined the Prince hastened to make their peace;

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BOOK IV and Clive returned to Calcutta in the month of  
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1759. This was a fortunate expedition for Clive. So unbounded was the gratitude of Jaffier, that after obtaining for his defender the rank of an Omrah of the empire, he bestowed upon him, under the title of Jaghire, the whole of the revenue or rent which the Company in quality of Zemindar, were bound to pay for the territory which they held round Calcutta. The grant amounted to the enormous sum of 30,000*l.* per annum. "Clive's Jaghire" is an expression of frequent recurrence, and of considerable weight in the History of India.

The Shazada (such was the title by which the eldest son of the Mogul was then distinguished in Bengal) was thus fortunately repulsed, and Colonel Forde with his troops was no less fortunately returned from the south, when the English were alarmed by the news of a great armament, fitted out by the Dutch at Batavia, and destined for Bengal. The Dutch were not then at war with England, and being excited to cupidity by the lofty reports of the rich harvest lately reaped by the English in Bengal, possibly aimed at no more than a share of the same advantages, or to balance before its irresistible ascendancy the increasing power of their rivals. They had received encouragement from Jaffier; but that ruler, since the invasion of the Mogul Prince, felt so powerfully his dependence on the English, that, when

<sup>1</sup> Scott's History of Bengal, p. 379—391; Seer Mutakhareen, vol. ii. part ii. p. 42—89; Francklin's Shah Aulum, p. 8—11; First Report of the Select Committee in 1772; Holwell's Memorial, p. 2.—M. To these may be added Life of Clive, in which Ramnarain's conduct is very differently represented, i. 410.—W.

called upon by the English for the use of his authority and power, he durst not decline. In the month of August a Dutch ship arrived in the river, filled with troops; and this was speedily followed by six more, the whole having on board 700 Europeans and 800 Malays. To attack without provocation the ships or troops of a nation in friendship with this country, was not regarded by Clive as less than a hazardous step. The advantages, however of standing without a rival in Bengal outweighed his apprehensions; he obtained an order of the Subahdar, commanding the Dutch to leave the river; and, under pretence of seconding his authority, resolved upon hostilities. The seven ships ascended the river as far as a few miles below Calcutta, and landed their troops, which were thence to march to the Dutch factory at Chinsura. Clive detached Colonel Forde, with a force, consisting of 300 Europeans, 800 Sepoys, and about 150 of Jaffier's Cavalry, to intercept them; and at the same time commanded three of the Company's ships fitted out and manned for the purpose, to attack the Dutch East Indiamen. Colonel Forde, by the dexterity and success of his exploit, converted it into one of the most brilliant incidents of the war; and of the 700 Europeans, not above fourteen were enabled to reach Chinsura, the rest being either taken prisoners, or slain. The attack upon the ships was equally successful; after an engagement of two hours, six of them were taken, and the seventh was intercepted by two English ships which lay further down the river. After this heavy blow the Dutch, to prevent their total expulsion from Bengal, were contented to put themselves



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in the wrong, by paying the expenses of the war ; and the irregularity of his interference made Clive well pleased to close the dispute, by restoring to the Dutch their ships, with all the treasure and effects. The agreement with the Dutch was ratified on the 5th of December ; and Clive, who for some months had been meditating return with his fortune to Europe, resigned the government early in February, and sailed from Calcutta.<sup>1</sup>

He left not the country in peace. Meeran, before he departed from Patna, the preceding year, had sown the seeds of a future war. He treated with injustice some officers of considerable rank and influence ; and no sooner was he gone than a confederacy was formed between them and some neighbouring Zemindars to support the Shazada in a fresh invasion. Intelligence of their designs had reached Calcutta before the contest with the Dutch was decided. And the Nabob of Poorania, whom Meeran had already endeavoured to cut off by treachery, had taken the field, and was expected to join the Mogul prince.

Colonel Calliaud had been called from the Carnatic to take the command of the forces in Bengal, when Clive and Forde, who meditated simultaneous departure, should sail for Europe. He arrived with a reinforcement of troops toward the end of November ; and it was necessary that he should proceed to stop

<sup>1</sup> First Report from the Select Committee in 1772; Holwell's Memorial; Calliaud's Narrative. The author of the *Seer Mutakhareen* wonders greatly what could be the reason of Clive's quitting the government; a sentiment very natural to him, who well understood the pleasures of governing; but could not so easily conceive the passion of an Englishman to see lodged a princely fortune in his own country.

the menaced invasion without a moment's delay. He left Calcutta with a detachment of 300 Europeans, 1000 Sepoys, and fifty artillery-men, with six pieces of cannon, and arrived at Moorshedabad on the 26th of December. He was joined by Clive on the 6th of January, who, having made his arrangements with the Subahdar, or Nabob, set out after a week for Calcutta. Calliaud, being joined by 15,000 horse and foot, and twenty-five pieces of cannon, of the Nabob, under command of Meeran, resumed his march on the 18th.

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In the mean time, the Mahrattas, who had been incited by the Vizir, Umad al Mulk, to invade the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund, had been defeated and obliged to fly; while the powerful King of the Abdallees was again on his march for the invasion of Hindustan. Excited by the approach of formidable danger, the Vizir, in a fit of exasperation or despair, ordered the murder of the Emperor, the wretched Aulumgeer; and the news of this tragical event reached the Shazada, just as he had passed the Carumnassa into the province of Bahar. He was advised to assume immediately the state and title of Emperor; to confer the office of Vizir upon Shuja-ad-dowla, the Nabob of Oude, and to confirm Nujeeb-ad-dowla in the office of Ameer ul Omrah. The majesty of the imperial throne, and his undoubted title, had an influence still upon the minds of men. It was now clear and immediate rebellion to resist him; and whatever guilt could be involved in making war upon their rightful sovereign, must be incurred by those who carried arms against him. The English had already familiarized themselves with the

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idea of rebellion in India ; and the consideration of legitimate sovereignty, though the sovereign would have purchased their protection by unlimited grants, appears not to have excited a scruple in a single breast. The new dignity, however, of Vizir, called upon the Nabob of Oude for some exertions in favour of his sovereign ; and the fascination of the imperial title was still of force to collect around him a considerable army.<sup>1</sup>

The march of the English was retarded by the necessity of settling terms with the Nabob of Poornia, who had encamped on the left bank of the river between Moorshedabad and Patna, and professed a desire of remaining obedient to Jaffier, provided the English would engage for his security. This negotiation wasted seven days ; and in the mean time the Emperor advanced towards Patna. Ramnarain, whom the sagacity of Aliverdi had selected to be deputy Governor of Bahar, on account of his skill in matters of finance, was destitute of military talents ; and considering his situation, under the known hatred of Jaffier, as exceedingly precarious, he was unwilling to lay out any of the wealth he had acquired, in providing for the defence of the country. He was still enabled to draw forth a respectable army, reinforced by seventy Europeans and a battalion of English sepoys, commanded by Lieutenant Cochrane ; and he encamped under the walls, with a view to cover the city. He had received by letter the strongest injunctions from Calliaud, on no account to hazard a battle till Meeran and he should arrive.

<sup>1</sup> It is stated at 60,000 men by Calliaud (Narrative of what happened in Bengal in 1760, p. 7) ; but this we conceive is an exaggerated conjecture.

An action, however, took place ; the army of Ram-  
 narain was attacked with impetuosity ; some of his  
 officers behaved with treachery ; his troops were  
 giving way on all sides ; and he himself was dan-  
 gerously pressed ; when he sent an importunate  
 request to the English for immediate assistance. The  
 Lieutenant had advised him at the beginning of the  
 action to place himself, for the security of his person,  
 near the English battalion ; an advice with which  
 his vanity did not permit him to comply. That  
 officer marched to his relief without a moment's  
 delay ; but he imprudently divided his handful of  
 troops ; they were unable to withstand the force of  
 numbers : all the European officers of the Sepoys fell,  
 when the Sepoys dispersed and were cut to pieces.  
 The English who remained alive, resolved to fight  
 their way to the city ; and such was the awe and  
 terror which the sight of their courage inspired, that  
 the enemy, not daring to resist, opened instantly to  
 the right and left, and allowed them to retire.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The remarks of the Mogul nobleman, who was in Patna at the moment of the action, are amusing at least. "What remained of their people," he says, "was rallied by Doctor William Fullerton, a friend of mine, and possibly by some English officers whose names I know not, who ranged them in order again ; and as one of their guns was to be left on the field of battle, they found means to render it useless and of no avail, by thrusting a large needle of iron into its eye. The other being in good condition, they took it with them, together with its ammunition ; and that handful of men had the courage to retire in the face of a victorious enemy without once shrinking from their ranks. During their journey, the cart of ammunition chanced to receive some damage ; the Doctor stopped unconcernedly, and after having put it in order, he bravely pursued his route again ; and it must be acknowledged, that this nation's presence of mind, firmness of temper, and undaunted bravery, are past all question. They join the most resolute courage to the most cautious prudence ; nor have they their equals in the art of ranging themselves in battle array, and fighting in order. If to so many military qualifications they knew how to



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Had the troops of the Emperor pushed on with vigour, immediately after this victory, when Ramnarain was severely wounded, his army panic-struck and dispersed, and the city without defenders, they might have taken Patna with the greatest ease. But they employed themselves in ravaging the open country, and in receiving messengers and overtures from Ramnarain till the 19th of February, when they learned that Meeran and the English were distant from them but twenty-eight miles. The resolution was taken to march and engage them; the next day the two armies approached. Colonel Calliaud urged immediate attack; but Meeran and his astrologers found that the stars would not be favourable before the 22d. Early on the morning of that day, Calliaud was in motion; but before he could reach the enemy the day was so far spent, "by the insufferable delays," as he himself complains, "of Meeran's march," that, wishing to have time before him, he was unwilling to engage till the following morning. The enemy however advanced, and Calliaud drew up his men between two villages which covered both his flanks, advising Meeran to form a second line, the whole of which, except the two

join the arts of government; if they showed a concern for the circumstances of the husbandman and the gentleman, and exerted as much ingenuity and solicitude in relieving and easing the people of God, as they do in whatever concerns their military affairs, no nation in the world would be preferable to them, or prove worthier of command. But such is the little regard which they show to the people of these kingdoms, and such their apathy and indifference for their welfare, that the people under their dominion groan every where, and are reduced to poverty and distress. Oh God! come to the assistance of thine afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions they suffer." Seer Mutakharecn, ii. 101.

wings, would have been covered by the English and the villages. But though this was agreed upon, “ he crowded his army upon the right, and, in spite of the most pressing and repeated solicitations, presented to battle a body of 15,000 men with a front of scarcely 200 yards in a tumultuous unformed heap.” With a feigned appearance of directing the main attack upon the English, the enemy advanced with the best part of their army against Meeran, who in about ten minutes began to give way. Colonel Calliaud, however, marched with a battalion of Sepoys to his aid, and immediately decided the fate of the day. The Sepoys drew up within forty yards upon the enemy’s flank, and having poured in a couple of fires, advanced with the bayonet, when the enemy recoiled upon one another, fell into confusion, and, being charged by Meeran’s cavalry, dispersed and fled. Calliaud was eager to pursue, but Meeran, who had received a trifling wound in the battle, preferred an interval of ease and pleasure at Patna. He would not even permit the service to be performed without him; and though Calliaud offered to proceed with his own troops alone, if only a few horse, which he earnestly entreated, were granted him, he found all he could urge without avail.

The Emperor fled the same night to Bahar, a town about ten miles from the field of battle. Here a measure of great promise suggested itself: To leave Meeran and the English behind: and, marching with the utmost expedition to Bengal, surprise Moorshe-dabad, and take the Nabob prisoner. It was the 29th of the month before Meeran could be prevailed upon to abandon the indulgences of Patna; when he and the English marched towards Bahar, and were

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surprised to learn that the enemy had already performed two marches towards Bengal. The strongest motives pressed for despatch: The English embarked in boats, and along with Meeran's cavalry in three days overtook the foe; who adopted a bold and politic resolution. No longer able to proceed along the river, the Emperor directed his march across the mountains; and Calliaud still resolved to follow his steps. The route was long and difficult, and it was near the end of March before the Emperor emerged on the plains of Bengal, about thirty miles west from Moorshedabad. During this interval, intelligence was in sufficient time received by Jaffier to enable him to collect an army and obtain a body of 200 Europeans from Calcutta: but the Emperor was joined by a body of Mahrattas, who had lately broken into that part of the country; and had he rapidly attacked the Nabob, he still enjoyed, in the opinion of Calliaud, the fairest prospect of success. But he lingered till Meeran and the English joined the Nabob on the 4th of April; and on the 7th, when they advanced to attack him, he set fire to his camp and fled. Calliaud again urged for cavalry to pursue, and again was absolutely refused.

One object of hope was even yet reserved to the Emperor. By the precipitation with which his pursuers had followed him, Patna was left in a miserable state of defence. Could he return with expedition, and anticipate the arrival of succour, it must fall into his hands. At this very time M. Law, with his small body of Frenchmen, passing that capital, to join the Emperor, who had again invited him from Chitterpore, threw it into the greatest alarm. It was almost entirely destitute of the means of de-

fence; but Law was ignorant of its situation, and proceeded to Bahar, to wait for the Emperor. At this time the Naib of Poorania took off the mask, espousing openly the cause of the Emperor; and had he seized the present opportunity of marching to Patna, nothing could have prevented it from falling into his hands. The exertions however of Ramnarain, and of the gentlemen of the English factory, had collected, before the Emperor was able to arrive, a sufficient body of defenders to secure the city against the first impression; and Colonel Calliaud, who foresaw the danger, formed a detachment of 200 chosen Europeans, and a battalion of Sepoys, of which he gave the command to Captain Knox, and commanded them to march with the utmost expedition to Patna. The Emperor had lost no time in commencing the siege; and after several days of vigorous operation, during which Mr. Fullerton, the English Surgeon, and Raja Shitabroy, had distinguished themselves peculiarly within the walls, Law attempted an assault. Though repulsed, he, in two days, renewed the attempt; and, part of the wall being demolished, the rampart was scaled. The enemy were still compelled to retire; but the city was now thrown into the greatest alarm; a renewed assault was expected the following night; and scarcely a hope was entertained of its being withstood; when Captain Knox, with a flying party, was seen approaching the walls. He had performed the march from Moorshedabad to Patna, under the burning heat of a Bengal sun, in the extraordinary space of thirteen days, himself marching on foot, as an example and encouragement to the men. That



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very night the Captain reconnoitred the enemy's camp in person ; and next day, watching the hour of afternoon's repose, surprised them when asleep, and drove them from their works, to which they never returned.

While the Emperor, conscious of his weakness, withdrew to the neighbourhood of Teekaury, waiting the result of his applications to the Abdallee Shah, who was now commanding, from the ancient seat of the Mogul government, the whole of the upper provinces of Hindustan, the Naib or Deputy Governor of Poorania had collected his army, and was on the march to join him. To counteract his designs, the English army under Calliaud, and that of Jaffier under Meeran, rendezvoused at Raje-mahl, on the 23d of May. They moved upwards on the one side of the river, the Naib advancing on the other ; and orders were forwarded to Captain Knox to cross over from Patna, and harass his march till the main army should arrive ; while his boats, which were not able to ascend the river so fast as he marched, were overtaken and seized. Captain Knox amazed the inhabitants of Patna by declaring his resolution, as soon as the enemy appeared, of crossing the river with his handful of men and giving them battle. Part of Ramnarain's troops were placed under his command ; but as the enterprise appeared to them an act of madness, they formed a determined resolution to have no share in it. Raja Shitabroy having between two and three hundred men in his pay, with whom he had performed important services in the defence of Patna, joined the Captain with a real disposition to act. Two hundred Europeans, one

battalion of Sepoys, five field-pieces, and about 300 horse, marched to engage an army of 12,000 men, with thirty pieces of cannon. Arrived within a few miles of the enemy, Knox proceeded in the dark to the quarters of Shitabroy, to communicate his design of surprising the enemy's camp during the night: he found that gallant associate fully prepared to second his ardour; the troops were allowed a few hours for repose; and a little after midnight they began to march. The guide having missed his way from the darkness of the night, they wandered till within two hours of day-break, and having lost the time for attacking the enemy by surprise, abandoned the design. They had laid down their arms, and prepared themselves for a little repose, when the vanguard of the enemy appeared. The gallantry of Knox allowed not a moment's hesitation. He took his ground with skill; and though completely surrounded by the enemy, repulsed them at every point; sustained a conflict of six hours, in which Shitabroy fought with the greatest activity and resolution; and having compelled them at last to quit the field, pursued them till night.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Seer Mutakhareen*, who had a distant view of the battle from the walls of Patna, describes, with much effect, the alternation of hopes and fears which agitated the inhabitants, as the various reports of the battle reached the city, or the tokens which came to their eyes and their ears were variously interpreted. At last, he says, "when the day was far spent, a note came to Mr. Amyatt from Captain Knox, which mentioned that the enemy was defeated and flying. This intelligence was sent to all the principal men of the city, and caused a deal of joy. I went to the factory to compliment the gentlemen, when in the dusk of the evening Captain Knox himself crossed over, and came with Shitabroy in his company. They were both covered with dust and sweat. The Captain then gave some detail of the battle, and paid the

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In consequence of this defeat, the Naib postponed his resolution of joining the Emperor, and marched towards the north. In a few days Calliaud and Meeran crossed the Ganges to pursue him, and, as his army was encumbered with baggage and artillery, soon overtook him. He immediately formed his line, as if to engage; but unloading the treasure, and the most valuable part of the baggage, putting it upon camels and elephants; and skirmishing only till the English came up, he marched away with great expedition, leaving his heavy baggage and artillery behind.<sup>1</sup> The rains were now set in with unusual violence, yet Calliaud, animated by the reports of the rich treasure (the English were credulous on the subject of treasure) which the Naib carried in his train, resolved to make the utmost exertions to overtake him before he could reach the forests and mountains. The pursuit had

greatest encomiums on Shitabroy's zeal, activity, and valour. He exclaimed several times, 'This is a real Nawab; I never saw such a Nawab in my life.' A few moments after, Ramnarain was introduced. He had in his company both Mustapha Koollee Khan, and the Cutwal of the city, with some other men of consequence, who, on hearing of the arrival of these two men, had flocked to the factory; and on seeing them alone, could not help believing that they had escaped from the slaughter; so far were they from conceiving that a few hundreds of men could defeat a whole army. Nor could they be made to believe (impressed as they were with Hindian notions) that a commander could quit his army so unconcernedly, unless he had indeed run away from it; nor would listen to what Mr. Amyatt repeatedly said, to convince Ramnarain and others of their mistake." Seer Mutakhareen, ii. 123.

<sup>1</sup> Calliaud, on this occasion too, complains heavily of Meeran: "The young Nabob and his troops behaved in this skirmish in their usual manner, halting above a mile in the rear, nor ever once made a motion to sustain the English. Had he but acted on this occasion with the least appearance of spirit, and made even a semblance of fighting, the affair must have proved decisive; nor could Cuddum Houssein Khan or his treasure have escaped." Calliaud's Narrative, p. 34.

been continued four days, when during the night of the 2d of July, which proved exceedingly tempestuous, the tent of Meeran was struck with lightning, and he, with all his attendants, were killed on the spot. The death of their leader is, to an Indian army, the signal to disband. The probability of this event, which would deliver the province of Bahar into the hands of the Emperor, struck the English commander with the utmost alarm. His whole attention was now occupied in keeping the army together, till reconducted to Patna, toward which he marched with all possible expedition; and distributed the troops in winter quarters on the 29th of July.<sup>1</sup>

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The political affairs of the province were hastening to another crisis. The government of Jaffier was in a state approaching to dissolution. The English Presidency was distressed by want of pecuniary resources, and the seeds of violent discords were sown in the council.

When Jaffier got possession of the viceroyalty by the dethronement and death of his master Surajad-dowla, and when the English leaders were grasping the advantages which the revolution placed in their hands, both parties, dazzled with first appearances, overlooked the consequences which necessarily ensued. The cupidity natural to mankind, and the credulity with which they believe what flatters their

<sup>1</sup> On the history of this second invasion of the Mogul Prince, see Scott's *Hist. of Bengal*, p. 392—397; *Seer Mutakhareen*, ii. 91—139; Calliaud's *Narrative of what happened in Bengal in 1760*, p. 1—36; Calliaud's *Evidence before the Committee of 1772*; Calliaud's *Letters in Holwell's Tracts*, p. 27; *Francklin's Shah Aulum*, p. 12.



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desires, made the English embrace, without deduction, the exaggerations of Oriental rhetoric on the riches of India; and believe that a country which they saw was one of the poorest, was nevertheless the most opulent upon the surface of the globe. The sums which had been obtained from Jaffier were now wholly expended. "The idea of provision for the future," to use the words of a governor, "seemed to have been lost in the apparent immensity of the sum stipulated for compensation of the Company's losses at Calcutta." No rational foresight was applied, as the same observer remarks, to the increased expenditure which the new connexion with the government of the country naturally produced; and soon it appeared that no adequate provision was made for it. "In less than two years it was found necessary to take up money at interest, although large sums had been received besides for bills upon the court of Directors."<sup>1</sup> The situation of Jaffier was deplorable from the first. With an exhausted treasury, an exhausted country, and vast engagements to discharge, he was urged to the severest exactions; while the profusion with which he wasted his treasure upon his own person, and some unworthy favourites, was ill calculated to soothe the wretched people, under

<sup>1</sup> Vansittart's Narrative, i. 19, 22. The distress at home created by these bills was not inferior to what was endured in India. "The funds of the Company in Europe, says the same unquestionable authority, "were not sufficient to pay the bills when they became due; and it is a fact well known upon the Royal Exchange, that in the year 1758, the Directors prevailed, not without difficulty, upon the bill-holders, to grant a further time for the payment of their bills; if this accommodation had failed, the consequence would have been what I need not name." A Letter to the Proprietors of the East India Stock from Mr. Henry Vansittart, p. 13.

the privations to which they were compelled. The cruelties of which he and Meeran were guilty, made them objects of general detestation: the negligence, disorder, and weakness of their government, exposed them to contempt: and their troops, always mutinous from the length of their arrears, threatened them every moment with fatal extremities. When the news arrived at Moorshedabad of the death of Meeran, the troops surrounded the palace, scaled the walls, and threatened the Nabob with instant death; nor were they, in all probability, prevented from executing their menaces, otherwise than by the interference of Meer Casim, his son-in-law, who, on promise of succeeding to the place and prospects of Meeran, discharged a part of their arrears from his own treasury, and induced them to accept of Jaffier's engagements to pay the whole within a limited time.

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When Clive resigned the government of Bengal, instead of leaving the elevation to the chair in the established order of succession, his influence was successfully exerted to procure the nomination of Mr. Vansittart, who was called from Madras. Mr. Holwell, on whose pretensions there had been violent debates in the Court of Directors, was promoted to the office in virtue of his seniority, till July, when Mr. Vansittart arrived. The new governor found the treasury at Calcutta empty, the English troops at Patna on the very brink of mutiny, and deserting in multitudes for want of pay; the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay totally dependent upon Bengal for pecuniary resources; the provision of an investment actually suspended; the income of the Company scarcely sufficient for the current expenses of Cal-

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cutta; the allowance paid by the Nabob for the troops several months in arrear; and the attainment of that, as well as of a large balance upon his first agreements, totally hopeless. Some change, by which the revenue of the Company could be placed on a level with their expenditure, was indispensable.<sup>1</sup> They might retire from all concern with the government of the country, and content themselves with the protection of Calcutta, for which a small body of troops and a small expenditure would suffice. But not to speak of the golden hopes which had been so fondly cherished, fears suggested themselves (fears when they favour wishes are potent counsellors) that the place which the Company might resign in directing the government of the country would be occupied by the French or the Dutch. From the administration of Jaffier, resigned as he was to a set of unworthy favourites; old, indolent, voluptuous, estranged from the English, and without authority; no other consequences were to be expected, than those which had already been experienced. From a strong sense of the incurable vices of Jaffier and his family, Mr. Holwell, during the few months of his administration, had advised the council to abandon him; and, embracing the just cause of the Emperor, to avail themselves of the high offers which that deserted monarch was ready to make. An idea, however, of fidelity to the connexion which they had formed, though with a subject in rebellion to his king, prevailed in the

<sup>1</sup> The necessity of an increased expenditure, and the total want of funds for defraying it, under the arrangements of Clive, is satisfactorily defended against objectors by Mr. Vansittart, in his Letter to the Proprietors, p. 17—22.

breasts of the council; and a middle course was chosen. Of all the members of Jaffier's family, whose remaining sons were young, Meer Casim, the husband of his daughter, who passed for a man of talents, appeared the only person endowed with qualities adapted to the present exigencies of the government. It was agreed that all the active powers of administration should be placed in his hands; Jaffier not being dethroned in name, but only in reality. A treaty was concluded with Meer Casim on the 17th of September. He agreed, in return for the powers thus placed in his hands, to assign to the Company the revenues of the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, to pay the balance due by Jaffier, and a present of five lacks for the war in the Carnatic. On the 2d of October, Mr. Vansittart, accompanied by Colonel Calliaud and a detachment of troops, proceeded to Moorshedabad to persuade or to compel the Nabob to accede to the arrangements which had been formed. Jaffier discovered intense reluctance; and Mr. Vansittart wavered. Meer Casim, who could be safe no longer in the power of Jaffier, exclaimed against the perfidy of making and not fulfilling an engagement such as that which was contracted between them; and formed his resolution of joining the Emperor with all his treasure and troops. The resolution of Mr. Vansittart was at last confirmed; and a favourable moment was chosen for occupying the palace of Jaffier with the troops. When assured that no designs against his person or authority were entertained; that nothing was proposed beyond a reform of his government in the hands of his son-in-law, who

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would act as his deputy; he replied, with disdain, that he was no stranger to the meaning of such language; and too well acquainted with the characters of men, particularly that of his son-in-law, to be in doubt respecting the consequences. He peremptorily refused to remain a vain pageant of royalty, and desired permission to retire to Calcutta, to lead a private life under the English protection.<sup>1</sup>

When the pecuniary distresses of the Company's government, and the enormous disorders in that of the Nabob, were under the deliberation of the board at Calcutta, there was but one opinion concerning the necessity of some important change. To vest Meer Casim with the power requisite for reforming the government of the Nabob, was the plan approved of unanimously in the Select Committee. The force which might be necessary to subdue his reluctance was provided; and though it was not anticipated that he would resign the government rather than comply, the step which that resolution made necessary was a natural consequence; and was without hesitation decreed. When Mr. Vansittart returned to Calcutta on the 7th of November, he found there were persons by whom those measures were by no means approved. Mr. Verelst and Mr. Smyth, two members of the Council, who were not of the Select Committee, entered a minute on the 8th, in which they complained that a measure of so much importance had not been

<sup>1</sup> First Report of the Committee in 1772; Vansittart's Narrative, i. 19—123; Holwell's Memorial; Scrafton's Observations on Vansittart's Narrative; Vansittart's Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock in answer to Scrafton; Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal; Seer Mutakhareen, ii. 130—160; Scott's Hist. of Bengal, p. 399—401.

submitted to the Council at large; and laying great stress upon the engagements which had been formed with Jaffier, insinuated their ignorance of the existence of any cause why those engagements should be abandoned and betrayed. When Clive made his plan for the government of Bengal, by the irregular elevation of Mr. Vansittart, he seems to have overlooked, or very imperfectly to have estimated, the passions which it was calculated to excite. Mr. Amyatt, who was a man of merit, and next to the chair, could not behold himself postponed or superseded without dissatisfaction; and those among the Bengal servants who stood next to him in hopes, regarded their interests as involved in his. A party thus existed, with feelings averse to the Governor; and they soon became a party opposed to his measures. Other passions, of a still grosser nature, were at this time thrown into violent operation in Bengal. The vast sums, obtained by a few individuals, who had the principal management of the former revolution, when Meer Jaffier trode down Suraj-ad-dowla his master, were held in vivid remembrance; and the persuasion that similar advantages, of which every man burned for a share, were now meditated by the Select Committee, excited the keenest emotions of jealousy and envy. Mr. Amyatt was now joined by Mr. Ellis, a person of a violent temper, whom, in some of his pretensions, the Governor had opposed; and by Major Carnac, who had lately arrived in the province to succeed Calliaud, but whom the Governor had offended by proposing that he should not take the command till the affairs at Patna in which Calliaud was already engaged, and with which he was well acquainted, should he con-

ducted to a close. A minute, in which Mr. Ellis and Mr. Smyth coincided, and in which the deposition of Jaffier was formally condemned, was entered by Mr. Amyatt on the 8th of January. No attempt was made to deny the extreme difficulties in which the English government was placed, or the disorders and enormities of Jaffier's administration; it was only denied that any of these evils would be removed by the revolution of which, in violation of the national faith, the English, by the Select Committee, had been rendered the instruments.<sup>1</sup>

Meer Casim, aware that money was the pillar by which alone he could stand, made so great exertions that, notwithstanding the treasury of Meer Jaffier was found almost empty, he paid in the course of a

<sup>1</sup> Objections to the removal of Jaffier were made not only by those whose personal feelings might be suspected of influencing their judgment, but by others, prior to his appointment. The scheme was originally Mr. Holwell's, who communicated in April, to Colonel Calliaud, his anticipation of the necessity of deposing Mir Jaffier. The Colonel, in reply, observes, "bad as the man may be whose cause we now support, I cannot be of opinion that we can get rid of him for a better without running the risk of much greater inconveniences attending on such a change, than those we now labour under. I presume the establishing tranquillity in these provinces, would restore to us all the advantages of trade we can wish, for the profit, and honour of our employers, and I think we bid fairer to bring that tranquillity about by our present influence over the Subah, and by supporting him, than by any change that can be made." Serafton's Observations on Vansittart's Narrative, 12. The removal of Jaffier was an ill-advised measure; there was no absolute impossibility in his performing his engagements with the English, or paying his own troops, for both objects were speedily accomplished by his successor, and he created no new resources. The same means of acquitting his obligations, were in Mir Jaffier's reach. There only wanted such support as should enable him, and such control as should compel him, to discharge those demands to which he had rendered himself liable, and the due acquittance of which was essential to the maintenance of that English force upon which his own power, and even his existence depended. Had Clive remained in Bengal, there would probably have been no revolution.—W.

few months the arrears of the English troops at Patna; so far satisfied the troops of the Subah, both at Moorshedabad and Patna, that they were reduced to order and ready to take the field; and provided six or seven lacks in discharge of his engagements with the Company, insomuch that the Presidency were enabled in November to send two lacks and a half to Madras, whence a letter had been received, declaring that without a supply the siege of Pondicherry must be raised.

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In the month of January, Major Carnac arrived at Patna, and took the command of the troops. The province of Bahar had suffered so much from the repeated incursions of the Emperor; and the finances both of the Nabob and of the Company were so much exhausted by the expense of the army required to oppose him, that the importance was strongly felt of driving him finally from that part of the country. The rains were no sooner at an end, than the English commander, accompanied by the troops of Ramnarain, and those which had belonged to Meeran, advanced towards the Emperor, who was stationed at Gyah Maunpore. The unhappy Monarch made what exertions he could to increase his feeble army; but Carnac reached his camp by three days' march; forced him to an engagement, and gained a victory. The only memorable incident of the battle was, that M. Law was taken prisoner: And the British officers exalted themselves in the eyes even of the rude natives, by treating him with the highest honour and distinction.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting and delightful to hear the account of the native historian. "When the Emperor left the field of battle, the handful of troops



At this time the Zemindars of Beerboom, and Burdwan, two important districts of Bengal, not

that followed M. Law, discouraged by this flight, and tired of the wandering life which they had hitherto led in his service, turned about likewise and followed the Emperor. M. Law, finding himself abandoned and alone, resolved not to turn his back; he bestrode one of his guns, and remained firm in that posture, waiting for the moment of his death. This being reported to Major Carnac, he detached himself from his main, with Captain Knox and some other officers, and he advanced to the man on the gun, without taking with him either a guard or any Talingas (Sepoys) at all. Being arrived near, this troop alighted from their horses, and pulling their caps from their heads, they swept the air with them, as if to make him a *salâm*: and this salute being returned by M. Law in the same manner, some parley in their language ensued. The Major, after paying high encomiums to M. Law for his perseverance, conduct, and bravery, added these words: 'You have done every thing which could be expected from a brave man; and your name shall be undoubtedly transmitted to posterity by the pen of history: now loosen your sword from your loins, come amongst us, and abandon all thoughts of contending with the English.' The other answered, 'That if they would accept of his surrendering himself just as he was, he had no objection; but that as to surrendering himself with the disgrace of being without his sword, it was a shame he would never submit to; and that they might take his life if they were not satisfied with that condition.' The English commanders, admiring his firmness, consented to his surrendering himself in the manner he wished; after which the Major with his officers shook hands with him, in their European manner, and every sentiment of enmity was instantly dismissed on both sides. At the same time the Major sent for his own palankeen, made him sit in it, and he was sent to camp. M. Law, unwilling to see or to be seen, shut up the curtains of the palankeen for fear of being recognised by any of his friends at camp; but yet some of his acquaintances, hearing of his being arrived, went to him. The Major, who had excused him from appearing in public, informed them that they could not see him for some days, as he was too much vexed to receive any company. Ahmed Khan Koteishee, who was an impertinent talker, having come to look at him, thought to pay his court to the English by joking on the man's defeat; a behaviour that has nothing strange, if we consider the times in which we live, and the company he was accustomed to frequent; and it was in that notion of his, doubtless, that with much pertness of voice and air, he asked him this question; 'And Biby (Lady) Law, where is she?' The Major and officers present, shocked at the impropriety of the question, reprimanded him with a severe look, and very severe expressions: 'This man,' they said, 'has fought bravely, and deserves the attention of all brave men; the impertinences which you have been offering him may be customary amongst your friends, and your nation, but cannot be suf-

far from Moorshedabad, took arms. It has been alleged that they acted in concert with the Emperor; with whom it had been arranged during his former campaign, that a body of Mahrattas should penetrate into Bengal immediately after the rains; that he himself should advance to Bahar, and, by assuming an appearance as possible, engage the attention of the English and Nabob; that the Zemindars should hold themselves in readiness, till the Emperor, giving his enemies the slip, should penetrate into Bengal, as he had done the year before; when they should fall upon the province by one united and desperate effort. There seems in this too much of foresight and of plan for Oriental politicians, especially the weak-minded Emperor and his friends: At any rate the movements of the Zemindars betrayed them: Meer Casim, attended by a detachment of English under Major Yorke, marched in haste to Beerboom, defeated the troops which were opposed to them, reduced both provinces to obedience, and drove the Mahrattas to the south.

Immediately after the battle with the Emperor,

ferred in ours, which has it for a standing rule, never to offer an injury to a vanquished foe.' Ahmed Khan, checked by this reprimand, held his tongue, and did not answer a word. He tarried about one hour more in his visit, and then went away much abashed; and, although he was a commander of importance, and one to whom much honour had been always paid, no one did speak to him any more, or made a show of standing up at his departure. This reprimand did much honour to the English; and, it must be acknowledged, to the honour of those strangers, that as their conduct in war and in battle is worthy of admiration, so, on the other hand, nothing is more modest and more becoming than their behaviour to an enemy, whether in the heat of action, or in the pride of success and victory; these people seem to act entirely according to the rules observed by our ancient commanders, and our men of genius." Seer Mutakhareen, ii. 165, 166.

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Major Carnac sent to him the Raja Shitabroy, to make an overture of peace; and to ask permission to visit him in his camp. At first, by the instigation of one of the restless Zemindars who supported him, he declined the proposal; presently afterwards, having listened to other counsels, he became eager to make his terms. He was tired of his dependence upon the rude and insolent chiefs who hitherto had upheld his cause; and cherished hopes that the late revolution at Delhi might produce some turn in his favour. The Abdallee Shah, after his great victory over the Mahrattas, had acknowledged him as sovereign of Hindustan; had appointed his son to act in the quality of his deputy at Delhi; and had recommended his cause to the Afghan chiefs, and to his vizir the Nabob of Oude. Major Carnac paid his compliments to him as Emperor, in his own camp, and, after the usual ceremonies, conducted him to Patna.

Meer Casim was not easy upon the prospect of a connexion between the Emperor and the English; and hastened to Patna, to observe and to share in the present proceedings. Upon his arrival he declined waiting upon the Emperor in his own camp; either because he was afraid of treachery, of which there was no appearance; or because (so low was the house of Timur fallen) he was pleased to measure dignities with his King. After much negotiation the English invented a compromise; by planning the interview in the hall of the factory, where a musnud was formed of two dining tables covered with cloth. The usual ceremonies were performed; and Meer Casim, upon condition of

receiving investiture as Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, engaged to pay annually twenty-four lacks of rupees to the Emperor, as the revenue of the provinces, with the government of which he was intrusted. After a short stay at Patna, where the intrigues of the Nabob had as yet prevented his being proclaimed as sovereign, Shah Aulum accepted the invitation of the Subahdar of Oude, of Nujeeb-ad-dowla, and other Afghan chiefs, to whom his cause was recommended by the Abdallee Shah, to place himself under their protection, and marched toward his capital. He was escorted by Major Carnac to the boundaries of the province of Bahar; and made a tender to the English of the dewanee of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, for which, and all their other privileges, he offered to grant phirmâns, whenever the petition for them should be presented in form. The intention was distinctly formed at Calcutta, to afford assistance for placing and confirming him on his paternal throne; but the want of money, and the disinclination of the Nabob, proved decisive obstructions.

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Meer Casim, who had supplied his first necessities, by squeezing out of those persons, who were suspected of having made riches in the public service, all that terror or cruelty, under pretence of making them account for their balances, was calculated to extort, regarded the supposed treasures of Ramnair, as well as the revenues of his government, with a craving appetite; and resolved to omit no effort or contrivance, to get both in his power. As Ramnair, however, had been assured of protection by the English, it was necessary to proceed with caution and



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art. The pretence of calling upon him to account for the receipts of his government was the instrument employed. It was the purpose of the Nabob to accede to no accommodation which should not leave Ramnarain at his mercy: It was the purpose of Ramnarain to avoid, by every effort of chicanery, the rendering of a fair account. These endeavours, truly Oriental, of the Nabob on the one side, and Ramnarain on the other, operated to the ruin of both.

Mr. Vansittart, and the party who supported him, desirous of finding the conduct of Meer Casim, whom they had raised, of a nature to justify their choice, were disposed to interpret all appearances in his favour: The opposite party, who condemned the elevation of Meer Casim, were not less disposed to interpret all appearances to his disadvantage. Unfortunately for Ramnarain, and, in the end, not less unfortunately for the Nabob, the persons at Patna, in whose hands the military power of the English at this time was placed, belonged to the party by whom the Governor was opposed. Major Carnac was indeed superseded in the chief command by the arrival of Colonel Coote soon after the Emperor was received at Patna; but Coote fell so entirely into the views of his predecessor, that Carnac, though in a subordinate station, remained at Patna, to lend his countenance and aid to measures, the line of which he had contributed to draw.

So far was Mr. Vansittart from intending to permit any injustice towards Ramnarain, that Major Carnac, in his first instructions, was particularly informed of the engagements subsisting between the

English government and Ramnarain; and of the necessity of supporting his life, fortune, and government against the Nabob, should any hostile design appear to be entertained. Mr. Vansittart, however, listened to the representations which the Nabob artfully sent him, of the artifices by which Ramnarain evaded the settlement of his accounts: The exigencies of the Calcutta government urgently required the payments due from the Nabob: The Nabob declared that the recovery of the balances from Ramnarain was the only fund from which those payments could be made: And Vansittart, with the usual credulity, believed the vulgar reports, of the great treasures, as well as the vast balances, in the hands of Ramnarain; though the accounts of only three years of his government were unexamined, and though in each of those years his country had been regularly overrun by hostile armies, and he had been obliged for defence to keep on foot an army greater than he was able to pay.<sup>1</sup>

Major Carnac and Colonel Coote, on the other hand, allowed their minds to be entirely engrossed by the evidence which appeared of the resolution of the Nabob to destroy Ramnarain. The proof which they possessed was indeed but too conclusive, since they have both left their declarations upon record, that the Nabob tempted them with enormous bribes to leave Ramnarain in his power.<sup>2</sup> Their opposition

<sup>1</sup> Major Carnac (see his Evidence in the Third Report of the Committee of 1772) believed that he owed nothing at all.

<sup>2</sup> Both insisted upon the fact, that Ramnarain was ready to account fairly. In a letter of Major Carnac's to the Select Committee, dated 13th April, 1761, he says, "I have long had reason to suspect the Nabob had ill designs against Ramnarain, and have now found my suspicions

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to the Nabob, which was often offensive and exceptional in the mode, appeared to Vansittart to have no better aim than vexation to himself; it lessened the care of Ramnarain to save appearances in evading the extortion with which he was threatened; and it enabled the Nabob at last to persuade Vansittart, that he was a man requiring nothing but justice, which Ramnarain was labouring to defeat; and that his government was hastening to ruin from the obstinate dishonesty of one man, supported by two English commanders,

So far did these altercations and animosities proceed, that on the 25th of June, Vansittart, who had a majority in the council, came to the unhappy resolution of recalling both Coote and Carnac from Patna, and of leaving Ramnarain at the mercy of the Nabob. He made that use of his power, which it was the height of weakness in Vansittart not to foresee. Ramnarain was immediately seized and thrown into prison; his very house was robbed; his

to be too true. His Excellency (the Nabob) made a heavy complaint to me yesterday, in the presence of Mr. M'Guire, Major Yorke, Messrs. Lushington and Swinton, that there was a considerable balance due on the revenues of this province. Ramnarain has declared to me, that he was ready to lay the accounts before him; however, as the two parties differ widely in their statements, Mr. M'Guire and I proposed, that they should each make out their accounts, and refer them to your board, who would fairly decide between them. This, which I thought was a reasonable proposal, was so far from being satisfactory to the Nabob, that he plainly declared, nothing less could satisfy him than the Mahraje's being removed from the Naibut of this province before he returned to Moorsheadabad." First Report of the Committee in 1772, App. No. 13. In his evidence before the Committee, Carnac says, "The plea of his being in arrear was the pretext always made use of for oppressing him, but without foundation; for in the frequent conversations I had with Ramnarain on the subject, he always seemed ready to come to a fair and equitable account."

friends were tortured to make confession of hidden treasures ; his life was only for the moment spared, lest the indignation of the English should be too violently roused ; and after all, the quantity of treasure which he was found to possess was insignificant, a sum barely sufficient for the daily expenses of his government.<sup>1</sup>

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This was the fatal error of Mr. Vansittart's administration : because it extinguished among the natives of rank all confidence in the English protection ; and because the enormity to which, in this instance, he had lent his support, created an opinion of a weak or a corrupt partiality, and diminished the weight of his interference when the Nabob was really the party aggrieved. For now began the memorable disputes between the Nabob and the Company's service about the internal trade ; and, at the same time, such changes were produced in the Council at Calcutta, as impaired considerably the Governor's power. These changes constitute an incident in the history of the Company, the memory of which is of peculiar importance.

Just before Colonel Clive resigned the government in Bengal, the 147th paragraph of one of the last of the despatches, to which he affixed his name, addressed the Court of Directors in the following terms. " Having fully spoken to every branch of your affairs at this Presidency, under their established heads, we cannot, consistent with the real anxiety we feel for

<sup>1</sup> Vansittart's Narrative, i. 141—271 ; The evidence of Carnac and Coote in the First Report, and that of Clive, M'Guire, and Carnac, in the Third Report of the Committee, 1722 ; Scott's Hist. of Bengal, p. 404—409 ; Seer Mutakhareen, ii. 160—181 ; Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal, p. 47.



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the future welfare of that respectable body from whom you and we are in trust, close this address without expostulating with freedom on the unprovoked and general asperity of your letter *per Prince Henry Packet*. Our sentiments, on this head, will, we doubt not, acquire additional weight, from the consideration of their being subscribed by a majority of your Council, who are, at this very period, quitting your service, and consequently, independent and disinterested. Permit us to say, That the diction of your letter is most unworthy yourselves and us, in whatever relation considered, either as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen. Mere inadvertencies, and casual neglects, arising from an unavoidable and most complicated confusion in the state of your affairs, have been treated in such language and sentiments, as nothing but the most glaring and premeditated faults could warrant. Groundless informations have, without further scrutiny, borne with you the stamp of truth, though proceeding from those who had therein obviously their own purpose to serve, no matter at whose expense. These have received from you such countenance and encouragement, as must most assuredly tend to cool the warmest zeal of your servants here and every where else; as they will appear to have been only the source of general reflections, thrown out at random against your faithful servants of this Presidency, in various parts of your letter now before us,—faithful to little purpose,—if the breath of scandal, joined to private pique or private or personal attachments, have power to blow away in one hour the merits of many years' services, and deprive them of that rank, and those

rising benefits, which are justly a spur to their integrity and application. The little attention shown to these considerations in the indiscriminate favours heaped on some individuals, and undeserved censures on others, will, we apprehend, lessen that spirit of zeal so very essential to the well-being of your affairs, and, consequently, in the end, if continued, prove the destruction of them. Private views may, it is much to be feared, take the lead here, from examples at home; and no gentlemen hold your service longer, nor exert themselves further in it, than their own exigencies require. This being the real present state of your service, it becomes strictly our duty to represent it in the strongest light, or we should with little truth, and less propriety, subscribe ourselves,

“ May it please your Honours,

“ Your most faithful servants,

“ ROBERT CLIVE,

“ J. Z. HOLWELL,

“ WM. B. SUMNER,

“ W. M'GUIRE.”

The Company were even then no strangers to what they have become better acquainted with the longer they have acted; to that which, from the very nature of their authority, and from their local circumstances, it was evident they must experience; a disregard of their orders, when contrary to the interests or passions of their servants: but as they never before had a servant of such high pretensions, and so audacious a character as Clive, they had never before been treated with so much contumely in words. They were moved accordingly to resent it highly. In the very first paragraph of their

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general letter to Bengal, dated the 21st of January, 1761, they said, “ We have taken under our most serious consideration the general letter from our late President and council of Fort William, dated the 29th December, 1759, and many paragraphs therein containing gross insults upon and indignities offered to the Court of Directors; tending to the subversion of our authority over our servants, and a dissolution of all order and good government in the Company’s affairs: To put an immediate stop therefore to this evil, we do positively order and direct, that immediately upon the receipt of this letter, all those persons still remaining in the Company’s service, who signed the said letter, viz. Messieurs John Zephaniah Holwell, Charles Stafford Playdell, William Brightwell Sumner, and William M’Guire, be dismissed from the Company’s service; and you are to take care that they be not permitted, on any consideration, to continue in India, but that they are to be sent to England by the first ships which return home the same season you receive this letter.”

The dismissals of which this letter was the signal, not only gave a majority in the Council to the party by whom Vansittart was opposed; but sent Mr. Ellis, the most intemperate and arbitrary of all his opponents, to the chiefship of the factory at Patna. He treated the Nabob with the most insulting airs of authority; and broke through all respect for his government. So early as the month of January he gave his orders to the commander of the troops to seize and keep prisoner one of the Nabob’s collectors, who had raised some difficulties in permitting a quantity of opium, the private pro-

erty of one of the Company's servants, to pass duty free as the property of the Company. This outrage the discretion of the officer avoided, by suspending obedience to the order, and sending a letter to the Nabob, to redress by his own authority whatever might appear to be wrong. About the same time another servant of the Nabob, a man of high connexions and influence, purchased for the Nabob's use a quantity of nitre. But the monopoly of the saltpetre trade had been conveyed to the Company. Though an exception in favour of the Nabob to the extent of his own consumption was, from standing usage, so much understood, that to express it had appeared altogether useless and vain, this purchase was converted by Mr. Ellis into such an invasion of the English rights, that the Nabob was not to be consulted in the punishment of his own servant. The unfortunate man was seized, put in irons, and sent down a prisoner to Calcutta, to receive whatever chastisement the Council might direct. It required the utmost address and power of the President to get him sent back to be punished by his master. As to sending him back for the purpose of ascertaining whether he was guilty or innocent, that was a preliminary which it would have been absurd to propose. Some of the Council insisted that he should be publicly whipped at Calcutta; others, that he should have his ears cut off. Not many days after these violent proceedings, Mr. Ellis, having heard by vague report that two English deserters were concealed in the fort of Mongeer, despatched a company of Sepoys, with orders to receive the deserters, or to search the fort. The

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Governor declared that no Europeans were there; and for ampler satisfaction carried two officers of the Company round the fort. From apprehension, however, of some evil design, or from a very plain principle of military duty, he refused without orders to admit a body of armed men; shut the gates; and threatened to fire upon them if they approached the walls. This Mr. Ellis treated as the highest excess of insolence; and obstinately refused to withdraw the Sepoys till they had searched the fort. By these repeated invasions of his government, the pride of the Nabob was deeply wounded. He complained to the President in bitter terms; and with reason declared that the example, which was set by the servants of the Company, of trampling upon his authority, deprived him of all dignity in the eyes of his subjects, and rendered it vain to hope for their obedience. After a dispute of three months, during which Ellis was supported by the Council, the difference was compromised, by the Nabob's consenting to admit any person to search the fort whom Mr. Vansittart should name; when Lieutenant Ironside, after the strictest investigation, was convinced, that no European whatsoever, except an old French invalid, whose freedom Mr. Hastings procured, had been in the fort.

Hitherto Meer Casim had conducted his government with no ordinary success. He had reduced to obedience all the rebellious Zemindars: What was of still greater importance, he had, as was declared by the President in his minute of the 22nd of March, 1762, discharged the whole of his pecuniary obligations to the English; and satisfied both his own and

his predecessor's troops.<sup>1</sup> He had extorted money with unsparing hands from the Zemindars and other functionaries: In the financial department of his government, he was clear-sighted, vigilant, and severe: He had introduced a strict economy, without appearance of avarice, in his whole expenditure: And he had made considerable progress in new-modelling and improving his army; when the whole internal economy of his government became involved in disorder by the pretensions of the Company's servants.

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In India, as under most uncivilized governments, the transit of goods within the country was made subject to duties; and upon all the roads and navigable rivers, toll-houses, or custom-houses, (in the language of the country *chokeys*) were erected, which had power of stopping the goods, till the duties were levied. By the rude and oppressive nature of the government these custom-houses were exceedingly multiplied; and in long carriages the inconvenience of numerous stoppages and payments was very severe. As in all other departments of the government, so in this, there was nothing regular and fixed; the duties varied at different times and different places; and a wide avenue was always open for the extortion of the collectors. The internal trade of the country was by these causes subject to ruinous obstructions.

The English Company had at an early period availed themselves of a favourable opportunity to so-

<sup>1</sup> His payments to the Company consisted of twenty-six lacs of sicca rupees, of 2s. 8½d., together with fifty-three lacs of current rupees, of 2s. 4d., derived from the ceded districts. See Vansittart's Minute, Narrative, ii. 33.

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licit exemption from such oppressive interruptions and expense; and the rulers of the country, who felt in their revenues the benefits of foreign commerce, granted a *phirman* by which the export and import trade of the Company was completely relieved, as both the goods which they imported were allowed to pass into the interior, and those which for exportation they purchased in the interior were allowed to pass to the sea, without either stoppage or duties. A certificate, signed by the English President, or chiefs of factories, (in the language of the country a *dustuck*,) shown at the toll-houses or chokeys, protected the property. The Company, however, engrossed to themselves the import and export trade between India and Europe, and limited the private trade of their servants to the business of the country. The benefit of this exemption therefore accrued to the Company alone; and though attempts had been sometimes made to extend the protection of the Company's *dustuck* to the trade carried on by their servants in the interior, this had been always vigorously opposed by the Subahdars, both as defrauding the public revenue, and injuring the native merchants.

No sooner had the English acquired an ascendancy in the government by the dethronement of Surajad-dowla, and the elevation of Meer Jaffier, than the servants of the Company broke through the restraints which had been imposed upon them by former Subahdars, and engaged largely in the interior trade of the country. At first, however, they carried not their pretensions beyond certain bounds; and they paid the same duties which were levied on the sub-

jects of the Nabob. It appears not that during the administration of Clive, any of the Company's servants, unless clandestinely, attempted to trade on any other terms. According however as they acquired experience of their power over the government of the country; and especially after the fresh and signal instance of it, the elevation of a new sovereign in the person of Meer Casim, the Company's dustuck or passport, which was only entitled to protect the goods of actual exportation and importation, was employed by the Company's agents of all descriptions to protect their private trade in every part of the country. So great was now the ascendancy of the English name, that the collectors or officers at the chokeys or toll-houses, who were fully aware of the dependence of their own government on the power and pleasure of the English, dared not in general to scrutinize the use which was made of the Company's dustuck, or to stop the goods which it fraudulently screened. The Company's servants, whose goods were thus conveyed entirely free from duty, while those of all other merchants were heavily burdened, were rapidly getting into their own hands the whole trade of the country, and thus drying up one of the sources of the public revenue. When the collectors of these tolls, or transit duties, questioned the power of the dustuck and stopped the goods, it was customary to send a party of Sepoys to seize the offender and carry him prisoner to the nearest factory. Meer Casim was hardly seated on the musnud, when grievous complaints of these enormities came up to him from all quarters, and he presented the strongest remonstrances to the President and Council. In his letter to the Go-

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vernor, dated March 26th, 1762, he says, " From the factory of Calcutta to Cossimbuzar, Patna, and Dacca, all the English chiefs, with their gomastahs, officers and agents in every district of the government, act as collectors, renters, and magistrates, and setting up the Company's colours, allow no power to my officers. And besides this, the gomastahs and other servants in every district, in every market and village, carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboos, rice, paddy, beetel-nut, and other things ; and every man with a Company's dustuck in his hand regards himself as not less than the Company." It is abundantly proved that the picture drawn by the Nabob was not overcharged. Mr. Hastings, in a letter to the President, dated Bauglepore, 25th April, 1762, said, " I beg to lay before you a grievance, which loudly calls for redress, and will, unless duly attended to, render ineffectual any endeavours to create a firm and lasting harmony between the Nabob and the Company ;—I mean, the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name, and through the want of spirit to oppose them. This evil, I am well assured, is not confined to our dependants alone, but is practised all over the country, by people falsely assuming the habit of our Sepoys, or calling themselves our gomastahs. As on such occasions the great power of the English intimidates the people from making any resistance ; so, on the other hand, the indolence of the Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents our having knowledge of the oppressions. I have been surprised to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed ; and

on the river I do not believe that I passed a boat without one. By whatever title they have been assumed, I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the Nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or the honour of our nation.—A party of Sepoys, who were on the march before us, afforded sufficient proofs of the rapacious and insolent spirit of those people, where they are left to their own discretion. Many complaints against them were made me on the road; and most of the petty towns and serais were deserted at our approach, and the shops shut up from the apprehensions of the same treatment from us.”<sup>1</sup>

At first the Governor endeavoured to redress these evils by gentle means; by cautioning the servants of the Company; by soothing the irritation of the Nabob, and lending his own authority to enable the native toll-gatherers to check the illegitimate traffic of the English. The mischief, however, increased. The efforts of the collectors were not only resisted,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Verelst says, (View of Bengal, p. 8 and 46) “The reader must here be informed, that a trade, free from duties, had been claimed by the Company's servants, supported by their forces, and established by the last treaty with Meer Jaffier; and that this article, though condemned by the Directors, was afterwards transcribed into the treaty with his son Nudjum al Dowlah. The contention during two years with Meer Cossim, in support of this trade, greatly weakened the country government, which his subsequent overthrow quite annihilated. At this time many black merchants found it expedient to purchase the name of any young writer in the Company's service, by loans of money, and under this sanction harassed and oppressed the natives. So plentiful a supply was derived from this source, that many young writers were enabled to spend 1500*l.* and 2000*l.* per annum, were clothed in fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day.”—“A trade was carried on without payment of duties, in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed. English agents or gomastahs, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of government, binding and punishing the Nabob's officers, whenever they presumed to interfere. This was the immediate cause of the war with Meer Cossim.”

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and the collectors themselves punished as heinous offenders on the spot; but these attempts of theirs excited the loudest complaints; they were represented as daring violations of the Company's rights; and undoubted evidence of a design on the part of the Nabob to expel the English from the country. As usual, one species of enormity introduced another. When the officers of government submitted to oppression, it necessarily followed that the people must submit. At the present time it is difficult to believe, even after the most undeniable proof, that it became a common practice to force the unhappy natives, both to buy the goods of the Company's servants and of all those who procured the use of their name, at a greater; and to sell to the Company's servants the goods which they desired to purchase, at a less, than the market price. The native judges and magistrates were resisted in the discharge of their duties; and even their functions were usurped. The whole frame of the government was relaxed: and in many places the Zemindars and other collectors refused to be answerable for the revenues.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following letter to the Nabob from one of his officers, affords a specimen of the complaints; it is dated Backergunge, May 25, 1762. "The situation of affairs at this place, obliges me to apply to your honour for instructions for my further proceedings.—My instructions which I brought here were, that in case any Europeans or their servants committed any disorders, they were to be sent to Calcutta, notwithstanding any pretence they shall make for so doing.—Notwithstanding the rigour of these orders, I have ever made it my business (when any thing trifling happened) to endeavour, by gentle means, to persuade the gentlemen's gomastahs here to act in a peaceable manner; which, although repeated several times, has had no effect; but, on the contrary, has occasioned their writing complaints of me to their respective masters, that I obstructed them in their business, and ill-used them; and in return I have received menacing letters from several gentlemen, threatening, if I interfere with

The President, aware of the prejudices which were fostered, by a majority of the board, against both the Nabob and himself, submitted not to their deliberation these disorders and disputes, till he found his own authority inadequate to redress them. The representations, presented to them, of the enormities to which the private trade of the Company's servants gave birth in the country, were treated, by the majority of the Council, as the effect of a weak or interested subservience to the views of the Nabob; while they received the complaints of the servants and their agents against the native officers, more often in fault, according to Hastings and Vansittart, from laxity than tyranny, as proofs of injustice demanding immediate punishment, and of hostile designs against which effectual securities could not be too speedily taken. Of the Council a great proportion were

their servants, to use such measures as I may repent; nor have the gentlemen only done this, their very gomastahs have made it public here, that in case I stop them in any proceeding, they will use the same methods; of the truth of which I have good proofs. Now, Sir, I am to inform you what I have obstructed them in. This place was of great trade formerly, but is now brought to nothing by the following practices. A gentleman sends a gomastah here to buy or sell. He immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant, either to buy his goods or sell him theirs; and on refusal, (in case of non-capacity,) a flogging or confinement immediately ensues. This is not sufficient even when willing, but a second force is made use of, which is to engross the different branches of trade to themselves, and not to suffer any persons to buy or sell the articles they trade in; and if the country people do it, then a repetition of their authority is put in practice; and again, what things they purchase, they think the least they can do is, to take them for a considerable deal less than another merchant, and often times refuse paying that, and my interfering occasions an immediate complaint.—These, and many other oppressions which are daily practised, is the reason that this place is growing destitute of inhabitants, &c.—Before, justice was given in the public cutchree, but now every gomastah is become a judge; they even pass sentences on the Zemindars themselves, and draw money from them by pretended injuries." Vansittart's Narrative, ii. 112.



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deriving vast emoluments from the abuses, the existence of which they denied; and the President obtained support from Mr. Hastings alone, in his endeavours to check enormities, which, a few years afterwards, the Court of Directors, the President, the servants of the Company themselves, and the whole world, joined in reprobating, with every term of condemnation and abhorrence.

Observing the progress of these provocations and resentments, Vansittart anticipated nothing but the calamity of war, unless some effectual measures could be adopted to prevent them. Dependence upon the English, though it had been light, was a yoke which the Nabob would doubtless have been very willing to throw off. This presumed inclination the majority of the Council treated as a determined purpose; and every measure of his administration was, according to them, a proof of his hostile designs. The Nabob, aware of the strength of the party to whom his elevation was an object of aversion, naturally considered the friendship of the English as a tenure far from secure. The report was spread, that the views of his enemies would be adopted in England; and it is no wonder if, against a contingency so very probable, he was anxious to be prepared. Vansittart, however, who was not mistaken as to the interest which the Nabob had in maintaining his connexion with the English, and his want of power to contend with them, remained assured of his disposition to peace, unless urged by provocations too great for his temper to endure. He formed the plan, therefore, of a meeting with Meer Casim, in hopes that, by mutual explanations and concessions, there might be drawn,

between the rights of the government on the one hand, and the pretensions of the Company's servants on the other, such a line of demarcation as would preclude all future injuries and complaints. With Mr. Hastings, as a coadjutor, he arrived at Mongeer on the 30th of November, and was received with all the marks of cordiality and friendship. After some bitter complaints, the Nabob agreed that all preceding animosities should be consigned to oblivion, and that the present interview should be wholly employed in preventing the recurrence of such dangerous evils. For this purpose, he insisted that the interior trade, or that from place to place within the country, should be entirely renounced, as a trade to which the Company had no claim, and in which their servants had never been allowed to engage by any Subahdar preceding Meer Jaffier; a trade which introduced innumerable disorders into his government, and was not carried on for the benefit of the Company, but of individuals, who reaped the profit of their own offences. Mr. Vansittart, though fully aware, as he himself declares, that the interior trade, which had been grasped by the Company's servants, was purely usurpation, was yet, he says, "unwilling to give up an advantage which had been enjoyed by them, in a greater or less degree, for five or six years." A still stronger reason probably was, that he knew himself unable to make them "give it up;" and, therefore, limited his endeavours to place it upon such a foundation as appeared the best calculated for the exclusion of abuse. He proposed that the interior trade should be open to the servants of the Company, but that they should pay the same duties as other merchants;

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and that, for the prevention of all disputes, a fixed and accurate rate of duties should be established.

1763. To this arrangement, the Nabob, who saw but little security against a repetition of the preceding evils in the assignment of duties which, as before, the servants of the Company might refuse to pay, manifested extreme aversion. At last, with great difficulty, he was induced to comply; but declared his resolution, if this experiment should fail, to abolish all duties on interior commerce, and in this way at least place his own subjects on a level with the strangers. To prevent the inconvenience of repeated stoppages, it was agreed that nine per cent., immensely below the rate exacted of other traders,<sup>1</sup> should be paid upon the prime cost of the goods, at the place of purchase, and that no further duties should be imposed. Mr. Vansittart returned to Calcutta on the 16th of January.

The President believed that he had left Calcutta fully authorized, by the Council, to settle with the Nabob the terms of an amicable arrangement; and he expected to find the Members of the Council pleased that the servants of the Company were now vested with a right to that plentiful source of gain, in which they had hitherto participated only by usurpation. He was not as yet sufficiently acquainted with the boundless desires of his colleagues. Before his arrival, unlimited condemnation had passed on

<sup>1</sup> Clive, in his speech, March 30, 1772, afterwards published by himself, said, "The natives paid infinitely more—and that this was no remedy to the grievance of which the Nabob complained." See Almon's Debates, from April 1772 to July 1773, where the speech is reprinted. p. 9. The Company afterwards rated the duties at forty per cent., and called this "a treaty exacted by force to obtain to their servants a sanction for a trade to enrich themselves."

the whole of his proceedings; and the precipitation of the Nabob added to the disorder and combustion. The regulations which the President had formed were couched in a letter addressed to the Nabob. It was the plan of Vansittart, that, as soon as they were confirmed by the Council, instructions should be sent to the English factories and agents; and that corresponding instructions should at the same time be transmitted by the Nabob to his officers, informing them of the powers which they were authorized to exert. The Nabob, who was not sufficiently warned or sufficiently patient to observe this order of proceeding, immediately transmitted copies of Vansittart's letter to his different officers, as the code of laws by which their conduct was to be guided. The officers, of course, began to act upon those laws immediately; and as the English had no commands to obey, they resisted. The native officers, who imagined they had now authority for retaliating some of the indignities to which they had been subject, were in various instances guilty of severity and oppression. It followed of course, that the dissatisfaction which the Members of the Council were prepared to display, was rendered more confident and loud by these transactions, and by the complaints which they failed not to produce. It was speedily resolved, that the President had no authority for forming those regulations to which he had assented; and instructions were sent to the factories and agents to trade upon the previous terms, and to seize and imprison any of the Nabob's officers who should dare to offer any obstructions. In a solemn consultation, which was held on the 1st of March, it

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was determined, with only two dissenting voices, those of the President and Mr. Hastings, that by the imperial phirman, under which the Company had traded so long, their servants had a right (which however all preceding Nabobs had disallowed) to the internal trade, and that it was out of compliment, not by obligation, that they had in any case consented to the payment of duties. It was decided, after many words, that, as an acknowledgement to the Nabob, and out of their own liberality and free choice, they would pay a duty of two and a half per cent. upon the article of salt alone, and no other; instead of the nine per cent. upon all articles for which Vansittart had agreed. It was, however, at the same time decreed, that all disputes between the gomastahs of the English, and the subjects of the native government, should be referred, not to the native tribunals, but to the heads of factories and residents: that is, should be referred to men, not only, in the great majority of cases far too distant to receive the complaints; but, what was still more shameful, men reaping exorbitant profits from the abuses over which they were thus exclusively vested with the judicial power.

When Vansittart took leave of the Nabob, he was setting out upon an expedition against the kingdom of Nepaul, a small country, completely surrounded, after the manner of Cashmere, by the northern mountains. It was a country which the Mohammedan arms had never reached; and on the subject of its riches, oriental credulity, influenced by the report of its yielding gold, had room for unlimited expansion. The conquest of a country, abounding with gold,

held out irresistible temptations to the Nabob. He ascended the ridge of mountains by which it is separated from Bengal; but he was met by the Nepaulese in a dangerous pass; and, after a contest, which appalled him, abandoned the enterprise. He was met, upon his return, by accounts of the reception which the regulations of Vansittart had experienced in the Council; of the resistance which had been opposed to his officers in their attempts to execute his orders; and of the seizure and imprisonment which in various instances they had undergone. He wrote, in terms of the highest indignation; and called upon the English to relieve him from the burden of the Subahdary, since they deprived him of the powers without which the government of the country could not be carried on. His patience was nearly exhausted: he now, therefore, executed his resolution of abandoning all duties on the transit of goods, and laid the interior trade of his country perfectly open.

The conduct of the Company's servants, upon this occasion, furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record, of the power of interest to extinguish all sense of justice, and even of shame. They had hitherto insisted, contrary to all right and all precedent, that the government of the country should exempt their goods from duty. They now insisted that it should impose duties upon the goods of all other traders; and accused it as guilty of a breach of peace toward the English nation, because it proposed to remit them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Council, the President and Mr. Hastings were, as before, the

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To enforce these conditions, and yet to maintain the appearance of omitting no effort to obtain the consent of the Nabob, it was proposed in the Council to send to him a deputation. For this purpose Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay volunteered their services. They departed with their instructions on the 4th of April. In the mean time, in all parts of the country, the disputes between the officers of the government, and the Company's servants, were carried to the greatest height. Many complaints arrived at Calcutta of the resistance which the gomastahs of the English experienced in the conduct of their business, and even of the outrages to which they were sometimes exposed. On the other hand a multitude of instances were produced, in which the English sepoys had been employed to seize and bind and beat the officers of the government, and

only dissentients, and said (see their minute, Consultation, March 24), "We cannot think the Nabob to blame (in abolishing the duties); nor do we see how he could do otherwise. For although it may be for our interest to determine, that we will have all the trade in our hands, take every article of the produce of the country off the ground at the first hand, and afterward send it where we please free of customs, yet it is not to be expected that the Nabob will join with us in endeavouring to deprive every merchant of the country of the means of carrying on their business, which must undoubtedly soon be the case, if they are obliged to pay heavy duties, and we trade in every article on the footing before-mentioned.—Neither in our opinion could the Nabob in such circumstances collect enough to pay the expense of the chokeys, collectors, &c. As to the Nabob's rights to lay trade open, it is our opinion, that the Nazim of every province has a right to anything for the relief of the merchants trading under his protection." Vansittart, iii. 74.—M. There can be no difference of opinion on these proceedings. The narrow-sighted selfishness of commercial cupidity, had rendered all the members of the Council, with the two honourable exceptions of Vansittart and Hastings, obstinately inaccessible to the plainest dictates of reason, justice, and policy.—W.

to protect the agents of the Company's servants in all the enormities and oppressions which they exercised upon the people. At Patna, from the animosities and violence of Mr. Ellis, the flames of discord were the most vehemently fanned; the Sepoys were employed under his directions in opposing the government in bodies of 500 at a time; and blood had been shed in the disputes which ensued. Before the 14th of April, the position of the Nabob and the Company had become so threatening, that in the consultation of that day measures of war were eventually planned. The Nabob, on his part, though well acquainted with his own weakness, (for the short duration and the difficulties of his government had rendered the collection of more than a very small army impossible,) yet fully persuaded of the resolution of the Council to depose him, now applied for assistance to the Emperor and the Nabob of Oude; and prepared himself for a conclusion which he deemed inevitable.

On the 25th of May some boats, laden with arms for the troops at Patna, arrived at Mongeer. This circumstance tended to confirm the Nabob in his opinion that the English were arming for war. He had the resolution to order the arms to be stopped. The deputation from the Council had already arrived; but he treated their new propositions as unreasonable; and enumerating the outrages committed upon his servants, and the disorders introduced into his government, insisted, that the resolution of the Council to protect such proceedings imported nothing less than a design to deprive him of his

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authority. Though he offered to let the arms proceed to Patna, if either Mr. Amyatt, Mr. M'Guire, or Mr. Hastings, were placed over the factory, he refused to send them to Ellis, as a man determined to employ them against him. He even insisted that the troops which were stationed at Patna, and for whom he paid, under the pretence of their being employed for the protection of his government, should not remain at the disposal of his enemy, but should be sent either to Calcutta or Mongeer.

The Council were unanimous in treating the detention of the arms as a very serious offence; and the deputation were instructed to take their departure, unless the boats were allowed to proceed. The Nabob wavered; and on the 19th of June, the gentlemen of the deputation wrote to the Council, that he had consented to release the boats of arms immediately; to enter upon negotiation without persisting as before in his preliminary demand of removing the troops from Patna; and that they had accordingly agreed to wait upon him the following day. The hopes, which were drawn from this communication, by those Members of the Council to whom peace was really dear, were speedily destroyed. Mr. Ellis, at an early period of the disputes, had presented urgent expostulations to the Council upon the necessity of being entrusted with discretionary powers, not only to act upon the defensive if attacked by the Nabob, but even to anticipate any hostile attempt by the seizure of Patna. This demand the President had very earnestly opposed, from a strong conviction that the precipitation of Mr. Ellis would force the Company into

war. By alarming representations, however, of the imminent dangers to which the factory was exposed, and of the impossibility of receiving instructions from Calcutta in time for the adoption of measures indispensable for its safety, the permission which Mr. Ellis solicited was at last conferred. After a variety of reports received by the Nabob of operations, openly carried on by this gentleman, which could have nothing in view but a state of war, a letter was brought to him from the Governor of Patna, on the 20th or 21st, informing him that Mr. Ellis had made preparations, and even constructed ladders, for attacking the fort. This seems to have put an end to the inclination, if any, which he had still retained for avoiding, by accommodation, the hazard of war. Commands were sent to stop the arms, which had already proceeded up the river: Mr. Amyatt was allowed to return to Calcutta: But Mr. Hay was detained, as a hostage for the Nabob's aumils, imprisoned by the English. Intelligence of the departure of Amyatt reached Mr. Ellis on the 24th. On that very night, he surprised and took the city of Patna. The news of this attack carried the resentment of the Nabob to that degree of violence, to which a long course of provocation, terminated by a deadly injury, was calculated to raise that passion in a half-civilized mind. He dispatched his orders to seize and make prisoners of the English wherever they were to be found; among the rest to stop Mr. Amyatt, and send him with his retinue to Mongheer. As Mr. Amyatt refused to stop his boats, and answered the command which he received for that purpose by firing upon the Nabob's people, the boats

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were immediately boarded, and in the struggle he himself, with several others, was slain.

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Both parties now hastened to take the field. The Nabob was speedily encouraged by tidings from Patna. After Captain Carstairs, the officer commanding the English troops, which were sent a little before day-break on the morning of the 25th to surprise Patna, had, without much difficulty, finding the guards for the most part off their duty, scaled the walls; and after the Governor of Patna, who suddenly collected a portion of the garrison, and made a very short resistance, had left the city and fled towards Mongheer; the English, masters of the whole place, except the citadel, and a strong palace, into which an officer had thrown himself, broke through the rules of prudence as much in the prosecution, as they had broken through those of caution in the commencement of their operations. The troops were allowed to disperse, and were plundering the houses of the inhabitants; when the Governor, who had only marched a few miles before he met a detachment which had been sent to reinforce him from Mongheer, receiving at the same time intelligence of the resistance made by the citadel and palace, returned. The English were ill prepared to receive him. After a slight resistance they spiked their cannon, and retired to their factory. It was soon surrounded; when, fear taking place of their recent temerity, they evacuated the place during the night, and taking to their boats which were stationed at their cantonments at Bankipore they fled up the river to Chopperah, and towards the frontiers of Oude, where being attacked by the Fojedar of

Sirkaur Sarun, they laid down their arms. The factory at Cossimbuzar was plundered about the same time ; and all the English who belonged to it, as well as those who had fled from Patna, were sent prisoners to Mongheer.

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It had some time before been determined in the Council, the President and Mr. Hastings refusing to concur, that in case of a war with Meer Casim, the door should be closed against accommodation; by divesting him of the government, and elevating another person to his throne. When the melancholy death, therefore, of Mr. Amyatt became known, a negotiation was immediately commenced with Meer Jaffier, whose puerile passion to reign made him eager to promise compliance with any conditions which were proposed. Besides confirming the grant which had been obtained from Meer Casim of the revenues of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, for defraying the expense of the English troops employed in the defence of the country, the new Subahdar granted exemption to the trade of the Company's servants from all duties, except the two and a half per cent. which these servants themselves, out of their own liberality, agreed to pay upon the single article of salt. He consented also to rescind the ordinance of Meer Casim for the general remission of commercial imposts, and to levy the ancient duties upon all except the English dealers. He engaged to maintain 12,000 horse, and 12,000 foot; to pay to the Company thirty lacks of rupees, on account of their losses and the expense of the war; to reimburse the personal losses of individuals,



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and to permit no Europeans but English to erect fortifications in the country.

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On the 2d of July the English army was ordered to march from Gherettee. It consisted of 650 Europeans, and 1200 Sepoys, exclusive of the black cavalry, commanded by Major Adams, of the King's Eighty-fourth regiment; and was afterwards joined by 100 Europeans and a battalion of Sepoys from Midnapore. After concluding the treaty on the 11th, the new Nabob proceeded to the army, which he joined at Agurdeep on the 17th.

The first defensive movement of Meer Casim was to send three of his generals, with their respective troops, to post themselves, for the protection of Moorshedabad, between that city and the English army. That army encountered them on the 19th; and gave them a total defeat. They retreated from the battle towards Geriah, where they received command to post themselves, and where they were reinforced by the principal part of Meer Casim's army, among the rest by the German Sumroo,<sup>1</sup> who commanded the Sepoys, or the troops disciplined in the European manner, in the service of that Nabob. On the 23d the English army advanced to Chuna Cullee, and on the 24th in the morning stormed the lines at Mootejil, which gave them possession of Moorshedabad. On the 2d of August they reached the plain of Geriah, near Sootee, where the enemy waited and gave them battle. It was the severest conflict which the English had yet sustained with an

<sup>1</sup> This adventurer came to India as a serjeant in the French army.

Indian army. Meer Casim had been very ambitious to introduce the European order among his troops ; and he was now defended by a body of men better appointed and better disciplined than those which any native commander had ever brought into the field. The battle lasted four hours, during which the enemy once broke a part of the English line, took possession of two guns, and attacked the Eighty-fourth regiment in front and rear. The steadiness, however, of the English exhausted the impetuosity of their assailants, and in the end bestowed upon them a complete and brilliant victory. The enemy abandoned all their cannon, with 150 boats laden with provisions, and fled to a strong post on a small stream, called the Oodwa, where Meer Casim had formed a very strong entrenchment. On every reverse of fortune, the fears and the rage of that unhappy man appear to have inflamed him to a renewed act of cruelty ; and Ramnarain, who hitherto had been retained a prisoner, with several chiefs and persons of distinction, was, upon the present disaster, ordered for execution. It was at this time only that Meer Casim, among whose qualities contempt of personal danger had no share, having first conveyed his family and treasures to the strong hold of Rotas, left Mongheer. He marched towards Oodwa, but halting at a distance, contented himself with forwarding some bodies of troops. The English approached the entrenchment on the 11th. It occupied the whole of a narrow space which extended between the river and the foot of the hills. The ditch, which was deep, was fifty or sixty feet broad, and full of water. The ground in front was swampy, and

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admitted no approach, except for a space of about 100 yards on the bank of the river. At this place the English, harassed daily by numerous bodies of cavalry both in front and rear, were detained for nearly a month. On the 5th of September, while a feigned attack at the bank of the river engaged the attention of the enemy, a grand effort was made at the foot of the hills, and, in spite of an obstinate resistance, was crowned with success. Meer Casim, upon intelligence of this new misfortune, left his camp privately the succeeding night, and hastened to Mongheer, whither he was followed by the army in great disorder. He remained, however, only a few days, to secure some of his effects, and refresh his troops; and then proceeded towards Patna. He carried with him the English prisoners; and killed by the way the two celebrated Sets, the great Hindu bankers, whom, in the progress of his disputes with the English, he had seized and brought from Moorshedabad.

Mean time the English army advanced towards Mongheer, which they were obliged to attack regularly; but early in October they made a practicable breach, when the garrison, consisting of 2000 Sepoys, capitulated. The loss of this place, which he had made his capital, threw Meer Casim into a paroxysm of rage; during which he ordered the English prisoners to be massacred; and Sumroo, the German, executed with alacrity the horrid command. Mr. Fullerton, the Surgeon, who, in the exercise of his profession, had gained a place in the affections of Meer Casim, was the only individual whom he spared. As the English were advancing towards

Patna, Meer Casim departed to some distance from the city. The garrison defended it with spirit; even took one of the English batteries, and blew up their magazine. But the ruinous fortifications were not calculated for a prolonged resistance, and Patna was taken by storm on the 6th of November. After the loss of this place Meer Casim made no further resistance. He formed his resolution to throw himself upon the protection of the Nabob of Oude the Vivir, and made haste to take refuge in his dominions. The English army followed him to the banks of the Carumnassa, which they reached early in December.

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A treaty, in which the Vizir had bound himself by his oath on the Coran to support the ejected Nabob, had been concluded, before that unfortunate chief crossed the boundary of his own dominions. At that time the Emperor and Suja-ad-dowla were encamped at Allahabad, preparing an expedition against Bundelcund, the predatory inhabitants of which had refused to pay their revenues. Meer Casim was received by them with all the distinction due to the greatest viceroy of the Mogul empire. As the enterprise against the Bundelas threatened to retard the assistance which he was impatient to receive against the English, he offered to reduce them with his own battalions, crossed the Jumna, took one of their fortresses, and so alarmed them, by his artillery, and his Sepoys, dressed and disciplined in the European manner, that they hastened to make their submission; and Suja-ad-dowla who, under pretence of assisting Meer Casim, already grasped in his expectation the three provinces of the East,



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marched with his allies to Benares, to make preparations for his selfish enterprise.

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In the mean time the English, who were ignorant of his designs, and not without hopes that he would either deliver Meer Casim into their hands, or at least deprive him of his treasures and troops, directed that the army should be cantoned on the frontiers for the purpose of watching his motions. In this situation an alarming disaffection broke out among the troops. The importance and difficulties of the service which they had rendered in recovering the provinces from Meer Casim, had raised a high expectation of some proportional reward: Nor had the opportunity of acting upon them been neglected by the emissaries of the enemy. On the 11th of February, the European battalion stood to their arms, and, after loading their pieces and fixing their bayonets, took possession of the artillery parks, and marched towards the Carumnassa. The Sepoys were also in motion; but, of them, by the exertions of their officers, a great proportion were induced to return. Of the Europeans, the English, with few exceptions, desisted and came back; the rest, in number about 300, of whom some were Germans, and the greater part were French, proceeded towards Banares. At the beginning of the month of March, when Major Carnac arrived to take the command, a mutinous disposition still prevailed among the troops; provisions were in great scarcity, and the preparations making for the invasion of the province by the Nabob of Oude were no longer a secret. Though urged by the Governor and Council to act upon the offensive, and to push the war into Suja-ad-dowla's dominions, he agreed with all

his officers in opinion, that without a greater certainty of provisions, especially in the present temper of the troops, the hazard ought not to be incurred. At the beginning of April, when the enemy crossed the Ganges, and began to advance, the English, straitened for provisions, and afraid lest by a circuitous route a detachment of the hostile army should get between them and Patna, retreated to that city and encamped under the walls. Early in the morning of the 3d of May, the enemy approached in order of battle, and began a cannonade, which before noon was converted into a general and vigorous attack. Sumroo, with the choice of the infantry, supported by a large body of cavalry, assailed the English in front; while the main body of the army made an onset in the rear. The English army, and particularly the Sepoys, who bore the principal weight of the attack, behaved with great steadiness and gallantry. It was sun-set before the enemy was completely repulsed. At that time the English were too much worn-out with fatigue to be able to pursue. Their loss, at least in Europeans, was inconsiderable: the slaughter of the assailants great. From this day till the 30th the enemy hovered about Patna, continually shifting their position, and keeping the English in perpetual expectation of a renewed attack, without allowing them an opportunity, such at least as Carnac thought it prudent to seize, of acting on the offensive. During this time Suja-ad-dowla opened a correspondence with Meer Jaffier, the new Nabob: But as the English would listen to no proposal without the preliminary condition of surrendering Meer Casim, Sumroo, and the deserters; and as the pretensions of Suja-ad-dowla

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extended to nothing less than the province of Bahar, it led to no agreement. The rains being now at hand, and the treasury of the Vizir severely feeling the burden of so great an army in the field, he marched away on the 30th, with great expedition. At this time the Emperor, uneasy under the treatment which he received from the greedy and unprincipled Vizir, sent a private message, offering to form a separate connexion with the English; but Major Carnac refused to open a correspondence. Without venturing to pursue the enemy, he sent a strong detachment across the Ganges, to threaten Suja-ad-dowla's frontier; which had the effect of making him hasten to his own dominions.

In the month of May, Major, afterwards Sir Hector Munro, arrived from Bombay with a body of troops, partly King's and partly Company's; and hastened with them to Patna, to take the command of the army. He found the troops, Europeans as well as Sepoys, extremely mutinous, deserting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers, demanding higher pay, and a large donation, promised, as they affirmed, by the Nabob.<sup>1</sup> The Major resolved to subdue this spirit by the severest measures. He had hardly arrived when a whole battalion of Sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy. He immediately detached a body of troops on whom he thought he could depend, to pursue them and bring them back. They overtook them in the night, when asleep, and made them prisoners. The Major, ready to receive them with the

<sup>1</sup> It appears by Munro's evidence (First Report, Committee, 1772) that such a promise was made to them, and through Major Adams.

troops under arms, ordered their officers to select fifty, whom they deemed the most depraved and mischievous, and of this fifty to select again twenty-four of the worst. He then ordered a field court-martial, composed of their own black officers, to be immediately held; and addressed the Court, impressing them with a sense of the destruction which impended over an army in which crimes like these were not effectually repressed. The prisoners were found guilty of mutiny and desertion, and sentenced to suffer death in any manner which the commander should direct. He ordered four of them to be immediately tied to the guns, and blown away; when four grenadiers presented themselves, and begged, as they had always had the post of honour, that they should first be allowed to suffer. After the death of these four men, the European officers of the battalions of Sepoys who were then in the field came to inform the Major that the Sepoys would not suffer the execution of any more. He ordered the artillery officers to load the field pieces with grape; and drew up the Europeans, with the guns in their intervals. He then desired the officers to return to the heads of their battalions; after which he commanded the battalions to ground their arms, and assured them if a man attempted to move that he would give orders to fire. Sixteen more of the twenty-four men were then blown away; the remaining four were sent to another place of cantonment, and executed in the same manner. Nothing is more singular, than that the same men, in whom it is endeavoured to raise to the highest pitch the contempt of death; and who may be depended upon for meeting it, without hesi-

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tation, at the hand of the enemy ; should yet tremble, and be subdued, when threatened with it by their own officers.

The rains drawing to a close, Munro appointed the 15th of September as the day of rendezvous from the several places of cantonment. He then advanced towards the Soane, to which the enemy had forwarded several bodies of horse ; and where they had thrown up some breast-works, to impede the passage of their assailants. Having sent a detachment to cross the river at some distance below, for the purpose of attacking the enemy at a concerted moment, and covering the passage of the troops, he gained the opposite side without molestation ; and advanced toward Buxar, where the hostile armies were encamped. For the last two or three days the line of march was harrassed by the enemy's cavalry ; and the Major encamped on the 22d of October within shot of the enemy's camp, entrenched with the Ganges on its left, and the village and fort of Buxar in the rear. An attack was intended the same night, but the spies not coming in till towards morning, it could not take place. About eight o'clock in the morning the enemy were seen advancing ; and as the troops were encamped in order of battle, they were in a few minutes ready for action. The battle began about nine, and lasted till twelve ; when the enemy gave way, and retired slowly, blowing up some tumbrils and magazines of powder as they withdrew. The Major ordered the line to break into columns and follow : but the enemy, by destroying a bridge of boats upon a stream of water two miles from the field of battle, effectually impeded the pursuit. This

was one of the most critical and important victories in the history of the British wars in that part of the globe. It broke completely the force of Suja-ad-dowla, the only Mogul chief who retained till this period any considerable strength; it placed the Emperor himself under the protection of the English; and left them without dispute the greatest power in India.

The very day after the battle, the Emperor sent his application to the English commander; who immediately wrote to the Presidency for directions; and received authority to conclude an agreement. The Emperor complained that he had been the state prisoner of Suja-ad-dowla; and before the answer from Calcutta arrived, marched along with the English, and encamped with his guards close to them every night. When the army arrived at Benares, Suja-ad-dowla sent his minister with overtures of peace; promising twenty-five lacks of rupees to reimburse the Company for the expenses of the war; twenty-five lacks to the army: and eight lacks to the Commander himself. The preliminary surrender of Meer Casim and Sumroo was still however demanded. The perfidious Vizir had already violated the laws of hospitality and honour towards his wretched guest. A quarrel was picked, on account of the non-payment of the monthly subsidy which the Ex-Nabob had promised for the troops employed in attempting his restoration; the unhappy fugitive was arrested in his tent; and his treasures were seized. Still the Nabob dreaded the infamy of delivering him up; but, if that would satisfy the English, he offered to let him escape. With regard to Sumroo, his pro-

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posals was, to invite him to an entertainment, and have him despatched in presence of any English gentleman who might be sent to witness the scene. As this mode of disposing of their enemies was not agreeable to English morality, the negotiation ceased: but Meer Casim, who dreaded the conclusion to which it might lead, contrived to escape with his family and a few friends into the Rohilla country, whither he had providently, before the plunder of his treasures, despatched a dependant with some of his jewels.

The negotiation with the Emperor proceeded with less obstruction. It was proposed, and as far as mutual approbation extended, agreed and contracted; that the English, by virtue of the imperial grant, should obtain possession of Gauzeepore, and the rest of the territory of Bulwant Sing, the Zemindar of Benares; that on the other hand they should establish the Emperor in the possession of Allahabad, and the rest of the dominions of Suja-ad-dowla; and the Emperor engaged to reimburse them afterwards, out of the royal revenues, for the whole of the expense which this service might oblige them to incur.

In the mean time, affairs of no trivial importance were transacting in the Council. They had been extremely urgent with Meer Jaffier to leave the army, and come down to Calcutta, before Major Carnac ✓ quitted the command. The treasury of the Company was in a most exhausted state; and every effort was to be used to make Jaffier yield it a more abundant supply. In addition to the sums for which he had contracted in the recent treaty, a promise was drawn from him to pay five lacks per month toward

the expense of the war so long as it should last. But his former engagements to the Company were not yet discharged. The payments also to individuals, stipulated under the title of compensation for losses, were swelled to an oppressive amount. When this article was first inserted in the treaty, the Nabob was informed, that the demand at the utmost would extend to a sum about ten lacks. That demand, however, was soon after stated at twenty, then at thirty, afterwards at forty, and at last was fixed at fifty-three lacks of rupees. We are assured by a Director of the Company, "That all delicacy was laid aside in the manner in which payment was obtained for this sum, of which seven-eighths was for losses sustained, or said to be sustained, in an illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life, carried on against the orders of the Company, and to the utter ruin of many thousands of the India merchants; that of the whole one half was soon extorted from him, though part of the payments to the Company was still undischarged, and though the Company was sinking under the burden of the war, and obliged to borrow great sums of money of their servants at eight per cent. interest, and even with that assistance unable to carry on the war and their investment, but obliged to send their ships half loaded to Europe."<sup>1</sup> By the revenues of the three ceded districts, added to the monthly payment for the war, "the Company," we are informed by Clive, "became possessed of one half of the Nabob's revenues. He was allowed, says that great informant, "to collect the other half for himself; but

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<sup>1</sup> Scrafton's Observations on Vansittart's Narrative, p. 48, 49.



BOOK IV in fact he was no more than a banker for the Com-  
 CHAP. 5. ✓pany's servants, who could draw upon him " (mean-  
 .1765. ing for presents) " as often, and to as great an  
 amount as they pleased."<sup>1</sup> " To all other causes of  
 embarrassment in the finances of Jaffier were added  
 the abuses perpetrated in conducting the private  
 trade of the Company's servants, which not only dis-  
 turbed the collection of the taxes, but impeded the  
 industry of the whole country."<sup>2</sup> In such circum-  
 stances it was to no purpose to harass the Nabob for  
 larger payments. The importunities to which he  
 was subjected<sup>3</sup> only conspired, with the infirmities of  
 age and of a body worn out with pleasure, to hurry  
 him to his grave. After languishing several weeks  
 ✓at Calcutta, he returned to Moorshedabad, loaded  
 with disease, and died in January, 1765.

<sup>1</sup> Clive's Speech, March 30th, 1772, in Almon's Debates, x. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gray, resident at Maulda, of date January, 1764, wrote to the President, " Since my arrival here, I have had an opportunity of seeing the villainous practices used by the Calcutta gomastahs in carrying on their business. The government have certainly too much reason to complain of their want of influence in their country, which is torn to pieces by a set of rascals, who in Calcutta walk in rags, but when they are set out on gomastahships, lord it over the country, imprisoning the ryots and merchants, and writing and talking in the most insolent, domineering manner, to the fouzders and officers." In like manner, Mr. Senior, Chief at Cossimbuzar, wrote, in March, 1764, " It would amaze you, the number of complaints that daily come before me of the extravagancies committed by our agents and gomastahs all over the country." See Verelst, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> " Your Committee then examined Archibald Swinton, Esq., who was Captain in the army in Bengal in 1765, and also Persian interpreter and Aid-de-Camp to General Carnac: And he informed your Committee, that he had frequent conversations with Meer Jaffier about the five lacks of rupees per month, stipulated to be paid by Meer Jaffier in October, 1764, and the other demands made on him by the Board; of which he frequently heard Meer Jaffier complain bitterly; and of all the demands made upon him at that time, which had not been stipulated in the treaty with the Company on his restoration—*particularly the increased demand for restitution of losses*, and the donation to the navy." Third Report, Committee, 1772.

The making of a new Nabob, the most distinguished of all occasions for presents, was never disagreeable to the Company's servants. The choice lay between the next surviving son of Jaffier, Nunjum-ad-dowla, a youth of about twenty years of age; and the son of Meeran his eldest, a child of about six. According to the laws and customs of the country, the title of both might be regarded as equal. In point of right, the office of Subahdar was not only not hereditary, it was, like any other office under the Mogul government, held at the will of the Emperor; and, during the vigorous days of the Mogul dynasty, no Subahdar had ever been permitted to enjoy it long. In the decline of that power, the Subahdars became frequently, during their lives, too formidable to be removed; and the Emperors contented themselves with resuming their power when the provincial chief expired. But it sometimes also happened, that a son, brother, or other relative, succeeded too rapidly and too completely to the power of the deceased, to render it convenient to attempt his removal. The Emperor contented himself with a nominal, when an efficient choice was out of his power; and on these terms had the Subahdaree of the eastern provinces been held for some generations. The right of choice belonged unquestionably to the Emperor; but to this right the servants of the Company never for a moment thought of paying any regard.<sup>1</sup> That un-

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<sup>1</sup> On this Sir J. Malcolm observes, "However politic it might have been to have gained the sanction of the Emperor and the Nawab Vizir, after the measure was adopted, a previous application would have been the height of folly and of weakness." *Life of Clive*, ii. 293.—W.

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happy, dependent sovereign, now stript of all his dominions, while great kingdoms were still governed in his name, might have recovered the immediate sovereignty of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, at the word of the English ; or, despairing of so generous and self-denying a policy, would gladly have bestowed the Subahdarce upon them. The dewanee or collection, receipt and disbursement of the revenue, which in the present state of the country implied all the powers of government, he had repeatedly offered to them ; and very recently, through Major Munro. But the modesty of the English, still alarmed at the thought of declaring themselves sovereigns of Bengal, grasped powerfully at the reality, though it desired to shun the appearance of power. The long minority, which would have followed the choice of the infant son of Meeran, would have placed the government, even to the minutest details, in the hands of the Company ; and the present rulers were blamed by their successors for not securing so great an advantage. But they looked for some assistance in the drudgery of governing, from a Nabob of mature age, and had no difficulty in believing that the shadow of power with which he was to be invested would little interfere with either the pleasure or the profits of English domination. Another motive had doubtless some weight : Nujum-ad-dowla could give presents ; the infant son of Meeran, whose revenues must be accounted for to the Company, could not.

In the treaty with the new Nabob, dated in February, 1765, it was resolved by the English, to take the military defence of the country entirely into

their own hands ; and to allow the Nabob to keep only so many troops as should be necessary for the parade of government, the distribution of justice, and the business of the collections. They had two motives ; one was to preclude the possibility of inconvenience from the power of the Nabob ; the second was to make provision for the defence of the country, which they found, by experience under Meer Jaffier, would depend almost entirely upon themselves. And we may suppose that another consideration was not without its influence ; that a still greater share of the revenues might pass through their hands. The civil government of the country was no less effectually transferred from the Nabob to his faithful allies. He bound himself to choose, by the advice of the Governor and Council, a Deputy, who, under the appellation of Naib Subah, should have the entire management of all the affairs of government, and not be removeable without their consent. The Nabob suffered more in submitting to this condition than to all the rest ; and showed extreme solicitude about the choice of the person who was to fill that important office. Mohammed Reza Khan was appointed by the Governor and Council ; and appears to have been one of the best men, whom, under Indian morality, it was easy to find. The Nabob was eager for the nomination of Nuncomar, who, beyond dispute, was one of the worst. This man, who was governor of Hoogley, at the time when Suraj-ad-dowla took Calcutta, had rendered himself conspicuous by a restless ambition, and unbounded avarice, which he sought to gratify by the vilest arts of intrigue, by dissimulation and

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perfidy. He had, at an early period, become odious to the English, as a deceitful and dangerous character, and was a prisoner at Calcutta for having corresponded with their enemies, while Meer Jaffier resided there, during the Nabobship of Meer Casim. During this time, he paid his court so very successfully to the dethroned Nabob, that upon his restoration, he solicited, as an object of the first importance, to be allowed to employ Nuncomar as his minister. Though Vansittart, and even some of those who in general concurred not in his views, objected to this arrangement, on account of the exceptionable character of the man, the Council, as the last triumph, according to Vansittart, of a factious party, decided, that the Nabob might enjoy his choice. Nuncomar redeemed not his character with the English, while he governed the Nabob. The want of corn, under which the operations of the army were impeded at Patna, the disappointments in the receipt of monies from the Nabob, were all principally laid to the charge of Nuncomar; who was also vehemently suspected of having carried on a traitorous correspondence with the Nabob of Oude. Mr. Vansittart had, a little before this time, returned to ✓Europe, and was succeeded in the chair by Mr. Spencer, as the oldest member of the board. As opposition to the Governor, therefore, no longer actuated the Council, the general opinion of the bad character of Nuncomar produced its proper effect; and he was peremptorily excluded from the government of the country. The other conditions of the treaty were nearly the same as those of the treaty with the old Nabob. Beside the revenues of Burd-

wan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, the five lacks per month were to be continued during the war, and as much of them after the war as the state of the country might, to the English, seem to require. And the grand privilege to the Company's servants of trading free from the duties which other merchants paid within the country, and of paying only two and a half per cent. upon the single article of salt, was carefully preserved. The government of the country was now so completely in the hands of the English, that the accountants of the revenue were not to be appointed except with their approbation.

During the military and political transactions which so intensely engaged their servants in India, the Courts of Directors and Proprietors remained for several years rather quiet spectators and warm expectants, than keen and troublesome controllers. When they had been agitated for a while, however, by the reports of mismanagement which were mutually transmitted to them by Vansittart and his opponents; and, at last, when they were alarmed by the news, of a war actually kindled with the Nabob, of the massacre of so many of their servants, and the extensive spirit of mutiny among the troops, their sense of danger roused them to some acts of authority. Though Clive had quitted India with an act of insult towards his employers, which they had highly resented; though the Directors had disputed and withheld payment of the proceeds of his jaghire, for which he had commenced a suit against them in the court of Chancery; he was now proposed for Governor, as the only man capable of retrieving their disordered and desperate affairs. Only thirteen

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Directors, however, were found, after a violent contest, to vote for his appointment; while it was still opposed by eleven.<sup>1</sup> Yet the high powers which

<sup>1</sup> Clive's reappointment was the act of the Proprietors, and was forced by them upon the Court of Directors, after a series of angry discussions. A general court was called on Monday the 27th February, 1764, upon the requisition of the usual number of Proprietors, "having," as they declared, "just reason to be alarmed at the present dangerous and critical state of the Company's affairs in Bengal, and other parts of India;" and desiring that the affairs might be taken into consideration. The meeting was occupied with the communication of such of the correspondence with Bengal, as related to the recent transactions there, and a second meeting having been principally engaged with similar matters, the main question was adjourned to a third, on the following day. When a motion was made that the nomination of Mr. Spencer as Governor of Bengal, should be referred back to the Court of Directors for their reconsideration, a warm debate ensued which ended in a resolution that the question should not be put, which was carried by a majority of 184 to 141. The friends of Lord Clive were however not to be thus baffled—a number of new shareholders was immediately created, and a second requisition was addressed to the Directors, in consequence of which a fourth general court took place on the 12th of March, when after a violent discussion, a motion was made and carried, "that it was the desire of the General Court, that Lord Clive be requested to take upon him the station of President of Bengal, and the command of the Company's military forces upon his arrival at that Presidency."

The business was not yet terminated, for Lord Clive, on thanking the Court for their nomination, suspended his acquiescence until he should be satisfied that the Court of Directors was as well disposed towards him as he was towards them; no further discussion then took place, but on the 21st March, on the occasion of a Quarterly General Court, an inquiry was made whether Lord Clive would signify his immediate acceptance of the station he had been requested to take upon him. To this, Clive, who was in Court, replied, he would give his answer as soon as the next election of Directors should be determined. On which a motion was made by a member of the opposite party, that as Lord Clive declined to accept immediately the service proposed to him, the Court of Directors should be desired to make other arrangements. This was followed by a long debate, in which Clive explained his objection to be directed especially against the influence of the Deputy Chairman, Mr. Sullivan, who in return pledged his faith and honour to the Court, that he was ready to co-operate with the proposed Governor in a friendly spirit, and many persons joining in urging "with great energy and very pathetically," a mutual oblivion of all differences, Clive so far relented, as to promise, that he would declare his

he demanded, as indispensable for the arduous services necessary to be performed, though strongly opposed, were also finally conferred. He was invested with the powers of Commander in Chief, President, and Governor in Bengal; and, together with four gentlemen, named by the Directors, was to form a Select Committee, empowered to act by their own authority, as often as they deemed it expedient, without consulting the Council, or being subject to its control.

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The Directors, at the same time, condemned, in the severest terms, the rapacious and unwarranted proceedings of their servants. In their letter to the Governor and Council of Bengal, dated the 8th of February, 1764, "One grand source," they said, "of the disputes, misunderstandings, and difficulties, which have occurred with the country government, appears evidently to have taken its rise from the unwarrantable and licentious manner of carrying on the private trade by the Company's servants, their gomastahs, agents, and others, to the prejudice of the Subah, both with respect to his authority and the revenues justly due to him; the diverting and taking from his natural subjects the trade in the

determination in a few days if indulged with the delay: with this compromise, the motion which does not seem to have been seconded was dropped, and the Court adjourned.

Clive carried his point, for before another General Court could be assembled, the annual election of Directors took place, and his antagonist Sullivan, although returned, resumed his seat by a majority of only one vote, whilst the Chairs were filled by Messrs. Rous and Bolton, both friends of Lord Clive. His answer was now promptly given, and on the 2d of May, 1764, it was announced to the Proprietors that he had been sworn in President and Governor of Bengal, and Commander of the Forces. MSS. Records.—W.



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inland parts of the country, to which neither we, or any persons whatsoever dependent upon us, or under our protection, have any manner of right. In order, therefore, to remedy all these disorders, we do hereby positively order and direct,—That from the receipt of this letter, a final and effectual end be forthwith put to the inland trade in salt, beetel-nut, tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country.”<sup>1</sup> In his correspondence with the Court of Directors, on the subject of his return to Bengal, Clive expressed himself in the following manner: “The trading in salt, beetel-nut, and tobacco, having been one cause of the present disputes, I hope these articles will be restored to

<sup>1</sup> See the Extract at length in the Second Report, Select Committee, 1772. In another letter to the Governor and Council of Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765, the Directors say, “Your deliberations on the inland trade have laid open to us a scene of most cruel oppression, which is indeed exhibited at one view of the 13th article of the Nabob’s complaints, mentioned thus in your Consultation of the 17th October, 1764: ‘The poor of the country, who used always to deal in salt, beetel-nut, and tobacco, are now deprived of their daily bread by the trade of the Europeans, whereby no kind of advantage accrues to the Company, and the Government’s revenues are greatly injured.’ We shall for the present observe to you, that every one of our servants concerned in this trade has been guilty of a breach of his covenants, and a disobedience to our orders. In your consultations of the 3rd of May, we find among the various extortionate practices, the most extraordinary one of burjaut, or forcing the natives to buy goods beyond the market price, which you there acknowledged to have been frequently practised. In your resolution to prevent this practice you determine to forbid it, ‘but with such care and discretion as not to affect the Company’s investment, as you do not mean to invalidate the right derived to the Company from the phirmaund, which they have always held over the weavers:’ As the Company are known to purchase their investment by ready money only, we require a full explanation how this can affect them, or how it ever could have been practised in the purchase of their investment, (which the latter part of Mr. Johnstone’s minute, entered on Consultation the 21st July, 1764, insinuates); for it would almost justify a suspicion, that the goods of our servants have been put off to the weavers, in part payment of the Company’s investment.”

the Nabob, and your servants absolutely forbid to trade in them. This will be striking at the root of the evil.”<sup>1</sup> At a general meeting, however, of proprietors, held on the 18th of May, 1764, it was urged by several active members, and urged to the conviction of the majority, that the servants of the Company in India ought not to be deprived of such precious advantages; which enabled them to revisit their native countries with such independent fortunes as they were entitled to expect. The Court therefore RESOLVED, “That it be recommended to the Court of Directors to reconsider the orders sent to Bengal relative to the trade of the Company’s servants in salt, beetel-nut, and tobacco, and to regulate this important point, either by restrictions framed at home, or by referring it to the Governor and Council of Fort William.”<sup>2</sup> In consequence of this recommendation, the Court of Directors, by letter dated 1st of June, 1764, and sent by the same ship which carried out Lord Clive, instruct the

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<sup>1</sup> Letter to Directors, dated 27th April, 1764. Fourth Report, App. No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> In quoting this resolution, some important omissions have been made; as no reference is given, it is not possible to say with whom they originate. The entire resolution runs, “that it be recommended to the Court of Directors to reconsider the orders sent to Bengal relative to the Trade of the Company’s servants in the articles of Salt, Beetel, and Tobacco, and that they do give such directions for regulating the same, *agreeable to the Interests of the Company and the Subah*, as to them may appear most prudent, either by settling here at home the restrictions under which this trade ought to be carried on, or by referring it to the Governor and Council of Fort William, to regulate this important point in such a manner *as may prevent all future disputes* between the Subah and the Company.” The professed object of the resolution, therefore, was not the advantage of the Company’s servants, although it is possible that it had in prospect the arrangement afterwards adopted by Clive in Bengal. MSS. Records.—W.

BOOK IV Governor and Council, after "consulting the Nabob,  
CHAP. 5. to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on  
 1765. the inland trade."

The presents which, since their acquiring an ascendancy in the government, their servants had been in the habit of receiving, sometimes to a very large amount, from the Nabobs and other chiefs of the country, were another subject which now engaged the serious attention of the Company. The practice which prevails in all rude governments of accompanying any application to a man in power with a gratification to some of his ruling passions, most frequently to the steadiest of all his passions, his avarice or rapacity, has always remarkably distinguished the governments in the East, and hardly any to so extraordinary a degree as the governments of the very rude people of India. When the English suddenly acquired their extraordinary power in Bengal, the current of presents, so well accustomed to take its course in the channel drawn by hope and fear, flowed very naturally, and very copiously, into the lap of the strangers. A person in India, who had favours to ask, or evil to deprecate, could not easily believe, till acceptance of his present, that the great man to whom he addressed himself was not his foe. Besides the sums, which we may suppose it to have been in the power of the receivers to conceal, and of the amount of which it is not easy to form a conjecture, the following were detected and disclosed by the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1773.

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*“ Account of such Sums as have been proved or acknowledged before the Committee to have been distributed by the Princes and other Natives of Bengal, from the Year 1757 to the Year 1766, both inclusive ; distinguishing the principal Times of the said Distributions, and specifying the Sums received by each Person respectively.*

Revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier in 1757.

	Rupees.	Rupees	£
Mr. Drake (Governor)		280,000	31,500
Colonel Clive as second in the Select Committee . . . . .	280,000		
Ditto as Commander in Chief . . . . .	200,000		
Ditto as a private donation . . . . .	1600,000 <sup>1</sup>		
	<hr/>	2080,000	234,000
Mr. Watts as a Member of the Committee . . . . .	240,000		
Ditto as a private donation . . . . .	800,000		
	<hr/>	1040,000	117,000
Major Kilpatrick . . . . .		240,000	27,000

<sup>1</sup> “ It appears, by the Extract in the Appendix, No. 102, from the evidence given on the trial of Ram Churn before the Governor and Council in 1761, by Roy Dulip, who had the principal management in the distribution of the treasures of the deceased Nabob Serajah Dowla, upon the accession of Jaffier Ally Cawn—that Roy Dulip then received as a present from Colonel Clive one lack 25,000 rupees, being five per cent. on 25 lacks. It does not appear that this evidence was taken on oath.”



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	Rupees.	£
Ditto as a private donation . . . .	300,000	33,750
Mr. Maningham . . . . .	240,000	27,000
Mr. Becher . . . . .	240,000	27,000
Six Members of Council one lack each . . . . .	600,000	68,200
Mr. Walsh . . . . .	500,000	56,250
Mr. Scrafton . . . . .	200,000	22,500
Mr. Lushington . . . . .	50,000	5,625
Captain Grant . . . . .	100,000	11,250
Stipulation to the navy and army . . . . .		600,000

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1,261,075

Memorandum, the sum of two  
lacks to Lord Clive, as  
Commander in Chief, must  
be deducted from this ac-  
count, it being included in  
the donation to the army . . . . . 22,500

Lord Clive's jaghire was like-  
wise obtained at this period<sup>1</sup>

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1,238,575

## Revolution in Favour of Cossim, 1760.

Mr. Sumner . . . . .		28,000
Mr. Holwell . . . . .	270,000	30,937
Mr. M'Guire . . . . .	180,000	20,625
Mr. Smyth . . . . .	134,000	15,354
Major Yorke . . . . .	134,000	15,354
General Caillaud . . . . .	200,000	22,916

<sup>1</sup> This as noticed by Sir J. Malcolm, *Life of Clive*, ii. 187, is incorrect. The Jaghir was not granted till the end of 1759, two years after Mir Jaffier had been seated on the throne.—W.

	Rupees.	£	BOOK IV CHAP. 5.
Mr. Vansittart, 1762, received seven lacks; but the two lacks to General Caillaud are included; so that only five lacks must be accounted for here...	500,000	58,333	1765.
Mr. M'Gwire 5000 gold mohrs	75,000	8,750	
		<hr/> 200,269	

Revolution in Favour of Jaffier, 1763.

Stipulation to the army .....	2500,000	291,666	
Ditto to the navy .....	1250,000	145,833	
		<hr/> 437,499	

Major Munro <sup>1</sup> in 1764 received from Bulwan Sing .....		10,000	
Ditto.....from the Nabob		3,000	
The officers belonging to Major Munro's family from ditto ..		3,000	
The army received from the merchants at Banaras .....	400,000	46,666	
		<hr/> 62,666	

Nudjum ul Dowla's Accession, 1765.

Mr. Spencer .....	200,000	23,333	
Messieurs Playdell, Burdett, and Gray, one lack each.....	300,000	35,000	
Mr. Johnstone .....	237,000	27,650	

<sup>1</sup> "It appears Colonel Munro accepted a jaghire from the King, of 12,500*l.* a-year, which he delivered to the Nabob Meer Jaffier, the circumstances of which are stated in the Journals of last year, 825."

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		Rupees.	£
	Mr. Leycester .....	112,500	13,125
1765.	Mr. Senior .....	172,500	20,125
	Mr. Middleton.....	122,500	14,291
	Mr. Gideon Johnstone .....	50,000	5,833
		<hr/>	
		139,357 <sup>1</sup>	

General Carnac received from

Bulwansing in 1765 .....	80,000	9,333
Ditto ..... from the King	200,000	23,333
Lord Clive received from the		
Begum in 1766 .....	500,000	58,333
		<hr/>
		90,999

Restitution——Jaffier, 1757.

East India Company .....	1,200,000
Europeans .....	600,000
Natives.....	250,000
Armenians .....	100,000
<hr/>	
2,150,000	

Cossim, 1760,

East India Company .....	62,500
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<sup>1</sup> “These sums appear by evidence to have been received by the parties; but the Committee think proper to state, That Mohammed Reza Cawn intended a present of one lack of rupees to each of the four deputies sent to treat with Nudjum al Dowla upon his father's death; viz. Messieurs Johnstone, Leycester, Senior, and Middleton; but Mr. Middleton and Mr. Leycester affirm that they never accepted theirs, and Mr. Johnstone appears to have tendered his back to Mohammed Reza Cawn, who would not accept them. These bills (except Mr. Senior's, for 50,000 rupees) appear to have been afterwards laid before the Select Committee, and no further evidence has been produced to your Committee concerning them. Mr. Senior received 50,000 rupees of his, and it is stated against him in this account.”

## Jaffier, 1763.

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East India Company .....	375,000	
Europeans, Natives, &c. ....	600,000	1765.
	<hr/>	
	975,000	

## Peace with Suja-ad-dowla.

East India Company .....	5,000,000	583,333
Total of Presents	2,169,665 <i>l</i> .	
Restitution, &c.	3,770,833 <i>l</i> .	
Total Amount, exclusive of		
Lord Clive's jaghire.....	£5,940,498	

Memorandum. The rupees are valued according to the rate of exchange of the Company's bills at the different periods."<sup>1</sup>

That this was a practice, presenting the strongest demand for effectual regulation, its obvious consequences render manifest and indisputable. In the first place, it laid the nabobs, rulers, and other leading men of the country, under endless and unlimited oppression; because, so long as they on whom their whole power and influence depended were pleased to desire presents, nothing could be withheld which they either possessed or had it in their power to ravage and extort. That the temptations under which the servants of the Company were placed carried them to those heights of exaction which were within their reach, is far from true. They showed, on the contrary, a reserve and forbearance, which the education received in no other country, probably in the world, except their own, could have

<sup>1</sup> Third Report on the Nature, State, and Condition of E. I. Company, 1772, p. 20—23.



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enabled men, in their extraordinary circumstances, to maintain. Besides the oppression upon the people of the country, to which the receiving of presents prepared the way, this dangerous practice laid the foundation of perpetual perfidy in the servants of the Company to the interests of their employers. Not those plans of policy which were calculated to produce the happiest results to the Company, but those which were calculated to multiply the occasions for presents, and render them most effectual were the plans recommended by the strongest motives of interest to the agents and representatives of the Company in India. It is still less true, in the case of perfidy to the Company, than in the case of oppression to the natives, that the interests of the Company's servants were to the greatest practicable extent pursued. There seems not upon the most jealous scrutiny, any reason to believe that any one of the greatest transactions, or revolutions, in which the English, up to this period, were instrumental, was not sincerely regarded at the time, by the men on whom the decision depended, as required by the interests of their employers and country; nor has it yet been certainly made appear, that in any of the instances in question, the circumstances of the moment admitted of a better decision.

The Company now resolved that the benefit of presents should at any rate change masters: and they ordained and commanded, that new covenants, dated May, 1764, should be executed by all their servants, both civil and military, binding them to pay to the Company the amount of all presents and

gratuities in whatsoever shape, received from the natives, in case the amount exceeded four thousand rupees; and not to accept any present or gratuity, though not exceeding four thousand rupees, if amounting to so much as one thousand, without the consent of the President and Council. An unbounded power was still reserved by the Honourable Company for receiving or extorting presents in benefit to themselves. But as their servants were in no danger of being so rapacious for their masters' emolument, as their own, any effects which this regulation was calculated to produce were all naturally good.

With these powers and regulations Lord Clive (such was now the rank and title of this Anglo-Indian chief) sailed from England on the 4th of June 1764, and arrived at Madras on the 10th of April, 1765; where he received intelligence that the dangers of which the alarm had sent him to India were entirely removed; that the troops were obedient; that not only Meer Casim was expelled, but all his supporters subdued; that the Emperor had cast himself upon the protection of the English; and that the Nabob Meer Jaffier was dead. His sentiments upon this intelligence were communicated in a private letter to Mr. Rous, dated seven days exactly after his arrival;<sup>1</sup> "We have at last," said he, "arrived at that critical period, *which I have long foreseen*; I mean that period which renders it necessary for us to determine, whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves. Jaffier Ally Khan

<sup>1</sup> See other letters on his arrival in Bengal, from Clive to General Carnac and Mr. Palk. Life, ii. 318.—W.

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is dead, and his natural son is a minor; but I know not whether he is yet declared successor. Suja-ad-dowla is beat from his dominion; we are in possession of it, and it is scarcely hyperbole to say, to-morrow the whole Mogul empire is in our power. The inhabitants of the country, we know by long experience, have no attachment to any obligation. Their forces are neither disciplined, commanded, nor paid as ours are. Can it then be doubted that a large army of Europeans will effectually preserve us sovereigns: not only holding in awe the attempts of any country Prince, but by rendering us so truly formidable that no French, Dutch, or other enemy will presume to molest us.—You will, I am sure, imagine with me, that after the length we have run, the Princes of Indostan must conclude our views to be boundless; they have such instances of our ambition, that they cannot suppose us capable of moderation. The very Nabobs whom we might support would be either covetous of our possessions, or jealous of our power. Ambition, fear, avarice, would be daily watching to destroy us: a victory would be but a temporary relief to us; for the dethroning of the first Nabob would be followed by setting up another, who, from the same principles, would, when his treasure admitted of his keeping up an army, pursue the very path of his predecessor. We must indeed become Nabobs ourselves, in fact, if not in name;—perhaps totally so without disguise, but on this subject I cannot be certain until my arrival in Bengal.” With these views of the bold and splendid measures which it was now the time to pursue; and anticipating the important effects

which those dazzling transactions would have on the price of the Company's Stock, this great man forgot not to deliberate how they might be directed to bear upon his own pecuniary interests. He wrote on the very same day to his private agent in London, as follows; "I have desired Mr. Rous to furnish you with a copy of my letter to him of this day's date, likewise with the cipher, that you may be enabled to understand what follows: 'The contents are of great importance, that I would not have them transpire. Whatever money I have in the public Funds, or any where else, and *as much as can be borrowed in my name*, I desire may be, without loss of a minute, invested in East India Stock. You will speak to my Attorneys on this point. Let them know I am anxious to have my money so disposed of; and press them to hasten the affair as much as possible.'"<sup>1</sup> The letter to Mr. Rous, and the shortness of the period which intervened between the arrival of Lord Clive in Bengal and his assuming the dewanee or revenues, would leave no doubt that he commanded all the money which he possessed, or which he could borrow, to be invested in India Stock, in contemplation of the rise of price which that measure was calculated to produce; had he not, when examined on the subject of this letter by the Committee of the House of Commons, declared absolutely, "that he had not while at Madras formed the resolution to seize the dewanee."

<sup>1</sup> Extracts of both Letters are given in the Appendix, No. lxxxii. and lxxxiii. of the Third Report of the Committee, 1772.



## CHAPTER VI.

*Political state of the Carnatic—Views of the Nabob on Governor of Velore, King of Tanjore, and Marawars—Treaty with Tanjore—Company's Jaghire—War on Mohammed Issoof—Mound of the Cavery.*

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BY the final overthrow of the French in the Carnatic, the British in that part of India had accomplished an object far greater than any to which, at the beginning of the contest, they had even elevated their hopes. To see the Carnatic under the Government of a chief, who should have obligations to them for his elevation, and from whose gratitude they might expect privileges and favour, was the alluring prospect which had carried them into action. They not only now beheld the man, whose interest they had espoused, in possession of the government of the country, but they beheld him dependent upon themselves, and the whole kingdom of the Carnatic subject to their absolute will.

It was the grand object of deliberation, and the grand practical difficulty, to settle in what proportion the powers and advantages should be divided between the nominal sovereign and the real one. Clear, complete, well-defined and unambiguous regulations, are naturally employed for the prevention of discordance, when the parties have wisdom, and are free from

clandestine views.<sup>1</sup> On the present occasion, accord-  
 ing to the slovenly mode in which the business of go-  
 vernment is usually transacted, few things were re-  
 gulated by professed agreement ; the final distribu-  
 tion was left to come out among the practical, that  
 is, the fortuitous results of government ; and of the  
 two parties each inwardly resolved to appropriate as  
 great a share of the good things as power and cun-  
 ning would allow.

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The English were not disposed to forget that upon them the whole burden of the war had devolved ; that they alone had conquered and gained the country ; that the assistance of Mohammed Ali had been of little or rather of no importance ; and that even now he possessed not resources and talents sufficient to hold the government in his hands, unless they continued to support him.

On the other hand Mohammed Ali looked upon himself as invested with all the dignity and power of Nabob ; and the absolute ruler of the country. During the whole progress of the dispute the English had represented themselves as contending only for him ; had proclaimed that his rights were indisputable ; and that their zeal for justice was the great motive which had engaged them so deeply in the war. The Nabob, therefore, hesitated not to consider himself the master ; though a master owing great obligations to a servant who had meritoriously exerted himself in his cause.

<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely just, however, to expect complete regulations affecting untried circumstances and novel relations ; to legislate before experience, is to invert the order of things, and except in some lucky hits, to ensure failure.—W.

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The seeds of dissatisfaction between the rulers of the Carnatic, abundantly sown in a fruitful soil, were multiplied by the penury of the country. The avidity, which made the English so long believe that every part of India abounded with riches, had filled them with hopes of a great stream of wealth, from the resources of the Carnatic. And although they had already experienced how little was to be drawn, and with how great difficulty, from the districts which had come into their power; though they were also aware how the country had been desolated by the ravages of war, they still expected it to yield a large supply to their treasury, and accused and complained of the Nabob when their expectations were not fulfilled.

The Nabob, who was the weakest party, and as such had the greatest occasion for the protection of well-defined regulations, had, before the surrender of the French in Pondicherry, presented a draught of the conditions to which it appeared to him expedient that the two parties should bind themselves. He offered to pay to the Company, in liquidation of the sums for which in the course of the war he had become responsible, twenty-eight lacs of rupees annually till the debts should be discharged; and three lacs of rupees annually to defray the expense of the garrison at Trichinopoly: Should Pondicherry be reduced, and the Company afford him an adequate force to extract from the renters and other tributaries of the country, the contributions which they owed, he would discharge his debt to the Company in one year: Should any of the districts between Nelore and Tinivelly, be taken or plundered by an

enemy, a proportional deduction must take place, from the twenty-eight lacs which were assigned to the Company : on the other side, the Nabob desired, that the Company would not countenance the disobedience of the local governors and administrators ; that the English officers in the forts or garrisons should not interfere in the affairs of the country, or the disputes of the inhabitants ; that the Nabob's flag, instead of the Company's, should be hoisted in the different forts ; and that the Company should, when required, assist his officers in the collection of the revenue.

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The President ; whether he decided without reflection, or thought a promise which would keep the Nabob in good humour, and might be broken at any time, was an obligation of no importance, expressed by letter his assent to these conditions.<sup>1</sup> In a short time however the President and Council presented to the Nabob a demand for fifty lacs of rupees. The Nabob, as this was a sum which he did not possess, endeavoured by all the means in his power to evade the contribution. Unable to resist the importunities of his allies, he was driven to his credit, which was very low ; and under disadvantageous terms, which heaped upon him a load of debt, he raised by loan the money they exacted.

The expense of the war, the exhaustion of their own treasury, and their exaggerated conception of the riches of the country of which they had made him sovereign, rendered the President and Council

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pigot's Letter to the Nabob, June 23, 1760. Nabob's Papers, iii. 24.



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by no means sparing in their requisitions upon the Nabob. It was stipulated that he should repay the whole expenses of the siege of Pondicherry. Even to this he agreed, upon condition of receiving all the stores which should be taken in the place. The servants of the Company, however, appropriated the stores to themselves; and they met the complaints of the Nabob, by promising to allow for them a certain sum in his account: in other words, they took for their own benefit what by their own contract belonged to the Nabob, and promised to make their masters pay him something, more or less, by way of compensation. Their masters, however, were on this occasion not less alive to their own interests than their servants had been to theirs; and no sooner heard of the sum which had been allowed to the Nabob in their books than they ordered it to be recharged to his account; while their servants were left in undisturbed possession of the stores.<sup>1</sup>

From the mode in which the country was governed; by sub-division into local commands, with a military force and places of strength in the hands of every local commander, who withheld the revenue of his district, as often as he beheld a prospect of escaping punishment for his faults; it has frequently been seen what difficulties attended the realizing of revenue, whenever the government became disordered or weak. For a series of years, the Carnatic had been subject to no regular government; the different antagonists

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Lindsay's Narrative, Oct. 13, 1770, Secretary of State's Office. Quoted by the author of the History and Management of the East India Company, p. 116.

had collected the revenues, and raised contributions, in those districts which had at any time fallen into their hands; and the commanders of districts and forts had eluded payment as often as it was in their power. From this wasted and disordered country, with an insignificant army, and no resources for its augmentation, was Mohammed Ali required to find means for the support of his own government, for the gratification of his own taste and passions, and to satisfy the unbounded expectations of the English.

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The hopes of the Nabob, who knew the poverty of the country, and with what severity every thing had been stripped from those among the district Governors who enjoyed not extraordinary means of defence, were chiefly fixed upon the supposed treasures of Mortiz Ali, Governor of Velore, the riches of Tanjore, and the two Marawars. The fort and district of Velore was an acknowledged portion of the Carnatic territory. Tanjore and the Marawars were separate principalities, which, as often as they were pressed by the strength of their neighbours, had, according to Indian practice, occasionally paid them tribute; as Bengal and the Carnatic themselves had paid to the Mahrattas; but which had never been incorporated with the Mogul empire, nor regarded their dependence as more than casual, temporary, and unjust.

The strength, however, of the Nabob was altogether inadequate to the coercion of such powerful chiefs; and for the accomplishment of so important an object, he importuned the Presidency to join their forces to his. The state of the treasury at Madras, exhausted by the efforts of so tedious and expensive

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a war, rendered the English by no means desirous of engaging immediately in fresh adventures. And it was not without difficulty that in the summer of 1761 they were induced to lend their aid for the reduction of Velore. It resisted the exertions of the army for three months, and but ill repaid the conquerors by the treasure which it contained.

The conquest of Tanjore was an object of still greater promise. As it had not yet been ravaged by foreign armies, the ideas of Indian wealth, which so long had sparkled in the imaginations of men, were not altogether extinct. The country, though small, was undoubtedly fertile; the incompatibility between the existence of a rude government and people, and the production and accumulation of wealth, was not understood; and the expectations which had misled both the French and the English still maintained their sway in the mind of Mohammed Ali. Besides, as ruler of the Carnatic, it was his interest to add a principality of some importance to his dominions, and to remove a neighbour who might on every emergency become a dangerous foe.

The English, however, either because they had descended in their estimate of the riches of the country, or because they had ascended in their estimate of the difficulty of its subjugation, discovered an aversion, which the Nabob was unable to overcome, to embark in the conquest of Tanjore. The Governor recommended negotiation; and offered himself as mediator. To settle with the subordinate agents of his own government belonged, he said, to the Nabob himself: but the King of Tanjore was a sovereign Prince; and a tribunal, distinct from that of either

party, namely, that of an independent mediator, was necessary to adjust the differences between them.<sup>1</sup>

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The Nabob resisted this mode of adjustment, with great eagerness; and, rather than adopt it, would have postponed the enforcement of his claims, trusting to the chapter of accidents, and a time to come, at which the Raja might yield at discretion. The Presidency, however, knew their power; they sent, therefore, an agent to Tanjore, to hear the allegations of both parties, and suggest the conditions of an agreement. The following were the terms which they resolved to confirm: That twenty-two lacs of rupees, at five instalments, should be paid by the Raja to the Nabob, as arrears; four lacs as a present; and four annually as a tribute: That the districts, on the other hand, of Coiladdy and Elangad should be ceded to the Raja; and that Arni should be restored to its former Governor or Killedar. The pecuniary exactions were greatly inferior to the claims of the Nabob; and so great reluctance did he show to the ratification of the treaty, that Mr. Pigot is said to have seized his chop or seal, and applied it to the paper with his own hand.<sup>2</sup> Aware that the inflated conceptions diffused among their

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the meaning of Mr. Pigot's letter to the Nabob, of May 31, 1762; from which, by a misinterpretation, the author of the *Hist. and Management of the E. I. C.* draws an accusation, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> This is stated on the authority of the Nabob's Letter to Mr. Palk, October 8, 1776. The author of the *Hist. and Management, &c.*, says, "General Lawrence, Mr. Bouchier, and particularly Colonel Call, and Mr. Palk, were either present at this transaction, or were convinced of the truth of it, from the incontestable information, given by others as well as by the Nabob; who made heavy complaints to them of the President's conduct:" p. 127.



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countrymen of the riches of India, and of Tanjore as a distinguished part of India, might lead the Court of Directors to regard the sum extracted from the Raja as criminally small, the Presidency wrote, in their own defence; that, without their assistance, the Nabob was unable to extract a single rupee; that the reduction of Tanjore would have been a difficult enterprise; that they had not an army sufficient for the purpose; that the expedition would have occasioned an expense which they were unable to bear; and that a rupture with the Raja would have tended to raise up other enemies. The inability of the country to sustain, without oppression, a heavier exaction, they were either not yet aware of, or did not care to allege. When the Directors afterwards transmitted their reflections, they said; "If four lacs were given as a present, it seems as if the Company ought to have it, for their interposition and guarantee of the treaty. We shall be glad to have this affair explained to us, that we may know the real state of the case, with respect to that donation."<sup>1</sup> The twenty-two lacs were directed to be paid to the Company, and credit was given for them in the Nabob's account.

The war between the English and French, which had ceased in India with the fall of Pondicherry, was terminated in Europe by the treaty of Paris, definitively signed on the 10th of February, 1763. Of this treaty the eleventh article, intended to define the rights of the two nations in India, or those advantages, in the enjoyment of which the relative strength

<sup>1</sup> Letters from the Court of Directors to the President and Council of Fort St. George, 30th December, 1763.

of the two parties made them willing to engage not to molest one another, was in the following words : BOOK IV  
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“That Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they now are, the different factories<sup>1</sup> which that crown possessed, as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And France renounces all pretensions to the acquisitions which she has made on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa.<sup>2</sup> And his most Christian Majesty shall restore, on his part, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain in the East Indies during the present war, and will expressly cause Natal and Tapanouly,<sup>3</sup> in the island of Sumatra, to be restored. And he further engages not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subahdar of Bengal; and in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, the English and French shall acknowledge Mohammed Ali Khan, for lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabut Jung for lawful Subahdar of the Deccan, and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredation or pillage committed on either side during the war.”

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In the distribution of the advantages of the Carnatic sovereignty; for such it now might truly be deemed, as scarcely even a nominal subjection was acknowledged either to the Subahdar of the Deccan, or the Emperor himself; the English imagined they

<sup>1</sup> Comptoires.<sup>2</sup> Fort St. David and its dependencies.<sup>3</sup> Bencoolen.

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had as yet not appropriated to themselves the requisite share. They began accordingly to represent to the Nabob the necessity of bestowing upon the Company a jaghire: or a grant of lands, the rents and revenues of which, free from any deduction to the Nabob's treasury, should accrue to themselves. The Nabob urged the narrowness of his own resources, the load of debt under which he laboured, the great proportion of his revenue already allowed to the Company, and the cession which he had made, not only of lands, but of the tribute which the Company owed for Madras itself.

The Company, in truth, had now placed themselves in a situation of considerable difficulty. The Presidency could not help observing, that under the weakness of both the mind and the resources of the Nabob, the defence of the Carnatic must rest upon them; and that they must, therefore, maintain at all times an army sufficient to oppose its enemies. This, without the revenue of the country, was a burden which they knew they could not sustain: And yet to strip of all his revenue a sovereign Prince, of whose rights they had so often proclaimed themselves the champions, was a procedure which bore a most unfavourable appearance, and from which formidable accusations against them could hardly fail to be drawn.

The Company took the course which power, though less supported by reasons, will most commonly pursue: They adopted the alternative which was most agreeable to themselves; and the revenues of the Carnatic gradually passed into their hands. The President, however, was anxious that, at this time,

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the donation should wear the appearance of a voluntary act on the part of the Nabob; and amid his efforts of persuasion assured him, if we can believe the Nabob himself, “ that if four districts were given, the Company would be extremely pleased and obliged to him, and would ever assist him and his children with a proper force of Europeans, without desiring any thing further; that till he had cleared off his debts to the Company, the revenues of those districts, after defraying the expenses of the soldiers, should be placed to the credit of his account.”<sup>1</sup> When the President began to pass from the tone of suggestion to that of requisition; and the Nabob perceived that compliance could not be escaped, he endeavoured to obtain the security of at least a written promise for those terms which had been offered in order to gain his consent. But when he transmitted the draught of an agreement, in which those terms were specified, and which he requested the Governor and Council to sign, the temper of the President broke through his policy; and he pulled off the mask with which he had hitherto endeavoured, though it must be confessed but awkwardly, to cover from the Nabob and the world the view of his real situation. He sent back the agreement unsigned, with strong marks of his displeasure; and told the Nabob by letter, that it ill became the situation in which he stood, to make conditions with the Company; since “ they,” said he, “ do not take any

<sup>1</sup> Rous's Appendix, p. 161. This declaration is made in a subsequent correspondence between the Nabob and the Governor and Council, and not denied by the Governor and Council, though such a bargain, they say, was a bad one for the Company.



BOOK IV thing from you ; but they are the givers, and you are  
CHAP. 6. a receiver.”<sup>1</sup>

1763. It was not till the summer of 1763 that the Nabob and Presidency were enabled to turn their attention to Madura and Tinivelly. Though Mohammed Issoof had been vigorously employed, from the raising of the siege of Madras till the fall of Pondicherry, in reducing the refractory Polygars and other local commanders, obedience and tranquillity were by no means established : And when that active and useful partisan proposed to take the country as renter, and to become responsible, though for a small revenue, from a region which hitherto had cost much and yielded nothing, the offer was not unwillingly embraced. Mohammed Issoof, like other renters of India, had no doubt an inclination to withhold if possible the sum which he engaged to pay out of the taxes which he was empowered to collect : and, like other Governors, contemplated, it is probable, from the very beginning, the chance of independence. It cannot, however, be denied, that the enemies with whom he had as yet been obliged to struggle, and who had heretofore rendered the country not only unproductive, but burdensome, left him no revenue to pay. It appears, accordingly, that none had ever been received. For this failure, the Nabob and the Company now proceeded to inflict chastisement, and in the month of August, 1763, a combined army of natives and English marched to Madura. Mohammed Issoof endeavoured by negotiation, and the influence of those among the English whom he had rendered

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pigot's Letter to the Nabob, August 13, 1763.

his friends, to ward off the blow. But when he found these efforts unavailing, he resolved to give himself the chance of a struggle in his own defence. He was not a man of whom the subjugation was to be expected at an easy price. He baffled all the efforts of the Nabob and the Company, till the month of October, 1764; when he had already forced them to expend a million sterling, and no ordinary quantity of English blood; and without a deed of treachery which placed his person in their hands, it is uncertain how far he might have prolonged his resistance. Among a body of French troops whom he had received from the Raja of Tanjore was a person of the name of Marchand, by whom he was seized and delivered to his enemies.

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The occasions on which the interests of the Nabob and of the Raja of Tanjore were liable to clash or to interfere became, through their jealousy and mutual hatred, a perpetual source of contention. The treaty which had been formed under the coercive authority of the English, had defined the terms of their pecuniary relation: with the usual want of foresight, every thing else was left vague and disputable. The river Cavery, about six miles to the north-west of Trichinopoly, is divided into two streams, of which the northern takes the name of Coleroon, and, by a course not far from direct, joins the sea at Devi-Cotah. The southern branch, which retains the name of Cavery, passes through the flat alluvial territory of Tanjore; and, dividing itself into a great number of smaller streams, overflows, and fructifies the country. But it so happens that the two branches of this great river, after flowing at some distance

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from one another, for a space of about twenty miles, again approach, forming what is called the island of Seringham, and are only prevented by a narrow neck of land, which requires continual repairs, from reuniting their streams, and falling down the channel of the Coleroon to the ocean. The kingdom of Tanjore was thus in the highest degree interested in the preservation of the mound of the Cavery, upon the waters of which its vegetative powers so greatly depended; and it must have anciently been a powerful instrument of coercion in the hands of the neighbouring kingdom of Trichinopoly, within the territories of which it appears to have been always included.

The Nabob, as sovereign of Trichinopoly, now assumed authority over the mound of the Cavery; and the dispute between him and the Raja grew to importance. The Raja endeavoured to make the reparation of the mound the condition of paying the money which he owed by the treaty; and the President, after writing several letters to the Nabob, appointed a deputy to inquire into the subject and to make his reports. The rights in question were actually two. The first was the right of sovereignty in the mound; the second was the right of having the mound preserved and repaired. The first, as no one disputed, belonged to the Nabob. The second, if prescription and equity constituted any title, as undeniably belonged to the Raja. Ignorantly and awkwardly, and not without English co-operation, they blended them together in one question; and the dispute became interminable. Who had the right of repairing the mound, was the subject about

which they contended; the Nabob claiming it, as inherent in the sovereignty; and the Raja as inherent in the title which he possessed to the waters of the Cavery. Unhappily, in the right which, as sovereign, the Nabob claimed, of permitting no one but himself to repair the mound, he tacitly included the right of omitting all repairs whenever he pleased. The Raja, who dreaded the consequences, solicited an interview; and by making ample submission and protestations, effected a temporary compromise. It was not long, however, before he had again occasion to complain; and wrote the most pressing letters to Madras, beseeching the Presidency to lay their commands upon the Nabob for the repair of the mound. The Nabob hardly disguised his intention of allowing it to be washed away; alleging the wishes of his own people, who, on account of the overflowing of the low grounds to the eastward of Trichinopoly, desired the waters of the Cavery to be turned into the channel of the Coleroon. The English at last interfered, with a determination to prevail; and the Nabob, but not before the month of January, 1765, and with great reluctance, gave his consent, that the mound of the Cavery should be repaired by the King of Tanjore.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Official Papers in Rous's Appendix, Nos. vi. x. xii. xiii.



## CHAPTER VII.

*Second Administration of Clive.—Company's Orders respecting the Private Trade disregarded.—Arrangements with the Vizir.—With the Emperor.—Acquisition of the Dewannee.—Private Trade created a Monopoly for the Benefit of the superior Servants.—Reduction of the Military Allowances.—Its effects.—Clive resigns, and Verelst succeeds.—Proceedings in England relative to the Rate of Dividend on Company's Stock.—Financial difficulties.—Verelst resigns, and Cartier succeeds.*

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LORD CLIVE, together with Mr. Sumner and Mr. Sykes, who had accompanied him from England, and were two of the persons empowered to form the Select Committee, arrived at Calcutta, on the 3d of May, 1765. The two other persons of whom that extraordinary machine of government was to be composed, were absent; General Carnac, beyond the confines of the province of Bahar, with the army; and Mr. Verelst, at the distant settlement of Chittagong. For as much as the disturbances, which guided the resolves of the Company, when they decreed that such a new organ of government should exist, were now removed; and for as much as the Select Committee were empowered to exercise their extraordinary powers for so long a time only as those

disturbances should remain; it was a question, whether they were entitled to form themselves into a governing body; but a question of which they speedily disposed.<sup>1</sup> On the 7th of May, exactly four days after their arrival, Lord Clive, and the two gentlemen who accompanied him, assembled; and without waiting for communication with the rest of the destined members declared the Select Committee formed;<sup>2</sup> assumed the whole powers of government civil and military; and administered to themselves and their secretaries an oath of secrecy.

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The great corruption which they represented as prevailing in the government, and tainting to a prodigious degree the conduct of the Company's servants, was the foundation on which they placed the necessity for the establishment of the Committee. The picture which they drew of these corruptions exhibited, it is true, the most hideous and the most disgusting features. But the impartial judge will probably find, that the interest of the Committee to make out the appearance of a strong necessity for investing themselves with extraordinary powers, after the original cause for them had ceased to exist, had *some* influence on their delineations. In the letter, addressed to the Committee, with which Lord Clive opened their proceedings, on the 7th of May, "A very few days," he says, "are elapsed since our ar-

<sup>1</sup> "Upon my arrival in Bengal," said Clive (in his Speech in the House of Commons, ut supra, p. 3.), "I found the powers given were so loosely and jesuitically worded, that they were immediately contested by the Council. I was determined, however, to put the most extensive construction upon them, because I was determined to do my duty to my country."

<sup>2</sup> The rest were 'two,' and to one of these at least, General Carnac, Lord Clive wrote the moment of his arrival. There was no occasion to wait for his presence or that of Verelst. Life of Clive, ii. 318.—W.

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rival; and yet, if we consider what has already come to our knowledge, we cannot hesitate a moment upon the necessity of assuming the power that is in us of conducting, as a Select Committee, the affairs both civil and military of this settlement. What do we hear of, what do we see, but anarchy, confusion, and, what is worse, an almost general corruption.—Happy, I am sure, you would have been, as well as myself, had the late conduct of affairs been so irreproachable as to have permitted them still to continue in the hands of the Governor and Council.” Yet one would imagine that four days afforded not a very ample space for collecting a satisfactory body of evidence on so extensive a field,<sup>1</sup> especially if we must believe the noble declarer, that the determination to which it led was a disagreeable one.

“Three paths,” observed his Lordship, when afterwards defending himself, “were before me. 1. One was strewn with abundance of fair advantages. I might have put myself at the head of the government as I found it. I might have encouraged the resolution which the gentlemen had taken not to execute the new covenants which prohibited the receipt of presents: and, although I had executed the covenants myself, I might have contrived to return to England with an immense fortune, infamously added to the one before honourably obtained.—2. Finding my powers disputed, I might in despair have given up the commonwealth, and have left Bengal without making an effort to save it. Such

<sup>1</sup> Most of the Evidence was supplied in the minutes and proceedings of the Committee; much was furnished by the avowal of the parties themselves. Life, ii. 222.—W.

a conduct would have been deemed the effect of folly and cowardice.—3. The third path was intricate. Dangers and difficulties were on every side. But I resolved to pursue it. In short, I was determined to do my duty to the public, although I should incur the odium of the whole settlement. The welfare of the Company required a vigorous exertion, and I took the resolution of cleansing the Augean Stable.”<sup>1</sup>

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Another circumstance deserves to be mentioned, of which Lord Clive takes no notice in his speech, though on other occasions it is not forgotten; that without the formation of the Select Committee, he would, as Governor, have enjoyed only a shadow, or at best a small fragment of power. In his letter to the Directors, dated the 30th of February, in which he describes the transactions of the first five months of his new administration, he says, “The gentlemen in Council of late years at Bengal, seem to have been actuated, in every consultation, by a very obstinate and mischievous spirit. The office of Governor has been in a manner hunted down, stripped of its dignity, and then divided into sixteen shares,”—the number of persons of whom the board consisted.—“Two paths,” he observes, in nearly the same language as was afterwards used in his speech, “were evidently open to me: the one smooth, and strewn with abundance of rich advantages that might easily be picked up; the other untrodden, and every step opposed with obstacles. I might have taken charge of the government upon the same footing on which I found it; that is, I might have en-

<sup>1</sup> Speech, *ut supra*, p. 4.



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joyed the name of Governor, and have suffered the honour, importance, and dignity of the post to continue in their state of annihilation. I might have contented myself as others had before me, with being a cipher, or, what is little better, the first among sixteen equals: and I might have allowed this passive conduct to be attended with the usual *douceur* of sharing largely with the rest of the gentlemen in all donations, perquisites, &c., arising from the absolute government and disposal of all places in the revenues of this opulent kingdom; by which means I might soon have acquired an immense addition to my fortune, notwithstanding the obligations in the new covenants; for the man who can so easily get over the bar of conscience as to receive presents after the execution of them, will not scruple to make use of any evasions that may protect him from the consequence. The settlement, in general, would thus have been my friends, and only the natives of the country my enemies." It deserves to be remarked, as twice declared by this celebrated Governor, that the covenants against the receipt of presents afforded no effectual security, and might be violated, by the connivance and participation of the presiding individuals, to any amount. It follows, as a pretty necessary consequence, that independent of that connivance they might in many instances be violated to a considerable amount.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This conclusion is scarcely justified by the premises. Clive, in the first instance, intimates that he might have done what had been already done by the Committee, delay the execution of the covenants until his own fortune had been made, and in the second case he asserts that an individual who violated the covenants would be ready to urge any plea whatever in mitigation of the consequences. He gives no reason to infer

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The language in which Clive describes the corruption of the Company's government and the conduct of their servants, at this era, ought to be received with caution; and, doubtless, with considerable deductions; though it is an historical document, or rather a matter of fact, singularly curious and important. "Upon my arrival," he tells the Directors, "I am sorry to say, I found your affairs in a condition so nearly desperate, as would have alarmed any set of men, whose sense of honour and duty to their employers had not been estranged by the too-eager pursuit of their own immediate advantages. The sudden, and among many, the unwarrantable acquisition of riches, had introduced luxury in every shape, and in its most pernicious excess. These two enormous evils went hand in hand together through the whole presidency, infecting almost every member of each department. Every inferior seemed to have grasped at wealth, that he might be enabled to assume that spirit of profusion, which was now the only distinction between him and his superior. Thus all distinction ceased; and every rank became, in a manner, upon an equality. Nor was this the end of the mischief; for a contest of such a nature among our servants necessarily destroyed all proportion between their wants and the honest means of satisfying them. In a country where money is plenty, where fear is the principle of government, and where your arms are ever victorious, it is no wonder that the lust of riches should readily embrace the proffered means of its gratification, or that

that in either case a breach of the covenants could be attempted with impunity.—W.

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the instruments of your power should avail themselves of their authority, and proceed even to extortion in those cases where simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity. Examples of this sort, set by superiors, could not fail of being followed in a proportionable degree by inferiors. The evil was contagious, and spread among the civil and military, down to the writer, the ensign, and the free merchant.”<sup>1</sup> The language of the Directors held pace with that of the Governor. In their answer to the letter from which this extract is taken, they say, “We have the strongest sense of the deplorable state to which our affairs were on the point of being reduced, from the corruption and rapacity of our servants, and the universal depravity of manners throughout the settlement. The general relaxation of all discipline and obedience, both military and civil, was hastily tending to a dissolution of all government. Our letter to the Select Committee expresses our sentiments of what has been obtained by way of donations ; and to that we must add, that

<sup>1</sup> Letter, dated Calcutta, 30th September, 1765, from Lord Clive to the Court of Directors, Third Report of Committee, 1772, Appendix, No. 73. In the letter of the same date from the Select Committee, which was merely another letter from Clive, by whose nod the other Members of the Committee were governed, they express themselves bound “to lay open to the view of the Directors a series of transactions too notoriously known to be suppressed, and too affecting to their interest, to the national character, and to the existence of the Company in Bengal, to escape unnoticed and uncensured ;—transactions which seem to demonstrate that every spring of this government was smeared with corruption ; that principles of rapacity and oppression universally prevailed, and that every spark of sentiment and public spirit was lost and extinguished in the unbounded lust of unmerited wealth.” *Ib.* App. No. 86.—M. That many of their charges were not ill-founded, is manifest from the Minutes of Council quoted in Vansittart’s Narrative, and from Johnstone’s vindication of himself in his Letter to the Proprietors. London, 1766.—W.

we think the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct that ever was known in any age or country.”<sup>1</sup>

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The letters from the Court of Directors, commanding the immediate and total abandonment of the inland trade, and the execution of the new covenants against the receipt of presents, had arrived on the 24th of January, 1765, previous to the formation of the treaty with Nujum-ad-dowla. Yet so far was the inland trade from being abandoned, that the unlimited exercise of it, free from all duties except two and a half per cent. upon the article of salt, and along with that unlimited exercise, the prohibition, or what amounted to the prohibition, of all other traders, the exaction of oppressive duties, from which the English were exempt, had been inserted, as leading articles, in the treaty. Again, as to what regarded the covenants, not only had presents upon the accession of Nujum-ad-dowla been received, with unabated alacrity, in defiance of them; but they remained unexecuted to that very hour. The Committee of the House of Commons could not discover from the records that the Governor had so much as brought them under the consultation of the Council Board;<sup>2</sup> and it is certain that no notice whatsoever

<sup>1</sup> Report, ut supra, Appendix, No. 74.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter of Clive to General Carnac, of the 6th May, he says the Council had “left to the Committee the getting the covenants signed, which they say is of such consequence, that they cannot think of settling any thing final about them until Lord Clive’s arrival.” *Life of Clive*. Johnstone, one of the Council, and an active agent in the whole business of the presents, gives a rather different account. “It is true,” he says, “the covenants had arrived before the death of Meer Jaffier, who was not at that time thought to be in any danger of dying; I was not at the Council



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had been communicated to the other servants of the Company, that any such engagements were required.

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The execution of the covenants, as a very easy and simple transaction, was one of the earliest of the measures of the Committee. They were signed, first by the Members of the Council, and the servants on the spot; and afterwards transmitted to the armies and factories, where they were immediately executed by every body; with one remarkable exception. General Carnac, when they arrived, distributed them to his officers, among whom the signature met with no evasion. But General Carnac himself, on the pretence that they were dated several months previous to the time at which intimation of them was conveyed to him, forbore privately to execute his own. A few weeks afterwards, upon his return to Calcutta, he signed it, indeed, without any scruple; but, in the interval, he had received a present of two lacks of rupees from the reduced and impoverished Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

when they arrived, nor at any time after, till I was called down to assist their deliberation upon the event of the Nabob's death. The covenants never were offered to me, and I certainly could not be bound by covenants which I not only did not sign, but never was even required to sign. I have heard from the gentlemen of the Council, that their reason for not signing the covenants was, that the regulation appeared to them so new and extraordinary, and seemed liable to so many objections, that they did propose to send home a remonstrance against it, setting forth the reasons for judging the regulation inexpedient and improper." Johnstone's Letter to the Proprietors, 63.—W.

<sup>1</sup> This transaction is not accurately stated. General Carnac's objection to sign the covenant was perfectly reasonable. As it would have bound him to the observance of a law of which he did not know the existence, and which he would have violated unwittingly, having between the date of the covenant and its reaching him, avowedly received a present of 70,000 rupees from Bulwant Sinh. There was no intention of evading its prospective operation, as the interval was short before he did sign it, and

The Nabob, Nujum-ad-dowla, hastened to Calcutta, upon the arrival of Clive; and being exceedingly displeased with the restraints imposed upon him, presented a letter of complaints. Mohammed Reza Khan, whose appointment to the office of Naib Subah was the most offensive to the Nabob of all the hard conditions to which he had been compelled to submit, had given presents on account of his elevation to the amount of nearly twenty lacks of rupees. There was nothing, in this, unusual or surprising; but the Nabob, who was eager to obtain the ground of an accusation against a man whose person and office were alike odious to him, complained of it as a dilapidation of his treasury. The servants of the Company, among whom the principal part of the money was distributed, were those who had the most strongly contested the authority of Clive's Committee; and they seem to have excited, by that opposition, a very warm resentment. The accusation was treated as a matter of great and serious importance. Some of the native officers engaged in the negotiation of the presents, though required only for the purpose of evidence, were put under arrest. A formal investigation was instituted.

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the General declared in his evidence before the Committee of the House, that from the moment he was publicly apprized of the Company's pleasure on the subject, he considered himself equally bound by the covenant, whether he signed it or not. With regard to the two lacks of rupees, said to have been received by him from the King, after he knew of the covenants, the charge is untrue. General Carnac declined accepting it without the permission of the Governor and Council, to whom, therefore, the King wrote to request that their permission might be granted. The Council referred it to the Court of Directors, and if finally received, therefore, it was with their approbation. Appen. 3rd Report, 1773, p. 390.—W.

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It was alleged that threats had been used to extort the gifts: And the Committee pronounced certain facts to be proved; but in their great forbearance reserved the decision to the Court of Directors. The servants, whose conduct was arraigned, solemnly denied the charge of using terror or force; and it is true that their declaration was opposed by only the testimony of a few natives, whose veracity is always questionable when they have the smallest interest to depart from the truth:<sup>1</sup> who in the present case were not examined upon oath; were deeply interested in finding an apology for their own conduct, and had an exquisite feeling of the sentiments which prevailed towards the persons whom they accused in the breasts of those who now wielded the sceptre. There seems not, in reality, to have been any difference in the applications for presents on this and on former occasions, except perhaps in some little ceremoniousness of manner. A significant expression escapes from Verelst, who was an actor in the scene; "Mohammed Reza Khan," he says, "affirms that these sums were not voluntarily given. This the English gentlemen deny. Perhaps the reader, who considers the increased power of the English, may regard this as a *verbal* dispute."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is little reason to question the veracity of such men as Mohammed Reza, Jaggat Set, and other natives of respectability, who gave evidence in the present transaction, and who had less inducement to depart from the truth than the Europeans, who were personally interested. The same inference is presently admitted in the significancy attached to the words quoted from Verelst. The conflicting assertions were a mere verbal dispute. The Europeans, it is true, did not employ force to compel the donations which they received; but there can be no doubt that they did intimate their expectations, and that the young Nabob, and his advisers dared not disappoint them.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal, p. 50. For the

On the 25th of June Lord Clive departed from Calcutta, on a progress up the country, for the purpose of forming a new arrangement with the Nabob for the government of the provinces, and of concluding a treaty of peace with Suja-ad-dowla the Vizir.

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The first negotiation was of easy management. Whatever the Committee were pleased to command, Nujum-ad-dowla was constrained to obey. The whole of the power reserved to the Nabob, and lodged with the Naib Subah, was too great, they said, to be deposited in a single hand; they resolved, therefore, to associate the Raja Dooloob Ram, and Juggut Seet, the Hindu banker, with Mohammed Reza Khan, in the superintendence of the Nabob's affairs. To preserve concord among these colleagues, it was determined to employ the vigilant control of a servant of the Company, resident upon the spot. The Nabob was also now required to resign the whole of the revenues, and to make over the management of the Subahdaree, with every advantage arising from it, to the Company; by whom an annual pension of fifty lacks of rupees, subject to the management of their three nominees, were to be allowed to himself. The final arrangement of these terms was notified to the Committee on the 28th of July, by a letter despatched from Moorshedabad, whence, a few days before, Clive had proceeded on his journey.

The army had prosecuted the advantages gained over the Vizir; and at this time had penetrated far

sums received, and the rate they bore to the sums received by the managers of the preceding revolutions, see the preceding table, p. 369.



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into the territories of Oude. The arrangement, however, which had been concluded with the Emperor, and in conformity with which the English were to receive the Gauzeepore country for themselves, and to bestow the dominions of Suja-ad-dowla on the Emperor, had been severely condemned by the Court of Directors. They denounced it, not only as a violation of their repeated instructions and commands not to extend the dominions of the Company; but as in itself an impolitic engagement; full of burden, but destitute of profit.<sup>1</sup> Lord Clive, and, what is the same thing, Lord Clive's Committee, professed a deep conviction of the wisdom of that policy (the limitation of dominion) which the Directors prescribed;<sup>2</sup> declaring, "that an influence maintained by force of arms was destructive of that commercial spirit which the servants of the Company ought to promote; oppressive to the country, and ruinous to the Company; whose military expenses had hitherto rendered fruitless their extraordinary success, and even the cession of rich provinces."<sup>3</sup>

After the battle of Buxar, the Vizir, who no longer considered his own dominions secure, had

<sup>1</sup> See the Letters to Bengal, dated 24th Dec. 1765, and 19th Feb. 1766, in the Appendix to the Third Report.

<sup>2</sup> Clive, in his letter to the Directors, dated 30th Sept. 1765, says, "My resolution was, and my hopes will always be, to confine our assistance, our conquest, and our possessions, to Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá: To go further is, in my opinion, a scheme so extravagantly ambitious and absurd, that no governor and council in their senses can ever adopt it, unless the whole scheme of the Company's interest be first entirely new modelled."

<sup>3</sup> Instructions from the Select Committee to the President, dated 21st June, 1765; and their Letter to General Carnac, dated 1st July.

sent his women and treasures to Bareilly, the strong fort of a Rohilla chief; and, having gained as much time as possible by negotiations with the English, endeavoured to obtain assistance from Ghazi-ad-din Khan, from the Rohilla chiefs, and a body of Mahrattas, who were at that time under Mulhar Row, in the vicinity of Gualior. The Mahrattas, and Ghazi-ad-din Khan, with a handful of followers, the miserable remains of his former power, had, in reality, joined him. But the Rohillas had amused him with only deceitful promises: and he had been abandoned even by Sumroo; who, with a body of about 300 Europeans of various nations, and a few thousand Sepoys, was negotiating for service with the Jaats.

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The English had detached two battalions of Sepoys, which took possession of Lucknow, the capital of Oude, and made an attempt upon the fortress of Chunar, the strength of which enabled the garrison to make a successful resistance; when the preparations of Suja-ad-dowla induced Sir Robert Fletcher, on whom, till the arrival of Carnac, after the departure of Sir Hector Munro, the command of the troops had devolved, to endeavour to anticipate that Nabob by taking the important fortress of Allahabad. Nujuf Khan, as a partisan of the Emperor, had joined the English with his followers from Bundelcund, and being well acquainted with the fortress, pointed out the weakest part. It was speedily breached; and the garrison, too irresolute to brave a storm, immediately surrendered. Soon after this event General Carnac arrived, and took the command of the army. The situation of the

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enemy, which rendered their designs uncertain, puzzled, for a time, the General; who over-estimated their strength, and was afraid of leaving the frontiers exposed. Having received undoubted intelligence that the enemy had begun to march on the Corah road; and suspecting that an attack was designed upon Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded a separate corps in the same direction; he made some forced marches to effect a junction with that commander; and, having joined him, advanced with united forces towards the enemy. On the 3d of May a battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Corah; or rather a skirmish, for, by the absence of the Rohillas, and the weakness of Ghazi-ad-din Khan, the force of the Vizir was inconsiderable, and he was still intimidated by remembrance of Buxar. The Mahrattas, on whom he chiefly depended, were soon dispersed by the English artillery. The Vizir separated from them; and they retired with precipitation towards the Jumna. Observing the English to remit the pursuit in order to watch the Vizir, who made no attempt to join his allies, they ventured a second effort to enter Corah. To stop their incursions the General resolved to drive them beyond the Jumna; crossed that river on the 22d; dislodged them from their post on the opposite side; and obliged them to retire to the hills.

The Vizir impelled, on the one side by the desperate state of his affairs, on the other by hopes of moderate treatment from the English, resolved to throw himself entirely upon their generosity, by placing his person in their hands. On the 19th of May, General Carnac received, written partly by the

Nabob with his own hand, a letter, in which he in-  
 formed that officer that he was on his way to meet  
 him. The General received him with the highest  
 marks of distinction; and all parties recommended a  
 delicate and liberal treatment. The final settlement  
 of the terms of pacification was reserved for the pre-  
 sence of Clive. As it was unanimously agreed, that  
 it would cost the Company more to defend the  
 country of the Vizir, than it would yield in revenue;  
 that Suja-ad-dowla was more capable of defending it  
 than the Emperor, to whom it had been formerly  
 promised, or than any other chief who could be set  
 up; and that in the hands of the Vizir it might form  
 a barrier against the Mahrattas and Afghans; it  
 was determined to restore to him the whole of his  
 dominions, with the exception of Allahabad and  
 Corah, which were to be reserved to the Emperor.

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When the first conference was held with the Vizir  
 on the 2d of August, he strongly expressed his grati-  
 tude for the extent of dominion which his conquerors  
 were willing to restore; and readily agreed to the  
 payment of fifty lacks of rupees demanded in com-  
 pensation for the expenses of the war: but, when it  
 was proposed to him to permit the English to trade,  
 free from duties, and erect factories in his dominions,  
 he represented so earnestly the abuses which, under  
 the name of trade, the Company's servants and  
 their agents had perpetrated in the provinces of  
 Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and expressed with so  
 much vehemence his apprehension of disputes, and  
 the impossibility they would create of long preserv-  
 ing the blessings of peace, that Clive agreed, in the



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The Raja Bulwant Sing, who held, as dependencies of the Subah of Oude, the Zemindarees of Benares and Gauzeepore, had joined the English and rendered important service, in the late wars against the Vizir. It was, therefore, incumbent upon them to yield him protection against the resentment of a chief whose power he could not resist. The Vizir bound himself not to molest the Raja, in the possession of his former dominions; and the Raja was held bound to pay him the same tribute as before. The Vizir and the English engaged to afford assistance, each to the other, in case the territory of the other was invaded; and the Vizir engaged never to harbour or employ Meer Casim or Sumroo.

The business with the Emperor was the next subject of negotiation which claimed the exertions of Clive. Of the annual tribute to the Emperor, contracted for in the names of Meer Jaffier, Meer Casim, and Nujum-ad-dowla, as the imperial revenue from Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, thirty lacks were unpaid. Of this debt, the indigent sovereign was frankly and definitively told, that not a single rupee would ever be given him. The sum which had, under the English authority, been assigned as the share due to him of the revenue of these provinces, was twenty-six lacks of rupees in money, and jaghires or land to the annual amount of five lacks and a half. The jaghires, it was now made known to him, he must henceforth renounce. He expressed warmth, and even resentment, upon the

hardness of these arbitrary conditions; but the necessities of the humbled monarch left him without means of relief. The twenty-six lacks of rupees were continued as his portion of the revenues; and he was put in possession of the countries of Corah and Allahabad. On his part was required the imperial grant of the dewanee, or collection and receipt of the revenues, in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. The phirmaun of the dewanee, which marks one of the most conspicuous eras in the history of the Company, constituting them masters of so great an empire, in name and in responsibility, as well as in power,<sup>1</sup> was dated the 12th day of August, 1765. Along with the dewanee was required of the Emperor his imperial confirmation of all the territory which the Company possessed throughout the nominal extent of the Mogul empire. Among these confirmations was not forgotten the jaghire of Lord Clive; a possession, the dispute about which that powerful servant had compromised before his departure from England, by yielding the reversion to the Company, after ten years' payment, if so long he should live.

It was in the course of this summer that, in pursuance of the terms of the treaty concluded in Europe between the English and the French, the settlements of that nation at Chandernagor and other places in Bengal, were restored.

On the 7th of September, Lord Clive resumed his

<sup>1</sup> The Select Committee express strongly their sense of the ostensible change; in their Consultation, 18th Sept. 1765, describing the Company as having "come into the place of the country government, by his Majesty's royal grant of the dewanee." See Fourth Report, Committee of Secrecy of House of Commons, 1773. Appendix, No. 38.

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seat in the Select Committee; in which the urgent questions respecting the inland trade now constituted the grand subject of consultation. The Company's letter of the 8th of February, 1764, completely prohibiting the inland trade of their servants, was taken into consideration by the Board, on the 17th of October, in the same year. And it was resolved that all the branches of that trade, which it was worth while to carry on, should still be steadfastly retained; but that proper respect should be shown to the commands of their masters; and what was of no value to keep should be immediately and completely resigned. The grand articles of the interior trade of Bengal were salt, beetel-nut, and tobacco; of which salt was out of all proportion the most important: Tobacco in particular was so inconsiderable, that few, if any, of the Company's servants had engaged in it. The determination was, to give up the tobacco, preserving and securing the beetel-nut and the salt. It must not, however, be forgotten that an order was now issued, prohibiting the practice of forcing the natives to buy and sell at any price which the Company's servants thought proper to command.

✓ On the 1st of June, 1764, a letter was written by the Court of Directors, in consequence of the resolution of the Court of Proprietors that the letter of the 8th of February should be reconsidered. In this, the Directors declared, that the terms imposed upon Meer Casim for the regulation of the private trade in the interior "appeared to them so injurious to the Nabob and the natives, that they could not, in the very nature of them, tend to any thing but the producing general heart-burning and dissatisfactions: That the

orders, therefore, in their letter of the 8th of February should remain in force until a more equitable and satisfactory plan could be formed and adopted; and, as it was impossible for them to frame such a plan at home, destitute as they were of the informations and lights necessary to guide them in settling such an important affair—the Committee were therefore ordered, as soon after the receipt of this letter as might be convenient, to consult the Nabob as to the manner of carrying on the inland trade, and thereupon to form a proper and equitable plan for that purpose, and transmit the same to the Directors; accompanied by such explanations, observations, and remarks, as might enable them to give their sentiments and directions thereupon in a full and explicit manner:—And in doing this, as before observed, they were to have a particular regard to the interest and entire satisfaction of the Nabob.” It was agreed, in general consultation at Fort William, on the 26th of January, 1765, to defer all proceedings on this order, till the arrival of Lord Clive; and in the mean time, in defiance of both letters; the course of the inland trade remained undisturbed.

One important circumstance in the letter of the 1st of June, the Directors themselves interpreted one way; their servants in India chose to interpret another. The servants inferred that the letter empowered them not only to contrive a plan, but also to put it in practice. It was maintained on the other hand, that the letter only authorized them to devise a plan, and transmit the account of it to the Directors. The letter, as usual, was vague and ambiguous; and those who had to act upon it, at so vast

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a distance, preferred, as might have been expected, the interpretation which best suited their own interests.

It is worthy of particular remark, that Lord Clive, as he declares to the Directors themselves,<sup>1</sup> framed the plan, which was afterwards adopted, during his voyage to India. But, as he could not then have any lights which he had not in England, he might, unless he had determined not to be governed by the Directors, have opened to them his project, before he departed; and have allowed to his masters the privilege of deciding.

It is not less worthy of remark, that Clive and the other Members of the Select Committee; Carnac excepted, who had not left the army; formed a partnership before the beginning of June, for buying up large quantities of salt; that all the purchases were made during the month of June, and that in nine months the parties realized a profit, including interest, of about forty-five per cent. In apology for Clive, it was stated, that he brought out with him three gentlemen from England, Mr. Strachey, his secretary; Mr. Maskelyne, an old friend and fellow-servant of the Company; and Mr. Ingham, his surgeon; and that for the sake of making a fortune to them he engaged in that suspicious transaction. If a proceeding, however, is in its own nature shameful; there is but little saved, when the emolument is only made to go into the pocket of a connexion.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In his Letter, dated Calcutta, 1st February, 1766.

<sup>2</sup> There was nothing "shameful" in the nature of the transaction. The wisdom of the scheme may be questioned, but it was adopted deliberately and openly, as the only practicable expedient of providing for the indisputable necessity of giving liberal pay to responsible officers,

On the 10th of August, after these purchases had for some time been completed, and after certain inquiries had been made respecting the usual prices of salt in different places ; it was resolved, in a Select Committee composed of only Mr. Sumner and Mr. Verelst, That a monopoly should be formed of the trade in salt, beetel-nut, and tobacco, to be carried on exclusively for the benefit of the superior servants of the Company. After several consultations, the following rules were adopted : That, deducting a duty to the Company, computed to produce 100,000*l.* per annum, the profits should be divided among three classes of proprietors : That, in the first class, should be allowed ; to the governor, five shares ; to the second in council, three shares ; to the general, three shares ; ten gentlemen of council, each, two shares ; two colonels, each, two shares—in all thirty-five : That, in the second class, consisting of one chaplain, fourteen senior merchants, and three lieutenant-colonels, in all eighteen persons, two-thirds of one share should be granted to each, or twelve shares to the whole : In the third class, consisting of thirteen factors, four majors, four first surgeons at the presidency, two first surgeons at the army, one secretary to the council, one sub-accountant, one Persian translator, and one sub-export-warehouse-keeper, in all twenty-seven persons, one-third of a share should be distributed to each, or nine shares to the whole ; That a committee of four, empowered to make by-laws, borrow money, and determine the amount of capital,

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whilst depriving them of the opportunity of remunerating themselves, and whilst the only legitimate source of public recompense, the public treasury, was yet unopened.—W.

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should be appointed for the entire management of the concern: That the purchases should be made by contract; That the goods should be conveyed by the agents of the association to certain fixed places, and there sold to the native merchants and retailers at established and invariable prices: That the exclusive power of making those purchases should be ensured to the association for one year: And that European agents should be allowed to conduct the business of the society in different parts of the country.

In defence of this scheme, it was urged, that by the prohibition of presents, and the growing share of the export and import trade engrossed by the Company's investment, the pay of their servants was reduced to the means of a bare subsistence;<sup>1</sup> that besides the hardship of this policy, the wisdom was very defective, since it was absurd to suppose that men deprived of the means of enriching themselves by legitimate, would abstain from illegitimate means, when placed to a boundless extent in their power; that a too rapid enriching of their servants, by enabling them to hurry to England, and leaving none

<sup>1</sup> It was wholly inadequate as a means of subsistence. Johnstone in vindication of the unwillingness of the Council to sign the covenants, very fairly urges the insufficiency of the salaries of the Company's servants; the allowance of a councillor, he writes, is not more than 250*l.*, of a factor, 140*l.*, of a writer, as lately increased 130*l.*; but the rent of a very indifferent house in Calcutta is 200*l.*, nearly the whole of even a councillor's salary. Letter to the Proprietors. So Clive, in his Speech to the House of Commons, observes "the salary of a councillor is I think scarcely 300*l.* per annum, and it is well known that he cannot live in that country for less than 3000*l.*." Life iii. 100. As long as the salaries of the civil and military services left the Company's servants to starve, it was monstrous to expect that they would not use the power they possessed of providing for their own necessities, and for something more.—W.

but inexperienced youths to conduct their affairs, was ruinous to their interests : and that, by the admirable arrangements of the trade society, a proper fortune was secured to those who had attained a certain station in the service, without incurring the danger of sending them home enriched at too early a period. ✓

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Upon these arguments, one reflection cannot be withheld, because the occasions for its application are exceedingly numerous, and because it appears, unhappily, to be not frequently made. It is contrary to experience, that by deriving large emoluments from an office, the person who holds it will be less eager to grasp at any unlawful gains which are within his reach. The avidity for more is not in general diminished by the amount of what is possessed. A trifling sum will doubtless lose something of its apparent magnitude in the eye of a man of wealth ; but the vast sums are those alone which are of much importance ; and they, we find, are as resistless a temptation to the rich as to the poor. The prevalence of the idea that satiating the servants of the public with wealth is a secret for rendering them honest, only proves how little the art of government has borrowed as yet from the science of human nature. If, with immense emoluments, a door is left open to misconduct, the misconduct is but the more ensured ; because the power of the offender affords him a shield against both popular contempt and legal chastisement. If the servants of the Company, as Clive and his Committee so positively affirmed, had it in their power, and in their inclination, to pillage and embezzle, when their incomes were small ; the mere enlargement of their incomes would add to the



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power, and could not much detract from the inclination.<sup>1</sup>

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At the time of these proceedings, the Select Committee were deprived of the shelter even of an ambiguous expression; and knew that they were acting in express defiance of the wishes and commands of their superiors. Under date the 15th of February, 1765, the Directors had written in the following terms: “In our letters of the 8th February, and 1st June last, we gave our sentiments and directions very fully in respect to the inland trade of Bengal;—we now enforce the same in the strongest manner, and positively insist that you take no steps whatever towards renewing this trade, without our express leave; for which reason you must not fail to give us the fullest information upon the subject, agreeable to our above-mentioned directions.”

Having thus established the private trade Society, the Committee proceeded to introduce other regulations which the state of affairs appeared to require.

<sup>1</sup> This reflection is not founded upon so careful a consideration of human nature as might have been expected from our author. Although cases of insatiable cupidity may from time to time occur, yet in general a man who has in his hands the means of securing, at no very remote period, a moderate fortune for himself and his family, is removed from the temptation of accelerating that period by illicit gains. He is also likely to be deterred from yielding to the temptation by the amount of loss which he hazards. To him who has nothing, the consequences of exposure offer little terror, to him who has much, disgrace, and eventually diminished wealth, will be very reluctantly risked. All consideration of moral principle is omitted in the text, but in the instance of insufficient means, integrity is manifestly powerfully assailed, whilst in that of competent means it is strengthened and confirmed. That these views are sound is established by events, and the generally unimpeached integrity of the Company's servants in India has followed the elevation of their pay in proportion to the responsibility of their stations, and their reasonable prospects of returning with a sufficiency to their native country.—W.

It had been a common practice with members of the Council, instead of remaining at the Board for the business of the Presidency, to receive nomination to the chiefship of factories, as often as additional means of accumulating money were there placed in their hands. To this practice the Committee, on very good grounds, resolved to put an end. "We are convinced," they said, "by very late experience, that the most flagrant oppressions may be wantonly committed in those employments, by members of the Board, which would not be tolerated in junior servants; and that the dread and awe annexed to their station, as councillors, has too frequently screened them from complaints, which would be lodged without fear or scruple against inferior servants." Yet, with this experience before them, they recommended great emoluments as a security against corruption.<sup>1</sup> The Committee further remarked, that not only the business, which was thus engrossed by the Members of the Board, could be as well transacted by a junior servant, at much less expense; but that other inconveniences, still more pernicious, were incurred; that by the absence of so many members of the board, it had been necessary to increase their numbers from twelve to sixteen; that by the regular departure to the out-settlements of those Members of the Council who had the greatest influence to procure their own appointment, there was so rapid a change of councillors at the board, where only the youngest and most inex-

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<sup>1</sup> The emoluments in this case, it is to be remembered, were in their very nature fertile sources of oppression; they were indefinite, limited by no bounds, except the power and cupidity of the individual.—W.

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perienced remained, that the business of the Presidency was obliged to be conducted by men deficient in the knowledge and experience necessary for carrying it on.

Another measure, productive of considerable irritation and disturbance, was promoted by Clive. The rapid acquisition of riches in Bengal had recently sent so many of the superior servants, along with their fortunes, to Europe, that few remained to fill up the vacancies in the Council, except either men very young and inexperienced, or those whom Clive described as tainted with the corruptions which had vitiated the administration. The Committee say, "It is with the utmost regret we think it incumbent on us to declare, that in the whole list of your junior merchants, there are not more than three or four gentlemen whom we could possibly recommend to higher stations at present." They accordingly forbore to supply the vacancies which occurred in the Council, and resolved upon calling a certain number of servants at the other presidencies, to supersede those in Bengal. They paid to their employers the compliment of recommending the measure to their consideration; but waited not for their decision, for, in two months from the date of their letter, four gentlemen arrived from Madras, and soon after took their seats at the Board.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The effects of this measure are thus described by the Committee themselves: "As soon as this measure became known by reports from Madras, the young gentlemen of the settlement had set themselves up for judges of the propriety of our conduct, and the degree of their own merit." It is to be observed that by "young gentlemen," here is to be understood all those, without exception, who were not of the council, that is, all those whose interests were affected by this unusual proceeding; and they were

Among the circumstances most strongly recommended to Lord Clive by the Company, was the reduction of the military expenses; which absorbed all their revenues, and rendered their ascendancy in the country a burden rather than advantage. As service in the field is, in India, attended with peculiar charges to the officers, the Company had, at an early period of their wars, found it necessary to allow their officers, during the time of campaign, a certain addition to their daily pay, which, in the language of the country, was styled *batta*, or indemnity for field expenses.

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When the English forces took the field with Meer Jaffier after the battle of Plassy, to cherish their good-will, on which he was so dependent, that Nabob afforded to the officers twice the ordinary sum, and this allowance was distinguished by the name of *double batta*. As long as the troops continued to be paid by Meer Casim, the Company felt no prevailing motive to lessen an expense, which

even joined by several Members of the Council. That Clive should treat it as unendurable in such persons to express an unfavourable opinion upon his conduct, or upon a treatment which they naturally regarded as highly injurious to themselves, is in the genuine strain of power, both in India and Europe. The Committee continue: "They have not only set their hands to the memorial of complaint, but entered into associations unbefitting at their years, and destructive of that subordination, without which no government can stand; all visits to the President are forbidden; all invitations from him and the Members of the Committee are to be slighted; the gentlemen called down by our authority from Madras are to be treated with neglect and contempt." Even the Secretary to the Council distinguished himself in this association; was dismissed from his office; and suspended the service. The Committee add, "You will be astonished to observe at the head of this list, two members of your Council, who subscribe their names in testimony of their sense of the injustice done to the younger servants." Letter from the Select Committee to the Directors, dated 1st January, 1766.



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pleased the officers, and oppressed only the Nabob. When they perceived, upon the assignment of territorial revenues for the expense of the army, that what could be withheld from the army would accrue to themselves, they issued repeated orders for the reduction of the batta. But the dangers of the country had rendered the exertions of the army so necessary; and they to whom the powers of government were intrusted had so little dared to venture their authority in a contest with the military, that double batta had hitherto been allowed to remain.

Upon the conclusion of the war with Suja-ad-dowla, the troops were regimented, according to a plan proposed by Clive and sanctioned by the Company before his departure from England; divided into three brigades, each consisting of one regiment of European infantry, one company of artillery, six battalions of Sepoys, and one troop of black cavalry; and were stationed, one brigade at Mongheer, 300 miles from Calcutta; another at Bankipore, near Patna, 100 miles beyond Mongheer; and the third at Allahabad, 200 miles beyond Patna; whither it had been sent as a security against the Mahrattas, whom the Emperor and Vizir were far too reduced to be able to oppose.

In this situation the Select Committee issued an order, that on the 1st of January, 1766, the double batta should cease; and that the officers in Bengal, with some exceptions in favour of the troops in the most distant and expensive stations, should be placed on the same footing with those on the coast

of Coromandel ; that is, receive single batta, when in the field ; in garrison or cantonments, no batta at all.

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The officers, who, along with the rest of their countrymen, had formed unbounded notions of the wealth of India, and whose imaginations naturally exaggerated the fortunes which were making in the civil branch of the service, had received every previous intimation of this reduction with the loudest complaints and remonstrances ; and treated the peremptory decree which was now issued, as an act of the highest injustice ; and as a most unworthy attempt to deprive them of a share of those rich advantages for which they had fought and bled, only that a larger stream of emolument might flow into the laps of those very men who were the instruments of their oppression.

At all times, and especially in situations in any degree resembling that of the British in India, it has been found a hazardous act to reduce the advantages of any army ; and Clive appears to have greatly miscalculated either the weight of his own authority, or the delicacy of the operation. Without any endeavour to prepare the minds of the men, the order was issued and enforced ; and without any care to watch its effects, the Governor remained in perfect security and ignorance, till the end of April, when he received a letter informing him, that a most alarming conspiracy, embracing almost every officer in the army, was ripe for execution.

As early as the month of December a combination began. Private meetings and consultations were held, secret committees were formed, and corre-

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spondence carried on. The combustion first began in the brigade at Mongheer; but was soon, by letter, communicated to the rest, whose bosoms were perfectly prepared for inflammation. The plan concerted was, that the officers should resign their commissions in a body, and, by leaving the army totally ungoverned, make the constituted authorities submit to their terms. Nearly two hundred commissions of captains and subalterns were in a short time collected. Besides a solemn oath of secrecy, they bound themselves by a similar obligation, to preserve at the hazard of their own lives, the life of any officer, whom a Court Martial might condemn to death. Each officer executed a penalty bond of 500*l.*, not to accept his commission till double batta was restored. A subscription was raised among them to establish a fund for the indemnification of those who might suffer in the prosecution of the enterprise; and to this, it was understood, that the gentlemen in the civil service, and even those at the Presidency, largely contributed.

When the army was in this situation, a body of between fifty and sixty thousand Mahrattas appeared on the frontiers of Corah, about one hundred and fifty miles from Allahabad. To watch their motions, the brigade remaining in garrison at that city was ordered to encamp at Suragepore. Early in April Lord Clive, accompanied by General Carnac, had repaired to Moorshedabad, in order to regulate the collections of the revenue for the succeeding year, to receive from Shuja-ad-dowla the balance of his payments, and to hold a congress of the native chiefs or princes, who were disposed

to form an alliance for mutual defence against the Mahrattas. On the 19th was transmitted to him, from the Select Committee, a remonstrance received from the officers of the third brigade,<sup>1</sup> expressed in very high language, which he directed to be answered with little respect. It was not till late in the evening of the 28th; when he received a letter from Sir Robert Fletcher, the commanding officer at Mongheer; that Clive had the slightest knowledge or suspicion of a conspiracy so extensive, and of which the complicated operations had been going on for several months.

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At Bankipore, a considerable part of the cantonments had been burnt down; and a Court Martial was held upon one of the officers, accused of having been the voluntary cause. The act proceeded from a quarrel between him and another officer, who attempted to take away his commission by force: and, upon exploring the reason of this extraordinary operation, the existence of the combination was disclosed. The commanding officer immediately despatched an account of the discovery to Sir Robert Fletcher at Mongheer; who was by no means unacquainted with the proceedings in his own brigade, but was only now induced to give intimation of them to his superiors. It was the plan of the officers to resign their commissions on the 1st of June; but this discovery determined them, with the exception of the brigade at Allahabad, to whom information could not be for-

<sup>1</sup> That is of the Brigade stationed at Bankypore, not, as might be supposed from the previous specification of the Brigades, that which was quartered at Allahabad, which was the second, not the third Brigade.—W.



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warded in time, to execute their purpose a month earlier.

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Clive at first could not allow himself to believe that the combination was extensive; or that any considerable number of men, the whole of whose prospects in life were founded upon the service, would have resolution to persevere in a scheme, by which the danger of exclusion from it, not to speak of other consequences, was unavoidably incurred. It was one of those scenes, however, in which he was admirably calculated to act with success. Resolute and daring, fear never turned him aside from his purposes; or deprived him of the most collected exertion of his mind in the greatest emergencies. To submit to the violent demands of a body of armed men, was to resign the government. He had a few officers in his suite upon whom he could depend; a few more, he concluded, might yet be found at Calcutta, and the factories; and some of the free merchants might accept of commissions. The grand object was to preserve the common soldiers in order and obedience, till a fresh supply of officers from the other Presidencies could be obtained.

He remained not long without sufficient evidence that almost all the officers of all the three brigades were involved in the combination, and that their resignations were tendered. Directions were immediately sent to the commanding officers, to find, if possible, the leaders in the conspiracy; to arrest those officers whose conduct appeared the most dangerous, and detain them prisoners; above all things to secure the obedience of the Sepoys and black commanders, if the European troops should appear to be infected

with the disobedience of their officers. Letters were despatched to the Council at Calcutta, and the Presidency at Fort St. George, to make the greatest exertions for a supply of officers; and Clive himself hastened towards Mongheer. On the road he received a letter from Colonel Smith, who commanded at Allahabad, informing him that the Mahrattas were in motion, and that Ballajee Row was at Calpee with 60,000 men collecting boats. If reduced to extremity, but not before, Smith was instructed to promise the officers compliance with their demands.

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Expecting their resignation to produce all the effects which they desired, the officers had concerted no ulterior measures. Their desperation had not led them to make any attempts to debauch the common soldiers. The Sepoys every where exhibited a steady obedience; and the commanding officers of all the brigades remained in perfect confidence of being able, in case of mutiny, to put every European soldier to death. Except, however, at Mongheer, where symptoms of mutiny among the Europeans were quickly dispelled by the steady countenance of the Sepoys drawn out to attack them, no disturbance occurred. The officers at Mongheer submitted quietly to be sent down to Calcutta; the greater part of those belonging to the other brigades retracted: And this extraordinary combination, which, with a somewhat longer sight on the part of the officers, or less of vigour and of the awe of a high reputation on the part of the Governor, would have effected a revolution in India, produced, as ineffectual resistance generally does, a subjection more complete than what would have existed, if the

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disturbance had never been raised. Some of the officers, upon profession of repentance, were allowed to resume the service; others were tried and cashiered. The case of Sir Robert Fletcher was the most remarkable. He had been active in subduing the confederacy; but was found to have encouraged its formation. He apologized for himself on two grounds; that he wished, through the guilt of the conspiracy, to be able to dismiss a number of officers, whose bad conduct rendered them an injury to the service; and that he wished, through the appearance of favouring the views of the officers in some things, to have the advantage of a complete knowledge of their proceedings: A Court Martial, notwithstanding, found him guilty of mutiny, of sedition, and concealment of mutiny; and he was punished by ejection from the service.

Upon the termination of this dangerous disaffection, Lord Clive proceeded to Chupprah, where he was met by Shuja-ad-dowla, by the Minister of the Emperor, and by deputies from the Mahratta Chiefs. Shuja-ad-dowla continued to express the highest satisfaction with the treaty which he had lately concluded with the Company; and cheerfully advanced the remainder of the sum which he had promised as the price of peace. The grand desire of the Emperor was to regain possession of the capital of his ancestors, and to mount the throne at Delhi. He had exhausted all his arts of negotiation and intrigue to obtain the assistance of the English; and had, without their concurrence, formed engagements with the Mahrattas, who, at his persuasion, it now appeared, and under assurances

that the English would join them in escorting him to his capital, were assembled on the confines of Corah. This ambition of the Emperor was offensive to the English; who, as they had no intention to second his views, dreaded violently his connexion with the Mahrattas. The formation of a treaty for mutual defence, including the Emperor, the Company, the Jaat and Rohilla chiefs, was left to be conducted by Shuja-ad-dowla.

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During these transactions died the Nabob of Bengal, Nujum ud Dowla. He expired on the 8th of May, a few days after Clive had left him at Moorshedabad. He was an intemperate youth, of a gross habit of body; and his death had in it nothing surprising. Its suddenness, however, failed not, in a country habituated to deeds of darkness around a throne, to cover it with odious suspicions. His brother, Syeff ud Dowla, a youth of sixteen, was elevated to his nominal office; a change of less importance now than that of the chief of a factory.

Upon the return of Clive to the Presidency, the private trade, so dear to individuals, demanded the attention of the Committee. The native merchants, to whom the salt had been disposed of, at the places of the society's sales, had re-sold or retailed it at a profit which the Committee deemed extravagant. Instead of inquiring whether, if the trade, as alleged by the Committee, was monopolized and engrossed by a combination, the means could not be devised of yielding it the benefit of free competition; they contented themselves with the easy and despotical expedient of ordering the commodity to be retailed at an established price: and by an *ex-post-facto* law



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fined the native merchants to the amount of their additional gains.<sup>1</sup>

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On the 3d of September the Select Committee proceeded to arrange the business of the inland trade society for another year. The Company in their letter of the 19th of February, already received, had declared that they considered the continuance of this trade “as an express breach and violation of their orders, and as a determined resolution to sacrifice the interests of the Company, and the peace of the country, to lucrative and selfish views.” Pronouncing, “that every servant concerned in that trade stood guilty of a breach of his covenants, and of their orders,” they added, “Whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen circumstances may arise, it is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid, this trade of salt, beetel-nut, and tobacco, and of all articles that are not for export and import, according to the spirit of the phirmaund, which does not in the least give any latitude whatsoever for carrying on such an inland trade; and moreover, we shall deem every European concerned therein, directly or indirectly, guilty of a breach of his covenants; and direct that he be forthwith sent to England, that we may proceed against him accordingly.”

Notwithstanding these clear and forcible prohibitions, the Committee proceeded to a renewal of the monopoly, as if the orders of the Directors deserved

<sup>1</sup> Select Consultation, 15th August, 1766.—M. It should be stated, however, that the merchants had purchased, under an agreement with the Committee of Trade, to sell at a fixed rate of profit, and it was the excess upon the agreed rate, which they were, somewhat arbitrarily, but not unjustly, compelled to refund.—W.

not a moment's regard. Clive, in his Minute, turned them carelessly aside, observing that when the Company sent them, "they could not have the least idea of that favourable change in the affairs of these provinces, whereby the interest of the Nabob, with regard to salt, is no longer immediately concerned." As a reason against lodging the government of India in hands at the distance of half the circumference of the globe, the remark would merit attention: For the disobedience of servants to those who employed them, it is no justification at all; because, extended as far as it is applicable, it rendered the servants of the Company independent; and constituted them masters of India.<sup>1</sup>

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One change alone, of any importance, was introduced upon the regulations of the preceding year: The salt, instead of being conveyed to the interior, was to be sold at Calcutta, and the several places of manufacture. The transportation of the commodity to distant places, by the agents of the society, was attended with great trouble and expense: By selling it immediately at the places of manufacture, so much was saved: And by reserving the distribution to the merchants of the country, a pretended boon was granted to the natives. A maximum price was fixed; and on the 8th of September a Committee of trade was formed, with directions for carrying the plan into execution.

<sup>1</sup> A discretionary power to suspend the execution of the orders of the home authorities, so as to afford them the opportunity of considering circumstances of which they may not have been apprized, is a very different thing from positive disobedience, and is indispensable to the due administration of government in India. It still rests with the authorities in England to countermand or enforce the instructions they have sent out.—W.

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No sooner was this arrangement formed, than Clive brought forward a proposition for prohibiting all future Governors and Presidents from any concern whatsoever in trade. On the 19th of the very same month, in a Minute presented to the Select Committee, he represented, that, "Where such immense revenues are concerned, where power and authority are so enlarged, and where the eye of justice and equity should be ever watchful, a Governor ought not to be embarrassed with private business. He ought to be free from every occupation in which his judgment can possibly be biassed by his interest." He, therefore, proposed, that the Governor should receive a commission of one and one-eighth per cent. upon the revenues; and in return should take a solemn and public oath, and bind himself in a penalty of 150,000*l.* to derive no emolument or advantage from his situation as Governor of Bengal, beyond this commission, with the usual salary and perquisites: And a covenant to this effect was formally executed by him. That good reasons existed for precluding the Governor from such oblique channels of gain, both as giving him sinister interests, and engrossing his time, it is not difficult to perceive: That the same reasons should not have been seen to be good, for precluding, also, the members of the Select Committee and the Council, might, though it need not, excite our surprise.

On the 8th of December, letters arrived from England, dated the 17th of May, addressed both to ✓ Clive and the Committee. In these documents the Directors pronounced the inland trade society to be a violation of their repeated orders; declared that all

those servants who had been engaged in that society should be held responsible for a breach of their covenants; and commanded that the trade should be abandoned, and should be reserved, free from European competition, to the natives. There was no longer any room for direct disobedience. The dissolution of the society was pronounced. But on the score of the contracts which had been formed and the advances made, the whole of the existing year was reserved; and the society was not abolished in fact till the 14th of September, 1768.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the 16th of January, 1767, Lord Clive declared his intention of returning immediately to Europe, on account of his health; and directed the attention of the Select Committee to the regulations which, previous to his departure, it might appear expedient to adopt. By recent instructions the Directors had empowered him, either to abolish, or continue the Select Committee, upon his departure, according as the state of affairs might to him appear to require. He felt no hesitation in deciding for its continuance; and named as members Mr. Verelst, who was to succeed him in the chair, Mr. Cartier, Colonel Smith, Mr. Sykes, and Mr. Beecher. He

<sup>1</sup> Governor Vansittart is very severe in his condemnation of this society. "As I am of opinion," he says, "that an universal equality of trade in these articles (salt, beetel-nut, and tobacco,) would be the most beneficial footing it could stand upon; so I think that a monopoly of it in the hands of a few men of power is the most cruel and oppressive. The poor people of the country have not now a hope of redress.—It is a monopoly, in my opinion, of the most injurious nature.—I could set forth the unhappy condition of the people, under this grievous monopoly, in the words of a letter, which I have received from one of the country merchants; but I think it needless, because it must occur sufficiently to every reader who has any feeling." A Letter to the Proprietors of India Stock, from Mr. Henry Vansittart, 1767, p. 88, 89, 93.



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 1767. February Mr. Verelst took his oath as successor in  
 the chair.<sup>1</sup>

It was the interest of the servants in India, diligently cultivated, perpetually to feast the Company with the most flattering accounts of the state of their affairs. The magnitude of the transactions, which had recently taken place; the vast riches with which the new acquisitions were said to abound; the general credulity on the subject of Indian opulence; and the great fortunes with which a few individuals had returned to Europe; inflamed the avarice of the proprietors of East India Stock; and rendered them impatient for a share of treasures, which the imaginations of their countrymen, as well as their own, represented as not only vast, but unlimited. This impulse carried them in 1766 to raise their dividend from six to ten per cent. The inflated conceptions of the nation at large multiplied the purchasers of India stock; and it rose so high as 263 per cent. The proprietors called with importunity for a higher return. It was in vain that the Directors represented the heavy debts of the Company; and pointed out the imprudence of taking an augmented dividend, when money at a heavy interest must be taken up to discharge it. In a General Court held on the 6th of May, 1767, a dividend of twelve and a half per cent. was voted for the year.<sup>2</sup> The public attention was

<sup>1</sup> For the preceding train of events, the principal sources of information were the Reports of the Two Committees of the House of Commons in 1772 and 1773; Vansittart's Narrative; Verelst's View of Bengal; Scott's History of Bengal; Seer Mutakhareen; Clive's Speech.

<sup>2</sup> The opposition of the Directors to this increase of the dividend, founded on a knowledge of the state of the Company's affairs, rendered

vehemently roused. Even the interference of the minister was commanded. He had condemned the rapacity of the proprietors in augmenting the dividend; and recommended a Committee of the House of Commons, which was actually formed in November 1766, for the purpose of inquiring into the state of their affairs. The relation between the public, and the territory now held by the Company in India, called for definition. It was maintained on the one hand, as an indisputable maxim of law, supported by the strongest considerations of utility, that no subjects of the crown could acquire the sovereignty of any territory for themselves, but only for the nation. On the side of the Company, the abstract rights of property, and the endless train of evils which arise from their infringement, were vehemently enforced; while it was affirmed that the Company held not their

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them unpopular with the body of the proprietors, and advantage was taken of the circumstance to baffle them in a measure which was the natural consequence of the proceedings in Bengal upon Clive's resumption of the government, but of which no notice is taken in the text. As the presents received by the members of the Council upon Nujum-ud-dowla's accession were subsequent to the arrival of the covenants, legal opinions had pronounced that although not formally executed, they were binding in equity, and that the parties were liable to a prosecution for their violation. The Directors had accordingly instituted a suit against those of their servants who had accepted the presents in question. As these persons were now at home, with wealth and friends, great efforts were made to induce the court to drop proceedings, and the question was mixed up with that of the increase of the dividends: accordingly, on the day when the Directors were overruled on the latter point, and resentment as violent as unmerited, had been excited against them, it was moved and carried that the prosecutions which had been instituted should be dismissed. Life of Clive 3, 185. The party animosities and angry feelings called into opposition by these discussions were the motives of the Parliamentary Debates and Investigations that ensued, much more than any sober and statesman-like desire to provide for India the best form of Government of which its condition was susceptible.—W.

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territories in sovereignty, but only as a farm granted by the Mogul, to whom they actually paid an annual rent. An act was passed, which directed that after the 24th of June, 1767, dividends should be voted only by ballot, in general courts summoned expressly for that purpose; and that no dividend above ten per cent. for the year should be made before the next session of parliament. The resolution of the Court of Proprietors respecting a dividend of twelve and a half per cent. was thus rescinded; and the right of parliament to control and command the Company in the distribution of their own money asserted and established. The question of the sovereignty was not pushed at that time to a direct and express decision; though a decision was virtually involved in another act, by which the Company, in consideration of holding the territorial revenues for two years, were obliged to pay annually 400,000*l.* into the public exchequer.

The opinion which Lord Clive had artfully<sup>1</sup> raised of the high prosperity of the Company's affairs, and of his own extraordinary share in producing it, directed the overflowings of their gratitude towards himself; and a proposition was brought forward and carried, to grant him, for ten years certain, the produce of his jaghire.

Other acquisitions of Clive come subsequently to

<sup>1</sup> There does not seem to be any just cause for this epithet. The extension of the Company's territory and power was notorious, and was unquestionably attributable in the main to Clive's genius. The general opinion was the natural result of events, and was not stimulated in any degree by designing or false representations on the part of Clive. He may have overrated the value of the acquisition, but the exaggeration was the honest expression of his own belief, not an artful misrepresentation.—W.

view. Notwithstanding the covenants executed by the servants of the Company, not to receive any presents from the natives, that Governor had accepted five lacks of rupees during his late residence in Bengal from the Nabob Nujum-ud-dowla. It was represented, indeed, as a legacy left to him by Meer Jaffier, though all indications pointed out a present, to which the name of legacy was artfully attached. At any rate, if any sums might be acquired under the name of legacies, the covenants against receiving presents were useless forms. Lord Clive represented; that upon the first intimation of this gift, his resolution was to refuse it; that he changed his mind, upon reflecting of what importance it would prove as a fund for the benefit of invalided officers and soldiers in the Company's service; and that he afterwards prevailed upon Syeff-ud-dowla, the successor of Nujum-ud-dowla, to bestow three lacks more for this excellent end. The Company sanctioned the appropriation; and to this ambiguous transaction the Institution at Poplar owes its foundation.<sup>1</sup>

Upon this, as upon his former departure, the regulations which Clive left behind, calculated for present applause rather than permanent advantage, produced a brilliant appearance of immediate prosperity, but were fraught with the elements of future difficulty and distress. A double government, or an administration carried on in name by the Nabob, in reality by the Company, was the favourite policy of Clive;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The fact is unambiguous. Clive did not benefit by the donation.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The following is an extract of Clive's Letter to the Select Committee of 16th of January, 1767, upon his leaving India: "The first point in politics which I offer to your consideration is the form of government. We are sensible that since the acquisition of the dewanny, the power formerly



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to whose mind a certain degree of crooked artifice seems to have presented itself pretty congenially in the light of profound and skilful politics. The collection of the revenues was still made as for the exchequer of the Nabob; justice was still administered by his officers and in his name; and all transactions with foreign powers were covered with the mask of his authority. For the benefit of certain false pretexts which imposed upon nobody, the government of the country, as far as regarded the protection of the people, was dissolved. Neither the Nabob nor his officers dared to exert any authority against the English, of whatsoever injustice and oppression they might be guilty. The gomastahs, or Indian agents employed by the Company's servants, not only practised unbounded tyranny, but overawing the Nabob and his highest officers, converted the

belonging to the Subah of these provinces is totally, in fact, vested in the East India Company. Nothing remains to him but the name and shadow of authority. This name, however, this shadow, it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate.—Under the sanction of a Subah (Subahdar), every encroachment that may be attempted by foreign powers can effectually be crushed, without any apparent interposition of our own authority; and all real grievances complained of by them can, through the same channel, be examined into and redressed. Be it therefore always remembered, that there is a Subah; and that though the revenues belong to the Company, the territorial jurisdiction must still rest in the chiefs of the country, acting under him and this Presidency in conjunction. To appoint the Company's servants to the offices of collectors, or indeed to do any act by any exertion of the English power, which can easily be done by the Nabob at our instance, would be throwing off the mask, would be declaring the Company Subah of the provinces. Foreign nations would immediately take umbrage; and complaints preferred to the British court might be attended with very embarrassing consequences. Nor can it be supposed that either the French, Dutch, or Danes, would readily acknowledge the Company's Subahship, and pay into the hands of their servants the duties upon trade, or the quit-rents of those districts which they may have long been possessed of by virtue of the royal phirmauns, or grants from former Nabobs."

tribunals of justice themselves into instruments of cruelty, making them inflict punishment upon the very wretches whom they oppressed, and whose only crime was their not submitting with sufficient willingness to the insolent rapacity of those subordinate tyrants. While the ancient administration of the country was rendered inefficient, this suspension of the powers of government was supplied by nothing in the regulations of the English. Beyond the ancient limits of the Presidency, the Company had no legal power over the natives: beyond these limits the English themselves were not amenable to the British laws; and the Company had no power of coercion except by sending persons out of the country; a remedy always inconvenient, and, except for very heinous offences, operating too severely upon the individual to be willingly applied. The natural consequence was, that the crimes of the English and their agents were in a great measure secured from punishment, and the unhappy natives lay prostrate at their feet. As the revenue of the government depended upon the productive operations of the people; and as a people are productive only in proportion to the share of their own produce which they are permitted to enjoy; this wretched administration could not fail, in time, to make itself felt in the Company's exchequer.<sup>1</sup> Other sources were not

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<sup>1</sup> Governor Verelst, in his letter to the Directors, immediately before his resignation, dated 16th December, 1769, says, "We insensibly broke down the barrier betwixt us and government, and the native grew uncertain where his obedience was due. Such a divided and complicated authority gave rise to oppressions and intrigues, unknown at any other period; the officers of government caught the infection, and, being removed from any immediate control, proceeded with still greater audacity.

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wanting, whence a copious stream of evils was derived. Though the Governor and Council placed the powers of the Nabob in a sort of commission, by compelling him to resign the entire management of business to one or more persons of their own choosing ; and though they placed a confidential servant of the Company to watch them at the Nabob's durbar ; yet they possessed not over these depositaries of power, whom they could only punish by dismissal, sufficient means of control : Before detection, or much of suspicion, it was always possible for each of them to appropriate a treasure, and be gone ; leaving his place to be filled by another who had both temptation and opportunity to repeat his crimes. With men whose interests were so little united with those of their employers, and whose situation was so very precarious, the Zemindars, Rajas, and other agents of the revenue, might easily settle their own terms, and place the fallacy of their accounts beyond the reach of detection. The mischief was less in practice than reason would have anticipated, because in the choice of these native functionaries the English were both judicious and happy. Another, and that the most pernicious perhaps of all the errors into which Clive exerted himself to mislead the Company, was, the belief which he created, that India overflowed with riches, the expectations he raised, and on which the credulous Company so fondly relied, that a torrent of treasure was about to flow into their laps. As such expectations were adverse to

In the mean time we were repeatedly and peremptorily forbid to avow any public authority over the officers of government in our own names." &c.

the best use and improvement of their resources, they only hastened that disappointment and distress which their inconsistency with the matters of fact rendered a necessary consequence. In political affairs it is long before even experience teaches wisdom. Till the present moment incessant promises of treasure have never failed to deceive without ceasing to delude. As often as the pain of disappointment has become exceedingly severe, we have condemned a Governor, in whose conduct we believed that we had found the cause of our misery ; and have begun immediately to pamper our fancy anew, with endless hopes and delusions.

Under the feebleness of Shuja-ad-dowla, and the quarrels which occupied the Mahrattas at home, the Company enjoyed profound tranquillity in Bengal for a considerable number of years ; and during the administrations of Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier, who occupied the chair till the elevation of Mr. Hastings, and were calm, unambitious men, few events of historical importance occurred. It was during a period like this, if ever, that the Company ought to have replenished their exchequer, and to have attained financial prosperity. During this period, on the other hand, financial difficulties were continually increasing ; and rose at last to a height which threatened them with immediate destruction. Doubtless, the anarchical state, in which, by the double government, the provinces were placed, contributed powerfully to impoverishment ; but the surplus revenue, with which the people of England were taught to delude themselves, was hindered by more permanent causes. Though no body should believe it, India,

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like other countries, in which the industrious arts are in their infancy, and in which law is too imperfect to render property secure, has always been poor. It is only the last perfection of government, which enables a government to keep its own expense from absorbing every thing which it is possible to extract from the people: and the government of India, under the East India Company, by a delegation of servants at the distance of half the circumference of the globe from control, was most unhappily circumstanced for economy. On a subject like this, authority is useful. "With regard to the increase of the expenses," says Clive, "I take the case to stand thus. Before the Company became possessed of the dewanee, their agents had other ways of making fortunes. Presents were open to them. They are now at an end. It was expedient for them to find some other channel: the channel of the civil and military charges. Every man now who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune."<sup>1</sup>

During the year 1767, a march of the Abdallee Shah, towards Delhi, excited the attention, though not much the alarm, of the Presidency. After some contests with the Seiks, and overrunning a few of the provinces, that powerful Chief returned to his own country. An expedition was undertaken for the restoration of the Raja of Nepaul, who had been dispossessed by his neighbour the Ghurka. The motives were; that Nepaul had carried on a considerable traffic with the province of Berar; that

<sup>1</sup> Clive's Speech, as published by himself, reprinted in Almon's Debates for 1772, p. 44.

its vicinity to the district of Bettea afforded great opportunities for the improvement of trade; that all intercourse was now destroyed; and that the accomplishment of the object was easy. On the last point, at least, the authors of the war were not very correctly informed; and found they had miscalculated the difficulties of subduing a country, surrounded by mountains, and accessible only by a few narrow and nearly impenetrable defiles. The officer sent to command the expedition was unable to proceed, and wrote for reinforcements. The Presidency were violently disappointed; and felt a strong inclination to wreak their vengeance upon the Commander. Being obliged to send assistance to Madras, they were unable to afford reinforcements, and recalled the detachment.<sup>1</sup> The war with Hyder Ali had now broken out in the Carnatic; and considerable supplies, both in men and money, were demanded from Bengal. This year, financial distress began to be experienced. Complaints were first emitted of the scarcity of money; ascribed, not to impoverishment of the country, but to a drain of specie, occasioned by the annual exportation of the precious metals; chiefly to China, on account of the Company's investment, and also in other directions; while the usual supplies of bullion from Europe (the Company providing their investment from the revenues, the Dutch and French from the fortunes of the English consigned to them for transmission) were almost wholly cut off.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letters from the Presidency, to the Directors, Verelst's Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> In the letter of the Select Committee to the Directors, dated Fort William, September 26th, 1767, they say, "We have frequently expressed

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Early in the year 1768, arrived the Company's peremptory order for abolishing entirely the trade of their servants in salt, and other articles of interior traffic; for laying it open, and confining it to the natives; and for restricting their servants entirely to the maritime branches of commerce.<sup>1</sup>

The commission of one and one-eighth per cent. upon the dewanee revenues, which by the Select Committee had been settled upon the Governor as a compensation for relinquishing his share in the salt trade, was also commanded to cease. For as much, however, as the income of their servants, if thus cut off from irregular sources of gain, was represented as

to you our apprehensions lest the annual exportation of treasure to China would produce a scarcity of money in the country. This subject becomes every day more serious, as we already feel in a very sensible manner, the effects of the considerable drain made from the silver currency." And in their letter of the 16th of December, they add, "We foresee the difficulties before us in making provision agreeably to your orders for supplying China with silver bullion even for this season. We have before repeatedly requested your attention to the consequences of this exportation of bullion; and we now beg leave to recommend the subject to your most serious consideration—assuring you, that, should we find it at all practicable to make the usual remittances next year to China, the measure will prove fatal to your investment, and ruinous to the commerce of Bengal."—The absurdity of the theory which they invented to account for the want of money, that is, of resources, (to wit, the drain of specie,) is shown by this fact; that the price of commodities all the while, instead of falling, had immensely risen. See the testimonies of Hastings and Francis, in their minutes on the revenue plans, Sixth Report of the Select Committee in 1781, Appendix xiv. and xv.

<sup>1</sup> "Past experience," they say, "has so impressed us with the idea of the necessity of confining our servants, and Europeans residing under our protection, within the ancient limits of our export and import trade, that we look on every innovation in the inland trade as an intrusion on the natural right of the natives of the country, who now more particularly claim our protection; and we esteem it as much our duty to maintain this barrier between the two commercial rights, as to defend the provinces from foreign invasion." Letter from the Directors, dated 20th November, 1767.

not sufficiently opulent, the Company granted a commission of two and a half per cent. upon the net produce of the dewannee revenues, to be divided into 100 equal shares, and distributed in the following proportions: to the Governor, thirty-one shares; to the second in Council, four and a half; to the rest of the Select Committee, not having a chiefship, each three and a half shares; to the Members of the Council not having a chiefship, each one and a half; to the Commander-in-chief, seven and a half shares; to Colonels each, two and a half; Lieutenant-Colonels, each, one and a half; and to Majors three fourths. An additional pay was allotted to Captains, of three shillings, Lieutenants two shillings, and Ensigns one shilling per day.

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Some uneasiness still continued with respect to the designs of Shuja-ad-dowla; between whom and the Emperor considerable discordance prevailed. The Directors had forwarded the most positive orders for recalling the brigade from Allahabad; and for confining the operations of the Company's army entirely within the limits of the Company's territory. The Council thought it necessary to disobey; and in their letter went so far as to say that they "must express their great astonishment at such an absolute restriction, without permitting them upon the spot to judge how far, from time and circumstances, it might be detrimental to their affairs."

The most important particular in the situation of the Company in Bengal was the growing scarcity of pecuniary means. In the letter from the Select Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 21st November, 1768, "You will perceive," they say,



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“by the state of your treasury, a total inability to discharge many sums which you are indebted to individuals for deposits in your cash, as well as to issue any part of the considerable advances required for the service of every public department. And you will no longer deem us reprehensible, if a decrease in the amount of your future investments, and a debasement of their quality, should prove the consequence.”

By a correspondence between the Presidencies of Fort William and Fort St. George, in the beginning of March, 1769, the dangerous consequences to be apprehended from the exhausted state of their treasuries, and the necessity of establishing a fund against future emergencies, were mutually explained and acknowledged. In two separate consultations, held by the President and Council at Fort William, in the months of May and August, the utility, or rather the indispensable necessity, of such a fund underwent a solemn discussion; and was pronounced to be without dispute. But as the expences of the government left no resource for the creation of it, except the diminution of the investment, or quantity of goods transmitted to the Company in England, they resolved upon that reduction, and limited to forty-five lacks the investment of the year.

Even this resource was in a very short time perceived to be insufficient. On the 23rd of October a deficiency of 6,63,055 rupees appeared on the balance of receipts and disbursements; and the President and Council in their Minute declared, “That however the public might have been flattered, they could not flatter themselves, with any expectations from

their revenue; and that the only expedient within their reach was to open their treasury doors for remittances."<sup>1</sup>

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These remittances consisted chiefly of the money or fortunes of the individuals who had grown rich in the Company's service, and who were desirous of transmitting their acquisitions to Europe. Such persons were eager to pay their money to the Company's government in India, upon receiving an obligation for repayment from the Company in England; in the language of commerce, for a bill upon the Company payable in England. The money thus received, in other words borrowed, was applied to the exigencies of the service; and by augmenting their resources was always highly agreeable to the servants in India. The payment however of these loans or bills in England was apt to become exceedingly inconvenient to the Directors. The sole fund out of which the payment could be made was the sale of the investment, or the goods transmitted to them from India and China. If the quantity of these goods was less in value than afforded a surplus equal to the amount of the bills which were drawn upon them, they remained so far deficient in the ability to pay. And if the goods were sent in too exorbitant a quantity, the market was insufficient to carry them off.

An opposition of interests was thus created between the governing part of the servants abroad,

<sup>1</sup> The President and Council of Fort William, in their letter (dated the 21st of March, 1769) to the President and Council of Fort St. George, speak in pathetic terms of "the incontestable evidence they had transmitted to their honourable masters of the exaggerated light in which their new acquired advantages had been placed," and the change of views which they expected them in consequence to adopt.

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and the Courts of Directors and Proprietors at home. For the facility of their operations, and the success of their government, it was of great importance for the servants to preserve a full treasury in India, secured by a small investment, and the receipt of money for bills. It was the interest of the Directors to have an ample supply of money at home, which on the other hand could only be produced by a large investment, and a moderate transmission of bills. The Directors, accordingly, had given very explicit instructions on this subject; and in their letter of the 11th of November, 1768, after acknowledging the growing deficiency of the funds in India, had said; “Nevertheless, we cannot suffer ourselves to be drawn upon to an unlimited amount, the state of the Company’s affairs here not yet admitting us to answer large drafts upon us from India; but should the exigency of your affairs require your receiving money into your treasury, we prefer the mode of borrowing at interest to that of granting bills upon us: We therefore permit you to take up such sums on interest, for one year certain, as will answer your various demands, which are to be paid off at the expiration of that period, or as soon after as the state of your treasury will admit of. You are, therefore, to confine your drafts upon us, by the ships to be despatched from your Presidency in the season of 1769, to the same amount as we allowed last year, viz., 70,000*l*.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eighth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, Appendix, No. i. In their letter 17th March, 1769, they so far modify their former directions as to say, “Upon reconsidering the subject of remittances we find it so connected with that of the investment, that the increase of the former

When the amount of the sums which it was the desire of individuals to send home exceeded the amount which it was permitted to the government in India to receive, in other words to draw bills for upon the Company at home, the parties who were deprived of this channel of remittance betook themselves to the French and Dutch factories, and paid the money into their treasuries for bills upon their respective companies, payable in Europe. This, from an early period of Mr. Verelst's administration, had constituted a heavy subject of complaint; as making these subordinate settlers to abound with money, while the English were oppressed with want. As he ascribed the financial difficulties of the Company's government merely to a defect of currency not of revenue, as he ascribed the defect of currency to the remittances which were forced into the Dutch and French channels; though neither of these nations carried any specie out of India, and were only saved to a certain extent the necessity of importing bullion; to him it appeared surprising that the Dutch and French company should find it easy to pay the bills which were drawn upon them for money received in India; but that the English Com-

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must always depend on that of the latter. The produce of our sales here is the only channel of our receipts; and our flourishing situation in India would not avail us, if we were to suffer ourselves to be drawn upon to the amount of the cost of our homeward cargoes. In order therefore to unite the advantages of the Company and their servants, we do permit you to increase your remittances, by the ships despatched from Bengal in the season of 1769, beyond the limitation in our letter of the 11th November last, so far as one half of the sum which your investment sent home in that season shall exceed the amount of sixty lacks. But if you do not send home an investment exceeding that sum, you must then confine your drafts upon us agreeably to our said letter of the 11th November last."



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pany should find it impossible ; and he ascribed the restrictions which they imposed to a timid and narrow spirit.<sup>1</sup> One circumstance, however, which constituted a most important difference, he was ill situated to perceive. The French and Dutch Companies were chiefly commercial ; and whatever money was received in India was laid out in the purchase of goods ; these goods were carried to Europe, and sold before the bills became due ; the bills were paid out of the proceeds ; and a great trade was thus carried on upon English capital. The English Company, on the other hand, was become a regal, as well as a commercial body ; the money which was paid for remittance into their treasury in India was absorbed

<sup>1</sup> In his letter to the Directors, dated 26th September, 1768, he says, "The extent of the Dutch and French credit exceeds all conception, and their bills are even solicited as favours. The precise sums received by them for some years I have endeavoured to ascertain, though hitherto without success : but if we only form our idea from the bills drawn this year from Europe on individuals here and Madras, the amount will appear prodigious and alarming. Advices of drafts and letters of credit have been already received to the amount of twenty-eight lacks on Bengal, and ten on Madras ; and I have the most certain information that their treasures at Pondicherry and Chandernagore, are amply furnished with all provision for both their investments and expenses for three years to come. You have often complained of the increase and superiority of the French and Dutch investments ; but your orders and regulations have furnished them with the most extensive means of both. It is in vain to threaten dismissal from your service, or forfeiture of your protection, for sending home money by foreign cash, while you open no doors for remittances yourselves. Such menaces may render the practice more secret and cautious ; but will never diminish, much less remove the evil." Verelst's Appendix, p. 113. So much did Mr. Verelst's imagination deceive him, in regard to the prosperity of the English rivals, that the exclusive privileges of the French Company, after they had struggled for some time on the verge of bankruptcy, were suspended by the King, and the trade laid open to all the nation. They were found unable to extricate themselves from their difficulties ; and resigning their effects into the hands of government, for certain government annuities to the proprietors of stock, the Company were in reality dissolved. Raynal, liv. viii. sect. 26, 27.

in the expense of the government;<sup>1</sup> and so much only as could be spared was employed in the purchase of investment. This was one cause undoubtedly of the comparative inability of the English Directors to pay the bills which were drawn upon them.

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In the Consultation of the 23d of October, in consideration of great exigency, it was resolved, that the Board would receive all monies tendered to the Company's treasury from that day to the 1st of November, 1770; and at the option of the lenders, grant, either interest notes payable in one year; or receipts bearing interest at eight per cent. for bills to be granted at the sailing of the first ship after the 22d of November, 1770, payable with three per cent. interest, in equal proportions on each tender, at one, two, and three years sight. And as a resource to the Directors, it was resolved to enlarge the investment by purchasing, not with ready money, but with

<sup>1</sup> This is not warranted by the facts: a slight examination of the general accounts of receipts and disbursements exhibited in the accounts of the Bengal Presidency published by the Select Committee shows, that the financial difficulties experienced there arose not from the political, but the commercial transactions of the Company. From 1761 to 1772, there was a surplus on the territorial account of about 5,475,000*l.* (the smaller figures are purposely omitted). The whole produce of the import cargoes was 1,437,000*l.*, the cost value of the goods remitted to England, 5,291,000*l.*, of which, therefore, 3,854,000*l.* had been provided out of the revenue. Besides this, large remittances for commercial purposes had been made to other settlements, and to China, exceeding those received by 2,358,000*l.*, and consequently, exceeding the whole territorial receipt by 737,000*l.* It is not matter of surprise, therefore, that the territorial treasury was embarrassed, nor is it to be wondered at that the resources of the country were in progress of diminution, the constant abstraction of capital, whether in bullion or goods could not fail in time to impoverish any country however rich, and was very soon felt in India, in which no accumulation of capital had ever taken place from the unsettled state of the Government, and the insecurity of property, and the constant tendency of the population to press upon the means of subsistence.—W.

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bonds at eight per cent. and one year's credit. This was the last considerable act in which the Governor was engaged. He resigned his office on the 24th of December, and was succeeded by Mr. Cartier. A new treaty had been concluded with Shuja-ad-dowla, which allayed whatever suspicions the ambiguous conduct of that Governor had raised, and Mr. Verelst left the three provinces in profound tranquillity.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER VIII.

*Subahdar of the Deccan dethroned by his brother.—The English take possession of the Northern Circars.—Make a Treaty with the Subahdar of the Deccan.—Which embroils them with Hyder Ali.—History of Hyder Ali.—Hyder's first war with the English.—New Treaty with the Subahdar.—Peace with Hyder.*

THE Carnatic remained but a short time free from the pressure of the neighbouring powers. In the superior government of the Deccan, Nizam Ali, who

<sup>1</sup> The principal materials, before the public, for the history of Verelst's administration, are found in the Reports of the Two Committees of 1772, and in the Appendix to his own View of Bengal. Information, but needing to be cautiously gleaned, is obtained from the numerous Tracts of the day.

had resumed, upon the departure of Bussy, the commanding station which he formerly occupied, made no delay in employing all his advantages to effect the dethronement of his feeble-minded brother. On the 18th of July, 1761, he committed the Subahdar to a prison; and invested himself with the full powers and insignia of the government.

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The treaty, by the provisions of which the pretensions of England and France were at this time adjusted, affords a singular illustration of the obvious and neglected truth, that the knowledge requisite for good government in India cannot be possessed by rulers sitting and deliberating in Europe. By the treaty of Paris, concluded on the 10th of February, 1763, Salabut Jung was acknowledged as lawful Subahdar of the Deccan, after he had been nearly two years dethroned, and another reigning in his stead. This instrument indeed, which recognised Salabut Jung as a great sovereign, was the immediate cause of his death; for Nizam Ali, who had been withheld by dread of the restoration of the French power in India, no sooner received intelligence of the treaty of Paris, by which the French resigned the Carnatic, and appeared to abandon the contest, than he felt himself delivered from all restraint, and ordered his brother to be murdered in September, 1763.

With little concern about Bassalut Jung, who nevertheless was elder brother of Nizam Ali, that usurper, at once a regicide and fratricide, now grasped, without a rival, the power of Subahdar of the Deccan. The personal title or name of himself and his father have by the English been converted



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into the appellative of his sovereignty; and it is under the title of the Nizam, that the Subahdar of the Deccan is commonly known.

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In the beginning of the year 1765, the English and Mohammed Ali their Nabob were summoned to action, by the irruption of Nizam Ali into the Carnatic. With a great army, which seemed to have no object in view but plunder and destruction, he laid waste the open country with a ferocity, even greater than the usual barbarity of Indian warfare. The troops of the English and Nabob were put in motion from Arcot, under the command of Colonel Campbell, and came in sight of the enemy at the Pagoda of Tripeti. The Nizam felt no desire to fight: His army was reduced to great distress for provisions and water: He decamped accordingly on a sudden, and marching forty miles in one day evacuated the Carnatic by way of Colastri and Nelore.

It was at this time that Lord Clive, on his passage from Europe to Bengal, arrived at Madras. The ascendancy of the English over the Mogul, the unfortunate and nominal Emperor Shah Aulum, rendered it extremely easy to procure from him those imperial grants which, however little respected by the sword, still gave the appearance of legal right to territorial possession within the ancient limits of the Mogul empire. A firmaun was solicited and obtained for the maritime districts, known by the title of the Northern Circars. Like the rest of India this tract was held by renters, responsible for a certain portion of revenue. Of these some were of recent appointment; others were

the ancient Rajas and Polygars of the country; a set of men who were often found to be the most convenient renters, and who, on the regular payment of the expected revenue, were seldom displaced. The country fell within the government of the Subahdar of the Deccan, and was managed by a deputy or commissioner of his appointment. After the English, however, had expelled from it the French, the authority of the Subahdar had been rather nominal than real. The English held possession of their factories and forts; the Rajas and Polygars assumed a species of independence; Salabut Jung had offered it to Mohammed Ali at the time of his quarrel with Bussy at Hyderabad; and Nizam Ali himself had proposed to surrender it to the English, on the condition of military assistance against Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas. The advantage of possessing the whole line of coast which joined the English territories in the Carnatic to those in Bengal, suggested to Clive the importance of obtaining it on permanent terms.<sup>1</sup> A firmaun was accordingly received from the Emperor, by which, as far as the formality of his sanction could extend, the Northern Circars were freed from their dependence upon the Subahdar of the Deccan, and bestowed upon the English. Nor was this the only diminution which the nominal empire of the Nizam sustained; for another firmaun was procured from the Emperor, by which the Carnatic itself was rendered independent of his authority; and bestowed,

<sup>1</sup> The acquisition of the Northern Circars did not give the English the whole of the Sea-coast: the province of Orissa held by the Mahrattas separated them from Bengal.—W.

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holding immediately of the Emperor, upon the Nabob Mohammed Ali, together with the new titles of Walla Jah, Ummir ul Hind, which he ever afterwards used.<sup>1</sup>

To take possession of the Circars, on its new and independent footing, General Calliaud marched with the troops of the Carnatic, and on the part of the Rajas and Polygars found little opposition to subdue. The Nizam, or Subahdar, was at that time engaged in the country of Barad, making head against the Mahrattas. But he no sooner heard of the operations of the English, than he proceeded with great expedition to Hyderabad; and to avenge himself for the usurpation, as it appeared to him, of an important part of his dominions, made preparations for the invasion of the Carnatic. The Presidency, whom their pecuniary weakness rendered timid, were alarmed at the prospect of a war with

<sup>1</sup> It is stated that Clive even entertained the project of obtaining for Mohammed Ali the firmaun of Subahdar of the Deccan; but that the Nabob, who it is true was worn out with the struggle which he had already sustained, who now panted for ease and enjoyment, and whose qualities Clive estimated at more than their actual value (in his correspondence with the Directors he represents his word as more trustworthy than that of any Mohammedan whom he had ever known. Reports of Committee, 1772), shrunk from the prospect of the arduous enterprise, and declared that "the Deccan was too great for him to desire to have the charge of its government." Letter from the Nabob to Clive in 1765, MS. quoted (p. 150) by the author of the History and Management of the East India Company.—It is also affirmed, perhaps on better grounds (Observations by the President and Council, on Sir John Lindsay's Letter of the 22nd of June, 1771; Papers in Rous's Appendix, p. 371) that the Nabob used his endeavours to obtain the exertion of the English power to procure him this high elevation; but met not with a corresponding disposition in the servants of the Company. The point is not of sufficient importance to require that we should spend any time in endeavouring to ascertain whether the one allegation or the other is the truth.—M. It is wholly incredible that Mohammed Ali would have refused the Subahdari of the Deccan, if he had had a reasonable prospect of obtaining it.—W.

the Subahdar; and sent orders to Calliaud to hasten to Hyderabad with full powers to negotiate a peace. BOOK IV  
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A treaty was concluded on the 12th of November, 1766, by which the Company agreed to pay to the Nizam an annual tribute of five lacks of rupees for the three circars of Rajamundry, Ellore, and Musteplianagur; and for those of Siccacole (Chicacole) and Murtezanagur, two lacks each, as soon as they were definitively placed in their hands. Murtezanagur, commonly called Guntoor, had been assigned as a jaghire to Bassalut Jung; and the Company were pleased to suspend their occupation of it, so long as Bassalut Jung should live, or so long as he should remain a faithful subject to Nizam Ali. They further engaged to hold a body of troops in readiness, "to settle in every thing right and proper, the affairs of his Highness's government." And they gave him a present of five lacks of rupees, which the Nabob was ordered to find money to pay.<sup>1</sup>

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This treaty has been severely condemned. But the Presidency were not mistaken in regard to their own pecuniary difficulties, though they probably over-estimated the power of the Nizam, whose unpaid and mutinous troops the money which he received by the treaty scarcely enabled him for a short time to appease. The most imprudent article of the agreement was that which stipulated for the Nizam the assistance of English troops; because this had an evident tendency to embroil, and in the event did actually embroil them, with other powers.

<sup>1</sup> Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy in 1781, p. 22; Hist. and Management, p. 151; Collection of Treaties, p. 364.



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The exploit in which they were first to be employed, the reduction of the fort of Bangalore, was not, it is probable, disliked by the Presidency; because they were already upon hostile terms with Hyder Ali, to whom it belonged. The Nizam, however, after availing himself of the assistance of the British troops in collecting the tribute of the Polygars, on his march, listened to the overtures of Hyder, who was too eminent a master in the arts of intrigue to let slip an opportunity of dividing his enemies. The Nizam concluded with him a treaty of alliance, in consequence of which they united their forces at Bangalore: and, in August 1767, they began to make incursions into the Carnatic.

Hyder Ali, who began to occupy the attention of the English, and who proved the most formidable enemy whom they had ever encountered in India, had now rendered himself entire master of the kingdom of Mysore. The principality of Mysore, a region of considerable magnitude, had formed one of the dependencies of the great Hindu Government of Bijanuggur, which was broken up by the formation of the Mohammedan kingdoms in the Deccan. When the declining power of the sovereigns of Bijanuggur enabled Mysore to throw off its dependence upon that ancient monarchy, its distance and other local circumstances saved it from subjection to any of the Mohammedan powers. It continued, therefore, till the period of Hyder's usurpation, under a pure Hindu government, and afforded a satisfactory specimen of the political institutions of the native Hindus. The arts of government were less understood in that, than in the Mohammedan

districts of India. Hardly ever have mankind been united in considerable societies under a form of polity more rude, than that which has every where been found in those parts of India which remained purely Hindu.<sup>1</sup> At a period considerably prior to the rise of Hyder, the government of Mysore had assumed that state, which, if we may judge by its own example, and that of the Mahrattas, Hindu governments had a general tendency to assume. The Raja, or Monarch, was stripped of all power, while a minister kept him a prisoner, and governed absolutely in his name. At the time when the wars of the English in the Carnatic commenced, the powers of the Raja of Mysore were usurped by two brothers, named Deoraj, and Nunjeraj. It was this same Nunjeraj, whom the French were enabled to bring to their assistance at Trichinopoly; and who there exhibited so many specimens of the rudeness of his people, and of his own ignorance and incapacity. And it was in the station of a subordinate officer in the service of this commander, that Hyder Ali began his career.

Mohammed Beloli, the great grandfather of Hyder, was a native of the Punjab, who came into the Deccan in the character of a fakir, and, settling in the district of Calburga, about 110 miles in a north-west direction from Hyderabad, acquired considerable property by the exercise of his religious talents. Mohammed Beloli had two sons, Mohammed Ali, and Mohammed Wullee. They left their father's house, and travelling southward became, at Sera,

<sup>1</sup> See the illustrations of the Mysore Government, in the instructive volume of Col. Wilks.

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revenue peons, or armed men, employed, according to Indian practice, in the forced collection of the taxes. Mohammed Ali died at Colar, and Mohammed Wullee, for the sake of his property, expelled his widow and son, and drove them from his doors. The name of the son was Futtuh Mohammed, the father of Hyder. He obtained, along with his mother, protection from a petty officer, called a naik of peons, by whom he was brought up, and employed as a peon, or common foot soldier, in the party under his command. Futtuh Mohammed found means to distinguish himself, and, in the service of the Nabob of Sera, became, first a naik of peons, and afterwards the fojedar, or military superintendant of a district. But misfortune overtook his master. The Nabob was dethroned, his family plundered; and Futtuh Mohammed lost his life in their defence. He left two sons, the elder Shabas, the youngest Hyder, and a widow, who had a brother, the naik of a few peons, in the service of a Killedar of Bangalore. With this man, the mother of Hyder sought, and, together with her sons, obtained protection. When Shabas, the elder of the brothers, grew towards manhood, he was recommended by his uncle to an officer in the service of the Raja of Mysore. The youth quickly rose to distinction; and obtained the command of 200 horse and 1000 peons. Hyder, till the age of twenty-seven, could be confined to no serious pursuit, but spent his life between the labours of the chase, and the pleasures of voluptuous indolence and riot. He joined, however, the troops of Mysore, as a volunteer at the siege of Deonhully, the castle of a Polygar, about twenty-four miles

north-east from Bangalore, which, in 1749, Nunjeraj undertook to reduce. On this occasion the ardour, the courage, and the mental resources of Hyder drew upon him the attention of the General; and, at the termination of the siege, he was not only raised to the command of fifty horse, and 200 peons, or foot, but was intrusted with the charge of one of the gates of the fortress.

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He continued to recommend himself with so much success to Nunjeraj, that, when the efforts of the English to establish their authority in Madura and Tinivelly, in 1755, rendered precarious the possession of the fort of Dindigul, Hyder was chosen as the man on whom its defence could, with greatest security, repose. It was situated on a high rock in the middle of a plain, at nearly an equal distance, of about fifty miles from Madura and Trichinopoly; and amid the confusions of the Carnatic had fallen into the hands of the Mysoreans about ten years before. This elevation added fuel to the ambition of Hyder; and from this period his exertions in its gratification became conspicuous and incessant.

The depredations upon which all Indian, and other barbarous warriors, are so much accustomed to subsist, he reduced to a system. There are in India, and in particular in that part of it to which he belonged, a species of troops, or of men bearing the title of soldiers, who are particularly skilled in all the arts of plunder and of theft; who receive, indeed, no pay in the armies of most of the Indian states, but are understood to provide for themselves by the devastations which they commit. A body of these men Hyder engaged in his service; and em-



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ployed in the business of depredation. Hyder had never learned either to write or to read ; but he valued himself upon the faculty of performing exactly by memory arithmetical calculations, with greater velocity than the most expert accountants. He agreed with his depredators to receive from them one half of the spoil ; and so skilfully, we are told, were his checks contrived, that it was nearly impossible for any part of it to be concealed. It was of little importance to Hyder, or to his gang, when the convenience and safety were equal, whether the property which they acquired was taken from friends or from foes. Valuables of every description were their prey ; “ from convoys of grain,” says Mr. Wilks, “ cattle and sheep, which were among the most profitable heads of plunder, down to the clothes, turbans, and ear-rings of travellers and villagers, men, women, and children.” Thus it was, that Hyder acquired the sinews of war ; and before he left Trichinopoly, to which he had repaired in the army of Nunjeraj, he was a commander of 1500 horse, 3000 regular infantry, 2000 peons, and four guns. Having enlisted the most select of the men discharged by Nunjeraj, he departed for Dindegul at the head of 2500 horse, 5000 regular infantry, and 2000 peons, with six guns. He employed against the polygars of his district and its neighbourhood the arts of fraud and of force, with equal success. His vigilant eye discovered, and his activity drained, every source of revenue. He excelled in deceiving the government with false musters and accounts ; and the treasures of Hyder were daily augmented. The distracted state of Madura, in 1757, encouraged

him to make an effort to gain possession of that country; but Mohammed Issoof marched against him at the head of the English Sepoys, and gave him a severe defeat at the mouth of the narrow pass of Natam.

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The weak and distracted state of the government of Mysore afforded opportunity to Hyder of ascending gradually to higher and higher situations and power. The Raja, who was uneasy at the state of insignificance in which he was held, harrassed the ministers with perpetual intrigues; and the brothers themselves were so little united, that Deoraj, who had most of years and of prudence, retired from the scene in disgust, and left Nunjeraj alone to sustain the weight of affairs. The treasury had been exhausted by repeated exactions of the Mahrattas; and in 1758 the troops of Nunjeraj mutinied for payment of arrears.

This was an occasion on which Hyder conceived that he might interpose his authority with advantage. He marched from Dindegul with the whole of his disposable troops; exerted himself with success in effecting a reconciliation between the brothers, and between the brothers and the Raja; with his strict and experienced eye he examined and reduced the false accounts of the army; and, by effecting a partial payment of arrears, restored the troops to obedience. In this transaction he had sustained the character of a friend to all; and took care to be rewarded in proportion. An assignment was made to him of the revenues of a tract of country for sums due by the government; and the fort and district of Bangalore were bestowed upon him in

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personal jaghire. The moment looked favourable for securing what he probably deemed a greater advantage. Herri Sing was one of the most powerful chiefs in the service of Mysore, and the declared enemy of Hyder. Under pretence of forwarding part of his troops to Dindegul, Hyder sent a large detachment to attack the camp of Herri Sing, who, reposing in careless security, was surprised, with a large portion of his troops, and massacred in the middle of the night.

An invasion of the Mahrattas, which immediately followed, in the beginning of 1759, contributed more remarkably to the elevation of Hyder. Though several of the principal commanders disdained to serve under a man whom they had so lately seen in a very subordinate station, he was appointed to the chief command against this formidable enemy; and acquitted himself with so much vigour and success, that before the end of the campaign he reduced them to an inclination for peace; and concluded a treaty on what were deemed favourable terms.

Hyder was now advanced to the rank and power of commander-in-chief, and had only his friend and patron Nunjeraj, for Deoraj was dead, between him and the entire control of the resources of the state. Hyder's impatience admitted little delay. To secure the countenance of the Raja against a man who was at once his robber and his gaoler, was an easy intrigue; and the troops, whose arrears had not been fully paid, and had again increased, were artfully incited to mutiny against Nunjeraj, and to place Hyder, by compulsion, at their head. The Raja now interposed, and offered to procure pay for the troops, as soon as

Hyder should take an oath to be obedient, and to renounce his connexion with the usurping minister. BOOK IV  
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Hyder failed not to exhibit reluctance; but at last allowed himself to be constrained; and Nunjeraj, who could not any longer misunderstand the game, and whose courage was not remarkable, consented to retiré, upon the condition of receiving an honourable provision. The Raja was complimented with the show of greater liberty; but Hyder, to be enabled to provide for the arrears, and the regular pay of the troops, took care to procure the assignment of the revenues of so many districts, that what was now in his direct possession exceeded half the territory of the state. 1767.

In March, 1759, Hyder received overtures from Lally, inviting him to his assistance against the English; and, amid the contentions of the rival strangers, looked forward to acquisitions in the Carnatic. To pave the way for the share which he proposed to take in determining the fate of that important region, he resolved to obtain possession of the territory which separated Mysore from the confines of the Carnatic, and which consisted first of the territory of Anicul, situated on the eastern verge of the tract of woody hills, between Savendy Droog and the Cavery, and next of the Baramahal, a province situated on the intermediate level between the first and second ranges of hills. Immediately after the termination of the stratagem against Nunjeraj, a part of the troops, with a confidential general, were detached to occupy this intermediate territory, which opened a safe communication into the very centre of the province of Arcot. Anicul and Baramahal were



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secured; and the General proceeded to Pondicherry, under orders from Hyder, to settle the terms of co-operation with the French. These were speedily adjusted; and, on the 4th of June, 1760, a detachment of the Mysorean army arrived at Thiagar, which was surrendered to them by the treaty. The defeat which was sustained by a detachment of the English army, sent to intercept the Mysoreans on their march to Pondicherry, greatly elevated the spirits of Hyder; and inspired him with a resolution to exert his strength in the war of the Carnatic. Several divisions of his troops were ordered to assemble in Baramahal, and the affairs of the Carnatic might have undergone a revolution, had not a storm arisen in another quarter which it required all the address and power of Hyder to elude.

The distant employment of the troops of Hyder, and his own position, with a small detachment, under command of the guns of the palace, and surrounded by the river, which, being now full, it was impossible to pass, suggested to the queen-mother the possibility of cutting him off, and delivering her son from the thralldom in which it was the evident intention of Hyder to retain him. The assistance was secured of a Mahratta chief, who was at the head of an army in a neighbouring territory; and a cannonade began. Hyder soon discovered that his situation was desperate: but the main attack being deferred till the arrival of the Mahrattas, night came on, when Hyder, with the assistance of a few boats, crossed the river unperceived, with a small body of horse, leaving his family behind him; and having travelled ninety-eight miles in twenty hours, the first seventy-

five on the same horse, he arrived at Bangalore. He was just in time to precede the orders of the Raja, by which the gates of the fort would have been shut against him; and he now hastened to collect his forces, of which those serving with Lally constituted a principal part.

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The fortunes of Hyder tottered on the verge of a precipice. The troops, which were hastening towards him from the Carnatic and Baramahal, were intercepted by the Mahrattas, who had joined the Raja; and besieged in their camp. The utmost efforts of Hyder were ineffectual to relieve them; and his power was ready to drop from his hands; when the Mahrattas agreed to march off, upon receiving the cession of Baramahal, and the payment of three lacks of rupees. They had engaged their services to Lally, now besieged in Pondicherry; but had afterwards accepted the promise of a large sum from the English Nabob, on condition of returning immediately to Poonah. It was in consequence of this stipulation, so fortunate for Hyder, that they accepted his additional bribe; and the man, who was destined to bring the English interests to the brink of ruin, was saved by a stroke of English politics.

Hyder took the field against the forces of the Raja, but still perceiving himself to be inferior to his enemies, he took a resolution, which it required Oriental hypocrisy and impudence to form, and of which nothing less than Oriental credulity could have been the dupe. Unexpected, unarmed, and alone, he presented himself as a suppliant at the door of Nunjeraj, and, being admitted, prostrated himself at his feet. He acknowledged, in terms of bitter anguish,

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the wrongs of which he was guilty toward the first and greatest of his friends; vowed to devote his future life to their reparation; and entreated a firm and sincere union, that he might establish Nunjeraj in the station of honour and power in which he had formerly beheld him. It requires a high degree of improbability to prevent the greater part of mankind from believing what they vehemently wish. Nunjeraj was gained; and lent his troops, his exertions, his name, and his influence, to give ascendancy to the cause of Hyder. Fraud was an operative instrument in the hands of this aspiring general. Finding himself intercepted with a small detachment which had accompanied him on his sudden journey to the retreat of Nunjeraj, and his junction with the main body of his army which he had left to hang during his absence upon the rear of the enemy, rendered difficult, and his situation dangerous, he forged letters, in the name of Nunjeraj, to the principal commanders in the hostile army, letters purporting to be the result of a conspiracy into which these commanders had already entered to betray their General to Nunjeraj. The bearer was seized of course; and the letters delivered into the hands of the General, who fulfilled the fondest wishes of Hyder, by taking the panic, and running away from the army. During its confusion it was assailed by the main body of Hyder's forces in the rear, by the detachment with himself in front; and yielded an easy and decisive victory. The triumph of Hyder was now secured. He delayed, only till he augmented his army, and took possession of the lower country; when he ascended the Ghauts, and early in the month of May, 1761, arrived at the

capital. He sent to the Raja a message; "That large sums were due to Hyder by the State, and ought to be liquidated: After the payment of these arrears, if the Raja should be pleased to continue him in his service, it was well; if not, Hyder would depart, and seek his fortune elsewhere." The meaning of this humble communication no one misunderstood. It was arranged, that districts should be reserved to the amount of three lacks of rupees for the personal expenses of the Raja, and one lack for those of Nunjeraj; and that of the remainder of the whole country the management should be taken by Hyder, with the charge of providing for the expenses, civil and military, of the government. From this period Hyder was undisputed master of the kingdom of Mysore.

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Hyder was fortunately cast at one of those recurring periods in the history of Oriental nations; when, the springs of the ancient governments being worn out, and political dissolution impending, a proper union of audacity and intrigue has usually elevated some adventurer to the throne. The degraded situation of the Raja, and the feeble and unskilful administration of the two brothers, opened an avenue to power, of which Hyder was well qualified to avail himself: The debilitated and distracted government of the Subahdar of the Deccan; the dreadful blow which the Mahrattas had just received at the battle of Paniput; and the fierce and exhaustive contentions which the rival strangers in the Carnatic were waging against one another, left all around a wide expanse, in which, without much resistance, he might expect to reap an opulent harvest: And had



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it not happened, by a singular train of circumstances, that he was opposed by the arms of a people, whose progress in knowledge and in the arts was far superior to his own, he, and his son, would probably have extended their sway over the greater part of India.

In prosecution of the design which Bassalut Jung had formed to render himself independent of Nizam Ali, he proceeded, about the month of June in 1761, to the reduction of Sera. This was a province, formerly governed by a Nabob, or deputy, of the Subahdar of the Deccan. It was now possessed by the Mahrattas. But the shock which the Mahratta power had sustained by the disaster of Paniput, inspired Bassalut Jung with the hope of making a conquest of Sera. By his approach to the territories of Hyder, that vigilant chief was quickly brought near to watch his operations. Bassalut Jung was, by a short experience, convinced that his resources were unequal to his enterprise; and as his elder brother was imprisoned by Nizam Ali, on the 18th of July, his presence at the seat of his own government was urgently required. That the expedition might not appear to have been undertaken in vain, he made an offer to Hyder of the Nabobship of Sera, though yet unconquered, for three lacks of rupees; and formally invested him with the office and title, under the name of Hyder Ali Khan Behauder, which he afterwards bore. The allied chiefs united their armies, and, having speedily reduced the country to the obedience of Hyder, took leave of each other about the beginning of the year 1762.

Hyder continued to extend his conquests over the

two Balipoors; over Gooti, the territory of the Mah-ratta chieftain Morari Row; received the submission of the Polygars of Raidroog, Harponelly, and Chittledroog; and early in 1763 he marched under the invitation of an impostor, who pretended to be the young Raja of Bednore, to the conquest of that kingdom. The territory of Bednore includes the summit of that part of the range of western hills, which, at a height of from four to five thousand feet above the level of the sea, and for nine months of the year involved in rain and moisture, which clothe them with the most enormous trees, and the most profuse vegetation, overlook the provinces of Canara and Malabar. The capital and fort of Bednore situated in a basin surrounded by hills, extended its sway over the maritime region of Canara, and on the eastern side of the mountains, as far as Santa Bednore and Hoolalkera, within twenty miles of Chittledroog. This country had suffered little from the calamities of recent war, and the riches of the capital, which was eight miles in circumference, are represented as having been immense. Hyder made the conquest with great ease, and confessed that the treasure which he acquired in Bednore was the grand instrument of his future greatness.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Col. Wilks thinks he estimates the amount of it very low at 12,000,000*l.* sterling. More likely it was not a third of the sum. "The immense property," he calls it, "of the most opulent commercial town of the East, and full of rich dwellings." The sound judgment of Col. Wilks generally preserves him, much better than Oriental gentlemen in general, from the strain of Eastern hyperbole. The richest commercial town of the East, neither a sea-port, nor on any great line of communication, in a situation almost inaccessible, on the top of unwholesome mountains! Besides, there is little opulence in any house in India, or in any shop. The chief article of splendour is jewels, which almost always are carried away, or hid, upon the appearance of danger.

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Hyder devoted his mind with great intensity to the establishment of a vigorous and efficient administration in this country; which opened to him a new scene of conquest. He took possession of Soonda, a district on the northern frontier of Bednore: He reduced to submission and dependance the Nabob of Savanoor, a territory which formed a deep indentation between his recent acquisitions of Sera and Soonda: And he rapidly extended his northern frontier across the rivers Werda, Malpurba, and Gutpurba, almost to the banks of the Kistna.

This daring progress, however, again brought the Mahrattas upon his hands. Since the battle of Paniput, they had, in this quarter of India, been pushed with some vigour by Nizam Ali, the new Subahdar, who, at the commencement of his reign, gave some signs of military ardour and talent. He had constrained them to restore the celebrated fortress of Dowlatabad, in 1762; and, in 1763, carried his arms to Poona, the capital; which he reduced to ashes. The accommodation which succeeded this event, and the occupation which the Nizam was now receiving by the war for the reduction of his brother Bassalut Jung, seemed to present an opportunity to the Mahrattas of chastising the encroachments of a neighbour, whom as yet they despised. Madoo Row, who, third in order of time, had, under the title of Peshwa, or Prime Minister, succeeded to the supreme authority among the Mahratta states, crossed the Kistna in May, 1764, with an army which greatly outnumbered that which Hyder was able to bring into the field.<sup>1</sup> He sus-

<sup>1</sup> Col. Wilks makes, on this occasion, a judicious remark, the spirit of

tained a tedious, unequal conflict, which greatly reduced and disheartened his army, till 1765; when the Mahrattas agreed to retire, upon condition that he should restore the districts wrested from Morari Row, relinquish all claims upon the territory of Savanoor, and pay thirty-two lacks of rupees.

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He hastened to give order to his recent conquests in the east, which the late interruption of his prosperity had animated into rebellion. As his forts and garrisons had remained firm, these disturbances were speedily reduced, and he immediately turned his eye to new acquisitions. Having employed the greater part of the year 1765 in regulating the affairs of his government, and repairing his losses, he descended into Canara in the beginning of 1766, with the declared intention of making the conquest of Malabar. After an irregular war of some duration with the Nairs, the whole country submitted; and a few subsequent struggles only afforded an opportunity for cutting off the most refractory subjects, and establishing a more complete subjection. He had accomplished this important enterprise before the end of the year 1766, when he was

which should have saved him from the pecuniary exaggerations mentioned above. "I have found it proper," he says, "to distrust my manuscripts in statements of numbers more than in any other case. In no country, and in no circumstance, is it safe to trust to any statement of numbers that is not derived from actual returns. Even Sir Eyre Coote, whose keen and experienced eye might be considered as a safe guide, and whose pure mind never harboured a thought of exaggeration, states the force of Hyder, in the battle of Porto Novo, 1st of July, 1781, to have been from 140,000 to 150,000 horse and irregular infantry, besides twenty-five battalions of regulars; when it is certain that the whole did not exceed 80,000." Hist. Sketches, p. 461.



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recalled to Seringapatam, by intelligence of the utmost importance. Madoo Row had issued from Poona; Nizam Ali, with an English corps, was advancing from Hyderabad; the English had already sent to attack some of his districts which interfered with the Carnatic; and all these powers were joined, according to report, in one grand confederacy for the conquest of Mysore. Nizam Ali, however, and the English, were the only enemies whom it was immediately necessary to oppose; and the Nizam, as we have already seen, he easily converted into an ally. In this state of his kingdom and fortunes, he began his first war with the English, in 1767.<sup>1</sup>

He was exasperated, not only by the readiness with which, in the late treaty with the Nizam, the English had agreed to join in hostilities against him, but by an actual invasion of his dominions. Under the pretence that it formerly belonged to the Carnatic, but chiefly induced, we may suppose, by the consideration of the passage which it afforded an enemy into the heart of that country, the English had sent a Major, with some Europeans and two battalions of Sepoys, into Baramahl, who, unhappily, were just strong enough to overrun the open territory, and enrage its master; but were unable to make any impression upon the strong forts, much less to secure possession of the country.

It was by means of Maphuz Khan, the brother of the English Nabob, who had acted as an enemy of the English from the period of his recall as renter of Madura and Tinivelly, that Hyder effected his alliance

<sup>1</sup> For the Life of Hyder, the Researches of Col. Wilks, p. 240—278, are the best source of intelligence.

with the Nizam. The English corps, under Colonel Smith, which had followed the Nizam into Hyder's dominions, had separated from his army, upon intimation of the design which that faithless usurper was supposed to entertain. The Nabob Mohammed Ali, who had early intelligence of the views of the Nizam, urged the Presidency to attack his camp before the junction of the Mysorean. The advice, however, was neglected, and in the month of September, Colonel Smith was attacked on his march, near Changama, by the united forces of the new allies. He sustained the attack, which, for the space of an hour<sup>1</sup> was vigorously maintained; and for that time repelled the enemy. He found himself, however, under the necessity of flight; and marching thirty-six hours, without refreshment, he arrived at Trinomalee. He here enclosed himself within the walls of the fort, from which he soon beheld the surrounding country covered by the troops of the enemy, and desolated with fire and sword.

He remained not long an idle spectator, though his weakness compelled him to act with caution. He encamped for a few days under the walls of Trinomalee, and afterwards near a place called Calishy-Wâcum, about ten miles further to the north. While the army lay in this situation, Hyder planned an expedition, from which important consequences might have ensued. He detached into the Carnatic 5000 horse, who marched without opposition to the very

<sup>1</sup> The action commenced at two, and continued till dark. With regard to the subsequent retreat Colonel Wilks states, that the men had been twenty-seven hours without refreshment or repose when they arrived at Trinomalee on the 4th.—W.

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precincts of Madras. The place was completely taken by surprise. The President and Council were at their garden houses, without the town; and had not the Mysoreans been more eager to plunder, than to improve the advantages which their unexpected arrival had procured, the seizure of the English chiefs might have enabled them to dictate the terms of peace.

Before the rains compelled the English army to retire into cantonments at Wandewash, Colonel Smith attacked the enemy, with some advantage,<sup>1</sup> before Trinomalee. In the mean time Nizam Ali, whose resources could ill endure a protracted contest, or the disordered state of his government a tedious absence, grew heartily sick of the war; and during the period of inactivity signified to the English his desire of negotiation. As a security against deception Colonel Smith insisted that he should first separate his troops from those of Hyder. But in the mean time the period of operations returned; and the English commander, now respectably reinforced, marched towards the enemy, who in the month of December had taken the field on the further side of Velore. The two armies met, and came to action, between Amboor and Wanumbaddy, when Hyder and his ally were defeated, and fled to Caverypatnam. This disaster quickened the decision of the Nizam, who now lost not any time in separating his troops from the Mysoreans; and commencing his negotiation

<sup>1</sup> "With some advantage" means the entire defeat of the Allies, with a loss of above 4000 men, 64 guns, and a large quantity of military stores. The Nizam immediately after the battle, withdrew from the scene of action, and Hyder fell back within his own frontier. Wilks ii. 41.—W.

with the English. A treaty was concluded between the Subahdar, the Nadob, and the English, in February 1768; by which the titles of the Nabob, and the grants which he had received were confirmed; the former conditions respecting the Northern Circars were renewed; the dewanee, or revenues, in other words the government of the Carnatic Balagaut, a country possessed by Hyder, was in name consigned to the English, subject to a payment of seven lacks per annum to the Nizam, and the tribute or chout to the Mahrattas; the English agreed to assist the Nizam with two battalions of Sepoys, and six pieces of cannon, as often as required; and the tribute due to the Nizam for the Circars was reduced from nine lacks perpetual, to seven lacks per annum, for the space of six years.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Collection of Treaties (printed 1812), p. 364, 372. The Presidency held up to the Directors the necessity of supporting the Nizam, as a barrier against the Mahrattas—a policy of which the Directors entirely disapproved. Bengal Letter, 16th March, 1768; Fifth Report, Secret Committee, 1781, Appendix No. 6. See too a letter, 13th May, 1768, Rous's Appendix, p. 517, in which the connexion with the Nizam is strongly reprobated. "It is not," they say, "for the Company to take the part of umpires of Indostan. If it had not been for the imprudent measures you have taken, the country powers would have formed a balance of power among themselves. We wish to see the Indian Princes remain as a check upon one another, without our interfering."—They declare expressly, "With respect to the Nizam and Hyder Ali, it is our interest that neither of them should be totally crushed." To the same purpose, see *Ib.* p. 529. In another letter, dated 17th March, 1769, after telling the Madras Presidency, that they had paid no regard to the above injunctions, and to the whole tenor, which was to the same effect, of all the instructions of their employers, they say, "It is with the utmost anxiety and displeasure that we see the tenth article of the treaty with the Subah, by which he cedes to the Company the Dewanee of the Carnatic Balaghaut; a measure so totally repugnant to our most positive and repeated orders, not to extend our possessions beyond the Carnatic. . . . Our displeasure hereat is aggravated, by the disingenuous manner in which these affairs are represented to us in your advices." They ex-



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The victory gained over the united forces of the allies, and their final separation by treaty, elevated the Madras government to a high tone of ambition. They resolved not only to carry their arms into Mysore, but to make the conquest and acquisition of the country. They pressed Mohammed Ali to join the army, that the war might as far as possible appear to be his. "They pompously" (as the Directors afterwards reproached them) "appointed him Phousdar of Mysore," and afterwards accused him, for accepting that very title, "of an insatiable desire of extending his dominions."<sup>1</sup> To bring the conduct of the war still more under the control of the Presidency, they sent to the army two members of council, as field deputies, without whose concurrence no operations should be carried on. These members compelled the commander of the troops to renounce his own scheme of operations, that he might act offensively against Mysore. The English army, however, too feeble for the enterprise, acted without energy; and the summer of 1768 passed in unavailing movements and diminutive attempts. Hyder, the newness of whose government could not long dispense with his presence, was well inclined to postpone his struggle with the

press a strong opinion on the passion of their servants for interfering extensively with the native powers. "We cannot take a view of your conduct, from the commencement of your negotiation for the Circars, without the strongest disapprobation; and when we see the opulent fortunes, suddenly acquired by our servants, who are returned since that period, it gives but too much weight to the public opinion, that the rage for negotiations, treaties, and alliances, *has private advantage for its object more than the public good.*" Ibid. p. 520, 521.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Directors to Governor and Council of Madras, 17th March, 1769.

English, and made in September an overture towards peace. It was received, however, with great haughtiness by the Presidency, whose persuasion of the weakness of their enemy, and hopes of a speedy conquest of his realm, it only tended to increase and inflame. In the mean time Hyder was by no means inattentive to the war. He took the considerable fort of Mulwaggle; and gained some advantages over Colonel Wood, who attempted in vain to recover the place. The Presidency, dissatisfied with the progress of the war, under Colonel Smith, who was highly exasperated by the control of the field deputies, recalled that respectable officer; and Mohammed Ali, whom they had in some measure forced to join the army, but who was now unwilling to leave it, they commanded, under pain of deprivation, to return. The army became weak and despondent, through sickness and desertion. Hyder displayed increasing vigour. He attacked Colonel Wood, who was unable to save his baggage. Before the end of the year he had recovered all the conquered districts; and in January, 1769, carried his usual ravages into the Carnatic. He penetrated into the district of Trichinopoly; and detached one of his Generals into the provinces of Madura and Tinivelly, which he plundered and laid waste. The English army were unprovided with horse, and could neither overtake the march of Hyder, nor interrupt his devastations. No part of the southern division of the Carnatic escaped his destructive ravages, except the dominions of the Raja of Tanjore, who saved himself by a timely accommodation, and whose alliance Hyder was solicitous to

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gain. Colonel Smith was again placed at the head of the English forces, and by judicious movements straitened the operations of Hyder. He even interposed with dexterity a detachment between Hyder and his own country, which was of the less importance, however, to that warrior, as he drew his resources from the country in which he fought.

Hyder now meditated a stroke, which he executed with great felicity and address. Sending all his heavy baggage and collected plunder home from Pondicherry, which during this incursion he had twice visited to confer with the French, he drew the English army, by a series of artful movements, to a considerable distance from Madras, when, putting himself at the head of 6000 cavalry, and performing a march of 120 miles in a space of three days, he appeared suddenly on the mount of San Thomé, in the immediate vicinity of the English capital. From this he dispatched a message to the Governor, requiring that a negotiation for peace should immediately be opened; and that in the mean time the approach of the army in the field should be forbidden. The Presidency were struck with consternation. The fort might undoubtedly have held out till the arrival of Smith; but the open town, with its riches, the adjacent country, and the garden houses of the President and Council, would have been ravaged and destroyed. The Presidency were now seriously inclined to peace; and notwithstanding the unfavourableness of their situation, they agreed to negotiate upon Hyder's terms. A treaty was concluded on the 4th of April, 1769, consisting of two grand conditions; first, a mutual

restitution of conquests, including the cession to Hyder of a small district, which had formerly been cut off from the Mysorean dominions; and secondly, mutual aid, and alliance in defensive wars.

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The disasters of the war in the Carnatic, with the disorders which pervaded the government of Bengal, excited the most violent apprehensions in the Company; and reduced sixty per cent. the price of East India Stock. The treaty with Hyder was the bed on which the resentments of the Directors sought to repose. It is very observable, however, that their letters on this subject abound much more with terms of vague and general reproach, than with any clear designation of mischief to which the conditions of the treaty were calculated to give birth. They accuse the Presidency of irresolution, and incapacity; and tell them that by the feebleness with which they had carried on the war, and the pusillanimity with which they had made peace at the dictation of an enemy, "they had laid a foundation for the natives of Hindustan to think they may insult the Company at pleasure with impunity." Yet they pretended not, that a mutual renunciation of conquests was not better than a continuation of the war; or that the vain boast of driving Hyder's light cavalry from the walls of Madras would not have been dearly purchased with the ravage of the city of Madras, and the surrounding country. The Presidency affirm that they "were compelled to make peace for want of money to wage war."<sup>1</sup> And the only imprudent article of the treaty, in which, however, there was

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Court of Directors, 23rd March, 1770; Rous's App. p. 1415.



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nothing of humiliation or inconsistency with the train of the Company's policy, was the reciprocation of military assistance; because of this the evident tendency (a circumstance however which seemed not ever to be greatly deprecated,) was, to embroil them with other powers.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER IX.

*Public opinion in England, Proceedings in the India House, and in Parliament.—Plan of Supervisors.—Plan of a King's Commissioner.—Increase of pecuniary Difficulties.—Dividend raised.—Company unable to meet their Obligations.—Parliamentary Inquiry.—Ministerial Relief.—An Act, which changes the Constitution of the Company.—Tendency of the Change.—Financial and Commercial State.*

THE affairs of the Company excited various and conflicting passions in England; and gave rise to measures of more than ordinary importance. The

<sup>1</sup> For these transactions, besides the printed official documents, the well-informed, but not impartial author, of the History and Management of the East India Company, has been, with caution, followed, together with Robson's Life of Hyder Ali, corrected from authentic MSS. by Mr. Grant.—M. A more authentic and accurate account is to be found in Colonel Wilks's Historical Sketches of the South of India.—W.

act of parliament having expired which limited the amount of dividend in 1767, the Directors exclaimed against a renewal of the restriction, as transferring the powers of the Company to parliament, subverting the privileges of their charter, and rendering insecure the property of every commercial and corporate body in the kingdom. They even presented to parliament a petition, in which these arguments were vehemently enforced ; and so well by this time were they represented in that assembly, that a sufficiency of orators was not wanting, who in both Houses supported their claims. Opposite views, notwithstanding, prevailed; and an act was passed to prevent the increase of the dividend beyond ten per cent. till the 1st day of February, 1769.

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Before the expiration of this term, the Company, who were anxious to evade the question respecting the public claim to the sovereignty of the Indian territory, very assiduously negotiated with the minister a temporary arrangement. After a great deal of conference and correspondence, an act was passed, in April, 1769, to the following effect : That the territorial revenues in India should be held by the Company for five years to come ; that in consideration of this benefit they should pay into the exchequer 400,000*l.* every year ; that if the revenues allowed, they might increase the dividend, by augmentations not exceeding one per cent. in one year, to twelve and a half per cent. ; that if, on the other hand, the dividend should fall below ten per cent., the payment into the exchequer should obtain a proportional reduction, and entirely cease if the dividend should decline to six per cent. ; that the Company should,

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during each year of the term, export British merchandise, exclusive of naval and military stores, to the amount of 380,837*l.*; and that when they should have paid their simple contract debts bearing interest, and reduced their bonded debt to an equality with their loans to government, they should add to these loans the surplus of their receipts at an interest of two per cent.<sup>1</sup> This agreement between the public and the Company, was made, it is obvious, upon the same supposition, that of a great surplus revenue, upon which succeeding agreements have been made, and with the same result.

In the mean time, the grievous failure in the annual treasures, which they had been so confidently promised; and which, with all the credulity of violent wishes, they had so fondly and confidently promised themselves; excited, both in the Company, and in the nation, the most vehement complaints against the managers in India, to whose misconduct was ascribed the disappointment of hopes which no conduct could have realized.<sup>2</sup> A grand investigation and reform were decreed. And for the performance, after great consultation, it was resolved; that three persons should be chosen, whose acquaintance with Indian affairs, and whose character for talents, diligence, and probity, should afford the best security for the right discharge of so important a

<sup>1</sup> Act 9, Geo. III. c. 24.

<sup>2</sup> The manner in which Clive, to enhance the merit of his own services, had puffed the importance of the Indian territory, and inflamed the hopes of treasure which it was to produce, misled the Company. The perpetually recurring interests of their servants to delude them with these hopes, and their perpetual readiness to believe flattering accounts, has been a perennial fountain of misgovernment.

trust: and that they should be sent out, in the name and with the character of Supervisors, and with powers adapted to the exigence of the case. Mr. Vansittart, the late Governor of Bengal, Mr. Scrafton, and Colonel Ford, were recommended as the three commissioners; and it was proposed to invest them with almost all the powers which the Company themselves, if present in India, would possess; a power of superseding the operations and suspending the authority of the Presidents and Councils, of investigating every department of the service, and establishing such regulations as the interests of the Company might seem to require. The scheme was indeed opposed with great vehemence, by all those who favoured the persons now invested with the governing powers in India; by all those who had any pique against the individuals proposed; and by all those who disliked the accumulation of exorbitant authority in a small number of hands. But though they formed no inconsiderable party, the disappointment of the golden dreams of the Proprietors prevailed in the General Court; and supervisors with extraordinary powers, it was resolved, were the very remedy which the maladies of the Indian government required.

But the pretensions of the ministry again interfered. Not only was the legality disputed of the commission by which the supervisors were appointed; but a share was claimed in the government of India, which the Directors regarded with alarm and abhorrence. As an accession to their power and influence in India, which they imagined would be of the utmost importance, they had applied to

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government for two ships of the line, and some frigates. No aversion to this proposition was betrayed by the ministry; but when the Company were elated with the hopes which a compliance was calculated to inspire, they were suddenly informed that the naval officer whom the Crown should appoint to command in India, must be vested with full powers to adjust all maritime affairs; to transact with the native princes; and, in short, to act the principal part in the offensive and defensive policy of the country. The Directors represented this proposal as affecting the honour, and the very existence of the Company. The General Court was adjourned from time to time to afford sufficient space for the consideration of so important a subject; and the Proprietors were entreated to consider the present moment as the very crisis of their fate; and to devote to the question a proportional share of their attention. To vest the officers of the Crown in India with powers independent of the Company, was in reality, they said, to extrude the Company from the government; to lay the foundation of endless contests between the servants of the King and those of the Company; and to prepare the ruin of the national interests in that part of the world; If the Company were incapable of maintaining their territorial acquisitions, to surrender them to the powers of the country, upon terms advantageous to their commerce, was better, it was averred, than to lie at the mercy of a minister: And the fatal effects of the interference of the servants of the Crown in the affairs of a Company, formed for upholding a beneficial intercourse with India, were

illustrated by contrasting the ruin of the French East India Company, the affairs of which the ministers of the French King had so officiously controlled, with the prosperity of the Dutch East India Company, the affairs of which had been left entirely to themselves. The grand argument, on the other side, was furnished by Clive and the Directors themselves; who had used so many and such emphatical terms to impress a belief that the unprosperous state of their government was wholly produced by the rapacity and misconduct of those who conducted it in India. In the first place, the authority of a King's officer was held up as an indispensable security against the vices of the Company's servants; and in the next place the dignity of the master whom he served was represented as necessary to give majesty to the negotiations which a company of merchants might be required to conduct with the potentates of India.<sup>1</sup> After long and

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<sup>1</sup> These debates are reported in various periodical publications of the time. A good abstract of them is presented in the Annual Register for 1769. A variety of pamphlets was produced by the dispute; of those which have come under the author's inspection, the following are the titles of the more remarkable; "An Address to the Proprietors of India Stock, showing, from the political State of Indostan, the Necessity of sending Commissioners to regulate and direct their Affairs abroad; and likewise the Expediency of joining a Servant of Government in the Commission. Printed for S. Bladon in Paternoster Row, 1769;" "A Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock, containing a brief Relation of the Negotiations with Government, from the Year 1767 to the present Time, respecting the Company's Acquisitions in India, together with some Considerations on the principal Plans for Adjusting the Matters in dispute, which have been discussed in the General Court of Proprietors. Printed for B. White, at Horace's Head, in Fleet Street, 1769;" "A Letter to the Proprietors of India Stock, containing a Reply to some Insinuations in AN OLD PROPRIETOR'S LETTER TO THE PROPRIETORS on the 13th Inst. relative to the Ballot of that Day. Printed for W. Nicholl, No. 51, St. Paul's Church Yard, 1769;" "A Letter to the Proprietors of E. I. Stock,

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acrimonious debates, the powers demanded for an officer of the Crown were condemned in a Court of Proprietors; and the ministers were not disposed to enforce, by any violent procedure, the acceptance of their terms. The Company would agree to sanction the interference of the officer commanding the ships of the King only within the Gulf of Persia, where they were embroiled with some of the neighbouring chiefs; the demand of two ships of the line for the Bay of Bengal was suspended; and the legal objection to the commission of the supervisors was withdrawn. In this manner, at the present conjuncture, was the dispute between the Government and the Company compromised. Two frigates, beside the squadron for the Gulf of Persia, were ordered upon Indian service. In one of them the supervisors took their passage. Their fate was remarkable. The vessel which carried them never reached her port; nor was any intelligence of her or her passengers ever received.

Mr. Cartier assumed the government of Bengal at the beginning of the year 1770.

The first year of his administration was distinguished by one of those dreadful famines which so often afflict the provinces of India; a calamity by which more than a third of the inhabitants of Bengal were computed to have been destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

On the 10th of March, 1770, the Nabob Syef ad

by Governor Johnstone. Printed for W. Nicholl, 1769;" "A Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock, relative to some Propositions intended to be moved at the next General Court, on Wednesday the 12th of July." Printed as above, 1769.

<sup>1</sup> Letter of the Governor and Council to the Directors, 3rd Nov. 1772.

Dowla died of the small-pox; and his brother Mubarek ad Dowla, a minor, was appointed to occupy his station. The President and Council made with him the same arrangements, and afforded the same allowance for the support of his family and dignity, as had been established in the time of his predecessor. But this agreement was condemned in very unceremonious terms by the Directors. "When we advert," say they, "to the encomiums you have passed on your own abilities and prudence, and on your attention to the Company's interest (in the expostulations you have thought proper to make on our appointment of commissioners to superintend our general affairs in India), we cannot but observe with astonishment, that an event of so much importance as the death of the Nabob Syef al Dowla, and the establishment of a successor in so great a degree of non-age, should not have been attended with those advantages for the Company, which such a circumstance offered to your view.—Convinced, as we are, that an allowance of sixteen lacks per annum will be sufficient for the support of the Nabob's state and rank, while a minor, we must consider every addition thereto as so much to be wasted on a herd of parasites and sycophants, who will continually surround him; or at least be hoarded up, a consequence still more pernicious to the Company. You are therefore, during the non-age of the Nabob, to reduce his annual stipend to sixteen lacks of rupees."<sup>1</sup>

By the last regulations of the Directors, the inland

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<sup>1</sup> General Letter to Bengal, 10th April, 1771.



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trade in salt, beetel-nut, and tobacco, was reserved to the natives, and Europeans were excluded from it.

1771. By a letter of theirs, however, dated the 23d of March, 1770, it was commanded to be laid open to all persons, Europeans as well as natives, but without any privileges to their countrymen or servants beyond what were enjoyed by natives and other subjects. These regulations were promulgated on the 12th of December.

In the mean time financial difficulties were every day becoming more heavy and oppressive. On the 1st of January, 1771, when the President and Council at Fort William had received into their treasury 95,43,855 current rupees, for which they had granted bills on the Court of Directors, the cash remaining in it was only 35,42,761 rupees. At the same period the amount of bond debts in Bengal was 612,628*l*. And at the beginning of the following year it had swelled to 1,039,478*l*.

Notwithstanding the intelligence which the Directors had received of the inadequacy of their revenues, and the accumulation of their debts in all parts of India; and notwithstanding their knowledge of the great amount of bills drawn upon them, for which they were altogether unable to provide, they signaled their rapacity on the 26th of September, 1770, by coming to a resolution for recommending it to the General Court, to avail themselves of the permission accorded in the late act, by making a dividend at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum. The approbation of the General Court was unanimous. On the 14th of March and 25th of September, 1771, it was resolved, by the Court of Directors, to recommend

to the General Court an augmentation of the dividend to six and a quarter per cent. for the six months respectively ensuing : approved in the General Court, by ninety-four voices against five in the first instance, and 374 against thirty in the second. On the 17th of March, 1772, the Directors again resolved to recommend a dividend of six and a quarter per cent. for the current half year, which the Court of Proprietors in a similar manner confirmed.

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These desperate proceedings hurried the affairs of the Company to a crisis. On the 8th of July, on an estimate of cash for the next three months, that is, of the payments falling due, and the cash and receipts which were applicable to meet them, there appeared a deficiency of no less than 1,293,000*l*. On the 15th of July the Directors were reduced to the necessity of applying to the Bank for a loan of 400,000*l*. On the 29th of July they applied to it for an additional loan of 300,000*l*. of which the Bank was prevailed upon to advance only 200,000*l*. And on the 10th of August the Chairman and Deputy waited upon the Minister to represent to him the deplorable state of the Company, and the necessity of being supported by a loan of at least one million from the public.<sup>1</sup>

The glorious promises which had been so confidently made of unbounded riches from India, their total failure, the violent imputations of corrupt and erroneous conduct which the Directors and the agents of their government mutually cast upon one another, had, previous to this disclosure, raised a great fer-

<sup>1</sup> For the details and documents relative to this curious part of the history of the Company, see the Eighth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.

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ment in the nation, the most violent suspicions of extreme misconduct on the part of the Company and their servants, and a desire for some effectual interference on the part of the legislature. In the King's speech, on the 21st of January, at the opening of the preceding session, it had been intimated that one branch of the national concerns which, "as well from remoteness of place, as from other circumstances, was peculiarly liable to abuses, and exposed to danger, might stand in need of the interposition of the legislature, and require new laws either for supplying defects or remedying disorders." On the 30th of March a motion was made by the Deputy Chairman for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the Company's servants, and for improving the administration of justice in India. The grand evil of which the Directors complained was the want of powers to inflict upon their servants adequate punishment either for disobedience of orders, or any other species of misconduct. The Charter of Justice, granted in 1753, empowered the Mayor's Court of Calcutta, which it converted into a Court of Record, to try all civil suits arising between Europeans, within the town or factory of Calcutta, or the factories dependent upon it: it also constituted the President and Council a Court of Record, to receive and determine appeals from the Mayors; it further erected them into Justices of the Peace, with power to hold quarter sessions; and into Commissioners of oyer and terminer, and general gaol-delivery, for the trying and punishing of all offences, high treason excepted, committed within the limits of Calcutta and its dependent factories. This extent of jurisdic-

tion, measured by the sphere of the Company's possessions at the time when it was assigned, deprived them of all powers of juridical coercion with regard to Europeans over the wide extent of territory of which they now acted as the sovereigns. They possessed, indeed, the power of suing or prosecuting Englishmen in the Courts at Westminster; but under the necessity of bringing evidence from India, this was a privilege more nominal than real.

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One object, therefore, of the present bill was to obtain authority for sending a chief justice with some puisne judges, and an attorney-general, according to the model of the Courts of England, for the administration of justice throughout the territory of the Company.

The next object was, the regulation of the trade. The author of the motion, the Deputy Chairman of the Company, represented it as a solecism in politics, and monstrous in reason, "that the governors of any country should be merchants; and thus have a great temptation to become the only merchants, especially in those articles which were of most extensive and necessary consumption, and on which, with the powers of government, unlimited profits might be made." It was, therefore, proposed that the Governors and Councils, and the rest of the Company's servants, should be debarred from all concern in trade. But it neither occurred to the Deputy Chairman, nor was it pressed upon his notice by any other member of the legislative body, that the argument against the union of trade and government was equally conclusive, applied to the Company, as applied to their servants; to those who held the powers of govern-



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ment in the first instance, as to those who held them by delegation and at will.

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It was in the debate upon this motion that Lord Clive made the celebrated speech, in which he vindicated his own conduct, against the charges to which, as well from authority as from individuals, it had been severely exposed. He spared not the character either of his fellow-servants, or of the Directors. "I attribute the present situation of our affairs," he said, "to four causes; a relaxation of government in my successors; great neglect on the part of administration; notorious misconduct on the part of the Directors; and the violent and outrageous proceedings of general courts." To hear his account, no one would believe that any creature who had ever had any thing to do with the government had ever behaved well but himself. It was much easier for him, however, to prove that his conduct was liable to no peculiar blame, than that it was entitled to extraordinary applause. With great audacity, both military and political, fortunately adapted to the scene in which he acted, and with considerable skill in the adaptation of temporary expedients to temporary exigencies, he had no capacity for a comprehensive scheme, including any moderate anticipation of the future; and it was the effects of his shortsighted regulations, and of the unfounded and extravagant hopes he had raised, with which the Company were now struggling on the verge of ruin, and on account of which the conduct both of them and of their servants was exposed to far more than its due share of obloquy and condemnation.

The suspicions of the nation were now sufficiently

roused to produce a general demand for investigation; and on the 13th of April a motion was made and carried in the House of Commons for a Select Committee to gratify the public desire. The bill which had been introduced by the Deputy Chairman was thrown out on the second reading, to afford time for the operations of the Committee, and parliament was prorogued on the 10th of June.

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During the recess, took place the extraordinary disclosure of the deficiency of the Company's funds, their solicitation of loans from the Bank, and their application for support to the Minister. He received their proposals with coldness; and referred them to parliament. That assembly was convened on the 26th of November, much earlier, as the King from the throne informed them, than had been otherwise intended, to afford them an opportunity of taking cognizance of the present condition of the East India Company. The Minister had already come to the resolution of acceding to the request of the Directors; it therefore suited his purpose to affirm that how great soever the existing embarrassment, it was only temporary; and a Committee of Secrecy was appointed, as the most effectual and expeditious method for gaining that knowledge of the subject from which it was proper that the measures of parliament should originate.

Among the expedients which the urgency of their affairs had dictated to the Company, a new commission of supervision had been resolved upon during the recess; and six gentlemen were selected for that important service. The measure, however, was not approved by the ministry; and on the 7th of Decem-

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ber the Committee of Secrecy presented a report, stating, that notwithstanding the financial difficulties of the Company, they were preparing to send out a commission of supervisors at a great expense, and that, in the opinion of the Committee, a bill ought to be passed to restrain them from the execution of that purpose for a limited time. The introduction of this bill excited the most vehement remonstrances on the part of the Company, and of those by whom their cause was supported in the two houses of parliament. It was asserted to be a violation of property, by curtailing the powers which the Company possessed by charter of managing their own affairs; and all the evils which can arise from shaking the security of property were held up in their most alarming colours to deter men from approbation of the threatened restraint. The Company's claims of property however, so frequently, during the whole course of their history, brought to oppose the interposition of parliament in their affairs, proved of as little force upon this as upon other occasions; and their privileges, they were told, to which the term property, in its unlimited sense, could not without sophistry be applied, were insufficient to set aside that for which all property is created—the good of the community; now in one important article so formidably threatened in their mismanaging hands.

After this decisive act of control, the next ostensible proceeding was the petition for a loan, presented by the Company to parliament on the 9th day of March. The propositions urged by the Directors were: that they should receive a loan of 1,500,000*l.* for four years, at four per cent. interest; that they

should make no dividend of more than six per cent. per annum until the loan should be reduced to 750,000*l.*; that the dividend in that event should rise to eight per cent.; that the surplus of receipts above disbursements in England should be applied to the reduction of the Company's bond debts to 1,500,000*l.*; that after such reduction, the surplus should be divided equally between the public and the Company; and that the Company should be released from payment of the annual 400,000*l.* to the public, for the remainder of the five years specified in the former agreement, and from the payments to which they were bound in consequence of the late acts for the indemnity on teas. In lieu of these, the following were the propositions offered by the Minister: to lend the Company 1,400,000*l.* at an interest of four per cent.; to forego the claim of 400,000*l.* a-year from the territorial revenue till that debt is discharged; to restrict them from making any dividend above six per cent. till that discharge is accomplished, and from making any dividend above seven per cent. till their bond debt is reduced to 1,500,000*l.*; after that reduction to receive from them, in behalf of the public, three-fourths of the surplus receipts at home, the remaining fourth being appropriated either for the further reduction of the bond debt, or the formation of a fund to meet contingent exigencies; and, under these conditions, to permit the territorial acquisitions to remain in their possession for six years, the unexpired term of their charter.

The Company treated these conditions as harsh, arbitrary and illegal; petitioned against them in the strongest terms; and were supported with great ve-

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hemenace of language by their own friends, and the enemies of the Minister, in both houses of parliament. The restriction of the dividend after payment of the debt, the exaction of so great a proportion of the surplus receipts, and in particular the appropriation even of that part which it was proposed to leave as their own, they arraigned as a violent disposal of their property without their own consent, equalling the most arbitrary acts of the most despotical governments, and setting a precedent which lessened the security of every right of a British subject. These considerations, however vehemently urged, produced but little effect: the ministerial influence was predominating; the Company were odious; and it was felt, perhaps, rather than distinctly seen, that the rules of individual property were not applicable, without great restrictions, to an artificial body, whose proceedings were of such magnitude as deeply to affect the interests of the nation at large. Of all these pretensions, however, that which seemed most to alarm the Company was the claim now distinctly asserted by the government to the territorial acquisitions; and though a definitive discussion was still waved by the Minister, the Company expostulated against the limitation of their possession to six years, as involving in it a decision of the question at issue.

A more important exercise of power over their affairs was still meditated by the Minister; an entire change in the constitution of the Company. On the 3rd of May he introduced a series of propositions, as the foundation for a law, which should raise the qualification to vote in the Court of Proprietors from

500*l.* to 1000*l.*, and give to every proprietor possessed of 3000*l.* two votes, possessed of 6000*l.* three votes, and of 10,000*l.* four votes; which should change the annual election of the whole number of Directors to that of six new ones, or one-fourth of the whole number each year; vest the government of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in a governor-general, with a salary of 25,000*l.*, and four councillors of 8000*l.* each; render the other Presidencies subordinate to that of Bengal: establish at Calcutta a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice with 8000*l.* a-year, and three other judges, with each 6000*l.* a-year, appointed by the Crown.

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As subsidiary articles it was proposed; that the first governor-general, and councillors, should be nominated by parliament in the act, and hold their office for five years, after which the patronage of those great offices should revert to the Directors, but still subject to the approbation of the Crown; that every thing in the Company's correspondence from India, which related to the civil or military affairs, to the government of the country, or the administration of the revenues, should be laid before the ministry; that no person in the service, either of the King or of the Company, should be allowed to receive presents; and that the governor-general, the councillors, and judges, should be excluded from all commercial profits and pursuits.

If the alarm and indignation of the Company, Directors and Proprietors, were excited before; that body were now struck with the highest terror and resentment. They exclaimed, that the very constitution was threatened with subversion, and the

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rights conferred by charter treated as dust. They tendered a direct application to the city of London, to join them with its influence in resisting a measure; which destroyed the principle on which its own privileges and those of every chartered body in the nation depended; and threatened the very freedom of the people, both by setting a conspicuous and prolific example of the arbitrary violation of law, and by adding the whole of the revenue and government of India to the power and influence of the Crown. They represented, that by the clause which raised the qualification of the voters, about twelve hundred Proprietors were disfranchised; violently, and without compensation, robbed of an important right, and excluded from all share, direct or indirect, in the management of their own immediate property: that by destroying the annual election of Directors, those Trustees for the Company were placed above the control of their constituents, and vested with new powers to gratify their own ease or corruption, at the expense of those whose interests were lodged in their hands: that by reducing to a small number the votes of the Proprietors, the ministerial management of that body became more easy: that, by rendering the situation of Director permanent for so great a number of years, under the incapacitation of the Proprietors either to punish or reward, and under the great power of the Minister to do both, the subserviency of the Court of Directors to all ministerial purposes was perfectly secured; and that, from these sources combined, the power of the Minister over the Company was rendered hardly any thing inferior to absolute: that the whole govern-

ment of the settlements in India was taken from the Company, and, in effect, transferred to the Crown, by establishing a general presidency over all their affairs, of which the agents were in the first instance named by parliament, and ever after, in reality, under the condition of its approbation, named by the Crown: and that, "notwithstanding the Company were thus deprived of their franchise in the choice of their servants, by an unparalleled strain of injustice and oppression, they were compelled to pay such salaries, as ministers might think fit to direct, to persons in whose appointment, approbation, or removal, the Company were to have no share."<sup>1</sup>

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These considerations were frequently urged, with the utmost vehemence and asperity, in both assemblies of Parliament. Every question, every clause, was warmly debated, and pressed to a division. The city of London, the Company themselves, and those stockholders who were deprived of their votes, presented strong and earnest petitions. In behalf of the Company, and the disfranchised Proprietors, counsel, at their prayer, were heard. And two protests, couched in censorial language of extraordinary strength, obtained a numerous signature in the upper house.

All this opposition, however, and all this ferment were of little avail. The propositions of the ministry were all carried by great and decisive majorities, and being reduced into two acts, the one relating to the financial relief of the Company, the other to the

<sup>1</sup> Message from the East India Company to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, dated 27th May, 1773.



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establishment of their new constitution, received the royal assent on the 21st of June and the 1st of July.

The arrangements which concerned the business at home were appointed to commence from the 1st of October, 1773; those which concerned the foreign administration not till the 1st of August, 1774.<sup>1</sup>

Practical statesmen, so apt to assume to themselves the monopoly of political wisdom, are commonly short-sighted legislators.

In one respect the present experiment fulfilled the purpose very completely for which it was intended. It followed the current of that policy, which for many reasons has run with perfect regularity and considerable strength, diminishing the influence of numbers in affairs of government, and reducing things as much as possible to the oligarchical state.

For the rest; it had not so much as a tendency to remove the principal evils to which it pretended to find a remedy; and it created some, of the greatest magnitude, which previously had no existence.

The evils in question were—I. Such as had their operation in India; and—II. Such as had their operation in England.

I. Those which had their operation in India might all be ranked under two heads; 1. The absorption of more than the revenues by expense; and 2. The plunder and oppression of the people.

The only parts of the new constitution which had a direct influence upon the government in India were—1. The new appointment and powers of the Governor-general and Council; and 2. The Supreme Court of Judicature.

<sup>1</sup> See 13 Geo. III. c. 63, and 13 Geo. III. c. 64.

1. The mode of appointing public functionaries, and the extent of their power, distinct from the motives to good or evil conduct which operate upon them in the discharge of their functions, are evidently of no avail. Upon the Governor and Council in India the motives to evil conduct, and the scope for its exercise, were, if not augmented by the new regulations, at any rate not impaired.<sup>1</sup> As ingenuity may be challenged to refute this proposition, it follows, that from this branch of the arrangement no good was derived.<sup>2</sup>

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2. The Supreme Court of Judicature was intended to supply the limited powers of criminal jurisdiction, which, in their ancient commercial capacity, had been committed to the Company. The terrors of law, brought nearer home to the inferior servants of the Company, and those who enjoyed their protection, might have restrained in some degree their subordinate oppressions. But it was easy to see that the operations of the supreme

<sup>1</sup> They were previously debarred from the acceptance of presents, and the Governor from trade. Reliance for probity was placed, as it is so commonly placed, on the greatness of the salaries; as if there was a point of saturation in cupidity; as if the great power which great salaries confer was not the most effectual of all instruments for the undue acquisition of more; and the most effectual of all instruments for covering such acquisition from inquiry or punishment. In as far, then, as the prospect of impunity is a motive, and it is one of the strongest, so far great salaries do not take from, they add to the temptations to corruption. Even Burke, upon this particular, remarked, that "ample salaries removed the necessity indeed, but by no means the inducements, to corruption and oppression." See Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1781.

<sup>2</sup> That part of the regulations which subjected to the Bengal Council the other Presidencies in matters of peace and war with foreign states, had some effect, though not without drawbacks, in giving unity to the international proceedings of the Company. With the goodness or badness of the internal government, it had no connexion.

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functionaries in India must remain exempt from the control of the Supreme Court; otherwise, that court became itself the government. This consequence was not sufficiently foreseen; and the vague and indefinite powers assigned to the judicatory, introduced immediately, between the Governor-general and the Judges, those struggles which threatened the existence of English authority.

So long, on the other hand, as the Governor-general and Council remained exempt from the control of law, the great oppressors were safe; and, from the community of interests, and the necessity of mutual compliance and mutual concealment, between the high offenders and the low, impunity was pretty well secured to the class.

The grand source, however, of mischief to the natives, in the jurisprudential plan, was the unfortunate inattention of its authors to the general principles of law, detached from its accidental and national forms. As the vulgar of every nation think their language the natural one, and all others arbitrary and artificial; so, a large mass of Englishmen consider English law as the pure extract of reason, adapted to the exigencies of human nature itself; and are wholly ignorant that, for the greater part, it is arbitrary, technical, and ill-adapted to the general ends which it is intended to serve; that it has more of singularity, and less capacity of adaptation to the state of other nations, than any scheme of law, to be found in any other civilized country. The English law, which in general has neither definition nor words, to guide the discretion or circumscribe the license of the Judge, presented neither

rule nor analogy in cases totally altered by diversity of ideas, manners, and pre-existing rights; and the violent efforts which were made to bend the rights of the natives to a conformity with the English laws, for the purpose of extending jurisdiction, and gratifying a pedantic and mechanical attachment to the arbitrary forms of the Westminster courts, produced more injustice and oppression and excited more alarm, than probably was experienced, through the whole of its duration, from the previous imperfection of law and judicature.<sup>1</sup>

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II. If, towards the amelioration of *the government in India*, the new effort in legislation performed no more than this; it injured, rather than improved, the condition of both the Company and the natives. Against *the government at home*, the only objection, of any real moment, was its inefficiency as the ruling power to produce, by means of its servants a good government in India, or, what in this case was meant by good government, a large surplus of revenue or treasure to England, without oppression

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Burke, in the Ninth Report of the Select Committee, in 1783, says, "The defect in the institution seemed to be this; that no rule was laid down, either in the act or the charter, by which the Court was to judge. No descriptions of offenders, or species of delinquency, were properly ascertained, according to the nature of the place, or to the prevalent mode of abuse. Provision was made for the administration of justice in the remotest part of Hindostan, as if it were a province in Great Britain. Your Committee have long had the constitution and conduct of this Court before them, and they have as yet been able to discover very few instances (not one that appears to them of leading importance) of relief given to the natives against the corruptions or oppressions of British subjects in power.—So far as your Committee have been able to discover, the Court has been generally terrible to the natives, and has distracted the government of the Company, without substantially reforming any one of its abuses."



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to the natives. The total change which was effected in the Constitution of the Company pretended to have for its *End* the improvement and perfection of the Company in that respect: And it employed as its whole and only *Means*, dependence upon the Minister.

If the Minister had more knowledge of the affairs of India, more leisure to devote to their management, and more interest in their being well managed, this was an improvement. If he had less knowledge; less leisure; and, far above all, if his interest was likely to be most promoted by that system of patronage which creates dependence, and which is at irreconcilable enmity with the very principle of good government, the change was wholly the reverse. How dependence upon the Minister was to render the agents of government more faithful and economical stewards of the revenues in India, or less disposed to accumulate wealth at the expense of the prostrate natives, it is not easy to make appear: In regard to responsibility, or eventual punishment, the only caution was, to act in concert with the minister; and then they were out of all comparison more assured of impunity than before.

From dependence upon the Court of Proprietors, by annual elections, to render the Directors in a great degree independent of their constituents by elections in four years, gave them greater powers, and hence motives, to pursue their own interests at the expense of the Proprietors; but that it should increase their interest in the good government of India, and hence their motives for exertion to procure it, is impossible.

To diminish the number of votes in the court of Proprietors, and confine the power to the rich, was contrived, it was said, to render that assembly less tumultuous. But tumultuousness, in itself, is not an evil. It is evil only when it has a tendency to produce evil effects. What is more tumultuous than a public market, a theatre, or a church? To know the merit then of a reform of tumultuousness, we ought to know the specific evils which the tumultuousness in question produced. In the case of the East India Company, the authors of the measure failed in exhibiting any mischievous effects; though by their reform they unquestionably created a field for other effects of a very pernicious description. "If tumult and disorder," as was well remarked by an illustrious Committee of the Commons House, "were lessened by reducing the number of Proprietors, private cabal and intrigue were facilitated at least in an equal degree; and it is cabal and corruption, rather than disorder and confusion, that are most to be dreaded in transacting the affairs of India;"<sup>1</sup> that are most to be dreaded in transacting the affairs of every country under the sun.

The virtues of a Court of Proprietors, as of every political body, are intelligence and probity. The owner of 500*l.* stock was just as likely to be intelligent as the owner of 1000*l.* But a small number of men are much more easily corrupted than a large; and, where the matter of corruption operates, much more sure of being corrupt.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ninth Report of the Select Committee, in 1783.

<sup>2</sup> "The whole of the regulations concerning the Court of Proprietors,

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To the grand complaint against the Court of Proprietors, that, being filled by the servants of the Company who had returned loaded to Europe with ill-gotten wealth, it proved a barrier against exposure and punishment, the amount of the qualification provided no sort of remedy, but rather facilitated and confirmed the abuse.

As soon as the management of the East India Company's affairs became a source of great patronage and power, it necessarily followed that stock was generally held for the promotion of interests of much greater value than the dividend. It was distributed mostly among three great classes of Proprietors; 1. Those who aspired to a share in the Direction, and who were careful to possess themselves of whatever share of stock was calculated to strengthen their influence; 2. The large class of those who were competitors for the Company's favours and employment, all those concerned in the immense supply of their shipping and goods, constituting a considerable proportion of the ship-owners and tradesmen in London, who strengthened their influence with the great customer, by the number of votes which they could assure to the Directors in the General Court; 3. Those who aspired to contracts with the Treasury, Admiralty, and Ordnance, and clerks in public offices, who discovered that one ground of influence with the Minister was, to have votes at his disposal in the East India Proprietary Court.<sup>1</sup>

relied upon two principles, which have often proved fallacious; namely, that small numbers were a security against faction and disorder; and, that integrity of conduct would follow the greater property." Ninth Report, ut supra.

<sup>1</sup> This is pretty nearly the description of the East India Proprietary

By every thing which tended to lessen the number of voting Proprietors, the force of all these sinister interests was increased. The only expedient which had a tendency to counteract them was, to render such Proprietors as numerous as possible. This would have promoted the interests of the public, but not those of the minister; the interests of the many, but not those of the few.<sup>1</sup>

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One part of the ancient constitution, for the preservation of which the authors of the present reform were condemned by the Select Committee of 1783, was the ballot; “by means of which, acts,” they said, “of the highest concern to the Company and to the state, might be done by individuals with perfect impunity.” There are occasions on which the use of the ballot is advantageous. There are occasions on which it is hurtful. If we look steadily to the end, to which all institutions profess to be directed, we shall not find it very difficult to draw the line of demarcation.

A voter may be considered as subject to the operation of two sets of interests: the one, interests rising out of the good or evil for which he is dependent upon the will of other men: the other, interests in respect to which he cannot be considered as dependent upon any determinate man or men.

which is given by the Committee of the House of Commons. See Ninth Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

<sup>1</sup> It was urged by the Minister, that by raising the qualification from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*, the value of the dividend would govern the Proprietor more than that of the vote; with what sincerity, or what discernment, it is easy to see. Burke, moreover, very justly remarked, that this pecuniary interest might be most effectually served by some signal misdeemeanour, which should produce a great immediate advantage, though



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There are cases in which the interests for which he is not dependent upon other men impel him in the right direction. If not acted upon by other interests, he will, in such cases, vote in that direction. If, however, he is acted upon, by interests dependent upon other men, interests more powerful than the former, and impelling in the opposite direction, he will vote in the opposite direction. What is necessary, therefore, is, to save him from the operation of those interests. This is accomplished by enabling him to vote in secret ; for in that case, the man, who could otherwise compel his vote, is ignorant in what direction it has been given. In all cases, therefore, in which the independent interests of the voter, those which in propriety of language may be called his *own* interests, would dictate the good and useful vote ; but in which cases, at the same time, he is liable to be acted upon in the way either of good or of evil, by men whose interests would dictate a base and mischievous vote, the ballot is a great and invaluable security. In this set of cases is included, the important instance of the votes of the people for representatives in the legislative assembly of a nation. Those interests of each of the individuals composing the great mass of the people,

productive of ultimate ruin. "Accordingly," he adds, "the Company's servants have ever since covered over the worst oppressions of the people under their government, and the most cruel and wanton ravages of all the neighbouring countries, by holding out, and for a time actually realizing, additions of revenue to the territorial funds of the Company, and great quantities of valuable goods to their investment." He added, with obvious truth, "The Indian Proprietor will always be, in the first instance, a politician : and the bolder his enterprise, and the more corrupt his views, the less will be his consideration of the price to be paid for compassing them." Ninth Report, *ut supra*.

for which he is not dependent upon other men, compose the interests of the nation. But it is very possible for a majority out of any number of voters to be acted upon by the will of other men, whose interests are opposite to those of the nation. It is, therefore, of the highest importance that they should be protected from that influence.

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There is, however, another set of cases, in which those interests of the voter, which have their origin primarily in himself, and not in other men, draw in the hurtful direction; and in which he is not liable to be operated upon by any other interests of other men than those which each possesses in common with the rest of the community. If allowed, in this set of cases, to vote in secret, he will be sure to vote as the sinister interest impels. If forced to vote in public, he will be subject to all the restraint, which the eye of the community, fixed upon his virtue or knavery, is calculated to produce: and in such cases, the ballot is only an encouragement to evil. If it cannot be affirmed that the interests of the individuals, composing the court of proprietors of the East India Company, are incapable of being promoted at the cost of the British and Indian communities, it cannot be denied that the case of these proprietors belongs to this latter description.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No inconvenience has been found to attend the alterations made in the constitution of the general courts. They are still sufficiently numerous to present both the merits and defects of popular assemblies, in which vehemence of feeling commonly overbears an appeal to calm and rational argument. The ballot is a commodious method of receiving the votes, the purport of which, there is rarely, if ever, any desire to conceal. By making it imperative on proprietors to have been possessed of their stock, a reasonable period before they could exercise a vote, and by limiting the

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At the very time when the discussions upon the new regulations were taking place, the Chairman of the Select Committee of the House of Commons came forward with a motion for inquiry into the circumstances of the deposition and death of Suraj-ad-dowla; into the imposture, by a fictitious treaty, practised upon Omichund; the elevation of Meer Jaffier; and the sums of money, in the shape of presents, obtained at the time of that revolution. Crimes of the blackest dye, rapacity, treachery, cruelty, were charged upon the principal actors in that suspicious scene; and the punishment, even of Clive, as the first and principal delinquent, was represented as a necessary act of justice and policy. On the 10th of May, the following resolutions were moved; 1. "That all acquisitions, made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign Princes, do of right belong to the state; 2. That to appropriate acquisitions so made, to the private emolument of persons intrusted with any civil or military power of the state, is illegal; 3. That very great sums of money, and other valuable property, have been acquired in Bengal, from Princes and others of that country, by persons intrusted with the military and civil powers of the state, by means of such powers; which sums of money and valuable property have been appropriated to the private use of such persons."

number of votes, which any single proprietor enjoyed, a real improvement was effected, as it put an end to the splitting of votes, by which upon any emergency a number of nominal share-holders was created to carry a particular question, of the merits of which they knew and cared nothing, and it prevented any individual from possessing an undue influence, which he might exercise, as was often done, for his own advantage, to the detriment of the Company.—W.

These resolutions were warmly adopted by the house. But when the application of them came to be made to individuals ; and especially when the ruin was contemplated which that application would draw down upon Clive ; compassion for the man, and the consideration of his services, blotted by offences, yet splendid and great, operated with effect in the breasts of the assembly, and put an end to the inquiry.<sup>1</sup> According to the style, which the spirit of English laws renders predominant in English councils, inquiry was rejected ostensibly upon a subterfuge, of the nature of a legal shuffle ; incompetence, to wit, in the reports of the Select Committee to be received as evidence. As if that were true ! As if no other evidence had been to be found ! On the other hand, the considerations which fairly recommended the rejection, or at least a very great modification of the penal proceeding, were not so much as mentioned ; That the punishment threatened was more grievous than the offence ; that it was punishment by an *ex-post-facto* law, because, however contrary to the principles of right government the presents received from Meer Jaffier, and however odious to the moral sense the deception practised upon Omichund, there was no law at the time which forbade them ; that the presents, how contrary soever to European morals

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<sup>1</sup> The concluding debate did not take place until the 31st of May. After a long discussion, a declaratory motion, to the effect that Lord Clive did receive certain presents upon the enthronement of Meer Jaffier was carried. It was then moved that "in so doing he abused the powers with which he was intrusted to the evil example of the servants of the public." The motion was rejected without a division : a motion was finally made about "five in the morning," that Robert Lord Clive, did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country, which passed unanimously. Life of Clive iii. 360.—W.



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and ideas, were perfectly correspondent to those of the country in which they were received, and to the expectations of the parties by whom they were bestowed; that the treachery to Omichund was countenanced and palliated by some of the principles and many of the admired incidents of European diplomacy; that Clive, though never inattentive to his own interests, was actuated by a sincere desire to promote the prosperity of the Company, and appears not in any instance to have sacrificed what he regarded as their interests to his own; and that it would have required an extraordinary man, which no one ought to be punished for not being, to have acted, in that most trying situation in which he was placed, with greater disinterestedness than he displayed.<sup>1</sup>

The inquiry into the financial and commercial state of the Company exhibited the following results. The whole of their effects and credits in England, estimated on the 1st day of March, 1773, amounted to 7,784,689*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*; and the whole of their debts to 9,219,114*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; leaving a balance against the

<sup>1</sup> This vindication of Clive is unanswerable, and should have protected him against some of the remarks and insinuations to his discredit, which have previously occurred. Whatever errors he may be charged with they were those of his time, and his situation; his merits were his own. The whole of the parliamentary proceedings against him originated in a spirit of vindictive retaliation, which his private and public measures had provoked:—the vehemence with which he had opposed an influential party in the Direction, and the unmitigated sternness with which he had repressed all opposition to his will in the Government of Bengal. He was himself a good hater, and had, therefore, little reason to complain of having incurred the like animosity from others, but when his enemies assailed him through the pretext of public justice, they converted the great council of the nation into an instrument of personal revenge, and disgraced parliament more than they dishonoured Clive.—W.

Company of 1,434,424*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* The whole of their effects and credits in India, China, and St. Helena, and afloat on the sea, amounted to 6,397,299*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* The whole of their debts abroad amounted to 2,032,306*l.*; producing a balance in their favour of 4,364,993*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* Deducting from this sum the balance against the Company in England, we find the whole amount of their available property no more than 2,930,568*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*; so that of their capital stock of 4,200,000*l.*, 1,269,431*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* was expended and gone.<sup>1</sup>

From the year 1744, the period to which in a former passage<sup>2</sup> is brought down the account of the dividend paid annually to the Proprietors on the capital stock, that payment continued at eight per cent. to the year 1756, in which it was reduced to six per cent. It continued at that low rate till Christmas, 1766, when it was raised by the General Court, repugnant to the sense of the Court of Directors, to five per cent. for the next half-year. On

<sup>1</sup> Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy in 1773. The Committee say, "They have not included in the above account any valuation of the fortifications and buildings of the Company abroad. They can by no means agree in opinion with the Court of Directors, 'That the amount of the fortifications, &c., should be added to the annual statement.'"—Undoubtedly no assets of any party can be compared with his debts, further than they can be disposed of for the payment of those debts; the manure which a farmer has spread upon his fields, or the hedges and ditches with which he has surrounded them, are nothing to him, the moment his lease is expired. The money expended in fortifications and buildings, from May 1757, was stated at nearly four millions.—M. The illustration is not wholly applicable, nor as far as it is applicable is it true. The connexion between the country and the Company is not exactly that of a tenant on lease, and the occupant of an estate in which he has more than a passing interest, may equitably expect an equivalent for permanent improvements.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Supra, vol. iii. p. 50.

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the 7th of May, 1767, it was resolved in the General Court, that for the following half-year the dividend should be six and a quarter per cent. But this resolution was rescinded by act of parliament, and the dividend limited, till further permission, to ten per cent. per annum. It was continued at ten per cent. till the year commencing at Christmas, 1769, when, in pursuance of the new regulations, it was advanced to eleven per cent. The next year it rose to twelve per cent. The following year it was carried to its prescribed limits, twelve and a-half per cent.; at which it continued for eighteen months, when the funds of the Company being totally exhausted, it was suddenly reduced to six per cent. per annum, by a resolution passed on the 3d of December, 1772.<sup>1</sup>

In the interval between 1774 and 1772, the sales at the India House had increased from about 2,000,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l.* annually; their annual exports, including both goods and stores, had fully doubled. In the year 1751, the total amount of shipping in the service of the Company was 38,441 tons, in the year 1772 it was 61,860.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the Third and Eighth Reports of the Committee of Secrecy in 1773.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth Report of the Committee of Secrecy.

## BOOK V.

FROM THE FIRST GREAT CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, IN 1773, TILL THE SECOND GREAT CHANGE BY THE ACT COMMONLY CALLED MR. PITT'S ACT, IN 1784.

## CHAPTER I.

*Administration of Hastings till the Time when the Parliamentary Members of the Council arrived and the Operations of the New Constitution commenced, including.—Arrangements for collecting the Revenue and administering Justice ostensibly as Dewan.—Treatment of Mohammed Reza Khan and the Raja Shitabroy.—Elevation of Munny Begum.—Destruction of the Rohillas.—Sale of Corah and Allahabad to the Vizir.—Payment refused of the Emperor's Revenue. — Financial results.*

By the new parliamentary authority, Mr. Hastings was appointed Governor-general, and General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis, the members of Council; not removable, except by the King, upon representation made by the Court of Directors, during the period assigned

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in the act. Mr. Hastings had ascended with reputation through the several stages of the Company's service; possessed the rank of a member of council at the time of Mr. Vansittart's administration, and generally concurred in the measures which the party opposed to that Governor so vehemently condemned. After a visit to his native country, to which he proceeded at the same time with Vansittart, he returned to India, in 1769, to fill the station of second in council at Madras; and in the beginning of 1772 was raised to the highest situation in the service of the Company, being appointed to succeed Mr. Cartier in the government of Bengal.

The sense which the Directors entertained of the vices which up to this time had stained their administration in India, is recorded thus: "We wish (the words of their letter to the President and Council at Fort William, dated the 7th of April, 1773,) "we could refute the observation, that almost every attempt made by us and our administrations at your Presidency, for the reforming of abuses, has rather increased them—and added to the miseries of the country we are anxious to protect and cherish. The truth of this observation appears fully in the late appointment of supervisors and chiefs—instituted, as they were, to give relief to the industrious tenants, to improve and enlarge our investments, to destroy monopolies, and retrench expenses, the end has, by no means, been answerable to the institution. Are not the tenants, more than ever, oppressed and wretched? Are our investments improved? Has not the raw silk and cocoons been raised upon us fifty per cent. in price? We can hardly say what

has not been made a monopoly. And as to the ex-  
 penses of your Presidency, they are at length settled  
 to a degree we are no longer able to support. These  
 facts (for such they are) should have been stated to  
 us as capital reasons, why neither our orders of  
 1771, nor indeed any regulations whatever, could  
 be carried into execution. But, perhaps, as this  
 would have proved too much, it was not suggested  
 to us; for nothing could more plainly indicate a  
 state of anarchy, and that there was no government  
 existing, in our servants in Bengal. . . . When oppres-  
 sion pervades the whole country; when youths have  
 been suffered with impunity to exercise sovereign  
 jurisdiction over the natives; and to acquire rapid  
 fortunes by monopolizing of commerce, it cannot be  
 a wonder to us, or yourselves, that native merchants  
 do not come forward to contract with the Company;  
 that the manufactures find their way through foreign  
 channels; or that our investments are at once enor-  
 mously dear, and of a debased quality.—It is evident  
 then, that the evils which have been so destructive  
 to us, lie too deep for any partial plans to reach or  
 correct. It is, therefore, our resolution to aim at  
 the root of those evils.” Their expectation of  
 assistance from Mr. Hastings in these reforms, was  
 expressed in the following terms: “Our President,  
 Mr. Hastings, we trust, will set the example of tem-  
 perance, economy, and application; and upon this  
 we are sensible, much will depend. And here we  
 take occasion to indulge the pleasure we have in  
 acknowledging Mr. Hastings’s services upon the  
 coast of Coromandel, in constructing with equal  
 labour and ability, the plan which has so much

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improved our investments there ; and as we are persuaded he will persevere, in the same laudable pursuit, through every branch of our affairs in Bengal, he, in return, may depend on the steady support and favour of his employers.”<sup>1</sup>

The double, or ambiguous administration ; in name and in ostent by the Nabob, in reality by the Company ; which had been recommended as ingenious policy by Clive, and admired as such by his employers and successors ; had contributed greatly to enhance the difficulties in which, by the assumption of the government, the English were involved. All the vices of the ancient polity were saved from reform : and all the evils of a divided authority were superinduced. The revenues were under a complicated, wasteful, and oppressive economy ; the lands being partly managed by the native agents of the collectors, partly farmed from year to year, partly held by Zemindars, and Talookdars, responsible for a certain revenue. The administration of justice, of which, under the military and fiscal Governors of the Mogul provinces, the criminal part belonged to the Nazim, or military Governor, the civil to the Dewan, or fiscal Governor, was, as a heavy and unproductive burden, left in the hands of the Nabob ; who, being totally without power, was totally unable to maintain the authority of his tribunals against the masters of the country ; and the people were given up to oppression.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Evidence on Mr. Hastings' Trial, p. 966.

<sup>2</sup> This is expressly stated by Hastings, and the Committee of Revenue, in their letter of the 3rd of Nov. 1772, in the Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, in 1773.

The Company and their servants were little satisfied, from the beginning, with the produce of the dewannee; and soon began to be as little satisfied with the expedients adopted by Clive for ensuring a faithful collection. In the month of August, 1769, before the close of Mr. Verelst's administration, a supplementary security was devised: It was held expedient, that servants of the Company should be stationed in appropriate districts, throughout the whole country, for the purpose of superintending the native officers; both in the collection of the revenue, and, what was very much blended with it, the administration of justice. These functionaries received the title of Supervisors: And, in the next year, was added a second supplementary security; two councils, with authority over the supervisors, one at Moorshedabad, and another at Patna.

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Among the duties recommended to the supervisors, one was to collect a body of information, with respect to the amount of the revenues; with respect to the state, produce, and capabilities of the great source of the revenue, the lands; with respect to the cesses or arbitrary taxes; the whole catalogue of imposts laid upon the cultivator; the manner of collecting them, and the origin and progress of all the modern exactions; with respect to the regulations of commerce; and the administration of justice. The reports of the supervisors, intended to convey the information which they collected under those heads, represent the government as having attained the last stage of oppressiveness and barbarism. "The Nazims exacted what they could from the Zemindars, and great farmers of the revenue; whom they left at



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liberty to plunder all below ; reserving to themselves the prerogative of plundering them in their turn, when they were supposed to have enriched themselves with the spoils of the country." The Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1810, quoting this passage, remark, " The whole system thus resolved itself, on the part of the public officers, into habitual extortion and injustice ; which produced, on that of the cultivator, the natural consequences—concealment and evasion, by which government was defrauded of a considerable part of its just demands." With respect to the administration of justice, the supervisors reported, " That the regular course was every where suspended : But every man exercised it, who had the power of compelling others to submit to his decisions." The Committee of the House of Commons, whose remark on the state of the fiscal collections has just been adduced, subjoin to this quotation that which fills up the picture ; " Seven years had elapsed, from the acquisition of the dewanee, without the government deeming itself competent to remedy these defects."<sup>1</sup>

Grievously disappointed in their expectations of treasure, the Directors resolved to break through the scheme of ambiguity ; so far at least as to take into their own hands the collection as well as the disbursement of the revenues. In their letter to the President and Council of Fort William, dated the 28th of August, 1771, they declared their resolution, " To stand forth as Dewan" (so they were pleased to express it), " and by the agency of the Company's servants

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report of the Select Committee, 1810, p. 5.

to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues." The change was enormous, which it was the nature of this decree to produce. It was a revolution, much greater, probably, than any previous conjuncture, than even the change from Hindu to Mohammedan masters, had been able to create. The transition from Hindu to Mohammedan masters had only changed the hands by which the sword was wielded, and favours were dispensed; the machine of government, still more the texture of society, underwent feeble alterations; and the civil part of the administration was, from conveniency, left almost wholly in the hands of Hindus. A total change in the management of the revenues more deeply affected the condition, individually and collectively, of the people of India, than it is easy for the European reader to conceive: It was an innovation by which the whole property of the country, and along with it the administration of justice, were placed upon a new foundation.

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Of the nature of this change, the Directors appear to have had no adequate conception. As if the measure which they proposed had been without consequences, they satisfied themselves with enjoining its execution; and consigned to their servants the task (of which, however, they did not much complain) of carrying into effect a change of government so momentous without one word of instruction.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Committee of Circuit, in entering upon their task, remark a still more extraordinary failure in the sagacity of the Directors, who did not even foresee, that while their new resolution was totally inconsistent with their former regulations they gave no authority for abolishing them. "They have been pleased," say the Committee, "to direct a total change of system, and have left the *plan* and *execution* of it to the discretion of

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Those servants, though more acquainted with the practical difficulties which would be met in establishing the new system of finance, appear to have thought as little nearly as their honourable masters, of the great changes, with regard to the people, which it was calculated to produce. With great alacrity, they betook themselves to the undertaking. Mr. Hastings succeeded to the chair on the 13th of April, 1772; and on the 16th the Council deemed themselves ripe for the following important resolution: that they would let the lands in farm, and for long leases; because it is the most simple mode, and best adapted to a government like that of the Company, which cannot enter into the minute details of the collections; because every mode of agency by which the rents could be received would be attended with perplexed and intricate accounts, with embezzlement of the revenue, and oppression of the people; and because any mode of collecting the revenues which would trench upon the time of the Governor and Council, would deprive them of a portion of what was already too little for the laborious duties which they had to perform.<sup>1</sup>

On the 14th of May the operations were planned. It was decreed, that the lands should be let for a period of five years: that a Committee of the Board,

the Board, without any formal repeal of the regulations which they had before framed and adapted to another system—the abolition of which necessarily includes that of its subsidiary institutions, unless they shall be found to coincide with the new.” Extract, Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, dated Cossimbuzar, 28th July, 1772, inserted in the Sixth Report, Committee of Secrecy, 1773, p. 21.

<sup>1</sup> These reasons are assigned in the Consultation 14th May, Report, ut supra.

consisting of the President and four members, should perform the local operations, by circuit through the country : that the servants of the Company who superintended the business of collection in the several districts, and who had hitherto been distinguished by the title of supervisors, should henceforth be denominated collectors:<sup>1</sup> that a native under the title of dewan, should in each district be joined with the collector, both to inform and to check : that no banyan, or servant of a collector, should be permitted to farm any portion of the revenue: because with the servant of a collector no man would dare to become a competitor: and, as presents to the collectors from the Zemindars and other middlemen had been abolished, so all acceptance of presents, by such middlemen, from the ryots, and all other modes of extortion, should be carefully prevented. Some precautions were taken against the accumulation of debt, which swelled at exorbitant interest, rarely less than three, often as much as fifteen per cent. per month, upon the ryots, as well as the different orders of middlemen. The collectors were forbidden to lend, or to permit their banyans or servants to lend, to the middlemen; and the middlemen or agents to lend to the ryots: but the Governor and Council express

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<sup>1</sup> The reason they assign for this change of title is worth transcribing. "The term 'Supervisor' was properly suited to the original commission, which was to examine, inspect, and report. This office has been long since annulled; but we apprehend that the continuance of the name, and of many of the residents, in the same stations which they now fill as collectors, may have misled even our Honourable Masters, *who were never regularly advised of the change*, into the opinion that the first commission still subsisted." So much for the care of instructing, and the accurate information of the Honourable Directors.



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 to repress.<sup>1</sup>

The objects which in these regulations the servants of the Company professed to have in view, were; to simplify accounts; to render uniform the mode of exaction; and to establish fixed and accurate rules. The Committee of Circuit, with whom, though a Member, Mr. Hastings did not proceed, first began to receive proposals at Kishenagur: But the terms which were offered were in general so unsatisfactory both in form and amount, that the Committee deemed them inadmissible; and came speedily to the resolution of putting up the lands to public auction. It was necessary to ascertain with as much exactness as possible the nature and amount of the different taxes which were to be offered to sale. For this purpose a new hustabood, or schedule of the taxes, was formed. The exactions consisted of two great parts; of which the first and principal was called *assal*, or the ground rents; the second *abwabs*, which consisted of a variety of additional, often arbitrary, and uncertain imposts, established at different times, by the government, the Zemindars, the farmers, and even the inferior collectors. Some of the most oppressive of these were abolished, and excluded from the present schedule. And new leases or titles were granted to the ryots: which enumerated all the claims to which they were to be subject; and forbade, under penalties, every additional exaction. When the Zemindars, and other middlemen

<sup>1</sup> Consultation, 14th May, ut supra.

of ancient standing, offered for the lands which they had been accustomed to govern, terms which were deemed reasonable, they were preferred; when their offers were considered as inadequate, they were allowed a pension for their subsistence, and the lands were put up to sale.

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While the settlement, in other words the taxation of the country, was carrying into execution upon this plan, the principal office of revenue, or *Khalsa*, underwent a total revolution. So long as the veil of the native government had been held up, this office had been stationed at Moorshedabad, and was ostensibly under the direction of the sort of minister of revenue, whom with the title of *Naib Dewan*, the President and Council had set up. It was now resolved to transfer this great office from Moorshedabad to Calcutta; and to place it under the immediate superintendence of the government. The whole Council were constituted a Board of Revenue, to sit two days in the week, or if necessary, more. The Members of the Council were appointed to act as auditors of accounts, each for a week in rotation. The office of *Naib Dewan*, which had been held by Mohammed Reza Khan at Moorshedabad, and by Shitab Roy at Patna, was abolished; but a native functionary, or assistant dewan, under the title of *Roy royan*, was appointed to act in the *Khalsa*, as superintendent of the district dewans, to receive the accounts in the Bengal language, to answer interrogatories, and to make reports.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Extract of Proceedings, Sixth Report, ut supra. See also Sixth Report of the Select Committee of 1782, Appendix, No. i.; Colebrooke's Supplement to Digest of Bengal Regulations, p. 174—190; and the Fifth

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The fundamental change in that great and leading branch of Indian administration which concerned the revenue, rendered indispensable a new provision for the administration of justice. The Zemindar, who was formerly the great fiscal officer of a district, commonly exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction within the territory over which he was appointed to preside. In his Phoujdary, or criminal court, he inflicted all sorts of penalties; chiefly fines for his own benefit; even capital punishments, under no further restraint, than that of reporting the case at Moorshedabad before execution. In his Adaulut, or civil court, he decided all questions relating to property; being entitled to a chout, or twenty-five per cent., upon the subject of litigation. His discretion was guided or restrained by no law, except the Koran, its commentaries, and the customs of the country, all in the highest degree loose and indeterminate. Though there was no formal and regular course of appeal from the Zemindary decisions, the government interfered in an arbitrary manner, as often as complaints were preferred, to which, from their own importance, or from the importance of those who advanced them, it conceived it proper to attend. To the mass of the people these courts afforded but little protection: The expense created by distance, excluded the greater number from so much as applying for justice; and every powerful oppressor treated a feeble tribunal with contempt. The judges were finally swayed by their hopes and their fears; by the inclinations of the men who could hurt or re-

ward them. Their proceedings were not controlled by any written memorial or record. In cases relating to religion, the Cauzee and Brahmen were called to expound, the one the Moslem, the other the Brahmenical law; and their opinion was the standard of decision. Originally, questions of revenue as well as others belonged to the courts of the Zemindars; but a few years previous to the transfer of the revenues to the English, the decision of fiscal questions had been taken from the Zemindar, and given to an officer styled the Naib Dewan, or fiscal Deputy, in each province.

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Beside the tribunals of the districts; the capital was provided with two criminal courts; in one of which, called Roy adaulut, the Nazim, as supreme magistrate, tried capital offences; in another, a magistrate called the Phoujdar tried offences of a less penal description, and reported his proceedings to the Nazim. At the capital was also found the principal dewanee or fiscal court; in which the Dewan tried causes relating to the revenue, including all questions of title to land. All other civil causes were tried at the capital in the court of the Darogah-i-adaulut-al-alea; except those of inheritance and succession, which were decided by the Cauzee and Muftee. An officer, with the title of Mohtesib, superintended the weights and measures, and other matters of police.

Generally speaking, the courts of justice in India were instruments by which the powerful performed oppression, at their pleasure, on the weak.

Under the ancient government, the English, as well as other European settlers, instead of demanding payment from a reluctant debtor through the



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courts of law, seized his person and confined it, till satisfaction was obtained. Nor was this so inconsistent with the spirit of the government, as often to excite its displeasure. It was indeed a remedy to which they were not often obliged to recur; because the profit of dealing with them generally constituted a sufficient motive to punctuality. After the power of the English became predominant, the native courts ceased to exert any authority over Englishmen and their agents.<sup>1</sup>

The first attempt which had been made by the English to remedy, in their new dominions, any of the defects in the administration of justice, was the appointment in 1769 of superintending commissioners to the several districts, with directions to inquire into the proceedings of the courts of justice, to restrain iniquitous proceedings, to abolish the chout, and, where a total change should appear desirable, to apply to government for the requisite powers. In 1770, the Naib Dewan, and such of the servants of the Company as had their station of service at Moorshedabad, were formed into a Council of Control over the administration of justice. Its administration was still to conform to the ancient and established plan; but the Council of Control should interpose as they perceived occasion; every judicial proceeding which concerned the government should come under their review; the trials should be transmitted to them in all criminal cases, and execution suspended, till their opinion was known;

<sup>1</sup> For this sketch of the state of the administration of justice in Bengal, see the Seventh Report of the Committee of Secrecy in 1773.

all causes relative to the revenue and to property in land should in the first instance be tried in the native courts, but the Council should revise the proceedings of these courts, and have the power of final determination.

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For supplying the place of the native courts, in a great measure superseded by the new system of revenue; and for providing a more perfect judicial establishment; the following scheme was invented and pursued. Two courts, a civil, and a penal, were appointed for each district. The criminal court, styled Phoujdary Adaulut, consisted of the collector, as superintendent, with the cauzee and muftie of the district, and two Moulavies, as interpreters of the law. The civil court, styled Mofussul Dewanee Adaulut, consisted of the collector, as President, assisted by the provincial dewan and the other officers of the native court. From the jurisdiction of this tribunal no cases were excepted, beside those of succession to Zemindaries and Talookdaries, reserved to the President and Council.

At the seat of government were also established two supreme courts of appeal. That to which the civil branch of this appellate jurisdiction was consigned received the name of Suddur Dewanee Adaulut; and was composed of the President with two Members of the Council, attended by the dewan of the Khalsa, and certain officers of the Cutchery, or native court of the city. That on which the penal branch was conferred, obtained the title of Nizamut Suddur Adaulut. It consisted of a chief judge, entitled Darogah-i-Adaulut, assisted by the chief Cauzee, the chief Muftie, and three Moulavies.

BOOK V. This Judge was nominated by the President and  
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1772. Nazim. All capital cases were reported to his tribunal; and, after review, were ultimately referred to the Governor-general and Council. After a short experience, however, the superintendence of this court appeared to impose a labour, and to involve a responsibility, which the Governor and Council found it inconvenient to sustain; it was one of the first transactions therefore of the new government which succeeded in 1774, to restore this part of the nizamat to the nominal Nabob, and to carry back the tribunal to Moorsshedabad.<sup>1</sup>

For the district of Calcutta, two courts were established, on the plan of the other district courts; in each of which a Member of Council presided in rotation. In all these courts, it was ordained that records of proceedings should be made and preserved. The chout, or exaction of a fourth part of all litigated property, for the benefit of the Judge, was abolished. A prohibition was issued against exorbitant fines. The discretionary power, exercised by a creditor over the person of his debtor, was no longer tolerated. And all disputes of property, not exceeding ten

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, Committee 1810, p. 6. It would appear, however, from Hastings' Minute, 21st November, 1775 (Fifth Report of Committee of Secrecy in 1782, Appendix, No. clvii.) that Hastings was averse to the intrusting of a native with the uncontrolled administration of criminal justice, and that it was the act of the hostile majority of the Council, by whom Mohammed Reza Khan was in 1775 raised to the office of Naib Nazim. It is necessary at the same time to state, that the gentlemen of the majority (see their letter of the same date, *Ibid.*) declare that previous to this measure of theirs, "the administration of criminal justice throughout the country was at a stand."—It was at a stand, while under the superintendence of the English rulers: What was it likely to be, under a creature, without one atom of power, having the name of a Nabob?

rupees, were referred to the head farmer of the BOOK V.  
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In the introduction of these measures, a specimen is exhibited of the regard which was paid to the feelings or honour of the natives, how great soever their rank or deservings. Under the anxious search of the Directors for the cause of their intense disappointment in the receipt of treasure from the revenues of Bengal, they, after venting the first portion of their chagrin upon their European, seem to have turned it, with still greater want of consideration, upon their native agents. In a letter from the Secret Committee to Mr. Hastings, their President, dated 28th of August, 1771, they say, “By our general address you will be informed of the reasons we have to be dissatisfied with the administration of Mahomet Reza Cawn, and will perceive the expediency of our divesting him of the rank and influence he holds as Naib Dewan of the kingdom of Bengal.”<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hastings is then directed, “to issue

<sup>1</sup> Seventh Report, *ut supra*, General Regulations, dated 15th August, 1772; Colebrooke’s Supplement, p. 1; Fifth Report from the Select Committee on India Affairs, 1810, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> By the manner in which the transaction is narrated it would seem that Mohammed Reza Khan was put under arrest because the Court of Directors were disappointed in their financial expectations. The letter of the court, however, specifies as the grounds of inquiry, charges of fraud and embezzlement, and principal instrumentality in the aggravation of the recent famine by a monopoly of rice and other necessities of life. The charges were unfounded, and might have been somewhat hastily entertained, but as they had made an impression on the minds of the Directors, it was only their duty to direct investigation to be instituted. Hastings throughout acted under their positive orders, and as well stated by some of his contemporaries, inhabitants of Calcutta, petitioning against the Supreme Court, was excusably anxious to obey the orders of the Directors by whom he had been recently appointed to the high station he oc-



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his private orders for the securing the person of Mahomet Reza Cawn, together with his whole family, and his known partisans and adherents," and for bringing them prisoners to Calcutta. For this secrecy, precipitation, and severity, (arrest and imprisonment to a man of that rank in India is one of the most cruel of all punishments,) the reason assigned was, that otherwise he might "render all inquiry into his conduct ineffectual, and ill-consequences might result from his resentment and revenge." In the endeavour to discover delinquency, they say, "Your own judgment will direct you to all such means of information as may be likely to bring to light the most secret of his transactions. We cannot, however, forbear recommending to you, to avail yourself of the intelligence which Nund-comar may be able to give respecting the Naib's administration; and while the envy which Nund-comar is supposed to bear this minister may prompt him to a ready communication of all proceedings which have come to his knowledge, we are persuaded that no scrutable part of the Naib's conduct can have escaped the watchful eye of his jealous and penetrating rival."<sup>1</sup>

The opinion which the Directors entertained of the man of whom they desired to make such an instrument, had, on a former occasion, been thus

cupied in Bengal. See Instructions of the Court, &c., quoted in a letter to E. Burke, Esq., Lond. 1782. Accusations similar to those urged against Mohammed Reza Khan were preferred against Shitab Roy. Nuncomar according to his own account was the principal instigator of the proceedings against both. Min. of Evidence, p. 1000.—W.

<sup>1</sup> See the Letter, Minutes of Evidence on the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq., p. 993.

expressed: "From the whole of your proceedings with respect to Nundcomar, there seems to be no doubt of his endeavouring by forgery and false accusations to ruin Ram Churn; that he has been guilty of carrying on correspondence with the country powers, hurtful to the Company's interests; and instrumental in conveying letters between the Shazada and the French Governor-general of Pondicherry. In short, it appears, he is of that wicked and turbulent disposition, that no harmony can subsist in society where he has the opportunity of interfering. We therefore most readily concur with you, that Nundcomar is a person improper to be trusted with his liberty in our settlements; and capable of doing mischief, if he is permitted to go out of the province, either to the northward, or to the Deccan. We shall therefore depend upon your keeping such a watch over all his actions, as may be means of preventing his disturbing the quiet of the public, or injuring individuals for the future."<sup>1</sup>

In a letter dated 1st September, 1772, Mr. Hastings gave the Directors a history of the operations already performed, and of the views from which they had sprung. "As your commands were peremptory, and addressed to myself alone, I carefully concealed them from every person, except Mr. Middleton, whose assistance was necessary for their execution, until I was informed by him that Mahmud Rizza Cawn was actually in arrest, and on his way to Calcutta." Beside these alleged commands of the Directors, "I will confess," he says, "that there were

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<sup>1</sup> Company's Letter to their President and Council, dated 22nd February, 1764; Minutes, ut supra, p. 996.

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other cogent reasons for this reserve ;” and giving these reasons, he describes the importance of the office which was filled by Mohammed Reza Khan, and the susceptibility of corruption which marked the situation of his fellow-servants in India. “I was yet but a stranger to the character and disposition of the Members of your administration. I knew that Mahmud Rizza Cawn had enjoyed *the sovereignty* of this province for seven years past, had possessed an annual stipend of nine lacks of rupees, the uncontrolled disposal of thirty-two lacks intrusted to him for the use of the Nabob, the absolute command of every branch of the Nizamut, and the chief authority in the Dewannee. To speak more plainly; he was, in every thing but the name, the Nazim of the province, and in real authority more than the Nazim.—I could not suppose him so inattentive to his own security; nor so ill-versed in the maxims of Eastern policy, as to have neglected the due means of establishing an interest with such of the Company’s agents, as, by actual authority, or by representation to the Honourable Company, might be able to promote or obstruct his views.”<sup>1</sup>

The office of Mohammed Reza Khan consisted of two parts; the one was the office of Naib Dewan, in which he represented the Company, as Dewan or Master of the Revenues; the other was the office of Naib Subah, as it was called by the President and Council, more properly the Naib Nazim, in which he represented the Nabob in his office of Nazim, that department of the Subahdaree, the name and minis-

<sup>1</sup> Committee of Secrecy, 1781, Fifth Report, Appendix No. iv.

terial functions of which were still reserved to the native Prince. The functions of the Naib Dewan were indeed supplied by the new scheme for levying the revenue. But for those of the Naib Subah, as they called him, no provision as yet was made. The duties and importance of that of office, are thus described by Mr. Hastings and committee; "The office of Naib Subah, according to its original constitution, comprehends the superintendence of the Nabob's education, the management of his household, the regulation of his expenses, the representation of his person, the chief administration of justice; the issuing of all orders, and direction of all measures which respect the government and police of the provinces; the conduct of all public negotiations, and execution of treaties; in a word, *every branch of executive government*."<sup>1</sup>

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Nothing can afford a more vivid conception of what I may perhaps be allowed to call the *style* of government which then existed in Bengal, the temper with which the difference between some performance and no performance of the duties of government was regarded, than this; that the officer on whom "*every branch of the executive government*" depended, was arrested some days before the 28th of April; and that it was not till the 11th of July, that a proposition was brought forward to determine what should be done with the office he had filled.<sup>2</sup> A letter signed by the Company's principal servants at

<sup>1</sup> Consultation, 11th July, 1772, Minutes of Evidence, ut supra, p. 972.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Consultation, 28th April, 1772, Minutes, ut supra, p. 972; and Consultation, 11th July, 1772, Ibid. p. 978, 994.



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1772. you the necessity there is for speedily appointing a Naib to the Nizamut, as the business of that department, particularly the courts of justice, is suspended for want of a person properly authorized to confirm the decrees of the several courts of justice, and to pass sentence on criminals, besides various other matters of business, wherein the interposition of the Subah [*Subahdar*] is immediately necessary."<sup>1</sup> Why was not some arrangement taken; or rather, is it necessary to *ask*, why some arrangement was not taken, to prevent the suspension of the judicial and every branch of the executive government, before the officer was arrested on whom all these great operations depended!<sup>2</sup>

The Raja Shitab Roy held the same office at Patna, for the province of Bahar, as was held by Mohammed Reza Khan at Moorshedabad, for that of Bengal. Because Mohammed Reza Khan was arrested, and sent to Calcutta for his trial, and because, as holding the same office, it seemed proper that they should both share the same fate, Shitab Roy was in like fashion arrested, and sent to his trial.

Ahteram-al-dowlah was a surviving brother of Jaffier Ali Khan the deceased Subahdar, the uncle

<sup>1</sup> See the Letter, Minutes, ut supra, p. 974.

<sup>2</sup> It is here forgotten that a plan for the collection of the revenue, and the administration of civil justice, and of criminal justice, in the first instance, had been devised, which rendered the interposition of the Naib no longer necessary; the Committee speak of the office as originally constituted, not as now, in a great degree superseded by the English regulations.—W.

of the young Nabob, the eldest existing male, and hence the natural guardian, of the family : on this ground he presented a petition to "the Gentlemen," praying that he might be appointed to the vacant office of Neabut Nizamut ; in other words be chosen Naib under the Nazim.

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The Directors, though resolved not to be any longer Dewan under a cloak ; were yet eager to preserve the supposed benefit of clandestinity, in the other department of the Subahdaree, the Nizamut.<sup>1</sup> The servants in India declared their full concurrence in the wisdom of that policy.<sup>2</sup> But they conceived that for this purpose such an officer as the Naib Subah (so they styled the Naib of the Nazim) was neither necessary nor desirable ; first, on account of the expense, next, the delegation of power, which could never be without a portion of danger. They

<sup>1</sup> "Though we have not a doubt but that by the exertion of your abilities, and the care and assiduity of our servants in the superintendency of the revenues, the collections will be conducted with more advantage to the Company, and ease to the natives, than by means of a Naib Dewan ; we are fully sensible of the expediency of supporting some ostensible minister in the Company's interest at the Nabob's court, to transact the political affairs of the Circar, and interpose between the Company and the subjects of any European power, in all cases wherein they may thwart our interest, or encroach on our authority." Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William, 28th August, 1771 : Minutes, ut supra, p. 973.

<sup>2</sup> "The Committee are fully sensible of the expediency remarked by the Honourable Court of Directors, of holding out the authority of the country government to the European powers, in all cases wherein their interests may interfere with those of the Company." Consultation, 11th July, 1772, Minutes, ut supra, p. 978. Mr. Hastings in his Letter, 24th March, 1774, seems to have questioned altogether the wisdom of clandestinity : "There can be but one government, and one power in this province. Even the pretensions of the Nabob may prove a source of great embarrassment, when he is of age to claim his release from the present state of pupillage which prevents his asserting them." Ibid. p. 999.

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resolved, therefore, that the office of Naib Subah should be abolished.<sup>1</sup> That is to say, they resolved, that the main instrument of government; that on which the administration of justice, the whole business of police, and every branch of the executive government, depended; should be taken away: and what did they substitute, for answering the same ends? The Courts of Review established at Calcutta might be expected to supply the place of the Naib of the Nazim, in respect to the administration of justice: with respect to all the other branches of government, answerable for the happiness of between twenty and thirty millions of human beings, no substitution whatsoever was made: so profound, for I acquit them on the score of intention, was the ignorance which then distinguished the English rulers of India, of what they owed to the people, over whom they ruled, and the fruit of whose labour, under the pretence of rendering to them the services of government, they took from them, and disposed of as they pleased! No doubt the duties of government, thus left without an organ, were in part, and irregularly, when they pressed upon them, and could not be avoided, performed both by the President and Council, and by the servants distributed in the different parts of the country. But how imperfectly those services of government must have been rendered, for which no provision was made, and which, as often as they were rendered, were rendered, as works of supererogation, by those who had other obligations to fulfil, it is unnecessary to observe.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 978.

Though so little was done for rendering to the people the services of government, there was another branch of the duties of the Naib Nizam, which met with a very different sort and style of attention. That was, in name, the superintendence of the education and household of the Nabob; in reality, the disbursement of the money, allotted for his state and support. This was a matter of prime importance; and was met with a proportional intensity of consideration and care. It would be unjust, however, to impute to the individuals the defect in point of virtue which this contrast seems to hold forth. The blame is due to their *education*, the sort of education which their country bestows. They had been taught to consider the disbursement of a very large sum of money, as a matter of prodigious importance; they had never been taught to consider the rendering of the services of government to the people, provided the people would be quiet, as a matter of any importance at all. They must, therefore, have been superior to ordinary men; they must have belonged to that small number who rise above the mental level which their country and its institutions are calculated to form, had they displayed a higher measure, than they did, of wisdom and virtue.

This high-prized department of the functions of the Naib Nazim was even divided into two portions; the latter subject to the control of the former. One portion was made to consist, in “the guardianship of the Nabob, and the care and rule of his family;” the other in “regulating and paying the salaries of the Nabob’s servants, and keeping the account of his

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expenses, to be monthly transmitted to the Board,  
according to the orders of the Honourable Court of  
1772. Directors.”<sup>1</sup>

To execute the first of these portions (the pretensions of Ahteram ul Dowla, and if a woman was to be chosen, those of the mother of the Nabob, the wife of Meer Jaffier, being set aside) Munny Begum, a second wife, or rather concubine of Meer Jaffier, a person who had been originally a dancing girl, was preferred and appointed. The reasons are thus assigned by the majority of the council, in their minute of the 11th of July, 1772: “ We know no person so fit for the trust of guardian to the Nabob, as the widow of the late Nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn, Munnee Begum; her rank may give her a claim to this pre-eminence, without hazard to our own policy: nor will it be found incompatible with the rules prescribed to her sex by the laws and manners of her country, as her authority will be confined to the walls of the Nabob’s palace, and the Dewan” (meaning the person who should hold the secondary office, the paymaster, and accountant) “ will act of course in all cases in which she cannot personally appear. Great abilities are not to be expected in a Zennana, but in these she is very far from being deficient, nor is any extraordinary reach of understanding requisite for so limited an employ. She is said to have acquired a great ascendant over the spirit of the Nabob, being the only person of whom he stands in any kind of awe; a circumstance highly necessary for fulfilling the chief part of her duty, in directing his

<sup>1</sup> Consultation, 11th July, 1772, Minutes, ut supra, p. 978.

education and conduct, which appear to have been hitherto much neglected.”<sup>1</sup>

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With regard to the second of the above-described portions, a minute, in the Consultation, 11th July, 1772, signed Warren Hastings, says, “The President proposes Raja Goordass, the son of Maha Rajah Nundcomar, for the office of Dewan to the Nabob’s household. The inveterate and rooted enmity which has long subsisted between Mahomet Reza Cawn and

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<sup>1</sup> Minutes, ut supra, p. 979. It is curious enough that Hastings, in his letter to the Nabob, calls her “The Rightful Head of his Family;” and tells him, that “She stands in the place of his deceased Father.” Ib. 980. In a private account to the Secret Committee of Directors, Mr. Hastings states other reasons: the first was, that she was “the declared enemy of Mohammed Reza Khan,” and that it was necessary, in order to obtain evidence of his guilt, to fill every department with the enemies of that prisoner, who was arrested without warning, and whose papers were secured. He adds, “the only *man*,” he says nothing of a woman, “who could pretend to such a trust was the Nabob Yeteram O’Dowla, the brother of Meer Jaffier; a man indeed of no dangerous abilities, nor apparent ambition, but the father of a numerous family; who, by his being brought so nigh to the Musnud, would have acquired a right of inheritance to the Subahship; and if only one of his sons, who are all in the prime of life, should have raised his hopes to the succession, it would have been in his power at any time to remove the single obstacle which the Nabob’s life opposed to advancement of the family. The guardian, at least, would have been the Nizam, while the minority lasted; and all the advantages which the Company may hope to derive from it, in the confirmation of their power, would have been lost, or could only have been maintained, by a contention hurtful to their rights, or by a violence yet more exceptionable. The case would be the same were any other man placed in that station. The truth is, that the affairs of the Company stand at present on a footing which can neither last as it is, nor be maintained on the rigid principles of private justice: You must establish your own power, or you must hold it dependent on a superior, which I deem to be impossible.

“The Begum, as a woman, is incapable of passing the bounds assigned her. Her ambition cannot aspire to higher dignity. She has no children to provide for, or mislead her fidelity. Her actual authority rests on the Nabob’s life, and therefore cannot endanger it; it must cease with his minority, when she must depend absolutely on the Company for support against her ward and pupil, who will then become her master.” Fifth Report, Committee of Secrecy, 1781, Appendix, No. iv.

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Nundcomar, and the necessity of employing the vigilance and activity of so penetrating a rival to counteract the designs of Mahomet Reza Cawn, and to eradicate that influence which he still retains in the government of this province, and more especially in the family of the Nabob, are the sole motives for this recommendation.”<sup>1</sup>

The revenue allowed to the use of the Nabob had hitherto been so great a sum as thirty-two lacs of rupees. Of this the Directors had already complained: and agreeably to their directions, in January, 1772, on the allegation of the non-age of the Nabob, it was reduced to one half.

Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy were

<sup>1</sup> Minutes, ut supra, p. 994: The President goes on, “These reasons will justify the nomination of a man to supply the place of the late Naib Soobah, who is known to be his most violent opponent, and most capable of opposing him. It is not pretended that these ends are to be obtained merely from the abilities of Raja Gourdass; his youth and inexperience render him, although unexceptionable in other respects, inadequate to the real purposes of his appointment; but his father hath all the abilities, perseverance, and temper, requisite for such ends, in a degree, perhaps, exceeding any man in Bengal. These talents, heretofore, made him obnoxious to government itself, and therefore it might be thought unsafe to trust him with an authority so near the Nabob; . . . it is therefore proposed to confer it upon his son, who is of himself incapable of making a very bad use of it, and to allow of his acting under the influence and instruction of his father, who, holding no office under the Nabob, and being a subject of our government, may be removed without éclat, or the least appearance of violence, whenever he shall be proved, or even suspected, to abuse his trust.” Messrs. Dawes, Lawrell, and Graham, dissented from the President and the majority, and objected to the appointment of Raja Goordass, “Because,” say they, “we esteem it, in effect, the appointment of Nundcomar, who, with respect to the various accusations against his political conduct, and the orders which have been in consequence received, stands in such a predicament as to preclude, in our opinion, an acquiescence in the President’s proposition.” Ib. 996. In his answer, the President vindicates the political conduct of Nundcomar, which he affirms to be without blemish, though he says he will “not take upon him to vindicate his moral character.” Ib. 996, 997.

brought prisoners to Calcutta in the month of April. In his letter of the 1st of September, to the Court of Directors, Mr. Hastings says: "It may at first sight appear extraordinary, that Mahmud Rizza Cawn and Raja Shitab Roy have been so long detained in confinement without any proofs having been obtained of their guilt, or measures taken to bring them to a trial." Among the causes of this, he first specifies the great load of business with which the time of the counsel had been consumed. He then says, "Neither Mahmud Rizza Cawn nor Rajah Shitab Roy complain of the delay as a hardship. Perhaps all parties, as is usual in most cases of a public concern, had their secret views, which, on this occasion, though opposite in their direction, fortunately concurred in the same points. These had conceived hopes of a relaxation of the Company's orders; Mahmud Rizza Cawn had even buoyed himself up with the hopes of a restoration to his former authority by the interests of his friends and a change in the Direction. I pretend not to enter into the views of others; my own were these: Mahmud Rizza Cawn's influence still prevailed generally throughout the country; in the Nabob's household, and at the capital, it was scarce affected by his present disgrace; his favour was still courted, and his anger dreaded; Who, under such discouragements, would give information or evidence against him? His agents and creatures filled every office of the Nizamut and Dewannee; how was the truth of his conduct to be investigated by these? It would be superfluous to add other arguments to show the necessity of pressing the inquiry by breaking his

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influence, removing his dependants, and putting the directions of all the affairs which had been committed to his care, into the hands of the most powerful or active of his enemies. With this view, too, the institution of the new Dewannee obviously coincided. These were my real motives for postponing the inquiry.”<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the further progress of that inquiry, for facilitating which such extraordinary proceedings had been described as necessary, proceedings sufficient to procure the destruction, when required, of the most innocent of men; it was nevertheless, after two years’ confinement,<sup>2</sup> degradation, and anxiety, judicially declared, that in Mohammed Reza Khan, and Raja Shitab Roy, no guilt had been proved. There is no proof that their destruction was at any time an object with Mr. Hastings; and their acquittal proves that certainly it was not so to the end. Of Mohammed Reza Khan, as connected with subsequent facts of great importance, we shall afterwards have to speak. But the mind of Shitab Roy, who was a man of a high spirit, was too deeply wounded for his health to escape; and he died of a broken heart, a short time after his return to Patna. As some compensation for the ill-usage of Shitab Roy, Mr. Hastings, on his visit to Patna, when travelling to meet the Vizir at Benares, in 1773, appointed his son Roy-royan, or chief native agent of finance, in the province of Bahar; “from

<sup>1</sup> There was no confinement nor personal restraint beyond an enforced residence in Calcutta, and this was no doubt considered by the parties themselves as an advantage, as it afforded them opportunities of personally defending both their character and their interests.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Committee of Secrecy, 1781, Fifth Report, Appendix, No. iv.

an entire conviction," as he declared, "of the merits and faithful services, and in consideration of the late sufferings, of his deceased father."<sup>1</sup>

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During the time in which this great revolution was effecting in the government of Bengal, the situation of the neighbouring powers was preparing another field of action for the ambition and enterprise of the Company's servants. The loss which the Mahrattas had sustained in their late contest with the Abdallees, and the dissensions which prevailed among their chiefs, had for several years preserved the northern provinces from their alarming incursions. Nujub-ad-dowla, the Rohilla, in whom, as imperial deputy, the chief power, at Delhi, had been vested, upon the departure of the Abdallee Shah, had, by his wisdom and vigour, preserved order and tranquillity in that part of Hindustan. The Emperor, Shah Aulum, who resided at Allahabad, in the enjoyment of the districts of Allahabad and Corah, allotted as his dominion in the treaty lately concluded with him by the English and Vizir, where his state was in some measure supported by the payment or expectation of the share which was due to him, and which the English rulers had bound themselves to pay, of the

<sup>1</sup> For the above scenes, beside the documents already quoted, see Scott's Hist. of Bengal, p. 453; and Seer Mutakhareen, ii. 418.—M. The transactions regarding Shitab Roy are inaccurately detailed, and the cause of his death is a gratuitous supposition. In the first place, the term of his detention is exaggerated; it was little more than one year. He was sent to Calcutta in May 1772, and acquitted in July 1773. As noticed in the text, he made no complaint of the delay, and at the close of the investigation he was appointed Roy Royan of Behar, with the addition of the office of Naib Nazim: he quitted Calcutta in August, in a bad state of health, and died at Patna, in September. His son, Kullian Sing, was at once nominated his successor in both his fiscal and judicial functions. Letter from Bengal, 10th November, 1773.—W.

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1772. even before the conclusion of Mr. Verelst's government, to march to Delhi, and to mount the throne of his ancestors. Respect for the English, who laboured to repress this fond desire, and for the power of Nujub-ad-dowla, who might not willingly retire from his command, delayed the execution of the Emperor's designs. Nujub-ad-dowla died in the year 1770, about the very time when the ambition of Shah Aulum had stimulated him to the hazardous project of courting the Mahrattas to assist him in returning to Delhi.

With or without the concert of the Emperor, three powerful chiefs, Tookagee, Sindia, and Besajee, had taken a position to the northward of the river Chumbul, and hovered over the adjoining provinces with 300,000 horse.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor, in the beginning of the year 1771, had despatched his minister to Calcutta to obtain, if not the assistance, at least the approbation of the English, to his projected expedition; and was not restrained by their dissuasions. By the exertions of the Mogul nobles, and the assistance of the Vizir, who is said to have acted with more than his usual liberality,<sup>2</sup> he was enabled, in the month of May, 1771, to march from Allahabad at the head of

<sup>1</sup> The emperor had nothing to do with their position. Tukajee Holkar, Madhajee Sindhia, and Kishn Visajee, were officers of the Peishwa, by whom, in 1769, an army had been sent into Hindustan, to recover the influence lost at Paniput, and to exact revenge upon the Rohillas, for the aid they had given to the Abdali. It was for the easier accomplishment of these objects that they undertook to replace Shah Alem on the throne of Delhi. Duff's Mahrattas, ii. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Francklin's Shah Aulum, p. 36. In the Seer Mutakhareen the Vizir is said to have exerted himself to deter the Emperor. The truth is, he acted insidiously; in appearance dissuading the Emperor from the projected expedition, to keep fair with the English; secretly encouraging him to it, from the hopes of profiting, as he did, by this improvident adventure.

an army of 16,000 men. At the town of Nubbee Gunge, about thirty miles beyond the city of Furuckabad, on the high road to Delhi, where he was constrained, by the commencement of the rains, to canton his army, a Mahratta vakeel, or ambassador, waited his arrival, and presented the demands of his masters. Whatever balance of chout was due from the time of Mohammed Shah, must be discharged: Whatever plunder should be taken, must be divided equally between the Mogul and Mahratta troops: The Mahratta leaders must be confirmed in their jaghires: and five lacks of rupees,<sup>1</sup> toward the expense of the war, must be immediately advanced to the Mahrattas from the imperial treasury. With whatever indignation these imperious terms might be heard, no reluctance was to be shown. When the season for marching returned, the Mahratta chiefs and the nobles of Delhi joined the retinue of the Emperor; and on the 25th of December he made his entrance into the capital, with all the display which his circumstances placed within the compass of his power.

The Mahrattas afforded the Emperor but a few days to enjoy the dignity and pleasures of his capital; when they hurried him into the field. The country of the Rohillas was the object of cupidity to both; to the Emperor, as an increase of his limited territory; to the Mahrattas, as a field of plunder, if not a permanent possession. Seharunpore, the jaghire of the late minister Nujub-ad-dowla, the Rohilla chief, who had served the royal family with so much

<sup>1</sup> Scott (Aurangzebe's Successors, p. 249) mentions ten lacks of rupees, without any other conditions or exactions.



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fidelity and talent, and, in the absence of the Emperor, had governed the city and province of Delhi for a number of years, lay most accessible. It was not, as the other possessions of the Rohillas, on the further side of the Ganges, but commenced under the Sewalic hills, at a distance of seventy miles from Delhi, and was terminated by the strong fortress of Ghose Ghur on the north, and by Sakertal on the east. The resumption of the government of Delhi, which had been possessed by Nujub-ad-dowla, and transmitted to his son Zabita Khan, and the idea of the resentment which that chief must have conceived upon this retrenchment of his power, rendered him an object of apprehension to the Emperor, and recommended to his approbation the project of commencing operations with the reduction of Seharunpore. The Mogul forces, which the Emperor accompanied in person, were commanded by Mirza Nujuf Khan, a native of Persia, who accompanied to Delhi Mirza Mohsan, the brother of Suffder Jung, the Nabob of Oude, when he returned from the embassy on which he had been sent to Nadir Shah, after his invasion of Hindustan. Mirza Nujuf was of a family said to be related to the Sophi sovereigns of Persia, and was held in confinement by the jealousy of Nadir. He and his sister were released at the intercession of the Hindustan ambassador; when the sister became the wife of her deliverer; and the brother accompanied them on their departure to Hindustan. After the death of his benefactor, Mirza Nujuf adhered to the fortunes of his son, Mohammed Coollee Khan, Governor of Allahabad; and when that unfortunate Prince was treacherously put to

death by his cousin Suja-ad-dowla, the son and successor of Suffder Jung, Nujuf Khan retired with a few followers into Bengal, and offered his services to Meer Casim. When that Nabob fled for protection to the Nabob of Oude, whom Nujuf Khan, as the friend of Mohammed Coollee Khan, was afraid to trust, he departed into Bundelcund, and was received into employment by one of the chiefs of that country. Upon the flight of Suja-ad-dowla, after the battle of Buxar, Mirza Nujuf offered his services to the English; advanced claims to the government of Allahabad; was favourably received; and put in possession of a part of the country. But when the transfer of that district to the Emperor came to be regarded as a politic arrangement, the pretensions of Nujuf Khan were set aside; and, in the way of compensation, he was allowed a pension of two lacks of rupees from the English revenues, and recommended warmly to the Emperor. His talents and address raised him to a high station in the service of that enfeebled Sovereign, whom he accompanied, as commander of the forces, on his ill-fated expedition to Delhi.

The united power of the Emperor and Mahrattas, Zabita Khan, though he made a spirited defence, was unable to withstand. He was overcome in battle; and fled across the Ganges, in hopes to defend what territories he possessed on the opposite side. He stationed parties of troops at the different fords; but this weakened his main body; Nujuf Khan gallantly braved the stream; and was followed by the Mahrattas; when Zabita Khan, despairing of success, fled to Pattirgur, where he had deposited his women and treasures. The closeness with which he was pur-

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BOOK V. sued allowed not time sufficient to remove them, and  
 CHAP. 1. they fell into the hands of the enemy; while Zabita

1772. Khan himself, with a few attendants, escaped to the camp of Suja-ad-dowla. His country, one of the most fertile districts in India, which had flourished under the vigorous and equitable administration of Nujub-ad-dowla, afforded a rich booty; which the Mahrattas wholly seized, and set at nought the outcries of the Emperor.

The Rohillas were now placed in the most alarming situation. We have already seen<sup>1</sup> that among those soldiers of fortune from the hardy regions of the North, who constantly composed the principal part of the Mogul armies, and, according to their talents and influence, procured themselves lands and governments in India, the Afghans had latterly occupied a conspicuous place; that a portion of this people, who took the name of Rohillas, had given several chiefs, with large bands of followers, to the imperial armies; that these chiefs had in some instances been rewarded with jaghires in that fertile district of country which lies principally between the Ganges and the mountains, on the western boundary of the Subah of Oude; that amid the disturbances which attended the dissolution of the Mogul government, those leaders had endeavoured to secure themselves in their possessions, which they had filled with great numbers of their countrymen. It is completely proved, that their territory was by far the best governed part of India; that the people were protected; that their industry was encouraged; and that the country flourished beyond all parallel. It

<sup>1</sup> Book iii. chap. iv.

was by these cares, and by cultivating diligently the arts of neutrality; that is, by pretending, according to the necessity of Indian customs, to favour all parties, not by conquering a larger territory from their neighbours, that the Rohilla chiefs had endeavoured to provide for their independence. After the death of Nujub-ad-dowla, no one among them was remarkably distinguished for talents.<sup>1</sup> Hafez Ruhmet Khan, whose territories lay nearest to those of Suja-ad-dowla, was looked upon as the chief of the tribe; but his character had in it more of caution than of enterprise, and his prudence had stamped upon him the reputation of avarice. The united force of all

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<sup>1</sup> This chief had impressed, both on Indians and Europeans, the highest opinion of his character. Mr. Verelst, giving an account of the surrounding powers, at the conclusion of his government, thus describes him. "As a man, and a prince, he is perhaps the only example in Hindostan of, at once, a great and good character. He raised himself from the command of fifty horse, to his present grandeur, entirely by his superior valour, integrity, and strength of genius; and has maintained himself in it with universal applause, by a spirited and well-grounded system of policy. Experience and abilities have supplied the want of letters and education; and the native nobleness and goodness of his heart have amply made amends for the defect of his birth and family. He is a strict lover of justice, a most faithful subject to his Emperor; and has long been the sole defence and support of the royal family at Delhi. His wisdom and conduct were no where more manifest than in his transactions last year with the Shah Abdalla. He found himself obliged to join him, or expose his country to an immediate invasion, and therefore complied with the necessity; but at the same time, so protracted their councils, and threw so many secret obstacles in the way of their designs, that, after several months, the Shah finding his troops mutinous for want of pay or plunder, himself harassed by the Seiks, the heats begun, and the rains approaching, was obliged to return home with disgrace, and rest contented with a sum of money infinitely inferior to what his expedition had promised. Another man in such a situation would probably have lost his life or liberty; but Nujub-ad-dowla, by his prudence, at once saved his dominions, and extricated himself. He is now about sixty years old, and his constitution much worn down by fatigue and sickness; so that it is probable he will soon be succeeded by his eldest son, Zabita Khan, aged near thirty-five, who, to all his father's virtues, joins the improvements of a liberal education." Verelst to the Court of Directors, March 28, 1768.



BOOK V. these leaders was estimated at 80,000 horse and foot.  
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1772. But though a sense of common danger might with difficulty combine them in operations of defence, they were too independent, and their minds too little capable of a steady pursuit of their own interests, to offer, through an aggressive confederacy, any prospect of danger to the surrounding powers.<sup>1</sup>

✓ The Rohillas, on their part, however, stood exposed to alarming designs, on almost every quarter. Their nearest, and for a long time their most dangerous enemy, was the Subahdar of Oude, to whom, from its first acquisition, their territory had been a constant object of envy and desire. A predecessor of Suja-ad-dowla, nearly thirty years before, had invited the Mahrattas to assist him in wresting it from their hands; and had given the first temptation to that dangerous people to claim a settlement in that part of Hindustan. From the character of the present Subahdar of Oude, the danger of the Rohillas on that side was increased rather than diminished; and at the same time the superior power of the Mahrattas pressed upon them with alarming violence from the south. With their own strength, they were a match for neither party; and clearly saw, that their safety could only be found in obtaining protection against both. They temporized; and endeavoured to evade the hostile designs of each,

<sup>1</sup> Of this, Mr. Verelst had left his decided conviction upon record. "There is something in the constitution of the Rohillas which must ever make them weak and inconsiderable as aggressors. Their government is divided into chiefships: but no one chief has singly troops or resources to enterprise a foreign war. When attacked, their national affection will unite, the common cause will animate them. A private contest will not rouse them; nor is it practicable to engage their voice on any other motive than the general safety." Verelst, Appendix, No. 28.

by shielding themselves with the terror which one set of their enemies kept alive in the breasts of the other.

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The Rohillas were vehemently roused by intelligence of the attack upon Zabita Khan, which they regarded as the first step of a general plan of aggression. They proposed an union of councils and of arms with the Subahdar of Oude, to whom the establishment of the Mahrattas upon his frontier was, they knew, an object equally of danger and alarm. He was thrown into great consternation and embarrassment. Early in January, 1772, he pressed for an interview with the English General, Sir Robert Barker, who was then on his route to Allahabad, and met him on the 20th of the same month at Fyzabad. He remarked that “either, to prevent a total extirpation, the Rohillas would be necessitated to give up a part of their country, and to join their arms with the Mahrattas; when the whole confederacy would fall upon him; or that the Mahrattas, refusing all terms to the Rohillas, would establish themselves in the Rohilla country, and expose him to still greater danger.” To extricate himself from these difficulties, the following is the plan which he had devised. He would march with his army to his own Rohilla frontier: He would there, partly by the terror of his arms, partly by desire of his aid, obtain from the Rohillas, first, the cession of a portion of their territory for the Emperor’s support, leaving to them such a part as was best adapted to serve as a barrier to the province of Oude; and, secondly, a sum of money, with part of which he would purchase the departure of the Mahrattas, and part of which he would keep to his own

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use: He would thus effect an accommodation with both the Emperor and the Mahrattas, at the expense of the Rohillas; and put something in his own pocket besides. But for the accomplishment of these desirable ends, the presence of the English was absolutely necessary, without the guarantee of whom, he plainly declared that the Rohillas, who knew him, would yield him no trust. To the letter of the General, making known this proposal, the Presidency on the 3d of February wrote in reply, approving highly of the project of Suja-ad-dowla, and authorizing the General to lend the support which was desired.

The proposals of the Subahdar, in regard especially to the division of their territory, were odious to the Rohillas; and time was spent in negotiation, while 30,000 Mahrattas ravaged the country beyond the Ganges, and their main body subdued the territory of Zabita Khan. The English General, Sir Robert Barker, strongly urged upon Suja-ad-dowla, the necessity of protecting the Rohillas, the weakness of whom became the strength of the Mahrattas, and enabled them, if their departure were purchased, to return to the seizure of the country whenever they pleased. In the mean time the Subahdar was eager to conclude a treaty with the Mahrattas; the prospect of which alarmed the English General, and called forth his exertions to prevent so dangerous a confederacy. The Mahrattas, however, treated the overtures of the Subahdar with so little respect, that they varied their terms at every conference; and forced him at last to break off the negotiation. In their instructions to the General, on the 30th of April, the Select Committee declare: "We are con-

firmed in the opinion we have for some time past entertained, that the Mahrattas will not make any stay in the Rohilla country; but that they will be obliged to quit it even before the rains set in; and every day's intelligence renders the probability of this event the more apparent." Their opinion was grounded upon the knowledge which they possessed of the revolution which had taken place in the Mahratta government, and which could not, as they supposed, and as the event turned out, fail to recall their armies. The Committee add, "We therefore so far concur in opinion with you, that any concessions made to the Mahrattas to promote their departure would be superfluous and highly improper."

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The defeat of the negotiation with the Mahrattas, and the knowledge with which the Subahdar was already furnished of the events which summoned home the Mahrattas, brought about that alliance between him and the Rohillas, which Sir Robert had laboured so eagerly to effect. The Subahdar was very keen for an arrangement, from which he expected to derive money, now when he hoped by the voluntary departure of the Mahrattas to have nothing to do in return for it. The Rohillas, on the other hand, it is observable, entered into the engagement with the utmost reluctance: in compliance solely, as it would appear, with the importunities of the English. Sir Robert Barker had sent Captain Harper to the camp of the Rohillas to negotiate; and on the 25th of May, from the Nabob's camp at Shawabad, he writes to the Presidency, in the following remarkable terms. "Gentlemen, on



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the 21st instant, Captain Harper, returned from the Rohilla Sirdars [commanders] having *at length prevailed* on Hafez Ruhmet Khan to proceed with him to Shawabad the second day's march. The jealousy of Hindustaners has been very particularly evinced in this visit; for notwithstanding Hafez Ruhmet has been encamped within three coss since the 23d of the month, until this morning, he could not prevail on himself to perform the meeting.—I hope, in a few days, to have the satisfaction of communicating to you the final conclusion of this agreement with the Rohilla Sirdars.”<sup>1</sup>

It was not, however, before the 17th day of the following month, that all difficulties were borne down, or removed, and a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was signed by the respective parties. Of the articles, that which was attended with the most memorable consequences, that to which the

<sup>1</sup> The particulars of the Rohilla war depend chiefly upon statements intended to prejudice Warren Hastings, or those of persons engaged in the transactions, but, who if impartial were ill qualified by conversancy with the native languages and Indian politics to understand what was going on. At any rate they are as recited in the text, very irreconcilable both in letter and spirit, with accounts derived from a source, the authenticity of which is unquestionable, and the tone of which cannot possibly be intended to be favourable to Shuja-ad-dowla. A life of Hafiz Rahmet Khan, written by his son Mustajab Khan, and translated by Mr. Elliot has been published by the Oriental Translation Committee, and the circumstances there narrated are in constant contradiction to those recorded in the text. Thus, instead of any reluctance on the part of the Rohillas to apply to the Vizir for aid, the reluctance is there assigned to Shuja-ad-dowla. The purport of Sir R. Barker's letter has been misunderstood. The difficulty there alluded to, was not that of inducing the Rohilla sirdars to ask for aid, but of persuading Hafiz to trust his person into the hands of the Nawab: they had long been political enemies, and Hafiz Rahmet Khan not unnaturally suspected, that if the Vizir could get hold of him, his detention would be followed by a renewed attempt upon the country: this is the reluctance spoken of: it was wholly personal, and was at variance with the wishes of the other chiefs. Life of Hafiz, 96.—W.

Rohillas, it is probable, assented only from that rash-  
 ness and negligence in forming pecuniary obligations —  
 which is universal in Indian governments, and which  
 their universal practice of fulfilling none which they  
 can violate or evade unavoidably engenders, was the  
 promise to pay to the Vizir forty lacks of rupees, on  
 condition that he should expel the Mahrattas from  
 the Rohilla territories ; ten of these lacks to be fur-  
 nished on the performance of the service, the rest in  
 the space of three years.<sup>1</sup>

No effort whatsoever, in consequence of this agree-  
 ment, was made by the Subahdar for the expulsion  
 of the Mahrattas ; in a little time he returned to his  
 capital ; and the Mahrattas, after ravaging the coun-  
 try, crossed the Ganges of their own accord, at the  
 commencement of the rains. They encamped, how-  
 ever, between the Ganges and the Jumna, with too  
 evident an intention of renewing their operations as  
 soon as the favourable season should return. During  
 the period of inaction, the Rohillas importuned the

<sup>1</sup> For the preceding facts, see the Papers in the Appendix, No. 21, of the Fifth Report of the Committee of Secrecy in 1781.—M.

According to the authority last cited, the agreement was of a very different nature. The Mahrattas consented to retire on the promised payment of forty lacks of rupees by the Rohillas, but they demanded that Shuja-ad-dowla should be surety for the payment. "The Nawab declined entering into such an engagement, unless Hafiz gave him a bond for the money, adding, that he would not have acted as mediator, but from regard to Hafiz. The whole of the Afghan Sirdars entreated Hafiz to consent, promising to contribute their quotas towards its discharge, on which the deed was executed, and Shooja-ad-dowla having made himself responsible to the Mahrattas, they quitted Kuthur." p. 99. The sequel was characteristic of all parties : the Sirdars never paid their quotas : Hafiz paid the Nawab five lacks, and then demanded that his bond should be cancelled. Shuja-ad-dowla never paid the Mahrattas, and no doubt they never expected that he would. The Nawab, however, did good service to the Rohillas for the time.—W.

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Vizir to make such arrangements with the Emperor and Mahrattas, as might prevent them from crossing the Ganges any more. But no such arrangements were attempted. As soon as the termination of the rains approached, the Mahrattas drew near to the river, and, again threatening the Rohillas, demanded a sum of money, of which, after temporizing, a portion was, by Hafez Ruhmet, most reluctantly paid.

Upon the accomplishment of the enterprise against Zabita Khan, the Emperor returned to Delhi, disgusted with his new allies, and eagerly desirous of an opportunity to dissolve the connexion. The Mahrattas on their part, who disdained the restraint of obligation, whenever it might be violated with profit, had entered into correspondence with Zabita Khan, and had engaged for a sum of money to compel the Emperor, not only to restore his territory, but to bestow upon him the office of Ameer-al-Omra, which his father had enjoyed. To these commands the Emperor could not prevail upon himself quietly to yield; and the Mahrattas thought proper to march towards Delhi, to enforce submission. The Emperor prepared himself for resistance; and, by the vigour and foresight of Nujuf Khan, was enabled to make a respectable defence. Incapable, however, of long supporting the weight of the Mahratta host, he opened the gates of Delhi, on the 22d of December, exactly one year, wanting three days, from the period of his inaugural entry. From this time, he was no better than an instrument in the hands of the Mahrattas. Of their power the first use was to extort from their prisoner a grant of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, in which he had been esta-

blished by the English. Having accomplished these events, they returned to the banks of the Ganges, which they made preparations to cross.

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The Subahdar was now thrown into a state of the most violent alarm; and wrote repeated letters to the Bengal government to send a military force to his protection. He had neglected, or had been unable, to take any measures for placing the country of the Rohillas in a state of security. That people were now laid at the mercy of the Mahrattas; and would, he foresaw, be compelled to join them, to avoid destruction. Zabita Khan had already thrown himself upon their mercy; and he violently feared that the other chiefs would speedily follow his example. The Mahrattas, indeed, made great offers to the Rohillas. They would remit the greater part of the sums of which they had extorted the promise. They engaged to pass through the country without committing any depredations or molesting the ryots, and to grant all sorts of advantages; provided the Rohillas would yield a free passage through their dominions into the territory of the Vizir.<sup>1</sup> The Subahdar of Oude exerted himself to prevent that union of the Mahrattas and Rohillas; the effects of which he contemplated with so much alarm. He moved with his army into that part of his country which was nearest to that of the Rohillas; and held out to them whatever inducements he conceived most likely to confirm their opposition to the Mahrattas. He

<sup>1</sup> This is distinctly asserted in a letter of Hafez Ruhmet himself, addressed to the Gov. General; and it is too conformable to the state of the circumstances to be liable to any reasonable doubt. Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 19.



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engaged to make effectual provision both for their present and future security; and to remit, as Hafez Ruhmet affirms, the forty lacks of rupees. Difficult as was the choice, the Rohillas thought it still less dangerous to rely upon the faith of the Subahdar, than upon that of the Mahrattas; and gaining what they could, by temporizing with that formidable people, they, however, declined all engagements with them, and actually joined their troops to those of the English and Subahdar.<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th of January, 1773, the Secret Committee at Calcutta entered into consultation on intelligence of these events; and thus recorded their sentiments. “Notwithstanding the alarms of the Vizir, expressed in the foregoing letters, it does not clearly appear that the Mahrattas have acquired any accession of power, since, whatever advantage they derived from the sanction of the King’s name, when he was independent, must now be either lost, or very much diminished, by their late rupture with him, by their having violently possessed themselves of his person, and their usurpation of his dominions.” On the subject of the Rohillas, whom the Vizir, to increase the ardour of the English to send an army to his support, represented as actually connected with the Mahrattas, though he only dreaded that event, they remark, that instead of joining with the Mahrattas in an invasion of the territories of the Vizir, “It is still more probable that the Rohilla chiefs, who have sought their present safety in a treacherous alliance, *to which necessity compelled them*, with the

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Robert Barker’s Letter, 23rd March, 1773, Ibid. App. No. 18.

Mahrattas, will, from the same principle, abandon their cause, or employ the confidence reposed in them to re-establish their own independence, rather than contribute to the aggrandizement of a power, *which in the end must overwhelm them.*" With regard to the unhappy Shah Aulum, the humiliated Emperor of the Moguls, they remark; "It is possible he may solicit our aid; and, in point of right, we should certainly be justified in affording it him, since no act of his could be deemed valid in his present situation, and while he continues a mere passive instrument in the hands of the Mahrattas: but whether it would be political to interfere, or whether, at this time especially, it would be expedient, must continue a doubt with us."<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable, that with regard to the most important of his acts, the surrender of Corah and Allahabad, so little did any one regard it as binding, that his deputy, in these provinces, instead of delivering them up to the Mahrattas, applied to the English for leave to place them under their protection, "as the King, his master, whilst a prisoner in the hands of the Mahrattas, had been compelled to grant sunnuds in their favour."<sup>2</sup> The English, in consequence, threw a garrison into Allahabad, and sent a member of council to take charge of the revenues.<sup>3</sup>

The obligation under which the English were placed to aid the Vizir in the defence of his own territory, and their opinion of the advantage of supporting him against the Mahrattas, induced them to send

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, App No. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. App. No. 12.

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Sir Robert Barker, with a part of the army. The importance of preventing the Mahrattas from establishing themselves on the northern side of the Ganges, and the facility which they would possess of invading Oude if masters of Rohilcund, disposed the English to include that district also within the line of their defensive operations. But, though the combined forces of the English and Vizir passed into the territories of the Rohillas, and encamped near the river, opposite to the main army of the Mahrattas, which threatened at once the territories of Oude and the province of Corah, a large body of Mahrattas crossed the Ganges, overran a great part of Rohilcund, destroyed the cities of Moradabad and Sumbul, and continued to ravage the country till the end of March.

No operation of any importance ensued. The English General was restrained by peremptory orders from passing the river, to act on the offensive; the Mahrattas were afraid of crossing it in the face of so formidable an opponent. And in the month of May, the situation of their domestic affairs recalled that people wholly to their own country.

The departure of the Mahrattas opened a field to the ambition of the Subahdar, which he was eager to cultivate. A meeting was concerted between him and the Governor, which took place at Benares at the beginning of September. The terms are memorable in which the cause and object of this interview are mentioned by the English chief. In his Report to the Council at Calcutta, On the 4th of October, 1773, he says, "The Vizir was at first very desirous of the assistance of an English force to put him in possession of the Rohilla country, lying north of his

dominions and east of the Ganges. This has long been a favourite object of his wishes ; and you will recollect that the first occasion of my last visit was furnished by a proposal of this kind.”<sup>1</sup> The Governor-General was so far from revolting at this proposition, or hesitating to close with it, that he stimulated the Vizir to its execution.<sup>2</sup> *Money* was the motive to this eager passion for the ruin of the Rohillas. “As this had long,” says the English ruler, “been a favourite object of the Vizir, the Board judged with me that it might afford a fair occasion to urge the improvement of our alliance, by obtaining his assent to a more equitable compensation for the expenses attending the aid which he occasionally received from our forces.”<sup>3</sup> The situation of the Company, he says, urged it upon them, “as a measure necessary to its interest and safety. All our advices,” he continues, “both public and private, represented the distresses of the Company at home, as extreme. The letters from the Court of Directors called upon us most loudly for ample remittances, and a reduction of our military expenses. At the same time, such was the state of affairs in this government, that for many years past the income of the year was found inadequate to its expense ; to defray which, a heavy bond debt, amounting at one time to 125 lacks of rupees had

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<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 19. See also his Minute, addressed to the New Government, Ibid. No. 45 ; and his Answer to the first of the Charges of Burke.

<sup>2</sup> “I found him,” (says he, in his Appeal to the Directors, dated 3rd Dec. 1774, Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 45,) “still equally bent on the design of reducing the Rohillas, *which I encouraged*, as I had done before, by dwelling on the advantages which he would derive from its success.”

<sup>3</sup> Appeal, ut supra.



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1773. forty lacks of rupees, upon the accomplishment of the enterprise, should be advanced to the English by the Vizir, and a monthly allowance, equivalent to the computed expense, be provided for the troops engaged in that service. By this, says the Governor, “a saving of near one-third of our military expenses would be effected during the period of such a service; the stipulation of forty lacks would afford an ample supply to our treasury: the Vizir would be freed from a troublesome neighbourhood, and his dominions be much more defensible.”

In all this, we may allow, there was enough for convenience and profit, both to the President and the Vizir. But to bring ruin upon a large body of our fellow-creatures for our own convenience and profit, unless where the most cogent reasons of justice and necessity impel, is to perform the part of the most atrocious oppressors. In this case, the pleas of justice and necessity are, to an extraordinary degree, defective and weak. The unhappy Rohillas, it seems, procrastinated, and evaded, with respect to the demand which was now violently made upon them for payment of the formerly stipulated price of defence; a payment which had not been earned, since they had never been defended; which they were not able to pay, since their country had been repeatedly ravaged and stript; of which the exaction was in reality a fraud, since the return for it was never intended to be made; which it was no wonder they were reluctant to pay, to the man

<sup>1</sup> Appeal, ut supra.

who was impatient to assail them, and whom the use of their money would only strengthen for their destruction. At the worst, a failure in a pecuniary obligation can never justify a war of extermination; it even authorized hostilities, as the Directors, when they condemned this employment of their forces, remarked, so far only, as might be necessary to compel the fulfilment of the contract. It was also alleged, that the Rohillas assisted the Mahrattas. But this is by no means true. They temporized with the Mahrattas, as it was highly natural they should do; but the whole power of the nation was exerted to keep and to drive the Mahrattas from their own side of the Ganges.<sup>1</sup> With regard to necessity for the extirpation of the Rohillas, there was not so much as prudence to justify the deed; Hastings himself confessing, "that the dependence of the Vizir upon the Company (in other words his weakness) would by that extension of his possessions, be *increased*, as he himself was incapable of defending even his ancient possessions without the English support."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the official letters of Sir Robert Barker, who commanded the British forces upon the spot, Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 18. He condemned the assistance given to the destruction of the Rohillas, but less on the score of justice, than expediency. See his Minute, ut supra, App. No. 23. The Rohillas, among other reasons, alleged with truth, that merely driving the Mahrattas across the river was no deliverance, as they would return the very next campaign. See Barker's Evidence, in Minutes of Evidence before the House of Commons, May 2nd, 1786. Sir Robert was asked; "Were the Mahrattas in fact prevented from invading the Rohillas, by any acts of Suja-ad-dowla, or by his protection of that country?—No."

<sup>2</sup> Appeal, ut supra. This is a contradiction to his former assertion, that the acquisition of the Rohilla country made his territories more defensible. True. But having a bad cause to defend, his apology is full of contra-

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Another object of great importance was to be settled between the Governor and Vizir. The provinces of Corah and Allahabad, of which a forced surrender had been obtained by the Mahrattas, but which the deputy of the Emperor, declaring the act involuntary, had, to save them for his master, placed under the protection of the English, were to be disposed of. At first, if no resolution was taken to restore them to the Emperor, it appears, at least, that none was adopted to take them from him. As soon as the idea was begotten of making money out of the present situation of affairs, the provinces of Corah and Allahabad naturally fell into the crucible. It had long been a decided principle in the Company's policy, not to retain those provinces under their own administration; because the expense of governing them, at so great a distance, would exceed the utmost revenue they could yield. The choice lay between preserving them for the Emperor and making them over to the Vizir. Generosity, had it any place in such arrangements, pleaded with almost unexampled strength in behalf of the forlorn Emperor, the nominal sovereign of so vast an empire, the representative of so illustrious a race, who now possessed hardly a roof to cover him. Justice, too, or something not easily distinguished from justice, spoke on the same side: considering that, in the first place, the Emperor had a right to the provinces, both by his quality of sovereign of India, and also by the

dictions. There can be no doubt that the Rohillas, whose troops were among the best and bravest of Hindustan, were a barrier against the Mahrattas. But the desire of territory and plunder blinded the Vizir; that of money, the Governor.

peculiar concession and grant of the English Company, if not in express terms for, most certainly in consideration of, his not absolutely necessary but highly useful grant of the dewannee of the three great and opulent provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and that, in the second place, he could not, by any fair construction, be deemed to have forfeited any right by the surrender of the provinces, an act which was in the highest degree involuntary, and therefore not his own. But these considerations were a feeble balance against the calls of want, and the heavy attractions of gold. To secure Allahabad and Corah against the possession of so dangerous a power as the Mahrattas was the acknowledged policy of the British government; and it was alleged, that the Emperor was unable to protect them. But it is certainly true, that the Emperor was not less able at that time than he was at the time when they were first bestowed upon him; or than he was at any point of the time during which they had been left in his hands. It is equally true, that the inability of the Vizir to secure them was just as certain as that of the Emperor; since there is the confession of the Governor, that he was unable to protect even his own dominions, without the assistance of the English; and that every extension of his frontier rendered him more vulnerable and weak. There was, however, one difference; the Vizir could give money for them, the Emperor could not; and in this, it is probable, the whole advantage will be found to consist. That the English strengthened their barrier by giving to a crude native government a vast frontier to defend, instead of combining against the

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CHAP. I. and the Vizir, will hardly be affirmed by those who

1773. reflect how easily the balance among those powers might have been trimmed, or who know the consequences of the arrangement that was formed. For a sum of money, Corah and Allahabad were tendered to the Vizir. That he was delighted with the prospect of regaining a territory, for which, a few years before, we have seen him incurring the infamy and guilt of perfidy and murder, perpetrated against a near kinsman, we need not doubt. About terms there appears to have been no dispute. For the sum of fifty lacks of rupees, of which twenty lacks were to be paid in ready money, and the remainder in two years by payments of fifteen lacks at a time, the provinces in question were added to his dominions,

The acquisition of those provinces made an apparent change with regard to the Rohillas in the views of the Vizir. If we may believe the representation of the President; whose representations, however, upon this subject, are so full of management and ambiguity, that they are all to be received with caution; the Nabob represented himself unable to meet the pecuniary obligations under which the acquisition of both territories would lay him to the English Company; and desired for that reason to suspend his attack upon the Rohillas. It was agreed, however, between him and the President, that whenever the time convenient for the extirpation of that people should arrive, the assistance of the English should not be wanting. The difficulty of fulfilling his pecuniary engagements

with the Company, if they were ever alleged, did not detain him long.

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From the meeting at Benares, the Vizir and President parted different ways; the former to the Dooab, and Delhi, to reduce, during the absence of the Mahrattas, some forts and districts which were still held for that people; the latter to lay before his colleagues, and to transmit to his employers, such an account of the transactions at this interview, as was most likely to answer his ends.

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In his report to the Council at Fort William, the President confined himself to the agreement respecting Corah and Allahabad, and the allowance for such troops as might hereafter be employed in the service of the Vizir. The agreement respecting the Rohillas, which it had been settled between the President and Vizir might be conveniently kept out of the ostensible treaty, was wholly suppressed. With a view to the future, it was politic however to explain, that the Vizir showed at first a desire to obtain English assistance for the seizure of the Rohilla country; it was politic also to state the pretexts by which the expediency of that assistance might best appear to be established. Adding, that for the present, however, the Vizir had laid aside this design, the President subjoined the following declaration: "I was pleased that he urged the scheme of this expedition no further, as it would have led our troops to a distance."<sup>1</sup> Yet we have it from his pen, that he "encouraged" the Vizir to the enterprise, as what promised to be of the greatest advantage to the Company.

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 19.

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In the letter of the President despatched from Benares to the Directors, announcing the result of his arrangements with the Vizir, all intelligence of the project for exterminating the Rohillas is suppressed.

Upon the return of Mr. Hastings to Calcutta, he effected an object, of which, from the important consequences with which it was attended, it is necessary to give some account. The correspondence with the country powers had frequently been carried on through the military officers upon the spot. The power thus conveyed to the military, Mr. Hastings had represented as inconvenient, if not dangerous; and one object of his policy had been to render the head of the civil government the exclusive organ of communication with foreign powers. He now stated to the Council the concurrence in opinion of the Vizir and himself, that an agent, permanently residing with the Vizir for the communication and adjustment of many affairs to which the intercourse of letters could not conveniently apply, would be attended with important advantages: And he urged the propriety of granting to himself the sole nomination of such an agent, the sole power of removing him, and the power of receiving and answering his letters, without communication either to the Committee or Council. To all these conditions the Council gave their assent; and Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, with an extra salary, was sent as private agent to attend the residence of the Vizir, and to communicate secretly with Mr. Hastings.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hastings' Report, App. No. 19, ut supra; Letter of 17th June, 1744, App. No. 25.

The Vizir in the mean time had made himself master of several places in the Dooab. He advanced towards Delhi with a show of great friendship to the Emperor; assisted him with money; sent a force to assist his army in wresting Agra from the Jaats; and having thus laid a foundation for confidence, began to intrigue for his sanction to the intended attack upon Rohilcund. A treaty was negotiated, and at last solemnly concluded and signed, by which it was agreed that the Emperor should assist with his forces in the reduction of the Rohillas, and in return should receive a share of the plunder, and one-half of the conquered country.<sup>1</sup>

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On the 18th of November, about two months after their interview, the Vizir wrote to the President, demanding the promised assistance of the English for the destruction of the Rohillas. Mr. Hastings appears to have been thrown into some embarrassment. The suddenness and confidence of the call corresponded but indifferently with the terms on which he had given his colleagues to understand that the communication on this subject rested between him and the Vizir. His abilities in making out a case, though singularly great, were unable to produce unanimity; and it was not till after a long debate, that a decision in favour of the expedition was obtained. The assistance was promised, on the very terms concerted and settled between him and the Vizir; and yet this President had the art to persuade his colleagues, and joined with them in a

<sup>1</sup> Francklin's Shah Aulum, p. 54. Letter of Col. Champion; Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 45; and the treaty itself, App. No. 27. Scott's Aurungzebe's Successors, p. 259, 260.



BOOK V. declaration to their common masters, that these  
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1774. terms were so favourable to the English, and so burdensome to the Vizir, as to render his acceptance of them improbable, and therefore to leave but little chance of their involving the English government in a measure which the principal conductors of that government were desirous to avoid.<sup>1</sup>

In the month of January, 1774, the second of the three brigades into which the Company's army in Bengal was divided, received orders to join the Vizir; and Colonel Champion, now Commander-in-Chief, proceeded about the middle of February to assume the command. On the 24th of February the brigade arrived within the territory of the Vizir; and on the 17th of April the united forces entered the Rohilla dominions. On the 19th Col. Champion wrote to the Presidency, that the Rohilla leader, "had by letter expressed earnest inclinations to come to an accommodation with the Vizir; but that the Nabob claimed no less than *two crore* of rupees." After this extravagant demand, the Rohillas posted themselves on the side of Babul Nulla, with a resolution of standing their ground to the last extremity. And early on the morning of the 23rd, the English advanced to the attack. "Hafez," says the English General, with a generous esteem, "and his army, consisting of about 40,000 men, showed great bravery and resolution, annoying us with their artillery and rockets. They made repeated attempts to charge, but our guns, being so much better served than theirs, kept so constant and galling a fire, that they could

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, App. Nos. 22, 23, 24, 25.

not advance ; and where they were closest, was the greatest slaughter. They gave proof of a good share of military knowledge, by showing inclinations to force both our flanks at the same time, and endeavouring to call off our attentions by a brisk fire on our centre. It is impossible to describe a more obstinate firmness of resolution than the enemy displayed. Numerous were their gallant men who advanced, and often pitched their colours between both armies, in order to encourage their men to follow them ; and it was not till they saw our whole army advancing briskly to charge them, after a severe cannonade of two hours and twenty minutes, and a smart fire of musketry for some minutes on both flanks, that they fairly turned their backs. Of the enemy above 2000 fell in the field, and amongst them many Sirdars. But what renders the victory most decisive is the death of Hafez Ruhmet, who was killed whilst bravely rallying his people to battle. One of his sons was also killed, one taken prisoner, and a third returned from flight to day, and is in the hands of Suja-ad-dowla.”

In passing to another character, the General changes his strain. “I wish,” says he, “I could pay the Vizir any compliment on this occasion, or that I were not under the indispensable necessity of expressing my highest indignation at his shameful pusillanimity ; indispensably, I say, because it is necessary that administration should clearly know how little to be depended on is this their ally. The night before the battle, I applied to him for some particular pieces of cannon, which I thought might prove of great service in the action ; but he declined giving the use

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of them. He promised solemnly to support me with all his force, and particularly engaged to be near at hand with a large body of cavalry, to be used as I should direct. But instead of being nigh me, he remained beyond the Gurrah, on the ground which I had left in the morning, surrounded by his cavalry and a large train of artillery, and did not move thence till the news of the enemy's defeat reached him." Then, however, his troops began to be active, and effectually plundered the camp; "while the Company's troops, in regular order in their ranks, most justly" (says their commander) "observed, *We have the honour of the day, and these banditti the profit.*"<sup>1</sup>

This action, in reality, terminated the war. Though Fyzoolla Khan, with his treasures and the remains of the army, had made good his flight toward the mountains, the whole country, without opposition, lay at the mercy of the Vizir; and never probably were the rights of conquest more savagely abused. Not only was the ferocity of Indian depredation let loose upon the wretched inhabitants, but as his intention, according to what he had previously and repeatedly declared to the English government, was to exterminate the Rohillas, every one who bore the name of Rohilla was either butchered, or found his safety in flight and in exile.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Col. Champion, to the Hon. Warren Hastings, &c., 24th April, 1774; Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 26.

<sup>2</sup> "The inhumanity and dishonour," says Col. Champion, in his letter of June 12, 1774, "with which the late proprietors of this country and their families have been used, is known all over these parts; a relation of them would swell this letter to an immense size. I could not help compassionating such unparalleled misery; and my requests to the Vizir to show

Shortly after this decisive affair, the army marched to the city of Bissouly, which was near the centre of

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lenity, were frequent, but as fruitless as even those advices which I almost hourly gave him, regarding the destruction of the villages, with respect to which I am now constrained to declare, that though he always promised as fairly as I could wish, yet he did not observe one of his promises, nor cease to overspread the country with flames, till three days after the fate of Hafez Rhamet was decided."—In another letter he says, "Above a lack of people have deserted their abodes in consequence of the defeat of Hafez." Ibid. App. No. 27. In another, "The whole army were witnesses of scenes that cannot be described." That the President was perfectly aware of the designs of the Vizir, before his engagement to assist in them, sufficiently appears from his own letter to that chief, dated the 22nd of April, 1773. "I have received," says he, "your Excellency's letter, mentioning . . . . . that if, should the Rohillas be guilty of a breach of their agreement [viz. about the forty lacks], we will *thoroughly exterminate* them, and settle your Excellency in the country, you will in that case pay the Company fifty lacks of rupees, and exempt them from the King's tribute." Ibid. App. No. 21. In the Nabob's own letter to the President, of the 18th November, 1773, he says, "During our interview at Benares, it was agreed that I should pay, &c. . . . . and that I should, with the assistance of the English forces, endeavour to punish and *exterminate the Rohillas out of their country*," Ibid. App. No. 22. Mr. Hastings only admits the atrocities in part, and then defends them in a curious manner; that is to say, not only by the example of Indian barbarity in general, but by the example of British barbarity, on the subjects of the Vizir. "I believe it to be a truth," says he, "that he [the Vizir] began by sending detachments to plunder. This I pronounce to have been both barbarous and impolitic. But too much justified by the practice of war established among all the nations of the East; and I am sorry to add by our own; in an instance (which the Vizir has a right to quote in vindication of the charge against him), of a detachment employed in the war in which we were engaged with him in the year 1764, to burn and ravage his country." He then quotes a letter from Major Champion, who commanded the detachment, which says, "Two separate parties have been sent into the enemy's country, the one of which was as high up as Buxar, and (according to the directions given me) there are destroyed upwards of a thousand villages. Had not the rains, &c. prevented, we should have done very considerably more damage." Minute of the Governor-General, dated 10th Jan. 1775, in the Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 45.—M. The words 'extermination,' 'extirpation,' and the like, although found in the correspondence, are here put forward so as to convey erroneous impressions. The only extirpation proposed, was, that of the power of one or two Rohilla chiefs. It was not a war against the people, but against a few military adventurers, who had gained their pos-



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the Rohilla country, with the intention of passing in quarters the season of the rains. At this place had arrived before them Nujuf Khan, with the army of the Emperor. In obedience to the treaty between the Emperor and Vizir, they had marched from Delhi to assist in the reduction of the Rohillas; but before they reached the scene of action the rapidity and vigour of the English had terminated the war. Nujuf Khan demanded partition of the country and of the plunder, according to the conditions on which the countenance and co-operation of the Emperor had been procured. The Vizir did not dispute the treaty, a copy of which the Emperor had sent to Col. Champion; he alleged, however, that the counterpart, which was in his own possession, expressed a condition that

sessions by the sword, who were constantly at war with their neighbours and with each other, and whose forcible suppression was the legitimate object of the King of Delhi, or the Nawab of Oude. So far was the contest from being national, that the mass of the population of Rohilcund consisted of Hindus, hostile both in religion and policy to their Afghan rulers, to whom the name Rohillas is somewhat incorrectly confined. Even amongst the Afghans, however, there was but a partial combination, and several of the Sirdars joined the Vizir. One of the many pamphlets put forth by the virulent enemies of Hastings (*Origin and Authentic Narrative of the present Mahratta and late Rohilla War. Lond. 1781.*) unblushingly affirms that 500,000 families of husbandmen and artists had been driven across the Jumna, and that the Rohilla provinces were a barren and uninhabited waste. An equally false representation is cited from the Parliamentary Register 1781, by Hamilton, according to whom, the numbers expelled were about 17,000 or 18,000 men with their families, none being included in the spirit of the treaty, *excepting such as were actually found in arms*. The Hindoo inhabitants, consisting of about 700,000, were no otherwise affected by it than experiencing a change of masters, to which they had been frequently accustomed. Hamilton, *History of the Rohilla Afghans*, 268. These statements all proceeded from personal hostility to Hastings, and had no foundation in genuine humanity. It is evident that the son of Hafiz, although the most grievous consequence of hostilities was his father's death, entertains no suspicion that there was any thing atrocious in the transaction, and he expresses no personal resentment towards the chief actors in the revolution.—W.

his Majesty should take the field in person; and that the breach of that article annulled the contract. "But when the counterpart," says Col. Champion, "which he put into the hands of my interpreter, came to be examined, it appeared there was no such stipulation, nor did it ever exist even verbally."<sup>1</sup> The decision of the English government is the next incident in the scene. Instructing on this subject the commander of their troops, when he had as yet sent them only a surmise, and the treaty had not been produced, "our engagements (they say) with the Vizir are to aid him in the conquest of the Rohilla country; and if he is opposed by Nujuf Khan, or the King himself, you are to pay no regard to either. We cannot" (they add) "entertain so bad an opinion of the Vizir as to suppose him capable of acting in avowed breach of a treaty; but if any plea of that kind should be made for contesting our right to occupy any part of the Rohilla country yet unconquered, it will be proper to put to him the question, whether such treaty does exist or not? If he should acknowledge such a treaty, you must undoubtedly abstain from further hostilities in abetment of his breach of faith." Yet after they were fully satisfied of the existence of such a treaty; and not only of the capability, but the resolution of the Vizir to act in avowed breach of it, they laid their commands upon the English general, to abet and support him, because "it is our intention," say they, "to persevere in pursuit of the object which originally engaged us in the present enterprise, and to adhere strictly to our engagements with the Vizir,

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<sup>1</sup> App. No. 45, ut sup

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 CHAP. I. foreign incidents or occurrences,"<sup>1</sup> that is, by solemn  
 1774. treaties, or the breach of them.

From Fyzoolla Khan an early application arrived, offering to come to the camp upon the faith of the English, and to hold the district which had belonged to his family as a dependant or renter of the Vizir. His offers, variously modified, were frequently repeated, with great earnestness. But the Vizir persisted in his declaration, that he would allow no Rohilla chief to remain on the further side of the Ganges; and only offered him one of the districts in the Dooab which had been recently conquered from the Mahrattas. Fyzoolla Khan, with justice, observed, that this the Mahrattas would take from him the first time they returned to the country.

Towards the end of July, the united forces of the English and Vizir marched towards Fyzoolla Khan, who occupied a strong post on the skirts of the mountains, near Pattir Gur. At the beginning of September they came near the enemy, and as the Vizir began to exhibit a strong desire of an accommodation with the Rohillas, an active intercourse of letters and messengers ensued. Whether his mind was operated upon by the approaching arrival of the new councillors at Calcutta, or the dread which he pretended of assistance to Fyzoolla Khan from the Mahrattas and Afghans, he now made offer of terms to which a little before he would not so much as listen. He proposed to make Fyzoolla collector of the revenues, or Zemindar, of the whole territory of

<sup>1</sup> Letter of 23rd May, and 14th July, App. ut supra, No. 27.

Rohilcund, allowing six lacks of rupees per annum for his own expenses. But this offer, and even that of a jaghire of ten lacks of rupees in the Rohilcund country, were rejected. The Rohillas were so advantageously posted, with works thrown up in their front, that it was necessary to advance by regular approaches, and the army were so discontented, on account of hardship, arrears of pay, and ill-usage, either real or supposed, that the General was doubtful of their steadiness and order. After several days, in which the approaches were carried on, and the scouting parties of both armies were frequently engaged, it was at last agreed, that Fyzoolla Khan should receive a jaghire of fourteen lacks and seventy-five thousand rupees in the Rohilcund territory, and should surrender one-half of all his effects to the Vizir. Thus terminated the first Rohilla war.<sup>1</sup>

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Before closing the account of the events to which the visit of Mr. Hastings to Benares gave birth, it is necessary to mention its effects with regard to the deserted Emperor. Upon receiving from him the grant of the dewanee, or the receipt and management of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, it was agreed that, as the royal share of those revenues, twenty-six lacks of rupees should be annually paid to him by the Company. His having accepted of the assistance of the Mahrattas to place him on the throne of his ancestors was now made

<sup>1</sup> See the correspondence, Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 27, and Col. Champion's long defensive letter, Ibid. App. No. 45. See also No. 28, of the Bengal Treaties, in the Collection of Treaties, &c. with the native Princes, printed in 1812. *Rampore*, and some dependent districts, formed the territory bestowed upon Fyzoolla Khan.



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use of as a reason for telling him, that the tribute of these provinces should be paid to him no more. Of the honour or the discredit, however, of this transaction, the principal share belongs not to the Governor, but to the Directors themselves; who, in their letter to Bengal of the 11th of November, 1768, had said, "If the Emperor flings himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, or any other power, we are disengaged from him, and it may open a fair opportunity of withholding the twenty-six lacks we now pay him."<sup>1</sup> Upon the whole, indeed, of the measure, dealt out to this unhappy sovereign; depriving him of the territories of Corah and Allahabad; depriving him of the tribute which was due to him from those provinces of his which they possessed; the Directors bestowed unqualified approbation. And though they condemned the use which had been made of their troops in subduing the country of the Rohillas; they declare frankly, "We, upon the maturest deliberation, confirm the treaty of Benares."<sup>2</sup>

The circumstance upon which, in summing up the account of his administration to his honourable masters, Hastings advanced the strongest claim to applause, was the alleviation of the pecuniary difficulties of the Indian government, and the improvement of the revenues. In the letters from the Bengal administration to the Court of Directors, under date 22d August, and 17th October, 1774, after presenting the most flattering picture of the financial situation to which the government was happily exalted, they advance a confident prediction, that in the

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Company's Letter to Bengal, 3rd March, 1775, Ibid. App. No. 46.

course of the ensuing season, the whole of the bond debt would be discharged.<sup>1</sup> And in that representation of the state of Bengal, which was published by Mr. Hastings in 1786, he declares, "When I took charge of the government of Bengal in April 1772, I found it loaded with a debt at interest of nearly the same amount as the present; and in less than two years I saw that debt completely discharged, and a sum in ready cash of the same amount actually accumulated in store in the public treasuries."<sup>2</sup> This boasting exhibits some remarkable features, when the facts are sufficiently ascertained. No improvement had been made in the productive powers of the country, which is the only permanent and satisfactory source of an improved revenue. The gross revenues of the year ending in April 1772 were 3,13,63,894 current rupees; the gross revenues of that ending in April 1774 were only 2,76,10,556. Hardly had any improvement been made in the net receipt. That for the year ending in April 1772, was 2,16,88,538 rupees, equal to 2,373,650*l.*; that for the year ending 1774, was 2,20,56,919 rupees, or 2,481,404*l.*<sup>3</sup> In the next great department of financial administration, the expense of the civil and military services, instead of any retrenchment there had been an increase. In the year ending in 1772, the civil service is stated at 154,620*l.*, the marine at 52,161*l.*, the military at 1,164,348*l.*, and the total expense, exclusive of buildings and fortifications, at 1,371,129*l.*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, *ut supra*, p. 37, and App. No. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs relative to the state of India, by Warren Hastings, Esq., p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Fifth Report, *ut supra*, p. 7 and 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 8.

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In the year ending in 1774, the civil service is stated at 159,537*l.*, the marine at 53,700*l.*, the military at 1,304,883*l.*, and the total at 1,518,120*l.*<sup>1</sup> In the year 1772, the proportion of the military expense, defrayed by the Nabob of Oude, was 20,766*l.*<sup>2</sup> In the year 1774, the proportion defrayed by him was 131,430*l.*<sup>3</sup> In the following year, that ending in April 1775, there was a slight improvement in the collections, which may in part be ascribed to the measures of the preceding administration; and there was a total cessation of war which produced a reduction of the military expenditure, remarkable only for its minuteness. The gross collections amounted to 2,87,20,760 rupees, the net receipt to 2,51,02,090, or 2,823,964*l.*; the civil service to 231,722*l.*, the marine to 36,510*l.*, and the military to 1,080,304*l.*; total, 1,349,836*l.*: and the proportion this year borne by the Nabob of Oude was 240,750*l.*<sup>4</sup> It thus abundantly appears, that nothing so important as to deserve the name of improvement had arisen in the financial administration of the Company. A pecuniary relief had indeed been procured, but from sources of a temporary and very doubtful description; partly from the produce of the bills drawn in such profusion upon the Company, by the predecessor of Hastings; partly from the reduction of the allowance to the Nabob of Bengal, from thirty-two to sixteen lacks; but chiefly from the plunder of the unhappy Emperor of the Moguls, whose tribute of twenty-six lacks per annum for the dewanee of Bengal was withheld, and whose two provinces

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, *ut supra*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 41.

Corah and Allahabad were sold for fifty lacks to the Vizir; from the sale of the Rohillas, the extirpation of whom was purchased at forty of the same eagerly coveted lacks; and from the pay and maintenance of a third part of the troops, which were employed in the wars and dominions of the Vizir. With regard even to the payment of the debt, an inspection of the accounts exhibits other results than those presented by the declarations of the President.

Year ending in April.	Balances in the Treasuries.	Debts at interest.	Other debts.
1772..	C.R.65,09,041..	1,07,84,520..	52,48,480.
1774	...21,62,994..	1,17,71,486..	95,41,795.
1775.....	1,23,95,598....	90,68,584..	87,05,871. <sup>1</sup>

Upon this statement, if we compare the year in which Mr. Hastings began his administration, with that in which it ended, we see a prodigious deterioration. If we compare it even with that which follows, the total amount of debt in 1772 was 1,60,30,000 rupees; in 1775 it was 1,77,68,584, which is an increase of 17,41,455. The only improvement appears in the balance of cash, which in 1775 exceeded the balance in 1772 by 58,86,557 rupees. Deducting from this a sum equal to the increase of debt, there remains 41,45,102 rupees, by which alone the state of the exchequer, after all the calamity which had been produced to supply it, was better in 1775 than it had been in 1772.

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 8, 36, 42.



## CHAPTER II.

*Commencement of the New Government.—Supreme Council divided into two Parties, of which that of the Governor-General in the Minority.—Presidency of Bombay espouse the Cause of Ragoba, an ejected Peshwa.—Supreme council condemn this Policy, and make Peace with his Opponents.—Situation of the Powers in the Upper Country, Nabob of Oude, Emperor, and Nujuf Khan.—Pecuniary Corruption, in which Governor-General seemed to be implicated, in the cases of the Ranee of Burdwan, Phousdar of Hoogley, and Munny Begum.—Governor-General resists Inquiry.—Nuncomar the great Accuser.—He is prosecuted by the Governor General.—Accused of Forgery, found guilty, and hanged.—Mohammed Reza Khan, and the office of Naib Subah restored.*

BOOK V. THE operation of the new constitution framed by  
CHAP. 2. the Parliament of England, was ordained to com-

1774. mence in India after the 1st of August, 1774. The new councillors, however, General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis, who, along with Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell, were elected to compose the board of administration, did not arrive at Calcutta until the 19th of October. On the following day the existing government was dissolved by proclamation, and the new council took possession of

its powers. On the proposal of the Governor-general, who stated the necessity of a few days, to prepare for the council a view of the existing state of affairs, and to enable Mr. Barwell, who was then absent, to arrive; the meeting of the Board was suspended until the 25th. On the very day on which its deliberations began, some of the discord made its appearance, which so long and so deeply embarrassed and disgraced the government of India. The party who had arrived from England, and the party in India, with whom they were conjoined, met not, it should seem, with minds in the happiest frame for conjunct operations. Mr. Hastings, upon the first appearance of his colleagues, behaved, or was suspected of behaving, coldly. And with jealous feelings this coldness was construed into studied and humiliating neglect. In the representation which the Governor-general presented of the political state of the country, the war against the Rohillas necessarily attracted the principal attention of the new councillors; and, unhappily for the Governor-general, presented too many appearances of a doubtful complexion not to excite the desire of elucidation in the minds of the most candid judges. An obvious objection was, its direct opposition to the frequent and urgent commands of the Court of Directors, not to engage in offensive wars of any description, and to confine the line of defensive operations to the territorial limits of themselves and allies. The reasons, too, upon which the war was grounded; a dispute about the payment of an inconsiderable sum of money, and the benefit of conquest, to which that dispute afforded the only pretext;

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might well appear a suspicious foundation. When the new government began the exercise of its authority, the intelligence had not arrived of the treaty with Fyzoolla Khan; and an existing war appeared to demand its earliest determinations. To throw light upon the field of deliberation, the new Councillors required that the correspondence should be laid before them, which had passed between the Governor-general (such is the title by which the President was now distinguished), and the two functionaries, the commander of the troops, and the agent residing with the Vizir. And when they were informed that a part indeed of this correspondence should be submitted to their inspection, but that a part of it would also be withheld, their surprise and dissatisfaction were loudly testified, their indignation and suspicions but little concealed.

As reasons for suppressing a part of the letters, Mr. Hastings alleged, that they did not relate to public business, that they were private confidential communications, and not fit to become public.

It is plain that this declaration could satisfy none but men who had the most unbounded confidence in the probity and wisdom of Mr. Hastings; and as the new Councillors neither had that confidence, nor had been in circumstances in which they could possibly have acquired it on satisfactory grounds, they were not only justified in demanding, but their duty called upon them to demand a full disclosure. The pretension erected by Mr. Hastings, if extended into a general rule, would destroy one great source of the evidence by which the guilt of public men can

be proved: And it was calculated to rouse a sus-  
 picion of his improbity in any breast not fortified  
 against it by the strongest evidence of his habitual  
 virtue.<sup>1</sup> Nothing could be more unfortunate for Mr.  
 Hastings than his war against the Rohillas, and the  
 suppression of his correspondence with Mr. Middle-  
 ton. The first branded his administration with a  
 mark, which its many virtues were never able to  
 obliterate, of cruel and unprincipled aggression; and  
 the second stained him with a natural suspicion of  
 personal impurity. Both together gave his rivals  
 those advantages over him which rendered his sub-  
 sequent administration a source of contention and  
 misery, and involved him in so great a storm of diffi-  
 culties and dangers at its close.

Of the Council, now composed of five Members,  
 the three who had recently come from England joined  
 together in opposing the Governor-General, who was  
 supported by Mr. Barwell alone. This party consti-  
 tuted, therefore, a majority of the Council, and the  
 powers of government passed in consequence into  
 their hands. The precipitation of their measures  
 called for, and justified, the animadversions of their  
 opponents. Having protested against the suppression

<sup>1</sup> The Directors not only condemned the retention of the correspondence,  
 and sent repeated orders for its disclosure, which were never obeyed; but  
 arraigned the very principle of a private agent. "The conduct of our late  
 Council," say they, "in empowering the President to prepare instructions  
 for Mr. Middleton as agent at the court of Suja-ad-dowla, without ordering  
 them to be submitted to the Board for their inspection and approbation,  
 was very improper. And it is our express direction, that no such inde-  
 pendent or separate authority be ever delegated, to any Governor, or Mem-  
 ber of Council, or to any other person whatsoever; but that all instructions  
 to public agents be laid before the Council, and signed by a majority of  
 the Members, before they be carried into execution." Letter to Bengal,  
 15th December, 1775, Fifth Report, ut supra, Appendix, No. 46.



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of any part of Middleton's correspondence, they were not contented with commanding that, as at least a temporary expedient, his letters should be wholly addressed to themselves: they voted his immediate recall; though Hastings declared that such a measure would dangerously proclaim to the natives the distractions of the government, and confound the imagination of the Vizir, who had no conception of power except in the head of the government, and who would consider the annihilation of that power as a revolution in the state. The governing party, notwithstanding their persuasion of the injustice and cruelty of the Rohilla war, and notwithstanding their ignorance whether or not it was brought to a close, directed the Commander-in-Chief, in the first place, immediately upon receipt of their letter, to demand payment from the Vizir of the forty lacks of rupees promised for the extirpation of the Rohillas,<sup>1</sup> and of all other sums which might be due upon his other engagements. Provided a real inability was apparent, he might accept not less than twenty lacks, in partial payment, and securities for the

<sup>1</sup> On the supposition of the injustice of the Rohilla war, these forty lacks ought to have been paid, not to the Company, but to the sufferers: Suja-ad-dowla ought to have been compelled to restore the unhappy refugees to their homes; and to make compensation. But neither the party, who now possessed all the powers of government, though they reprobated the Rohilla war, nor the Court of Directors, though they solemnly condemned it, ever uttered a wish for the restoration of the expatriated and plundered Rohillas; for a farthing of compensation for their loss, or alleviation to their miseries, either out of their own revenues, or those of the Vizir. The cry about justice, therefore, was a cheap virtue to them; and they were so much the less excusable than the Vizir and Mr. Hastings, that these actors in the scene denied its injustice, and were consistent: the Directors, and the condemning party, were inconsistent; if conscious of that inconsistency, hypocritical: if not conscious, blind.

remainder, in twelve months. And they directed him in the second place, to conduct the troops within fourteen days out of the Rohilla country, into the ancient territory of Oude; and in case the Vizir should refuse compliance with the prescribed demands, to withdraw the troops entirely from his service, and retire within the limits of the Company's dominions. Before the despatch of these instructions, intelligence arrived of the treaty with Fyzoolla Khan; of the payment of fifteen lacks by the Vizir, from the share of Fyzoolla Khan's effects; of his return to his capital, for the declared purpose of expediting payment to the Company of the sums which he owed; and of the intention of the English army to march back to Ramgaut, a Rohilla town near the borders of Oude. In consideration of these events the Governor-General proposed to suspend the peremptory demands of money, and the order for the recall of the troops; and to proceed with more leisure and forbearance. But every motion from that quarter in favour of the Vizir was exposed to the suspicion of corrupt and interested motives; and the proposal was rejected. The directions to the Commander were no further modified, than by desiring him to wait upon the Vizir at his capital, and to count the fourteen days from the date of his interview. The Governor-General condemned the precipitation of the pecuniary demand as harsh, impolitic, and contrary to those rules of delicacy, which were prescribed by the directors for their transactions with the native princes, and which prudence and right feeling prescribed in all transactions: and he arraigned the sudden recall of the troops as a

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BOOK V. breach of treaty, a violation of the Company's faith,  
 CHAP. 2. tantamount to a declaration that all engagements

1774. with the Vizir were annulled, and affording to him a motive and pretence for eluding payment of the debts, which if his alliance with the Company continued, it would be his interest to discharge. Both parties wrote the strongest representations of their separate views of these circumstances to the Directors; and the observations of one party called forth replies from the other, to a mischievous consumption of the time and attention, both in England and in India, of those on whose undivided exertions the right conducting of the government depended.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after his return from the expedition against the Rohillas, Suja-ad-dowla, the Vizir, whose health was already broken, began to show symptoms of a rapid decay, and expired in the beginning of 1775, when his only legitimate son, who assumed the title of Asoff-ul-dowla, succeeded without opposition to the Subahdaree of Oude. Mr. Middleton had already returned, and Mr. Bristow was now sent to supply his place at the residence of the new Nabob. The majority in Council resolved to obtain from the son, with all possible despatch, the sums of money due by the father, but to consider all engagements by which they were bound to the late Nabob as dissolved by his death, and to make any assistance, which they might hereafter afford his successor, the

<sup>1</sup> See the Documents in the Appendix, Nos. 44, 45, and 46 of the Fifth Report, *ut supra*. They are also to be found in the Minutes of Evidence, exhibited to the House of Commons on the Oude charge; and once more in the Minutes of the Evidence exhibited on the trial of Mr. Hastings in Westminster Hall.

result of new purchases and payments. A treaty was at last arranged on the 21st of May, by which it was agreed, that the Company should guarantee to Asoff-ul-dowla, the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, which had been sold to his father; but that the Nabob in return should cede to the Company the territory of the Raja Cheyte Sing, Zemindar of Benares, yielding a revenue of 22,10,000 rupees; that he should raise the allowance for the service of the Company's brigade to 2,60,000 rupees per month; and should pay, as they fell due, the pecuniary balances upon the engagements of the late Vizir. Mr. Hastings refused his sanction to the imposition of these terms, as inconsistent with any equitable construction of the treaty with the late Vizir, extorted from the mere necessities of the young Nabob, and beyond his power to fulfill. The conduct of the Directors was peculiar. In their letter of the 15th December, 1775, remarking; upon the resolution of the Council to disregard the treaties concluded with the late Nabob of Oude, they say, "Although the death of Suja-ad-dowla may render it necessary to make new arrangements with his successor, we cannot agree with our Council, that our treaties with the State of Oude expired with the death of that Nabob." When they were made acquainted however with the new grant of revenue, and the new allowance on account of the troops, they say, in their letter of the 24th of December, 1776, "It is with singular satisfaction we observe at any time the attention paid by our servants to the great interests of their employers; and it is with particular pleasure we here signify our entire approbation of the

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BOOK V. late treaty concluded with Asoff-ul-dowla, successor  
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 1774. cured as seem to promise us solid and permanent  
 advantages.”<sup>1</sup>

The new Board of Administration had early announced to the distant Presidencies, that it had assumed the reins of government, and was vested with controlling power over all the British authorities in India. It had also required from each of the Presidencies a representation of its political, financial, and commercial situation; and found a scene opened at Bombay, which it requires a notice of some preceding circumstances rightly to unfold.

The Mahratta Sovereigns, or Rajas, were assisted, according to the Hindu institution, by a council of eight Brahmens, who shared among them the principal offices of the state.<sup>2</sup> The official name of the chief of this council was Peshwa, upon whom the most important parts of the business of government devolved. According as the pleasures, the indolence, or the incapacity of the sovereign withdrew him from the management of affairs, the importance of this principal servant was increased; and a proportionable share of the dignity and power of the sovereign passed into his hands. In a rude state of society it appears not to be difficult for the influence and dignity of the servant to outgrow that of the master, who becomes too weak to resume the power

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, with Appendix, No. 44 and 45.

<sup>2</sup> These ministers were not in all instances Brahmans, nor were their offices part of the Hindu system; they were instituted by Sivajee. See Duff's Mahrattas, i. 235.—W.

which he has imprudently devolved. The minister leaves his office and ascendancy to his son; the son makes it hereditary; and the sovereign, divested of all but the name of king, sinks into an empty pageant. Such was the course of events in the case of the mayor of the palace in France, in that of the *Chū-vua* in Tunquin,<sup>1</sup> and such it was, besides other cases, in that of the Peshwa, among the Mahrattas. In the reign of the Raja Sahoo, who was but third in succession from Sivaji, Viswanath Balajee had raised himself from a low situation in life to the rank of Peshwa. Sahoo was a prince devoted to ease and to pleasure; and the supreme powers were wielded, with little check or limitation, by Viswanath Balajee. He assumed the name of Rao Pundit, that is, chief of the Pundits, or learned Brahmens, and made the Raja invest him with a *sirpah*, or robe of office,<sup>2</sup> a ceremony which ever since has marked the succession of the Peshwas, and appeared to confer the title. Viswanath was able to leave his office and power to his son Bajerao, who still further diminished the power of the sovereign; and finally allowed him not so much as liberty. The Raja was confined to Satarah, a species of state prisoner; while the Peshwa established his own residence at Poona, which henceforth became the seat of government. The brother of Bajerao, Jumnajee Anna, though a Brahmen, led the forces of the state; he attacked the Portuguese settlements in the neighbourhood of Bombay; and

<sup>1</sup> See the *Exposé Statistique du Tunkin*, published in London, in 1811, from the papers of M. de la Bissachère, a French Missionary, who had spent twenty-six years in the country.

<sup>2</sup> The *sirpa* is an honorary dress, not particularly a robe of office.—W.

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added Salsette and Bassein to the conquests of the Mahrattas. The family of the Peshwa prided themselves in these acquisitions; affected to consider them as their own, rather than the property of the state; and showed a violent attachment to them, as often as, either by force or negotiation, the alienation of them was attempted. The vicinity of these territories to the British settlements at Bombay, brought the interests of the Company in contact with those of the Mahrattas; and the terms of a commercial and maritime intercourse were somewhat inaccurately framed. Bajerao left a son, name Bao, who was slain in the battle of Paniput; and Jumnajee Anna, his brother, left two sons, Nanah, called also Bajee Rao, and Ragonaut Rao, with the former of whom, as Peshwa, the Presidency of Bombay, in 1756, concluded a treaty. The Mahrattas agreed to exclude the Dutch from all intercourse with their dominions, and to give up Fort Vittoria, Hematgur, and Bancote, in exchange for Gheriah, which the English had taken from Angria the pirate. In 1761, Bajee Rao, or Nanah, died, of grief, it is said, for the death of Bao, and left two sons, the eldest Madhoo Rao, the other Narrain Rao, both minors. The hereditary succession of the Peshwas had now so firm an establishment, that the title of Madhoo was not disputed; and the burden of government, during the minority of his nephew, devolved upon Ragonaut Rao, more commonly known by the name of Ragoba.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This short account in the text of the rise of the power of the Peshwa and of his descendants, is a series of inaccuracies. The usurpation of all real power by the Peshwa did not take place till the death of Shao Raja, and was not the work of Viswanath. He was not succeeded, as a matter of course, by his son Bajirao, who was not appointed Peshwa until seven months after

It had fared with the Mahratta government, as it commonly fares with extended dominion under the rude policy of the East. The government of the provinces was confided to the chief military leaders, and the more distant and powerful of them, as the vigour of the central government relaxed, acquired independence. Of these independencies, the most important by far was that of the Bhonslas, which, together with Cuttack, a part of Orissa, included the whole of the vast province, or region of Berar. The next in point of magnitude, of the separate Mahratta kingdoms, was the province of Guzerat, which had been wrested from the Mogul empire by Pillajee Guicawar, or the herdsman, and its government rendered hereditary in his family. Besides these inde-

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his father's death, and his son, a second Bajirao, by whom the ascendancy was obtained, succeeded to the office of Peshwa only, after some opposition. His aggrandizement was materially owing to Shao's having fallen into a state of mental imbecility some time before his death, and to his having left no successor. Raja Ram who was placed upon the throne, and was a grandson of Sivaji, had been kept concealed through Shao's reign, and some doubts of his right to the succession were entertained. The Peshwa's agency in his accession necessarily gave additional power to the minister. With respect to the descendants of the first Bajirao the whole is erroneous.

Bajirao left no son named Bao, nor were the sons of his brother, whose proper name is Chimnaji Appa, named Bajirao and Ragonath. They were in fact not Chimnaji's sons, but Bajirao's; the second Bajirao being distinguished from his father by the term Balajee. The term Bao, or more correctly Bhao, is no name, but an epithet meaning literally 'brother,' but applicable to any near relative, and it was the familiar appellation of Sewdasheo Chimnaji, the son of Chimnaji Appa, as the cousin of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao. The Bhao commanded at the fatal battle of Paniput, and Balaji Bajirao died of grief, not merely for his cousin's death, but the disgrace and danger in which the Mahratta state was plunged. It is true, that on all points connected with Mahratta History, we now have in Captain Duff's excellent work a better guide than was in the author's reach when he wrote, but the materials to which he had access, were capable of furnishing him with a more accurate knowledge both of persons and events.—W.



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pendent princes, two chiefs, Holkar and Sindia, possessed extensive dominions in the province of Malwa, and in the regions bordering on the territories of the Raja of Berar and the Nabob-vizir. And there were inferior adventurers, who in other parts had acquired a sort of independence, among whom the most remarkable was Morari Rao,<sup>1</sup> who had acted a considerable part in the long struggle between the French and English in the Carnatic, and possessed the fort of Gooti with a considerable district on the frontier of the Nizam. All these powers acknowledged a nominal dependence upon the government founded by Sivaji; and a sort of national feeling was apt to unite them against a foreign enemy. But their connexion was voluntary, and they scrupled not to draw their swords against one another, and even against the Peshwa, upon any provocation or prospect that would have engaged them in hostilities with a different foe.

The Brahmen council of eight, known also by the name of Mutseddies, or ministers, had been reduced to a low station in the government, during the vigour of the preceding Peshwas. The weak and divided councils of a minority and regency offered a tempting opportunity to endeavour the recovery of the influence which they had lost. By intriguing with Gopica-boy, the mother of Madhoo, they succeeded in creating jealousies between the nephew and the uncle; and in the end the uncle was stripped of his power. The Mutseddies and Gopicaboy ascribed to Ragonaut Rao a design to elevate himself to the office of

<sup>1</sup> He was of a family highly distinguished in Mahratta history, and was hereditary Senapati, or Commander-in-Chief, but relinquished his claim for a territorial grant from the Raja.—W.

Peshwa, and treacherously to deprive his nephews of their dignity or their lives. The Regent described his opponents as an ambitious confederacy, leagued with a dissolute intriguing woman for the purpose of grasping the powers of the state. The account of the transaction which the ministers themselves drew up for the English government<sup>1</sup> is marked with strong improbabilities. Hitherto, moreover, the members of the Peshwa family, instead of supplanting, had acted with the greatest harmony in supporting, their head. And if Ragonaut Rao had aimed at the supremacy, of which no other token appears than the accusation of his enemies, prudence would have taught him, either to usurp the authority from the beginning; or to leave but little time for his nephew to gather strength. After the fall of Ragoba, the power of the Mutseddies, during the nonage of Madhoo, was without control; and they employed it, after the manner of Hindus, for the acquisition of enormous riches. As the years however of the Peshwa increased, he displayed some vigour of mind, and began to restrict the power of this cabal; but died at an early age in 1772.<sup>2</sup> At his death he bore

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<sup>1</sup> See Fifth Report, ut supra, Appendix, No. 35.

<sup>2</sup> We now possess better authority for these transactions, than that which has misled the text into an imperfect and incorrect relation of them. From Duff's Mahratta History, and Col. Briggs' Secret Correspondence of the Court of the Peshwa, from 1761 to 1772, (Tr. R. As. Society, vol. ii. p. 109,) consisting chiefly of Madhu Rao's letters, we learn to appreciate the character of Madhu Rao, as an intelligent and amiable prince, who considerably outlived the period of his 'nonage,' dying at the age of twenty-eight, and distinguishing himself by great abilities, both in the cabinet and the field. His uncle, Raghoba, was a restless ambitious prince, perpetually endeavouring to usurp the supremacy, and occasionally effecting his purpose, by his nephew's anxiety not to expose the state to danger from without, by intestine dissensions. The Peshwa finally established his authority, and compelled his uncle to submit, but never failed to treat him with consideration, and, as mentioned in the text, was recon-

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a testimony to the fidelity of Ragoba, or his distrust of the ministerial confederacy, by releasing that relation from confinement; giving him the guardianship of Narrain Rao; and vesting him with the regency during the nonage of that prince. A short time elapsed before the intrigues of the Mutseddies with Gopicaboy, and the influence of Gopicaboy with her son, stripped Ragoba a second time of his power and his liberty. Dissensions, however, arose among the Mutseddies themselves. Siccaram Baboo, who had been raised by Ragoba from a menial service in his household, to the office of Dewan, or financial minister of the state, had taken the lead in all the preceding intrigues against his former master, and had acted as chief of the ministerial combination.<sup>1</sup> Another of the ministers, however, Nanah Furnavese, now attained the foremost place in the favour of Gopicaboy and her son; and the principal share of the power appeared ready to fall from the hands of Siccaram Baboo. In these circumstances a conspiracy was formed against the life of the young Peshwa, who is said to have rendered himself odious by his follies and cruelty. The commander of the guards was gained; who forced his way into the palace with a body of men, and cut down the prince in the apart-

ciled to him at his death. The eight 'Brahmans' to whom all the civil discord is ascribed, had very little to do with it, for Madhu Rao placed his whole confidence in Nana Furnavees, and the 'eight' ministers (they were not all Brahmans) of the old Mahratta constitution had ceased to exist. "The usurpation of the Raja's authority had superseded that of the eight Purdhans." Mahr. Hist. ii. 230; and again, "these ministers (seven of whom are named) were distinct from the Purdhans of Sivaji and Shao." Ib. 258.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Sukaram Bapoo who had been nominated by Madhu Rao, as his brother's prime minister, was of a respectable Mahratta descent, and was chosen especially, because he was more favourably disposed towards Ragonath than the other ministers, having acted under him, not in a menial capacity, but as his Karkoon and Dewan, confidential manager of his affairs, and commander of his forces. Duff, ii. 242.

ment of Ragoba, to whom he had fled for protection. It was believed in Poona, at the time, according to the report of Mr. Mostyn, the English resident, who was upon the spot; that a party of the ministers were engaged in this transaction; and that Siccaram Baboo was at their head. It is to them that Ragoba himself ascribed both the conception and execution of the plot. But when the party of Siccaram Baboo regained the ascendancy, and chased Ragoba from the throne, they accused him of having alone been the author of his nephew's murder, and repelled or shifted the accusation from themselves.<sup>1</sup>

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Upon the death of Narrain Rao, Ragoba was immediately acknowledged Peshwa; received the sirpah, or robe of office, from the pageant Raja; and was complimented by the ministers of foreign states, among others by the English resident, in the same form as was usually observed on the accession of a Peshwa. From the beginning of his administration, the new Peshwa acted with a visible distrust of the Mutseddies. He forbore appointing Siccaram Baboo to the office of Dewan, and performed the duties of it

<sup>1</sup> From the information collected by Capt. Duff, there is little doubt that Narain Rao was murdered in consequence of a plot which originated with Ragonath, to release himself from detention, and make his nephew captive in his stead. Such he states was the moderate and general opinion amongst the Mahrattas. That the project ended fatally for Narain Rao, is attributed to the interference of a person not named in the text, but who was more implicated in the dissensions between the uncle and his nephews, than any other person; this was Anundee Bye, the wife of Ragonath, who had a violent personal animosity towards Gopika Bye, the mother of Madho Rao and Narain Rao. She is said to have altered the paper sent by Ragonath, to the leaders in the disturbance, authorizing them to seize Narain Rao, into an order for killing him. Of Narain Rao's character, Capt. Duff observes, he was murdered in the 18th year of his age. His follies were those of a boy, but the feelings and interests of a party blackened them into crimes. He was affectionate to his relations, kind to his domestics, and all but his enemies loved him. Duff, ii. 250.—W.



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himself. This conduct ensured him the hatred of the ministers. An army seemed the best security against their ambition and malice ; and under the pretext of avenging the encroachments which the Subahdar of the Deccan, the Nizam, according to the English phrase, had made upon the Mahratta territories during the confusions of the government, he levied an army against that neighbouring prince. An union however was formed between the two hostile parties of the Mutseddies ; his principal officers were debauched from their allegiance ; and through their treachery, he sustained, in an engagement with the Subahdar a total defeat.<sup>1</sup> To supply his pecuniary necessities, which were extremely urgent, he marched towards the south, to exact a long arrear of Chout from Hyder, and from the Nabob of Arcot. With Hyder he had compromised his claim, by accepting twenty-five lacs of rupees, and ceding to him in return the three provinces of Mudgewarty, Hanscootah, and Chunderdroog. But he was recalled from prosecuting his design against Mohammed Ali, by intelligence, that the ministerial confederacy had raised an army ; that they were joined by the forces of the Subahdar ; that they had proclaimed the widow of Narrain Row to be with child ; and under pretence of securing her offspring, had carried her to the fort of Poorunder. Ragoba met, and, by a well-concerted stratagem, gained a decisive victory over his foes. But after he was within a few miles of Poona, he was struck with a panic, upon intelligence, that the two chiefs, Holkar and Sindia, were gained by the ministerial party ;

<sup>1</sup> There was no defeat, for there was no action : there was a very quiet, and on Ragonath's part, a very improvident reconciliation with the Nizam. Capt. Duff has pointed out the source of this error in a despatch from the British Resident, founded on false information. Duff, ii. 256.—W.

and, quitting his army in secret with a small body of men, he fled to Guzerat, where Govind Rao Guicawar engaged to support him. His army dispersed; Holkar and Sindia, whether previously engaged, or now led to the determination, joined the Brahmen cabal; the widow of Narrain Rao was said to have been delivered of a son; and the confederacy agreed to support the pretensions of the infant.

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The fact of the birth was immediately disputed; and it is evident that the affirmation of the ministers ought to have been for ever disregarded; because, whether or not a child was born of the widow, and whether a male or female, their conduct and pretences would have still been the same. By withdrawing the pretended mother from the perception of disinterested witnesses; and by shutting up with her, as was generally affirmed and believed, a number of pregnant women in the same fort, they rendered it impossible that evidence of the reality of the pretended birth could ever be obtained; and for that reason it ought never to have been believed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a very extraordinary argument: it is admitted that the birth of a child was probable, and yet it is asserted, that the fact ought never to have been believed, because it was impossible to prove its occurrence by actual testimony: Even if this were true, it would not be a reasonable ground of disbelief; but it was not true, for there was abundant evidence; and although an interest in making out a case may be a reason for receiving such testimony with caution, it is not a valid plea for its utter rejection. Such fastidiousness would render almost every doubtful matter incapable of proof. The present case, however, is wholly mis-stated. There was not only evidence, but unimpeachable evidence. From information furnished by General Briggs, it appears that Ragoba had two Vakeels at Purandhar immediately after the young Peshwa's birth, and his own daughter, Durga Bye, the wife of Pandurang Raji Bhattikar, was in the room at the moment of the infant's birth. She and her husband, with several other persons, had been brought to Purandhar, and were detained there by Nana Furnavese, that there might be no doubt about the birth. Capt. Duff remarks, that the only circumstance which shed any suspicion upon the event, was, the

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At the time when Ragoba fled to Guzerat, the country was distracted by the rival pretensions of the two brothers, Futtu Sing Guicawar, and Govind Rao Guicawar. In the time of the Peshwa, Madhoo Row, Futtu Sing, by means it was said of bribes, to the ministerial junto, obtained, through the authority of the Peshwa, succession to the Musnud of Guzerat, in prejudice of his elder brother Govind Rao.<sup>1</sup> When the office of Peshwa, however, devolved upon Ragoba, he acknowledged the title of Govind Rao. Govind Rao proceeded to levy war upon his brother; had gained over him various successes in the field; and was actually besieging him in his capital city of Broderah, when Ragoba came to claim his protection.<sup>2</sup>

It so happened that a similar contention at the same moment divided the kingdom of Berar, and ranged one of the rivals on the side of Ragoba, the other on that of his adversaries. Jannajee, the late

assemblage of several pregnant women in the fortress, with the intention, as it was sometimes reported, that if Gunga Bye should be delivered of a girl, a male child might be substituted for it. An equally plausible report, however, states, that these women were assembled that a wet-nurse might be selected from among them. Whatever was the cause of this arrangement, General Briggs affirms, that neither Ragonath nor his party ever disputed the authenticity of the young Peshwa's birth; and Capt. Duff also states, that no doubt prevails amongst the Mahrattas that the infant was the child of Narain Rao. The parentage is also confirmed, it is said, by his striking resemblance to his cousin the Ex-Peshwa Baji Rao. The doubts regarding his birth originated with the imperfect information and credulity of the English authorities at Bombay, and are readily adopted in the text, apparently for no other reason, than the mistaken notion that the ministers were Brahmans.—W.

<sup>1</sup> The circumstances of the dispute are very differently told by Duff, ii. 281.—W.

<sup>2</sup> To the documents adduced in the Fifth Report, *ut supra*, add the anecdotes related by a man who had access to the conversation of the best informed of his countrymen, Mr. James Forbes, in his *Oriental Memoirs*, the fifteenth and two subsequent chapters.

Raja, died without issue. He had two brothers, Shabajee the elder, Moodajee the younger. Jannajee, before his demise, adopted the son of Moodajee, then a minor, and named him his successor. Shabajee and Moodajee disputed to whom the guardianship of the minor, and the regency of the kingdom, should belong. Shabajee claimed as the elder brother; Moodajee, as the parent of the Raja. And to determine their pretensions they involved the country in a violent and destructive war.<sup>1</sup>

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In looking therefore to the neighbouring powers, there was none from which Ragoba could expect so much support as from the English at Bombay. To them, accordingly, he offered terms of alliance: And there existed circumstances, in the state of that Presidency, which induced the members of the government to lend a favourable ear to his proposals. Salsette and Bassein, with their dependencies, had been strongly coveted for some years. In the letter to the President and Council of Bombay, dated the 18th of March, 1768, the Directors said, “We recommend to you, in the strongest manner, to use your endeavours, upon every occasion that may offer, to obtain these places, which we should esteem a valuable acquisition.—We cannot directly point out the mode of doing it, but rather wish they could be obtained by purchase than war.”<sup>2</sup> In the following year they expressed high approbation of an attempt to obtain them by negotiation; and add; “Salsette and Bassein, with their dependencies, and the Mah-rattas’ proportion of the Surat provinces, were all that we seek for on that side of India. These are

<sup>1</sup> It was not of long duration, Sabajee was killed in action early in 1775. *Mahr. Hist.* ii. 310.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth Report, Appendix, No. 47.



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the objects you are to have in view, in all your treaties, negotiations, and military operations,—and that you must be ever watchful to obtain.”<sup>1</sup> In more earnest prosecution of the same design, Mr. Mostyn arrived from England, in 1772, with instructions from the Court of Directors, that he should be sent immediately to negotiate with Madhoo Rao, the Peshwa, for certain advantages to the settlements on the coast of Malabar, and above all for the cession of the island and peninsula of Salsette and Bassein, which added so much to the security and value of Bombay. The result of this negotiation tended only to show that, pacifically at least, the coveted spots were very unlikely to be obtained.

In the mean time the Presidency had engaged themselves in a dispute with the Nabob of Baroach, upon whom they advanced a demand for the phoorza, a species of tribute, formerly yielded by Baroach to the government of Surat;<sup>2</sup> and for indemnification of an overcharge in the customs, which for the six preceding years had been levied on the merchants trading under the Company’s protection. The more effectually to enforce the demand, a body of troops was sent to invade the Nabob’s territory; but after proceeding so far as to attack his capital, they were obliged to abandon the enterprise, and return to Surat. This expedition the Directors condemned in the severest terms; as involving the Presidency in expense, when it was under the greatest pecuniary difficulties; as unskilfully conducted; as disgracing the Company’s arms; and, even if successful, promising

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 60. Extract of a general Letter, dated 31st March 1769.

<sup>2</sup> Surat was still governed nominally by a Mogul Nabob, who was however, now, in a great measure, dependent upon the Company.

no proportional advantage. The supreme authority, weakened by its distance, prevented not the subordinate from raising a new expedition out of the first. The Nabob of Baroach, despairing of his power to resist the arms of the Company, repaired to Bombay, and represented his inability to comply with their heavy demand, amounting to thirty-three lacks of rupees. Among the various expedients to which he had recourse for conciliating the favour of the Bombay administration, and obtaining a mitigation of their claims, he recommended with great assiduity the conquest of Guzerat; which he represented as easy, and promised to assist them with all his resources. The Presidency lent him a very favourable ear. After great discussion, an arrangement was concluded at the end of November, 1771. A species of military alliance; a sum of four lacks of rupees to be paid by instalments; the privilege of levying all duties on those who traded under the protection of the Company in the territory of Baroach; the erection of an English factory; and exclusion of all other Europeans excepting the Dutch, who had a previous establishment; were the advantages which the treaty promised to the English. Before the lapse of a year the Presidency began to accuse the Nabob of an intention to elude his agreement. After the question was left undetermined in the Committee, it was decided in the Council, with the censure of the Court of Directors on the former expedition lying before them, to send an armament to chastise the Nabob, and wipe off the former disgrace of their arms. Now indeed the enterprise succeeded; the Nabob was ruined; and the Presidency settled the

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division of the revenues with Futty Sing on the same terms on which they had formerly been shared between the government of Guzerat and the Nabob.

The assassination of Narrain Row, and the succession of Ragoba, announcing a weak and distracted government, appeared to the Council to present a favourable opportunity for accomplishing an object which their honourable masters had so much at heart, the possession of Salsette and Bassein: In their select consultations, on the 17th of September, 1773, they agreed to instruct Mr. Mostyn, their resident at Poonah, to improve diligently every circumstance favourable to the accomplishment of that event; and on no account whatever to leave the Mahratta capital: Baroach, and several of the recent acquisitions, as Fort Vittoria, and Rajapore, were offered in exchange: But in their letter to the Directors, of the 12th of January, 1774, the Council declare the disappointment of all their endeavours; and their opinion that no inducements would prevail upon the Mahrattas willingly to part with those favourite possessions, so justly the object of the Company's desire. They next represent the violent distractions of the Mahratta government; and the opinion, which they had received from Mr. Mostyn, that Ragoba would be either assassinated, or deposed. With this event, say they, "our treaties with the present government may be deemed at an end." The violent competitions for the throne, and consequent weakness of the state, might afford them, released as they would be from all engagements, an opportunity of acquiring those important possessions by

what appeared to be the only means of acquiring them, force of arms ; and they signify to the Court of Directors their determination not to let the occasion be lost, provided their pecuniary situation would permit, and the circumstances of Ragoba, which some recent intelligence represented as not yet desperate, should be found to be such as the Resident described.

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After the despatch of this letter, Ragoba had returned upon his enemies ; gained the victory, already mentioned,<sup>1</sup> over their forces in the field ; fled from his army to Guzerat ; and opened a negotiation with the Presidency ; when, towards the end of November, 1774, intelligence was received at Bombay from the Company's resident at Goa, that great preparations were making by the Portuguese for the recovery of their lost possessions ; and, in particular, of Salsette and Bassein. The accomplishment of this project appeared to the Presidency not only to cut off all chance of making this favourite acquisition for the Company, but to give to the Portuguese the command of the passes into the interior country, and the power of harassing, by what imposts and restrictions they pleased, the trade of the English. They came therefore to the resolution of preventing, at all events, the fall of Salsette and Bassein into the hands of the Portuguese ; and for that purpose regarded no expedient so good as taking possession themselves. It was agreed to signify to Ragoba, with whom they were treating, that it was a measure purely of precaution, and in

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 604.



BOOK V. no respect intended to interfere with his rights. To  
 CHAP. 2. avoid an immediate rupture with the Mutseddies,  
 1775. the Resident was instructed to make to them a  
 similar declaration; and to renounce all intention of  
 holding Salsette and Bassein in opposition to the  
 will of the existing government at Poona. On the  
 12th of December a considerable force set out from  
 Bombay; it carried by assault the principal fort  
 in Salsette on the 28th; and without further opposi-  
 tion took possession of the island.<sup>1</sup>

The negotiation was not interrupted with Ragoba. The Presidency regarded him as the rightful Peshwa. They expected, and with good reason, that their assistance would place him, without much difficulty, on his throne; and though he adhered with obstinacy to the possession of Salsette and Bassein, he offered territorial dominion and revenue to a large amount in the neighbourhood of Surat. Amid these proceedings, arrived, on the 7th of December, the letter from the Supreme Council in Bengal, announcing the accession of the new government, and requiring an account of the state of the Presidency of Bombay. It was answered on the 31st, when accounts were rendered of the acquisition of Salsette and Bassein, of the negotiation with Ragoba, the intention of the President and Council to grant him their assistance, and the reasons which guided them in these acts and determinations. In the interval between the adjustment and execution of the treaty with Ragoba, he was brought to an action by the army of the Ministers; deserted in the battle by a body of Arabs,

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 69.

on whom he depended, and obliged to fly from the field with a small body of horse. This disaster the majority of the Bombay Council deemed it an easy matter to retrieve; as Ragoba still had powerful adherents; as the Ministers were neither united, nor strong; and the union of the English troops with his army would render him more than a match for his opponents. They resolved, therefore, "not to give up the great advantages which they were to reap by the treaty, when so fair an opportunity occurred." Ragoba made his way to Surat, and a treaty was concluded on the 6th of March, 1775, by which he now yielded up Salsette and Bassein, with the Mahratta share of the revenues of Baroach and other places in the district of Surat, to the amount, upon the whole, of a revenue of twenty-two and a half lacks of rupees. His army, with that of Govind Rao, made good their retreat to the fort of Copperwange, about fifty coss from Cambay, and were joined by the English, under the command of Colonel Keating, on the 19th of April. The detachment consisted of eighty European artillery, and 160 artillery Lascars, 500 European infantry, and 1400 Sepoys, with a field-train of twelve pieces, besides two mortars and several howitzers. The whole amounted to about 25,000 men in arms.<sup>1</sup>

The army of the Mutseddies had been deserted by Sindia, with 12,000 of the best horse; Shabbajee Bonsla, who favoured their cause in Berar, had been cut off by his brother, who befriended Ragoba; the fidelity of Holkar was held in doubt; and the Nizam,

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<sup>1</sup> Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, ii. 32.

BOOK V. though he received their concessions, and promised  
 CHAP. 2. assistance, always evaded performance; but they  
 1775. were still superior in numbers to Ragoba and his allies.

As soon after conjunction as possible the English commander proposed to advance toward the enemy, who were encamped on the banks of the Sabermatty. After a few indecisive rencounters, finding they could not bring the enemy to a general action, the English, in concert with their allies, resolved to march toward the south, and, penetrating to the Deccan, arrive at Poona before the setting in of the rains. The enemy, as soon as they discovered their intention, laid waste the country in front and destroyed the wells. At last on the 18th of May, having reached the plain of Arras, on which they had given Ragoba his recent defeat, they advanced and commenced a cannonade upon the rear of the English and their ally. The enemy were received with great gallantry; but an officer of Ragoba having treacherously introduced as partisans a body of hostile cavalry,<sup>1</sup> between the advanced party of the British army and the line, some confusion ensued, and the first company of European grenadiers, by a mistake of the officer commanding them, began to retreat, and were followed in a panic by the rest of the party. Considerable execution was then performed by the enemy's horse; but so destructive a fire of grape and shells was immediately poured upon them from the British line, as compelled them to seek their safety by quitting the field. The

<sup>1</sup> Some confusion is said to have arisen from the irregular interposition of Ragoba's horse, but it is not ascribed to treachery by Col. Keating himself. *Hist. of Mahrattas*, ii. 299.—W.

loss of Europeans, seven officers and eighty men, mostly grenadiers, beside 200 Sepoys, rendered this an expensive victory; while the want of horse, and the backwardness occasioned or excused by the want of pay of the troops of Ragoba, made it impossible, by an active pursuit, to derive from it the advantages it might otherwise have given. The rear of the enemy was attacked in crossing the Nerbuddah, on the 11th of June, where they lost many lives and were obliged to sink a part of their guns. After this rencounter, they hasted out of the province of Guzerat. And as Ragoba's troops refused to cross the Nerbuddah, till they obtained satisfaction in regard to their long arrears, it was resolved, as the season of the rains was at hand, to suspend the progress of the expedition. Dhuboy, a fortified city about fifty miles from Baroach, convenient for receiving reinforcements and supplies, was selected for quartering the English; while Ragoba encamped with his army at Bellapoor, a pass on the river Dahder at ten miles distance. The favourable complexion of Ragoba's affairs produced among other consequences the alliance of Futtu Sing. His overtures were made through the English; and, Govind Rao being previously satisfied by the promises of Ragoba, the terms of a treaty were agreed upon in the month of July. To the English he consented to confirm all the grants within the Guicawar dominions, which had been yielded by Ragoba; and to make further concessions in perpetuity to the annual amount of about one million seventy-eight thousand rupees.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is a strange exaggeration: the cessions to the Company were the



BOOK V. To Ragoba he engaged himself for the usual tribute  
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1775. and aid to the Poona durbar; and, what was of unspeakable importance on the present emergency, for the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees, to be paid in sixty days. The English and Ragoba had thus a prospect of marching to Poona in the next campaign, with a great augmentation of resources, and a friendly country in their rear.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that the Presidency of Bombay informed the Directors by letter, on the 12th of January, 1774, that the Mahratta government was in a peculiar crisis, and that such an opportunity now occurred of acquiring Salsette and Bassein, as they had very little intention of letting escape. The Directors, as if anxious to allow time for the conquest, replied not till the 12th of April, 1775, when their answer could not be received at Bombay in much less than two years from the time when the measure was announced as on the verge of execution. Nearly six months after the place was reduced by their arms, and governed by their authority, they sat down to say, "It is with much concern we learn from your records, that we are not likely to obtain Salsette from the Mahrattas by negotiation. We, however, disapprove your resolution to take possession of the island by force, in case of the death or deposition of Ragoba; and hereby positively prohibit you from attempting that measure, under any circumstances whatever,

Gaekwar's share of the revenues of Baroach, and three villages estimated at 2,13,000 rupees.—Hist. of Mah. ii. 303.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Forbes, who was private secretary to the commanding officer of the British detachment, gives us, though less of the campaign than of other objects, our best particulars, in the chapters xvi. to xx. of his *Oriental Memoirs*.

without our permission first obtained for that purpose.”<sup>1</sup>

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The letter, containing the account of the capture of Salsette, and the negotiation with Ragoba, written by the Bombay Presidency to the supreme Council, on the 31st of December, was not received at Calcutta till the beginning of March. Before that time, however, intelligence from various quarters had reached them of the fate of Salsette; and they had written letters to Bombay, reprehending the Council, in severe terms, for delaying to send more complete information. Vested with a control over the other presidencies, not well defined, and, by consequence, ill-understood, the Supreme Council were jealous of every appearance of an attempt to originate important measures independently of their authority. This jealousy, and a desire to carry their own importance high, distinguished the party in the new Council, which now, by force of numbers, engrossed the powers of the government. They looked, therefore, with a very evil eye upon the audacity which, in a subordinate Presidency, so near the time when the Supreme Council were to assume the reins of government, ventured upon so great a measure as the conquest of Salsette, without waiting to be authorized by their sanction, or deterred by their prohibition. The letter from Bombay was answered on the 8th of March, with a dry remark, that all observations on the capture of Salsette were rendered useless by the tardiness of the information: The Council, however, declared their express disapprobation of the con-

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, App. No. 54. They, notwithstanding, failed not to approve of the acquisition when made. See p. 622, below.

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nexion with Ragoba; and two days after the treaty with that chieftain was signed, commanded that all negotiation with him should be suspended, till further instructions were received. On the 31st of May, arrived from the President and Council of Bombay a letter dated the 31st of March, with information of the conclusion of the treaty with Ragoba, and the departure of the troops for his support. On this occasion the Governor-General took the lead in the condemnation of the President and Council of Bombay; denouncing their procedure as "unseasonable, impolitic, unjust, and unauthorized;" and he proposed, that they should be peremptorily enjoined to cancel the treaty, and to withdraw the troops immediately from assisting Ragoba, except in the three following cases: "1. That they should have obtained any decisive advantages over the enemy; 2. That they should be in such a situation as might render it dangerous to retreat; 3. That a negotiation should have taken place between Ragoba and his opponents." The Governor-General afterwards professed that he had gone beyond his real sentiments in these terms of condemnation, in hopes to moderate by that means the violence of the opposite party. In this expectation, if ever formed, he found himself deceived. The majority passed two resolutions, which form as singular a combination as the history of practical politics presents. They voted the condemnation of the treaty with Ragoba, and the immediate recall of the troops, subject to no consideration whatever but that of their safety: And they voted that a negotiation should be immediately opened with the Mutseddies, to arrange a treaty of peace, and obtain confirmation of Salsette

and Bassein. They condemned the President and Council of Bombay, for taking part in the quarrels of the Mahrattas, and declaring for one party in opposition to another: They themselves performed what they themselves condemned, and were most effectually and irresistibly declaring in favour of the ministers against Ragoba. Other negotiators proceed to discussion with as fair a colour on their pretensions as they can, and as much power in their hands as they are able to retain; not that honourable men will aim at advantages which are unreasonable and unjust; but that they may be secure from the necessity of submitting to any thing which is unreasonable and unjust. The English rulers began with declaring themselves to be in the wrong, and stripping their hands of power; as preliminaries to a negotiation with a people, uniformly insolent and rapacious in proportion to their strength; who never heard the proposal of a concession but as an avowal of weakness; and could not conceive that any government ever yielded any thing which it was able to retain. Of all the courses which it was in the power of the Supreme Council to pursue, they made choice of that which was decidedly the worst. By fulfilling the treaty with Ragoba, they would have easily established his authority, and obtained the important concessions to which he had agreed: If they resolved, as they did, to countenance the ministers, they might, at any rate, have made their terms, before they exalted their pretensions by the annihilation of the power which would have made them compliant: And if they had inclined to act the part of really useful and pacific neighbours,

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they might have arbitrated between the parties with decisive and happy effect.

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The Supreme Council resolved to treat with the ministers at Poona by an agent of their own, without the intervention of the Presidency of Bombay, in whose department the Mahratta country was situated, and who were best acquainted with the character and circumstances of the people.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Upton, who was selected for the service, departed on the 17th of July, with letters to Siccaram Baboo, as head of the ministerial party; and with instructions to insist upon Salsette and Bassein, as indispensable conditions in the agreement which was proposed. It is worthy of remark, that he was furnished also with a letter to Ragoba, which was to be presented to that Prince, in case of his success; and then to form an introduction to a negotiation.

A letter from the Governor and Council of Bombay, dated the 22d of August, reached the Supreme Council in the beginning of October. These rulers complained severely of the disgrace which was thrown upon their Presidency, by compelling them to violate a solemn treaty, and depriving them of the power of negotiating with the neighbouring states. Such a loss of dignity in a great branch of the government could not fail, they said, to affect injuriously the interests of the Company. They denied that they had been guilty of any wilful disrespect to the Supreme Council. The nature of the

<sup>1</sup> The ignorance respecting the Mahrattas, of the Supreme Council, at this time, even of Mr. Hastings, not to speak of Mr. Francis and his party, is very conspicuous in the Minutes of their Consultations.

circumstances required that they should act without delay; the possession of Salsette and Bassein, required that they should declare in favour of one of the Mahratta parties; and many considerations induced them to give the preference to Ragoba. They pointed out the unhappy effects, even upon the negotiation with the ministers, which would result from the recall of the troops, and the ruin of Ragoba; and stated that they had deputed to Calcutta a member of their board, upon whose representations they still hoped, that their treaty would be executed, and that the great advantages of the connexion with Ragoba would not be thrown away. Their deputy displayed both zeal and ability, in his endeavours to make an impression upon the Council. But the majority adhered to their first determinations. Colonel Upton was, however, instructed to make some stipulations in favour of Ragoba; and the Presidency at Bombay was authorized to afford a sanctuary, in case of personal danger, to himself, his family and attendants. That Presidency was also directed, notwithstanding the breach of the treaty with Ragoba, to retain possession of the districts which had been yielded by Futty Sing, till the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace.

The Council had for some time been waiting with impatience for the account of the arrival of their negotiator at Poona. In the beginning of January, 1776, they received letters from the ministers, which contained a commentary on the policy of annihilating Ragoba, at the moment of commencing a negotiation with his enemies. These letters displayed a high tone of complaint, and even of menace. They

BOOK V. expressed a disinclination, on the part of the minis-  
CHAP. 2. ———— ters, to submit their pretensions to discussion; and  
 1776. threatened a renewal of hostility, unless the places  
 which had been taken were immediately restored.

Letters, dated the 5th of January, received from Colonel Upton on the 12th of February, announced his arrival at Poona, and a favourable reception. Other letters received on the 6th of March, and dated on the 2d of February, brought information of difficulties impeding the negotiation. The ministers imagine, says Colonel Upton, “that I must treat with them at any rate:—And that I have vastly exceeded my instructions, by asking a surrender of Salsette and Bassein.” “They ask me,” says he, “a thousand times, Why we make such professions of honour? How disapprove the war entered into by the Bombay government; when we are so desirous of availing ourselves of the advantages of it?” Despairing of compliance with all his demands, the Colonel proposed to relax in the affair of Bassein, and to ask for something else in its stead.<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th of March, a letter dated the 7th of February arrived; and announced that the negotiation was broken off. The ministers insisted upon an immediate renunciation of Salsette, and would not allow so much as time for consulting the government. “In five or six days more,” says the Colonel, “I am to leave Poona Dhur, and they will then fix the time for the expiration of the cessation of arms. I told them, I expected time to advise all our settlements before the renewal of the war; but I suspect

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, *ut supra*, App. No. 102.

them of taking every advantage." He added, which confirmed the representations made in defence of the connexion with Ragoba, "If three or four companies of Europeans, a small detachment from the corps of artillery, and two or three battalions of Sepoys, were embarked from Bengal to join the army from Bombay, we might soon command peace on our own terms. For the chiefs of this country are quite at a loss which side to take; and are waiting to see what the English do."<sup>1</sup>

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Upon this intelligence the Council hastened to prepare for war on the largest scale. They resolved, "to support the cause of Ragoba with the utmost vigour; and with a general exertion of the whole power of the English arms in India; to act in all quarters at once; and, by the decision and rapidity of their proceedings, to bring the war, if possible, to a speedy conclusion:" And all this, (namely, a war with the ministers, and alliance with Ragoba, the very measures for which they condemned the Presidency at Bombay,) rather than restore Salsette, the capture of which, and the alliance for its support, they had denounced as both impolitic and unjust!

At the conclusion, however, of the month, another letter from Colonel Upton was received. This letter brought intelligence of the final compliance of the ministers on the subject of Salsette. Warlike preparations were then suspended, and a treaty was at last arranged. The English renounced Bassein, and agreed to renounce the cessions in Guzerat, pro-

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 105.



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vided it appeared, as the ministers maintained, that Futtu Sing was not entitled to make them. The Mahrattas yielded Salsette, and the small adjacent islands, of 3,500,000 rupees revenue;<sup>1</sup> the Mahratta chout, or share of the revenues of Baroach, amounting to an equal sum; and a country of three lacks in the neighbourhood of Baroach. The members of the Bombay government compared these with the terms which *they* had obtained from Ragoba; and proclaimed their disapprobation. The concession with respect to Baroach, they said, was pretended and delusive, as the Mahrattas had no right to any share of its revenues: The ceded territory, not being jaghire, or free from Mahratta burdens, would be a source of continual disturbance: The relinquishment of the cessions in Guzerat was weakly made upon an unfounded pretence, which actually gave the Guicawar an interest to disclaim the right in dispute: And, upon the whole, the treaty was highly injurious to the reputation, honour, and interests of the Company. The majority in the Supreme Council grounded the defence of their measures upon the utility of peace; and the frequent commands of the Directors to abstain from aggressive war.<sup>2</sup>

It had been stipulated that Ragoba should disband his army within one month; receive an establishment of 1000 horse, to be paid and relieved at the pleasure of government, and, of course, to act as his

<sup>1</sup> This is not quite correct, and the sum, if not a misprint, a gross exaggeration. Salsette was to be retained or restored at the pleasure of the Governor-General and Council; if restored, the Peshwa was to cede territory to an equal value of three lacks of rupees.—W.

<sup>2</sup> See Fifth Report, *ut supra*, p. 24—29, and 60—88, with the corresponding articles in the Appendix.

gaolers and guards ; enjoy a pension of three lacks of rupees per annum, and reside at an appointed place of abode. With these terms, which he represented as placing him in the hands of his enemies, Ragoba declared his resolution not to comply ; and having requested an asylum in one of the Company's settlements, he was promised, under the license formerly granted, a sanctuary for himself and his attendants, by the Governor and Council of Bombay. The Mutseddies complained of this act of protection to Ragoba ; and alarmed the ruling party in the Supreme Council with menaces that they would renounce the treaty, and betake themselves to war. After violent debates in the Supreme Council, and great diversity of opinion, it was decided by the majority, to condemn the offer made by the President and Council of Bombay of their protection to Ragoba ; and to forbid them to receive that chieftain at any of the settlements within the limits of their government. The apprehensions of his enemies were soon after allayed by the defection of his troops. And he retired to Surat with only 200 attendants.

After considerable delay, and a variety of mutual complaints on the part of the Bombay Presidency and the ministers at Poona, the treaty was signed, and transmitted by Colonel Upton to Calcutta, on the 3d of June, 1776. It is peculiarly worthy of notice and remembrance that intelligence of the conclusion of this affair had not reached the Supreme Council, when letters arrived from the Court of Directors, applauding the treaty which the Presidency of Bombay had formed with Ragoba ; and commanding their government of Bengal to co-operate for its

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BOOK V. fulfilment and confirmation, "We approve," they  
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1776. say, "under every circumstance, of the keeping of all the territories and possessions ceded to the Company by the treaty concluded with Ragoba; and direct that you forthwith adopt such measures as may be necessary for their preservation and defence."<sup>1</sup>

During these transactions, the attention of the Supreme Council was not attracted by any great event, towards the powers on the north-western frontier of the Company's empire. In Oude, Asoff ud Dowla, the New Nabob, had entered upon his government with an exhausted treasury; he was oppressed by the debts due to the Company, and by their importunate demands of payment; his troops were mutinous for want of pay; his inability to maintain them had produced a reduction of his army; he had dismissed the ministers of his father, and surrounded himself with favourites; distraction prevailed in his family and his government; his character was vicious and weak; and every commotion on his frontier alarmed the Supreme Council for the safety of his dominions. Flying parties of the Mahrattas harassed the neighbouring countries; and reports of more formidable enterprises excited the apprehensions of both the Nabob and his English friends. During the summer of 1776 it was rumoured, that a league had been formed by the Emperor, the Mahrattas, the Seiks, and the Rohillas, to invade the dominions of Asoff ud Dowla. And the Governor General urged the expediency of forming an alliance with Nujuf Khan, to lessen

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, App. No. 137. Compare p. 612, above.

the danger of such an association. After the expedition against Zabita Khan, and the admission of the Mahrattas into Delhi, this leader, through the artifice of a favourite, had fallen into disgrace with his master, and been reduced to the brink of ruin. The necessity of the Emperor's affairs, and even the recommendation of Suja-ad-dowla and the English, again restored him to favour; and, in 1773, he engaged in a war with the Jaats, under an understanding that he should retain one half of the territory he should conquer, and resign the other to the Emperor. He had prevailed over the Jaats in the field, and recovered the fort and city of Agra, at the time when the agreement was made, between the Emperor, and Vizir, to join in the war against the Rohillas. After his return from Rohileund, he prosecuted his war with the Jaats; and having driven them, though he was exceedingly distressed for pecuniary means, from the open country, he was besieging the strong fortress of Deig; which, after an obstinate resistance, yielded to his arms; at the time when the situation of the neighbouring powers recommended a connexion with him to the English rulers. The discharge, however, of Sumroo, and a few Frenchmen, from his service, was made an indispensable preliminary; and as he alleged the danger at that moment of sending them to increase the power of his enemies, though he professed the strongest desire to comply with the wishes of the Company, the alliance was for the present obstructed and postponed. The anxiety of Asoff ud Dowla to receive from the Emperor, what still, it seems, was a source of illustration and an object of ambition; the



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office, though now only nominal, of Vizir; was kept on the rack by various interruptions, by competitors strongly supported, particularly the Nizam, and by the disinclination of the imperial mind. The pesh-cush, however, or appropriate offering, with five thousand men and some artillery, which the Nabob sent to attend the Emperor, arrived at a critical moment, when Zabita Khan had not only evaded payment of the revenue for the country which he possessed, but had taken up arms to support his disobedience; had gained a victory over the Emperor's forces: and was upon the point of becoming master of Delhi, and of the fate of its lord. The troops of Asoff ad Dowla appeared in time to save this catastrophe; and an imperial representation, in requital of this service, was soon after despatched, to invest the Nabob with the Kelât. By interference, however, of the commander of the Nabob's detachment, whom Zabita Khan had duly bribed, the helpless Emperor was obliged to confirm that disobedient chief in the territory which he held, and even to remit those arrears of tribute which formed the subject of dispute.<sup>1</sup>

During the period of those transactions, affairs of a different description had deeply engaged the attention of the Supreme Council, and excited the most violent dissensions. So early as the month of December, 1774, a petition had been presented by the Ranee of Burdwan. This was the title of the widow of Tillook Chund, lately deceased, who, under the

<sup>1</sup> Report, ut supra, p. 97, 98, and App. No. 158 to 168. Also Scott's Aurungzebe's Successors, p. 249—267.

title of Raja, had enjoyed the Zemindary of the district, and whose ancestors, as the representatives of its ancient Rajas, had enjoyed it in succession through the whole period of Mohammedan sway. Her son, a minor of only nine years of age, had been nominated to the office upon the death of his father; and a considerable share of the power had at first passed into her hands. Afterwards, by the authority of the English government, the young Raja was withdrawn from the guardianship of the Ranee, and the affairs of the Zemindary were intrusted to administrators of English appointment. She now complained of corrupt administration on the part of the Dewan, or chief agent of the Zemindary, and accused the English Resident of supporting him in his iniquity, for the sake of the bribes with which the Dewan took care to engage him. The more numerous party in the Council decreed that the Dewan should be compelled to render an account of his administration; that the Ranee, agreeably to her petition, should be allowed to repair to Calcutta with her son; and as no inquiry into the conduct of the Dewan could be successfully performed, while he retained power over the persons and papers of his office, that a temporary substitute should occupy his place. These resolutions the Governor-General, accompanied by Mr. Barwell, opposed. The Governor-General said, that the presence of the Ranee at Calcutta, whom he described as a troublesome, violent woman, would be not only unnecessary, but inconvenient; that the removal of the Dewan from his office before any guilt was proved, would be a viola-

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tion of justice;<sup>1</sup> and the appointment to that office of persons whose qualifications had not been tried, a total departure from policy and prudence. On the 6th of January, 1775, a letter was received from the Resident, against whom the accusations of the Ranee were directed. It was drawn up in a very lofty style; the writer celebrated his own virtues; ascribed a bad character to the Ranee; and expressed the highest indignation, that she had the audacity to prefer an accusation against him. He professed his readiness to submit his conduct to examination; but required, that security should first be demanded of the Ranee to pay an equivalent penalty, in case she failed in the proof of her charges. The pretext for this condition was, its alleged conformity to the laws of the country. To stifle complaint, and to screen misrule, was its natural effect; and upon this consideration the majority of the Council refused to impose it.<sup>2</sup> A variety of accounts were presented to the

<sup>1</sup> Wherein lay the difference between this case, and that of Mohammed Reza Khan, and the Raja Shitabroy?—M. There is a material difference as far as Hastings is concerned; the arrest of Mohammed Reza Khan was ordered by the Court of Directors, and that of Shitab Roy followed as a consequence of the same instructions. Hastings was new in the Government, and had little time to form his own opinion on the case. All he had to do was to institute the inquiry as commanded; with more opportunities of acquiring an acquaintance with the merits of the case, or uncontrolled by positive instructions, he might have followed a course more consonant to his own notions of justice.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The execution of such a deed was not unusual, and the object was to put some check upon false and calumnious charges. It should have been noticed in justice to Mr. Graham, the Resident at Burdwan, that he not only wrote the indignant denial, so slightly adverted to, but he subsequently furnished a categorical reply to the Rani's petition, which, if it was not a most enormous falsehood, demonstrated the utter impossibility of the truth of her allegations, as affecting him. He could have had very little time to interfere with the affairs of the Zemindaree, as he was transferred

Board, in which were entered several sums of considerable amount, as paid by the Dewan to the servants of the Company and their dependants, not only upon the appointment of the young Raja, but also upon that of his Dewan. Not less than 3,20,975 rupees were charged to the account of the Resident, his banyan, and cash-keeper. Mr. Hastings himself was accused of receiving 15,000 rupees,<sup>1</sup> and his banyan, or native secretary, 4500; and the whole of the sums represented as thus distributed among the Company's servants, since the death of the deceased Raja, amounted to 9,36,497 rupees. The authenticity of these accounts was called in question by the parties whom they affected; and every thing is doubtful which rests upon the authority of Indian witnesses, under strong temptations to depart from truth. Enough does not appear to condemn any individual. Enough appears to render it not doubtful that money was upon this occasion received by the Company's servants; and enough does not appear to exculpate any individual against whom the charge was advanced. Mr. Hastings now lost his tone of calmness and forbearance. He accused the party in

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to Hoogly within three months after the Raja's death, and had quitted Burdwan within six weeks of that event. On the other hand, the Rani antedates the Raja's death three years, in order to make it appear that the Resident had had ample opportunities of extorting money from her. Mr. Graham's change of appointment must have been too generally known for him to have misstated it, and the inaccuracy of the petition is too glaring to have been accidental. It furnishes an undeniable proof of the spirit of the petition. Eleventh Report, App. 740.—W.

<sup>1</sup> The very smallness of the sum exonerates Hastings from all credible imputation of having received it, and no proof whatever was attempted to establish the charge.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Ninth Report of the Select Committee, App. 111.



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the council, by whom he was opposed, of a design to supersede him in his authority, and to drive him from his office. He pronounced them to be his accusers, parties to the cause against him; and therefore disqualified to sit as judges upon his conduct. He declared that he would not summon or hold councils for "a triumph over himself." He proposed that whatever inquisition they might choose to make into his conduct, they should make it in a committee;<sup>1</sup> where his absence would save his station and character from degradation and insult; and he declared it to be his resolution to dissolve the council, as often as they should enter upon any criminaling inquiry against himself. An occasion soon presented itself for putting his threat in execution. The resolution to compliment the Ranee with the usual insignia of office, he pronounced an insult to himself; declared the Council dissolved, and quitted the chair. The majority resolved that a vote of adjournment could, as all other votes, be passed only by a plurality of the voices present; that if this was

<sup>1</sup> It is important to notice this proposition. Hastings never objected to inquiry: all he maintained, and judiciously maintained, even if he could have relied upon the impartial judgment of the majority of the Council, was the inconsistency and indignity of permitting the head of the Government to be accused in person, during a sitting of the Council over which he presided, by every individual who chose to charge him, truly or falsely, with acts unworthy of his place and power. He objected, rationally and soundly, to the degradation which could not fail to attend the Governor-General's either silently listening to the objurgations of a private person, or entering into an altercation with him. It was certain of bringing himself and his office into contempt. For the purposes of truth and justice, it was wholly unnecessary. It was easy and efficacious for the Council to resolve themselves into a committee, as Hastings recommended, to receive information, and carry on inquiry to any extent they pleased; and had the result established the guilt of the Governor, the Supreme Court of

not the law, the Governor-General was despotic; and that the right which he claimed was a right of impunity. They voted the first member of the Council into the chair, and continued their proceedings.

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On the 30th of March, 1775, another accusation occupied the attention of the Board. In a representation received from one of the natives, it was set forth, that the Phoujdar of Hoogly was paid by the Company 72,000 rupees as the annual salary of his office; that out of this sum, however, he paid annually to Mr. Hastings 36,000 rupees, together with 4000 to Mr. Hastings' native secretary, reserving only 32,000 rupees to himself; and that the author of this representation would undertake the duties of the office for this reduced allowance, producing an annual saving to the Company of 40,000 rupees, now corruptly received by Mr. Hastings and his banyan. The first debate which rose upon this information regarded the competence of the board to entertain such complaints. Mr. Hastings' party, consisting of Mr. Barwell and himself, opposed the reception of any accusations against any individual of the board; and referred to the courts of justice. The major party deemed it an important article of the duty of the Supreme Council to control abuses, and not least in the hands of those who had the greatest power to commit them. It is no sufficient

Judicature, or the Court of Directors, were the authorities empowered to inflict punishment. In their resistance to this decorous and effective course, they showed that they sought truth less than the disgrace and mortification of their opponent. The unyielding firmness and calm resolution with which Hastings baffled their unworthy attempts, are amongst the most remarkable circumstances in his history.—W.

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check, upon those who are intrusted with power, to be amenable for legal crimes in a court of justice. The analogies of the most vulgar trust shed light upon the highest. Who would endure a servant, pretending that his conduct ought not to be challenged but in a court of justice; his trust modified, or withdrawn, till after the judicial proof of a legal crime?<sup>1</sup> When this plea was over-ruled, and the council were about to enter upon the investigation, Mr. Hastings declared that “he would not sit to be confronted with such accusers, nor to *suffer* a judicial inquiry into his conduct, at the board of which he is President.” As formerly, he pronounced the Council dissolved; and the majority continued their proceedings in his absence. Two letters of the Phoujdar in question were produced in evidence; and two witnesses were examined. The Phoujdar himself was summoned to answer. At first he alleged excuses for delay. When he did appear, he declined examination upon oath; on the pretence that to persons of his rank it was a degradation to confirm their testimony by that religious ceremony. In this scrupulosity, he was strongly supported by Mr. Hastings; but the majority construed it into a contempt of the Board; and dismissed the Phoujdar from his office, which they conferred, not upon the accusing petitioner, but another individual, at one-half of the preceding salary, 36,000 rupees.<sup>2</sup> The majority of the

<sup>1</sup> The analogy does not hold. What servant would endure that his fellow and inferior servants should erect themselves into a tribunal over him, to the exclusion of an authority superior to both?—W.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing can be weaker than the whole of this case, nothing more strikingly illustrative of the unfitness of the majority of the Council to assume judicial powers. The accusation came from a person of no repute

Council esteemed the evidence of the charge complete. BOOK V.  
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 testimony of the natives of India when they have  
 any motive to falsify, as little worthy of trust, and  
 the known disposition of the leading party in the  
 Council as holding forth inducement to accuse,  
 affirmed that the evidence had no title to regard.  
 The eagerness of the Governor-General to stifle, and  
 his exertions to obstruct inquiry, on all occasions  
 where his conduct came under complaint, constituted  
 in itself an article of proof, which added materially to  
 the weight of whatever came against him from any  
 other source.<sup>1</sup>

Another ground of charge presented itself in the following manner. On the 2d of May, 1775, Mr. Grant, accountant to the provincial council of Moorshedabad, produced to the board a set of accounts, relating to the affairs of the Nabob; and stated that he had received them from a native, now in his own service, who had till lately been a clerk in the treasury office of the Nabob. From these accounts it appeared that Munny Begum, since her appoint-

or station, who sought to obtain the appointment for himself. The letters calling for payment for purposes not avowed, contain no allusion to Hastings whatever. Of the two persons to whom the letter was addressed, only one was examined, a discarded servant of the Foujdar, who did not understand the language (Persian) of the letter, and who gave no testimony as to the fact of the money having been given. The Foujdar, when before the Council, did not refuse to answer, although he objected to being sworn, from a feeling well known to be common amongst natives of respectability,—no proof of the money having been ever offered, given, or accepted, was attempted, but the Foujdar was dismissed from his appointment abruptly, solely on the ground of his objection to an oath. See the whole of the proceedings in the Appendix to the Eleventh Report. K.—W.

<sup>1</sup> As already pointed out, he did not obstruct inquiry; he only resisted the indecorous mode in which, for factious purposes, its institution was attempted.—W.



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ment to the superintendence of the Nabob's person and affairs, had received 9,67,693 rupees, over and above what she appeared to have disbursed or had accounted for. Upon examination of Mr. Grant, and of the clerk from whom the accounts were received, the majority of the council were induced to regard them as authentic. Among other circumstances it was stated by the clerk, that the head eunuch of the Begum, the person who stood highest in her confidence, had endeavoured, upon hearing of such accounts in the hands of the clerk, to prevail upon him, by the prospect of rewards and advantages, to restore the papers, and return to the service of the Begum; and Mr. Grant was ready to state upon his oath that similar attempts had been made upon himself. The party opposed to the Governor-General thought the circumstances sufficiently strong to render inquiry necessary, and to authorize the steps which inquiry demanded. They proposed, that a servant of the Company should immediately be sent to Moorshedabad, invested with a proper commission and powers; and that the Begum, for the investigation of whose conduct no satisfactory evidence could be procured, while she retained authority over the officers and servants of the Nabob, should be divested of her power. The Governor-general, on the other hand, questioned the authority of the papers, resisted the proposal to inquire into the accounts of the Begum, and protested against removing her from her office, while no proof of her misconduct was adduced.<sup>1</sup> By de-

<sup>1</sup> Another contrast to the case of Mohammed Reza Khan.

cision, however, of the majority, Mr. Goring was despatched for the investigation; the power of the Begum was withdrawn; and Raja Gourdess, the son of Nuncomar, Dewan, or principal Minister of the Begum, received the temporary charge of the Nabob's affairs. Inquiry seemed to establish the authenticity of the papers. The Begum, when pressed to account for the balance with which she was charged, stated, among other circumstances, that 1,50,000 rupees had been given to Mr. Hastings, under the name of entertainment-money, when he went to Moorshedabad in 1772, and placed her at the head of the Nabob's establishment. She also represented that, on the same occasion, 1,50,000 rupees had been given by her as a present to Mr. Middleton. Of the sum thus delivered to Mr. Middleton (for the receipt of it was never denied), no account was ever rendered, and no defence was ever set up. Mr. Hastings justified the receipt of what was bestowed upon himself, on the several pleas, that the act of parliament which prohibited presents was not then passed, that such allowances were the common custom of the country, that a Nabob of Bengal received on the same account 1000 rupees a day as often as he visited the Governor in Calcutta, that he added nothing to his fortune by this allowance, and must have charged to the Company a sum as large, if this had not been received.<sup>1</sup> Upon part of this it is necessary to remark, that custom, the custom of a country, where almost every thing was corrupt, affords but a sorry defence; that

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<sup>1</sup> See Defence of Mr. Hastings at the Bar of the Lords.

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if a visit to the Nabob was a thing of so much expense it ought not to have been made without an adequate cause; that no adequate cause, if the receipt of the present be excluded, can any where be found; that for the necessity of a great expense on such a visit, or indeed of any extraordinary expense at all, we have barely the assertion of the Governor-general, which being the assertion of a party making out a case in his own defence, and an assertion opposed to probability, possesses but little of the force of proof. Besides, the amount is enormous; 2000 rupees per day; 7,30,000 rupees, or 73,000*l.* per annum. What should have made living at Moorshe-dabad cost the Governor-general at the rate of 73,000*l.* per annum? And why should the Nabob, whose allowance was understood to be cut down to the lowest point, have been oppressed by so enormous a burden. Another consideration of importance is, that when Mr. Hastings received the sum of one lack and a half of rupees for entertainment-money, he at the same time charged to the Company a large sum, 30,000 rupees and upwards, as travelling charges, and a great additional amount for his colleagues and attendants.<sup>1</sup> The complaints of severe usage to the Begum, advanced both by herself and by Hastings, appear to have had no other foundation than the loss of her office; an office which the majority considered her sex as disqualifying her to fill;

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Evidence on the Trial, p. 1048.—M. The charges were for twelve months, and in general they are not immoderate with reference to Indian customs and modes of travelling: at most they involve only the charge of want of economy, and an inefficient control over the disbursements of servants and dependants.—W.

and to which they treated her appointment as one of the errors or crimes of the preceding administration.<sup>1</sup>

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Of the different charges, however, brought against the Governor-General, those which were produced by the Raja Nuncomar were attended with the most remarkable circumstances. From this personage, whom we have seen Phoujdar of Hoogly, minister of the Nabob Jaffier Khan, the agent of Mr. Hastings in the prosecution of Mohammed Reza Khan, and whose son was appointed Dewan of the household

<sup>1</sup> The sum for expenses, whether too much or not, was acknowledged and carried to account. The further sums asserted to have been given, were never proved. With that said to have been given to Mr. Middleton, Hastings had no concern. Of the spirit in which these charges were made, the proceedings are sufficient evidence. Upon the production of the accounts furnished by Mr. Grant, it was at once determined to dispossess the Begum of her authority, and to call upon her for the whole of the public and private accounts for the preceding eight years. Mr. Goring was sent merely to enforce the delivery of those accounts, and he was directed to hand them over to the Provincial Council, Messrs. Maxwell, Anderson, and Grant, who were at the same time instructed to examine them minutely. It would have been but decent to have awaited the result of this examination, and a scrutiny so conducted, although involving a little delay, would have been most favourable to the ascertainment of the truth. Mr. Goring, however, paid little attention to his instructions,—he did not leave Calcutta until after the 10th of May, and went to Nadiya by water—a voyage of five or six days at least; a few hours by dawk carried him to Moorshedabad, but he could not have arrived there much before the 20th; on the 22nd, he despatches to Calcutta memorandums of disbursements to English gentlemen, to Mr. Hastings for an entertainment, rupees 1,50,000; to Mr. Middleton on account of an agreement with Baboo Begum, a similar sum. It was very reasonable for Hastings to remark, as the commission given to Mr. Goring was to receive from the Begum all the accounts of the Nizamut for eight years past, and to deliver them into the hands of gentlemen appointed to examine and report their contents to the Board;—"I desire that Mr. Goring may be asked in what manner he came by the account he has now sent, and on what account this partial selection was made by him." The answer may easily be supplied: the narrative of his proceedings shows that he came by the account by intimidation,—and that the object of the selection was the inculpation of Hastings. Eleventh Report, App. E.—W.



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to the Nabob, which son it was regulated and ordained that he should guide, a paper was delivered on the 11th of March, which, besides accusing the Governor-General of overlooking the proof of vast embezzlements committed by Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitabroy, and acquitting them in consideration of large sums of money by which he was bribed, exhibited the particulars of a sum amounting to 3,54,105 rupees, which, it affirmed, the Governor-General accepted, for the appointment of Munny Begum, and Goordass, to their respective dignities and powers. In prosecution of the opinion of the majority that it was the duty of the Supreme Council to inquire into the charges which were brought against the members of the government, and to control the conduct even of the highest officers of state, it was on the 13th proposed, that Nuncomar should be summoned to appear before them, and called upon to produce the grounds of his accusation. Mr. Hastings, instead of choosing to confront his accuser, and to avail himself of the advantage of innocence, in hearing and challenging the pretences of a false accusation, resisted inquiry. "Before the question is put," says his Minute, "I declare that I will not suffer Nuncomar to appear before the Board as my accuser. I know what belongs to the dignity and character of the first member of this administration. I will not sit at this Board in the character of a criminal. Nor do I acknowledge the members of this Board to be my judges. I am reduced, on this occasion, to make the declaration that I regard General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, as my accusers." The Governor-General, with Mr.

Barwell, again recommended prosecution at law, not inquiry before the Council, as the mode of investigating his conduct. Again he pronounced the Council dissolved, and, together with Mr. Barwell, quitted the Board. Again the majority voted this form of dissolution void, and continued the inquiry. Nuncomar made positive declaration as to the sums which he himself had paid to the Governor; gave in the names of several persons who were privy to the transactions; and presented a letter, in purport from Munny Begum to himself, of which the seal, upon comparison, by the Persian translator and his moonshee, was declared to be authentic; and in which a gift was stated of two lacks to the Governor from herself. Upon this evidence the Governor was called upon to refund to the Company the money which he had thus illegally received. But he refused to acknowledge the majority as a council, and returned no answer.

Nothing surely can be more inadmissible than the pretences of the Governor-General for stifling inquiry. What he alleged was, the dignity of the accused, and the baseness of the accuser. If dignity in the accused be a sufficient objection to inquiry, the responsibility of the leading members of every government is immediately destroyed; all limitation of their power is ended; and all restraint upon misconduct is renounced. If the character of the accuser is bad, so much the greater is the advantage of the accused; because so much the more easy it is to counterbalance the evidence of his testimony. So great may be the improbability of a charge, and so little the value of an accuser's testimony, that the first may outweigh the

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latter, and preclude the propriety of any further research. But where the case is in any degree different from this, the character of the informer is not a sufficient objection to inquiry. It is often from men of the worst character that the most important intelligence is most likely to be received; and it is only necessary, in receiving it, to make those abatements of belief which the character of the informant may appear to require. Perpetual reference to the courts of law, as the only place where inquiry into the conduct of an officer of government could fitly be made, merits the highest condemnation; because the conduct of a member of government may be evil to almost any degree, may involve his country in ruin, and yet may be incapable of being touched by courts of law, constituted and conducted as those of England. It is another species of superintendence and control which must ensure good conduct in those who are vested with great public trusts. In disclaiming the majority for his judges, the Governor availed himself of an ambiguity in the word. They did not undertake the office of judgment. They only held it their duty to inquire, for the benefit of those who might afterwards judge.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The question is not fairly stated. The comparative rank of the accused and the accuser was not alleged as an objection to the hearing of the accusation—it was the incompatibility of choosing a meeting of the Council as the scene of such a procedure—the necessary consequence of which was the privation of the head of the state of all respect and authority. A still stronger objection, however, lies to the tribunal. Whatever might be professed, the members of the Council were necessarily converted into judges the moment an accusation was pleaded before them on one side, and defended on the other. Hastings must either have admitted the charge in silence, or replied to it,—in either case the other members of the Council would have come to a resolution on the proceedings, they would to all intents and purposes have pronounced judgment. They

In this case, the Governor-General was not satisfied with crying out against inquiry. He took the extraordinary resolution of prosecuting, with all the weight of his authority, the man by whom he was accused. An indictment, at the instance of the Governor-General, of Mr. Barwell, of Mr. Vansittart, of Mr. Hastings' Banyan, and of the Roy Royan or head native agent of finance, was preferred against Nuncomar, together with Messrs. Joseph and Francis Fowke, for a conspiracy to force a man named Commaul-ad-dien Khan, to write a petition against the parties to the prosecution. After an examination before the judges, Mr Francis Fowke was discharged ; and Mr. Barwell, the Roy Royan, and the Governor's Banyan, withdrew their names from the prosecution. The Governor and Mr. Vansittart persevered ; and Nuncomar and Mr. Joseph Fowke were held to bail at their instance. "The truth is, as we," says the minute of Clavering, Monson, and Francis, on the 16th of May, "have reason to believe, that there never existed such a paper as has been sworn to ; and that every particular said to be contained in it, is an imposition invented by Commaul-

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would have assumed a power which they did not possess, and to the exercise of which it was right therefore at once to object. The general principle is incontrovertible, but in the present instance it is evident that such a course was most unlikely to promote the cause of truth. Had the governor acknowledged his colleagues as his judges, what measure of justice was he to expect at their hands. Had they been calm, prudent, dispassionate men, Hastings might have conceded the abstract principle, but with such daily proofs of their personal animosity, the cause of truth and justice, as well as his own safety, demanded that he should resist their usurpation. He did not dispute, he did not obstruct their right to inquire. He pointed out to them the legitimate mode of making inquiry, and their refusing to adopt it is sufficient proof that they did not seek to inquire, but were eager to condemn.—W.



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ad-Din." A few days after this suspicious, but ineffectual proceeding, a new prosecution was instituted against Nuncomar. At the suit of a native, he was taken up on a charge of forgery, and committed to the common gaol. He was tried before the Supreme Court, by a jury of Englishmen, convicted, and hanged. No transaction, perhaps, of this whole administration more deeply tainted the reputation of Hastings, than the tragedy of Nuncomar. At the moment when he stood forth as the accuser of the Governor-General, he was charged with a crime, alleged to have been committed five years before; tried, and executed; a proceeding which could not fail to generate the suspicion of guilt, and of an inability to encounter the weight of his testimony, in the man whose power to have prevented, or to have stopped (if he did not cause) the prosecution, it is not easy to deny. As Hastings, aware of the sinister interpretations to which the destruction of an accuser, in circumstances so extraordinary, would assuredly expose him, chose rather to sustain the weight of those suspicions, than to meet the charges by preventing or suspending the fate of the accuser; it is a fair inference, though mere resentment and spite might hurry some men to as great an indiscretion, that from the accusations he dreaded something worse than those suspicions. Mr. Francis, in his examination before the House of Commons, on the 16th of April, 1788, declared that the effect of this transaction upon the inquiries carried on by the Board into the accusations against the Governor, was, "to defeat them; that it impressed a general terror on the natives with respect to preferring accu-

sations against men in great power ; and that he and his coadjutors were unwilling to expose them to what appeared to him and these coadjutors, as well as themselves, a manifest danger."

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The severest censures were very generally passed upon this trial and execution ; and it was afterwards exhibited as matter of impeachment against both Mr. Hastings, and the Judge who presided in the tribunal. The crime for which Nuncomar was made to suffer, was not a capital offence, by the laws of Hindustan, either Moslem or Hindu ; and it was represented as a procedure full of cruelty and injustice, to render a people amenable to the most grievous severities of a law with which they were unacquainted, and from which, by their habits and associations, their minds were totally estranged. It was affirmed ; That this atrocious condemnation and execution were upon an *ex-post-facto* law, as the statute which created the Supreme Court and its powers was not published till 1774, and the date of the supposed forgery was in 1770 : That the law which rendered forgery capital did not extend to India, as no English statute included the colonies, unless where it was expressly stated in the law : That Nuncomar, as a native Indian, for a crime committed against another Indian, not an Englishman, or even a European, was amenable to the native, not the English tribunals : That the evidence adduced was not sufficient to warrant condemnation : And that although the situation in which the prisoner was placed with regard to a man of so much power as the Governor-General should have suggested to the Judge peculiar circumspection and tenderness, there was every appearance

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of precipitation, and of a predetermination to find him guilty, and to cut him off. In the defence which was set up by Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Judge, in his answer at the bar of the House of Commons on the 12th of December, 1787, he admitted that a native inhabitant of the provinces at large was not amenable to the English laws, or to the English tribunals: and it was not as such, he affirmed, that Nuncomar was tried. But he maintained that a native inhabitant of the English town of Calcutta, which was English property, which had long been governed by Englishmen, and English laws, was amenable to the English tribunals, and justly, because he made it his voluntary choice to live under their protection; and that it was in this capacity, namely that of an inhabitant of Calcutta, that Nuncomar suffered the penalties of the English laws. If the competency of the jurisdiction was admitted, the question of evidence, where evidence was complicated and contradictory, could not admit of any very clear and certain decision; and the Judge opposed the affirmation of its insufficiency by that of the contrary. He denied the doctrine that an English penal statute extended to the colonies, only when that extension was expressed. The allegation of precipitation and unfairness, still further of corruption, in the treatment of the accused, he not only denied with strong expressions of abhorrence, but by a specification of circumstances endeavoured to disprove. It was, however, affirmed, that Nuncomar was not an inhabitant of Calcutta at the time when the offence was said to have been committed; but a prisoner brought and detained there by constraint.

The Chief Justice, on the other hand, maintained that not only was no evidence to this fact exhibited on the trial, but evidence to the contrary, and that not opposed. It does indeed appear that an omission, contrary to the intent of the framers, in the Charter of Justice granted the Company in 1753, had afforded a pretext for that extension of jurisdiction over the inhabitants of Calcutta, under which Impey sheltered himself. In establishing the *civil* court for the administration of the English laws, this charter expressly excepted "such suits as shall be between Indian natives, which shall be determined among themselves, unless both parties consent." In establishing the *penal* court, the reservation of the natives, having once been expressed, was not repeated; and of this opening the servants of the Company had availed themselves, whenever they chose, to extend over the natives the penalties of English law. That the intention of the charter was contrary, appeared by its sanctioning a separate court, called the Phoujdary, for the trial of all offences of the native inhabitants; a court which, under the intention of rendering natives, as well as English, amenable to the English criminal laws, would have been totally without a purpose.<sup>1</sup> Of the evidence it may fairly be observed, that though the forgery was completely proved by the oaths of the witnesses to the prosecution, it was as completely disproved by the oaths of the witnesses to the defence; that there

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<sup>1</sup> Accordingly this jurisdiction had hitherto been exercised with great timidity; and the consent of the government was always asked before the sentence was executed. In one case, and but one, there had been a conviction for forgery, but the prisoner was not executed—he received a pardon. See the Seventh Report of the Committee of Secrecy, in 1773, p. 17.



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was no such difference in the character of the parties or their witnesses as to throw the balance greatly to either of the sides ; and that the preponderance, if any, was too weak, to support an act of so much importance and delicacy, as the condemnation of Nuncomar. Even after the judgment, the case was not without a remedy ; the execution might have been stayed till the pleasure of the King was known, and a pardon might have been obtained. This too the Court absolutely refused ; and proceeded with unrelenting determination to the execution of Nuncomar ; who, on the 5th of August, with a tranquillity and firmness that never were surpassed, submitted to his fate, not only amid the tears and lamentations, but the cries and shrieks of an extraordinary assemblage of his countrymen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is true, that no circumstance in the administration of Hastings, has been so injurious to his reputation as the execution of Nundcomar—whether rightfully so is a different question. From the moment that Nundcomar became the object of judicial investigation, it would have ill become the governor to have interfered—it was not for him to interpose his personal or official influence to arrest the course of the law, nor would it have availed. The Supreme Court was new to its position, strongly impressed with a notion of its dignity, and sensitively jealous of its power. The judges would have at once indignantly resisted any attempt to bias their decision. For the fate of Nundcomar, they are alone responsible. It is presently admitted that they decided according to law, and the attempt to impeach the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey, on this ground, subsequently failed. It is therefore to be concluded, that the sentence was strictly according to law, and there can be no doubt that the crime was proved. The infliction of the sentence, however, upon a native of India, for an offence of which his countrymen knew not the penalty, and which had been committed before the full introduction of those laws which made it a capital crime, was the assertion of law at the expense of reason and humanity—with this Hastings has nothing to do—the fault, and a grievous one it was, rests with the judges. The question, as it concerns the Governor, regards only the share he had in the prosecution. Did he in any way instigate or encourage it. The prosecutor was a party concerned, a native, unconnected with the Governor. He may have thought he was

There was, perhaps, enough to save the authors of this transaction, on the rigid interpretation of naked law. But that all regard to decorum, to the character of the English government, to substantial justice, to the prevention of misrule, and the detection of ministerial crimes, was sacrificed to personal interests, and personal passions, the impartial inquirer cannot hesitate to pronounce.<sup>1</sup>

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doing a not unacceptable act in prosecuting a personal antagonist of Hastings, but that was his feeling. There is no necessity to suppose that he was urged on by Hastings: he had wrongs of his own to avenge, and needed no other instigation. There is no positive proof, that he acted in concert with Hastings: we are therefore left to circumstantial proof, and the only circumstance upon which the participation of Hastings in the persecution of Nundcomar, is, its following hard upon the latter's charges against him. These were preferred on the 11th March, 1775. On the 6th of May following, Nundcomar was arrested under a warrant of the Court at the suit of Mohun Persaud. Here is certainly a suspicious coincidence—but is there no other way of accounting for it than by imputations fatal to the character of W. Hastings. In truth it seems capable of such explanation as acquits Hastings of having exercised any influence over it. Proceedings in the same cause did not then commence. They had been instituted before in the Dewanny Adaulut, and Nundcomar had been confined by the judge, but released by order of Hastings. The suit had therefore been suspended, but it had not been discontinued. The Supreme Court sat for the first time at the end of October 1774. The forged instrument had been deposited in the Mayor's Court, and could not be recovered until all the papers had been transferred to the Supreme Court, and without it no suit could be proceeded with. At the very first opportunity afterwards, or in the commencement of 1775, at the first effective court of Oyer and Terminer and goal delivery, held by the Supreme Court, the indictment was preferred and tried. It is not necessary to suspect Hastings of having from vindictive motives suggested, or accelerated the prosecution. It had previously been brought into another court, where it was asserted the influence of the Governor-General had screened the criminal, and it was again brought into an independent court at the first possible moment when it could be instituted. The coincidence was unfortunate, but it seems to have been unavoidable, and in the absence of all positive proof, the conjectural evidence is not unexceptionable enough to justify the imputation so recklessly advanced by Burke, and seemingly implied in the observations of the text, that Hastings had murdered Nundcomar by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey.—W.

<sup>1</sup> For the preceding charges against Mr. Hastings, and the proceedings

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Among the regulations of the financial system, formed and adopted in 1772, under the authority of Mr. Hastings, the seventeenth article was expressed in the following words; "That no Peshcar, Banyan, or other servant of whatever denomination, of the collector, or relation or dependant of any such servant, be allowed to farm lands, nor directly nor indirectly to hold a concern in any farm, nor to be security for any farmer; and if it shall appear, that the collector shall have countenanced, approved, or connived at a breach of this regulation, he shall stand *ipso facto* dismissed from his collectorship." These regulations had the advantage of being accompanied with a running commentary, in a corresponding column of the very page which contained the text of the law; the commentary proceeding from the same authority as the law, and exhibiting the reasons on which it was founded. The commentary on the article in question, stated, that, "If the collector or any persons who partake of his authority, are permitted to be farmers of the country, no other persons will dare to be their competitors. Of course they will obtain the farms on their own terms. It is not fit that the servants of the Company should be dealers with their masters. The collectors are checks on the farmers. If they themselves turn farmers, what

of the Council, see the Eleventh Report of the Select Committee, in 1781, with its Appendix; Burke's Charges against Hastings, No. 8, and Hastings's Answer to the Eighth Charge, with the Minutes of Evidence on the Trial, p. 953—1001; and the Charges against Sir Elijah Impey, exhibited to the House of Commons by Sir Gilbert Elliot, in 1787, with the Speech of Impey in Reply to the first charge, printed, with an Appendix, by Stoekdale, in 1788. For the execution and behaviour of Nuncomar, see a very interesting account, written by the sheriff who superintended, and printed in Dodsley's Annual Register for 1788, Historical part, p. 157.



checks can be found for them? What security will the Company have for their property? Or where are the ryots to look for protection?"<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this law, it appeared that Mr. Hastings' own Banyan had, in the year 1773, possessed, or was concerned in the farm of no less than nineteen pergunnahs, or districts, in different parts of Bengal, the united rent-roll of which was 13,33,664 rupees; that in 1774, the rent-roll of the territory so farmed was 13,46,152 rupees; in 1775, 13,67,796 rupees; that in 1776, it was 13,88,346, rupees; and in 1777, the last year of the existing or quinquennial settlement, it was 14,11,885 rupees. It also appeared that, at the end of the second year, he was allowed to relinquish three of the farms, on which there was an increasing rent. This proceeding was severely condemned by the Directors; and Mr. Hastings himself, beyond affirming that he had no share in the profits, and that little or none were made, alleged but little in its defence.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, in 1773; Bengal Consultations, 14th May, 1772, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Extract of Bengal Revenue Consultations, 17th March, 1775; Parliamentary Papers, printed in 1787; see also the Fifteenth of the Charges exhibited to Parliament against Warren Hastings, Esq., and his Answer to the same.—M.

There was nothing to defend. The regulation applied to the native agent of a collector, being intended to obviate local influence and interests. The Banyan of the Governor-General residing in Calcutta, renting farms or being security for others so doing in different and distant parts of the country, and having so done before he became the servant of Mr. Hastings, did not come under the regulation. It was of importance that he should be a man of rank and wealth, and whence could either be derived more creditably than from landed possessions. That Cauntoo Baboo may have turned his connexion with the Governor to profit, is very possible, but that was inevitable, whoever might have filled the office. In the situation of Hastings, and of all the Company's servants, at that time,



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For the affairs of the Nabob, and that part of the business of government, still transacted in his name, a substitute to Munny Begum, and to the plan superseded by her removal, was urgently required. In their letter of the 3d of March, 1775, the Directors had declared Mohammed Reza Khan to be so honourably cleared of the suspicions and charges with which he had been clouded, and Nuncomar to be so disgraced by his attempts to destroy him, that they directed his son, who was no more than the tool of the father, to be removed from his office; and Mohammed Reza Khan to be appointed in his stead. It is remarkable, that the Directors were so ignorant of the government of India, which it belonged to them to conduct, that they mistook the name of the office of Gourdess, who was the agent for paying the Nabob's servants, and the substitute for Munny Begum, when any of the affairs was to be transacted to which the fiction of the Nabob's authority was still applied, for that of the officer who was no more than the head of the native clerks in the office of revenue at Calcutta. When they directed Gourdess to be replaced by Mohammed Reza, they distinguished him by the title of Roy

native agency was indispensable, and in the absence of efficient check from a knowledge of the languages and of the country, was very liable to be abused. Many of the charges of corruption and collusion had their origin from this source. The principals suffered not only for their own acts, but those of their dependants. That the European functionaries were all without exception immaculate, is not to be believed, considering how recent was the general prevalence of corruption, but their servants signed no covenants, and were no doubt accessible to bribes, and the masters were supposed to share in the illicit gains. No charge of corruption against Hastings himself, however, is unequivocally made out, and although he seems to have been careless and extravagant, and little scrupulous in raising means for public emergencies, he may be acquitted of all intention of enriching himself by the violation of principles or of covenants.—W.

Royan; and thence enlarged the ground of cavil and dispute between the contending parties in the Council. BOOK V.  
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Clavering, Francis, and Monson, decided for uniting, 1776.  
in the hands of Mohammed Reza Khan, the functions which had been divided between Munny Begum and Raja Gourdass; and as Raja Gourdass, notwithstanding the prejudices against his father, was recommended by the Directors to some inferior office, the same party proposed to make him Roy Royan, and to remove Raja Bullub, the son of Dooloob Ram, by whom that office had hitherto been held.

As the penal department of justice was ill administered in the present Foujdary courts (that branch of the late arrangements had totally failed); and as the superintendence of criminal justice, intrusted to the Governor-General, as head of the Nizamut Adaulut, or Supreme Penal Court of Calcutta, loaded him with a weight of business, and of responsibility, from which he sought to be relieved, the majority agreed to restore to Mohammed Reza Khan, the superintendence of penal justice, and of the native penal courts throughout the country; and for that purpose to remove the seat of the Nizamut Adaulut from Calcutta back to Moorshedabad. The Governor-General agreed that the orders of the Directors required the removal of Gourdass from the office which he held under Munny Begum, and the appointment to that office of Mohammed Reza Khan; but he dissented from all the other parts of the proposed arrangement; and treated the renewal of the title of Naib Subah, and the affectation of still recognising the Nabob's government, as idle grimace. "All the arts of policy cannot," he said, "conceal

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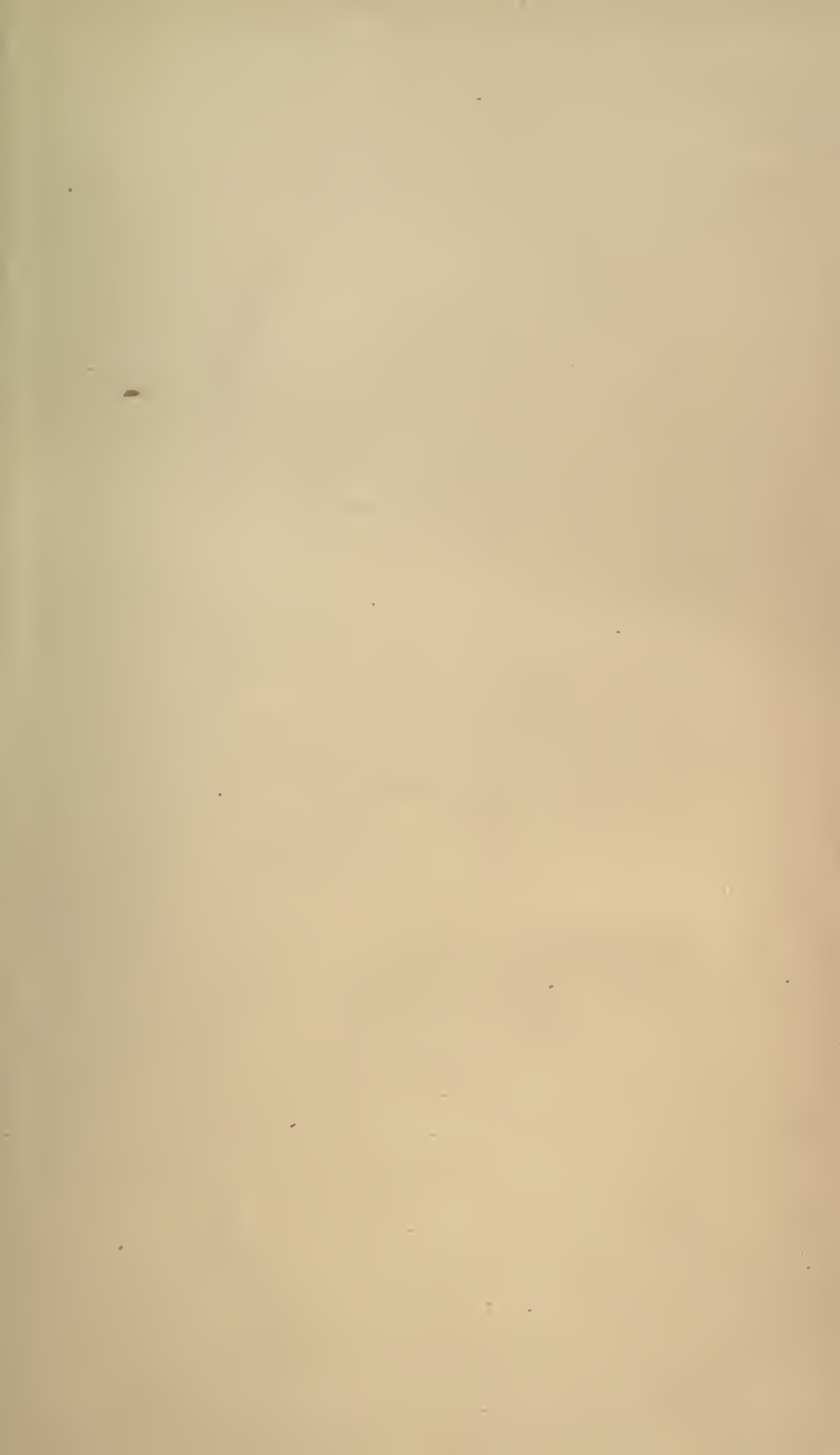
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the power by which these provinces are ruled, nor can all the arts of sophistry avail to transfer the responsibility to the Nabob; when it is as visible as the light of the sun, that every act originates from our own government, that the Nabob is a mere pageant without the shadow of authority, and even his most consequential agents receive their express nomination from the servants of the Company,"<sup>1</sup> The opposing party, however, thought it would be still political, to uphold the pretext of "a country government," for managing all discussions with foreign factories. And if ultimately it should, they say, "be necessary to maintain the authority of the country government by force, the Nabob will call upon us for that assistance, which we are bound by treaty to afford him, and which may be effectually employed in his name." That party possessed the majority of votes, and their schemes, of course, were carried into execution.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> How strange a language this from the pen of the man, who, but a few months before, had represented the power of the shadow of this shadow, the Naib Subah, as too great to exist with safety to the Company in the hands of any man!

<sup>2</sup> Fifth Report of the Select Committee in 1781; and the Bengal Consultations in the Appendix, No. 6.

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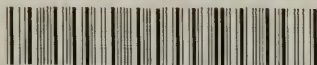
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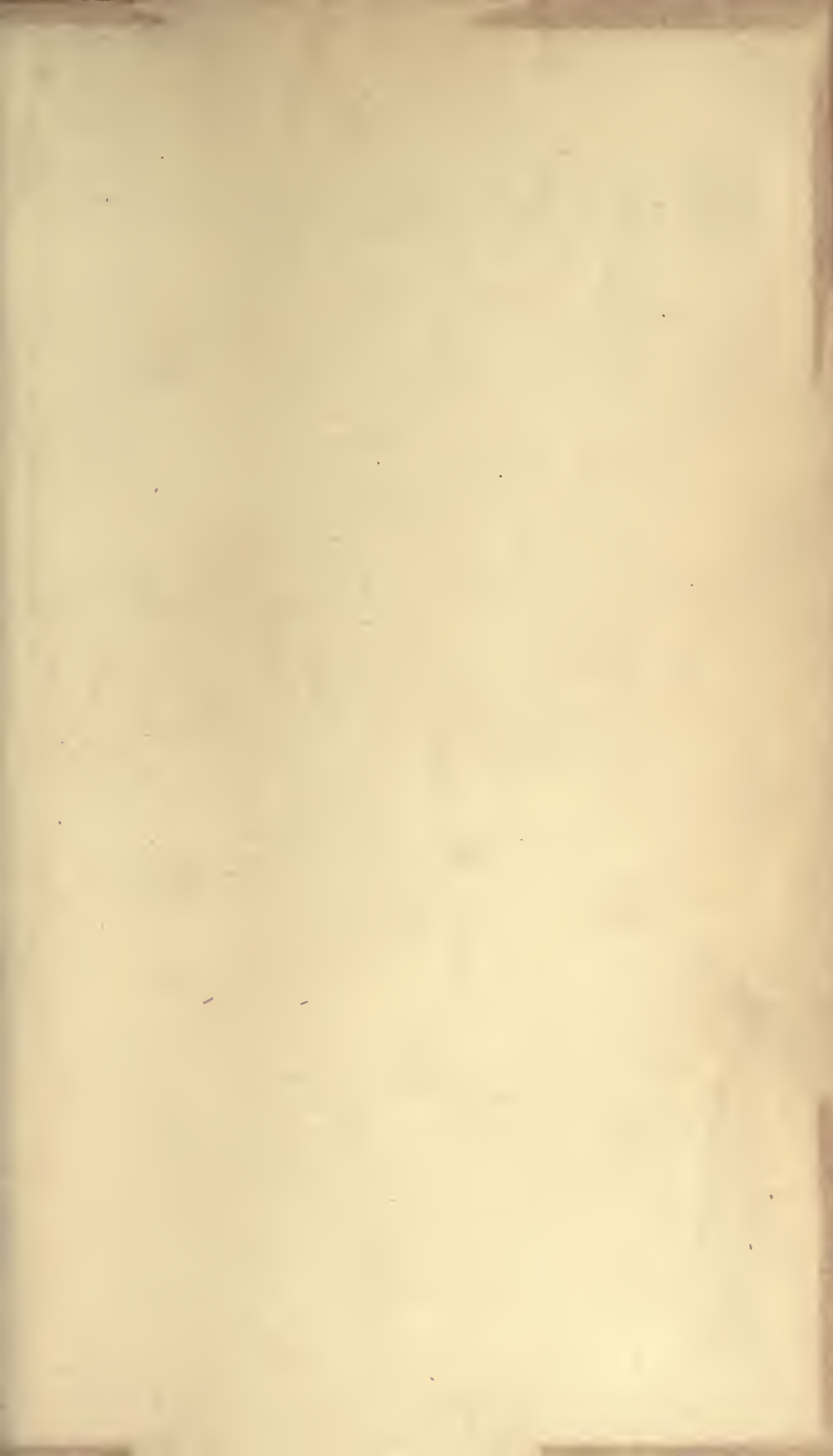




















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THE HISTORY OF  
BRITISH INDIA.

BY JAMES MILL, ESQ.

FIFTH EDITION WITH NOTES AND CONTINUATION,

BY HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS, BOSTON AND CALCUTTA,  
AND OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY; OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND THE  
IMPERIAL ACADEMIES OF VIENNA AND ST. PETERSBURGH; OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES  
OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC., ETC.; AND BODEN PROFESSOR OF  
SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOLUME IV.

LONDON:

JAMES MADDEN, 8, LEADENHALL STREET;

PIPER, STEPHENSON AND SPENCE,

PATERNOSTER ROW.

M.DCCC.LVIII.



LONDON:  
PRINTED BY WERTHEIMER AND CO.,  
CIRCUS PLACE, FINSBURY CIRCUS.

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THE state of the regulations for collecting the revenue had for some time pressed upon the attention of the government. The lease of five years, on which the revenues had been farmed in 1772, was drawing to a close, and

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CHAP. III.

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1775.



BOOK V. it was necessary to determine what course should then be  
 CHAP. III. pursued. To remedy evils, which delayed not to make  
 1775. themselves perceived, in the regulations of 1772, a considerable change had been introduced in 1773. The superintendence of the collectors was abolished. The provinces (Chittagong and Tipperah remaining under the original sort of management, that of a chief) were formed into six grand divisions, Calcutta, Burdwan, Moorshedabad, Dinagapore, Dacca, and Patna. In each of these divisions (Calcutta excepted, for which two members of the council and three superior servants, under the name of a committee of revenue, were appointed) a council was formed, consisting of a chief, and four senior servants, to whom powers were confided, the same, in general, with those formerly enjoyed by the collectors. They exercised a command over all the officers and affairs of revenue within the division. The members superintended in rotation the civil courts of justice, called *Sudder Adaulut*. The councils appointed deputies, or *naibs*, to the subordinate districts of the division. These *naibs*, who were natives, and called also *aumils*, both superintended the work of realizing the revenue, and held courts of fiscal judicature, called courts of *Dewanee Adaulut*. The decisions of these courts were subject by appeal to the review of the provincial courts of *Sudder Adaulut*; which decided in the last resort to the value of 1000 rupees, but under appeal to the court of *Sudder Dewanee Adaulut* at Calcutta in all cases which exceeded that amount. Even this scheme was declared to be only immediate, and preparatory to an ultimate measure, according to which, while the local management, except in those districts which might be let entire to the *Zemindars* or responsible farmers, should be performed by a *dewan*, or *aumil*, a committee of revenue, sitting at the Presidency, should form a grand revenue office, and superintend the whole collections of the country.<sup>1</sup> Such were the alterations adopted in 1773.

At an early period, under the five years' settlement, it was perceived, that the farmers of the revenue had contracted for more than they were able to pay. The collections fell short of the engagements even for the first year; and the farms had been let upon a progressive rent. The

<sup>1</sup> Sixth Report of the Select Committee, 1781, Appendix, No. 1.

Governor-General was now accused by his colleagues of having deceived his honourable masters by holding up to their hopes a revenue which could not be obtained. He defended himself by a plea which had, it cannot be denied, considerable weight. It was natural to suppose, that the natives were acquainted with the value of the lands, and other sources of the revenue; and that a regard to their own interests would prevent them from engaging for more than those sources would afford. It was contended with no less justice on the other side, that there was a class of persons who had nothing to lose; to whom the handling of the revenues, and power over those who paid them, though for a single year, was an object of desire; and whom, as they had no intention to pay what they promised, the extent of the promise could not restrain.

The failure of exaggerated hopes was not the only evil whereof the farm by auction was accused. The Zemindars, through whose agency the revenues of the district had formerly been realized, and whose office and authority had generally grown into hereditary possessions, comprising both an estate and a magistracy, or even a species of sovereignty, when the territory and jurisdiction were large; were either thrown out of their possessions; or from an ambition to hold the situation which had given opulence and rank to their families, perhaps for generations, they bid for the taxes more than the taxes could enable them to pay; and reduced themselves by the bargain to poverty and ruin. When the revenues were farmed to the Zemindars, these contractors were induced to turn upon the ryots, and others from whom their collections were levied, the same rack which was applied to themselves. When they were farmed to the new adventurer, who looked only to a temporary profit, and who had no interest in the permanent prosperity of a people with whom he had no permanent connexion, every species of exaction to which no punishment was attached, or of which the punishment could by artifice be evaded, was to him a fountain of gain.

After several acrimonious debates, the Governor-General proposed that the separate opinions of the Members of the Council, on the most eligible plan for levying the taxes of the country, should be sent to the Court of Directors.

BOOK V. And on the 28th of March, 1775, a draught signed by him  
 CHAP. III. and Mr. Barwell was prepared for transmission. The leading principle of this project was, that the several districts should be farmed on leases for life, or for two joint lives; allowing a preference to the Zemindar as often as his offer was not greatly inferior to that of other candidates, or the real value of the taxes to be let. The plan of the other members of the Council was not yet prepared. They contented themselves with some severe reflections upon the imperfections of the existing system, an exaggerated representation of the evils which it was calculated to produce,<sup>1</sup> and an expression of the greatest astonishment at the inconsistency of the Governor-General, in praising and defending that system, while he yet recommended another, by which it would be wholly suppressed.

On the 22nd of January, 1776, Mr. Francis entered a voluminous minute, in which he took occasion to record at length his opinions respecting the ancient government of the country, and the means of ensuring its future prosperity. Of the measures which he recommended, a plan for realizing the revenue constituted the greatest and most remarkable portion. Without much concern about the production of proof, he assumed as a basis two things; first, that the opinion was erroneous, which ascribed to the Sovereign the property of the land; and secondly, that the property in question belonged to the Zemindars. Upon the Zemindars, as proprietors, he accordingly proposed that a certain land-tax should be levied; that it should be fixed once for all; and held as perpetual and invariable.

This was the principle and essence of his plan; and the reasonings by which he supported it, were the common reasonings which prove the benefit of certainty in levying contributions for the use of the state. But Mr. Francis misapplied a common term. By certainty, in matters of taxation, is not meant security for ever against increase of taxation. Taxes may be in the highest degree certain, and yet liable to be increased at the will of the legislature.

<sup>1</sup> "In the course of three years more, we think it much to be apprehended, that the continued operation of this system will have reduced the country in general to such a state of ruin and decay, as no future alteration will be sufficient to retrieve." Extract of a Minute from General Clavering, Col. Monson, and Mr. Francis, March 21, 1775.



For certainty it is enough, that under any existing enactment of the legislature, the sum which every man has to pay should depend upon definite, cognoscible circumstances. The window-tax, for example, is a certain tax; though it may be increased or diminished, not only at the pleasure of the legislature, but by altering the number of his windows at the pleasure of the individual who pays it. By the common reasonings to prove the advantages of certainty in taxes, M. Francis, therefore, proved nothing at all against the power of increasing them. The sacred duty of keeping taxation in general within the narrowest possible limits, rests upon equally strong but very different grounds.

Into the subordinate arrangements of the scheme, it belongs not to the present purpose to enter. It is only necessary to state, that Mr. Francis proposed to protect the ryots from the arbitrary exactions of the Zemindars, by prescribed forms of leases, in India known by the name of pottahs; that he condemned the provincial councils, and recommended local supervisors, to superintend, for a time, the executive as well as judicial business of the collections; a business, which, by the arrangements made with the Zemindars and the ryots, he trusted would in a great measure soon perform itself. On opium and salt, of which the monopoly had generally been disposed of by contract, he proposed that government should content itself with a duty; and terminate a large amount of existing oppressions by giving freedom to the trade.<sup>1</sup>

That the regulations which had been adopted for the administration of justice among the natives were extremely defective, all parties admitted and complained. That robbery and other crimes so greatly prevailed, was owing, in the opinion of Mr. Francis, to the reduction of the authority of the Zemindars. These officers had formerly exercised a penal control, which Mr. Francis maintained was fully judicial; which had reference, as Mr. Hastings affirmed, to nothing but police. As a cure for the exist-

<sup>1</sup> Report, ut supra, and Appendix, Nos. 14 and 15. See also a publication, entitled *Original Minutes of the Governor-General and Council of Fort William*, by Philip Francis, Esq. For the meaning of the terms Zemindar and Ryot, see i. 271; and for the interest which the Zemindar had in the land, see the considerations adduced on the introduction of the zemindary system during the administration of Lord Cornwallis.



BOOK V. ing disorders, Mr. Francis recommended the restoration of  
 CHAP. III. their ancient powers to the Zemindars, who, in the case  
 1776. of robbery and theft, were obliged, under the ancient government, to make compensation to the party wronged ; and in the case of murders and riots, were liable to severe mulcts at the hand of government. Mr. Hastings, who judged more wisely what effects zemindary jurisdiction had produced, or was likely to produce, treated this as a remedy which was far from adequate to the disease. In conjunction with Sir Elijah Impey, he formed the draught of a bill for an act of parliament, on the subject of the civil judicature of Bengal. It was communicated to the Council on the 29th of May. In this plan of the Chief Governor and Chief Judge, it was proposed, that in each of the seven divisions, into which, including Chittagong, the country had been already distributed, two courts of record should be established ; that one should be denominated "The Court of Provincial Council ;" that it should in each instance consist of a president and three Councillors, chosen by the Governor-General and Council, among the senior servants of the Company ; and have summary jurisdiction in all pecuniary suits which regarded the Company, either directly, or through the medium of any person indebted to them or employed in their service ; that the other of these courts should be called the Adaulut Dewanny Zillajaut ; should consist of one judge, chosen, for his knowledge in the language and constitutions of the country, by the Governor and Council, from among the senior servants of the Company ; and should have jurisdiction in cases of trespass or damage, rents, debts, and in general of all pleas real, personal, or mixed, belonging to parties different from those included in the jurisdiction of the Courts of Provincial Council. In this draught no provision was made for the criminal branch of judicature among the natives, which had been remitted to the nominal government of the Nabob, and exercised under the superintendence of Mohammed Reza Khan.<sup>1</sup>

Early in November, 1776, Colonel Monson died ; and as there remained in the Council after that event, only the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell on the one part, with

<sup>1</sup> See Francis's Minute, ut supra, and the Draught of Hastings's Bill ; Report, ut supra, Appendix, No. 13.

General Clavering and Mr. Francis on the other, the casting vote of the Governor-General turned the balance on his side, and restored to him the direction of government.

BOOK V.  
CHAP. III.

1776.

In the consultation of the 1st of November he had entered a minute, in which he proposed, as a foundation for new-modelling the plan of collection, that an investigation should be instituted for ascertaining the actual state of the sources of revenue, particularly of that great and principal source, the lands. As the mode of letting by auction, which had produced inconvenience, was meant to be discontinued, and the mode of letting by valuation to be adopted in its stead, the Governor-General was of opinion, that as accurate a knowledge as possible of the subject of valuation ought first to be obtained. He proposed that this inquiry should be assigned as an exclusive duty to particular agents; that two covenanted servants of the Company should be chosen, with an adequate appointment of native officers; and that their business should be to collect the accounts of the Zemindars, the farmers, and ryots; to obtain such information as the Provincial Councils could impart; to depute, when expedient, native officers into the districts for the purpose of inquiry; and to arrange and digest the accumulated materials. The use of this knowledge would be to assess the lands in proportion to their value, and to protect the ryots, by equitable agreements, or pottahs, imposed upon the Zemindars. The Governor-General finally proposed, for the sake, as he said, of despatch, that all orders issued from the office, in execution of such measures as had received the sanction of the Board, should be written in his name; and that the control of the office should be confided to his care.

As every proposal made by the Governor-General was an object of attack to the opposite side of the Board, this measure introduced, as usual, a long train of debate and altercation. Mr. Francis objected, 1. That the inquiry proposed was altogether useless; as a rate of impost, extracting from the lands their utmost value, would be cruel to the people, and ruinous to the state; while, under a moderate assessment, disproportion between the rate and the value was worthy of little regard; 2. That if an accu-

BOOK V. rate valuation were useful, it ought to have been obtained  
 CHAP. III. through the Committee of Circuit, by whom the lands  
 1776. were let at auction, for the professed purpose of ascertaining their highest value; 3. That the inquiry would be unavailing, because the Zemindars, farmers, and ryots, would not give true accounts; 4. That if real accounts were capable of being obtained, they would be so voluminous, intricate, and defective, as to preclude the possibility of drawing from them any accurate conclusion; 5. That a valuation of land, if accurately obtained, is only true for one particular year, not for any future one; and 6. That with regard to the ryots, while the proposed pottahs were ill-calculated to afford them protection, the interest of the Zemindars, if their lands were restored under a moderate and invariable tax, would yield the best security to the husbandman, from whose exertions the value of the land arose. A furious minute was entered by General Clavering, in which he arraigned the measure as an attempt to wrest from the Council "the ordering, management, and government of the territorial acquisitions," and as an illegal usurpation of the powers that were vested exclusively in the Board. This accusation was founded upon the proposal about the letters and the control of the office. And it is remarkable that, knowing the jealousy with which any proposal of a new power to himself would be viewed by the hostile party, and the imputations to which it would give birth, the Governor-General should have embarrassed his scheme with a condition, invidious, and not essential to its execution. That the objections were frivolous or invalid, it is easy to perceive. Though the inequalities of some taxes redress themselves in time, it is a mischievous notion that inequality in the imposing of taxes is not an evil. Every inequality in the case of a *new* imposition, is an act of oppression and injustice. And Hastings showed that in the case of India, where the land-holder paid nine-tenths of the produce of the land to government, inequality might produce the most cruel oppression. If the Committee of Circuit had fallen short of procuring an accurate knowledge of the sources of the revenue, that could be no reason why better information should not be obtained. Though it was acknowledged that inquiry would be difficult, and its results defective, it is



never to be admitted that, where perfect knowledge cannot be obtained, knowledge, though imperfect, is of no advantage. If it were allowed, as it was not, that the interest of the Zemindars would have been such, upon the plan of Mr. Francis, as Mr. Francis supposed, it is not true that men will be governed by their real interests, where it is certain that they are incapable of understanding those interests; where those interests are distant and speak only to the judgment, while they are opposed by others that operate immediately upon the passions and the senses. As the Governor-General had not proposed that letters from the office issued in his name should relate to any thing but services which had received the sanction of the Council, he insisted that they no more implied a usurpation of the powers of the Council, than the letters written in his own name, in the discharge of his function, by any officer who was vested with a trust. The pernicious purposes to which it was in vague and general terms affirmed that such a power might be converted, it is not easy to understand. And the odium which it was attempted to cast upon the inquiry, by representing it as a preparation for exacting the utmost possible revenue from the lands, and dispossessing the Zemindars, Hastings answered, and sufficiently, by a solemn declaration, that no such intention was entertained.

By the ascendancy now restored to the Governor-General, the office was established. Orders were transmitted to the Provincial Councils; and native officers, called aumeens, were sent to collect accounts and to obtain information in the districts. The first incidents which occurred were complaints against those aumeens for injurious treatment of the inhabitants; and the opposing party were careful to place these accusations in the strongest possible light. From the aumeens, on the other hand, accounts arrived of frequent refusal on the part of the Zemindarry agents, and others, to afford information, or even to show their accounts.

The five years' leases expired in April, 1777; and the month of July of that year had arrived before any plan for the current and future years had yet been determined. By acknowledgment of all parties, the country had been so grievously over-taxed, as to have been altogether unable



BOOK V. to carry up its payments to the level of the taxation.  
 CHAP. III. According to the statement of the Accountant-General,  
 1777. dated the 12th of July, 1777, the remissions upon the five-years' leases amounted to 118 lacs 79,576 rupees; and the balances, of which the greater part were wholly irrecoverable, amounted to 129 lacs 26,910 rupees. In his minute, on the office of inquiry, Mr. Barwell expressly declared that the "impoverished state of the country loudly pleaded for a reduction of the revenue as absolutely requisite for its future welfare."<sup>1</sup> In the meantime despatches arrived, by which it was declared, that the Court of Directors, after considering the plans, both that of the Governor-General for letting the lands on leases for lives, and that of Mr. Francis for establishing a fixed, invariable rent, "did, for many weighty reasons, think it not then advisable to adopt either of those modes," but directed that the lands should be let for one year, on the most advantageous terms; that the way of auction, however, should no more be used; that a preference should always be given to natives resident on the spot; and that no European, or the banyan of any European, should have any share in farming the revenues. On the 15th of July, it was determined that the following plan should be adopted for the year; that the lands should be offered to the old Zemindars on the rent-roll or assessment of the last year, or upon a new estimate formed by the provincial Council; that for such lands as should not in this manner find a renter, the Provincial Councils should receive sealed proposals by advertisement; that the salt farms should be let upon sealed proposals, a preference being given to the Zemindar or farmer of the lands on which the salt was made; that security should not be asked of the Zemindars, but a part of their lands be sold to discharge their balances. Mr. Francis objected to the rent-roll of last year as too high; and Mr. Hastings admitted the justice of the observation with regard to a part of the lands, where abatement would be required; but thought it good, in the first instance, to try in how many cases the high

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shore (Lord Teignmouth) said, in his valuable Minute on the Revenues of Bengal, dated June, 1789, printed in the Appendix, No. 1, to the Fifth Report of the Committee on India Affairs, in 1810, that "the settlement of 1772, before the expiration of the leases, existed, he believed, nowhere, upon its original terms."

rent, for which persons were found to engage, would be regarded as not more than the taxes would enable them to pay. Instead of sealed proposals, which he justly denominated a virtual auction, Mr. Francis recommended a settlement by the Provincial Councils. And he wished the manufacture of salt to be left to the holder or renter of the lands where it was made; the government requiring nothing but a duty. With these proposals the Governor-General signified no disposition to comply; but, after fresh commands from England, the average of the collections of the three preceding years was made the basis of the new engagements.

In their letter of the 4th of July, 1777, the Directors made the following severe reflections on the institution of the office of inquiry, and the separate authority which the Governor-General had taken to himself. "Our surprise and concern were great, on finding by our Governor-General's minute of 1st November, 1776, that after more than seven year's investigation, information is still so incomplete as to render another innovation, still more extraordinary than any of the former, absolutely necessary in order to the formation of a new settlement. In 1769, supervisors were appointed professedly to investigate the subject: in 1770, controlling councils of revenue were instituted: in 1772, the office of Naib Dewan was abolished, natives were discarded, and a Committee of Circuit formed, who, we were told, precisely and distinctly ascertained what was necessary to be known: and now, in 1777, two junior servants, with the assistance of a few natives, are employed to collect and digest materials, which have already undergone the collection, inspection, and revision of so many of our servants of all denominations.—We should have hoped, that when you knew our sentiments respecting the conduct of our late administration, in delegating separate powers to their President, it would have been sufficient to prevent us further trouble on such occasions; but to our concern, we find that no sooner was our Council reduced, by the death of Colonel Monson, to a number which rendered the President's casting vote of consequence to him, than he exercised it to invest himself with an improper degree of power in the

BOOK V.  
CHAP. III.

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1777.

BOOK V. business of the revenue, which he could never have expected from other authority.”<sup>1</sup>

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The same mode of settlement was renewed from year to year, till 1781, when a plan destined for permanence was adopted and employed.<sup>2</sup>

When Mr. Hastings was in the deepest depression, under the ascendancy of his opponents, a gentleman, of the name of Maclean, departed for England, and was intrusted with a variety of confidential affairs, as the private agent of the Governor-General. For the measures adopted against the Rohillas, Hastings had been censured by the Courts of both Directors and Proprietors:<sup>3</sup> and the Court of Directors had resolved to address the King for his removal. Upon this severe procedure, a Court of Proprietors was again convened; a majority of whom appeared averse to carry the condemnation to so great an extent, and voted, that the resolution of the Directors should be reconsidered. The business remained in suspense for some months, when Mr. Maclean informed the Court of Directors that he was empowered to tender the resignation of Mr. Hastings. If he resigned, a mere majority of the Proprietors, who appeared to be on his side, could restore him to the service. If he was dismissed, a mere majority would not be sufficient. In the letters by which the authority of Mr. Maclean was conveyed, confidential communications upon other subjects were con-

<sup>1</sup> Sixth Report, ut supra, Appendix, Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. Minutes of the Governor-General and Council of Fort William, by Philip Francis, Esq.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth Report of the Committee of Indian Affairs, 1812, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> This is not correctly stated: the Court of Directors passed resolutions condemnatory of the principles of the Rohilla war, and they were confirmed by a Court of Proprietors, but with a very important amendment, namely,—that “the Court had the highest opinion of the services and integrity of Warren Hastings, Esq., and could not admit a suspicion of corrupt motives operating on his conduct, without proof.” Proceedings of a General Court, 6th December, 1775. The resolution to address the King, for the Recall of the Governor, arose out of the charges preferred by the other members of the Council against Hastings and Barwell, for having taken bribes, or exacted sums of money from natives illicitly. This Resolution passed the Court of Directors on the 8th of May, 1776; but, at a General Court, held on the 17th May, it was voted by 377 to 271, that the Court of Directors should reconsider their resolution. In the course of the following July, after several stormy discussions, the resolution was rescinded, and all questions of Hastings’ removal ceased for the time. MSS. Records. The account of this transaction, and of that which follows, in the text, is taken from the Ninth Report of the Select Committee; not, as it should have been, from the documents to the Appendix, which do not, in very many instances, authorise the statements of the Report, influenced as they evidently are, by a spirit unfriendly to Warren Hastings.—W.



tained. On this account he represented the impossibility of his imparting them openly to the Court; but proposed, if they would appoint a confidential Committee of Directors, to communicate to them what was necessary for their satisfaction. The Chairman, Deputy-Chairman, and another Director were named. They reported, that they had seen Mr. Hastings's instructions in his own handwriting; and that the authority of Mr. Maclean for the proposed proceeding was clear and sufficient. Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Stewart, both in the intimate friendship and confidence of Mr. Hastings, gave evidence that directions, perfectly correspondent to this written authority, had been given in their presence.<sup>1</sup> The two Chairmen alone concurred in the report. The third Director regarded not the authority as sufficiently proved. The

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<sup>1</sup> The detail of the Report is unfair, and in this instance the Appendix does not furnish the means of correcting it. On reference to the original MS. documents, it is evident that Colonel Maclean's authority would have satisfied none but minds ready to catch at any plea for the removal of an opponent. The Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Mr. Becher, report, that having conferred with Mr. Maclean, they find, that from the purport of Mr. Hastings' instructions, contained in a paper in his own handwriting, he declares "he will not continue in the government of Bengal, unless certain conditions therein specified can be obtained," of 'which,' they add, 'there is no probability.' This is a very different thing from a resignation: no conditions had been discussed; none had been proposed: their refusal should necessarily have preceded their consequences, and it was not for the Court of Directors to act upon their notion of a probable contingency. Again, it was only an intention that was talked of; and a mere intention, communicated to a friend, could not, by any just reasoning, be converted into an official announcement of a final determination. Even this intention, however, is not explicitly stated, but is gathered from the 'purport' of the instructions. On the other hand, the Court had before them, Hastings' reiterated intimations that he would *not* resign, until the Court had passed sentence upon the disputes between him and his adversaries. Letter to the Court, 15th August, 1777, App. No. 113. Maclean's conduct in this business it is not easy to comprehend. The Select Committee, in their usual spirit, find that motive for it which is assigned in the text; but there were no proceedings in contemplation at the time of his application to the Court, and it would have been quite early enough to have had recourse to the manœuvre for which credit is given him, when the recall of his principal had been again proposed. It seems not impossible, however, that he was influenced by views of his own. He had come home as the unauthorised agent of the Nabob of Arcot, and in February, 1776, addressed the Court, explaining his reasons for having resigned their service for that object. His account is not very explicit; but it is clear that he considered himself aggrieved by the Governor and Council of Bengal, and had some important points to carry with the Court, declaring that 'he is, and must continue to be, a great sufferer, unless the Court should be pleased to take his case into consideration, and grant him relief.' This is dated the 13th February, 1776. On the 10th of October, in the same year, he writes to the Court to announce his being authorised to proffer Hastings' resignation as above mentioned. During the whole interval, he had not relinquished his claims upon the Court; for not until the 31st of March in the next year, does he break with them finally. The whole of his proceedings display an intriguing spirit, which was very likely to have made him outstrip his instructions, in the hope of conciliating the ruling party of the Court. MSS. Records: also, Ninth Report, 356.—W.



BOOK V. Directors proceeded upon the report : the resignation was  
 CHAP. III. formally accepted : and a successor to Mr. Hastings was  
 1777. chosen. Mr. Wheler was named ; presented to the King  
 for his approbation, and accepted. General Clavering, as  
 senior Member of the Council, was empowered to occupy  
 the chair till Mr. Wheler should arrive. And on the 19th  
 of June, 1777, intelligence of these proceedings was received  
 in Bengal.

A scene of confusion, well calculated to produce the  
 most fatal consequences, ensued. Mr. Hastings, who now  
 possessed the power of the Council, refused to acknow-  
 ledge the authority of his agent ; and declared his reso-  
 lution not to resign. General Clavering claimed the attri-  
 butes of supremacy ; and summoned the Members of  
 Council to assemble under his auspices. Mr. Barwell at-  
 tended upon the summons of the one, and Mr. Francis  
 upon that of the other ; and two parties, each claiming  
 the supreme authority, were now seen in action one  
 against the other. An appeal to arms appeared, in these  
 circumstances, the only medium of decision ; and Mr.  
 Hastings showed his resolution to stand the result. The  
 other party, it is probable, felt their influence inferior to  
 his. At any rate they declined the desperate extremity of  
 a civil war ; and finally offered to abide the award of the  
 Supreme Court. The judges decided that Mr. Hastings  
 had not vacated his office. This transaction was after-  
 wards made the subject of a charge against him by those  
 who moved for his impeachment ; but he accused the  
 Directors of rashness and injustice, in taking such im-  
 portant steps upon evidence which he affirmed would  
 have been held, in a court of justice, insufficient to main-  
 tain a decision for the transference of an article of pro-  
 perty of the smallest amount.<sup>1</sup>

The power recovered by the Governor-General, and thus  
 strenuously retained, was exhibited in other triumphs, of  
 slender importance. One of the first mortifications to  
 which he had been subjected upon the arrival of the hos-  
 tile councillors, was the recall of his agent, Mr. Middleton,  
 from the office of resident with the Nabob of Oude. It

<sup>1</sup> Ninth Report, Select Committee, 1783, and Appendix, Nos. 107, 108, 109,  
 112, 113, 114, 115. See also the charges, No. 9, and the answer of Mr.  
 Hastings.

was now his time to retort the humiliation : and on the 2nd of December, 1776, he moved in Council, "that Mr. Bristow should be recalled from the court of the Nabob of Oude, and that Mr. Middleton be restored to the office of resident." So far from imputing any blame to Mr. Bristow, the Governor-General acknowledged that he had commanded his esteem. As the ground of his proceeding, he stated, that Mr. Middleton had been removed from his office without allegation of fault ; that he had a greater confidence in Mr. Middleton than in Mr. Bristow, and as the responsibility was laid upon him, it was but just that his agents should be chosen by himself. The measure was vehemently opposed by General Clavering and Mr. Francis ; the usual violence of altercation ensued ; Mr. Middleton was appointed, and Mr. Bristow recalled.

The part taken by Mr. Joseph Fowke in bringing forward the facts, whence imputations had been drawn upon the Governor-General himself, had excited a resentment, which, having formerly appeared only in bitter and contemptuous expressions, was now made manifest in acts. The son of that gentleman, Mr. Francis Fowke, had, on the 16th of August, 1775, been appointed by the Council, against the voice of the Governor-General, to proceed on a species of embassy to the new dependant of the Company, the Raja of Benares. On the same day on which the Governor-General moved for the recall of Mr. Bristow, he moved for that of Mr. Francis Fowke, which also, after strong opposition, was carried by his own casting vote. Mr. Fowke was recalled, and his commission annulled, on the express declaration, that "the purposes thereof had been accomplished." On the 22nd of the same month, a letter of the Governor-General and Council was written to the Court of Directors, in which the recall of Mr. Fowke was reported, and in which it was stated that the commission with which he had been invested was annulled, because the purposes for which it had been created were "fully accomplished ;" on the very day after the date of this despatch, the Governor-General moved in Council, and whatever he moved was sure of acceptance, that a civil servant of the Company, with an assistant, should be appointed to reside at Benares !

Upon both of these transactions, the Directors pro-

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BOOK V. nounced condemnation. In their general letter to Bengal,  
 CHAP. III. of the 4th of July, 1777, they say, "Upon the most careful  
 1778. perusal of your proceedings of the 2nd of December, 1776,  
 relative to the recall of Mr. Bristow from the court of the  
 Nabob of Oude, and the appointment of Mr. Nathaniel  
 Middleton to that station, we must declare our strongest  
 disapprobation of the whole of that transaction. And  
 therefore direct, that Mr. Bristow do forthwith return to  
 his station of resident at Oude, from which he has been  
 so improperly removed." And in their letter of the 30th  
 of January, 1778, "You inform us," they said, "in your  
 secret letter of December, 1776, that the purposes for  
 which Mr. Francis Fowke was appointed to proceed to  
 Benares, being fully accomplished, you had annulled his  
 commission, and ordered him to the Presidency. But it  
 appears by your letter of the 6th of January, 1777, that in  
 less than twenty days you thought proper to appoint Mr.  
 Thomas Graham to reside at Benares, and Mr. Daniel  
 Octavius Barwell to be his assistant. If it were possible  
 to suppose that a saving to the Company had been your  
 motive for annulling Mr. Fowke's commission, we should  
 have approved your proceedings. But when we find two  
 persons appointed immediately afterwards, with two sala-  
 ries, to execute an office which had been filled with repu-  
 tation by Mr. Fowke alone, we must be of opinion that  
 Mr. Fowke was removed without just cause; and there-  
 fore, direct that Mr. Francis Fowke be immediately  
 reinstated in his office of resident and post-master at  
 Benares."

On the 20th of July, 1778, the commands of the Court  
 of Directors, with regard to Mr. Fowke, came under the  
 deliberation of the Governor and Council, when Mr  
 Hastings moved that the execution of these commands  
 should be suspended. A compliance with them, he said,  
 "would be adequate" (meaning equivalent) "to his own  
 resignation of the service, because it would inflict such a  
 wound on his authority, as it could not survive." He also  
 alleged that intelligence might daily be expected from  
 England of resolutions which would decide upon his situa-  
 tion in the service; and, notwithstanding the opposition  
 of one-half of the Council, he decided, by his casting vote,  
 that Mr. Fowke, in spite of the command of the Directors,  
 should not be replaced.



On the 27th of May, 1779, the Court of Directors write, BOOK IV.  
 “We have read with astonishment your formal resolution CHAP. III.  
 to suspend the execution of our orders relative to Mr. Francis Fowke. Your proceedings at large are now before us. We shall take such measures as appear necessary for preserving the authority of the Court of Directors, and for preventing such instances of direct and wilful disobedience in our servants in time to come. At present we repeat the commands contained in the sixty-seventh paragraph of our letter of the 30th January, 1778, and direct that they be carried into immediate execution.”<sup>1</sup> 1778.

The place rendered vacant in the Council, by the death of Colonel Monson, had been supplied, by the appointment of Wheler, who commonly voted with Francis; but as General Clavering died in the end of the month of August, 1777, the decisions of the Council were still, by his own casting vote, at the command of the Governor-General.

Another of the transactions, which, during the ascendancy of his opponents, had most deeply offended the Governor-General, was the subversion of his regulations respecting the government and household of the Nabob. As this, however, had obtained the sanction of the Court of Directors, and the appointment of Mohammed Reza Khan in particular had met with their specific approbation, some colour for reversing these measures was very much to be desired. The period, at which the Nabob would come of age, was approaching. In the secret consultations on the 23rd of July, 1778, the Governor-General desired that a letter from the Nabob Mubarek-al-Dowla should be read. In this letter the Nabob stated that he had now, by the favour of God, arrived at that stage of life, his twentieth year, when the laws of his country assigned to him the management of his own affairs; he complained of the severity with which he had been treated by Mohammed Reza Khan; and prayed that he might be relieved from this state of degrading tutelage, and allowed to assume the administration of his own government and affairs.

Mr. Wheler and Mr. Francis maintained, that it was

<sup>1</sup> The original documents respecting these transactions, may be found in the Appendix to the Fifth Report of the Select Committee, 1781; and in the Minutes of Evidence on the trial of Mr. Hastings.



BOOK IV. not competent for the delegated government of India to  
 CHAP. III. subvert a regulation of so much importance, which had  
 1778. been directly confirmed by the Court of Directors ; and  
 that the requisition of the Nabob should be transmitted  
 to England for the determination of the superior power.  
 Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell insisted that justice admitted of no delay. It is remarkable, how these contending parties in India could reverse their pleas, as often as their interests required that different aspects of the same circumstances should be held up to view. In 1775, when the party in opposition to the Governor-General meant to alter the regulations which he had formed, they represented it as their object "to recover the country government from the state of feebleness and insignificance, to which it was Mr. Hastings's avowed policy to reduce it." The Governor-General, in opposition to these pretences, declared, that "all the arts of policy cannot conceal the power by which these provinces are ruled ; nor can all the arts of sophistry avail to transfer the responsibility of them to the Nabob, when it is as visible as the light of the sun, that they originate from our own government ; that the Nabob is a mere pageant, without the shadow of authority, and even his most consequential agents receive their appointment from the recommendation of the company, and the express nomination of their servants."<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding these recorded sentiments, the Governor-General could now declare ; "The Nabob's demands are grounded on positive rights, which will not admit of discussion. He has an incontestable right to the management of his own household. He has an incontestable right to the Nizamut ; it is his by inheritance ; the dependants of the Nizamut Adaulut, and of the Fouzdary, have been repeatedly declared by the Company, and by this government, to appertain to the Nizamut. For these reasons I am of opinion, that the requisitions contained in the Nabob's letter ought to be complied with."<sup>2</sup> In the eagerness of his passions, the Governor-General, by asserting the incontestable right of the Nabob to all the powers

<sup>1</sup> Minute of the Governor-General on the 7th December, 1775, Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 24, and App. No. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Secret Consultations, 5th March, 1778. Fifth Report, p. 29, App. No. 6. (N.)

of the Nizamut, transferred a great part of the government. Under the Mogul constitution, the government of the provinces consisted of two parts; the Dewannee, or collection of the revenues, and the administration of the principal branches of the civil department of justice; and the Nizamut, or the military branch of the government, with the superintendence of the criminal department of judicature: and of these the Dewannee was subordinate to the Nizamut. In this exalted capacity, it was never meant to recognise the Nabob; and the language exhibits a useful specimen of the sort of arguments, to serve a purpose, which vague and imperfect notions of Indian policy have enabled those who were interested always to employ.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> At the time when Nuncomar accused Mr. Hastings, an indictment for a conspiracy was brought against him, Roy Radachurn, and others. Roy Radachurn was the Vakeel of the Bengal Nabob, and claimed the privilege of an ambassador. To bring him under the power of the Court, it was thought necessary to prove that his master was in no respect a Prince. For this purpose, Mr. Hastings made an affidavit, that he and his council, in 1772, had appointed Munny Begum, and all her subordinates; that they had appointed courts of law, both civil and criminal, by their own authority, and without consulting the Nabob; that "the civil courts were made solely dependent on the Presidency at Calcutta; and that the said criminal courts were put under the inspection and control of the Company's servants, although *ostensibly* under the name of the Nazim; and that the revenues were exclusively in the hands of the Company." The inference was, that not a particle of sovereign power belonged to the Nabob. Affidavits to the same purpose, were made by Mr. George Vansittart, and Mr. Lane. Upon this and other evidence, the judges formed their decision; that the Nabob was not a sovereign in any sense, nor his Vakeel an ambassador. The words of some of them are remarkable. The Chief Justice said, that if the Nabob was a Prince, "the exercise of their power must be an usurpation in the India Company;" but this he affirmed was not the case, for the Nabob's treaty with the Company "was a surrender, by him, of all power into their hands." After a long argument, to show that there was in the Nabob nothing but a "shadow of majesty," he concludes: "I should not have thought that I had done my duty, if I had not given a full and determinate opinion upon this question. I should have been sorry if I had left it doubtful, whether the *empty name* of a Nabob could be thrust between a delinquent and the laws." The language of Mr. Justice Le Maistre was stronger still. "With regard to this phantom," said he, "this man of straw, Mobarek ul Dowla, it is an insult on the understanding of the Court, to have made a question of his sovereignty." "By the treaty which has been read," said Mr. Justice Hyde, "it appears that Mobarek ul Dowla deprives himself of the great ensign of sovereignty—the right to protect his own subjects. He declares *that* shall be done by the Company." When this opinion was received, Mr. Francis moved at the Board, that as it would preclude them from the use of the Nabob's name in their transactions with foreign states, the Directors might be requested, "if it should be determined by them that the Subah's government was annihilated, to instruct the Board in what form the government of the provinces should be administered for the future." Mr. Hastings objected to the motion, as the declaration of the judges told nothing but what, he said, was known and acted upon before. They had used the Nabob's *name*, it was true, in deference to the commands of the Directors; "but I do not," said he, "remember any instance, and I hope none will be found, of our having been so disingenuous as to disclaim our own power, or to affirm that the Nabob was the real sovereign of these provinces." He next proceeds to condemn the fiction of the Nabob's government. "In-



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Letters were also brought from the Nabob, which the known wish of the Governor-General could not fail to obtain, requesting that his step-mother Munny Begum, of whom he had formerly complained, "should take on herself the management of the Nizamut, without the interference of any person whatsoever."<sup>1</sup> Mohammed Reza Khan was accordingly removed; Munny Begum was replaced in her ancient office: subordinate to her, Gourdess was re-instated in that of comptroller of the household; and a person called Sudder-al-Hok was appointed to the superintendence of the judicial department. To these several offices, which were all included in the trust of Mohammed Reza Khan, salaries were appropriated amounting to 18,000 rupees beyond what he had received. The incapacity of Munny Begum, when compared with Mohammed Reza, could admit of no dispute; and the pernicious influence of the eunuchs who governed her delayed not to

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effect," he says, "I do not hesitate to say, that I look upon this state of indecision to have been productive of all the embarrassments which we have experienced with the foreign settlements.....It has been productive of great inconveniences; it has prevented us from acting with vigour in our disputes with the Dutch and French.....Instead of regretting, with Mr. Francis, the occasion which deprives us of so useless and hurtful a disguise, I should rather rejoice were it really the case, and consider it as a crisis which freed the constitution of our government from one of its greatest defects. And if the commands of our honourable employers, which are expected by the ships of the season, shall leave us uninstructed on this subject, which has been so pointedly referred to them in the letters of the late administration, I now declare that I shall construe the omission as a tacit and discretionary reference of the subject to the judgment and determination of this Board; and will propose that we do stand forth, in the name of the Company, as the actual government of these provinces; and assume the exercise of it, in every instance, without any concealment or participation." Minutes of Evidence on the Trial of Mr. Hastings, p. 1071—1079. When all these facts are known, the vehement zeal which Mr. Hastings, because it now suited his purpose, displayed for the fictitious authority of the Nabob, has a name which every reader will supply.—M.

The right of the Nabob to control his own household, was quite compatible with the absence of political power; and as long as his administration of the Nizamut was permitted, he had a right to appoint his officers. The point in dispute involves no question of political power, but of individual patronage. It was a very unnecessary exercise of control, to withhold from a man of twenty, all voice in the nomination of his servants and dependants.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Of the mode in which such a letter was procured, nobody who knows the relative situation of the parties, can entertain a doubt. The judges of the Supreme Court, upon a letter of the same Nabob, in July, 1755, unanimously gave the following opinion: "The Nabob's age, his *situation* is such, that there is no man, either in England or India, will believe he would be induced to write such a letter, was it not dictated to him by the agents of those who rule this settlement: or unless he was perfectly convinced it would be agreeable to, and coincide with their sentiments. We always have, and always shall consider, a letter of business from that Nabob, the same as a letter from the Governor-General and Council." Minutes of Evidence on the trial, p. 1079, and Appendix, p. 547. According to this rule, the letter on which Mr. Hastings laid his superstructure, was a letter from himself to himself.

give Hastings uneasiness. On the 10th of October of the same year (1778), he was obliged to write to the Nabob "That the affairs both of the Phouzday and Adaulut were in the greatest confusion imaginable, and that daily robberies and murders were perpetrated throughout the country ;—that his dependants and people, actuated by selfish and avaricious views, had by their interference so impeded the business of justice, as to throw the whole country into a state of confusion."

Meanwhile the report of this transaction was received in England ; and the Court of Directors, in their letter of the 4th of February, transmit their sentiments upon it in the following terms : " We by no means approve your late proceedings on the application of the Nabob Mubarek ul Dowla for the removal of the Naib Subahdar. In regard to the Nabob's desire to take charge of his own affairs, we find it declared by one of your own members, and not contradicted, that the Nabob is, in his own person, utterly incapable of executing any of those offices which were deemed of essential importance to the welfare of the country. The Nabob's letters leave us no doubt of the true design of this extraordinary business being, to bring forward Munny Begum, and again to invest her with improper power and influence, notwithstanding our former declaration, that so great a part of the Nabob's allowance had been embezzled, or misapplied under her superintendence. You have requested the inexperienced young man, to permit all the present judges and officers of the Nizamut and Phousdary Adauluts, or courts of criminal justice, and also all the Phousdars or officers appointed to guard the peace of the country, to continue in office until *he the Nabob shall have formed a plan for a new arrangement of those offices*: and it is with equal surprise and concern, that we observe this request introduced, and the Nabob's ostensible rights so solemnly asserted at *this period* by our Governor-General; because, on a late occasion, to serve a very different purpose, he has not scrupled to declare it as visible as the light of the sun, that the Nabob is a mere pageant, and without even the shadow of authority. No circumstance has happened, since that declaration was made, to render the Nabob more independent, nor to give him any additional degree of power or consequence; you must

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BOOK V. therefore have been well apprized that your late concessions to Mubarek-ul-dowla were unnecessary, and as such  
 CHAP. III. unwarrantable. As we deem it for the welfare of the  
 1778. country, that the office of Naib Subahdar be for the present continued, and that this high office should be filled by a person of wisdom, experience, and approved fidelity to the Company; and as we have no reason to alter our opinion of Mohammed Reza Khan, we positively direct, that you forthwith signify to the Nabob Mubarek-al-dowla our pleasure, that Mohammed Reza Khan be immediately restored to the office of Naib Subahdar.”<sup>1</sup>

The state of the relations between the Company's government and the Mahratta powers had for some time pressed with considerable weight upon the attention of the Council. The treaty which had been concluded by Colonel Upton, commonly distinguished by the title of the treaty of Poorunder, had left the minds of the governing party at Poonah, and those of the Bombay Presidency, in a state of mutual jealousy and dissatisfaction. The occupation of Salsette, and the other concessions which had been extorted, but above all the countenance and protection still afforded to Ragoba, rankled in the minds of the Poonah ministry; while the Bombay rulers, condemned and frustrated by the Supreme Council, but encouraged by the approbation of the Court of Directors, stood upon the watch for any plausible opportunity of evading or infringing the treaty. Colonel Upton, though he remained at Poonah till the commencement of the year 1777, departed before any of the material stipulations had been carried into effect. Futtu Sing, as by the treaty it had been rendered his interest, disavowed his right to alienate

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 24—32, and App. No. 6; also the charges against Mr. Hastings, No. 17, with Mr. Hastings' answer. See also the evidence both for the Prosecution and the Defence, in Minutes of Evidence, ut supra.—M.

No comment is made upon the inconsistency of the Court, in their insisting on the continuance in office of Mohammed Reza Khan, a person whom they had formerly accused of corruption, and sentenced to imprisonment. In all these conflicting orders and opinions, the real state of things should be kept in view. The majority of the Court of Directors were friendly to the opponents of Hastings: the majority of the Court of Proprietors were his friends. In reliance on their support, the governor held his post and his purposes, in defiance of what he not unfoundedly regarded as the party spirit of the Director; but their opposition, and that of his council, forced him to devise arguments and assign motives intended to meet the exigency of the moment, and, therefore, sometimes as much at variance with themselves, as were the arguments of those by whom he was so vehemently and invariably opposed.—W.

in favour of the Company any portion of the Guicawar dominions ; and the Poonah Council made use of the favour shown to Ragoba, as a pretext for delaying or evading the concessions they had made.

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A new feature was soon added to these disputes, by the arrival of a French ship in one of the Mahratta ports, and the reception given at Poonah to some gentlemen whom she landed, as on a mission from the king of France. This circumstance strongly excited the English jealousy and fears. The object at which the French were supposed to aim, was the establishment of a factory at Poonah ; and the acquisition of a sea-port on the coast of Malabar. These advantages would enable them, it was apprehended, to sustain, a competition with the English in matters of trade, and to annoy them seriously in a period of war. The asserverations of the Mahratta goverment, that nothing was in view prejudicial to the interests of the Company, gave little satisfaction. Colonel Upton, whose partiality was engaged to the treaty which he had concluded, and the party whom he served, accused the Bombay Presidency, and answered for the sincerity and pacific designs of the Mahrattas. Mr. Hastings leaned to the suspicious side ; his opponents urged the propriety of yielding contentment to the Mahrattas, especially by the abandonment of Ragoba. The probability of a rupture between France and England was already contemplated in India ; and, as it was to be expected that the French would aim at the recovery of their influence in India, so Mr. Hastings, at least, thought that the western coast was the place where they had the best prospect of success ; and the support of the Mahrattas was the means most likely to be adopted for the accomplishment of their ends.

The progress of inquiry respecting the agent from France discovered, that his name was St. Lubin ; that he was a mere adventurer, who had opened to the French Minister of Marine a project, supported by exaggerated and false representations, for acquiring an influence in the Mahratta councils, and an establishment in the Mahratta country ; and that he had been intrusted with a sort of clandestine commission as an experiment, for ascertaining if any footing or advantage might be gained. The presidency of Bombay represented to the Supreme Council, that St. Lubin



BOOK V. received the most alarming countenance from the Poonah  
CHAP. III. ministers ; that nothing could be more dangerous to the  
1778. Company, than a combined attack from the Mahrattas and  
French. And they urged the policy of anticipating the  
designs of their enemies, by espousing the cause of  
Ragoba ; and putting an end to the power of men, who  
waited only till their schemes were ripe for execution, to  
begin an attack upon the Company. The Bombay Presi-  
dency were more emboldened in their importunity, by a  
letter from the Court of Directors, containing their obser-  
vations on the conduct of the Supreme Council in taking  
the negociation with the Mahrattas out of the hand of the  
Bombay government, and on the treaty which the  
Supreme Council had concluded with the Poonah rulers.  
“ We approved,” said the Directors, “ under every circum-  
stance, of keeping all territories and possessions ceded to  
the Company by Ragoba ; and gave directions to the Presi-  
dencies of Bengal and Fort St. George to adopt such mea-  
sures as might be necessary for their preservation and de-  
fence. But we are extremely concerned to find, from the  
terms of the treaty concluded by Colonel Upton at Poonah,  
that so great a sacrifice has been improvidently made ;  
and especially, that the important cession of Bassein to  
the Company by Ragoba has been rendered of no effect.  
We cannot but disapprove of the mode of interference of  
the Governor-General and Council, by sending an ambas-  
sador to Poonah without first consulting you, and of their  
determination to disavow and invalidate the treaty for-  
merly entered into by an agent from your Presidency, and  
solemnly ratified under the seal of the Company. We are  
convinced that Bassein, which is so great an object with  
us, might have been obtained if they had authorized you  
to treat either with Ragoba, or with the ministers at Poo-  
nah ; reserving the final approval and ratification of the  
treaty to themselves. This is the precise line we wish to  
have drawn ; and which we have directed our Governors-  
general and Council in future to pursue. We are of opi-  
nion, that an alliance originally with Ragoba would have  
been more for the honour and advantage of the Company,  
and more likely to be lasting, than that concluded at  
Poonah. His pretensions to the supreme authority appear  
to us better founded than those of his competitors ; and

therefore, if the conditions of the treaty of Poonah have not been strictly fulfilled on the part of the Mahrattas, and if, from any circumstance, our Governor-General and Council shall deem it expedient, we have no objection to an alliance with Ragoba, on the terms agreed upon between him and you."

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While these circumstances were under the consideration of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, intelligence arrived, that the rivalry of Siccaram Baboo and Nana Furnavese had produced a division in the Council at Poonah; that a part of the ministers, with Siccaram Baboo at their head, had resolved to declare for Ragoba; that they had applied for the assistance of the English to place in his hands the powers of government; and that the Presidency of Bombay had resolved to co-operate with them in his favour. This subject produced the usual train of debate and contention in the supreme Council; where Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler condemned the resolution of the president and Council of Bombay, first, as illegal, because not taken with the approbation of the supreme authority; next, as unjust, by infringing the treaty; and finally, impolitic, by incurring the dangers and burdens of war. The Governor-General and Mr. Barwell approved it, as authorized by the suddenness and greatness of the emergency, and the declared sentiments of the Court of Directors; as not unjust, since the principal party with whom the treaty was formed now applied for the interference of the Company; and as not impolitic, because it anticipated the evil designs of a hostile party, and gave to the Company an accession of territorial revenue, while it promised them a permanent influence in the Mahratta councils. It was resolved, in consequence, that a supply of money and a reinforcement of troops should be sent to the Presidency of Bombay. The Governor-General proposed that a force should be assembled at Calpee, and should march by the most practicable route to Bombay. This also gave rise to a warm debate, both on the policy of the plan, and the danger of sending a detachment of the Company's army to traverse India through the dominions of princes, whose disposition had not been previously ascertained. It was finally determined, that the force should consist of six battalions of Sepoys, one com-



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pany of native artillery, and a corps of cavalry ; that it should be commanded by Colonel Leslie ; and anticipate, by its expedition, the obstruction of the rains. That commander was instructed to take his route through the province of Berar, of which the rulers were friendly ; to obtain, where possible, the consent of the princes or chiefs, through whose territories he might have occasion to pass ; but even when refused, to pursue his march ; to be careful in preventing injury to the country or inhabitants ; to allow his course to be retarded by the pursuit of no extraneous object ; and to consider himself under the command of the Bombay presidency from the commencement of his march. That Presidency were at the same time instructed to use their utmost endeavours to defeat the machinations of the French ; to insist upon the execution of the treaty ; to take advantage of every change of circumstances for obtaining beneficial concessions to the Company ; and, if they observed any violation of the treaty, or any refusal to fulfil its terms, to form a new alliance with Ragoba, and concert with him the best expedients for retrieving his affairs.

In the mean time another change had taken place in the fluctuating administration at Poonah. The party of Siccaram Baboo had prevailed over that of Nana Furnavese without the co-operation of Ragoba ; and it was immediately apprehended at Bombay, that they would no longer desire to admit as an associate, a party who would supersede themselves. The arguments, urged, upon this change, by Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler, did not succeed in stopping the march of the troops ; because the unsettled state of the government of Poonah, and the machinations of the French, rendered it highly expedient, in the opinion of the Governor-General, that the Presidency of Bombay should be furnished with sufficient power, both to guard against dangerous, and to take advantage of favourable, circumstances and events.

The detachment experienced some slight obstruction at the commencement of its march, from some of the petty Mahratta chiefs ; upon which, as indicating danger if it proceeded any further, Mr. Francis renewed his importunities for his recall. Mr. Hastings opposed his arguments, on the ground, that after a few days' march the troops

would arrive in Bundelcund, which was independent of the Mahrattas ; would thence pass into the territories of the Raja of Berar, in which they would be received with friendship ; that, on quitting the territories of the Raja, more than two-thirds of the march would be completed ; that the consent of the Peshwa had been obtained ; and that the Mahratta chiefs, whatever their inclinations, were too much engaged in watching the designs of one another, to be able to oppose the detachment.

Various were the orders by which its movements were affected. The Presidency at Bombay, having taken up hopes that the presiding party at Poonah would favour the views of the English, and dismiss the agents of the French, wrote a first letter to the detachment, requiring them to halt, and wait till subsequent directions ; and presently thereafter another letter, desiring them to prosecute the march. In the meantime, intelligence had reached Calcutta, that war was declared between the English and the French. Upon this, instructions were despatched to Colonel Leslie by the Supreme Council, not to advance, till further orders, beyond the limits of Berar.

According to the Governor-General, the Company had nothing to dread from the efforts of the French, at either Calcutta or Madras : it was the western coast on which, both from the weakness of Bombay, and the inclinations of the Mahratta government, those enemies of the English had any prospect of success ; and where it most behoved the servants of the Company to provide against their attempts. He recommended a connexion with some of the leading powers of the country ; pointed out the Raja of Berar as the prince with whom it was most desirable to combine ; and mentioned two services by which the co-operation of that Prince might be ensured. One of these services was to assist him in the recovery of the dominions which had been wrested from him by Nizam Ali. The other was to support him in a pretension to the Mahratta Rajaship. The legitimate, but impotent King of the Mahrattas, had recently died in his captivity at Sattarah, without leaving issue : and the Raja of Berar, as a branch of the house of Sivajee, might urge a claim to the succession. In pursuance of these objects, an embassy to the court of Berar was voted by the majority,

BOOK V. and despatched. In the meantime another revolution  
CHAP. III. had ensued in the government at Poonah. The party of  
Siccaram Baboo was again overthrown ; and that of Nana  
1779. Furnavese exalted by the powerful co-operation of Madajee  
Sindia. The party of Nana still appeared to favour the  
French. The defeated party, now led by a chief named  
Moraba, as the age of Siccaram Baboo in a great measure  
disqualified him for business, were eager to combine with  
the English in raising Ragoba ; and the Presidency of  
Bombay had no lack of inclination to second their de-  
signs. A resolution to this effect was passed on the 21st  
of July, 1778 ; but it was not till the beginning of No-  
vember that any step was taken for its execution. The  
activity of the Presidency had been repressed by news of  
the confinement of the leading members of the party at  
Poonah, from whom they expected assistance, and by  
instructions from the Supreme Council not to pursue any  
measures which might interfere with the object of the  
embassy to Moodajee Bonsla, the Regent of Berar. Early  
however, in November, a plan of operations was concerted ;  
a treaty was concluded with Ragoba ; a loan to a con-  
siderable amount was advanced to him ; and, upon in-  
telligence that the ruling party at Poonah had penetrated  
their designs, and were making preparations to defeat  
them, it was determined to send forward one division of the  
army immediately, and the rest with all possible despatch.

The force which was sent upon this enterprise amounted  
in all to nearly 4500 men. A committee, consisting of  
Colonel Egerton, Mr. Carnac, a member of the Select Com-  
mittee, and Mr. Mostyn, formerly agent of the Presidency  
at Poonah, were appointed a Committee for superintending  
the expedition, and settling the government at Poonah.  
The army set out about the beginning of December ; on  
the 23rd completed the ascent of the mountains, and  
arrived at Condola. The enemy now, for the first time,  
appeared. From the head of the Ghaut, or pass, which  
they secured by a fortified post, the English, on the 4th  
of January, began their march toward Poonah, with a  
stock of provisions for twenty-five days. They were op-  
posed by a body of troops, who retired as they advanced,  
but cut off their supplies, and seized every opportunity  
to harass and impede them. They were not joined, as



they had encouraged themselves to expect, by any chief of importance, or numbers to any considerable amount. And it was in vain, as they were informed by Ragoba, to hope, that his friends and adherents would declare themselves, till the English, by some important operations and success, held out to them a prospect of safety. The army continued to advance till the 9th of January, when, at the distance of about sixteen miles from Poonah, and eighteen from the summit of the pass, they found an army assembled to oppose them. The Committee,<sup>1</sup> to whom, by a strange policy, the command of a military expedition was consigned, began to despair; and, on learning from the commissary in chief, that only eighteen days' provisions were in store, and from the officer commanding the forces, that he could not protect the baggage, without a body of horse, they made up their minds to a retreat. It commenced on the night of the 11th. But secrecy had not been preserved; and they were attacked by the enemy before daybreak; when they lost a part of their baggage, and above three hundred men. It was not until four o'clock in the afternoon that the enemy desisted from the pursuit, when the English had effected their retreat as far as Wargaun. Hope now deserted not only the Committee, but the Commander of the troops; who declared it impossible to carry back the army to Bombay.<sup>2</sup> An embassy was sent to the Mahratta camp to try upon what terms they could have leave to return. The surrender of Ragoba was demanded as a preliminary article. That unfortunate chief was so impressed with the danger of waiting another attack, that he had declared his intention of surrendering himself to Sindia, and had been in cor-

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mostyn was soon taken ill, and returned to Bombay, where he died. On arriving at Tullygaum, Colonel Egerton was obliged to relinquish the command to Colonel Cockburn, but continued to act as a Member of the Committee. In either capacity, he may be considered as principally answerable for the failure of the expedition. After crossing the Ghaut, the movements of the army were so slow, that it had advanced but eight miles in eleven days, without any excuse for such deliberate procedure: and when it became a question what was to be done, Colonel Cockburn expressed no doubt of making good his march to Poona, and other well-informed officers were of opinion, that at least they should maintain their ground whilst the negotiations were carried on. History of Mahrattas, ii. 366.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Hartley, who had distinguished himself in command of the rear-guard during the retreat, proposed a plan by which it might be ensured. The commanding officer, however, despaired of its accomplishment. Hist. of Mahrattas, ii. 375.—W.



BOOK V. response with that chieftain for several days ; the  
 CHAP. III. Committee were less scrupulous, therefore, in bartering  
 1779. his safety for their own. When this compliance was  
 announced, and the English expected a corresponding  
 facility on the part of the Mahrattas, the leaders of that  
 people informed them, that the surrender of Ragoba was  
 a matter of the utmost indifference ; that the treaty,  
 which had been concluded with Colonel Upton, had been  
 shamefully violated ; the territory of the Mahrattas in-  
 vaded ; and that unless a new treaty were formed upon  
 the spot, the army must remain where it was, and abide  
 the consequences. The declaration of the Committee,  
 that they possessed not powers to conclude a treaty, was  
 disregarded. The commanding officer declared, that the  
 attempt to force a retreat could lead to nothing but the  
 total destruction of the army. It was, therefore, agreed  
 to submit to such conditions as the Mahrattas might  
 impose ; and a treaty was signed, by which all the ac-  
 quisitions were relinquished, which had been made in  
 those parts by the English, since the treaty with Madhoo  
 Rao in 1756 ; Baroach was given up to Sindia ;<sup>1</sup> Ragoba  
 placed in his hands ; the detachment from Bengal was  
 ordered to return ; and two Englishmen of distinction  
 were left as hostages for the due fulfilment of the terms.

No approbation could be more complete than that which  
 was bestowed by the Court of Directors on the object of  
 this expedition. In a letter from the Committee of Se-  
 crecy, dated the 31st of August, 1778, "The necessity,"  
 they say, "of counteracting the views of the French at  
 Poonah appears to us so very striking, that we not only  
 direct you to frustrate their designs of obtaining a grant  
 of the port of Choul, but also to oppose by force of arms,  
 if necessary, their forming a settlement at that or any  
 other place which may render them dangerous neighbours  
 to Bombay. As the restoration of Ragoba to the Pesh-  
 waship is a measure upon which we are determined ; and  
 as the evasions of the Mahratta chiefs, respecting the  
 treaty of Poonah, justify any departure therefrom on our

<sup>1</sup> It was the policy of the Committee to appeal to Sindia, which, as Captain Grant observes, flattered him exceedingly, and accorded with his plans of policy : he, nevertheless, availed himself of the opportunity to take every advantage of the English, as far as was consistent with the control he wished to preserve over Nana Furnavees. Mahratta History, ii. 337.—W.

part, we, therefore, direct, that if, on the receipt of this letter, you shall be able to obtain assistance from the friends of Ragoba, and with such assistance find yourselves in force sufficient to effect his restoration without dangerously weakening your garrison, you forthwith undertake the same." In proportion to the satisfaction which would have been expressed upon a fortunate termination of this enterprise, was the displeasure manifested upon its failure. "The first object which strikes us," say the Directors, "is the slow progress of the army. This we deem an irreparable injury to the service; and in this respect the conduct of the Commander-in-Chief appears extremely defective. The consequence was obvious; the enemy had full opportunity to collect their strength; the friends of Ragoba, instead of being encouraged by the spirited exertion of our force, to join his standard, must, as we conceive, have been deterred from declaring in his favour, by the languor of our military proceedings." They condemn the first resolution to retreat, when "the army was so far advanced, the troops full of spirits and intrepidity, and eighteen days' provision in store." And the utmost measure of their indignation and resentment is poured on the humiliating submission which was at last preferred to the resolution of a daring, though hazardous retreat; preferred, on the pretext that the troops would not again resist the enemy, though they had behaved with the utmost intrepidity on the former attack; and though Captain Hartley declared that he could depend upon his men, urged every argument in favour of resolute measures, and even formed and presented to the commanding officer a disposition for conducting the retreat. The two military officers who had shared in the conduct of the expedition, the Directors dismissed from their service; and the only remaining member of the Field Committee, who had been selected from the civil branch of the service, for one had died during the march, they degraded from his office, as a member of the Council and Select Committee of Bombay.

The detachment which was proceeding from Bengal had wasted much time on its march, having advanced as far as Chatterpore, a principal city of Bundelcund, early in June, it halted till the middle of August. During this

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BOOK V. season, when the rains, according to Colonel Leslie, interrupted; according to the Governor-General, favoured the march; the commander of the troops engaged himself in negotiations and transactions with the local chiefs; measures severely condemned by his superiors, and very open to the suspicion of selfish and dishonourable motives. The President and Council of Bombay, on the receipt of intelligence of a rupture with France, had earnestly exhorted him by letter to accelerate his motions. They renewed their solicitations on the 21st of July, when they came to the resolution of supporting Ragoba. And they urged the delay of this detachment, and the uncertainty of its arrival, as a reason for having undertaken the expedition to Poonah, without waiting for that addition of strength which its union and co-operation would have bestowed. Dissatisfied with the long inactivity of the detachment at Chatterpore, the Supreme Council wrote to the commanding officer on the 31st of August, desiring him to explain the reasons of his conduct, and to pursue the march. He had put himself in motion about the middle of the month, and was at Rajegur on the 17th, where a party of Mahrattas disputed the passage of the river Kane. On the 17th of September he despatched a letter to the Supreme Council from Rajegur, where he still remained, stating, that the retardation of the detachment had been occasioned by the weather; that he had concluded friendly engagements with Gomân Sing and Komân Sing, two Rajas of Bundelcund; and had received satisfactory assurances from Moodajee Bonsla, the Regent of Berar, to whom the proposition of an embassy from the English rulers appeared to have yielded peculiar gratification.<sup>1</sup>

The person<sup>2</sup> who had been chosen to conduct this em-

<sup>1</sup> The sentiments of the Court of Directors were unfavourable to this attempted alliance. In their letter of the 14th of May, 1779, to the Governor-General and Council, they say: "The undertaking appears to us contrary to the Company's former policy, to our engagements with Ragoba and Nizam Ali, and doubtful respecting any reasonable prospect of advantage." And in another letter, dated on the 27th of the same month, to the President and Select Committee of Bombay, they say: "We earnestly hope, that upon your negotiation and treaty with Ragoba being communicated to our Governor-General and Council, they would concur with you in giving full effect thereto, and desist from entering into any new connexions which may set aside or counteract your recent agreements with Ragoba." Sixth Report, Committee of Secrecy, 1781, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Elliot; he died on the 12th September.—W.



bassy, died upon the journey, before he reached the capital of Berar. After some fluctuation of opinion, it was determined not to continue the negotiation by appointing a successor ; but rather to wait in expectation of some advances from the Regent.

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The party of Mr. Francis now urgently pressed for a distinct declaration of the design with which the detachment on its way to the western Presidency, was directed to continue its march. There was not only a complication, they affirmed, but a contrariety of objects ; the alliance for raising Moodajee Bonsla to the throne of Sivajee, being inconsistent with the scheme for establishing Ragoba in the office of Peshwa. The Governor-General, without any definite explanation, alleged that the re-instatement of Ragoba had never been pursued as an end, but only as a means ; that his hopes and expectations were placed on Moodajee ; that the detachment, whether its services should be required for the restoration of Ragoba, or in prosecution of engagements with Moodajee, or in opposing the French, ought equally to continue its march. The opposite party once more urged in vain their reasons for its recall. But all parties agreed in condemning Colonel Leslie for the delay which he had incurred, and the engagements which he had formed ; in pronouncing him unfit to be any longer intrusted with the command which he held ; and in transmitting orders that he should resign it to Colonel Goddard, the officer next in command. Leslie, however, survived not to receive the intelligence of his disgrace ; nor to produce, it ought to be remembered, what he might have urged in vindication of his conduct. He was an officer of experience and reputation. It is known, that he held a high language, that he complained of the Governor-General, to whom, by his special directions, he had communicated a private journal of his transactions, and to whom he had trusted for the explanation of his proceedings. But no inference can safely be founded on the allegation that the Governor-General, who had previously defended his conduct, was informed of the deadly nature of his disease, and the hopelessness of his recovery, at the time when he condemned him and voted for his recall.

By the death of Leslie, the command devolved on



BOOK V. Colonel Goddard on the 3rd of October. On the 22nd  
 CHAP. III. he wrote a private letter to the Governor-General, inform-  
 1779. ing him of the progress which the detachment had made  
 towards the Nerbudda, or the boundary of Berar. At the  
 same time with the letter from Colonel Goddard, arrived  
 despatches from Moodajee, expressing his lamentation  
 upon the death of the late ambassador, and his hopes that  
 such an event would not frustrate the plan of friendship  
 which it had been the object of that embassy to establish.  
 Upon the receipt of these letters, the Governor-General  
 moved, that the negotiation with Moodajee Bonsla should  
 be resumed; and that powers to treat with him should  
 be communicated to Colonel Goddard. The opposite party  
 contended, that an alliance with the Regent of Berar  
 would be equivalent to a declaration of war against Nizam  
 Ali, and involve the Carnatic in misfortune; that neither  
 did Colonel Goddard possess the qualifications of a nego-  
 tiator, nor did the duties of his command enable him to  
 devote his mind to the business which a negotiator was  
 required to perform; and that the Presidency of Bombay,  
 under whose orders the detachment had been placed, might  
 take measures in favour of Ragoba, with which the instruc-  
 tions which might be given in regard to Moodajee would  
 not be reconcilable.

On the 7th of December, after intelligence had arrived  
 of the second revolution at Poonah, which the Governor-  
 General regarded as defeating the original design upon  
 which the assistance of the detachment had been sent to  
 Bombay, he proposed that it should no longer act under  
 the orders of that Presidency, lest the designs of those  
 rulers should defeat the negotiation with Moodajee, in-  
 trusted to Colonel Goddard. While this proposition was  
 under debate, a despatch was received from the resident  
 at Poonah, stating his expectation of being immediately  
 re-called, as the Select Committee at Bombay had deter-  
 mined to proceed against the governing party at Poonah.  
 After this intelligence, the proposition of the Governor-  
 General, for retaining the detachment of Colonel Goddard  
 under the immediate authority of the Supreme Council,  
 received the sanction of the Board. In the meantime  
 Moodajee Bonsla, for whose alliance so much anxiety was  
 expressed, had written an evasive letter to Colonel God-

dard, dated the 23rd of November ; manifesting pretty clearly a wish to embroil himself as little as possible either with the English or with the Poonah confederacy. Goddard crossed the Nerbuddah on the 1st of December ; and sent an agent to Nagpore, to ascertain how far he might depend upon Moodajee. In conclusion, he inferred, that no engagement could be formed between that chieftain and the English ; but that a friendly conduct might be expected toward the detachment, while it remained in his dominions.

By this time the army of Bombay was on its march to Poonah. But though Colonel Goddard had transmitted regular intelligence of his movements to Bombay, he had received no communications from that quarter ; and remained in total ignorance of their designs, except from some intimations communicated by Moodajee, that an expedition against Poonah was in preparation. Uncertain as was the ground upon which he had to proceed, he had come to the determination, that the balance of probabilities required his proceeding to Poonah ; when he received despatches from the Council at Bombay, unfolding what they had done, and what they were intending to do ; and pressing it upon him to march to Poonah, with the smallest possible delay. To the question why the Presidency at Bombay had not sooner made Colonel Goddard acquainted with the design of the expedition, and taken the precautionary steps for securing co-operation between his detachment and their own, the answer must be, either that they exercised not the degree of reflection necessary for that moderate display of wisdom ; or that they wished to have to themselves the glory of setting up a Mahratta government ; or that, to avoid the expense of the detachment, they wished it not to arrive. Moodajee, who was afraid to embroil himself with the Poonah government, if he gave a passage to the troops of Goddard, and with the English government if he refused it, was very earnest with him to wait till he received satisfactory letters from Calcutta. But, notwithstanding his solicitations, Goddard, on the 16th of January, began his march from the banks of the Nerbudda.

He took the great road to Boorhanpoor and Poonah and arrived at Charwah on the 22nd, where he received

BOOK V. intelligence that the army from Bombay had advanced  
CHAP. III. as far as the Bora ghaut, a place fifty miles distant, from  
Poonah.

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On the 24th, he received a letter dated the 11th, from the Field Committee, who conducted the Bombay expedition, representing, that in consequence of an alteration which had taken place in the state of affairs, it was not expedient he should advance ; that he should either proceed to Surat, if he found himself in a condition to make his way in spite of the Mahratta horse, by whom his march would be annoyed ; or remain in the territories of the Raja of Berar, till further instructions. This letter placed him in a state of perfect uncertainty, whether the Bombay army had sustained a disaster which cut off their hopes, or had so flattering a prospect of success, that all additional force was accounted unnecessary. On the next day a letter arrived from the Council at Bombay, apparently written without a knowledge of the circumstances which dictated the letter of the Field Committee, and urging him to proceed. Under the perplexity which this lack of information, and discrepancy of injunctions, inspired, he resolved to proceed to Boorhanpoor, in hopes of obtaining intelligence, and arrived at that ancient capital on the 30th.

There, on the 2nd of February, he received another letter from the Field Committee, dated on the 19th of January, more mysterious than any which had yet arrived. It shortly cautioned him against obeying the order in their letter of the 16th, which on better consideration they deemed themselves incompetent to give. Goddard could ill conjecture the meaning of this warning, as he had not received the letter of the 16th ; but he believed that it indicated evil rather than good ; and saw well the dangers which surrounded him in the heart of the Mahratta country, if any serious disaster, which might produce a change in the mind of Moodajee himself, had befallen the army from Bombay. He waited at Boorhanpoor till the 5th, in hopes of receiving more certain information, when he was made acquainted with the nature of the disaster pretty exactly by Moodajee. He resolved to retreat to Surat, and marched on the 6th. On the 9th a vakeel arrived from the Poonah government, bearing the letter written



by the Field Committee on the 16th of January. It was the letter in which, under the dictation of the Mahrattas, they had commanded his immediate return to Bengal. This injunction it was the business of the vakeel to enforce. But Goddard replied, that he was marching to Bombay in obedience to the orders of the Supreme Council, and with the most friendly intentions toward the Mahratta state. The march was conducted with great expedition. The troops were kept in such exact discipline, that the people having nothing to fear remained in their houses, and supplied the army by sale with many conveniences for the march. They arrived at Surat on the 30th; a distance of nearly three hundred miles, in nineteen days.<sup>1</sup>

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In consequence of these events, it was resolved at the Supreme Board, to vest Colonel Goddard with full powers for treating with the Poonah government; to disavow the convention concluded with the Bombay committee; but to express a desire for accommodation on the basis of the treaty of Poorunder, if the Mahrattas, on their part, would afford encouragement by relinquishing all claims founded on that convention, and by a promise of forming no connexion, either commercial or political, with the French. If they should reject these proposals, Colonel Goddard, whom the Supreme Council now promoted to the rank of general, was empowered to renew the war, and if possible to form connections with the head of the Guicawar family, and the government of Berar.

Goddard had commenced his correspondence with the Poonah ministry, when Ragoba made his escape, and repaired to Surat, where he received an asylum. Discordance prevailed among the Mahratta chiefs, and much uncertainty hung over their proceedings. Dissension broke out between Nana and Sindia, by whose united power Siccaram and Moraba had been subdued. With profession

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of remark, that Gazee ad din Khan, formerly Vizir of the empire, and grandson of the great Nizam-al-Mulk, was at this time found at Surat, in the disguise of a pilgrim, and confined, till the Supreme Council being consulted, disapproved of all acts of violence, but forbade his appearing within the territories of the Company. See the Letter from Governor-General to Directors, dated 14th January, 1780. Sixth Report to the Secret Committee, Appendix, No. 246.—M. It is still more worthy of remark, that by the expedition of their march, the detachment avoided a body of 20,000 horse, sent from Poonah to intercept them.—W.



BOOK V. of a desire for peace, they kept aloof from definite terms ;  
 CHAP. III. reports were received of their preparations for war ; and  
 1780. negotiation lingered till the 20th of October, when Goddard sent his declaration, that if a satisfactory answer to his proposals was not returned, in fifteen days, he should consider the delay as a declaration of war. A reply arrived on the 28th. Without the surrender of Ragoba, and the restoration of Salsette, it was declared that the Mahratta powers would make no agreement. The General upon this broke off the negotiation, and repaired to Bombay, to concert with that Council the plan of hostilities.

The President and Council of Bombay had received, with considerable indignation, the intelligence of the power, independent of themselves, with which General Goddard had been invested at the Superior Board. They regarded it as an encroachment upon the rights conveyed to them, both by the act of parliament, and the commands of the Directors ; and they had declared that they would sustain no responsibility for any of his acts. At first they alleged the great exhaustion of their resources, as a reason against taking any considerable part in the war ; but when the General held up, as the first object of his operations, the acquisition, on which they had long fixed their affections, of a territorial revenue adequate to all the demands of the Presidency, they agreed to supply as great a portion of their troops, as the security of Bombay would allow ; and furnished him with powers and instructions to treat with Futty Sing Guicawar, whose assistance, as placing a friendly country in the rear, it was of the greatest importance to obtain. With regard to Ragoba it was proposed to feed him with such hopes, as should ensure the advantage of his name ; but to engage themselves as short a way as possible for a share in the advantages of the undertaking, to the success of which it was so little in his power to contribute.

On the 2nd of January, 1780, General Goddard had crossed the Tapti, with a view both to stimulate the good inclinations of Futty Sing, and to reduce the fortress of Dubhoy. On the 19th the army appeared before the place. On the next day it was evacuated by the enemy, when the whole district, yielding by estimate a revenue of two lacks of rupees, was taken possession of in the name

of the Company. On the 26th, Futtu Sing was at last, with some difficulty, brought to trust so far in the power of the Company, as to accede to the terms proposed ; and it was agreed that the Guzerat country should be divided between the Company and himself, the Company obtaining that proportion which had formerly accrued to the Mahrattas ; and the remainder being rendered independent of the Poonah government, and freed from every exterior claim. Being joined by the cavalry of this chief, the General marched towards Ahmedabad, the capital of the province, before which he arrived on the 10th of February, and in five days carried it by storm, with inconsiderable loss. The united armies of Sindia and Holkar, amounting to 40,000 men, were in the mean time advancing towards Surat. The English General, by rapid marches, arrived in the neighbourhood of their encampment, near Brodera, on the 8th of March, and intended to attack them in the night, but was prevented by a letter from one of the gentlemen, left as hostages with Sindia, signifying that professions were made by the Mahratta chiefs of a desire to establish amity with the English government. Of this desire, Sindia afforded a favourable indication the following day, by sending back the hostages, and along with them a vakeel, or commissioner, who acknowledged the hatred borne by his master to Nana Furnavese, and his desire of a separate arrangement with the English. Upon further explanation it appeared, that he was anxious to get into his hands Ragoba and his son, as an instrument for aggrandizing himself in the Mahratta state ; a proposition to which General Goddard would by no means accede. Sindia, at the same time, was offering terms to Govind Row, the brother and opponent of Futtu Sing, and had actually received him in his camp. Not convinced of his sincerity, and suspecting his design to waste the season, till the commencement of the rains, when he would return home to the business of his government, and to his intrigues, General Goddard was desirous of forcing him to a battle, which he constantly avoided, by retreating, as the English army advanced. To defeat this stratagem, the General, on the 3rd of April, marched silently from his camp, about two o'clock in the morning, with four battalions of Sepoy grenadiers, four companies of European



BOOK V. infantry, and twelve pieces of field artillery. The distance  
CHAP. III. was about seven miles to the camp of the enemy, which he  
1780. entered at dawn. He reached the very centre of the encampment before he was perceived. The enemy were thrown into their usual confusion; and, though some troops were collected, and made a show of resistance, they soon abandoned their camp, and occupied a neighbouring ground. The English made no delay in proceeding to charge them, when the Mahrattas dispersed, and left them masters not only of the field, but of the country in which it was contained. A detachment from Bombay took possession also of Parsek, Bellapore, Panwel, and Callian, and extended the territory of the Presidency along the coast and towards the passes of the hills in the way to Poonah. On the 6th of April the General was joined by six companies of European infantry, and a company of artillery, which had been sent to his assistance from Madras; and about the same time five companies of Sepoys arrived for him at Surat. As the rainy season had now commenced, Sindia and Holkar withdrew into their own countries; and the General, after sending back the Bombay detachment, put his troops into cantonments, and prepared for the succeeding campaign.

Sir Eyre Coote, who had been appointed to succeed General Clavering, both as Commander-in-Chief, and as a member of the Supreme Council, had arrived at Calcutta in the beginning of April, 1779; and without showing an unvarying deference to the opinions of the Governor-General, commonly supported his measures. Early in November of that year, in consequence of an application from the Raja of Gohud, commonly known by the name of the Rana, a Hindu chieftain or prince, who governed a hilly district of considerable extent, lying on the Jumna, between the territories of Sindia and the Nabob of Oude; the Governor-General proposed a treaty, by which the Rana might be empowered to call for the assistance of the English against the Mahrattas, of whom he stood in constant danger, and should agree to assist the English with his forces, when they should undertake any enterprise against the contiguous powers. The Governor-General, who contemplated the continuance of the war with the Mahrattas, proposed this alliance, both as a barrier against

an invasion, in that direction, of the territory of the Company or their allies ; and as an advantage for invading the territory of the Mahrattas, and operating a diversion in favour of the enterprises which might be undertaken on the side of Bombay. The measure was opposed by the opposite side of the Board, both on the ordinary and general ground of the importance of abstaining from war, and also in consideration of the weakness of the Rana, who had few troops, and not revenue to pay even them ; whose aid, in consequence, would be of little avail, and his protection a serious burden. In the objections of the opposing party the General concurred ; and even transmitted his protest against the terms of the connexion. But, as he was absent, the casting vote of the Governor-General gave his opinion the superiority, and the treaty was formed.

In the meantime intelligence arrived by a letter from General Coote, dated the 20th of November, of an invasion of the territory of the Rana, by a body of Mahrattas, whom his want of resources made it impossible for him to resist. Instructions were dispatched to afford him such assistance as the exigency of the case might require, and the state of the English forces permit. A detachment of the company's army had been prepared in that quarter, under the command of Captain Popham, for the purpose of augmenting the forces of Goddard ; but from the consideration, partly that they could not arrive in time on the Bombay coast, partly that they might contribute to the success of his operations by an attack upon the part which was nearest of the Mahratta frontier, they had not been commanded to proceed ; and in the beginning of February, 1780, they were sent to the assistance of the Rana of Gohud. Captain Popham found means in this service of distinguishing his enterprise and talents. With a small force, and little assistance from the Rana, he expelled the Mahrattas from Gohud ; crossed the Sind, into their own territory ; laid siege to the fortress of Lahâr, the capital of the district of Cuchwagar ; and having effected an imperfect breach, which the want of heavy cannon enabled him not to complete, he, on the 21st of April, successfully assaulted and took possession of the fort.

It had, however, been importunately urged, both by



BOOK V. Coote and Goddard, and was acknowledged by the Governor-General, that the force employed on the Mahratta frontier under Captain Popham, was far from adequate to any such important operations as could materially affect the result of the war. After some fluctuations of plans, and great debate and opposition at the Superior Board, in which Mr. Francis in particular vehemently opposed the extension of military efforts, it was determined that a detachment of three battalions, stationed at Cawnpore, under Major Camac, with a battalion of light infantry, under Captain Browne, should threaten or invade the territories of Sindia and Holkar. In the meantime Captain Popham, with the true spirit of military ardour, after securing with great activity the conquest of the district of Cuchwagar, turned his attention to the celebrated fortress of Gualior, situated within the territory of the Rana of Gohud, but wrested from his father, and now garrisoned by the Mahrattas. This fortress was situated on the summit, three coss in extent, of a stupendous rock, scarped almost entirely round, and defended by a thousand men. By the princes of Hindustan it had always been regarded as impregnable. And Sir Eyre Coote himself, in his letter to the Supreme Council, dated the 21st of April, had pronounced it "totally repugnant to his military ideas, and even absolute madness," to attack it with so feeble a detachment, and without a covering army to keep off the Mahrattas in the field, and preserve the line of communication. Captain Popham moved to the village of Ripore about five coss distant from Gualior, and employed his spies in continually searching if a spot fit for escalading could be found. After many and dangerous experiments, they at last brought him advice that one part only afforded any appearance of practicability. At this place the height of the scarp was about sixteen feet, from the scarp to the wall was a steep ascent of about forty yards, and the wall itself, was thirty feet high. "I took the resolution," says Captain Popham, "immediately. The object was glorious; and I made a disposition to prevent, as much as in my power, the chance of tarnishing the honour of the attempt, by the loss we might sustain in case of a repulse." At break of day, on the 3rd of August, the van of the storming party arrived at the foot of the rock. Wooden ladders

were applied to the scarp, and the troops ascended to the foot of the wall. The spies climbed up, and fixed the rope ladders, when the Sepoys mounted with amazing activity. The guards assembled within, but were quickly repulsed by the fire of the assailants. The detachment entered with rapidity, and pushed on to the main body of the place. In the meantime, the greater part of the garrison escaped by another quarter, and left the English masters of one of the greatest and most celebrated strongholds in that quarter of the globe. This brilliant achievement, for which Captain Popham was rewarded with the rank of Major, struck the Mahrattas with so much consternation, that they abandoned the circumjacent country, and conveyed the alarm to Sindia in his capital.<sup>1</sup>

The opposition which was made by Francis to these proceedings, for pushing the war on the Jumna, brought to a crisis the animosities which the struggle between him and the Governor-General had so long maintained. On the 20th of July, 1780, Mr. Hastings, in answering a minute of Mr. Francis, declared, "I do not trust to his promise of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I have found to be devoid of truth and honour." The ground of these severe expressions, the Governor-General stated to be a solemn agreement formed between him and Mr. Francis, which Mr. Francis had broken. Of this transaction, the following appear to have been the material circumstances. When the parliamentary appointment, during five years, of the Governor-General and Council, expired in 1778, the expectation of a change in the Indian administration was suspended, by the re-appointment, upon the motion of the king's chief minister, of Mr. Hastings for a single year. Upon the arrival of this intelligence in India, an attempt was made by some mutual friends of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis, to deliver the

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<sup>1</sup> For the transactions relative to the Mahratta war, the materials are found in the Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, in 1781, and the vast mass of documents printed in its Appendix; the twentieth article of the Parliamentary Charges against Hastings, and his answer; the Papers printed for the use of the House of Commons on the Impeachment; and the Minutes of Evidence on the Trial of Mr. Hastings. The publications of the day, which on this, and other parts of the history of Mr. Hastings' Administration, have been consulted, some with more, some with less, advantage, are far too numerous to mention.



BOOK V. government, at a period of difficulty and danger, from the effects of their discordance. Both parties acknowledged the demand which the present exigency presented for a vigorous and united administration; and both professed a desire to make any sacrifice of personal feelings, and personal interests, for the attainment of so important an object. On the part of Mr. Francis, it was stipulated that Mohammed Reza Khan, Mr. Bristow, and Mr. Fowke, should be reinstated in conformity to the Company's orders; and on the part of Mr. Hastings, that the Mahratta war, the responsibility of which Mr. Francis had disclaimed, and thrown personally on the Governor-General, should be conducted in conformity with his conceptions and plans. It was this part of the agreement which Mr. Hastings accused his opponent of violating; and of depriving him, by a treacherous promise of co-operation, which induced Mr. Barwell to depart for Europe, of that authority which the vote of Mr. Barwell ensured. Mr. Francis, on the other hand, solemnly declared, that he "never was party to the engagement stated by Mr. Hastings, or had a thought of being bound by it." His agreement with regard to the Mahratta war, he explained as extending only to the operations then commenced on the Malabar coast, but not to fresh operations on another part of the Mahratta dominions. Mr. Hastings produced a paper, containing the following words: "Mr. Francis will not oppose any measures which the Governor-General shall recommend for the prosecution of the war in which we are supposed to be engaged with the Mahrattas, or for the general support of the present political system of his government." To the terms of this agreement, presented to Mr. Francis in writing, he affirmed that Mr. Francis gave his full and deliberate consent. The reply of Mr. Francis was in the following words: "In one of our conversations in February last, Mr. Hastings desired me to read a paper of memorandums, among which I presume this article was inserted. I returned it to him the moment I had read it, with a declaration that I did not agree to it, or hold myself bound by the contents of it, or to that effect." Mr. Francis added some reasonings, drawn from the natural presumptions of the case. But these reasonings and presumptions had little tendency to

strengthen the evidence of his personal assertion—the ground, between him and his antagonist, on which this question seems finally to rest.<sup>1</sup> With the utmost earnestness, Mr. Hastings repeated the affirmation of the terms on which Mr. Francis declared his assent; and at this point, the verbal controversy between them closed. Soon after, a duel ensued between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis, in which the latter was wounded; and on the 9th December, that gentlemen quitted India, and returned to Europe.<sup>2</sup>

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1770.

## CHAPTER IV.

*In the Carnatic, Relations between the English and Nabob—Plenipotentiary, with independent Powers from the King—English courted by Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas, and in danger from both—Nabob and Plenipotentiary desire Alliance with the Mahrattas—Presidency adhere to Neutrality—Relations with the King of Tanjore—After hesitation, War is made upon him—War upon the Marawars—A second War upon Tanjore—Condemned by the Directors—Pigot sent out to restore the Raja—Opposition in the Madras Council—Pigot imprisoned—Sentiments and Measures adopted in England—Committee of Circuit—Suspended by Governor Rumbold, who summons the Zemindars to Madras—Transactions with Nizam Ali respecting Guntoor—Censured by the Supreme Council—Governor Rumbold, and other Members of the Government, condemned and punished by the Court of Directors.*

WHILE the principal station of the Company's power in India was giving birth to so many important transactions, their Presidency on the Coromandel coast

<sup>1</sup> It is a strong corroboration of Hastings's belief in such a promise having been received from Francis, that he suffered (if he could have prevented it) Barwell's leaving India. That event he knew would leave him in a minority; and nothing but the expectation that Francis would waive his opposition, in consideration of the concession made to him, could have reconciled Hastings to the loss of his friend. The decision of the question therefore turns upon the circumstances under which Barwell quitted Bengal.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Sixth Report of the Committee of Secresy, 1781, p. 98, and Appendix, No. 288; also Fifth Report of the Select Committee, 1781, pp. 14, 18, 30; Memoirs of the late war in Asia, i. 301, etc.



BOOK V. was not barren of incidents entitled to a great share of  
CHAP. IV. our regard.

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The relation, in which the Company professed to stand to the country, was different in the Carnatic, and in Bengal. By the avowed possession of the Dewannee, they entered in Bengal into the direct discharge of the principal functions of internal government. In the Carnatic, during the contest with the French, they had held up Mohammed Ali; upon the termination of it, they had acknowledged him as the undoubted sovereign of the country. He was established, therefore, in the possession of both branches of power, both that of Nazim, or the military power, and that of Dewan, or the financial power; and the Company held the station of dependants, possessing their privileges through his sufferance, and owing obedience to his throne. They possessed a district of land surrounding Madras, which had been granted in 1750, and in 1762 was confirmed, by the Nabob of the Carnatic or Arcot, in recompense of the services rendered by the Company to him and his family. This was a sort of estate in land, under what is called a jaghire tenure, enabling the owner to draw the revenue, which would otherwise accrue to government; and to exercise all those powers which in India were usually connected with the power of raising the taxes. This Presidency also possessed, and that independent of their Nabob, the maritime district, known under the title of the four Northern Circars, which they had obtained by grant from the Mogul in 1765, and enjoyed under an agreement of peshcush, entered into the succeeding year with the Nizam or Subahdar.

Partly from characteristic imbecility, partly from the state of the country, not only exhausted, but disorganised by the preceding struggle, the Nabob remained altogether unequal to the protection of the dominions, of which he was now the declared sovereign. Instead of trusting to the insignificant rabble of an army which he would employ, the Presidency beheld the necessity of providing by a British force for the security of the province. For this reason, and also for the sake of that absolute power<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The resolution of maintaining this absolute power, is thus clearly expressed in the letter of the Court of Directors to the Presidency of Madras, dated 24th December, 1765. "The Nabob has hitherto desired, at least acquiesced

which they desired to maintain, the English were under the necessity of urging, and, if need were, constraining the Nabob to transfer to them the military defence of the country, and to allow out of his revenues a sum proportional to the expense. The Nabob, having transferred the military power of the country, was placed in absolute dependence upon the Company; they being able to do what they pleased, he to do nothing but what they permitted. In a short time it was perceived, that his revenue was by no means equal to the demands which were made upon it. The country was oppressed by the severity of his exactions, and instead of being repaired, after the tedious sufferings of war, it was scourged by all the evils of a government at once insatiable and neglectful. When his revenues failed, he had recourse to loans. Money was advanced to him, at exorbitant interest, frequently by Englishmen, and the servants of the Company. He generally paid them by a species of assignments, called in India *tuncaus*, which entitled the holders of them to the revenue of some portion of the territory, and to draw it immediately from the collectors. While his embarrassments were by these means increased, the exactors were encouraged to greater severities.

In this situation, the Nabob and the Presidency were both dissatisfied, and both uneasy. Finding his power annihilated, and his revenues absorbed, after feasting his imagination with the prospect of the unlimited indulgences of an Eastern prince, he regarded the conduct of the Presidency as the highest injustice. The gentlemen entrusted at once with the care of their own fortunes and

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with seeming approbation, that garrisons of our troops should be placed in his forts: it is not improbable that, after a time, he may wish to have his protectors removed. Should such an event happen, it may require some address to avoid giving him disgust, and, at the same time, a degree of firmness to persist in your present plan; but persist you must; for we establish it as a fundamental point, that the Company's influence and real power in the province, cannot be any way so effectually maintained, as by keeping the principal forts in our hands." See First Report of the Committee of Secresy, 1781, Appendix, No. 23. "By being in possession of most of his strong places, the troops being officered by the Company, and the garrisons perfectly under their orders, the Company have it in their power to give law to the Carnatic. Without the concurrence of the Presidency, he can do nothing; they are arbiters of peace and war; and even if one of his own tributaries refuse the *pescush*, the payment of which they had guaranteed, without them he cannot call them to an account." Letter from Sir John Lindsay to the President and Council of Madras, 22nd June, 1771; Rous' Appendix, p. 368.

BOOK V. the interests of the Company, for both of which they  
 CHAP. IV. imagined that the revenues of the Carnatic would co-  
 1770. piously and delightfully provide, were chagrined to find  
 them inadequate even to the exigencies of the govern-  
 ment; and accused the Nabob, either of concealing the  
 amount of the sums which he obtained, or of impairing the  
 produce of the country by the vices of his government.

Upon the termination of the disputes in London, to-  
 ward the end of the year 1769, between the Ministers of  
 the Crown and the East India Company, respecting the  
 supervisors, and respecting the power of the King's naval  
 officer to negotiate and to form arrangements with the  
 Indian powers;<sup>1</sup> a marine force, consisting of some frigates  
 of war, was commissioned, under the command of Sir  
 John Lindsay, to proceed to the East Indies: "to give  
 countenance and protection to the Company's settlements  
 and affairs." In conformity with the terms to which the  
 Company had yielded, they vested Sir John Lindsay with  
 a commission to take the command of all their vessels of  
 war in the Indian seas; and also, on their behalf, "to treat  
 and settle matters in the Persian Gulph."

So far, there was mutual understanding, clearness, and  
 concert. But in addition to this, Sir John Lindsay was  
 appointed, by commission under the great seal, his Majes-  
 ty's Minister Plenipotentiary, with powers to negotiate  
 and conclude arrangements with the Indian sovereigns in  
 general. This measure was not only contrary to what the  
 Company had claimed as their right, against which the  
 Minister appeared to have ceased, for the time, to con-  
 tend; but it was a measure taken without their know-  
 ledge: and Sir John Lindsay appeared, in India, claiming  
 the field for the exercise of his powers, before they or  
 their servants had the smallest intimation that any such  
 powers were in existence.

If there was a danger which must strike every con-  
 siderate mind, in sending two independent authorities, to  
 act and clash together in the delicate and troubled scene  
 of Indian affairs, a danger inevitable, even if the circum-  
 stances had been arranged between the Ministers and the  
 Company with the greatest harmony and the greatest  
 wisdom; all the principles of mischief were naturally

<sup>1</sup> See the account of these disputes, *supra*, vol. iii., book iv., chap. ix.



multiplied, and each strengthened to the utmost, by the present stroke of ministerial politics.

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The ground upon which this disputed and imprudent exercise of power appears to have been placed, was the eleventh article of the treaty of Paris, concluded in 1763. With a view to maintain peace in India, and to close the disputes between the English and the French, who, according to their own professions, appeared to have nothing else in view but to determine who was the just and rightful Nabob of the Carnatic, and who was the just and rightful Subahdar of the Deccan; it was there decided and agreed that the two nations should acknowledge Mohammed Ali as the one, and Salabut Jung as the other. It occurred to the ingenuity of practical statesmen, that the King of Great Britain, having become party to an article of treaty, had a right, without asking leave of the Company, to look after the execution of that article; and hence to send a deputy duly qualified for that purpose. If this conferred a right of bestowing upon Sir John Lindsay the powers of an ambassador; it also conferred the right of avoiding altercation with the East India Company, by taking the step without their knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

The power of looking after the due execution of the eleventh article of the treaty of Paris was not a trifling power.

It included in the first place, the power of taking a part in all the disputes between the Nabob and the Company's servants; as Mohammed Ali was in that article placed upon the footing of an ally to the King of Great Britain, and hence entitled to all that protection which is due to an ally. The servants of the Company had been at some pains to keep from the knowledge of the Nabob the full import of the new relation in which he was placed to the British throne; as calculated most imprudently to inflame that spirit of ambition and love of independence, with which it was so difficult already to deal, and with the gratification of which the existence in the Carnatic, either of his power or of that of the Company, was altogether

<sup>1</sup> It was impossible to prevent the measure from becoming known to the Company, and very improbable that they would not resist it. Altercation was delayed — therefore not avoided; and it would have better become the ministers to have apprised the Company at once, of their determination to send out an agent of the crown.—W.



BOOK V. incompatible. The band of Englishmen, and others, who  
 CHAP. IV. surrounded the Nabob, for the purpose of preying upon  
 1770. him, wished of course to see all power in his hands, that  
 they might prey the more abundantly. They filled every  
 place with their outcries against every restraint which  
 was placed upon him : and in particular had endeavoured,  
 and with great success, to disseminate an opinion in  
 England, that he was an oppressed and ill-treated prince,  
 while the servants of the Company were his plunderers  
 and tyrants.

Nor was this all. As the grand intent of the eleventh  
 article of the treaty of Paris was to preserve peace be-  
 tween the English and other powers of India, and as there  
 is nothing in the relations of one state to another which  
 the care of peace may not be said to embrace, the whole  
 international policy of the British government in India  
 was, by the new ministerial expedient, deposited in the  
 hands of the King's Minister Plenipotentiary.

On the 26th of July, 1770, Sir John Lindsay, after  
 having remained some months at Bombay, arrived at  
 Madras ; and at once surprised and alarmed the servants  
 of the Company by the declaration of his powers. In one  
 of their first communications with Sir John, they say,  
 "when you now inform us, you are invested with great  
 and separate powers, and when we consider that those  
 powers, in their operation, may greatly affect the rights of  
 the Company, we cannot but be very much alarmed."<sup>1</sup>  
 To their employers, the Court of Directors, they expound  
 themselves more fully. "To give you a clear representa-  
 tion of the dangerous embarrassments through which we  
 have been struggling, since the arrival of his Majesty's  
 powers in this country, is a task far beyond our abilities.  
 They grow daily more and more oppressive to us ; and we  
 must sink under the burthen, unless his Majesty, from a  
 just representation of their effect, will be graciously  
 pleased to recall powers, which, in dividing the national  
 interest, will inevitably destroy its prosperity in India.  
 Such is the danger ; and yet we are repeatedly told, that  
 it is to support that interest, by giving the sanction of his  
 Majesty's name to our measures, that these powers were

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Sir John Lindsay, dated 16th August, 1770, Rous' Appendix.  
 p. 254.

granted, and for that alone to be exerted. It has always been our opinion, that with your authority, we had that of our Sovereign, and of our nation delegated to us. If this opinion be forfeited, your servants can neither act with spirit nor success: for under the control of a superior commission, they dare not, they cannot exert the powers with which they alone are entrusted. Their weakness and disgrace become conspicuous; and they are held in derision by your enemies.”<sup>1</sup>

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The first of the requisitions which Sir John Lindsay made upon the President and Council was to appear in his train, when he went in state to deliver to the Nabob his Majesty's letter and presents. They conceived, that, as the servants of the Company had heretofore been the medium through which all communications to the princes of India had been made, and they had been considered in India the immediate representatives of the British monarch, and the highest instrument of his government, they could not appear in the train of Sir John Lindsay without degradation in the eyes of the natives, and a forfeiture of the dignity and influence of the Company which, as they had no instructions upon the subject, they did not think themselves at liberty to resign. With the assignment of these reasons, they respectfully signified to Sir John Lindsay the inability under which they found themselves to comply with his request. This brought on an interchange of letters, which soon degenerated into bitterness and animosity on both sides.<sup>2</sup>

Among the reasons which the President and Council assigned for declining to appear in the train of Sir John Lindsay, they had stated, that any suspicion, disseminated in the country, of the annihilation or diminution of the Company's power “might, at this crisis particularly,

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Court of Proprietors, dated July 20th, 1771, Rous' Appendix, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> Rous' Appendix, p. 245—253. In the commencement of the correspondence, the tone of Sir J. Lindsay was that of affronting condescension: it soon became that of contemptuous sarcasm. The Government of Madras were evidently alarmed, and treated him with unnecessary deference. Their more prudent course would have been to have refrained from all discussion with him, until they had received instructions from England; as they could not be expected to recognise powers utterly incompatible with those which the Court of Directors had apprised them, had been conferred upon the commander of the king's ships in India, and His Majesty's representative in the Gulph of Persia only.—W.

BOOK V. prove fatal to the existence of the Company, and the interests of the nation in India: because they were on the brink of a war with the most formidable power in India, which it would require all their efforts to avoid, while they feared that all their efforts would be insufficient.”<sup>1</sup> This apprehension was a good deal exaggerated, to serve the present purpose; and the exaggeration yielded an advantage to Sir John Lindsay, of which he immediately availed himself. He was very sorry, he said, to find them on the brink of a dreadful war, which was all but inevitable. He pressed upon them the consideration of the importance of peace to a commercial body. And as he was sent out to watch over the execution of the eleventh article, of which peace was the main object, he begged they would lay before him such documents and explanations, as “would make him acquainted with the real state of the Company’s affairs.”<sup>2</sup> He also informed them, that he was commanded by his Majesty to apply to them for a full and succinct account of all their transactions with the Nabob of Arcot since the late treaty of Paris; and inquire with the utmost care into the causes of the late war with the Subah of the Deckan and Hyder Ali, and the reasons of its unfortunate consequences.”<sup>3</sup> To this point the reply of the President and Council was in the following terms: duplicates of our records, and very minute and circumstantial details of all our transactions, have already been transmitted to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, our constituents. We have heard, that when an inquiry at home into the state of the Company’s affairs was thought necessary, it was signified by his Majesty’s ministry to the Court of Directors, that they would be called upon by parliament to produce their records; that they were accordingly called upon by parliament, and did produce them. This, we believe, was a constitutional course; but we have never heard that the Company’s papers and records were demanded by, or surrendered to, the ministry alone; for that we believe would be unconstitutional. The Company hold their rights by act of parliament, their papers and their records are their rights; we are entrusted with them here; we are under oath of fidelity, and under covenants not to part

<sup>1</sup> Rous’ Appendix, p. 248.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 250.<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 253.



with them ; nevertheless all conditions are subservient to the laws ; and when we shall be called upon in a legal and constitutional way, we shall readily and cheerfully submit ourselves, our lives, and fortunes, to the laws of our country. To break our oath and our covenants would be to break those laws. But we hold them sacred and inestimable, for they secure the rights and liberties of the people."<sup>1</sup>

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Corresponding to the jealousy and dislike with which Sir John Lindsay was received by the president and Council, were the cordiality and pleasure with which he was received by the Nabob and those who surrounded him. To the Nabob he explained, that he was come to recognize him as a fellow sovereign with the King of Great Britain, and to afford him the protection of that great King against all his enemies. The Nabob, who had a keen Oriental eye for the detection of personal feelings, was not long a stranger to the sentiments with which his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, and the Company's President and Council, regarded each other. He described the President and Council as his greatest enemies ; for they withdrew the greater part of his revenue and power. Sir John, who was already prejudiced, and ignorant of the scene in which he was appointed to act, fell at once into all the views of the Nabob, and the crowd by whom he was beset. The Nabob laid out his complaints, and Sir John listened with a credulous ear. The Nabob described the policy which had been pursued with respect to the native powers by the servants of the Company ; and easily made it assume an appearance which gave it to the eye of Sir John a character of folly, or corruption, or both. He drew the line of policy which at the present moment it would have gratified his own wishes to get the Company to pursue ; and he painted it in such engaging colours, that Sir John Lindsay believed it to be recommended equally by the sense of justice, and the dictates of wisdom. The King's Commissioner, measuring his own consequence by that of the master whom he served, and treating the Company and their servants as not worthy of much regard, on the score either of wisdom or of virtue, widened the difference between the partnership sovereigns of the Carnatic. The

<sup>1</sup>Rous' Appendix, p. 257.



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royal functionary assumed the character of protector of the Nabob; and appeared to interpose the royal authority, between an ally of the crown, and the oppression of the Company. The contempt which the Nabob saw bestowed upon the authority to which he had been accustomed to bend, and the dignity to which he appeared to be exalted as an ally of the British King, augmented his opinion of the injustice under which he appeared to himself to groan; and the letters of the Commissioner to the ministers in England were filled with accounts of the oppression exercised by the insolent and rapacious servants of a counting-house, over an independent and sovereign prince. The feeble discernment which has generally scanned the proceedings of the East India Company, and which has often lavished upon them applause where their conduct has been neither virtuous nor wise, has almost uniformly arraigned them for not accomplishing impossibilities, and uniting contrary effects; for not rendering themselves powerful and independent, without trenching upon the power and independence of princes, who would suffer their power and independence, only in proportion as they were deprived of those attributes themselves. Beside this fundamental consideration, it was not to be disputed, that, left to himself Mohammed Ali could not maintain his possession of the province for even a few years; and that nothing but the power of the English could prevent it from falling a prey to the neighbouring powers, or even to its own disorganization. Though it is not disputed that the rapacity of individuals, who preyed upon the Nabob may have added to the disorder of his affairs; it is true that the poverty of the Carnatic, and the wretched administration of the Nabob, enabled it not to fulfil the golden hopes of the English, or even to provide for its own necessities.<sup>1</sup>

When the President and Council described themselves as on the brink of a war, the circumstances to which they alluded were these. In the second article of the treaty, which was concluded with Hyder Ali, in 1769, it was agreed: "That in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall, from their respective countries, mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out;" and the party in aid of whom the troops were employed,

<sup>1</sup> See Rous' Appendix, No. 17, passim.

was to afford them maintenance at a rate which was mutually determined. This was a condition so highly esteemed by Hyder, that all hopes of an accommodation with him; on any other terms, were, at the time of the treaty, regarded as vain.

Within a few weeks, Hyder endeavoured to persuade the English of the great advantage which he and they would derive, from uniting Janojee Bonsla with them, in triple league. He also informed them of his intention to recover from Madhoo Row, the Peshwa, certain possessions which that invader had wrested from him two years before; and requested that they would send him a certain number of troops, no matter how small, merely to show to the world the friendship which now happily subsisted between the English and him. The Presidency, pointing out in what manner this, to which the treaty did not bind them, would be an act of unmerited hostility against the Mahrattas, declined compliance with his request.

Early in 1770, the Mahrattas invaded his country; and again he solicited assistance, if it were but a few troops, for the sake of the manifestation on account of which he had requested them before. If a more substantial aid was afforded, he professed his readiness to pay three lacks of rupees. It was not very easy for the English now to find a pretext. They evaded, procrastinated, and withheld, rather than refused compliance with his desire.

The Mahrattas reduced Hyder to great difficulties, nay dangers; and seemed resolved to annex his dominions to their spreading conquests. During this period of his distress, in which he was obliged to abandon the open country, and to depend upon his forts, he endeavoured to persuade the English that their own interest was deeply concerned in combining with him against the Mahrattas, who would touch upon their frontier, and present them a formidable neighbourhood, if the barrier which he interposed were broken down.

The Mahrattas, too, very earnestly pressed for the assistance of the English. They had, indeed, by weight of superior numbers, driven Hyder from the open country; but the protection of his strong holds enabled him still to hold out, and they saw the time rapidly approaching, when the exhausted state of the country would compel

BOOK V. them to retire for want of the means to support their  
CHAP. IV. army. The skill, therefore, which enabled the English to  
subdue the strongest places with a rapidity which to them  
1770. appeared like magic, rather than natural means, they regarded as a most desirable acquisition. To attain this object, they endeavoured to work upon the fears of the Nabob; and in their communication with him, threatened to invade the Carnatic, unless the English complied with their desires.

The difficulties on the part of the President and Council were uncommonly great. They state their view of them in their consultations, on the 30th of April, 1770. Their assistance would enable the Mahrattas indeed to prevail over Hyder, but of all events that was, probably, the most alarming; the Mahrattas would in that case immediately adjoin the Carnatic, with such an accumulated power, as would enable them to conquer it whenever they pleased; and what, when they had power to conquer, the Mahrattas would please nobody acquainted with India entertained any doubt. If they assisted Hyder; that was immediate war with the Mahrattas, accompanied with all its burdens and dangers. It was not clear, that both united could prevail over the Mahrattas; and if they did, the power of Hyder would bring along with it a large share of the dangers to which they would be exposed from the Mahrattas, if sovereigns of Mysore. If they stood neuter, and thereby offended both parties, either Hyder or the Mahrattas, most probably the latter, would prevail; and in that case the victor, whoever he was, would wreak his vengeance on the rulers of the Carnatic. Amid these difficulties, they conceived it their wisest policy after all to remain neuter; to gain time; and take up arms, only when the extremity could no longer be shunned.

The views and wishes of the Nabob were exceedingly different. He was bent upon forming an alliance with the Mahrattas. In the first place, he had a personal antipathy to Hyder Ali, which in a mind like his was capable of weighing down more respectable motives, and made him express extreme reluctance to join, or see the English concur, in any thing favourable to Hyder. In the next place, the Mahrattas were successful in working upon the shortsighted ambition of the Nabob, with the promise of splen-



did gifts of territory, which, if they had the power of giving, they would also have the power of resuming at pleasure. But in the third place, he expected, according to the opinion of the President and Council, to place the English government, by means of the alliance with the Mahrattas, in a state of dependance upon himself; and that was what he valued above all other things. "Once engaged in the war," said they, "we are at the Nabob's mercy, for we have no certain means of our own. Enter, we are told, into an engagement with the Mahrattas; engage to assist them in the conquest of the Mysore country, and they will cede to the Nabob the Ghauts, and all the countries dependant on Mysore on this side the Ghauts. If we enter into such a measure, utterly repugnant to every order and every idea that has been suggested to us by our employers, we cannot see any end to the consequences, but utter ruin; we must thenceforth follow the schemes of the Mahrattas and the Nabob, wheresoever they shall please to drag us, be it to place the Nabob on the musnud of the Deccan, or to subjugate the whole peninsula."

Sir John Lindsay adopted completely the views of the Nabob, with regard to the Mahratta alliance: nor was there any reproach, or exhortation, or threat, which he spared, to entice or to drive the Presidency into that measure.

The ministry, it would appear, became in some degree alarmed at the accounts which they received of the contentions which prevailed between the King's Minister Plenipotentiary, and the servants of the Company in India; and they thought of an expedient; which was, to change the person, and leave the authority. Sir John Lindsay was recalled, and Sir Robert Harland with an addition to the marine force, was sent to exercise the same powers in his stead.

Sir Robert arrived at Madras on the 2nd of September, 1771. Sir Robert took up the same ideas, and the same passions exactly, which had guided the mind of Sir John Lindsay; and the only difference was, that he was rather more intemperate than his predecessor; and in consequence created rather more animosity in his opponents.

The progress of the Mahrattas had become still more

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BOOK V. alarming. In the month of November, they were in the  
 CHAP. IV. possession of the whole of Mysore, excepting the principal  
 1771. forts. They had advanced to the borders of the Carnatic :  
 and some straggling parties had made plundering incur-  
 sions. They openly threatened invasion ; and it was ex-  
 pected that about the beginning of January, when the  
 crops would be ready, they would enter the country. The  
 Nabob was, or affected to be, in the utmost alarm ; and Sir  
 Robert Harland urged the Presidency to accept the terms  
 of the Mahrattas, who bid high for assistance on the one  
 hand, and threatened fire and sword on the other. In this  
 trying situation, the Presidency vented the most bitter com-  
 plaints, at being left by the Court of Directors, totally  
 without instructions.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, "although we have  
 not yet," say they, "had any answer from our constituents,  
 to the repeated representations of the embarrassments we  
 labour under for want of their clear and precise instruc-  
 tions with respect to our conduct in the present critical  
 situation of affairs ; yet it is evident from the whole spirit of  
 their orders for some years past, that they look upon the  
 growing power of the Mahrattas with jealousy and appre-  
 hension." From this, from an adoption of the same sen-  
 timents, from a regard to the treaty with Hyder, which  
 rather required them to assist than allowed them to join  
 in destroying that sovereign, and from a regard to the opi-  
 nion of the other Presidencies, they determined not to  
 comply with exhortations or commands of Sir Robert.  
 They would have thought it advisable on the other hand  
 to support Hyder as a barrier against the Mahrattas, had  
 not the opposition of the Nabob, supported as he was by  
 the minister of the King, placed it, for want of resources,  
 out of their power. They determined, therefore, to remain  
 neutral ; and only to collect a body of troops in some  
 central position, where they might best protect the coun-  
 try in case of attack, and distress the enemy by cutting  
 off their supplies.

<sup>1</sup> "It is with infinite concern the Committee observe that, notwithstanding their repeated and earnest representations to the Court of Directors, of the very critical situation of affairs with respect to the Mahrattas and Hyder Ally, which were so fully and clearly explained, in order to enable them to give us their sentiments and orders with respect to the conduct they would wish us to observe in so important and interesting a matter, we still find ourselves not only without orders, but without the least intimation of their opinion thereon." Select Consultations, 29th November, 1771 ; First Report, Committee of Secrecy in 1781, Appendix, No. 21.

The Mahrattas, notwithstanding their threats, had not, it would appear, any serious intention of invading the Carnatic; for in the month of January, 1772, the Nabob and Sir Robert, finding the Presidency inflexible against their project of alliance, found the means of prevailing upon them to promise a cessation of hostilities till the pleasure of the British King should be known.<sup>1</sup> The Mahrattas were afraid of provoking the English to join Hyder Ali; and they began now to feel their situation abundantly uneasy. The activity and capacity of that great leader were still able to give them incessant annoyance; and the country was so excessively ravaged and exhausted, that the means of subsisting an army could no longer be found. They became, therefore, desirous of an accommodation; and in the beginning of July consented to a peace, for which, however, they made Hyder pay very dearly, both in territorial and pecuniary sacrifices.<sup>2</sup>

If a judgment may be formed from this instance, the chance for good government in India, if the ministers of the crown were to become, and the East India Company cease to be its organ, would undergo an unfavourable change. The course into which the ministers of the crown would have plunged the nation bears upon it every mark of ignorance and folly; that which was pursued by the East India Company and their servants is eminently characterized by prudence and firmness.

Amid the pecuniary wants of the Nabob and the Presidency, both had often looked with a covetous eye to the supposed riches of the King of Tanjore. They considered the natural fertility of his country, and his general exemption from the ravages of the war which had desolated the rest of the province; but they did not consider that the temporizing policy by which he had laboured to save himself from the resentment of all parties, had often cost him considerable sums; that the wars which raged around and perpetually threatened himself, had imposed upon him the maintenance of an army, as great as he could possibly support; that the country which he governed, though fertile, was small; that the expense of a

<sup>1</sup> That they gave money, and gave largely, appears plainly from a letter in Rous' Appendix, p. 952.

<sup>2</sup> See First Report, ut supra, p. 28, and Appendix, Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23; and the Papers published by the Directors, in Rous' Appendix, Nos. 17 and 28.

BOOK V. court aims to be as grand in a small, as in an extensive  
 CHAP. IV. country; that the expense of protecting a small country is  
 1771. comparatively heavy; that hardly any government has  
 ever yet been so good, as not to expend as much as it  
 could possibly drain from its subjects; and that the govern-  
 ment of Tanjore was a true specimen of the ignorance  
 and rudeness of the Hindus.

In the war with Hyder, the Raja of Tanjore had not only contributed less, both in troops and treasure, to the maintenance of the war than was expected of him, but was known to have held a correspondence with Hyder; and if he did not afford, at any rate promised, assistance. Without making any allowance for the current policy of the feeble princes in India, who aim at contributing as little as possible to the wars of the greater powers, from which they see not that they have any thing to gain, and by professions of friendship for both parties, to avert the dangers of their resentment, the Company and the Nabob were sufficiently disposed to have treated the Raja as a faithless ally. In the treaty, however, which they concluded with Hyder in 1769, they insisted upon including the Mahratta chieftain, Morari Rao, whose territories would have formed a convenient conquest for Hyder; and he refused to accept the condition unless the Raja of Tanjore was admitted to the same protection. That the Raja might not appear to owe his safety to the interposition of Hyder, the English pretended to regard him as their partisan, and included him in the treaty as their own ally.

In their letter to the Select Committee at Fort St. George, dated 17th March, 1769, the Court of Directors said, "It appears most unreasonable to us that the Raja of Tanjore should hold possession of the most fruitful part of the country, which can alone supply our armies with subsistence, and not contribute to the defence of the Carnatic. We observe the Nabob makes very earnest representations to you on this subject, wherein he takes notice that the Zemindars of the Carnatic have been supported, and their countries preserved to them by the operations of our forces employed in his cause; and that nothing was more notorious, than that three former princes of the Carnatic had received from the Tanjore Raja seventy, eighty, nay even one hundred lacks of



rupees at a time. We therefore enjoin you to give the Nabob such support in his pretensions as may be effectual? and if the Raja refuses to contribute a just proportion to the expense of the war, you are then to pursue such measures as the Nabob may think consistent with the justice and dignity of his government. Whatever sums may, in consequence of the above orders, be obtained from the Raja of Tanjore, we expect shall be applied to the discharge of the Nabob's debt to the Company; and if more than sufficient for that purpose, to the discharge of his debts to individuals." <sup>1</sup>

Upon this injunction of the Court of Directors, the Select Committee deliberated on the 13th of September, 1769. "With regard," they say, "to the demand recommended to be made on the King of Tanjore, our situation at this time is such, for want of money, that, if there were no other obstacles, that alone would put it utterly out of our power to undertake an expedition against him. The treaty of 1762 being before the Hon. Court, considering also, on the other hand, the late conduct of the King of Tanjore, we certainly should not postpone an undertaking so warmly recommended, if it were in our power now to attempt it consistently with good policy and the safety of the Carnatic. But as the case is, were the difficulty of money out of the question, it would become a point of serious consideration, whether an attempt upon Tanjore might not again involve us in a war with Hyder Ally, as the Raja is expressly included in the treaty lately made with Hyder Ally Khan. However unreasonable it may be, that he should enjoy the benefits derived from the government of the Carnatic without contributing his proportion of its expense; and however impolitic, and contrary to the natural rights of government, to suffer such a power to remain independent in the heart of the province, we must submit to necessity, and the circumstances of the times. He has, indeed, lately made some objections by his letters to the payment of his annual peshcush, alleging in excuse the great expense of the troops sent to join our army; although, as the Nabob inform us, it be contrary to the custom of the country for tributary princes to make any demands for the charges of troops furnished to the power

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<sup>1</sup> Official Papers in Rous' Appendix, pp. 525, 526.



BOOK V. to whom they are tributary, while employed within the  
 CHAP. IV. districts dependant on such power. Should he persist in re-  
 1771. quiring an abatement in the peshcush due on account of  
 his late charges, it might furnish us with a just pretext to  
 accuse him of a breach of his engagements, and to take  
 our measures accordingly when our situation will admit  
 of it. But as the case now is with us ; under difficulties  
 to provide the money necessary even for our current ex-  
 penses ; doubtful of the intentions of the Mahrattas ;  
 suspicious of the designs of the Subah : and apprehensive  
 of the King of Tanjore's calling upon Hyder for aid, and  
 thus raising a fresh flame, the Committee are clearly of  
 opinion, that at this juncture the undertaking would be  
 impolitic and unwarrantable." <sup>1</sup>

The Raja had urged, that, instead of having any money,  
 the late expenses, which was the fact, had involved him  
 deeply in debt ; and he prayed, if a remission could not be  
 granted, at any rate for a delay in the payment of the  
 exacted tribute ; an indulgence to which the expense in-  
 curred by him in sending troops to assist in the wars of  
 the Nabob afforded, he thought, a reasonable claim.<sup>2</sup>

Early in the month of February, 1771, the Presidency  
 received intelligence that the Raja of Tanjore was setting  
 out upon the expedition against one of his neighbours the  
 Polygar of Sanputty, one of the Marawars.<sup>3</sup> On the 14th  
 of February, the President wrote to the Raja, that as Ma-  
 rawar belonged to the Nabob, as a dependency of the Car-  
 natic, it was contrary to the treaty between the Raja and  
 him, to make war upon that country, and that, as the  
 English were guarantees of that treaty, it was their duty  
 to request he would relinquish his design.<sup>4</sup>

The Raja represented that Hanamantagoody was a  
 district of country which did belong to the King of Tan-  
 jore, and was actually in his possession at the time of the  
 conclusion of the treaty of 1762 ; that it had been unjustly  
 seized by the Marawar chief, while the armies of Tanjore

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 631.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 563, 564.

<sup>3</sup> There was no such person as the Polygar of Sanputty. The author has mistaken, apparently, the title of the Polygar of Ramnad, for the name of his province. The word occurs in the proceedings of the Madras Government Satputty, and is correctly used, as the "The Rajah of Tanjore sent a force against the Satputty's country." "Tonderawee is ready to assist the Satputty," etc. The proper title is Setu-pati, chief of the "Setu," or bridge, the rocks extending from the continent to Ramiseram.—W.

<sup>4</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 574.

were engaged in the service of the Nabob; that the King of Tanjore, at the time when the Nabob was setting out upon his expedition to Madura, had represented the necessity of wresting back this territory from the Marawar, but the Nabob professed to have undertaken the expedition against Madura only upon the strength of the assistance which he expected from his dependants, and therefore requested the execution of his design might be delayed, till that expedition was accomplished; that he had represented the necessity of recovering the territory in question to the President himself, who had offered no objections. "For these reasons," said he, "I was in hopes to this day, that the Nabob and your honour would give strict orders to Marawar to restore our country. I also wrote to my vakeel on that head. But you and the Nabob did not get the country restored to me. Besides which, when the elephants relating to my present from Negapatnam were coming, Nalcooty,<sup>1</sup> pretending that the vessel was driven on shore by a storm in his seaports, seized the said elephants, and detained them; concerning which I sent him word, as well as to your honour; but he did not return them to me. If I suffer Marawar to take possession of my country, Nalcooty to seize my elephants, and Tondiman to injure my country, it will be a very great dishonour to me among my people, to see such compulsions used by the Polygars. You are a protector of my government. Notwithstanding, you have not settled even a single affair belonging to me.

"If I stay quiet, I shall greatly hurt my dignity. Wherefore, I marched myself. If you now advise me to desist, what answer can I give? In the treaty, it was not forbidden to clear the country possessed by Marawar, or to undertake any expedition against the Polygars, who may use compulsions. Since it is so, it cannot be deemed contrary to the treaty."<sup>2</sup>

The Presidency urged, that, whatever was the truth with regard to the facts set forward by the Raja, he knew that they were disputed by the Nabob; and for that reason, was guilty, because he had taken upon himself to be judge and executioner in his own cause, when he ought to have reserved the decision to the English government. In his defence, the Raja observed: "You were pleased to write,

<sup>1</sup> The Little Marawar.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, pp. 608, 614.

BOOK V. that if I desist in my present expedition, you will then  
 CHAP. IV. settle the affairs in a reasonable manner. I continued to  
 1771. speak to you for this long time concerning this affair; but  
 you have not settled it. Notwithstanding, if you now  
 write that I did not acquaint you before I began it, what  
 answer can I make to it? I did not undertake to do any  
 thing contrary to the hereditary custom observed.”<sup>1</sup>

The Nabob called upon the Presidency, with unusual force and boldness of importunity, to make war upon the Raja; as the honour of his government was concerned in chastising a refractory dependant; and the honour of the Company's government was concerned in supporting a faithful ally. Sir John Lindsay vehemently urged the same conclusions, not without reproaches, that the Presidency were betraying the Nabob, and violating their duty, by even deferring the assistance which he required.<sup>2</sup>

On both hands, the Presidency were assailed by the greatest difficulties. There was imminent danger that the views of Sir John Lindsay, who was the creature of the ministry, would prevail at home; and that the Council, should they refuse to join with the Nabob, would be condemned, punished, and disgraced. They were restrained, on the other hand, by the consideration of the want of money; of the improbability of receiving sufficient funds from the Nabob; of the danger, while the troops were engaged in a distant quarter, of an attack upon the Circars by the Nizam; and of a war with the Mahrattas, with whom the king of Tanjore was allied, and who already hung over the Carnatic with alarming menaces. They believed that, beside the Nabob's old passion for the conquest of Tanjore, he was at present stimulated by the desire of that part of the Mysore country which lay on the Carnatic side of the passes, and which he had been promised by the Mahrattas, as the price of the assistance which they wished to receive; that he now despaired of being able to persuade the English to give that assistance; but expected, if he could inveigle them into a war with the King of Tanjore, that they would then be glad to form an alliance with the Mahrattas, in order to escape the calamity of their arms. In these circumstances, the Governor and Council bitterly complained, that they were

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, pp. 645, 609.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 579, 283.



left by their honourable masters, with instructions and orders which might be construed all manner of ways; and that, whatever course they took, they were sure of condemnation if they failed; could expect approbation, only as a consequence of success.<sup>1</sup> They resolved to collect as much of the army and of the military stores at Trichinopoly, as could be done without appearing to prepare for war; and to abstain from hostilities unless unavoidably involved in them.

Inquiring into the supposed dependence of the Marawar country, the Presidency found, that both Tanjore and Trichinopoly had alternately made use of their power to set up and put down the chiefs of Marawar. But in conclusion, "it appears," they said, "to us, that the only right over them is power, and that constitutionally they are independent of both; though Trichinopoly, since it has been added to the government of the Carnatic, having been more powerful than Tanjore, hath probably received more submission from them." Between states in India, "power," they remark generally, "is the only arbitrator of right; established usages or titles cannot exempt one state from a dependence on another, when superior force prevails; neither can they enforce dependence where power is wanting."<sup>2</sup>

These reasonings and conclusions, with regard to Tan-

<sup>1</sup> See these considerations balanced, and this severe condemnation passed upon their employers. Papers, ut supra, pp. 662, 663, 666, 679.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 682, 682\*. According to this account, there is no constitution in India but the law of the strongest. The fact is important; and has often (I should not much err if I said always) been mistaken by the inaccurate minds which hitherto have contemplated Indian affairs.—M.

This can scarcely be called the constitution of India, although it was the political condition of the country, growing out of the anarchy consequent upon the Mohammedan invasion, particularly in the South of India. The operations of the Moguls in the Dekhin, although they broke to pieces the consistency of both the Mohammedan and Hindu principalities, substituted no paramount authority in their place, and furnished an opportunity and example to adventurers of all classes, to scramble for power, annihilating all right except that of the sword. When the fact is remembered, therefore, its history should not be forgotten the circumstances under which it was true, shew it to be an accident, not a principle. In the present instance, nothing could be weaker than the claims of the Nawab upon Tanjore, except those of Trichinopoly and Tanjore upon Marawa. During the vigour of the Pandyan kingdom of Madura, Ramnad and Marawa were subject to it; but, upon its subversion, the chief of Ramnad became independent. Family dissensions divided the country into separate principalities, which were occasionally terrified into the payment of tribute to the Rajahs of Madura and Tanjore, but which were never really subject to either. Neither could the Rajah of Tanjore be considered as at any time the subject of the Nawab of the Carnatic, although occasional precedents existed for the levy of a peshcush from his fears.—W.



BOOK V. jore, bare date in the records of the Presidency from the  
 CHAP. IV. beginning of February to the end of March. On the 12th  
 1771. of June, when Trichinopoly was sufficiently supplied with  
 stores for defence, and the question was to be determined  
 whether more should be sent, the Nabob dissuaded from any  
 further preparations ; alleging that the Mahrattas would  
 never give the necessary respite for undertaking an ex-  
 pedition against Tanjore, and that to him every article of  
 expense, however small, was an object of importance.  
 Upon this, the Presidency express themselves in the fol-  
 lowing terms : “ When we consider the earnest and re-  
 peated solicitations urged by the Nabob to engage us in  
 an expedition against Tanjore ; when we consider the  
 taunts and reflections cast on us by Sir John Lindsay for  
 refusing to comply with the Nabob’s requisition of pro-  
 ceeding immediately against Tanjore at a time when we  
 were unprepared ; when we consider that our apprehensions  
 from the Mahrattas are not nearly so great, since most of  
 the grain is now collected in the different forts, which  
 would render it difficult for an army of Mahrattas to sub-  
 sist ; all these circumstances considered, it appears strange  
 that the Nabob should so suddenly alter his opinion, and  
 should now decline entering on the expedition, which he  
 so lately and so earnestly urged us to undertake.” They  
 conjectured, that, as his grand motive for urging the  
 expedition at first, was to force them into an alliance  
 with the Mahrattas, so now, despairing of that event, he  
 wished not to give the Mahrattas a pretext for overrun-  
 ning his dominions.<sup>1</sup>

On the 24th of July, the Committee resolved, first, that  
 an expedition against the Raja would, in itself, be advisable,  
 but being contrary to the inclination of the Nabob, ought  
 not to be undertaken ; secondly, that negotiation should  
 be used instead of war, and that the negotiation, in which  
 the Nabob wished the English not to appear, should be  
 left to be conducted by that ostensible prince.<sup>2</sup>

No sooner was conference attempted than the Raja de-  
 clared, that he had already “ referred all differences be-  
 tween him and the Nabob to the Company, and that he  
 wished the Company would mediate between them ; that  
 he was ready and willing to settle terms of accommoda-

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, pp. 684, 685.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 696.

tion under the guarantee of the English, on whose faith and promise he would rely ; but that he would never trust the Nabob without the security of the English ; as he well knew the Nabob's intentions were to accommodate matters for the present, but that he had had intentions whenever opportunity should offer in future."<sup>1</sup>

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On the 29th of July, the demands of the Nabob were presented to the Raja's vakeel at Madras ; but as he required fifteen or twenty days to receive the instructions of his master, and as the distance of Madras would aid the Raja in spinning out the time till the commencement of the rains, the Nabob proposed to send his two sons to Trichinopoly ; the eldest, Omdut ul Omrah, to conduct the negotiations ; and the younger, Mader ul Mulk, to manage the supply of the army ; while the negotiation, he thought, should be supported, by the show of inevitable war, if the Raja declined implicit submission.<sup>2</sup>

Now was required a decision on the question, what, if the war should issue in a conquest, was to be done with Tanjore. The Presidency knew, that the grand cause of the reluctance which the Nabob had latterly shown to the war, was a fear lest the Company should conquer Tanjore for themselves ; and, that there was no accommodation, how unfavourable soever, which he would not make with the Raja, rather than incur the hazard of so hateful a result. The Nabob offered to give the Company ten lacs of pagodas, if, after conquering, they delivered Tanjore, in full dominion, to him. The Presidency wished to reserve the question for the proper authorities in England, but the Nabob would not consent. The Presidency imagined, that as they had now convinced the Raja of the hostile designs both of themselves and the Nabob, it was highly dangerous to leave him possessed of power, which he would have an interest in lending to the French, or any other enemy ; and as they could not proceed to war, except with the consent of the Nabob, it was therefore best to comply with his terms.<sup>3</sup>

Early in September, the young Nabob, (such was the name by which the English generally spoke of Omdut ul Omrah) who had repaired to Trichinopoly, to conduct the negotiation, reported to General Smith, the commander

<sup>1</sup> Papers. ut supr., p. 717.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 718, 720.<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 726—731.

BOOK V. of the English troops, that nothing but compulsion would  
 CHAP. IV. bring the Raja to the submission required. The army was  
 1771. ready to march on the 12th of September; but the department of supplying the army had been entrusted wholly to the Nabob's second son; and it was found upon inquiry that there was not rice in the camp for the consumption of a single day.<sup>1</sup>

The greatest exertions were made by the general to enable the army to move; and on the 16th it arrived before Vellum, a fortress of considerable strength, and one of the great bulwarks of Tanjore. The battery, having been constructed first in a wrong place, was not ready till the morning of the 20th; and the breach could not have been made practicable till about three o'clock the next afternoon, but towards evening the garrison stole out of the fort.<sup>2</sup>

On the 23rd the army again marched, and encamped before Tanjore. They broke ground late on the evening of the 29th, and by that time began to be distressed for want of provisions. On the 1st of October, the enemy made a strong sally, which threatened to have considerable effects: but Major Vaughan, the officer against whose post it was directed, acted with firmness and judgment, and the attack was repelled without much loss. The operations proceeded but slowly. The 27th of October had arrived, when the engineers reported that the breach would be practicable the next morning. On that day the young Nabob signed a peace with the Raja, and hostilities ceased.<sup>3</sup>

The Raja engaged to pay eight lacs of rupees for arrears of peshcush; 30,50,000 for the expense of the expedition; to restore whatever he had taken from the Marawars; and to aid with his troops in all the wars of the Nabob. Vellum was the principal difficulty. It was finally agreed, that it should be restored to the Raja, but demolished if the Nabob chose.

Before this event, a dispute had arisen about the plunder. Omdut ul Omrah was informed, that, by the usage of war, the plunder of all places, taken by storm, belonged to the captors. Omdut ul Omrah, unwilling to lose the

<sup>1</sup> General Smith's Letter, *Ibid.* 742.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, *ut supra*, p. 744 - 750.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 755 - 790.



plunder of Tanjore, offered a sum of money in lieu of it to the troops. His offer was not satisfactory ; and a disagreeable and acrimonious correspondence had taken place. By concluding a peace, before the reduction of the fort, any allowance to the army was a matter of gratuity, not of right.<sup>1</sup>

The Presidency were struck, as they say, with "alarm," when, expecting every hour to hear of the fall of Tanjore, they were accosted with the news of the conclusion of a peace. They expressed the greatest dissatisfaction with the terms, which ought, in their opinion, to have been nothing less than the surrender of the fort at discretion. The terms were not only inadequate ; but no security, they said, was provided for the execution of them such as they were. On this account, they held it necessary to keep themselves prepared as for immediate war. Orders were sent out to give up Vellum without further instructions. The expectation was entertained, that the Raja would not be exact to a day in the delivery of the money and jewels he had agreed to resign. This happened. The want of punctuality was pronounced a breach of the treaty ; the guns had not yet been drawn out of the batteries ; and the troops were under the walls of Tanjore : the fort of Vellum, and the districts of Coiladdy and Elangad, were demanded : a renewal of hostilities was threatened as the only alternative : the helpless Raja could do nothing but comply.<sup>2</sup>

In averting from themselves the effects of this disapprobation, the General stated, that he communicated to Omdut ul Omrah the progress of the siege, and the great probability of success : that he had no control over the negotiation, and was bound by his instructions to desist from hostilities the moment the Nabob desired : on the other hand, Omdut ul Omrah affirmed, that he took not a step without consulting the General ; that the troops were under the greatest apprehension on account of the rains which had begun ; that when the breach was partly made, he stated the terms to which the Raja had yielded declaring that he would not accept them, if the fall of the place were assured ; that the General replied, he could not say he *would* take the place, but he would endeavour to

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<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 827.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 930, 931.



BOOK V. take it ; that being asked his opinion, whether the Raja  
 CHAP. IV. would give such terms as he now offered, if the siege were  
 1771. unsuccessful, the General said, "My opinion is, that in  
 that case he will give you nothing, but if he does he is a  
 great fool ;" that when asked if he would guarantee equi-  
 valent terms in case the enterprise miscarried, he repelled  
 the proposal ; that when peace was then held up to his  
 view, as what in that case appeared the most politic choice,  
 he replied, "It was well ; it was at the Nabob's option."<sup>1</sup>

Before all things were settled with Tanjore, the Nabob  
 made application for the Company's forces to reduce the  
 two Marawar Polygars. The Governor and Council, in  
 their letter upon this to the Court of Directors, make the  
 following pertinent remarks ; "It is well worthy of obser-  
 vation that Marawar and Nalcooty are the two Polygars  
 whom the Raja of Tanjore attacked in the beginning of the  
 year, asserting their dependence on his government ; while  
 the Nabob claimed the right of protecting them, as tri-  
 butaries to the government of Trichinopoly. It was in  
 this cause that the late Plenipotentiary<sup>2</sup> took the field of  
 controversy ; asserted the Nabob's pretensions to us, who  
 did not deny them ; exaggerated the outrage of the Raja  
 of Tanjore in taking arms against them : and extolled their  
 obedience and submission to the Nabob's government :  
 and he will say, he *compelled* us to vindicate the Nabob's  
 dignity. What honours are due to the minister's zeal for  
 his *friend's* cause ! Mark now the reasoning of that *friend* :  
 the Raja humbled ! Marawar and Nalcooty, from obedient  
 dependants, become immediately dangerous and ungo-  
 vernable delinquents ; and there can be no safety to the  
 Nabob's government unless they are reduced."<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding the contradiction which the Presidency  
 thus remarked in the pretexts of the Nabob, they con-  
 sented, without any difficulty in this case, to undertake  
 the expedition. The season of the rains of necessity de-  
 layed their operations ; but in the meantime inquiries  
 were made ; terms were settled with the Nabob ; and the  
 army was kept ready at Trichinopoly, the nearest of the  
 stations to the place of attack.

The Nabob imputed no other crime to the Marawars,

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, pp. 803, 857.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Lindsay.

<sup>3</sup> Tanjore Papers, ut supra, p. 1082.

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except their not sending troops to the late war upon Tanjore, and not paying the money which he exacted of them. And the Presidency acknowledged that he had no right over them whatsoever, but that right of oppression, which is claimed by the strong man over the weak. The reason for concurring with the Nabob in his desire to attack them, was, that the Nabob, by his ill-usage, had made them his enemies. They concurred, they said, "not to gratify the Nabob's revenge on those Polygars; but because, if they were not originally and naturally, he has made them his enemies; and therefore it is necessary they should be reduced. It is necessary; or it is good policy they should. We do not say it is altogether just; for justice and good policy are not often related."<sup>1</sup>

The objects, however, of the Nabob and of the Company were somewhat different. The ardent passion of the Nabob was to destroy every creature who bore any rule in the country, and place the whole under his own immediate authority. The intention of the Company was by no means to proceed to "the total extirpation of the Polygars; but only to reduce them to such a state of dependence, by seizing their forts and strong-holds, as might prevent their being troublesome in future."<sup>2</sup>

The Nabob's application for reduction of the Marawars was made at the beginning of November, 1771; at the beginning of December, when the concurrence and views of the Presidency were understood, he recommended, if not a dereliction, at any rate a suspension of the design, for fear of the Mahrattas; and at the beginning of March, 1772, he renewed his application for undertaking the expedition. On the 12th of May, a force consisting of 120 artillery-men, 400 European infantry, three battalions of sepoys, six battering cannon, a body of the Nabob's cavalry, and two of his battalions of sepoys, marched from Trichinopoly, accompanied by Omdut ul Omrah, who was deputed by his father to conduct all operations, not military, connected with the expedition. They arrived, having met with no opposition, at Ramnadaporam, the capital of the greater Marawar, on the 28th. The batteries were opened in the morning of the 2nd of April, and a practicable

<sup>1</sup> Tanjore Papers, ut supra, p. 969, combined with p. 1085, par. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 1081.

BOOK V. breach was effected before the evening. This time a bar-  
 CHAP. IV. gain had been made with the Nabob, that he should not  
 1771. forestall the wishes of his allies, by the precipitate conclusion of a peace. Terms were, however, offered both by Omdut ul Omrah and the General, which, notwithstanding their inadequate means of resistance, the people of the Polygar refused. The fort was assaulted the same evening, and carried with the loss of only one European and two sepoys killed. The Polygar, a minor of only twelve years of age, with his mother, and the Dewan, were taken in the place ; and soon reduced to a situation which extorted the compassion of Englishmen. The Nabob bargained for the plunder by a sum of money to the troops.<sup>1</sup>

The Nabob's troops, before the 15th of June, were put in possession of all the forts in great Marawar ; and on the 16th, the army began its march toward the other principality of that name. The Polygar had betaken himself to a strong-hold, named Kala-Koil, or Carracoil, surrounded by thick woods, which they approached on the morning of the 23rd. An English officer, with a detachment of the army, was sent to approach by a road on the opposite side, with a hope, either of drawing off some of the enemy's attention, or of finding an opportunity to enter by surprise. In the meantime submissive offers arrived from the Polygar. To guard against any stratagem to amuse, the advance of the troops was not interrupted till the morning of the 25th, when Omdut ul Omrah gave the General notice that peace was concluded, and requested that orders might be sent to stop the detachment. The orders, it seems, were intrusted to the Polygar's vakeels ; the Polygar's vakeels, it is said, used not the requisite diligence ; at any rate the sending of the orders was unhappily if not criminally mismanaged ; the detachment advanced ; found the Polygar reposing upon the security of the treaty, and totally off his guard ; with scarcely any resistance it entered the place, and the Polygar was killed while endeavouring to escape at one of the gates. The Nabob, here too, gave a sum of money in redemption of the plunder. And these sums became the subject of immediate animosities and disputes, among

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 1081—1083, and 998.



the parties by whom pretensions to a share of them were advanced.<sup>1</sup>

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The settlement of the territory was rendered difficult, by excess of misgovernment. The people of the country, who had facilitated the conquest by remaining at their ploughs, and who expected equal indulgence under one despot as another, were turned out of their lands, and took arms all over the country. "I must represent to you," said the English officer, who was left to support Omdut ul Omrah, (these are the words of a letter addressed to the Council,) "that the settling this country in the manner expected by the Nabob, requires extremities of a shocking nature. When we are marching, we find all over the country most villages abandoned by the men, there remaining in them only women and children, who, probably if the Nabob persists in this undertaking, must, with other poor innocents, become a sacrifice to this conquest. For, if any of our baggage remain behind, it is usually taken; our parties and stragglers are attacked. This is done by the inhabitants of some village or other. Those villages being pointed out to me, I cannot pass the outrage without punishment; and not finding the objects on which my vengeance should fall, I can only determine it by reprisals; which will oblige me to plunder and burn those villages; kill every man in them; and take prisoners the women and children. Those are actions which the nature of this war will require: for, having no enemy to encounter, it is only by severe examples of that kind, that we may expect to terminate it, so as to answer the end proposed."<sup>2</sup>

Complaining, that they were left without any specific instructions by the Court of Directors, that they were commanded generally to support the Nabob in all his pretensions, that they were blamed as not having given him a sufficient support, that they were bullied by the Plenipotentiaries to support him more than they could believe was either expedient or safe, the Governor and Council alleged that they were led on by that friend and ally from one step to another, without knowing where to stop, and without being able to make those reservations in favour of the Company which the interests of the Company ap-

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, pp. 1083—1085, 1006, 1037.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 1058.



BOOK V. peared to require. In this manner had Tanjore been hum-  
 CHAP. IV. bled and fleeced : in this manner the two Marawars had  
 1772. been conquered, and delivered up as a dominion to the  
 Nabob. It must be allowed, that except for a little time  
 when he first demanded the attack on Tanjore, the Pre-  
 sidency had shown themselves abundantly forward to  
 second, or rather to excite the Nabob's ardour for con-  
 quest of the minor states. The Nabob had only one scrup-  
 ple, the fear of their conquering for themselves. The  
 declarations, however, of the Presidency, of the Directors,  
 and of the King's minister plenipotentiary, the interpreta-  
 tions of the treaty of Paris, and especially the recent ex-  
 ample in the surrender of the Marawars, raised up a hope  
 in his Highness that the time was at last arrived when  
 the long-desired possession of Tanjore might be fully ac-  
 quired.

In a conference with the President about the middle of  
 June, 1773, the Nabob brought complaint, that there was  
 now due from Tanjore about ten lacs of rupees, that the  
 Raja had applied to the Mahrattas and to Hyder for a body  
 of troops, and had encouraged the Colleries to ravage part  
 of the Carnatic territory : and intimated his intention of  
 subduing him ; all which he desired the President to con-  
 sider of.<sup>1</sup>

After a few days, at another conference, "the Nabob ex-  
 pressed his earnest desire that the expedition should be  
 undertaken ; spoke much of his friendship to the Com-  
 pany ; and to show his regard for them, was willing, in  
 case of success, to give them ten lacs of pagodas."<sup>2</sup>

As the question immediately occurred, what, in case  
 the expedition was undertaken, was to be expected from,  
 or done with, their neighbours, Hyder, and the Mahrattas ;  
 a curious change appeared in the sentiments of the Nabob.  
 A friendship, he said, must be established between him  
 and Hyder ; for notwithstanding all that he had done to  
 procure for the Mahrattas the benefit of English assist-  
 ance, "yet he found they were not fair and open towards  
 him at Poonah ;"<sup>3</sup> and that whether he reduced Tanjore or

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 1107.

<sup>2</sup> President's Report to the Select Committee, Papers, ut supra, p. 1108.

<sup>3</sup> His not getting them the assistance from the English, he represented as  
 the cause of their want of friendship, since they believed (of course he had  
 told them) that, "he had got the entire control of the whole English nation,  
 and could make them do as he pleased." Ibid.

did not reduce it, they would still come against him when it suited their affairs ; that by God's blessing, however, if he and Hyder were joined, they would, with the assistance of the English, keep the Mahrattas effectually on the other side of the Kistnah."<sup>1</sup>

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On the 22nd of June, the question underwent deliberation in the Select Committee. As to the complaint about the moneys unpaid, the Committee pass it over as a matter of slight importance. And as to the other complaint, that the Raja was looking to the neighbouring powers for support against the Nabob, of which they had before them no satisfactory proof, they were constrained to confess, that, if it were true, he would not be to blame. "That the Nabob," they say, "has constantly had in view the design of conquering Tanjore, will not admit of a doubt. We are firmly persuaded, that his chief motive for concluding peace with the Raja, at a time when our troops were upon the point of getting possession of the place, arose from his jealousy lest the Company purposed at a convenient opportunity to take the country from him. By that expedition, however, he obtained what he earnestly wished for, namely, the removal of that restraint which he thought himself under, by the Company's guarantee of 1762."

The Committee next record a solemn declaration, that the treaty, which was then concluded, left the Raja at the mercy of the Nabob, and bound, by a sense of self-preservation, to seek for protection against him in every quarter. "We then expressed our firm opinion, that the peace, concluded *without the intervention of the Company*, would not be considered by the Raja as any security to him ; and that he would avail himself of the first opportunity of freeing himself from *his apprehensions of the Nabob*. The intelligence communicated to us by the Nabob, of the Raja's application to the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali for assistance, is, in some measure, confirmed by the advices transmitted to us by Mr. Mostyn from Poonah :<sup>2</sup> Neither is the conduct of the Raja, in this in-

<sup>1</sup> President's Report to the Select Committee, Papers, ut supra, p. 1108.

<sup>2</sup> The author of the Defence of Lord Pigot (Introd. p. 63) says, that by the Nabob, people were employed to personate the Raja's vakeels at Poonah ; that letters were fabricated ; and all sorts of artifice employed to mislead the Company's servants. The Presidency are often complaining that the Nabob's

BOOK V. stance, to be wondered at. The apprehensions he before  
 CHAP. IV. had, have been increased by the publication of the Nabob's  
 1773. intention of reducing him; which has gained credit all  
 over the country. He knows that, in our present situation, we cannot interfere in the disputes between him and the Nabob; that the Nabob did not even allow his vakeel to visit the late President. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising, that the Raja should endeavour to strengthen himself, by every means in his power, to enable him to withstand any attempts of the Nabob against him."<sup>1</sup>

That the Presidency had reason to pass over in silence, or at least with neglect, the complaints of the Nabob, respecting the payment of the Raja's debt, sufficiently appears from the statement of the facts. Of fifty lacks, exacted as the compensation for peace, twelve lacks and a half were paid down. By mortgaging jewels and land, to the Dutch at Negapatnam, and the Danes at Tranquebar, he had contrived to pay the remainder, together with eight lacks for the peshcush of two years, leaving a balance of only ten lacks upon the whole.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding the absence of criminality on the part of the Raja, the Presidency resolved that they ought to destroy him. "It is evident," they say, "that in the present system,<sup>3</sup> it is dangerous to have such a power in the heart of the province: for, as the Honourable Court have been repeatedly advised unless the Company can engage the Raja to their interest, by a firm promise of support in all his just rights, we look upon it as certain, that, should any troubles arise in the Carnatic, whether from the French or a country enemy, and present a favourable opportunity of freeing himself from his apprehensions of the Nabob, he would take part against him, and at such a time might be a dangerous enemy in the south. The propriety and expediency, therefore, of embracing the present

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letters of intelligence state always a set of facts exactly calculated to support the point, whatever it is, at which the Nabob is at that moment driving,

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 1117.

<sup>2</sup> See the Letter from the Dutch to the Nabob (Ibid. 1273; Defence of Lord Pigot, Introd. 64.

<sup>3</sup> By "present system," they mean the orders from England to support the Nabob, as absolute sovereign, in all his pretensions; which held their hands from interfering to protect the Raja.



opportunity of reducing him entirely, before such an event takes place, are evident.”<sup>1</sup>

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Never, I suppose, was the resolution taken to make war upon a lawful sovereign, with the view of “reducing him entirely,” that is, stripping him of his dominions, and either putting him and his family to death, or making them prisoners for life, upon a more accommodating principle. We have done the Raja great injury. We have no intention to do him right. This constitutes a full and sufficient reason for going on to his destruction. Such is the doctrine; the practical improvement is obvious. Do you wish a good reason for effecting any body’s destruction? First do him an injury sufficiently great, and then if you destroy him, you have, in the law of self-defence, an ample justification?<sup>1</sup>

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In the opinion of the Presidency, no danger attended the operations required for the destruction of the Raja. As to Hyder, he had too much business on his hands, and knew his own interest too well, to make the English just now his enemies on account of the Raja. With regard to the Mahrattas, they were sure to invade the Carnatic, whenever they could expect to do so with any success; and that would happen neither sooner nor later on account of the reduction of Tanjore.<sup>2</sup>

The next point to consider was, the conditions upon which the Nabob should be accommodated with the destruction of the Raja, and the transfer of his dominions. The first condition was, that the Nabob should advance cash, or good bills, sufficient for the expense of the expedition. The second was, that all sorts of necessaries, excepting military stores, should be amply provided by the Nabob. The third was, that instead of paying for 7,000 sepoy, he should henceforth pay for 10,000. The condition, which the Presidency endeavoured before the first war to obtain, but which they afterwards gave up, that of reserving the disposal of Tanjore to the Court of Directors; and the maxim laid down by the Directors, and recognised by the Presidency, in the case of the Marawars, viz. that it was for the interest of the Company to leave the minor chiefs in the Carnatic totally defenceless, as likely to aid the Nabob in those schemes of independence which he

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 1117.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 1117.



BOOK V. incessantly cherished ; were on this occasion totally neglected.  
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The Nabob, in these cases, was accustomed to press his project eagerly, as long as he found the Presidency reluctant or undetermined ; as soon as he found them engaged, and warm in the project, to manifest something of indifference or aversion. So it happened, on the present occasion. The Nabob, after several conferences, told the President, "he would not be too pressing upon the expedition's being undertaken, without it suited the Company's affairs." The Presidency, however, were in a very different disposition ; they were determined, and impatient, to begin the operations immediately.<sup>1</sup>

The Nabob, without much difficulty, accepted the conditions, on which the Presidency were eager to make for him the conquest of Tanjore ; and it was agreed, that no peace should be concluded with the Raja, unless it should be found to be absolutely impossible to effect his destruction. The general was furnished with his instructions on the 5th of July. The Nabob bargained with the troops, by a sum of money, for the plunder of Tanjore, if the place should be taken by storm. And on the 3rd of August the army marched from Trichinopoly.

They encamped, after a skirmish, within a short distance of Tanjore, on the 6th of August. On the 13th, the following letter was received from the Raja. "The friendship and support offered by the English to this country is a matter of universal celebration and report among all the Mahratta and Rajapoot nations, as well as others. We have quietly submitted to the hard terms imposed on us by the Nabob ; and have given him all that, by these means, he required. Some deficiency happened in the re-

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 1122, 1125. There is a secret history in many of the proceedings of the Company's servants, which it is not possible to bring forward with such evidence as history admits, and which, except in a very general manner, it is not within the province of history to trace. Such articles of evidence as present themselves may be submitted for consideration. The Author of the History and management of the East India Company, than whom no man was better acquainted with the secrets of Madras, and who, though he is a prejudiced and unfair, is not a mendacious writer, says, (p. 219) that the crime of the Raja was his sending to borrow money of the Dutch ; and had he pursued the plan of borrowing at Madras "with more constancy, and to a much larger extent, the GREAT FOLKS at Madras might have had an interest in overlooking, for some time longer, his designs. But Tulja-ji, though not more faithless, was less prudent than his father, Pretaupa Sing, who had always an expert agent at Madras to negotiate a loan, when he wished to obtain a favour."

venues of the mortgaged lands; for the payment of the sums so deficient, as well as the last year's peshcush (though the latter had not yet become due) I borrowed of the Soucars; and having engaged with them also for an additional sum, to discharge what was due to the young Nabob and other lesser accounts, I took bills for the whole amount, and sent them to the Nabob; who, having protested my bills,<sup>1</sup> has set on foot an expedition against me. Considering that no deviation of conduct can by any means be laid to my charge, and that I have fulfilled my engagements in respect of the payments I agreed to, I am confident you can never consent to this measure. Some offence should surely be proved upon me, before an expedition be undertaken against me; without any show of equity, to wage an unjust war against me, is not consistent with reason. This charitable country is the support of multitudes of people; if you, Sir, will preserve it from destruction, you will be the most great, glorious, and honoured of mankind. I am full of confidence, that you will neither do injustice yourself, nor listen to the tale of the oppressor. I only desire a continuance of that sup-

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<sup>1</sup> This transaction is explained in the following manner, by the Author of the "Defence of Lord Pigot." (Introd. p. 64.) "It happened that one Comera, a dubash of the virtuous Mr. Benfield, was at Tanjore, when the Nabob threatened a second visit. This Comera, servant of Mr. Benfield, was employed in lending money on mortgages. To him the Raja addressed himself; through him, he mortgaged to Mr. Benfield some districts which had been formerly mortgaged to the Nabob; and obtained from Comera bills on his master, Mr. Benfield, payable at Madras, for the twelve lacks which, by the treaty of 1771, were still to be paid. But it was not the intention of the Nabob to receive this last instalment. His confidence in the servants of the Company was increased. And he now determined at all events to get possession of Tanjore. He therefore sent for the dubash, and, by proper application, prevailed on him to deny that he gave the draughts: by proper applications he raised unexpected scruples in the breast of the delicate Mr. Benfield. Though he now avows that he has mortgages to a considerable amount in the Tanjore country; yet then, in a more enlightened moment, he discovered that it was his duty, as a servant obedient to the orders of the Company, to reject any proposal of lending money on mortgages. He does not, indeed, deny that the bills were drawn on him: he allows them to have been drawn, and actually sent to the Nabob: so far he contradicts his agent. But he seems not to know who it was that drew them. His own servant, Comera, dwindles, in his account, into an undescribable creature without a name; a black man to the southward, with whom the virtuous Mr. Benfield had, indeed, some mercantile concerns. In this statement, the facts of the drawing of the bills, and of their not being accepted by Mr. Benfield, are established. For the remaining points we have only the authority of the writer, and the mode of gaining a delicate point at Madras; the writer is, it is to be remembered, a partizan; but the mode of gaining points at Madras, are notorious, habitual, and altogether concordant with the assertion.



BOOK V. port which this country has formerly experienced from  
 CHAP. IV. the English, and you will reap the fame so good an action  
 deserves." <sup>1</sup>

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Ground was broken before Tanjore, late on the evening of the 20th of August; and a party was advanced to a commanding spot within 500 yards of the walls. On the 23rd, the engineers had run their parallels to the destined extent, but had not time to erect a redoubt which was intended to secure their left. On the morning of the 24th the enemy sallied in a considerable party, and attacked the trenches with musketry. They retired upon the brisk advance of the grenadiers; but not without some loss to the English assailants. On the 27th, in the morning, the batteries were opened. About the same time the Presidency received from Mr. Mostyn, at Poonah, a letter, to say, that a dispute between the Peshwa's government, and that of Berar, afforded present occupation to the Mahrattas, and removed the danger of interruption to the expedition against Tanjore. The approaches were made, and the breaching-batteries opened, early in the morning of the 14th of September. On the 16th, a passage of twelve feet wide was completed across the wet ditch which surrounded the walls; and the breach was so considerable, that the enemy expected the assault by day-light the next morning, when 20,000 fighting men were prepared to defend the breach. This hour being permitted to pass, they expected no further attempt till the evening; but when the sun was in the meridian, and intensely hot, and the garrison had mostly retired to obtain a little refreshment and repose, the English troops were drawn out, without noise, to the assault. The success of the stratagem was complete. The troops entered with scarcely any resistance, or any loss. And the Raja and his family were taken prisoners in the fort.<sup>2</sup>

The Dutch had received the seaport town of Nagore

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 1177. The tone of the Raja's letter is indisputable; his assertions with regard to matters of fact are as much, or rather as little valuable, as those of the Nabob.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 1197.—1218. In giving an account, the next day, of the capture of the place, the English General writes to the Presidency: "The situation of the Raja is truly pitiable, and likewise Monajce's (the Generalissimo); I do therefore hope, as the place has fallen by the English arms, that the Honourable Board will exert their influence with his highness, that those prisoners may be treated agreeably to the rank they once held in this country." Ibid. p. 1218.

and its dependencies, in assignment for the money which they had lent to the Raja of Tanjore. It was the wish, neither of the English, nor of the Nabob, that they should enjoy the advantage of retaining these possessions. The first pretence made use of was, that assistance had been lent to the Raja against the late expedition. Before the troops withdrew from Tanjore, a letter was written by the Nabob to the Presidency, recording the complaint, and demanding assistance to punish the offenders. It was also necessary to send information of the charge to the Dutch. They utterly denied the facts; and, as there appears to have been nothing to prove them, the charge was permitted to drop. Another resource remained. The Dutch had purchased Nagore. Upon this the Presidency gravely and solemnly declare: "As the Raja of Tanjore held his lands of the Nabob in fee, he could not, agreeably to the feudal system, which prevails all over India, alienate any part of this country to any other power, without the consent of his liege lord, the ruler of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut."<sup>1</sup> Upon this foundation, they felt no scruple in joining with the Nabob to make war upon the Dutch. Yet it is abundantly certain, that such an idea as that of "land held in fee" could hardly enter into the mind of a native Indian, even in the way of imagination and conception. Such a thing as a feudal system or a liege lord, never had a moment's existence in India, nor was ever supposed to have, except by a few pedantic, and half-lettered Englishmen, who knew little more of the feudal system than the name. If this doctrine were true, the English had originally no just title, either to Calcutta or Madras. When they obtained the one from the Subahdar of Bengal, he was the vassal of the Mogul; when they obtained the other from the Nabob of the Carnatic, he was the vassal of Nizam al Mulk, the Subahdar of the Deccan. Besides, the Presidency themselves had, only two years before, declared that no such thing as feudality existed in India; that the only right of one state over another was power; that the stronger uniformly exacted tribute of the weaker;

<sup>1</sup> Consultation of the Governor and Council, 23rd Sept., 1773; Papers, ut supra, p, 1226.—M. This part of the argument seems to have been suggested by the ministerial representative, Sir Robert Harland.—Papers, 1225.—W.



BOOK V. but that legal dependence there was certainly none.<sup>1</sup> The  
 CHAP. IV. troops advanced. The Dutch made a solemn protest  
 1773. against the injustice; but they were not in a condition  
 to make effectual resistance; and they prudently retired.  
 The Nabob complained of the cold-heartedness and supine-  
 ness of his English friends, because they would not support  
 him in attacking the ancient possessions of the Dutch. At  
 length it was arranged, that the Dutch should be re-im-  
 bursed by the Nabob the money which they had advanced  
 to the Raja; and that they should give up to the Nabob  
 the lands and jewels which they had received in payment  
 or in pledge.<sup>2</sup>

When the former war with Tanjore was projected, the  
 Nabob, though he would not consent that the English  
 should garrison Tanjore, if taken, yet proposed that he  
 himself should place in it a garrison of Europeans. This  
 time he would not consent to even so much, but insisted  
 upon it, that Tanjore should be garrisoned with his own  
 troops.<sup>3</sup> The Presidency so far attended to humanity, and  
 the suggestion of their own general, as to express their  
 wishes to the Nabob for humane treatment of the Raja  
 and his family. But they were satisfied with very slight  
 evidence of the gratification of those desires. The wretched  
 Raja and his mother addressed a letter, each of them, to  
 the Nabob; telling him that they were remarkably well  
 treated. These letters were shown to the Presidency; and  
 the Presidency tell the Directors, "We have much satis-  
 faction to learn, by letters from the Raja and his mother  
 to the Nabob, communicated to us, that they are treated  
 with much attention and humanity in their confinement."<sup>4</sup>  
 The Nabob could never be at a loss, upon such admirable  
 terms as these, for a proof of anything which he could pos-  
 sibly desire.

Intelligence of the dethronement of the Raja, and of the  
 transfer of his dominions to the Nabob, was not delayed  
 by the Company's servants. It was received in London,  
 with all the documents and details, on the 26th of March,  
 1774. Three weeks elapsed before the departure of the  
 last ships of the season: but the Directors made no remarks

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Papers ut supra, p. 1226, 1273, 1276, 1281, 1290, 1333, 1361.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 1236.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 1336.

upon the revolution in Tanjore. Upon so great a change effected in the state of their dominions, without advice or authority, the sovereign body, as if they had no opinion to express, that is, were incapable for the moment of executing the functions of government, maintained absolute silence. In the course of the summer, various despatches arrived, describing the subsequent measures to which the transfer of the Tanjore kingdom had given rise. No observations were elicited from the Court of Directors.<sup>1</sup> During the winter of 1774, and more than two months of 1775, the same silence was observed; and, if acquiescence might be taken for approbation, the actors in India had reason to congratulate themselves upon a favourable construction of their conduct.

The secret history at that time of the East India House, that is, the history of the interests of the individuals by whom it was governed, even if it could be given upon such evidence as history confides in, which secret history seldom can be, would not, on the present occasion, be of any importance. The only point which deserves our attention, is the general result; that the East India Company is a governing body so constituted, no matter by what secret

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<sup>1</sup> An explanation is offered of the non-interposition of the Court in the Tract published under their authority, "The Restoration of the King of Tanjore considered," in reply to the "Statement of Facts," and which contains the view of the case derived from the documents repeatedly referred to. It is admitted, that the situation of affairs in England lessened the attention of the Directors to political concerns in India. In 1769, occurred the necessity of the renewal of their engagements with the Government of Great Britain, in the midst of great pecuniary difficulties. In 1771, it became necessary to reduce the rate of dividend, and the court was engaged in ascertaining the cause of the distress, and investigating the conduct of those to whom it was imputed. New regulations were the perpetual subject of discussion by General Courts and Committees of Proprietors. The succeeding winter produced other inquiries. Two Committees of the House of Commons sat at the same time, and their proceeding gave full employment to the attention of the Court. In June, 1773, the Constitution and Government of the Company, both in England and in Bengal, were greatly altered; and the considerations consequent upon the change were numerous and important, so that the instructions to the gentlemen appointed by parliament, were not delivered to them before March, 1774. In that month arrived the news of the second expedition and capture of Tanjore; but the consultations required to explain the measures of the Council, were not received till August, when the Court lost no time in preparing papers necessary for an attentive investigation. Silence, therefore, was not observed through the winter of 1774, for those papers were submitted to His Majesty's Ministers in January, 1775. On the 27th of March, the intended paragraphs of a letter to Madras were laid before the Secretary of State, returned with his concurrence on the 7th of April, and signed on the 12th of the same month. Although, therefore, the efficiency of the system to conduct, at the same period, great interests both in England and in India, may be called in question; yet there is no reason whatever to insinuate that the Court of Directors disregarded or acquiesced in the transactions in Tanjore.—W.

BOOK V. agency in the minds of individuals, as to be incapable of  
 CHAP. IV. giving, or capable of withholding to give, for nearly twelve  
 1773. months, an opinion on one of the most important  
 transactions to which their authority and power could be  
 applied.

There was no little division, at that time, in the councils of the East India House. Early in the year 1775, the question was agitated of a successor to the Governor of Fort St. George. The Court of Directors, by a small majority, declared for Mr. Rumbold. A Court of Proprietors, called soon after to deliberate upon the subject, reversed their decision, by a small majority, and made choice of Lord Pigot.

This ancient Governor had returned to England about the end of the year 1763; and had been successively raised to the dignities of a baronet, and of an Irish peer.<sup>1</sup> By the weight of his fortune, by his connexion with individuals, and the reputation of his services, he enjoyed a great influence in the Company; and, after a residence of twelve years in England, discovered an inclination, or a wish, to resume the burden of the Presidentship at Madras, and to rival the glory of Clive, by introducing the same reforms under the Presidency of Madras, as that illustrious Governor had introduced in Bengal. The decision in the Court of Proprietors gave the ascendancy to his party in the Court of Directors, and the gratification of his ambition was no longer delayed.

Respecting the revolution in Tanjore there was no decision in the mind of Pigot; and no sooner was the ascendancy of his party determined, than it also disappeared in the East India House. The treaty of 1762, which gave the Raja security for his throne, was the act, and a favourite act, of Governor Pigot. The subversion of it became the subject of severe condemnation in the Company's Courts. There was in the transaction, it is not to be doubted, enough to interest the feelings of any man who looked upon it with partial, or even impartial eyes; and to account for the zeal of Lord Pigot upon the most honourable motives. That his favourite dubash, Moodoo Kistna,

<sup>1</sup> He had gone out a writer to Madras in 1736, and succeeded Mr. Saunders as Governor in 1754, in which appointment he continued until the end of 1763.—W.



with whom he maintained a correspondence in England, had rented lands to a great extent from the Tanjore Raja ; that he was offended with the Nabob, who, after appointing him his agent in England, had failed in those remittances which made the place of agent desirable ; and that an auction between two princes for the favour of the powerful servants of the Company promised a golden harvest to the relatives and connexions of the Directors, were allegations thrown out by the enemies of the new resolutions ;<sup>1</sup> allegations which, if they had general surmise, and even general presumptions in their favour, were unsupported by particular facts.<sup>2</sup>

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On the 12th of April, the very day on which the Court of Proprietors met to choose new Directors, the Court of Directors proceeded at last to declare their decision on the business of Tanjore, and to prescribe the rules of future operation.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding their ambiguous language, and still more ambiguous conduct, they declared that they had been perfectly uniform in two things ; in commanding that no addition should be made to the possessions either of themselves or the Nabob ; and in condemning the policy of placing Tanjore under the dominion of that ruler ; “ more especially,” they add, “ as they on the spot were of opinion, that, on account of oppressions exercised by the Nabob in his own dominions, and of his inveterate hatred to the King of Tanjore, the Tanjoreans would submit to any power whatever, rather than to the Nabob.” First they condemn, though after solemn thanks formerly given to the Governor who had carried it on, the war of 1771 ; declaring that though it would have been right to call the Raja to account for arrears of tribute, and to interpose between him and the Marawars, it was wholly unjustifiable to make war upon him when he offered to submit to the arbitration of the Company ; and still more “ on any account or pretence, or under any circumstances, to put the Nabob

<sup>1</sup> Hist. and Management of the E. I. C. chap. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Why, then, should these allegations be recorded ? There was quite enough in the nature of the occurrences to warrant their condemnation upon disinterested principles.—W.

<sup>3</sup> As mentioned in a preceding note, upon the authority of the official narrative, the despatch containing the decision of the Court had been finally prepared on the 27th March. The decision did not, therefore, come in with the new Directors.—W.



BOOK V. in possession of that Kingdom."<sup>1</sup> They complain, upon  
 CHAP. IV. this subject, of their servants, as sending them disingenu-  
 1775. ously incomplete information, and then taking their  
 measures without authority.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the second expedition, that in 1773 intended for the complete destruction of the Raja, they declare that it was founded upon pretences which were totally false; 1. as the Raja was not proved to have committed any offence; and, 2. as the destruction of him, instead of adding to the security of the Company, had only increased its dangers. They decree, therefore, that Mr. Wynch, their President, shall be removed from his office; that the members of their council shall be severely reprimanded; and, "unless their zeal for the interest of their employers shall manifest a proper sense of their lenity, that they shall certainly experience more rigorous marks of their resentment."<sup>3</sup>

After this retrospect of the past, the Directors immediately pen their regulations for the guidance of the future. They regarded two subjects; 1st, the restoration of the Raja of Tanjore; and, 2ndly, the management of the Company's own possessions, on the coast of Coromandel; that is, the Northern Circars, and the jaghire lands in the neighbourhood of Madras. "We are convinced," said the Directors, addressing the Council of Madras, "that success must, in a great measure, depend upon the wisdom of your councils, the integrity and firmness of your conduct, and in no small degree, upon the seasonable exertion of those peculiar abilities for which your Right Honourable President is so justly and eminently distinguished."

With regard to the King of Tanjore, the Presidency were first to provide security, by a proper guard, for the persons of him and his family; and next, but under certain conditions, to restore him to his dominions, as they existed in 1762. The conditions were, that he should receive a garrison of the Company's troops into the fort of Tanjore; assign lands for their maintenance; pay to the Nabob the peshcush of 1762: assist him with such troops alone as the Presidency shall join in requiring; form no treaty with

<sup>1</sup> General Letter to Fort St. George, 12th April, 1775; papers, ut supra, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 146—149.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 150, 151.

foreign powers, except in concurrence with the English rulers ; and neither directly nor indirectly furnish any assistance to their enemies. BOOK V.  
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For the better management of the Company's possessions, the Council were directed, "when affairs respecting Tanjore shall have been accommodated and finally adjusted," to form a committee, consisting of five members of the Council, who should make the circuit of the Northern Circars, and collect information of all those circumstances in the state of the country which government is chiefly interested in knowing ; and after this information should be gained, to take the proper steps for letting the lands during a term of years, on principles similar to those on which the lands had been let in Bengal. Respecting the jaghire, which the Nabob hitherto had rented under the allegation, that the appearance, presented to the people of the country, of the exemption of any part of his dominions from his immediate jurisdiction, would be injurious to his authority ; the Directors declared their dissatisfaction with the present arrangement, their determination to take the lands under their own control, unless the Nabob should submit to their conditions ; and they directed their servants in the meantime to let them to him, only from year to year.<sup>1</sup>

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Lord Pigot resumed the office of Governor of Fort St. George on the 11th of December, 1775. "Upon my arrival," says his Lordship, "I found a general reform was necessary in the settlement, to preserve the Company from ruin."<sup>2</sup> A "general reform" has many enemies ; and those, for the most part, very powerful ones. The injunctions of the Directors were to proceed immediately to the restoration of the Raja of Tanjore. It was, however, agreed that the communication should be made with all delicacy to the Nabob, to whom it was known that it would be displeasing in the highest possible degree. There was no expedient to which Oriental artifice could have recourse, which the Nabob left untried to ward off the blow. He endeavoured to make it appear that he had an undoubted right to the possession of Tanjore ; he magnified

<sup>1</sup> General Letter to Fort St. George, 18th April, 1775 ; papers, ut supra, p. 153—159.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Pigot's Narrative, &c. ; Defence of Lord Pigot, p. 83.

BOOK V. the merit of his services and attachment to the Company ;  
 CHAP. IV. he enlarged upon the disaffection of the Raja ; he claimed  
 1775. the support which the letter of the King of England, brought by Sir John Lindsay, had promised him ; he deprecated the policy adopted by the Company, of doing one thing by their servants in India, and the very reverse by their Directors in England, and declared that he was unable to understand them in this double capacity. He tried the tone of humility ; he tried that of audacity. He sought to affect their sympathy by reminding them of the many Englishmen to whom he was indebted, and whom, if stripped of Tanjore, he would be less able to pay : and of that confidence in their honour with which he had placed his residence, and that of his family, under the guns of Fort St. George. He offered to place an English garrison in the fort of Tanjore ; and only entreated, that the country might not be taken out of his hands, till the Company, who had proceeded upon partial information, should decide upon what he had to suggest.

The Council availed themselves of his offer to admit an English garrison into the fort of Tanjore ; because it enabled them at once to set the Raja at liberty, and guard his person. But they showed the Nabob that the commands of the Directors were peremptory in regard to the time of the restoration, and left them no liberty to grant the delay for which he applied. It seems to have been the expectation of the principal military officer belonging to the Presidency, Sir Robert Fletcher, that he should be the person by whom the immediate business of restoring the Raja should be performed. But when the President signified his intention of proceeding for that purpose to Tanjore in person, the Council voted unanimously, that the business should be placed in his hands ; and as the crop was on the ground, and the harvest approaching, that no time should be lost in giving possession of the country to the Raja.

Sir Robert Fletcher, however, though he had joined in the vote for sending the President, proposed another for sending along with him two other members, under express and particular instructions of the Board ; declaring that without this condition he would not have assented to the vote in favour of the President ; that the Board were not



justified in the delegation of undefined and unlimited powers, except in a case of extreme necessity : and that, if this measure were drawn into a precedent, the effect would be, to serve the corrupt interests of individuals at the expense of the public. The proposal was rejected by a majority of the Council ; but the President took with him by choice two members of the Council, and one of them a person who had voted for the deputation.

Lord Pigot set out on the 30th of March, and arrived at Tanjore on the 8th of April. On the 11th the restoration of the Raja was proclaimed. Instead of employing the troops of the Company to do nothing more than garrison the fort of Tanjore, the President got the Raja to request that they might be employed for the protection of the whole country. And instead of assigning revenue barely to defray their expenses, to save the trouble and dispute which accounts are apt to produce, he offered to give a neat sum to cover all expenses ; namely, four lacs of pagodas a year. On the 5th of May, Lord Pigot returned to Madras, and having laid before the Council a copious diary of his proceedings, with all the documents which belonged to them, received a vote of approbation, which, with regard to the general measures, was unanimous.

Mr. Paul Benfield was a servant of the Company in the civil department, and as yet in one of the lowest situations. He had betaken himself to more lucrative functions than the duties of his office ; and had become not only a favourite of the Nabob, but the principal agent, in what was at that time one of the first concerns in the settlement, the lending of money.

It appears that Mr. Benfield gave to Lord Pigot a general intimation of certain interests which he held in Tanjore, before the departure of that Lord for the restoration of the Raja, and received from him a general disavowal of any intention to injure his rights. Immediately after the restoration of the Raja was proclaimed, a letter from Mr. Benfield was delivered to Lord Pigot at Tanjore, in which he stated, that for money lent to the Nabob he had assignments upon the revenues of Tanjore, to the amount of 405,000 pagodas, equal to 162,000*l.* ; and for money lent to individuals in Tanjore, assignments upon the present



BOOK V. crop to the amount of 180,000 pagodas, equal to 72,000*l.* ;  
 CHAP. IV. making together the immense sum of 234,000*l.* lent by a  
 1776. junior servant of the Company, with a salary of a few hundred pounds a-year, and who was conspicuous, among other things, for keeping the finest carriages and horses at Madras.

Lord Pigot replied, that, in a case like this, he could do nothing more than lay the circumstances before the Board. Mr. Benfield expressed dissatisfaction that the powers of government were not immediately exerted to procure him all that he desired ; and he wrote to the Council, expressing his confidence that they would afford him "assistance to recover his property, while the Right Honourable President, under their commission, remained in authority over those countries." Certain Members of the Board were for proceeding immediately to consider the claims of Mr. Benfield. The majority, however, decided, that the consideration should be postponed till Lord Pigot's return.

A few days after the return of Lord Pigot to the Board, the application of Mr. Benfield was appointed for the subject of deliberation. Mr. Benfield was called upon for particulars and vouchers ; but vouchers Mr. Benfield was unable to produce. The transactions, he said, were registered in the books of the Cutcherry ; and the Nabob would acknowledge them. As for the books of the Cutcherry, they were never produced ; and as for the acknowledgment of the Nabob, there were two questions ; one, whether the assignments of the Nabob, if the debts were real, gave any right to the revenues of Tanjore, now restored to the Raja ; another, whether the whole demand and acknowledgment, taken together, were not a collusion between the Nabob and Benfield ; a studied fraud upon the Company and the Raja. For the debts, said to be due from individuals, which, in the specification had dwindled down to 30,000 pagodas, there was nothing to give but the word of Mr. Benfield himself. After due consideration, a majority of the Board came to the following decision : "That the Raja of Tanjore, being put in full possession and management of his country by the Company's express orders, it is the opinion of the Board that it is not in their power to comply with Mr. Benfield's request in any re-

spect, those claims on individuals, which bear the appearance of having no connexion with government, not being sufficiently explained to enable the Board to form an opinion thereon, and the assignments of the Nabob not being admissible.”

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This resolution was passed on the 29th of May. On the 3rd of June Mr. Brooke, one of the majority who had thrown out the claims of Mr. Benfield, entered a minute, in which he stated, that supposing Mr. Benfield to have *demande*d the assistance of the Council, he had voted against him ; if he had then, as now, understood that he only *requeste*d their assistance, he would have voted for him ; he, therefore, moved, that the Board should reconsider their vote on the claims of Mr. Benfield ; and gave his opinion, that the crop on the ground, at the time of the restoration of the Raja, was by the Company meant to belong to the Nabob. The vote for reconsideration was supported by the majority. On the 13th of June, the subject being resumed, a motion was made by Lord Pigot, that the vote of the 29th of May should be confirmed ; it was negatived by a majority of seven to five. On the following day Lord Pigot was proceeding to move that “all the claims of Mr. Benfield were *private* and not *public* concerns,” when a member of the Council claimed a right to priority. The claim of the member was founded upon the notice which he had given the preceding day of his intention to put certain motions. The claim of Lord Pigot was founded upon the custom of the Presidency, corroborated by convenience, that the President should possess the initiation of business. The claims were put to the vote, when the question was decided in favour of the member ; and he moved, that the crop sown during the time of the Nabob’s possession be declared the Nabob’s property, his assignments on it, therefore, good ; and that the Raja should be instructed to respect and to restore, if they had been disturbed, the pledges in corn which were held by Mr. Benfield. When all this was voted, the question of the President, whether the claims of Mr. Benfield were private or public, was finally considered. The majority thought them, “so far as they regard Mr. Benfield, private claims ; so far as they regard the Nabob’s assignments to Mr. Benfield, public.”



BOOK V. The following point was agitated next. On the 28th of  
CHAP. IV. June, the President opened a proposal for establishing a  
1776. factory at Tanjore. A motion to this effect was rejected  
by the majority on the 8th of July. As he could not obtain a factory, the President supposed that a resident would be useful. He moved that Mr. Russel, a member of the Council, and a closely connected friend of his own, should be appointed resident at Tanjore; and this was carried without much opposition.

Velore was the principal military station in the Carnatic, as a frontier fortress, in the line of invasion both to Hyder and the Mahrattas; it was, therefore, provided with the greatest number of troops, and regularly, as the post of honour, assigned to the officer second in command. Colonel Stuart, the officer second in command, thought proper to consider Tanjore, where a small number only of troops were required, as at this time the military station of principal importance in the province; he, therefore, claimed it as his right, and that claim the majority sustained.

Though liberty had been restored to the Raja, and his rights proclaimed, much was yet to be done to put the administration of the country fully in his hands. The struggle between the President and the majority in the Council now was, whether Colonel Stuart, who would manage the business agreeably to the views of the majority, or Mr. Russel, who would manage it agreeably to the views of the President, should have the opportunity of placing the administration in the hands of the Raja.

Mr. Russell was one of the gentlemen named by the Court of Directors to form one of the Committee of Circuit to explore the Circars; and this Committee was directed to proceed upon its mission, as soon as the final settlement of affairs in Tanjore should be effected. The majority laid hold of this circumstance; and voted, as well for the immediate departure of the Committee to the northern Circars, as that of Colonel Stuart to his command in Tanjore. The President insisted, that neither was there any necessity for precipitating the departure of the Committee, nor was the business of Tanjore settled; that the Raja, who believed that the interests which had dethroned him were now triumphant, and those which

restored him overthrown, was in a state of apprehension bordering upon despair. He proposed that, for the termination of this unfortunate struggle, two members of the Board, who were stationed at the out-settlements, and were not involved in the disputes, should be summoned to attend. This proposition was rejected. The President offered to be satisfied, if Mr. Russel was allowed to go to Tanjore for only a few days, to preserve the appearance of consistency in the proceedings of the Council, and to quiet the alarms of the Raja. This too was rejected.

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Hitherto the proceedings of both parties, whatever name they may deserve in point of wisdom or virtue, were regular in point of form. Only one alternative now remained for Lord Pigot; the majority was either to be obeyed, or their authority was to be resisted. Lord Pigot resolved to resist, and the method which he pursued was as follows :

He assumed that the President was an integrant part of the Council; that it was not competent to perform any acts of government without him; and that he had a right to withhold his concurrence from any propositions which the majority might urge. This was pretty nearly the same doctrine which had suggested itself to Mr. Hastings in Bengal; but the practical application was somewhat different.

On the 19th of August, it was moved that a copy of instructions for Colonel Stuart, prepared by the commanding officer, should be taken into consideration. The President declared that he would not put the question. The obstruction presented a question of importance; and the majority resolved to adjourn. The following day, the Council assembled, and the same motion was made. The President declared that he would not allow the question to be agitated at the Board. The majority, nevertheless, approved of the instructions, and prepared the draught of a letter to the officer at Tanjore, directing him to deliver over the command of the garrison to Colonel Stuart. The President declared that he would sign neither; affirmed that without his signature they could have no authority, and warned his opponents to desist. The minds of the majority were yet embarrassed, and they adjourned the Council for two days. On the 22nd of August, the day



BOOK V. on which they first assembled, the majority produced a  
 CHAP. IV. minute, in which they deny that the concurrence of the  
 1776. President is necessary to constitute an act of government ;  
 affirm that the vote of the majority constitutes an act of  
 government ; and that it tends to subvert the constitution,  
 for the President to refuse either to put a question,  
 or to carry into execution the decisions of the majority.  
 The President proposed, that questions of so much importance  
 should be left to the decision of their honourable  
 masters ; and that here, till their pleasure should be  
 known, both parties should allow the matter to rest.

This, too, was not agreeable to the wishes of the majority. They came to a resolution, that, as the President would not sign the instructions to Colonel Stuart, and the letter to the officer at Tanjore, a letter should be written to the Secretary, directing him to sign them in the name of the Council, and transmit them as authoritative instruments of government to the parties addressed.

The letter was written, and approved by all the gentlemen of the majority. They began to sign it in order, and two of them had already written their names, when Lord Pigot took, or snatched it out of the hand of the man who held it. He then took a paper out of his pocket, and said he had a charge to present against two members of the Board, and named the two who had just signed the letter which he had snatched.<sup>1</sup> The accusation was, that by signing orders to the Secretary to give instructions to Colonel Stuart, they had been guilty of an act subversive of the authority of government, and tending to introduce anarchy. By the standing orders of the Company, any member of the Council, against whom a charge was preferred, was not allowed to deliberate or vote on any of the questions relating to the charge. When the two accused members were excluded, the President had a majority by his own casting vote. It was therefore voted to suspend the members in question, and then the President had a permanent majority. After the vote of suspension, the Council

<sup>1</sup> It would appear from this account, that Lord Pigot had come prepared with the charge, in anticipation of what would happen ; but a particular narrative of the transaction, written by Mr. Floyer, one of the majority, to Mr. Orme, mentions, that whilst the letter was being written, the President retired from the Council to his own apartment, and after a short interval returned. It was in this interval that he prepared his charge. Orme Papers, No. 171.—W.

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adjourned to the following day which was the 23rd. The gentlemen of the former majority forbore to attend; but they sent by a public notary a protest, in which, beside denouncing the principal act of the following day, they, as the majority of the Board, declare themselves the governing body, and claim the obedience of the settlement. This protest was sent by the same agency to the commanders of his Majesty's troops, and to all persons holding any authority at Madras. In consequence of what he deemed so great an outrage, Lord Pigot summoned the Council again to meet at four o'clock, when they passed a vote, suspending the whole of the members who had signed the protest, and ordered Sir Robert Fletcher, the commanding officer, to be put under arrest, and tried by a Court martial.

The opponents were not behind in violence. They speedily assembled, declared themselves a Council vested with all the powers of government, and resolved to arrest the person of Lord Pigot, and confer the command of the army, Sir Robert Fletcher being ill, on Colonel Stuart.<sup>1</sup> The task of performing the arrest of Lord Pigot was devolved on the Colonel, who, by acquiescence, had accepted from him the command of the army. The greater part of the next day, the 24th, the Colonel passed in company, or in business, with his Lordship; breakfasted with him as well as dined; and having accepted an invitation to sup at his house, and made his arrangement to arrest him by the way, was in the carriage of Lord Pigot along with him, when it was surrounded and stopped by the troops.

As the point, for which all this confusion was created, was the extremely minute one, whether Mr. Russel should or should not go for a few days to Tanjore, it is not easy to believe, that something of importance did not remain at the bottom, which it was not the interest of the parties to disclose. One thing is certain, that the parties, and they had the best means of information, cast the most odious imputations upon one another, and charged the most cor-

<sup>1</sup> In examining afterwards the conduct of the parties, a question was raised about the time of this resolution to arrest Lord Pigot. It appeared to have been taken before the violence of Lord Pigot, in suspending the whole of the majority, and ordering the arrest of Sir Robert Fletcher. But the affidavits of the parties, who were prosecuted in England for the imprisonment of Lord Pigot, and which affidavits were not contradicted, affirmed, that the figure 8, indistinctly written and mistaken for 3, had been the source of the error; and that 8 o'clock, and not 3 p.m. was the time at which the resolution of the majority was taken.



BOOK V. rupt and dishonourable motives.<sup>1</sup> They were accused of  
 CHAP. IV. desiring to have an opportunity of enriching themselves,  
 1777. the one party by sharing in the revenues of the Raja, the  
 other by sharing in those of the Nabob.<sup>2</sup> The party who  
 espoused the views of the Nabob seem to have been afraid,  
 after the extremities on which they had ventured, to carry  
 their own resolutions into effect. They had voted that  
 the crop which was on the ground at the time of the  
 restoration belonged to the Nabob, and ought to follow the  
 assignments he had made; yet the Raja was not disturbed  
 in the possession of it;<sup>3</sup> and the debts, real or fictitious, to  
 Benfield, remained at the end of their administration still  
 undischarged.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The real character of the contest is not difficult to comprehend. It lay between the Raja of Tanjore and the Nawab, the latter never relinquishing his pretensions to the supremacy over the former, or his desire to get possession of the Revenues of Tanjore; the former maintaining his claim to independence. Compelled by the orders of the Court to abstain from the open assertion of his pretensions, the Nawab did all that he could to embarrass the proceedings of those intrusted with powers favourable to the cause of the Raja; and he found a strong party to adopt his sentiments with even more violence than himself. On the other hand, Lord Pigot and his adherents were equally intemperate in their support of the Raja; and, not content with effecting his restoration, treated the Nabob with indignity, threatening to remove him to Arcot, or place a guard upon his palace, and interdicting all communication between him and his friends in the service of the Company. These feelings of partisanship were no doubt exacerbated by interested motives: many of the Nawab's supporters and friends were his creditors to a very large amount—to that of nearly a million and a half sterling, and they could not be expected to view with indifference the loss of the revenues of Tanjore, upon which they had calculated for a considerable proportion of their security; that a few of them had corrupt inducements in advocating the Nawab's cause is very possible; and it is difficult to believe that Lord Pigot's personal visit to Tanjore, or the struggle for the office of Resident at that Court, was free from all wish to benefit by substantial proofs of the Raja's gratitude. In proportion as the dispute continued, it included a greater number of persons, until it comprehended most of the settlements of Madras; and the parties principally engaged in it were urged to extremities by the passions of their adherents as well as their own. That the insubordinate members of the Council intended the death of Lord Pigot was an absurd accusation, which, although resting on the verdict of a Coroner's inquest in Madras, was wholly untenable and unproven. The catastrophe, however, contributed, with the orders of the Court, to terrify all parties into temperance, as at an early period after the receipt of these orders, the Committee report that dissension had ceased. General Letter from Madras, 5th Feb. 1777.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Admiral Pigot declared, in the House of Commons, that his brother had been offered ten lacks of pagodas, and afterwards fifteen, a bribe, amounting to about £600,000 of English money, only to defer, and that for a short and specified time, the reinstatement of the Raja. See Parliamentary History for the 16th of April, 1779, and Dodsley's Annual Register, xxii.

<sup>3</sup> The claim was not abandoned, however, and in the beginning of 1777, a sort of compromise was effected with the Raja, who, although he refused to acknowledge any demand upon this account, assented to deposit in the Company's Treasury four lacs of Pagodas — £160,000, to await the Court's disposal. Only one fourth of this was realized at a date considerably subsequent to the agreement. MS. Records.—W.

<sup>4</sup> See their affidavit, Howell's State Trials, xxi. 1236.

They proceeded to the further violence of suspending all those members of the Council, who had voted with the President; but it does not appear that any harshness attended his confinement, or that he was not indulged with every freedom, consistent with the means necessary to prevent his resuming his place in the government.

When intelligence was brought to England of the violent act of the Council of Madras, it excited among the members of the Company, and still more in the nation at large, both surprise and indignation. In the Court of Directors, the party who defended, or at any rate attempted to apologize for the authors of the late revolution, were nearly equal to the party by whom they were condemned. But in a Court of Proprietors held on the 26th of March, 1777, a resolution was passed by a majority of 382 to 140, in which it was recommended to the Court of Directors to take the most effectual measures for restoring Lord Pigot to the full exercise of his authority, and for inquiring into the conduct of the principal actors in his imprisonment. In consequence of this proceeding, it was, on the 11th of April, carried by a casting vote in the Court of Directors, that Lord Pigot and his friends should be restored to the situations from which they had been improperly removed; that seven members of the Council, including the Commander in Chief, who were declared to have subverted the government by a military force, should be suspended from the service, and not restored without the immediate act of the Directors. But a vote of censure was at the same time passed on Lord Pigot, whose conduct in several instances was pronounced worthy of blame. The means were not yet exhausted of defeating this turn of affairs. Not only were impediments accumulated, and placed in the way; but a fresh set of resolutions were brought forward, importing the recall of both parties, as the only mode of accomplishing that fundamental investigation which the importance of the occasion required. These propositions, in favour of which the ministers were supposed to have exerted all their influence, were voted by a majority of 414 to 317, in a General Court on the 9th of May. The attention of Parliament was also attracted. Governor Johnstone, who was distinguished for the part which he had taken in discussions relative to Indian

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BOOK V. affairs, moved, on the 22nd of the same month, a series of  
 CHAP. IV. resolutions, highly approving the conduct of Pigot, and  
 1777. the measures which had been pursued for his restoration, while they condemned the proceedings of his enemies, and the motion for his recall. Almost all the questions of the English policy, relating to the affairs of the Carnatic, underwent discussion in a long and animated debate; which was closed by a vote of no more, notwithstanding ministerial influence, than ninety to sixty-seven, against the resolutions.

After these proceedings, a commission was prepared under the Company's seal, bearing date the 10 of June 1777, by which Lord Pigot was restored to his office; but he was at the same time directed, within one week after the despatch of the first ship, which, subsequent to the date of his restoration, should proceed from Madras, to deliver over the government to his successor; and either by that ship, or the first that should follow, to take his passage to England. The members of the Council who had concurred in displacing Lord Pigot were recalled; and the military officers, who had been chiefly instrumental in executing the arrest and confinement, were ordered to be tried by courts martial on the spot. Till inquiry should be made into the conduct of both parties in the recent scenes, when it would be seen which of the actors might deserve, and which might not deserve to be removed from the service, the Directors thought proper to form a temporary government; in which Sir Thomas Rumbold, after the departure of Lord Pigot, was to succeed to the chair John Whitehill to be second in council; and Major General Hector Munro, Commander of the Forces, to be third, without the power of any further advancement.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nothing was ever made of the inquiry. In October, 1789, the Government of Madras informed the Court that they found insuperable difficulties in obtaining information on which dependence could be placed. An advertisement had been published, inviting persons to depose on oath what they knew of the corruption of the parties: none had come forward. Application to the Raja and the Nawab was considered inexpedient, as they were not likely to state any thing to the discredit of their friends. Trial of the officers by Court Martial was held to be illegal, as no military offence had been committed; they had all acted under the orders of the superior authorities. The chief civil servants concerned in the affair returned to England and remained there; the others crept back again into the service. Colonel Stuart afterwards commanded the army, and the military were employed at the siege of Pondicherry. Amidst the public events that soon ensued, all minor irregularities were forgotten.—W.

Before these orders were received in India, Lord Pigot had passed beyond the reach of honour or disgrace. His constitution, worn out by age, and the operation of a hostile climate, sunk under the inactivity of his situation, and the painful feelings which preyed upon his mind, after a confinement of somewhat more than eight months. Mr. Whitehill reached Madras on the 31st of August, 1777, and being the senior in council, acted as President and Governor till the 8th of February following, when Sir Thomas Rumbold arrived.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK V.

CHAP. IV.

1777.

Once more the subject was taken up by the House of Commons. On the 16th of April, 1779, Admiral Pigot, the brother of the deceased Governor, began the discussion with a history of the transactions which had led to the deposition of Lord Pigot, and with the heaviest charges against the actors in that scene. After which he moved a series of resolutions, affirming the principal facts; affirming also that orders had been given to hold courts-martial for the trial of the principal military officers engaged in the crime, and directing an address to his Majesty for the prosecution, by the Attorney-General, of four of the members of the Council, who had returned to England. The resolutions gave rise to considerable debate; but were finally adopted. Proceedings in the courts of law were immediately commenced; and on the 20th of December the four members were tried for a misdemeanour, before a, special jury; and found guilty. When brought up for judgment, a fine of 1000*l.* was imposed upon each. To men of their fortunes, this was a punishment hardly to be felt. Such is the difference, in the minds of English judges, between the crime of deposing the head of a government abroad, and that of writing a censure upon one of the instruments of government at home.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1781; and Parliamentary History, 1777, 1779, 1780; State of Facts relative to Tanjore, printed for Cadell, 1777; Tanjore Papers, printed for Cadell, 1777; Lord Pigot's Narrative, with Notes of Mr. Dalrymple, &c.; Defence of Lord Pigot, drawn up by Mr. Lind; Case of the President and Council, fairly stated, &c. Almon, 1777; Proceedings against George Stratton and others (in Howell's State Trials, vol. xxi.); Hist. and Management of the East India Company; Considerations on the Conquest of Tanjore, and the Restoration of the Raja. The two last, both by the agents of the Nabob, were published by Cadell, in 1777. Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus, in a series of letters to a friend, during five years' residence in different parts of India, three of which were spent in the service of the Nabob of Arcot. By Philip Dormer Stanhope, Esq., p. 123—142.

<sup>2</sup> Parliamentary History, vol. xx.; Howell's State Trials, vol. xxi.

BOOK V. When the Northern Circars were first delivered into the  
 CHAP. IV. hands of the Company, it was judged expedient to govern  
 1777. the country for a time in the manner which was already  
 established. The Circars of Rajamundry, Ellore, and Con-  
 dapilly, were consigned, under a lease of three years, to a  
 native named Hussun Ali Khan, who had previously go-  
 verned them under the Nizam, with the state and autho-  
 rity of a viceroy. The remaining Circar of Cicacole was  
 placed under a similar administration, but in the hands of  
 a separate deputy.

A change was introduced in 1760. Administration by  
 the agency of natives was discontinued; and the Circars  
 were placed under the charge of Provincial Chiefs and  
 Councils, a title and form which at that period the com-  
 mercial factories were made to assume. Under the Chief  
 and Council, formerly the Factory, of Masulipatam, were  
 placed the districts of Condapilly, Rajamundry, and Ellore.  
 The Chief and Council of Vizagapatam received in charge  
 the southern parts of Cicacole; and at Ganjam, where the  
 factory had been discontinued, a new establishment was  
 made of a chief and council for those affairs of the country  
 which could be most conveniently ruled from that as a  
 centre. To these provincial boards, the financial, judicial,  
 and, in short, the whole civil and political administration  
 of the country, was consigned.

The disappointment in their expectations of pecuniary  
 supply from the Northern Circars, as from their other do-  
 minions, and the sense which they entertained of the de-  
 fects of the existing administration, had recommended to  
 the Court of Directors the formation of the Committee of  
 Circuit. This Committee were directed, by personal  
 inspection, and inquiry upon the spot, to ascertain with  
 all possible exactness, the produce, the population, and  
 manufactures of the country; the extent and sources of  
 the revenue; the mode and expense of its collection; the  
 state of administration of justice; how far the financial  
 and judicial regulations which had been introduced in  
 Bengal were applicable in the Circars; what was the con-  
 dition of the forts; and the circumstances of the Zemin-  
 dars or Rajas; what the military force of each; the ex-  
 penses both of his army and household; and the means  
 which he possessed of defraying them. The Directors



declared it to be their intention to let the lands, after the expiration of the present leases, for a term of years, as in Bengal; not, however, to deprive the hereditary Zemindars of their income; but leave them an option, either to take the lands which had belonged to them, under an equitable valuation, or to retire upon a pension. They avowed, at the same time, the design of taking the military power into their own hands, and of preventing the Zemindars from maintaining those bodies of troops, with which they were perpetually enabled to endanger the peace and security of the state.

BOOK V.

CHAP. IV.

1778.

Within a few days after the deposition of Lord Pigot, the new Governor and Council drew up the instructions of the Committee, and sent them to the discharge of their duties. They had made some progress in their inquiries; when Sir Thomas Rumbold took the reins of government at Madras, in February, 1778.<sup>1</sup>

In Council, on the 24th of March, the Governor represented, that on account of the diminution in the number of members, it was now inconvenient, if not impossible, to spare a sufficient number from the Council to form the Committee; that the Committee was attended with very great expense; that all the ends which were proposed to be served by it might be still more effectually accomplished if the Zemindars were sent for, the desired information obtained from the Zemindars, and the jumma-bundy or schedule of rent, settled with them at the seat of government; that by this expedient the Zemindars would be made to feel more distinctly their dependence upon the government, both for punishment and protection; that intrigues, and the pursuit of private, at the expense of public interests, which might be expected in the Circars, would be prevented at Madras; and that an indefinite amount of time would be saved. For these reasons he moved, that the Committee of Circuit should be suspended, and that in future the annual rent of the districts should be settled at the Presidency, to which the Zemindars should, for that purpose, be ordered to repair. The Council acquiesced in his reasons, and without further deliberation the measure was decreed.

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, 1810; Second Report, Committee of Secrecy, 1781. App. No. 153.



## BOOK V.

## CHAP. IV.

1778.

As soon as this intelligence reached the Zemindars, they were thrown into the greatest consternation. It was expressly urged by the provincial councils on the spot, that the Zemindars were in general poor, and hardly able to support their families with any appearance of dignity; that many of them were altogether unable to defray the expense of a distant journey, and of a residence for any considerable time at the seat of government; that the greater part of them were in debt, and in arrears to the Company; that they must borrow money, to enable them to undertake the journey, and still further incapacitate themselves for fulfilling their engagements; that their absence would greatly augment the confusion of the country, obstructing both the collection of the revenue, and the preparation of the investment; and that some of them laboured under the weight of so many years, and so many bodily infirmities, as to render the journey wholly impracticable.<sup>1</sup>

The President and Council persevered in their original design; and a considerable number of Zemindars were brought to Madras. Of the circumstances which followed, it is necessary that a few should be pointed out. In every case, the Governor alone negotiated with the Zemindars, and regulated their payments; in no case did he lay the grounds of his treaty before the Council; in every case the Council, without inquiry, acquiesced in his decrees. Of all the Zemindars in the Northern Circars, the most important was Vizeram Râz, the Raja of Vizianagaram whose territory had the extent of a considerable kingdom, and whose power had hitherto held the Company in awe. The character of the Raja was voluptuousness and sloth; but along with this he was mild and equitable. Sitteram Râz, his brother, was a man who possessed in a high degree the talents and vices of a Hindu. He was subtle, patient, full of application, intriguing, deceitful, stuck at

<sup>1</sup> Of thirty-one Zemindars summoned to Madras, thirteen did not obey the summons, nor was their presence enforced. On those who came no great hardship was inflicted; and the accounts of the alarm and distress which the order created, are no doubt much exaggerated, as the arrangement withdrew, in some degree, the Zemindars from the influence of the provincial authorities, and deprived them of the valuable Nuzzurs, or presents, which they admitted they were in the practice of receiving. The exactions at the Presidency were probably more moderate than those in the provinces. The settlements made with them were not unreasonable nor injudicious. Minutes of Evidence in the case of Sir J. Rumbold, p. 208, et seq.—W.

no atrocity in the pursuit of his ends, and was stained with the infamy of numerous crimes. Sitteram Râz had so encroached upon the facility and weakness of his brother as to have transferred to himself the principal power in the province. The yoke, however, which he had placed upon the neck of the Raja was galling, and sustained with great uneasiness. Jaggernaut Râz, a connexion of the family, united by marriage with the Raja, who had superintended the details of government, as Dewan, or financial minister, and was universally respected as a man of understanding and virtue, had been recently deprived of his office, through the machinations of Sitteram Râz.<sup>1</sup> The points which required adjustment between Vizeram Râz and the Company had suggested a use, or afforded a pretext, for calling him to the Presidency before Sir Thomas Rumbold arrived. Against this order he remonstrated, on the ground of his poverty, and of the detriment to his affairs which absence would induce. He offered to settle with the Council at Vizagapatam for any reasonable tribute or rent; and complained of his brother Sitteram Râz, whom he described as engaged in machinations for his ruin. Sitteram had obeyed the very first summons to repair to Madras, and had negotiated successfully for the farm of one principal division of the lands. He carried another point of still greater importance; which was to receive from the Presidency the appointment of Dewan to the Raja. To this regulation the Raja manifested the greatest aversion. The President addressed him in the following words: "We are convinced that it is a measure which your own welfare and the interest of the Company render indispensably necessary. But should you continue obstinately to withstand the pressing instances that have repeatedly been made to you by the Board, conjunctively as well as separately, we shall be under the necessity of taking such resolutions as will in all probability be extremely painful to you, but which, being once passed, can

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<sup>1</sup> The characters given of both these persons are unwarranted by the evidence or correspondence adduced. Sitarâm's atrocity and Jagannath's virtue, are both gratuitous. They were both men of ability, and equally so of intrigue; they were both competitors for the control of Vizeram, and the management of the Zemindari; and both equally unscrupulous in taking advantage of every favourable opportunity to provide for their own interests. If any preference might be claimed for either, it seems to have been due to Sitarâm.—W.

BOOK V. never be recalled." To this Vizeram Râz made the following answer : "I shall consider myself henceforward as divested of all power and consequence whatever, seeing that the Board urge me to do that which is contrary to my fixed determination, and that the result of it is to be the losing of my country." The reason which was urged by the President for this arbitrary proceeding was, the necessity of having a man of abilities to preserve the order of the country, and ensure the revenues. The Court of Directors, however, say, in their general letter to the Presidency of Madras, dated the 10th of January, 1781, "Our surprise and concern were great, on observing the very injurious treatment which the ancient Raja of Vizianagaram received at the Presidency ; when, deaf to his representations and entreaties, you, in the most arbitrary and unwarrantable manner, appointed his ambitious and intriguing brother, Sitteram Râz, Dewan of the Circar, and thereby put him in possession of the revenues of his elder brother, who had just informed you that he sought his ruin : for however necessary it might be to adopt measures for securing payment of the Company's tribute, no circumstance, except actual and avowed resistance of the Company's authority, could warrant such treatment of the Raja."<sup>1</sup> And in one of the resolutions which was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, on the 25th of April, 1782, it was declared, "That the Governor and majority of the Council of Fort St. George did, by menaces and harsh treatment, compel Vizeram Râz, the Raja of Vizianagaram, to employ Sitteram Râz as the Dewan or Manager of his Zemindary, in the room of Jaggernaut, a man of probity and good character ; that the compulsive menaces made use of towards the Raja. and the gross ill-treatment which he received at the Presidency, were humiliating, unjust, and cruel in themselves, and highly derogatory to the interests of the East India Company, and to the honour of the British nation."

Nor was this the only particular in which the Presidency and Council contributed to promote the interest and gratify the ambition of Sitteram Râz. They not only prevailed upon the Raja to be reconciled to his brother ; they

<sup>1</sup> Second Report, Committee of Secrecy, 1781 ; Appendix, No. 153.



confirmed his adoption of that brother's son; and "agreed," say the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, "that all under-leases should for the future be made in the adopted Raja's name; that his name should be used in all acts of government; and that Sitteram Râz, his father, who was in reality to enjoy the power, should be accepted of by the Board as a security for this young man."<sup>1</sup>

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In the opinion of the Directors, even this was not all. They accused the Presidency of underselling the lands by a corrupt connivance with Sitteram Râz. "The Report," they said, "of the Committee of Circuit, and the positive evidence of Sitteram Râz, warrant us in asserting that more than double the amount of the tribute for which you have agreed, might and ought to have been obtained for the Company. We are in possession," they add, "of one fact, which, so far as it extends, seems to convey an idea, that the Zemindars have been abused, and their money misapplied at the Presidency."<sup>2</sup>

The Directors alluded to the following fact; that Mr. Redhead, private Secretary to Sir Thomas Rumbold, the Governor, had actually received from Sitteram Râz a bond for one lac of rupees, on condition of his services in procuring for the donor the Dewanship of the Zemindary, a reconciliation with his brother, a confirmation of his son's adoption, the Zemindary of Ancapilly, and the fort of Vizianagaram; advantages, the whole of which, Sitteram Râz obtained; and corruption, of which though made known to the President and Council by the proceedings of a court of justice, they afforded to the Court of Directors no information.<sup>3</sup>

Another fact was: that to the same Mr. Redhead, as

<sup>1</sup> Second Report, Committee of Secrecy, 1781; p. 16.—M. As Vizeram was childless, his adoption of his nephew was in strict conformity to Hindu law; the Council of Madras could not choose but concur in it. That the reconciliation between the brothers, however enforced, was permanent, and productive of good effects, was satisfactorily shown by its results. It was effected in July, 1778. The Chief of Vizagapatam, Mr. Casamajor, from June, 1780, to March, 1782, deposes, that during that period, the brothers lived in perfect harmony, Sitaram being Dewan; that the revenues had improved and were regularly paid; and that they could not have been collected at all if the brothers had been at variance. Whatever, therefore, the inducements may have been, this transaction did not deserve the censure cast upon it.—W.

<sup>2</sup> See Letter of 10th January, 1781, quoted above.

<sup>3</sup> Third Report, Committee of Secrecy, 1781, p. 13, 14. Twelfth Resolution of Mr. Dundas, moved in the House of Commons, 25th April, 1782.



BOOK V. appeared by a codicil to his will, Ameer ul Omra, son of  
 CHAP. IV. the Nabob, had an order from his father to pay a lac of  
 rupees.

1778.

Another fact was: that two lacs and one thousand rupees had been transmitted to Sitteram Râz, while at Madras; of which money, though he was greatly in arrear, no part was paid to the Company.

It further appeared: that according to one of the checks devised by the Company upon the corruption of their servants, if Sir Thomas Rumbold possessed in India any money on loan, or merchandise on hand, at the time of entering upon his office, he was by his covenant bound, before he proceeded to recover the money, or dispose of the goods, to deliver to the Board a particular account of such property upon oath: that upon an accurate examination of the records of the Council during the whole of Sir Thomas Rumbold's administration, no proceedings to that effect could be found: that Sir Thomas Rumbold, nevertheless, had remitted to Europe, between the 8th of February, the day of his arrival at Madras, and the beginning of August in the same year, the sum of 45,000*l.*, and, during the two subsequent years, a further sum of 119,000*l.*, the whole amounting to 164,000*l.*; although the annual amount of his salary and emoluments did not exceed 20,000*l.*

Sir Thomas opposed the evidence of corruption which these transactions imported, by asserting, that he had property in India at the time of his return, sufficient to account for the remittances which he afterwards made. The evidence which he produced consisted in certain papers and books of account, which exhibited, upon the face of them, sums to a great amount. And one of the witnesses, examined before the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, stated his having heard in conversation from Sir Thomas Rumbold, that he had in Bengal, at the time of his last arrival in India, about 90,000*l.*; part in Company's cash, part in bonds, and mortgages at interest, on some of which three or four years' interest was due.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Second Report, *ut supra*, p. 21, 22.—M. These particulars are loosely and inaccurately stated. It was proved by the evidence and accounts of Mr. Price, Sir T. Rumbold's Attorney in Bengal, that at the time when Sir Thomas quitted Bengal in 1772, the property belonging to him was 9,92,201 rupees, exclusive of interest, valued at 111000*l.* and bearing interest at 8 to 10 per cent.,

The lands or taxes in the Circars were let, some for ten years, some for five.<sup>1</sup> The jaghire about Madras was re-let to the Nabob, not for one, but for three years. And in no case was any satisfactory inquiry performed.

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The Directors, complaining that their orders, and the interests of the Company, had been equally disregarded, and that while the dignity and feelings of the Zemindars were violated, the rights of the immediate cultivators were left without protection, pronounced upon the whole of these proceedings their strongest condemnation.

In the agreements formed with the Subahdar, or Nizam, respecting the five Northern Circars, in 1767 and 1768, it was arranged, that Gunttoor, which was one of them, should be granted in jaghire to Bazalut Jung, his brother; to be enjoyed by that Prince during his life, or so long as the Subahdar should be satisfied with his conduct;<sup>2</sup> and upon expiration of the interest of Bazalut Jung, to revert to the Company. About the latter end of the year 1774, the Governor and Council were informed by letters from the chief of Masulipatam, that a body of French troops, under the command of M. Lally, were retained in the service of Bazalut Jung, and received reinforcements and stores by the port of Mootapilly. The mention of a French force in the service of a native prince was sure to kindle the jealousy of the English. The Presidency of Madras held the affair of sufficient importance to communicate with the Supreme Council of Bengal on the propriety of using

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which balance was handed over to other attorneys in the beginning of 1773, at which time the amount of interest raised the sum to 121,000*l*. There was also other property at the same date in Bengal. The evidence as to what became of this sum in the interval between 1773 and 1777 is defective: but it is proved that no addition to Sir Thomas Rumbold's fortune had been made in England between that time and 1779, and therefore it is inferred no remittances had been effected. That some property had been left in Bengal is also proved by account, but it may be observed that in March, 1778, the balance of his account current with his agents is but 1,12,000 rupees: to this is to be added about three lacs paid on account of monies lent, making a total of something more than 40,000*l*. It is also in evidence that he received as salary 49,000*l*. There still remains a considerable sum to be accounted for, to explain the large amount of his remittances to England. Minutes of Evidence. 518, et seq.—W.

<sup>1</sup> They were let for five years. The only case in which a lease of ten years was granted was to Sitaram Râz, for the Haveli, or demesne lands; and this was granted by the Madras Government some time prior to Sir Thomas Rumbold's arrival.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Not so long as the Subahdar should be satisfied, but until he broke friendship with the Company. See the treaty in Minutes of Evidence, p. 72.—W.

BOOK V. measures to procure the removal of the French from the  
CHAP. IV. territories of Bazalut Jung : and received the authority of  
1778. that Board, not only to insist, with Bazalut Jung, upon  
their immediate dismissal ; but to prepare a body of troops  
for marching to his frontiers, and to threaten him, that  
“ they would take possession of his country, and negotiate  
with the Nizam, even by an entire renunciation of the re-  
venue, for the cession of it to the Company.” It was  
deemed advisable to treat with the Nizam, as principal in  
the treaty of 1768, and a party to every agreement between  
the Company and Bazalut Jung : and they desired his co-  
operation for compelling his brother, either first to dismiss  
the Europeans from his service, and trust to the English  
the defence of Guntoor, which was their own ; or, secondly,  
to let that Circar to them at a rent determined by amica-  
ble valuation.’ The Nizam replied in friendly terms ;  
declaring that he had sent a person of distinction to  
procure the removal of the French from the service of his  
brother ; and that “ every article of the treaty should  
remain fixed to a hair’s breadth.” From the date of these  
transactions, which extended to the beginning of the year  
1776, though several representations had been received of  
the continuance of the French in the territory of Bazalut  
Jung, no ulterior measures were adopted by the Board  
until the 10th of July, 1778, when the President and  
Select Committee entered a minute, expressing a convic-  
tion of danger from the presence, in such a situation, of  
such a body of men. A negotiation, through the medium  
of the Nabob, without the intervention of the Nizam, was  
commenced with Bazalut Jung. That prince was now  
alarmed with the prospect presented by the probable  
designs of Hyder Ali, and well disposed to quiet his appre-  
hensions by the benefit of English protection. On the  
30th of November, the President presented to the Board  
a proposal, tendered by Bazalut Jung, in which that Prince  
agreed to cede the Guntoor district for a certain annual  
payment, to dismiss the French from his service, and to  
accept the engagement of the English to afford him troops  
for the defence of his country. On the 27th of January,  
1779, when the treaty was concluded with Bazalut Jung,  
it was thought expedient to send to the court of the Nizam  
a resident ; who should ascertain as far as possible the



views of that Prince, and his connexions with the Indian powers or the French ; obviate any unfavourable impressions which he might have received ; and transact any business to which the relations of the two states might give birth. And on the 19th of April a force, under General Harpur, was ordered to proceed to the protection of the territory of Bazalut Jung.

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In the contest with the Mahrattas, in which, at the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay, the English were engaged, the Nizam had expressed a desire to remain neutral, though he had frankly declared his hatred of Ragoba, and his connexion by treaty with Pundit Purdaun, the infant Peshwa, that is, with the prevailing party of the Poona Council ; and though an alliance with the Berar government had been attempted by the Supreme Council, on the condition of recovering for that government some countries which had been wrested from it by the Subahdar of the Deccan. When Mr. Hollond, who was sent as resident by the Presidency of Madras, arrived at Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam, on the 6th of April, he was received with every mark of respect, and with the strongest assurances of a desire to cultivate the friendship of the English. But when, at his audience, the resident proceeded to explain the transactions, which, without the participation of the Nizam, had taken place between the Company and his brother, the painful emotions of his Highness were visible ; he read over the articles of the treaty of 1768 ; affirmed that it was violated by the conduct of the Presidency ; disavowed the right of the English to interfere in the concerns of his family ; declared that, if the treaty was to be regarded, the troops which, without his leave, were about to march into the country, possessed by Bazalut Jung, a dependant of the Subah, ought to be stopped ; if the treaty was not to be regarded, he should be constrained to oppose them. To the apology urged by Mr. Hollond, that the probability of an immediate attack by Hyder Ali left not sufficient time for consulting him ; the Nizam replied that Hyder had no immediate intention to molest his brother, but was meditating a speedy attack upon the Carnatic, to be conducted, like the former invasion of that province, by plundering and burning, while he avoided a battle. The Nizam was jealous of the presence of a British



BOOK V. force with Bazalut Jung, who, with such assistance, he  
 CHAP. IV. doubted not, would soon aspire at independence. The  
 1779. French troops he had taken into his service, immediately  
 after they were dismissed by his brother ; but he assured  
 the British resident that he had adopted this expedient  
 solely to prevent them from passing into the service of  
 Hyder or the Mahrattas ; and described them as of little  
 value, the wreck of the army of Bussy, augmented by per-  
 sons of all nations. This was a contingency, which, in  
 their eagerness to see the French discharged by Bazalut  
 Jung, the Presidency had somewhat overlooked. It was,  
 no doubt, true, as they alleged, that had the Nizam con-  
 sulted the friendship of the English, he would have  
 ordered the French troops to the coast, whence, with other  
 prisoners, they might have been sent on their passage to  
 Europe.

In the Select Committee, on the 5th. of June, it was  
 proposed by the Governor, and agreed, that the *Peshcush*,  
 or tribute, of five lacs of rupees, which the Company were  
 bound by their treaty to pay, in compromise, for posses-  
 sion of the Northern Circars, the Nizam should be solicited  
 to remit. The payment of it had already been suspended  
 for two years, partly on the pretence that the French  
 troops were not dismissed, partly on account of the ex-  
 hausted state of their finances. When this proposal was  
 announced by Mr. Hollond to the Nizam, he became highly  
 agitated ; and declared his conviction that the English no  
 longer meant to observe the treaty, for which reason he  
 also must prepare for war.

Mr. Hollond, who had received instructions to commu-  
 nicate with the Supreme Council, conveyed intelligence  
 of these transactions to Bengal, by sending, on the 3rd of  
 September, copies of the letters which had passed between  
 him and the Presidency of Madras. On the 25th of Oc-  
 tober, the subject was taken into consideration at Cal-  
 cutta, when the proceedings of the Madras Presidency, in  
 forming a treaty with Bazalut Jung, without the inter-  
 position of his immediate sovereign, the Company's ally,  
 and in withholding the payment, and proposing the aboli-  
 tion of the *peshcush*, underwent the most severe con-  
 demnation, as tending to impeach the character of the  
 English for justice and faith, and to raise them up a for-

midable enemy, when they were already exposed to unusual difficulties and dangers. It was agreed, that the case demanded the interference of the Superior Board ; and a letter was written on the 1st of November, 1779, to assure the Nizam that the intentions of the English government were truly pacific, notwithstanding the interpretation which he put upon the proceedings of the Council at Madras. Mr. Hollond was directed to suspend his negotiations till he should receive further instructions from his own Presidency. Letters were also written to that Presidency, acquainting them, in terms studiously inoffensive and mild, with the aberrations which it appeared to the Supreme Council that they had made from the line of propriety and prudence. The Nizam declared the highest satisfaction with the friendly assurances which the Supreme Council had expressed. But their interference excited the highest indignation and resentment in the Council of Madras. On the 30th of December a minute was entered by Sir Thomas Rumbold, the President, in which he treats the censure which had been passed on their conduct as undeserved, and its language unbecoming ; denies the right of the Supreme Council thus to interfere in the transactions of another Presidency, and argues that their controlling power extended to the conclusion alone of a treaty, not to the intermediate negotiation ; he turns the attack upon the Bengal Presidency, enters into a severe investigation of the policy and conduct of the Mahratta war, which in every particular he condemns ; this it was which had alienated the mind of the Subahdar, not the regulation with his brother, or the proposed remission of the peshcush ; the retention of a peshcush offended not the conscience of the Bengal Presidency, when themselves were the gainers, the unfortunate Emperor of India the sufferer, and when it was a peshcush stipulated and secured by treaty for the most important grants. In terms of nearly the same import the letter was couched, in which the Presidency of Madras returned an answer to that of Bengal, along with which they transmitted the minute of their President.

The Presidency of Madras had not only taken Gunttoor on lease from Bazalut Jung, they had also transferred it, on a lease of ten years, to the Nabob of Arcot, though

BOOK V.

CHAP. IV.

1779.

BOOK V. well aware how little the Directors were pleased with his  
 CHAP. IV. mode of exaction, either in their jaghire or in his own  
 dominions.

1779.

The measure of their offences, in the eyes of the Directors, was now sufficiently full. In their letter of the 10th of January, 1781, after passing the severest censure upon the abolition of the Committee of Circuit, and the proceedings with the Zemindars of the four Northern Circars, on the treaty with Bazalut Jung, the transactions with the Nizam, and the lease of Guntoor to the Nabob, they dismiss from their service Sir Thomas Rumbold, President, John Hill and Peter Perring, Esquires, Members of their Council of Fort St. George; deprive of their seat in council Mr. Smith and Mr. Johnson; and express their strongest displeasure against the commander of their forces, Sir Hector Munro.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER V.

*War with the French—Pondicherry taken—War with Hyder Ali—Presidency unprepared—Colonel Baillie's Detachment cut off—Supreme Council suspend the Governor of Fort St. George, and send Sir Eyre Coote to Madras—Hyder takes Arcot, and overruns the greater Part of the Country—Lord Macartney, Governor of Fort St. George—Negapatnam and Trincomalee taken from the Dutch—Treaty between the Nabob of Arcot and Supreme Council—Assignment of the Nabob's Revenues—Tellicherry invested—Great Armaments sent from both England and France—Disaster of Colonel Brathwaite's Detachment in Tanjore—Madras reduced to a State of Famine—Death of Hyder Ali—Tippoo withdraws the Mysorean Army from the Carnatic—Operations and Fate of General Matthews on the Coast of Malabar—Siege of Mangalore—The General at Madras, refusing to obey the Civil Authority, is arrested and sent to Europe—French and English sus-*

<sup>1</sup> These transactions are minutely detailed in the Second and Third Reports of the Committee of Secrecy, 1781; in the Appendices to which the official documents are to be found.—M.

The author does not appear to have been in possession of the Minutes of the Evidence, which was produced in justification of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, introduced by Mr. Dundas.—W.



*pend Hostilities in consequence of Intelligence of the Peace in Europe—Operations of Colonel Fullarton in Coimbatore—Peace with Tippoo—Behaviour of Supreme Council to Presidency of Madras.*

BOOK V.

CHAP. V.

1778.

WAR with the French, instead of being, as formerly, the most alarming to the English of all sources of danger in India, now held a very inferior station among the great objects which occupied their attention. In the beginning of July, 1778, intelligence was received in Bengal, which, though somewhat premature, was acted upon as certain, that war had commenced between England and France. Without waiting for a formal notification of this event, which might be only delayed till the French had made themselves strong, it was resolved by a stroke, decisive in their present defenceless situation, to take possession of the whole of the French settlements in India. With regard to minor places the attempt was easy; and Chandernagore, with the factories at Masulipatam and Carical, surrendered without resistance. Pondicherry was the object of importance, and it was resolved to lose no time in taking measures for its reduction. Instructions were sent to Madras, and reached it with unusual expedition. Major-General Sir Hector Munro, who commanded the Madras army, took post on an elevated ground, called the Red Hills, distant about a league from Pondicherry, on the 8th of August, and on the 9th summoned the place to surrender. But his preparations were still so backward, that it was the 21st of August before he took possession of the bound-hedge, within cannon-shot of the town, and ground was not broken till the 6th of September. It was broken in two places, with a view to carry on attacks upon both sides of the town at once.

The British squadron, consisting of one ship of sixty guns, one of twenty-eight, one of twenty, a sloop of war, and an East Indiaman, sailed from Madras, toward the end of July, under the command of Sir Edward Vernon, with a view to block up Pondicherry by sea. This squadron reached the scene of action about the time when Sir Hector Munro encamped on the Red Hills and summoned the fort. The French squadron, under M. Tronjolly, consisting of one ship of sixty-four guns, one of thirty-six,



BOOK V. one of thirty-two, and two East Indiamen armed for war,  
CHAP. V. sailed immediately, and prepared for action. The two  
1778. squadrons met and engaged on the 10th of August. The  
battle raged with great fury for the space of seventy-four  
minutes, when the three minor ships of the French squadron  
quitted the action, and in fifteen minutes after were  
followed by the rest. The English ships, which, as usually  
happened in engagements with the French, had suffered  
chiefly in their rigging, were unable to pursue the French,  
which had suffered chiefly in their hulls. The French  
squadron reached Pondicherry the same night. Sailing  
badly, and opposed by the winds and the current, it was  
the 20th before the English recovered their station.  
Early on the morning of the 21st, the French squadron  
was perceived under easy sail, standing out of Pondicherry  
road. During the day the alternate failure and opposition  
of the winds prevented the squadrons from closing; and  
towards night the English commander stood in for Pon-  
dicherry road, and cast anchor, expecting that the enemy,  
to whom it was an object of so much importance to keep  
open the communication of Pondicherry by sea, would  
proceed in the same direction, and commence the action  
on the following morning. M. Tronjolly availed himself  
of the night. His squadron was out of sight before the  
morning, and was no more heard of upon the coast.

The garrison of Pondicherry was commanded by M. Bellecombe, a man whom this abandonment was not sufficient to dismay. Notwithstanding the total destruction which the works of Pondicherry had sustained in the former war, its fortifications had been restored with great diligence, and it was defended by a garrison who availed themselves of all its advantages. The English opened their batteries on the 18th of September, with the fire of twenty-eight cannon and twenty-seven mortars, and carried on their approaches with unremitting vigour; but the vigilance, activity, and enterprise of the garrison, compelled them to caution, and, together with the rains, which fell in torrents, retarded their operations. Towards the middle of October, having pushed a gallery on the south side into the ditch of the fort, having made a breach in one of the bastions, destroyed the faces of the two that were adjacent, and prepared a bridge of boats for

passing the ditch,; having also destroyed the face of the bastion on the opposite side of the town, and constructed a float for passing the ditch, they resolved to make the assault in three places at once, on the south side, on the north side, and towards the sea, where the enemy had run out a stockade into the water. All the marines, and 200 seamen, were landed from the ships. On the day first appointed for the assault, so much rain unexpectedly fell, as to swell the water in the ditch, blow up the gallery on the southern side, and damage the boats belonging to the bridge. The loss was diligently and speedily repaired. But M. Bellecômbe, who had accomplished all that an able governor could perform, to retard the fall of the place, resolved not to throw away the lives of the gallant men who had seconded his endeavours, and the day before the intended assault proposed a capitulation. The English, by the geneorsity of their terms, and the liberality of their whole procedure, showed their high sense of the honour and gallantry of the enemy whom they had subdued. The garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war; and, at the request of M. Bellecombe, the regiment of Pondicherry was complimented with its colours. After a delay of some months the fortifications were destroyed.

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1778.

The French now retained in India nothing but Mahé, a small fort and settlement on the coast of Malabar. On the 27th of November, the question of its reduction was agitated in the Council, when the pride of driving the French entirely out of India enhanced the apparent advantage of the conquest. The difficulties were not inconsiderable: the march of the troops over land, from one side of India to the other, was long and hazardous: the disposition of the native chiefs, through the territory of whom it would be necessary to pass, was not in all cases ascertained to be friendly: the constitution of Europeans would be apt to fail, under the difficulties of the march: there was not shipping sufficient to convey the expedition by sea: it was at the same time apprehended that Hyder Ali would view the enterprise with jealousy and dissatisfaction, and not regarded as impossible that he would directly oppose it. The importance, however, of having no such talents as those of Frenchmen to cope with in

BOOK V. India, and of not leaving to them a place to which either  
 CHAP. V. troops or stores could be sent, though both Hyder and  
 1779. the Mahrattas had very convenient places with which they would have gladly accommodated them, appeared of sufficient magnitude to induce the Presidency to brave all dangers in undertaking an expedition against Mahé. Towards the end of December, it was planned, that the European portion of the expedition should be conveyed by sea; that the Sepoys should march over land; that they should rendezvous at Anjengo, and Colonel Brathwaite receive the command. On the 4th of February intelligence was received at Madras, of the disaster sustained by the army of Bombay, on its march to Poona. The danger to which this event might expose the expedition, now on its way to Mahé, underwent deliberation in the Council; but the confession of weakness, which would be implied in the recall of the troops, and the supposed importance of accomplishing the object in view, decided the question in favour of perseverance. Intelligence of the resolution of Hyder to resent the attack produced a hesitation;<sup>1</sup> and the importance was discussed of gaining the friendship of that powerful chief by renouncing the enterprise; but after a short suspension, the design was resumed, and Colonel Brathwaite was instructed to anticipate resistance by velocity of completion. The expedition encountered far less difficulty than there was reason to expect: no opposition was made to the march: the fleet and the troops arrived safely at the place of rendezvous: and Mahé, which was strongly situated, but totally destitute of supplies, surrendered on the 19th of March before a cannon was fired. It was occupied by the English till the 29th of November, when, Colonel Brathwaite's detachment being ordered to Surat to reinforce General Goddard, the fort was blown up.<sup>2</sup>

Before Colonel Brathwaite was enabled to comply with his orders, and embark for Surat, he received a requisition from the chief and factory at Tellicherry for the assist-

<sup>1</sup> A formal communication was made by his Vakeel to the Madras Government, that he would oppose an attack upon Mahé, or would retaliate by sending troops into the Carnatic. First Report Committee of Secrecy, p. 21.—W.

<sup>2</sup> First and Second Reports of the Committee of Secrecy; also the Annual Register for 1779 and 1782.



ance of the whole detachment. That settlement had drawn upon itself the resentment of Hyder by protecting a Nair chief who had incurred his displeasure. By the influence of Hyder, a number of the surrounding chiefs were incited to attack the settlement, which was closely pressed, at the time of the evacuation of Mahé. Not conceiving that he could be justified in leaving Tellicherry in its perilous situation, Colonel Brathwaite moved with his detachment to its support. In consequence of the detention of those troops, the Council at Madras resolved to send another detachment to the assistance of Goddard, which was embarked in the months of January and February, 1780.<sup>1</sup>

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CHAP. V.

1780.

In 1774, the division among the Mahratta chiefs afforded to Hyder an opportunity, which he dexterously and vigorously improved, of turning the tide in his affairs. He recovered speedily the territory which he had lost. He diligently employed the interval of repose which succeeded, in restoring order to his country, improving his revenues, augmenting the number, and improving the discipline of his troops. His power soon appeared to be rapidly on the increase; and afforded alarm to the English, who, by their evasion of the treaty of 1769, were conscious of the hatred they had inspired, and were now jealous of a connexion between him and the French. He continued to extend his dominions, and increase his power, with little interruption, till the latter end of the year 1777, when the Mahrattas and Nizam Ali combined to chastise him. The Mahrattas, under Hurry Pundit and Pürseram, penetrated into the Balaghât country, with an army of 50,000 men; but upon the approach of Hyder, who hastened to oppose them, they retreated into the district of Adoni, where they came to an engagement on the 5th of January, 1778, and sustained a defeat.

Though Hyder was deeply exasperated against the Presidency of Madras for their continued evasion of treaty, and refusal of assistance, he was induced by the state of affairs to make a fresh proposal in 1778. Harassed, by the hostilities of the Poonah government, he had been well pleased to support a pretender in the person of Ragoba: the English were now involved not only in disputes with

<sup>1</sup> First Report, ut supra, p. 56.



BOOK V. the Poonah ministers, but in actual operations for the reinstatement of that ejected chief; and in the beginning of  
CHAP. V. July, 1778, Hyder, through his resident at Madras, made  
1780. a new overture towards an alliance with the English, offering his assistance to establish Ragonaut Rao in the office of Peshwa; and requiring only a supply of arms and military stores for which he would pay, and a body of troops whose expenses he would defray. The opinion of the Presidency appears to have been, that such an arrangement might be useful, more particularly to prevent the formation of a connexion between Hyder and the French: they even acknowledged their belief, that had not the treaty of 1769 been evaded, Hyder never would have sought other allies than themselves. The Supreme Council, to whom reference was made, approved in general of an alliance with Hyder; but being at that time zealous to form a connexion with the Raja of Berar, they directed a modification of the terms in regard to Ragoba, whose cause, they said, was supported, not as an end, but a means now deemed subordinate to the successful issue of the negotiation with Moodajee.

A friendly intercourse subsisted between Hyder and the French. He had been supplied by them with arms and military stores. A number of adventurers of that nation commanded and disciplined his troops; and they were united by a common hatred of the English power. A desire to save appearances, however, constrained Hyder to congratulate the English upon the reduction of Pondicherry; but, anticipating the design of attacking Mahé he gave early intimation of the resentment with which he would regard any such attempt. Mahé was situated in the territory of a petty prince on the western coast, who with the other petty princes, his neighbours, were rendered tributary to Hyder, and ranked among his dependants. The merchants of various nations, it was declared by Hyder, had settlements, and performed traffic in his dominions; and all of them, as if they were subjects of his own, he would resolutely defend. To soften his animosity and prevent a rupture, which the dread of his power, and, above all, his apprehended union with the French, clothed in considerable terrors, there was sent to his presence, in January, 1779, a person, who, though empowered to declare

the resolution of attacking Mahé, should assure Hyder of the desire which the Presidency felt to study his inclinations, and to cultivate his friendship. The messenger was received with but little respect, and the invasion of the Carnatic was threatened as the retaliation for interfering with Mahé.<sup>1</sup> At that particular moment, Hyder was engaged in the conquests of Gooti, of Carnaul, and Cudapah; the former belonging to the Mahratta, chieftain Morari Rao, the two last to their respective Nabobs, dependants of the Subahdar, and thence was hindered from taking effectual measures to defeat the expedition against Mahé. But the Presidency were now convinced of his decided aversion; and were informed of his intention to make peace with the Mahrattas, for enabling him the more completely to carry into execution his designs against the English. Their thoughts were called to the necessity of preparation; and they saw nothing but dangers and difficulties in their path. The Nabob, as he informed them, and as they knew well without his information, was destitute of money: and as destitute of troops, on whom, either for numbers or quality, any reliance could be placed. Their own treasury was impoverished; and if the cavalry of Hyder should enter the country, neither could the revenues be collected, nor provisions be procured. More alive than they to the sense of danger, the Nabob urged the necessity of making peace with Hyder, by stopping the expedition to Mahé; or, on the other hand, of making terms with the Mahrattas and the Subahdar. So far from attempting to conciliate either Hyder or the Subahdar, the Presidency formed with Bazalut Jung the arrangement

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<sup>1</sup> Some confusion has here been made, probably between the written and personal communications that took place between the two Governors. In January, 1779, no person was sent to Hyder. A letter was addressed to him by the President, proposing to send a Resident to his court, and announcing the intention of attacking Mahé. No Resident was sent. Something later in the year, Sir Thomas Rumbold, without communicating with the Committee, engaged the celebrated Missionary, Schwartz, to go privately to Hyder, and ascertain his real sentiments, the Governor distrusting the representation of them from Hyder's own Vakeel, or from the officers of the Nabob. Schwartz set off on his mission in July, 1779, arrived in Seringapatam in August, was treated by Hyder with kindness, and made the bearer of a letter from him to the government, which he delivered some time in October, as, on the 23rd of that month, the proceeding was first communicated to the Committee. In February, 1780, a second mission was sent to Hyder, in the person of Mr. Gray, renewing offers of alliance with the English, which were disdainfully rejected. Both the missions furnished sufficient evidence of the disposition and purposes of Hyder. First Report of Select Committee, 25. Wilks's South of India, ii. 242. Life of Schwartz, i. 341.—W.

BOOK V. which has been already described, respecting the Guntoor

CHAP. V. Circar and military assistance, and which, in the highest degree, alarmed and exasperated both. The detachment

1780. which under Colonel Harpur was sent to the assistance of Bazalut Jung, attempted to proceed to Adoni, through a part of Cudapah, which Hyder had lately subdued. His troops barricaded the passes ; and the detachment, afraid of being surrounded, was obliged to march back and wait for subsequent orders. Hyder not only assured Bazalut Jung, by writing, that he would not permit the English whom he described as the most faithless and usurping of all mankind, to establish themselves in a place so contiguous to his country, and so important as Guntoor ; but in the month of November he sent a body of troops into the territory of that Prince, took possession of the open country, and joined with Nizam Ali his brother in threatening him with instant ruin, unless he broke off all correspondence with the English. In this emergency, Bazalut Jung was constrained to forbid the march of the English detachment ; and to request the restoration of Guntoor, as the only means of pacifying his brother and Hyder, and averting his fate. The question respecting the Circar came under deliberation of the Council on the 30th of December, when the decree was passed that it should not be restored. Though its importance was considerable, because situated as it was between the territories of the Nabob, or, more properly speaking, of the English, in the Carnatic, and the four Northern Circars, it completed the communication between their northern and southern possessions, and, by placing in their hands the port of Mootapilly, deprived Nizam Ali of all connexion with the sea, reduced him to the condition of a merely inland power, and in particular closed the channel by which French supplies could easily reach him ; yet the embarrassments created in the Council, by the bargain they had concluded with the Nabob, for a ten years' lease of that Circar, contributed not less, it would appear, than all other inducements, to the resolution which they formed.

Under the apprehensions which the resentment and preparations of Hyder inspired, the Presidency, at the end of October, had presented to the Supreme Council the prospect of a rupture with that chieftain, the dangerous mag-



nitude of his power, and their want of resources ; had pressed upon them the necessity of forming a peace with the Mahrattas, as in that event Hyder would be restrained by his fears ; they had also written in similar terms to General Goddard at Bombay. Soon after, when they were informed of the probability that hostilities would be renewed with the Mahrattas, they reiterated the statement of their apprehensions ; and concluded that, destitute as they were of resources for all active operations, they could only collect their troops as much as possible, and wait to see what the resolutions of the Supreme Board would enable them to undertake.

Before the end of November, the Nabob, whose intelligence respecting the proceedings of the Indian powers was in general uncommonly good, informed the Governor, that a treaty had been formed between Hyder and the Mahrattas, to which Nizam Ali had acceded, for a system of combined hostilities against the English. Though, in his answer to the Nabob, the Governor appeared to discredit the intelligence, it was not long before he was satisfied of its truth ; and, in the letter, which, on the 31st of December, the Select Committee addressed to the Supreme Board, they represented the treaty between Hyder and the Mahrattas, as an undoubted fact. Still they were not so much impressed with a sense of imminent danger, as to be deterred from sending a body of troops to the assistance of Goddard, in lieu of those which were detained at Telli-cherry ; being in daily expectation of a regiment from Europe ; conceiving themselves sufficiently strong to cover the principal garrisons ; and deeming it vain, without cavalry, to attempt to protect the open country against the invasion of a vast body of horse. In the month of January, 1780, the President wrote to the Court of Directors, that, notwithstanding the alarms in which they had been held by the hostile appearances of Hyder and the Nizam, and notwithstanding the provocation which the support of Ragoba had given both to the Mahrattas and the Nizam, there was still a prospect of tranquillity ; and in the following month, he repeated, in still stronger terms, a similar assurance.<sup>1</sup> Till the month of June, no

<sup>1</sup> The President, in the early part of 1780, was Sir Thomas Rumbold ; he quitted Madras, on the score of ill health, in April, and with anticipations,



BOOK V. measures were pursued which had a reference to the war ;  
 CHAP. V. and even then it was only commanded that Colonel Harpur's detachment, which had been transferred to the command of Colonel Baillie, should cross the Kistna, to be more in readiness, "in case of any disturbance in the Carnatic." On the 19th of June intelligence was received from the officer at Velore, that Hyder had begun his march from Seringapatam, and that a great army was already collected at Bangalore. On the 28th of the same month, the Select Committee of Fort St. George declared, by letter to the Supreme Board, that Hyder had received from the French islands a great quantity of military stores ; that his army, which he had been rapidly increasing for two years past, was now equipped for immediate service ; that a part of it was already advanced to the borders of the Carnatic ; and that intelligence had been received of his being actually employed in clearing the road to one of the principal passes.

1780.

While the affairs of the Presidency were approaching to their present situation, a division had existed not only in the Council, but in the Select Committee itself. The President, however, and the General had combined ; and they retained a majority in both. In contemplation of the resentment of Hyder, and the progress of his power, the party, the views of which were apt to discord with those of the leading members of the government, had strongly urged upon them, at various times, the necessity of making preparations against the invasion with which they were threatened by Hyder, and of which they had received intimation from various quarters. If the resources of the Nabob and the presidency combined were unequal to the

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which, after the information he had received, and after the strong provocation to hostilities of which he had been the author, were unaccountably delusive. His farewell minute begins, "It affords me a particular satisfaction that the whole of the Carnatic and the Company's northern possessions are at present undisturbed, and in perfect tranquillity, notwithstanding the unsettled state of affairs with respect to the Mahrattas, and the connexions occasioned by the march of the Bengal troops across the country to Surat. However well inclined Hyder Ali may be to give disturbance, neither he nor the Nizam have as yet thought proper to put any of their threats into execution ; and from the arrival of the fleet with the King's troops, I think there is the greatest prospect that this part of India will remain quiet, especially if the Government here cautiously avoid taking any measures that may be likely to bring on troubles." Minutes of Evidence, p. 500. And this, after he had excited Hyder's resentment by the occupation of Guntoor, the violation of his territory by the unpermitted march through it of Colonel Harpur's detachment, and the capture of Mahé in defiance of his menaces.—W.

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1780.

maintenance of an army sufficient for the protection of the open country, it behoved them at least to assemble the troops ; which, scattered as they were in petty garrisons over a great extent of country, could not, in case of an emergency, be collected without a lapse of time ; and of which the junction would become hazardous, and perhaps impracticable, if the country were pervaded by Hyder's horse. The majority, indeed, had expressed their opinion of the necessity of having the troops collected in a body, and ready to act, previously to invasion. But they had not yet become persuaded that the danger was sufficiently imminent to render it necessary that preparation should begin.<sup>1</sup>

On the 21st of July, information was brought from the commander at Amboor, that Hyder and his two sons, with the principal part of his army, had come through the pass, and that his artillery was drawn up in the road to Changama. This intelligence, though it was confirmed from several quarters, was treated with slight regard by the party in power : and on the 23rd, when Lord Macleod represented to the Governor, "That perhaps the report of Hyder's invasion might be true, and that he thought at all events they ought to take measures to oppose him ; the Governor answered, What can we do ? We have no money. But added, We mean however, to assemble an army, and you are to command it."<sup>2</sup> The next day brought undoubted intelligence, that Porto Novo, on the coast, and Conjeveram, not fifty miles from the capital had been plundered by the enemy.

The army, with which Hyder had arrived, was not less

<sup>1</sup> On the 19th June, two of the Select Committee, Messrs. Johnson and Smith, submitted a minute, urging the imminence of the danger, and the necessity of active preparation ; and a similar minute was presented on the 17th July. On both occasions, Mr. Whitehill and Sir Hector Munro, forming, by the casting vote of the former as President, the majority, moved that the apprehensions expressed in these minutes were groundless, and that there was no danger of an immediate invasion. Four days after the latter occasion, Hyder was in the Carnatic. The history of British India affords no similar instance of such utter want of foresight or such imbecility of purpose. See Minutes of Evidence, p. 509; and First Report, p. 28. Even then, says the Report of the Select Committee, the advice that Hyder Ali had invaded the Carnatic with a powerful army, was treated by the people in power with inattention and contempt. It was not till Conjeveram, not fifty miles from the capital, was plundered by the enemy, that they could no longer close their eyes to the dangers of their situation.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Macleod was the commanding officer of the European regiment which had lately arrived. See the extract of his Letter to the Secretary of State, quoted in the First Report of the Secret Committee, p. 44 and 51.

BOOK V. than 100,000 strong : of his infantry, 20,000 were formed  
 CHAP. V. into regular battalions, and mostly commanded by Euro-  
 1780. peans. His cavalry amounted to 30,000, of which 2,000  
 were Abyssinian horse, and constantly attended upon his  
 person ; 10,000 were Carnatic cavalry, well disciplined, of  
 which one half had belonged to the Nabob, and after  
 having been trained by English officers, had either  
 deserted or been disbanded for want of ability to pay  
 them. He had 100 pieces of cannon managed by Euro-  
 peans, and natives who had been trained by the English  
 for the Nabob. And Monsieur Lally, who had left the  
 service of the Subahdar for that of Hyder, was present  
 with his corps of Frenchmen or other Europeans, to the  
 amount of about 400 men ; and had a principal share in  
 planning and conducting the operations of the army.

The arrival of Hyder, and the rapidity with which his  
 cavalry overran the country, and spread ruin and desola-  
 tion in a circle of many miles round Madras, filled the  
 Carnatic immediately with terror and dismay. The  
 people fled from the open country to the woods, and the  
 mountains ; their houses were set on fire ; the fields were  
 left uncultivated, or the crops destroyed. Alarm succeeded  
 alarm. Intelligence poured in from all quarters, that one  
 place after another was assailed ; till every part of the  
 Carnatic frontier appeared to be entered, and even the  
 Northern Circars exposed to a similar fate.

On the 24th of July, the Select Committee assembled in  
 deliberation. The object of greatest urgency was, to call  
 the troops together, and form an army in the field. The  
 European regiment at Poonamallee, that of Vellore, the bat-  
 talion of Europeans, and the four battalions of sepoy can-  
 toned at Pondicherry, the battalion of sepoy, and the  
 grenadiers of the European Battalion at Madras, the bat-  
 talion at Trichinopoly, and the artillery at the mount,  
 received orders to be in readiness to march. Absent offi-  
 cers were summoned to join their corps ; and all things  
 necessary for an army in the field were ordered to be im-  
 mediately prepared. Letters were sent to the other Presi-  
 dencies and settlements. The Governor-General and Coun-  
 cil were importuned for money ; and informed, that, if the  
 Presidency were assured of pecuniary means, and not  
 embarrassed by their ignorance of the state of affairs



between the Bengal government and the Mahrattas, they would produce an attack on the possessions of Hyder on the western coast, by assistance sent to the detachment at Tellicherry, and the co-operation of his Majesty's fleet.

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Colonel Baillie, who commanded the detachment in Guntoor, consisting of about 150 Europeans, infantry and artillery, and upwards of 2000 sepoys, was instructed to operate a diversion, by attacking Cudapah, or some of the other possessions of Hyder. This step was vehemently opposed in council by the antagonizing party; as sure, they said, to fail in detaching from his principal object any part of the attention or forces of Hyder; and sure to enfeeble their defence at home, by the absence of so important a part of their forces, which ought to be directed to march without a moment's delay by the safest route to Madras. As an additional reason for persisting in their original orders, the Governor and his majority alleged their doubts of being able to procure provisions for a greater number of troops than the marching orders already embraced. But on the 31st of July, when a letter was received from Colonel Baillie, representing the difficulties he experienced in finding subsistence for his troops, or in detaining the bullocks absolutely necessary for his march, they altered their instructions, and directed him to proceed towards the Presidency, taking such a route as might offer a chance of intercepting some of the enemy's convoys.

By the majority, in which both the Governor and the General were comprised, it was resolved, that the troops should assemble, and the army should be formed at a place near Conjeveram; where they would be nearer to the stores of provisions laid up by the Nabob in the forts, and prepared to yield a readier support to the garrisons which the enemy might assault. To constitute the majority of the Governor, it so happened, that the voice of the General was requisite; and if he departed to take the command of the army, that majority would be lost. On the ground that his councils at the Presidency were of more importance at this moment, than his presence with the army, it was moved and voted that he should not depart; and that the command of the army should be intrusted to



BOOK V. Lord Macleod. When the plan of operations, however,  
 CHAP. V. and in particular that part of it which consisted in assembling the army at Conjeveram, was communicated to that officer, he represented the danger with which, now that the country was invaded, the separate detachments would march to a place so distant and exposed; preferred the security of forming a junction in the neighbourhood of Madras, and of not taking the field till an army should be assembled sufficient at least to cope with the principal bodies of the enemy's horse; and declared his aversion to adopt a responsibility in the execution of plans of which his judgment did not approve. These observations appear to have piqued the General, who insisted upon the advantage of assembling close to the scene of action, for the purpose of protecting the forts; and instead of acknowledging the difficulty of uniting the forces near Conjeveram, he ventured to pledge himself to the Committee for carrying that measure into effect. Upon this, it became a matter of necessity, that he should leave his seat in the Select Committee; but to preserve its majority to the party to which he belonged, a new expedient was devised. On the allegation, that his plans had no chance of support, and that his reputation, neither as an officer nor a man, was safe, if the managing power were to pass into the hands of the opposite party, it was, previous to his departure, proposed, and what was thus proposed, the majority which he helped to constitute had pre-ordained to decree, that a person whom he named should be appointed as an acting member of the Committee till his return. It naturally followed, that such proceedings should be severely criticized by the opposite party; and one member of the Council excited so much resentment by the asperity of his remarks, that the majority, first replied to him with greater intemperance than that which they condemned; then suspended him from his seat at the Board; and lastly the General wrote him a challenge.

On the 2nd of August, while preparations were making, and the army was not yet assembled, a project was adopted for sending a strong detachment towards the passes, with a view to intercept the enemy's convoys. Colonel Cosby was the officer chosen to command the expedition; and a force was provided for him, out of the troops stationed at Tri-

chinopoly and Tanjore, strengthened by two regiments of the Nabob's cavalry from Tinivelly, which joined the detachment at Trichinopoly on the 27th of August. Several causes of retardation operated on the expedition; but the grand impediment arose from the disaffection of the inhabitants. The sort of partnership sovereignty, which the Nabob and the Company had established in the Carnatic, had hitherto been extremely oppressive to the people, and had completely succeeded in alienating their minds. Though Hyder was carrying devastation over the country, he was less detested as a destroyer, than hailed as a deliverer. While Colonel Cosby found himself in the greatest distress for intelligence, which by no exertion he was able to procure; every motion of his own was promptly communicated to Hyder by the people of the country:<sup>1</sup> He was disappointed and betrayed, even by the district officers of the Nabob. As he advanced, his march became so much infested by parties of the enemy's horse, that all hope of any successful operation against the convoys was wholly cut off; and the danger which surrounded the detachment made it necessary to think of nothing but the means of re-uniting it with the army. A total want of intelligence reduced Colonel Cosby to mere conjecture in choosing his route; and he fell in with the army by accident, as it was retreating before Hyder, on the 12th of September near Chingliput.

Not only every day brought fresh intelligence of the conquest and devastation effected by Hyder; Madras itself, on the 10th of August, was thrown into alarm. A party of the enemy's horse committed ravages as near as St. Thomas's Mount; and the inhabitants of the open town began to take flight.

On the 14th of August, the General was obliged to report, that the place of rendezvous, which he had persisted

<sup>1</sup> Captain Cosby, in his official letter, dated Gingee, 5th September, 1780, says, "There is no doubt but that Hyder has, by some means, greatly attached the inhabitants to him, insomuch that my hircarrahs (spies) tell me, the news of my marching from Thiagar was communicated from village to village, all the way to Trinomalee, from whence expresses were sent to Hyder: and in my march yesterday from Tricaloor, the country being extremely woody, the line was several times fired upon by match-lock fellows, collected together, I suppose, from different villages, by Hyder's Amuldars. Some of them, till my approach, were issuing orders six miles from this." First Report, ut supra, Appendix, No. 3.



BOOK V. in recommending, was unfit; the want of bullocks to carry  
CHAP. V. provisions rendering the march impracticable. On his  
1780. recommendation, it was therefore agreed, that the troops  
should meet at St. Thomas's Mount; and there wait till  
eight days' provisions, and bullocks to carry it, could be  
procured.

Colonel Brathwaite, after sending away from Pondicherry all the French officers capable of service, and taking an oath of fidelity from the principal Frenchmen who remained, commenced his march. He arrived at Carangoly on the 12th of August, and found it garrisoned by only a petty officer of the Nabob, and twenty sepoy. They would have surrendered it, he was well assured, on the very first summons; and had it not by a singular oversight, as it commanded the only road by which Brathwaite could proceed, been neglected by the enemy, who had a large body of horse in its neighbourhood, the most serious consequences might have ensued. The country through which he passed after leaving Carangoly would have rendered it so difficult for him to escape, if attacked by the enemy, that he formed a very contemptible opinion either of Hyder's military skill, or his means of offence, when he allowed so favourable an opportunity to be lost. On the 18th. after a hazardous and fatiguing march, Colonel Brathwaite arrived at Chingliput, when he received orders to join the army at the Mount.

After various speculations and reports respecting the plan of hostilities which Hyder would pursue, uncertainty was at last removed, by his marching towards Arcot, and taking ground before it on the 21st of August. The danger of that place excited no little interest and alarm. It was not only the capital of the province, but contained the principal portion of the very defective stores which the Nabob had provided; and afforded to Hyder a situation, highly convenient, both for the accommodation of his troops, and for spreading his operations over the province. From every quarter alarming intelligence arrived. The troops of Hyder were expected in the Circar of Guntoor, which had neither forts nor soldiers sufficient to oppose them, and where the Zemindars were disaffected to the Company and in correspondence with the enemy. An army of Mahrattas from Berar had marched into

Cuttack, and brought into imminent danger the defenceless state of the Northern Circars. A body of Hyder's troops had united with the Nairs, and having driven the Company's troops from the Island of Durampatnam, threatened Tellicherry, with all the British possessions on the coast of Malabar. The enemy had appeared on the frontier of Madura, and the admiral of the fleet communicated to the President and Select Committee, intelligence which he had received from Europe, and on which he relied, that a French naval and military force might soon be expected in India.

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While pressed by dangers thus extraordinary both in number and degree, the Presidency found their treasury empty; they had endeavoured to borrow money upon the Company's bonds with little effect, the loans of the Nabob bearing a better interest; they made urgent applications to the Nabob for pecuniary and other supplies, and received from him a deplorable picture of his own poverty and necessities, of the wretched and unproductive condition of the whole country, and the oppressive load of his debts, principally, he said, produced, by the money which he had expended and lost in the conquest of Tanjore. To a similar application made to the Raja of Tanjore, the Raja replied, with a truth not liable to dispute, that from the total exhaustion of his country by the recent conquest, and by the oppressive administration of the Nabob for several years, he was wholly incapable of furnishing any considerable supplies. By desertion for want of pay, or disbanding for want of ability to pay, the Nabob's army was greatly reduced. Even that reduced army was mutinous from the length of its arrears, and a source of apprehension rather than of hope.

On the 25th of August, the General left the Presidency, and joined the army which was encamped at St. Thomas's Mount. Of cavalry, there was one regiment, belonging to the Nabob, but commanded by English officers, and it refused to march unless it received its arrears. The men were deprived of their ammunition and arms; and about fifty-six of them only consented to serve. The rest of the army consisted of the King's 73rd regiment, one battalion of the Company's European troops, with the grenadiers of



BOOK V. another, five battalions of sepoy, a company of marks-  
 CHAP. V. men, two troops of cavalry, and a large train of artillery,  
 amounting, officers included, to 5209.<sup>1</sup> With the utmost  
 1780. difficulty, as much rice had been provided as would serve  
 the troops for eight days; the sepoy were obliged to be  
 loaded with four days' supply; and the utmost efforts  
 barely sufficed to procure bullocks to carry the remainder.  
 The General, notwithstanding, insisted upon loading his  
 march with a number of heavy cannon; of which, as he  
 had no fortifications to attack, the use did not appear to  
 be very remarkable. On the 26th, the army left the Mount,  
 and, after a march of four days, reached the camp near  
 Conjeveram. During the two last days, the rain had fallen  
 with great violence, had broken the roads, and rendered  
 the march, especially with heavy artillery, slow and  
 fatiguing. The enemy's cavalry had pressed upon them  
 in great numbers, and wounded and taken some of the  
 men. The agent of the Nabob, who accompanied the  
 army, and on whom the General depended to procure both  
 provisions and intelligence, informed him, that he had no  
 power for procuring either the one or the other; and his  
 only remaining resource was in the paddy in the fields  
 about Conjeveram.

It had been concerted, that the detachment of Colonel  
 Baillie should reach Conjeveram on the day after the ar-  
 rival of General Munro and the army.<sup>2</sup> But on the 31st,  
 a letter from Baillie gave information that he had been  
 stopped about five miles north from Tripassore by a small  
 river which the rains had swelled. On the same day, it  
 was reported by some deserters that Hyder had left Arcot,  
 was crossing the river Palar, and marching with his whole  
 army towards Conjeveram. On the 3rd of September, the  
 same day on which Baillie crossed the river by which he  
 had been impeded, the enemy encamped at five miles' dis-  
 tance in front of the army near Conjeveram. The con-  
 tinuance of the rains, and the necessity of collecting the  
 rice in the fields, and beating it for themselves out of the  
 husk, greatly incommoded and harassed the troops. On the

<sup>1</sup> 1481 European infantry, 294 artillery, 3434 sepoy, thirty-two field-pieces  
 four heavy cannon, and five mortars.

<sup>2</sup> The junction might have been effected at Madras, without difficulty or  
 danger, on the 25th or 26th; and it is clear that the main army should not  
 have advanced until the junction had been effected. Wilks, ii. 267.—W.

6th, the enemy moved his camp to the north-east ; upon which the English advanced to a high ground about two miles upon the road towards Ballee and Tripassore, having the enemy at a distance of about two miles upon their left. While this movement was performing, Hyder had sent forward his son Tippoo Saib with a large body of the flower of his army to cut off the English detachment with Colonel Baillie, who had now advanced to Perambaucum, distant from the main army about fifteen miles. Baillie made a disposition to resist a prodigious superiority of force ; sustained a severe conflict of several hours ; and at last repelled the assailants. By a letter on the 8th, he informed Munro, that upon a review after the battle he found the movement, requisite for joining him, beyond the powers of his detachment ; and intimated the necessity, that the General should push forward with the main body of the army. The General now found himself pressed by dangers, to whatever quarter he turned. All his provisions consisted in a small quantity of paddy which he had been able to collect in a pagoda. If he moved, the enemy would occupy his ground, and cut him off from the means of subsistence. With the concurrence of his principal officers, he adopted an expedient, of which the danger was scarcely, perhaps, less formidable ; that of still further dividing his little army, by sending a strong detachment, which, joining Baillie, might enable him to proceed. About nine o'clock in the evening of the 8th, Colonel Fletcher marched with the flank companies of the 73rd regiment, two companies of European grenadiers, one company of sepoy marksmen, and ten companies of sepoy grenadiers. The field-pieces, which the General proposed to send with the detachment, Colonel Fletcher declined, as calculated to impede his march. The men left even their knapsacks, and marched with only two days' provisions. Being joined by this detachment, Baillie was instructed to move in the evening of the 9th, and march the whole of the night. On that night the tents of the main army were struck, and the men lay on their arms. About 12 o'clock some cannon and musketry were heard ; but they presently ceased, and all was still. A little before daybreak, a heavy firing of cannon and musketry was heard at a distance. It was soon perceived that the enemy's army had moved. The General gave orders to march by the right in the

BOOK V. direction of the firing. After proceeding about four miles,  
CHAP. V. he ordered guns to be fired, as a signal of his approach ;  
1780. and after a mile and a half, he repeated the signal. A  
great smoke was suddenly perceived, and the firing ceased.  
Supposing that Baillie had repulsed the enemy, the General led the army back into the road, in hopes to meet him. After marching about two miles, he met a wounded sepoy, who had escaped from the fight, and told him that Colonel Baillie was entirely defeated. The General concluded that the safety of the army depended upon its returning to Conjeveram ; where it arrived about six in the evening, and where the arrival of more wounded sepoys confirmed the report of the disaster.

While the English General was placed in so complete an ignorance of the proceedings of the enemy, Hyder had intelligence of every transaction of the English camp : he was correctly informed of the route of Colonel Fletcher, the number and quality of his troops, the time of their march, and even the circumstance of leaving their cannon behind. He sent a strong detachment to intercept them. But the sagacity of Fletcher suggesting suspicion of his guides, he altered his route, and, by cover of night, evaded the danger. The junction of the two detachments, after the defeat by Baillie, of so large a portion of the enemy a few days before, struck alarm into the Mysorean camp. Even the European officers in the service of Hyder regarded the junction as a masterly stroke of generalship, intended for the immediate attack of his army both in front and rear. Lally himself repaired to Hyder, and entreated him to save his army from destruction by a timely retreat. The resolution of Hyder was shaken, till two of his spies arriving, assured him, not only that the English army at Conjeveram was not in motion, but that it was making no preparation to that effect. To his European officers this intelligence appeared so perfectly incredible, that they concluded the spies to be sold, and entreated Hyder not to incur his ruin by confiding in their report. Hyder immediately formed his plan. A difficult part of the road was enfiladed with concealed cannon ; and large bodies of the best part of his infantry were placed in ambush on either side ; a cloud of irregular cavalry were employed to engage the attention of the English main army in the direction of Conjeveram, while Hyder



with the main body of his army, lay in wait to watch the attack.

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Colonel Fletcher joined with his detachment at half-an-hour after six in the morning of the 9th. They reposed during the day; and after the parade in the evening, Colonel Baillie gave orders to be in readiness to march. Between eight and nine o'clock, the men moved off toward the left, by way of Subdeverim. The enemy began immediately to discharge their rockets; but, from the vigilance of the flanking parties, did little execution. A little after ten o'clock several guns opened on the rear. The detachment countermarched, and formed in line with the front toward Perambaucum. The enemy keeping up an incessant, though not very destructive fire, and discovering no inclination to advance, Colonel Baillie ordered his men to face to the right, and march into an avenue, which they had passed a few minutes before. The enemy's cannon began to do great execution; when Baillie detached a captain with five companies of Sepoys, to storm their guns. Though a water-course, which happened at that time to be unfordable, prevented this detachment from performing the service on which they were commanded, the intelligence of their march, which was immediately communicated to the enemy, threw their camp into alarm; their guns were heard drawing off towards the English front, and their noise and irregular firing resembled those of an army under a sudden and dangerous attack. A strong conviction of the necessity of preserving every portion of the little army, with which the mighty host of the enemy was to be withstood, suggested, in all probability, both to Colonel Baillie and to the General, a caution which otherwise they would not have observed. For what other reason Colonel Baillie forbore to try the effect of an attack during the apparent confusion of the enemy; or, for what reason, unless a hope of being supported by the General with an attack on the opposite side, he did not, when the firing ceased, endeavour to proceed, but remained in his position till morning, it is not easy to divine. During the night, Tippoo, who had commanded only a detachment of the army in the preceding attack, had an opportunity of drawing his cannon to a strong post on the road, by which the English were obliged to pass; and of sending to his



BOOK V. father advice, on which he immediately acted, of the advantage of supporting the attack with the whole of his army. At five o'clock in the morning, Colonel Baillie's detachment began to advance. A few minutes after six, two guns opened on their rear; and large bodies of horse appeared on their flanks. Four guns, which began to do considerable execution on their flanks, were successfully stormed; and the Pagoda of Conjeveram, the object of their hopes, and the termination of their perils and labour, began to appear; when they were informed that the whole host of Hyder was approaching. "Very well," said Baillie, "we shall be prepared to receive them." And presently after, upwards of sixty pieces of cannon, with an immense quantity of rockets, began to play upon this little army. Great confusion was produced among the numerous followers of the camp, who were driven in upon the line; and Hyder's numerous cavalry, supported by his regular infantry, and his European corps, bore upon every point of attack. Nothing ever exceeded the steadiness and determination with which this handful of men sustained the fury of their enemies. No effort could break their order; while Sepoys, as well as Europeans, repeatedly presented and recovered arms, with as much coolness and regularity, as if they had been exhibiting on a parade. Every attack of the enemy was repulsed with vast slaughter. Their courage began to abate; and even Hyder himself was perplexed. A movement executed by Colonel Baillie to the right, apparently with a view to attack the enemy's guns, increased the terrors of Hyder; and he consulted Lally on the propriety of a retreat. Lally replied, that as the main army of the English was probably advancing upon his rear, no expedient remained but to break through the detachment. When the heroic bravery of this little band presented so fair a prospect of baffling the host of their assailants, two of their tumbrils blew up; which not only made a large opening in both lines, but at once deprived them of ammunition, and overturned and disabled their guns. Their fire was now in a great measure silenced, and their lines were no longer entire; yet so great was the awe which they inspired, that the enemy durst not immediately close. From half after seven, when the tumbrils blew up, they remained exposed to the fire of the cannon

and rockets, losing great numbers of officers and men, till nine o'clock, when Hyder, with his whole army, came round the right flank. The cavalry charged in separate columns, while bodies of infantry, interspersed between them, poured in volleys of musketry with dreadful effect. After the sepoys were almost all destroyed, Colonel Baillie, though severely wounded, rallied the Europeans who survived. Forming a square, and gaining a little eminence, without ammunition, and almost all wounded, the officers fighting with their swords, and the men with their bayonets, they resisted and repelled thirteen attacks, many of the men when desperately wounded disdaining to receive quarter, and raising themselves from the ground to receive the enemy on their bayonets. Though not more than 400 men, they still desired to be led on, and to cut their way through the enemy. But Baillie, despairing now of being relieved by Munro, and wishing, no doubt, to spare the lives of the brave men who surrounded him, deemed it better to hold up a flag of truce. The enemy at first treated this with contempt. After a few minutes, the men were ordered to lay down their arms; with intimation that quarter would be given. Yet they had no sooner surrendered, than the savages rushed upon them with unbridled fury; and, had it not been for the great exertions of Lally, Pimorin, and other French officers, who implored for mercy, not a man of them probably would have been spared. The gallant Fletcher was among those who lay on the field of battle. About 200 Europeans were taken prisoners, reserved to the horrors of a captivity more terrible than death. The inhuman treatment which they received was deplored and mitigated by the French officers in the service of Hyder, with a generosity which did honour to European education. "No pen," says an eye-witness, and a participator of their kindness,<sup>1</sup> "can do justice to the humanity of those gentlemen,

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<sup>1</sup> See "A Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of the Officers, Soldiers, and Sepoys, who fell into the hands of Hyder Ali, after the Battle of Conjeveeram, September 10, 1780, by an officer of Colonel Baillie's Detachment." It forms the second volume of the work entitled, "Memoirs of the late War in Asia," published by Murray, in 1788. N.B. Before reading the proof of this sheet, I have had the advantage of perusing the account of the same action in the second volume (not yet published) of "Historical Sketches, &c. by Colonel Wilks." The account in the text is taken from the journal of one eye-witness. Colonel Wilks gives an account from that of another, much less favourable to

BOOK V. without whose assistance, many of our officers must  
 CHAP. V. have perished; but their merit will live for ever em-  
 1780. balmed in the hearts of all who felt or witnessed their  
 beneficence."

Hyder withdrew to Damul, a place about six miles from the scene of action, and the next day returned to his camp, where he had left the tents standing, and baggage unmoved, when he marched to the attack of the unfortunate Baillie. He had acted, during the whole of these operations, under the greatest apprehension of the march of Munro upon his rear. And had not that General been deterred, through his total want of intelligence, and his deficiency in the means of subsistence, from marching to the support of Baillie; had he fallen upon the rear of the enemy while the detachment was maintaining its heroic resistance in front, it is probable that the army of Hyder would have sustained a total defeat. On returning to Conjeveram, after intelligence of the fate of the detachment, the General found that the provisions, which he had been so unwilling to expose, amounted to barely one day's rice for the troops. Concluding that he should be immediately surrounded by Hyder's cavalry, and cut off from all means of providing any further supply, he began at three o'clock the next morning to retreat to Chingliput, after throwing into a tank the heavy guns and stores which he could not remove. Hyder, informed of all the motions of the English army, sent a body of not less than 6000 horse, who harrassed continually their flanks and rear, wounded some of the men, and cut off several vehicles of baggage. Through several difficulties, they reached,

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the detachment and its commander. According to the authority of Colonel Wilks, a series of military blunders, and not much of mental collectedness marked the conduct of the leader; and no little confusion and panic appeared among the men. Which account are we to believe? Why, this; that when proof is balanced, it is always more probable that men have acted like ordinary men, than that they have acted like heroes.—M. The accounts are less incompatible than the author thinks them. Colonel Wilks speaks of no panic amongst the men, nor of confusion, till after the explosion of the tumbrils: his description is equally favourable to their courage and conduct as that of the text. Both accounts agree as to one principal cause of the catastrophe, the unnecessary halts made by Baillie, his neglecting to advance after the first repulse of the enemy, and remaining in position until day-break. Had the time thus wasted been employed in pursuing the march, he must, by the morning, have been so close to the main body, that their co-operation could no longer have been prevented, and Hyder would have either suffered a defeat, or been compelled precipitately to retire. There was no want of courage, but a sad deficiency of military judgment and decision.—W.



about eleven at night, a river, within a mile and a half of Chingliput, so deep, that the rear of the army passed only at nine o'clock on the following morning. At this place the General expected to find a stock of provisions; but, with all his endeavours, could hardly procure paddy for a day. Fortunately for Colonel Cosby, as he was about to make a forced march to Conjeveram, he met with one of the fugitive sepoy's from Colonel Baillie's camp, upon whose intelligence he proceeded to Chingliput, and, though considerably harrassed by the enemy on his march, joined the army in safety on the morning of the 12th. Leaving the sick, and part of the baggage, at Chingliput, the whole army, at six o'clock on the morning of the 13th, began their march for the Mount, at which they arrived in the afternoon of the following day. Nothing could exceed the consternation and alarm of the Presidency, which now trembled even for Madras; and destitute as it was not only of provisions, but supplies of every kind, if Hyder had followed the English with his usual impetuosity, and with his whole army assailed the place, it is hard to tell how nearly, if not completely, he might have involved the Carnatic interests of the nation in ruin.<sup>1</sup>

On the 4th of September, the supreme Council in Bengal had deliberated upon the situation of the Presidency of Madras, and the propriety of adding to their pecuniary resources; but as the Supreme Council were still uncertain as to the reality of Hyder's invasion, or the success of the Presidency in raising money, it was agreed, that proceedings should be delayed till further intelligence.

The Supreme Council were highly dissatisfied with the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, who had not only passed the severest strictures on their policy, but, in the business with Nizam Ali, the Subahdar, had acted contrary to their declared inclinations, and even commands. The Madras Presidency, offended with the interference of the Supreme Council in their negotiation with the Subahdar, and with their own envoy, Mr. Hollond, as

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<sup>1</sup> For the original documents relative to this irruption, see First Report, ut supra, with its Appendix. In "Memoirs of the late War in Asia," i. 134—168 besides the concomitant transactions, is a narrative of the transactions of Baillie's detachment, from the information of an officer who belonged to it. The Annual Register for 1782, contains a tolerable account, chiefly drawn from the Parliamentary Reports.



BOOK V. an instrument in that interference, resolved that he should  
 CHAP. V. be recalled. The Supreme Council, being made acquainted  
 1780. with that resolution by Mr. Hollond, and apprehending a  
 greater estrangement of the mind of the Nizam by so  
 abrupt a conclusion of the correspondence with the Com-  
 pany, came to an opinion, on the 14th of February, 1780,  
 that advantage would arise from appointing a person to  
 represent themselves at the Nizam's court ; and to obviate  
 the appearance of disunion between the Presidencies, they  
 made application to the Governor and Council of Madras,  
 whose servant Mr. Hollond more immediately was, for  
 their permission to vest that gentleman with the office ;  
 and in the meantime directed him to remain with the  
 Nizam till the answer of the Presidency was obtained. The  
 offended minds of the Presidency, not satisfied with the  
 recall of Mr. Hollond, which had not produced an imme-  
 diate effect, suspended him from their service. The  
 Supreme Council, now freed from their delicacy in em-  
 ploying the servant of another Presidency, appointed Mr.  
 Hollond immediately to represent them at the court of  
 the Subahdar. They transmitted also their commands to  
 the Governor and Council of Madras, under date the 12th  
 of June, 1780, to make restitution of the Circar of Gun-  
 toor. No step, however, had as yet been taken in the  
 execution of that measure by the government of Madras :  
 and this the Governor-General represented, as a conduct  
 which demanded the most serious consideration, and the  
 decided interposition of the Sovereign Board.<sup>1</sup>

On the 25th, however, of the same month of September,  
 when intelligence had arrived not only of the actual inva-  
 sion of Hyder, but of the discomfiture of Baillie, and the  
 retreat of the army to the vicinity of Madras, with the  
 poverty and helplessness of the Presidency, and the gene-  
 ral havoc of the province by a barbarous foe, the Governor-  
 General, regarding only the means of recovering the blow,  
 and meeting the exigency with a clear judgment and a  
 resolute mind, proposed, that all the faculties of their go-  
 vernment should be exerted, to re-establish the power of  
 the Company on the coast. He moved that the sum of  
 fifteen lacs of rupees, and a large detachment of European

<sup>1</sup> Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy.

infantry and artillery, should immediately be sent to the relief of Madras: he also moved that Sir Eyre Coote should be requested to take upon himself, as alone sufficient, the task of recovering the honour and authority of the British arms: and recommended that an offer of peace should be made without delay to the Mahratta state. Upon the joint consideration, first, of the indigence and dangers of the Bengal government; secondly, of the probability of mismanagement on the part of the government of Madras; and, lastly, of the resources which that government still possessed; Mr. Francis objected to the magnitude of the supply, and would have sent only-half of the money and none of the troops, while peace, he said, should be concluded with the Mahrattas on any terms which they would accept. It was agreed that Sir Eyre Coote, and not the government of Madras, in whom confidence could not be wisely reposed, should have the sole power over the money which was supplied; it was resolved, that the strong measure should be taken of suspending the Governor of Fort St. George, for his neglect of their commands in not restoring the Circar, of Guntoor; and on the 13th of October, Sir Eyre Coote sailed from Calcutta, with a battalion of European infantry, consisting of 330 men; two companies of artillery, consisting of 200 men, with their complement of 630 Lascars, and between forty and fifty gentlemen volunteers. The prejudices of the Sepoys rendered it hazardous to attempt to send them by sea; and till the waters abated, which in the rainy season covered the low lands on the coast, it was not practicable for them to proceed by land. The intention, indeed, was entertained of sending by land four or five battalions in the course of the next or the ensuing month; but to that proceeding another difficulty was opposed. Moodajee Bonsla, the Regent of Berar, after showing a great readiness to meet the proposal of an alliance with the English, had afterwards temporized; and, though he afforded Colonel Goddard a safe passage through his dominions, declined all co-operation by means of his troops, and even evaded a renewal of the negotiation. When the disaffection of Nizam Ali towards the English was increased, that chieftain united his councils with the Poonah rulers, and with Hyder Ali, for the means of

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gratifying his resentments; and they joined in threatening the Regent of Berar, if he afforded assistance to the English. The Regent distrusted his means of resistance, and dared not to form the interdicted conjunction. The Nizam and the Poonah chiefs even insisted that he should send an army to invade and ravage Bengal, and he was afraid to resist the command; as he had no intention, however, to bring upon himself the resentment of the English, he communicated to the Governor-General intelligence of the constraint under which he acted; and, though he sent into Cuttack an army of 30,000 horse, under his son Chimnajee Bonsla, he promised to contrive, by means of delay, that it should not reach the borders of Bengal, till the season of action was over, and the rains begun. When it did arrive, which was early in June, 1780, it was in such distress for want of provisions, as to find a necessity of applying to the Bengal government for aid. The policy of preserving, if possible, the relations of amity with the state of Berar, as well as the motive of making a suitable return for the accommodations afforded to Colonel Goddard on his march, disposed the government to comply with its request." The army of Chimnajee Bonsla was in want of money no less than provisions; and on the 21st of September, an urgent request was tendered for a pecuniary accommodation, which the Governor-General privately, and without communication with his Council, in part supplied; at the same time intimating, that it depended upon the recall of that army from Cuttack, or its junction with the troops of the Company, to enable him to propose a public gratuity better proportioned to its wants. It might, in these circumstances, be presumed, that Chimnajee Bonsla would not hinder an English detachment to pass through Cuttack for Madras; but evil intentions on his part were still possible; on that of Nizam Ali something more than possible; the hazard of a march by the countries which they occupied was therefore proportionally great.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Eyre Coote, with a passage fortunately expeditious, landed at Madras on the 5th of November, and took his seat in Council on the 7th. He had been appointed bearer

<sup>1</sup> First Report, ut supra, and Appendix, No. 17; Sixth Report, ditto, p. 99, and Appendix, No. 294—305.



of the decree by which the Supreme Council suspended the Governor of Fort St. George ; and this document he now produced. The Governor not only denied the competence of the Supreme Board to exercise the authority which they now assumed ; but declared their decision precipitate and unjust, no contumacy appearing in his conduct to merit the punishment, which they arrogated to themselves unwarrantably the power to inflict. The majority of the Council, however, recognized the suspension ; and the senior member of the Council succeeded to the chair.

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During the interval between the retreat of Sir Hector Munro to the Mount, and the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief with the Bengal supplies, the Presidency at Madras had in vain importuned the Nabob for means which he had not to bestow. They appointed Colonel Brathwaite to the command in Tanjore ; and recommended that a body of cavalry should be raised in that country, demanded the assistance of the Raja for that purpose, as well as for provisions to the troops. They made restitution at last of the Guntoor Circar ; and at the same time sent a letter to the Nizam, in which they advertised him of the compliance they had yielded to his desires ; made apology for delay in paying the peshcush, and promised regularity, when the removal of the present troubles should place it more in their power. Partly the poverty and weakness of this Prince, partly his jealousy of Hyder, and partly the assurances which he had received from the Superior Government in Bengal had as yet retained him inactive during the war which he had been eager to excite. The situation of the Northern Circars was calculated to tempt his ambition. The troops, with the exception of garrisons for the three principal places, were all recalled ; but the Sepoys in the Guntoor Circuit refused to proceed by sea, and were obliged to be left at Ongole, while a mutiny was the effect of an attempt to embark those at Masulipatam and Vizagapatam. At the first of these places, order was restored by the address of the commanding officer. At Vizagapatam, however, they killed several of their officers, plundered the place, and went off, accompanied by five companies of the first Circar battalion. Apprehensions were entertained, that the



BOOK V. Sepoys of the neighbouring Circar would follow their example ; and that the Zemindars would deem the opportunity favourable to draw their necks out of the yoke. Sitteram Râz, who had been vested with so great a power by the favour of Governor Rumbold, stood aloof in a manner which had the appearance of design. But Vizeram Râz, his brother, who had just grounds of complaint, zealously exerted himself to suppress and intercept the mutineers, who at last laid down their arms, with part of their plunder, and dispersed.

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Immediately after the battle of Conjeveram, Hyder marched to renew the siege of Arcot, defended by about 150 Europeans, and a garrison of the Nabob's troops. In the service of the Nabob, there was hardly found a man that was faithful to his trust. Discord prevailed between the officers of the Nabob and those of the Company, during the whole of the siege. The approaches of Hyder were carried on with a skill resembling that of the best engineers, and his artillery was so well served as to dismount repeatedly the English guns upon the batteries. After a siege of six weeks, the town which surrounded the fort was taken on the 31st of October, by assault ; but the fort was strong, and still might have defended itself for a considerable time. The favour with which Hyder found his cause regarded by the people, he took care to improve, by the protection which he afforded to the inhabitants of Arcot, and the treatment of his prisoners : the applause of his generosity easily passed from the people without the fort to the people within : with the Nabob's officers he probably corresponded : the native troops almost all deserted ; and the fort capitulated on the 3rd of November. The officer who commanded the fort, on the part of the Nabob, he took immediately into his service and confidence. Many other of the Nabob's garrisons had surrendered, with little or no resistance, generally upon the summons of Hyder's horse ; and though an excuse was furnished, by the condition in which they found themselves with respect to the means of defence, nothing less than general treachery and disaffection seemed sufficient to account for the facility with which every place was given up. Hyder immediately supplied the forts with garrisons, repaired the works, and laid in

provisions and stores. He proceeded with great expedition to put Arcot into the best possible state of defence. Every avenue which led to it from Madras, and from Madras to the forts which the Nabob or the English still retained, was occupied by large detachments of his horse, and when need was, even by infantry, and fortified posts. By this means, the channel of communication, not only for supply, but even for intelligence, was almost wholly cut off.

Not deficient, either in the virtues which inspire affection, or in those which command respect, Sir Eyre Coote, as he was somewhat disposed to enlarge in praise of himself, so was somewhat apt to indulge in complaint of others. In the letters, which after his arrival in the Carnatic he addressed to the Directors and the Ministers of the King, he drew a picture in the darkest colours, not only of the weak and disastrous condition into which the country was brought, but of the negligence and incapacity, if not the corruption and guilt, of those servants of the Company, under whose management such misfortunes had arrived. It was, however, much more easy to point out what it was desirable should have been performed, than, with the defective revenue of the Presidency, to have performed it.<sup>1</sup> That Presidency had repeatedly represented both to the Supreme Council and to the Directors, their utter incapacity, through want of money, to make any military exertion: and by both had been left to struggle with their necessities. It was the poverty of the Carnatic, and the unwillingness of all parties to act as if they believed in that poverty, much more, it is probable, than the negligence or corruption of the government, which produced the danger by which all were now alarmed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, p. 6, where it appears to have been distinctly announced, by the Governor and Council, on the 19th January, 1779, that their resources were unequal, even to their peace establishment, much more to make any preparations for war.

<sup>2</sup> If the poverty of the Madras Presidency was the consequence of mismanagement and corruption, it only aggravated their culpability. The resources of the Carnatic were sufficient, if protected against the prodigality of the Nabob, the rapacity of his European adherents, and the ignorance or venality of the Company's servants, to have maintained the Presidency in a posture respectable, if not formidable, to its neighbours. At any rate, the knowledge of such inadequate resources, evinced in the complaints alluded to, should have deterred the Government from provoking hostilities, from a breach of their engagements with Hyder Ali, from disregarding his displeasure, and violating his territory, and from injuring and offending the

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According to the statement of the General, the whole army with which he had to take the field against the numerous host of Hyder, did not exceed 7000 men, of whom 1700 alone were Europeans.<sup>1</sup> Having put down in writing the view which he took of the situation of affairs, and the plan of hostilities which it appeared to him most advisable to pursue, he called a Council of War, consisting of the three general officers at the Presidency, Sir Hector Munro, Lord Macleod, and Brigadier-General Stuart; laid the paper before them, and desired that, after the most mature consideration, they would give their opinions upon it separately in writing. As four of the principal strongholds of the Carnatic, Vellore, Wandewash, Permacoil, and Chingliput, represented by the Nabob as containing considerable stores, were invested by the enemy, the General proposed to begin with the operations necessary for their relief.<sup>2</sup> Not contented with the sanction of the general officers, he deemed it meet, with a condescension to which the pride of military knowledge can seldom submit, to communicate the proceedings of the Council of War to the Select Committee, and to desire their opinion. All agreed in approving the plans of the General, and reposing unbounded confidence in his discretion. As Wandewash was the place in most imminent danger, the first effort was directed in its favour. The probability that Hyder would not permit them, unopposed, to pass the river Palar, it was gallantly and generously observed by Munro, was a motive rather to stimulate than repel, as the troops under their present

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Nizam. The timely interposition of the Bengal Government alone prevented the active enmity of this latter power, whose co-operation with Hyder, once before experienced, would have been decisive of the fate of Madras. In no part of the administration of Warren Hastings does he appear to more advantage than in the wisdom and vigour with which he rescued the Presidency of Fort St. George from the disastrous consequences of its misgovernment.—W.

<sup>1</sup> His force, therefore, did not exceed that of Munro and Baillie, had their junction been effected. According to Sir T. Munro, who was then a subaltern with the army, it was not so strong; consisting of but 1400 Europeans, with 5000 sepoys, and 800 native cavalry. *Life of Munro*, i. 32.—W.

<sup>2</sup> In his representation, the General stated it as a known fact, that they had not only Hyder, but the whole Carnatic, for enemies; and, therefore, not assistance, but obstruction, to expect in every part of the march: one of the Nabob's renters, having endeavoured to betray Vellore to the enemy, he had ordered him, he said, into irons; hoping, "that he might be instrumental to the discovery of those dark designs, which he had long suspected to exist in the court of a native power, living under the very walls of our garrison at Fort St. George."



leader he was confident would prevail, and nothing was, therefore, more desirable than to bring Hyder to a general action. On the 17th of January, 1781, the army, under the command of General Coote, marched from the encampment at the Mount. Hyder was struck with awe by the arrival of the new commander and the reinforcements from Bengal. So far from opposing the passage of the Palar, he abandoned Wandewash with precipitation, as soon as the army approached.<sup>1</sup> But this success was counterbalanced by the fall of the important fortress of Amboor, which commanded one of the passes into the Carnatic. From Wandewash the army was on its march towards Permacoil, when intelligence was received by express, that a French fleet had arrived. This was an event by which attention was roused. The direction of the march was immediately changed; and the army, after a few days, encamped on the Red hills of Pondicherry, with its front toward Arcot.

After the reduction of Pondicherry, the inhabitants had been treated with uncommon forbearance and generosity. The fortifications alone were destroyed. The people were allowed to trade under the protection of the English; and the officers to remain on their parole. Even upon the invasion of Hyder, when it was entirely evacuated by the English troops, the officers alone were sent to Madras. The flattering prospect of being speedily reinforced by their countrymen, of seeing themselves change places with the English, and of contributing something to the recovery in India of the glory and power of their country, tempted the Frenchmen of Pondicherry to forget the favours which they had received. They applied coercion to the English resident; enlisted sepoys; and laid in provisions at Carangoly. Sir Eyre Coote made haste to disarm the inhabitants, to remove the provisions from Carangoly, and to destroy the boats. The French fleet, consisting of seven

<sup>1</sup> Wandewash was not besieged by Hyder at this time in person. The commander of the enemy was one of his generals, Mir Saheb; the fort was defended by Lieut. Flint, and a garrison of 300 Sepoys only. The extraordinary courage, presence of mind, and military talents of Lieut. Flint, are described with the most interesting minuteness, and with enthusiastic, but deserved commendation, by Col. Wilks, ii. 291. See also Life of Munro, i. 33. Hyder at this period was engaged in the siege of Vellore, which was defended with successful gallantry by Col. Lang; and the failure of an attempt to carry it by storm, on the 10th of January, as well as the movements of the English General, induced Hyder to raise the siege. Ibid. 35.—W.



BOOK V. large ships, and four frigates, lay at anchor off Pondicherry. The English army was closely followed by large  
CHAP. V. bodies of the enemy's horse ; and on the 8th of February  
1781. Hyder passed at the head of his army, within cannon-shot of the English camp : marching, as was supposed, directly to Cuddalore. The English drums beat to arms ; and while the enemy proceeded on one of the two roads which lead towards Cuddalore, the English marched parallel with them on the other, and encamped on the 9th with their right towards the ruins of Fort St. David, and their left towards Cuddalore. So feeble were the resources of the English General, that he was already reduced to a few days' provisions ; and eager for a battle, as the most probable means of obtaining relief. He moved the army on the 10th from the cover of the guns of Cuddalore, leaving the tents standing, and placed himself in order of battle. He informed the men, as he rode along the line, that the very day he wished for was arrived ; and that they would be able in a few hours to reap the fruit of their labours. The English remained for three successive days offering battle to the enemy, which he was too cunning to accept ; and on the fourth returned to their camp, with a great increase of their sick, their provisions almost exhausted, the cattle on which their movements depended dying for want of forage, Hyder in possession of the surrounding country, and an enemy's fleet upon the coast. The deepness of the gloom was a little dispelled by the sudden departure of that fleet, which, being greatly in want of water and other necessaries, and afraid of the English squadron which was shortly expected back from the opposite coast, set sail on the 15th of February, and proceeded to the Isle of France.

The inability, in the English army, to move, for want of provisions and equipments, and the policy of Hyder to avoid the hazards of a battle, prevented all operations of importance during several months. In the meantime Hyder reduced the fortress of Thiagar ; his cavalry overran and plundered the open country of Tanjore ; and Tippoo Saib, with a large division of his army, laid siege to Wandewash.

On the 14th of June the fleet returned with a reinforcement of troops from Bombay. While absent on the

western coast, Sir Edward Hughes had attacked the ships of Hyder, in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore ; and destroyed the rudiments of that maritime power which it was one of the favourite objects of his ambition to erect.

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The want of bullocks, which were the draught cattle of the army, rendered the movement even of the English artillery heavy and slow. In hopes of being now supplied with provisions by sea, while they remained upon the coast, the English proceeded to Porto Novo on the 19th of June, not only to put a stop to the ravages of the enemy in Tanjore and the neighbouring districts, but to yield protection to Trichinopoly, against which, it was evident, that Hyder was preparing to march. On the 18th, General Coote in person conducted a large detachment to the assault of the fortified Pagoda of Chillambram ; where he was repulsed with very considerable loss. This event, which the English regarded as a heavy misfortune, produced the most favourable results. At a time when they could by no means venture to carry their operations from the vicinity of the sea ; when their imbecility was becoming dangerously visible ; and when they might have been soon cooped up within the walls of Madras, this disaster sufficiently elevated Hyder, whose army had increased with the progress of his arms, to hazard a battle for the sake of preventing the advance of the English towards Trichinopoly ; which, as holding in check the southern countries, was regarded by him as an object of great importance, and against which he was proportionally desirous that his operations should not be disturbed. He was dissuaded, it is said, but in vain, from this rash design, by the prudence of his eldest son ; and advancing on the only road by which the English could proceed to Cuddalore, he took up an advantageous position, which he fortified with redoubts, while the English were obtaining a few days' provisions landed laboriously through the surf. Early in the morning of the 1st of July, the English army broke up the camp at Porto Novo, and commenced their march with the sea at a little distance on their right. To the other difficulties under which the English General laboured, was added a want of intelligence, partly from deficient arrangements, but chiefly, it is probable, from the



BOOK V. disaffection of the people of the country, and the diffusion  
 CHAP. V. of Hyder's horse, who seldom allowed a spy to return.  
 1781. After a march of about an hour, the opening of an extensive prospect discovered a large body of cavalry drawn up on the plain. It was necessary to detach from the English army, small as it was, a considerable body of troops for the protection, from the enemy's irregular horse, of the baggage and the multitudinous followers of an Indian camp. The General formed the army in two lines, and advanced in order of battle. A heavy cannonade was opened on the cavalry which occupied the road before them. This dispersed the cavalry, and exposed to view a line of redoubts, commanding the road, and the enemy behind that line, extending on the right and left to a greater distance on the plain than the eye could command. The troops were ordered to halt; and the principal officers were summoned to council. The difficulties were almost insurmountable: the sea enclosed them on the right: impracticable sand-banks on the left: to advance directly upon the fire of so many batteries exposed the army to a dreadful slaughter, if not extermination: and four days' provisions, which the men carried upon their backs, constituted the whole of their means of subsistence. While the Council deliberated, an officer, walking to a little distance, discovered a road cut through the sand-hills. It was afterwards found to have been made by Hyder the preceding night, with a view to enable him, when the English should be storming the batteries in front, to throw them into confusion by falling on their flank; when his horse would rush from behind the batteries and complete their destruction. The army filed off into the newly-discovered road, the sepoy unharnessing the wretched oxen, and drawing the artillery more quickly themselves. Hyder perceived the failure of his stratagem, evacuated his works, and moved exactly parallel with the English army: which, after passing the sand-banks, turned and faced the enemy. A pause ensued, during which the General seemed irresolute, and some officers counselled a retreat.<sup>1</sup> Several of the men fell under the fire of the

<sup>1</sup> Both Wilks and Munro ascribe this pause to no irresolution in the General, but to the necessity of waiting until his second line was in position. Munro's account is particularly valuable, as he was present. "The General rode along

enemy's guns, which had been removed with great expedition from the batteries, and placed in the line. The second line of the English army was commanded to occupy some heights in the rear. Hyder, soon aware of the importance of this position, sent a division of his army to dislodge them. The first line of the English, led by Sir Hector Munro, now went forward to the attack; and at the same time another division of the enemy endeavoured to penetrate between the two lines, and attack the General in the rear. For six hours, during which the contest lasted, every part of the English army was engaged to the utmost limit of exertion. The second line upon the heights, skilfully and bravely commanded by General Stuart, not only repelled the several attacks which were made to force them from their advantageous ground, but successfully resisted the attempt which was made to penetrate between the lines, and rendered it impossible for the enemy to aim a stroke at the baggage towards the sea. The first line was thus left with undivided attention to maintain their arduous conflict with the main body of Hyder's army; where their admirable perseverance at last prevailed, and driving before them promiscuously, infantry, cavalry, artillery, they finally precipitated the enemy into a disorderly retreat. Had the English possessed cavalry, and other means of active pursuit, they might have deprived Hyder of his artillery and stores, and possibly reduced him to the necessity of evacuating the province. Their loss did not exceed 400 men; and not one officer of rank was either killed or wounded. The enemy's principal loss was sustained in the first attack upon the line on the heights, the strength of which they mistook, and advanced with too much confidence of success. In the rest of the battle, they fought chiefly at a distance, and with their artillery, which was skilfully served. The consequences of this victory were highly important. Hyder abandoned his designs upon the southern provinces. Tippoo raised the

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the front (of the first line) encouraging every one to patience, and to reserve their fire till they were ordered to part with it; he only waited for accounts from the second line. An aide-de-camp from General Stuart told him that he had taken possession of the sand-hills; he immediately gave orders to advance, and to open all the guns. The fire was so heavy that nothing could stand before it." *Life of Munro*, 43. See also a detailed account of the action, in *Wilks*, ii. 309.—W.



BOOK V. siege of Wandewash ; and both retired with the whole of  
 CHAP. V. their army to the neighbourhood of Arcot.

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The body of native troops, which it had been resolved by the government of Bengal to send by land to the assistance of Madras, was long detained by the negotiations, carried on as well with the Berar government, as with Chimnajee, the Commander of the army in Cuttack. The distress of that Commander for money to pay his troops, and the proposal of gratuity of thirteen, with a loan of ten, lacks of rupees, though distrust of the English power, now violently shaken, made his father shy, induced Chimnajee to engage for a safe passage to the troops. The detachment was placed under the command of Colonel Pearce ; and about the end of March arrived at Ganjam, where it was long detained by the violence of an infectious disease. This, together with a great desertion among the sepoys, materially weakened the battalions ; and their junction was not effected with Coote, who had returned to Madras, before the beginning of August.

The object which more immediately engrossed the desires of the English was the recovery of Arcot. As the want of provision was the grand impediment to that enterprise, and as the enemy were reported to have laid in great stores at Tripassore, the siege of that place was undertaken, in hopes to supply the army for the siege of Arcot. But Tripassore, though it surrendered after a few days' resistance, was found to contain a small supply of provisions ; and the advanced parties of Hyder's army, who was in full march to its relief, appeared in sight, before the English troops had taken full possession of the works. Hyder fell back a few miles to what he reckoned a lucky spot, a strong position on the very ground where he had defeated Baillie. And the English General, eager for another battle, which might relieve him from his difficulties, came in sight of the enemy about eight o'clock on the morning of the 27th. The position of Hyder gave him great advantages, while his guns bore upon the approaching army, and the advance was rendered peculiarly difficult by a number of water-courses cutting the ground. The second line of the English army, consisting of two brigades, were directed to occupy a situation of some strength on the left, while the first line, consisting of three brigades,

formed in face of six or eight cannon, which they were commanded to storm. No sooner had they pushed through some intervening underwood, than they found the guns removed from the front, and beginning to fire upon both their flanks ; while at the same instant a tremendous cannonade opened on the second line. Sir Hector Munro, who commanded the first line, was ordered to join the second, which could hardly maintain its ground. The two lines having closed, and presenting the same front, were commanded to advance on the enemy's artillery. The intervening ground was not only difficult but impracticable ; where the army stood, some protection was derived from a long avenue of trees. This was observed by the whole line ; and Sir Hector Munro pointed it out to the General. "You talk to me, Sir, when you should be doing your duty." The army accordingly advanced ; the men began to drop very fast ; and grew impatient. A tumbril blew up, the second in the course of the day. At an impassable difficulty, the army came to a stand, and impatiently waited for orders. None arrived. Sir Hector Munro, seated sullenly by the only tree that was in the plain, refused to issue a single command. The battalions, opening for the purpose of giving way to the enemy's shot, had fallen into clusters, and become noisy. The second line broke into great confusion. Two hours did the army remain in this perilous situation, in which, had they been vigorously charged by the enemy's cavalry, they could scarcely have avoided a total defeat. It is probable that Hyder's experience had rendered it difficult for him to conceive that the English were in a state of confusion. Night advancing, he ordered his guns to be drawn off, and the English returned to the strong ground which the second line originally occupied. A conference was held among the principal officers, when the impossibility of remaining, and the danger of advancing, being apparent to all, one gentleman, in expressing his sentiments, made use of the word *retreat*. The general immediately swore, he had never *retreated* in his life. He added, that he would permit the army to *fall back*. Spies came in with intelligence that Hyder was preparing to attack the English army between midnight and break of day. The troops in consequence were ordered to pass the night under arms

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BOOK V. in front of the camp. The report was false, artfully given  
 CHAP. V. out by Hyder, to cover his intention of removing in the  
 1781. night, to a place more secure from surprise. The next  
 day the English buried their dead, and collected the  
 wounded; when, being masters of the field of battle, they  
 fired the guns in token of victory. They now marched  
 back to Tripassore; when Hyder, calling the march a  
*retreat*, proclaimed a victory, with all the pomp of war, to  
 the nations of India.<sup>1</sup>

The English suffered considerably more in this than in  
 the previous action; and the enemy less. Of the privates  
 not less than 600 were lost to the service.<sup>2</sup> Several officers  
 of distinction were wounded, and some were killed.

Affairs were now in great extremity. The moment  
 seemed approaching when the army would be constrained  
 to quit the field for want of provisions. Madras itself was  
 threatened with famine. The fort of Velore was so  
 exhausted of provisions, that it could not hold out beyond  
 a short time longer; and the fate of the Carnatic in a  
 great measure depended on the fort of Velore. The  
 greatest exertions were made to enable the army to march  
 to its relief. Madras was for that purpose actually  
 exhausted of the means of subsistence. The enemy were  
 encamped at the pass of Sholingur on the road to Velore;  
 to which the English came up on the 27th of September.  
 A strong body was detached, in order to occupy a rising

<sup>1</sup> The description of this action in the text, is taken evidently from authorities unfavourable to Sir Eyre Coote, and is at least unprecise. The account given by Colonel Wilks is much more distinct, and, for the military details, more worthy of credit. Munro's description is brief, but authentic. "The position of Hyder was such, that a stronger could not have been imagined. Besides three villages, which the enemy had occupied, the ground along their front, and on their flanks, was intersected in every direction by deep ditches and water-courses; their artillery fired from embrasures cut in mounds of earth, which had been formed from the hollowing of the ditches, and the main body of their army lay behind them. The cannonade became general about 10 o'clock, and continued with little intermission till sunset, for we found it almost impossible to advance upon the enemy, as the cannon could not be brought, without much time and labour, over the broken ground in front. The enemy retired as we advanced, and always found cover in the ditches and behind the banks. They were forced from them all before sunset, and after standing a short time a cannonade on open ground, they fled in great hurry and confusion towards Conjeveram." *Life*, i. 45. That his army was saved from a total rout by the difficulty of getting at it, was politically converted by Hyder into the credit of having fought a drawn battle. Such, according to Wilks, it is termed in the Mysorean accounts; not a victory, as in our text Wilks, ii. 326.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The English army lost no more than 421 killed, wounded, and missing, officers included. Wilks. Our loss was above 500. Munro.—W.

ground to the left of the enemy's encampment, while the main army advanced in a single line upon their front. Hyder, from his former experience, had concluded that Sir Eyre Coote would keep the whole of his troops together; and had only provided against a direct movement on his line. His good sense made him resolve not to change the disposition of his rude and unwieldy mass in the face of an enemy; and his only effort was to draw it out of the field. He endeavoured to alarm the detached portion of the English army with a feint; while, after a short firing, his guns were hurried off. His horse during these operations stood the fire of the English cannon, and suffered severely. Before he could extricate himself, and before night came to his aid, he had sustained a considerable loss, with the power of inflicting only a trifling injury in return.<sup>1</sup>

The English were in no condition to press upon the foe. In the minor operations which succeeded, as in the whole course of the war, one of the most remarkable circumstances was the extraordinary promptitude and correctness of Hyder's intelligence, who had notice of almost every attempt, even to surprise the smallest convoy, and in this important respect, the no less remarkable deficiency of the English. On the 26th of October, the General removed his camp to the neighbourhood of Palipett, where he obtained a quantity of rice. With this he afforded Velore a temporary supply; and was even encouraged to undertake the siege of Chittore. That place, not being provided for defence, capitulated in two days; while Hyder, obliged to humour his army, was unable to obstruct these operations. The month of November was now

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<sup>1</sup> The accounts of Wilks and Munro are much more particular and clear than that of the text. Hyder was taken unprepared, and had not struck his tents when the head of the British line appeared before his encampment; and his only object in the action that followed, was to effect his escape without the loss of his guns. To accomplish this he sacrificed his cavalry. "He divided his best horse into three bodies, and sent them under three chosen leaders to attack as many parts of our army at the same time. They came down at full gallop till they arrived within reach of grape, when, being thrown into confusion, the greater part either halted or fled, and those that persevered in advancing, were dispersed by a discharge of musketry, except a few who thought it safer to push through the intervals between the battalions and their guns, than to ride back through the cross fire of the artillery; but most of these were killed by parties in the rear. This attack enabled Hyder to save his guns. Except the escort with the artillery, every man in the Mysorean army shifted for himself. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 5000, that of the English fell short of a hundred."—W.



BOOK V. arrived, and every thing announced the falling of the  
 CHAP. V. monsoon floods, when the rising of the rivers, and the  
 1781. softening of the roads, would make the return of the  
 English army extremely difficult; so far, too, from  
 being supplied with subsistence, the army continued in  
 a state of want; yet the General lingered where he was,  
 apparently absorbed in his own chagrin. He was sum-  
 moned from his reveries about the middle of the month,  
 by intelligence of an attack upon Palipett and Tripassore.<sup>1</sup>  
 The rains fell upon him during his march: in the space of  
 a few days the roads became so deep, that one elephant,  
 three camels, a great number of bullocks, carriages, and  
 horses, were left inextricably entangled in the mud: and  
 the Palar was just fordable when he passed it on the 21st.  
 On his approach, however, the enemy abandoned both  
 Palipett and Tripassore: and after encamping a few days  
 on the Coccalore plain, above Tripassore, he placed the  
 troops in cantonments; having lost one-third of the force  
 with which, after his junction with Colonel Pearce, he  
 marched in August from the Mount.<sup>2</sup>

At the Presidency, changes of more than ordinary im-  
 portance had taken place during this campaign. The state  
 of affairs in the Carnatic having greatly alarmed the Com-

<sup>1</sup> There was no great delay in the movements of the British force. Chittoor was taken only on the 11th November, and on the 16th the army marched to raise the siege of Tripassore.—W.

<sup>2</sup> For the materials of this war with Hyder, up to the present date, the most important sources are the First, Second, Third, and Sixth Reports of the Committee of Secrecy, in 1781. Of the military transactions, narratives of considerable value are to be found in the Annual Register; Robson's Life of Hyder Ali; and the publication entitled, *Memoirs of the late War in Asia*. For part of this campaign, see also Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney. To the pages of Colonel Wilks, I can now only refer, not having had the opportunity of availing myself of his lights, till what I had written could not be conveniently altered. Where my facts stand upon the authority of public records, I conceive, in the few instances in which we differ, that I approximate to the truth more nearly than he. To my other authorities I should have preferred him; though it is a grievous defect, that he so rarely tells us the source from which he derives his information: and though I repose no great confidence in the vague censures, and still more vague eulogies, in which he has indulged.—M.

Colonel Wilks explains in his preface the authorities he employs, and the reasons why more precise reference is not given. He writes from native documents, and from the official records of the Madras government. To these a particular reference would have been of no use, as they are not generally accessible. Of the care and fidelity with which they are cited, we have every reason to entertain a favourable belief, and the censures and eulogies which offend our author, are apparently in all cases judiciously, although they may be warmly, bestowed. As a military history of a very important period of our transactions in India, Col. Wilks's *South of India* is a work of the highest possible authority.—W.

pany in England, misfortune pointed resentment against the men under whose superintendence it had arrived ; and according to the usual process of shallow thought, a change of rulers, it was concluded, would produce a change of results. So much of misconduct having been imputed to the servants of the Company, a party appeared to be forming itself, even among the Directors and Proprietors, who called for an extension of the field of choice : and represented it as rather an advantage, that the chief governors in India should not be selected from the servants of the Company. It necessarily followed that a party arose who contended with equal zeal that by the Company's servants the stations of greatest power and trust in India ought exclusively to be filled. At a Court of Proprietors, held on the 30th of November, 1780, Mr. Lushington moved, "That it be recommended to the Court of Directors to appoint forthwith a Governor of Madras, and that it be earnestly recommended to them to appoint one of their own servants to fill that vacancy." It was on the other hand contended, that the *fittest* man, not a man of any particular class or order, ought always to be sought for the places on which the interests of the community principally depended ; and that integrity, unshaken by the example of plunder and corruption, a character to lose, and consequently one to save, by shunning the offences of former governors, were to be considered as the fittest qualifications in their new Governor of Madras. The Court adjourned without proceeding to a ballot ; but on the 23rd of the same month the question was renewed. Lord Macartney, who had recently gained reputation by negotiating a commercial treaty with Russia, was pointed out to the choice of the Company ; the advantages of a liberal education, of political experience, acknowledged talents and honour, were placed in the strongest point of view by the one party ; the benefits of local knowledge, and of the motives to zeal, to industry, fidelity, and the acquisition of knowledge afforded to the whole line of the Company's servants, by the high prizes of the principal stations in the government of India, were amply displayed by the opposite party : and, on a division, it was decided by a majority of seventy-nine to sixty, that new men should be eligible to the office of Governors in India. The

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BOOK V. Court of Directors were guided by similar views ; and on  
CHAP. V. the 14th of December, Lord Macartney was nominated  
Governor and President of Fort St. George. After a pas-  
sage of four months, he landed at Madras on the 22nd of  
1781. June, 1781, and then first obtained intelligence that the  
country was invaded.

He came to his office, when it, undoubtedly, was filled with difficulties of an extraordinary kind. The presence of a new Governor, and of a Governor of a new description, as change itself under pain, is counted a good, raised in some degree the spirits of the people. By advantage of the hopes which were thus inspired, he was enabled to borrow considerable sums of money. Having carried out intelligence of the war with the Dutch, and particular instructions to make acquisition of such of their settlements as were placed within his reach, he was eager to signalize his arrival by the performance of conquests, which acquired an air of importance, from the use, as sea-ports, of which they might prove to Hyder, or the French. Within a week of his arrival, Sadras was summoned and yielded without resistance. Pulicat was a place of greater strength, with a corps in its neighbourhood of Hyder's army. The garrison of Fort St. George was so extremely reduced, as to be ill prepared to afford a detachment. But Lord Macartney placed himself at the head of the militia ; and Pulicat, on condition of security to private property, was induced to surrender.

Of the annunciation, which was usually made to the Princes of India, of the arrival of a new Governor, Lord Macartney conceived that advantage might be taken, aided by the recent battle of Porto Novo, and the expectation of troops from Europe, to obtain the attention of Hyder to an offer of peace. With the concurrence of the General and Admiral, an overture was transmitted, to which the following answer was returned, characteristic at once of the country and the man : "The Governors and Sirdars who enter into treaties, after one or two years, return to Europe, and their acts and deeds become of no effect ; and fresh Governors and Sirdars introduce new conversations. Prior to your coming, when the Governor and Council of Madras had departed from their treaty of alliance and friendship, I sent my vakeel to confer with

them, and to ask the reason for such a breach of faith ; the answer given was, that they who made these conditions were gone to Europe. You write that you have come with the sanction of the King and Company to settle all matters ; which gives me great happiness. You, Sir, are a man of wisdom, and comprehend all things. Whatever you may judge proper and best, that you will do. You mention that troops have arrived, and are daily arriving, from Europe : of this I have not a doubt. I depend upon the favour of God for my succours." Nor was it with Hyder alone, that the new Governor interposed his good offices for the attainment of peace. A letter signed by him, by Sir Edward Hughes, and Sir Eyre Coote, the commanders of the sea and land forces, and by Mr. Macpherson, a Member of the Supreme Council, was addressed to the Mahrattas, in which they offered themselves as guarantees of any treaty of peace which might be contracted between them and the Governor-General and Council of Bengal : and declared their willingness to accede to the restoration of Guzerat, Salsette, and Bassein.

The principal settlement of the Dutch, on the Coromandel coast, was Negapatam, near the southern boundary of Tanjore. This, Lord Macartney was desirous of adding to the rest of the conquests from the Dutch, immediately after his arrival, but was overruled by the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, who represented the importance of recovering Arcot, in the first instance, and of marching afterwards to the attack of Negapatam. The President was eager to avail himself of the assistance of the fleet and marines, in his design against Negapatam — assistance, without which, the object could hardly be accomplished, and which could only be obtained while the season permitted shipping to remain upon the coast. Though the General had been disappointed in his hopes of being able to attempt the recovery of Arcot, he continued in the north-western part of the province, apparently disposed neither to march to the attack of Negapatam, nor to spare for that enterprise any portion of his troops. To Lord Macartney the attainment of the object did not appear to be hopeless without him. The intimation, however, of a design to make the attempt, brought

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BOOK V. back from the General an eager renunciation of all respon-  
CHAP. V. sibility in the exploit, a pretty confident prediction of  
1781. disappointment, and, from disappointment, of conse-  
quences deplorable and ruinous. The President declared  
that, convinced as he was of the propriety, and hence  
obligation of the enterprise, he would not shrink from  
the responsibility. To avoid interference with the General,  
not a man was taken from his army. Colonel Brathwaite,  
who commanded in Tanjore, and in whom the President  
complained that he found not all the alacrity which could  
have been desired, was directed, with his troops, to aid in  
the attack. The choice of a leader, too, was involved in  
difficulties. After the affront received by Sir Hector  
Munro, in the battle of the 27th of August, he retired as  
soon as possible from the army commanded by General  
Coote, under whom he served not again, and remained at  
the Presidency recruiting his health. It was to him that,  
in etiquette, the command of the expedition belonged ;  
but Mr. Sadlier, with whom he had the violent dispute,  
was now a member of the Select Committee ; and he  
refused to serve under orders or directions in which that  
gentleman should have any concern. The scruples of the  
General met a contrast in the liberality of the Committee,  
who readily consented that he should receive his instruc-  
tions from the President alone ; and the President, with  
the Admiral of the fleet, was empowered to form what-  
ever arrangements the enterprise should require. On the  
21st of October, the seamen and marines were landed  
from the ships ; on the 30th, the lines and redoubts were  
attacked and carried ; on the 3rd of November, ground  
was opened against the north face of the fort, and the  
approaches were pushed on with great rapidity ; the Go-  
vernor was summoned on the 6th, after a battery of ten  
eighteen-pounders was ready to open within three hundred  
paces of the walls ; he refused to surrender ; but, on the  
12th, after making two desperate sallies, and after one of  
the bastions had suffered from a formidable breaching-  
battery, he offered to accept, and received, terms of  
honourable capitulation. The number of troops who sur-  
rendered was 6551 — considerably greater than that of the  
besieging army. A large quantity of warlike stores, toge-  
ther with a double investment of goods — no ships having

arrived from Holland for the investment of that or the preceding year—was found in the place. With Negapatam, the whole of the Dutch settlements on that coast fell into the hands of the English ; and the troops of Hyder began immediately to evacuate the forts which they had occupied in the kingdom of Tanjore. A body of 500 men were put on board the fleet, which sailed from Negapatam on the 2nd of January, and proceeded to the attack of Trincomalee, a celebrated Dutch settlement on the island of Ceylon. It arrived before the place on the 4th, and on the 11th the best of the two forts which defended Trincomalee was taken by storm.<sup>1</sup>

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1782.

The deplorable indigence of the Presidency ; the feebleness of military operations unsupported by funds ; the power of the enemy, and the diminished prospect of supplies from Bengal, presented to the eyes of Lord Macartney a scene of difficulties, from which it was hardly possible to discover any source of relief. Participating in the general aversion to believe that the Nabob was no less exhausted than the Company, and representing to that chief how great the interest which he, no less than the Company, had, in the expulsion of so dangerous a common foe, the President, at an early period of his administration, renewed the importunities of the government on the subject of a pecuniary supply. The Bengal government, by their letters, had already given a sanction to strong measures of coercion ; declaring that, while every part of the Nabob's dominions, except the part retained by the English troops, was in the hands of a foreign power, and could only be wrested from it by their exertions, the Nabob could no longer be looked upon as the proprietor of the country ; and that such a combination of circumstances not only justified, but required, the immediate assignment of all his revenues, to defray the expenses of the war.<sup>2</sup> The President, expressing his desire to avoid this extremity, offered to accept a few lacs of pagodas as a temporary supply. This pressure upon the inability of

<sup>1</sup> Some Account of the Public Life of the Earl of Macartney, by John Barrow, F.R.S. i. 67—109 ; Annual Register for 1782.—M. Some interesting particulars of the capture of Fort Ostenburg, are given in the Memoirs of a Field Officer (Colonel Price) on the Retired List of the East India Service, who was present as a subaltern.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Gov.-Gen. and Council, Feb. 26, 1781.



BOOK V. the Nabob, drew from him language of asperity and recreation ; and when importunately urged, he at last  
CHAP. V. declared, that his future contributions were defined, by a  
1782. treaty which he had just concluded with the government of Bengal. The declaration, though it justly surprised the President and Council of Madras, was not at variance with the fact. The Nabob, who had tried the effect of an agency in England, both on the legislative and executive branches of the government, was advised to make trial of the same expedient on the controlling Board in India ; and in March, 1781, he sent, on a commission to Calcutta, his dewan or treasurer, together with Mr. Joseph Sullivan, a servant of the Company, whom, without the consent of the Presidency, he had appointed his agent. . The object of the Nabob was to obtain a clear recognition of his being the hereditary sovereign of the Carnatic, not subject to any interference on the part of the Company in the affairs of his government ; a promise of exemption from all pecuniary demands, beyond the expense of ten battalions of troops, to be employed in his service ; an admission of his right to name his successor, in pursuance of his wish to disinherit his eldest, in favour of his second son ; a promise to add, by conquest, certain districts possessed by Hyder to his dominions, and to restore to him the kingdom of Tanjore ; and, finally, the assistance of the Company, in forming a settlement with his European creditors.

To this embassy, the rulers of Bengal afforded a cordial reception. For the independence of the government of the Carnatic Prince, they undertook, in general terms : his requisition, respecting the ten battalions, and the limit of his pecuniary contributions, was approved : his right to appoint his successor they recognised as already admitted : the conquest of certain districts possessed by Hyder, they declared to be as desirable on account of the Company's as the Nabob's interest : the restoration of Tanjore, they informed him, was not placed within the limits of their authority : with regard to his European creditors, they proposed, that after the addition to the principal sum, of all interest due to the 21st of November, 1781 ; and after a deduction of one-fourth from all the debts which might have been transferred from the original

creditors, by purchase or otherwise, Company's bonds, with the usual interest, should be granted, and paid, according to a proportion which might be fixed, out of the assigned revenues. And upon these conditions, it was proposed, but not without his own consent, that the Nabob should make over all the revenues of his country, during the war, to the Company; that his agents, in conjunction with persons appointed by the Presidency of Fort St. George, should perform the collections; and that as much only should be retained by the Nabob as was necessary for the disbursements of his family and government. Not only was this agreement transmitted to Madras, with instructions to consider it as possessing the validity of a treaty; but Mr. Sullivan returned with credentials, as minister from the Governor-General and Council of Bengal at the Court of the Nabob.

Nothing is more pregnant with mischief than ill-worded and indefinite laws; and the best legislators have, as yet, displayed but little of the art of rendering the language of their enactments unambiguous and certain. We have already contemplated the disputes with the Presidency of Bombay, occasioned by the loose and imperfect phraseology of the law which conferred the power of control upon the Presidency of Bengal. In that instance, the Supreme Council were even rebuked by their masters for carrying their pretensions beyond the intent of the Company, and that of the law; but on the present occasion they pushed their interference into the most immediate and important concerns of the Madras government; inveigled from their service and obedience the servants of that Presidency; and set up an agency of their own at Madras, which implied the suppression of the chief powers of the Governor and Council. Though the character of Lord Macartney was tinged with vanity as well as ambition, he possessed great temper and urbanity; and the Governor and Council of Madras, instead of treating this new assumption of power on the part of the Bengal government as an injury, expressed only their apprehensions that they were not free to divest themselves of powers, with which their employers had intrusted them, and for the exercise of which they would hold them responsible. They remarked, that they were therefore at liberty to consider the scheme of



BOOK V. arrangements, which had been transmitted to them by the  
 CHAP. V. Supreme Board, as only materials to aid, not as commands  
 1782. to supersede their judgment. The words, they observed,  
 in which the Supreme Council had appeared to sanction  
 the independence of the Nabob, an independence which  
 they had received the express and repeated commands of  
 the employers to prevent, were so adroitly ambiguous, as,  
 in fact, to evade the question, and were inconvenient only  
 in so far as they tended to inflame the pretensions of that  
 troublesome associate; but as, in the government of the  
 country, there were certain departments in which it was  
 assumed as necessary that the Company's government  
 should take a share, and yet those departments and that  
 share remained totally undefined, the vagueness and am-  
 biguity of the words of the Supreme Board left the Madras  
 Presidency, if bound to obey, without any rule to guide  
 their proceedings. The article which regarded the ten  
 battalions of troops appeared, they said, to them, to con-  
 vey a power over their marches and operations, which the  
 Court of Directors had ever been most anxious to with-  
 hold. The Nabob had requested the power of employing  
 these troops in settling his country. The answer of the  
 Presidency is worthy of record: "We wish to know what  
 is meant by this article, before we form any judgment as  
 to its propriety: we know not how troops can be properly  
 said to contribute to the settlement of a country: if it be  
 meant that he should have the Company's forces to enable  
 him to punish or extirpate any of his tributaries, and if it  
 be proper to lend our forces for such a purpose, should we  
 not plainly say so, without reserve or ambiguity?" If the  
 Nabob was to have the troops, in all cases, upon his simple  
 requisition, "he might soon," they add, "require, what he  
 has hitherto in vain solicited from the Court of Directors,  
 —the means of attacking, contrary to their express com-  
 mands, the principal tributary Rajas who claim and de-  
 pend upon the protection both of the Crown and the  
 Company." If he was only to be assisted in those cases  
 which the President and Council should approve, the  
 clause, though void of meaning, was not exempt from  
 mischief, as it tended to raise "a claim, which, being  
 undefined, would be measured only by the wishes of the  
 claimant." The right of the Nabob to nominate a suc-

cessor, or to infringe the rule of primogeniture, they declined to discuss ; but affirmed their total ignorance of any such admission of that right as the Governor-General and Council appeared to assume. That the mode which was proposed for collecting the revenues, by the agents of the Nabob and of the Company in conjunction, was calculated to produce altercations between the different parties, and to afford the agents of the Nabob a pretence for defalcations, alleging obstructions from the Company's servants, experience, they said, most fully evinced. Whether the defect proceeded from the want of intention on the part of the Nabob, or from his inability to ensure the obedience of his collectors, it had, through them, been found impossible to obtain the revenues. With regard to the arrangements in behalf of the creditors of the Nabob, they were unwilling to wear the appearance of opposing either the will of the superior Board, or the interest of the creditors ; but they professed themselves ignorant, whether the creditors would regard the arrangement as advantageous, or the Directors would be pleased to find the Company pledged for bonds to so great an amount.

On the point, however, of the assignment, the situation of affairs, and the sanction of the Bengal government, appeared to the President and Council sufficient authority for urging the Nabob forcibly to concur with their views. With much negotiation it was at last arranged ; that the revenues of all the dominions of the Nabob should be transferred to the Company for a period of five years at least ; that of the proceeds one-sixth part should be reserved for the private expenses of himself and his family, the remainder being placed to his account ; that the collectors should all be appointed by the President : and that the Nabob should not interfere. By this deed, which bore date the 2nd of December, 1781, the inconveniences of a double government, which by its very nature engendered discordance, negligence, rapacity, and profusion, were so far got rid of ; though yet the misery and weakness to which they had contributed could not immediately be removed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the main object of the agreement projected, not executed, with the Nabob, by the government of Bengal. In the reply of Hastings to the objections of the government of Madras, he first apologizes for the inter-



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It was not one spring alone of dissension which distracted the government of Madras. The species of independent authority which had been conferred upon the General, produced many of the evils of a double government in the Presidency itself. The General had a susceptibility of temper, which, heightened by the infirmities of old age, by flattery, by the difficulties of his situation, and his want of success, made him take offence, with the levity and hastiness of a child. The civil authority, deprived, in a period of war, of all share in the military arrangements, found the business of government withdrawn from their hands, and themselves degraded into a capacity little superior to that of agents for supplying the wants of the army. The visible loss of authority, by weakening their influence, diminished their resources; and persons were even discouraged from relieving them by loans. A situation like this was ill calculated to please a man of Lord Macartney's rank and pretensions. Aware of the uneasiness which it was probable he would feel, it was natural for the General to view him with suspicion from the moment when he arrived. The mutual desire to save appearances, preserved an uninterrupted intercourse of civilities, till Lord Macartney discovered his design of attempting the conquest of Negapatam against the advice and without the co-operation of the General. From that moment the General gave way to his spirit of dissatisfaction and complaint; refused to attend the consultations of the Select Committee; quarrelled with every measure that was proposed; and even wrote to the Governor-General and Council that he suffered from interference with his authority, and, unless he were vested with power

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ference by the character of Lord Macartney's predecessors. "Your Lordship," he says, "will not ask why we thought our intervention on this occasion necessary, and why we did not rather refer the accommodation to the Presidency of Fort St. George, which was the regular instrument of the Company's participation in the government of the Carnatic; but I will suppose the question. I might properly answer it by another. Why did the Company withdraw their confidence from the same ministry, to bestow it on your Lordship?" He also declares, that had he known of Lord Macartney's nomination, he should have referred the Nabob to his government. He urges the enforcement of the agreement as being the act of the government of Bengal, and having been done by them; but he lays stress only on the 8th, 10th, 11th, and 12th articles; the two first insisting upon the assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic and Tanjore, and their application to the purposes of the war; and the two last proposing the consolidation of the Nabob's debts, and arrangement with the creditors. The whole matter was, however, left finally to the decision of the Madras Presidency.—W.

totally independent, that he would resign the command. Beside the loss of their authority and the diminution of their power over even the sources of supply, the civil authorities lamented, that they possessed no control over the expenditure of the army, and that, from the total disregard of economy, in which, notwithstanding the ruinous poverty of the government, the General indulged, that expenditure was enormously great. It nevertheless appears, that Lord Macartney, aware of the importance not only of united efforts, but of the name and influence of Coote, entertained not an idea of withdrawing from him any portion of that authority with which he had been intrusted; and strove to preserve his good humour by studied forbearance and courtesy.<sup>1</sup>

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The army had not been many days in cantonments, where they expected to repose during the remainder of the monsoon, when the fall of Chitore was announced at Madras, and intelligence was received, that for want of provisions Vellore would not be able to hold out beyond the 11th of January. No exertion was to be spared for the preservation of this important place. The treasury was drained to the last pagoda, to afford some pay to the army, which was deeply in arrear. But the exorbitant demands for equipment and conveyance were the principal source of difficulty and alarm. To carry the necessaries of thirty-five days for twelve or fourteen thousand fighting-men, the estimate of the Quarter-Master was 35,000 bullocks. Not to speak of the money wanted for the purchase, so great a number could not be procured; nor was it easy to conceive how protection could be afforded from Hyder's horse to a line of so many miles as the march of 35,000 bullocks would of necessity form. The number of bullocks now in store was 8000. With these and 3000 coolies, or porters, whom he could press, it appeared to the President that the army might convey what was absolutely neces-

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to a private friend, at the time, his Lordship says, "I never retort any sharp expression which may occur in his letters. In fact, I court him like a mistress, and humour him like a child; but with all this I have a most sincere regard for him, and honour him highly. But I am truly grieved at heart to see a man of his military reputation, at his time of life, made miserable by those who ought to make him happy, and from a great public character, worked into the little instrument of private malignity and disappointed avarice. All, however, has been, and shall be, good-humour and good-breeding on my part." Extract of a Letter to Mr. Macpherson, dated Fort St. George.



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sary; and the urgency of the case made the General disposed to waive his usual objections. Though with broken health, he joined the army on the 2nd of January; but on the 5th he suffered a violent apoplectic attack, and the army halted at Tripassore. On the following day, he was so far revived as to insist upon accompanying the army, which he ordered to march. They were within sight of Vellore on the 10th, and dragging their guns through a morass, which Hyder had suddenly formed by letting out the waters of a tank, when his army was seen advancing on the rear. Before the enemy arrived, the English had crossed the morass; when Hyder contented himself with a distant cannonade, and next day the supply was conducted safely to Vellore. As the army was returning, Hyder, on the 13th, again presented himself on the opposite side of the morass, but withdrew after a distant cannonade. On the evening of the 15th, the enemy's camp was seen at a distance; and a variety of movements took place on both sides on the following day: after mutual challenges, however, and a discharge of artillery, the contenders separated, and the English pursued their march to the Mount. The General expressed a desire of making a voyage to Bengal for the benefit of his health, but allowed himself to be persuaded to alter his design.<sup>1</sup>

After the capture of Mahé, the Madras detachment remained at Tellicherry, besieged by Hyder's tributary Nairs. Early in May, 1781, being urgently demanded for the defence of the Carnatic, the detachment was relieved by Major Abingdon, who arrived with a force from Bombay. One of Hyder's principal generals, with a detachment from his army which greatly outnumbered the garrison, now carried on a vigorous attack. The utmost efforts of the besieged were incessantly demanded to counteract the operations of the enemy; and the commander was under the necessity of applying to Bombay, both for provisions and troops. The answer declared the inability of the Presidency to make any further provision for the defence of Tellicherry, and the resolution to which they had been reluctantly brought of giving it up. His military notions of disgrace, and the still more important considerations of the cruel sacrifice

<sup>1</sup> Barrow's *Life of Lord Macartney*, i. 109—117; Wilks's *Historical Sketches*, ch. xxiii; *Memoirs of the late War in Asia*, i. 231—234.

which would thus be made of the lives and fortunes of the people in the place, as well as the doubtful possibility of withdrawing the troops, induced Major Abingdon to conceal the contents of the letter, and to remit a strong remonstrance against the orders which he had received. It produced the desired effect, and a packet was immediately despatched from Bombay to assure him of speedy support. The arrival of his reinforcements determined this enterprising officer no longer to confine himself to operations of defence. Every thing being prepared for a sally, upon the signal of the clock striking twelve, the troops got under arms, on the night of the 7th of January, and at one, in profound silence, began to march. After passing a deep morass, and escaping the notice of the enemy's picquets, they stormed an advanced battery at break of day, and forming the line, moved rapidly towards the camp, when the enemy fled in the utmost confusion, and their leader was wounded and taken. Master now of the surrounding country, Major Abingdon turned his thoughts to the re-establishment, in their respective districts, of the various chiefs whom Hyder had either rendered tributary or compelled to fly. Having, after this, demolished the enemy's works, and improved the defences of the settlement, he marched towards Calicut. On the 12th of February, he took post within two hundred yards of the walls, and the next day, a shell having fortunately blown up a part of the grand magazine, the garrison, exposed to an assault, immediately surrendered.

The hostilities of the French and English Governments, not contented with Europe and America as a field, at last invaded the two remaining quarters of the globe. A squadron of five ships of the line and some frigates, under the conduct of M. de Suffrein, together with a body of land forces, was prepared at Brest in the beginning of 1781; and sailed in company with the grand fleet bound to the West Indies, under Count de Grasse, at the latter end of March. At the same period, a secret expedition, with which for some time rumour had been busy, was prepared in England. The state of the Spanish colonies in South America, and the rich prizes which they appeared to contain, had pointed them out as the destined object to the public eye. But the war with Holland, and the

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BOOK V. importance of the conflict now raging in India, communi-  
CHAP. V. cated a different direction to the views of ministers: and  
1782. the acquisition of the Cape of Good Hope, with the effect-  
tual support of the war in India, became the ends, for the  
accomplishment of which the enterprise was planned. One ship of seventy-four guns, one of sixty-four, three of fifty, several frigates, a bomb-vessel, a fire-ship and some sloops of war composed the squadron; of which Commodore Johnstone, with a reputation for decision and boldness, received the command. A land force, consisting of three new regiments of 1000 men each, was placed under the conduct of General Meadows, who had purchased fame in the action at St. Lucia with d'Estaing. On the 13th of March, in company with the grand fleet destined for the relief of Gibraltar, the armament sailed from St. Helen's, and, including several outward-bound East Indiamen, with store-vessels and transports, amounted to upwards of forty sail. The secret, however, of this expedition had not been so vigilantly guarded as to escape the sagacity of the Dutch and the French. The armament under Suffrein was ultimately destined to reinforce the squadron now at the Isle of France; and to oppose the English fleet in the Indian seas. But the particular instructions of that officer were, in the first instance, to follow, and counteract the expedition of Johnstone, and above all, his design upon the Cape of Good Hope. For the sake of water and fresh provisions, the English squadron put into Prava Bay in St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands; and having no expectation of an enemy, cast their anchors as chance or convenience directed. A considerable proportion both of men and of officers, partly for business, partly for pleasure, were permitted to go on shore; and the decks were speedily crowded with water-casks, live stock, and other incumbrances. On the 16th of April, after nine o'clock in the morning, a strange fleet, suspected to be French, was seen coming round the eastern point of the harbour; and Suffrein, separating from the convoy with his five sail of the line, soon penetrated to the centre of the English fleet. The utmost despatch was employed in getting the men and officers on board, and preparing the ships for action. The French ship, the Hannibal, of seventy-four



guns, led the van, and coming as close to the English ships as she was able, dropped her anchors with a resolution which excited a burst of applause from the British tars. She was followed by the ship of Suffrein, of equal force. Another of sixty-four guns anchored at her stern. And the two other ships, of sixty-four guns each, ranged through the fleet, firing on either side as they proceeded along.<sup>1</sup> The ships being extremely near, and the guns being played with unusual fury, much destruction was effected in a little time. After the abatement of the first surprise, several of the Indiamen brought their guns to bear upon the enemy with good effect. Within an hour, the French ships at anchor had suffered so terribly, that the last of the three, having lost her captain, cut her cables and began to withdraw. Thus deserted a-stern, and despairing of success, Suffrein followed her example, and gave the signal to retreat; the Hannibal alone remained, a mark to every ship the guns of which could be made to bear upon her; and displayed a resolution, which may be compared with the noblest examples of naval heroism. She had lost her foremast and bowsprit; her cable was either cut or shot away; in the effort of hoisting more sail to get out of the fire, her main and mizen masts went overboard, and she remained, as it were, a hulk upon the water. Sustaining the weight of a dreadful fire, to which, enfeebled as she was, her returns were slow and ineffectual, she yet joined the rest of the ships at the mouth of the bay; and, being towed off, erected jury-masts, and proceeded with the fleet. An attempt on the part of the English to pursue was totally ineffectual. They sustained not any considerable loss, notwithstanding the closeness of the action, and the crowded situation of the ships. Their own steady and determined bravery counteracted the effects of surprise, and baffled the well-concerted scheme of the enemy. They remained to refit and provide till the 2nd of May, and on approaching the Cape ascertained that Suffrein had arrived before them. Though previous to the arrival of Suffrein, that settlement, then supposed of great importance, was not in a

<sup>1</sup> That Port Praya, belonging to the Portuguese, was a neutral harbour, but little affected the delicacy of the French, though the English observed the punctilio of reserving their fire till attacked.



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 CHAP. V. the land and naval force under Meadows and Johnstone  
 1782. it was now accounted vain to make on it any attempt. While the French fleet lay at anchor in False Bay, it appeared not to the Commodore impossible to make prize of a fleet of Dutch East Indiamen, in Saldanha Bay. Success depended on being able, by surprise and celerity, to prevent them from being run ashore and burnt. The end was pretty completely attained ; as, out of five ships, four were secured. The Commodore in his own ship, with the prizes and most of the frigates, returned to Europe ; the rest, together with the troops, proceeded to India. Suffrein, leaving a sufficient garrison for the protection of the Cape, sailed for the Island of Mauritius ; where he augmented the French fleet to ten sail of the line, one fifty gun ship, and several frigates. The English, on the 2nd of September, stopped at the Island of Joanna, to land and recover the sick, who now amounted to a third part both of the seamen and soldiers. They left the island on the 24th of the same month ; were becalmed from the 11th of October to the 5th of November ; at 260 leagues distant from Bombay, they were carried, by the shifting of the monsoon, to the coast of Arabia Felix ; on the 26th of November anchored in Morabat Bay ; on the 6th of December, the principal ships of war, having on board General Meadows and Colonel Fullarton with the chief part of the troops, proceeded in quest of Admiral Hughes ; the remaining ships and transports with part of two regiments, under the command of Colonel Humberston Mackenzie, left Morabat on the 9th ; and arrived at Bombay on the 22nd of January, 1782.

The Colonel remained only six days at Bombay, when he re-embarked the men, and set sail for Madras. On the 9th of February, at Anjengo, in the dominions of the King of Travancore, alarming intelligence reached him from the Coromandel coast, that Hyder Ali had overrun the whole of the Carnatic with an immense army ; that he threatened Tanjore, Marawar, Madura, and Tinivelly with destruction ; that he circumvented and cut off two British armies ; that dissension, improvidence, and pusillanimity reigned at Madras ; and that Fort St. George itself was insulted and endangered. To these statements was added

intelligence that the French fleet were at this time to assemble off Point de Galle ; and that magazines for them had for some time been forming at Columbo and other ports in Ceylon. He called a Council of War ; when he came to the determination, in consequence chiefly of the intelligence respecting the French fleet, rather to attempt a diversion on the Malabar side of Hyder's dominions, than to incur the chances of delay and danger attached to the voyage round to Madras. He landed his troops, amounting to scarcely a thousand men, at Calicut, on the 18th of February, where he joined Major Abingdon, and as senior officer assumed the command. He immediately took the field ; proceeded into Hyder's territories ; drove before him the army which was left for the protection of those parts ; and took several forts ; when, the monsoon approaching, he returned to Calicut, and placed his little army in cantonments in the month of May.

The French fleet, with a body of land forces, forming part of the armament which, under Bussy, was destined to restore the influence of the French in India, left the islands a considerable time after the English sailed for Joanna ; and, the Admiral dying on his passage, the command devolved upon M. Suffrein, a man of great resource, of unwearied enterprise, and, in every respect, one of the best naval commanders whom France had ever produced. The English fleet, delayed and dispersed by the weather, incurred considerable danger of a very unseasonable encounter ; and the Hannibal, a fifty-gun ship, being separated from the rest in a haze, unexpectedly found herself surrounded by the enemy, where, after a fruitless though gallant resistance, she was taken. The French fleet arrived on the Coromandel coast in the month of January, and intercepted several vessels bound to Madras with grain. Sir Edward Hughes, after taking Trincomalee, was obliged on the last day of January to set sail for Madras, being in great want of stores and provisions, his ships much decayed, and his crew diminished and sick. On his arrival at Madras, on the 11th of February, he learned that he had fortunately escaped the French fleet already upon the coast ; but still found himself exposed to their attack in an open road, with only six ships of the line, out of condition from long service, and almost destitute of sup-

BOOK V. plies. By another fortunate chance (for had either  
 CHAP. V. squadron fallen in with the French, the most fatal consequences might have ensued), the ships which carried General Meadows and his army, consisting of one seventy-four, one sixty-four, and one fifty-gun ship, arrived the next day in the road; and within twenty-four hours, Suffrein, with ten ships of the line, two ships, including the captured Hannibal, of fifty guns, six frigates, eight transports, and six prizes, hove in sight, reconnoitred Madras, and anchored a few miles to windward of the English fleet, which, with the utmost diligence, was making the necessary preparations for action. Deceived in his probable expectation of finding Sir Edward Hughes with only six sail of the line, not re-inforced, and of signalizing his arrival by so decisive a blow as the destruction of the English fleet, he, on the 14th, passed Madras in line of battle to the southward. The English weighed anchor, and followed. On the 15th, in the evening, the fleets passed each other, so near, as to exchange some shots. On the 16th, the English Admiral found an opportunity of making a push at the French convoy separated from the fleet, when he retook five of the vessels which had been captured on the coast, and a large transport laden with provisions, ammunition, and troops. On the 17th, after a variety of movements, in which Suffrein still kept the weather-gage, the two fleets came to action late in the day; and separated after a short conflict, on the approach of night, when the French steered to windward, and the English to Trincomalee.

The French Admiral proceeded to Porto Novo, and landed 2000 men.<sup>1</sup> They were soon joined by a large detachment of Hyder's army, under the command of Tippoo his son, who had just been employed in inflicting upon the English one of the deepest wounds which they had sustained during the war. Colonel Brathwaite, with 100 Europeans, 1500 native troops, and 300 cavalry, stationed for the purpose of protecting Tanjore, lay encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, at a distance of forty miles from the capital of that name, exposed indeed on an open plain, but apparently secured by the intervention of

<sup>1</sup> The author of *Histoire de la Dernière Guerre* (p. 297) says about 3000; but, that was, including a regiment of Caffres.



several large and deep rivers, and the distance of the enemy. His position gave encouragement to Hyder. Tippoo, with 10,000 horse, an equal number of infantry, twenty pieces of cannon, and M. Lally, with his European troops 400 strong, surrounded Colonel Brathwaite before he had received even a suspicion of their march. His first endeavour was to reach Tanjore, or some other place of safety ; but the superior force of the enemy rendered this impracticable. The next resolution was to make a brave defence ; and seldom can the annals of war exhibit a parallel to the firmness and perseverance which he and his little army displayed. From the 16th to the 18th of February, surrounded on all sides by an enemy, who outnumbered them, twenty to one, did they withstand incessant attacks. They formed themselves into a hollow square, with the artillery interspersed in the faces, and the cavalry in the centre. Tippoo laboured, by the fire of his cannon, to produce a breach in some of the lines, and as often as he fancied that he had made an impression, urged on his cavalry, by his presence, by promises, by threats, by stripes, and the slaughter of fugitives with his own hand. Repeatedly they advanced to the charge ; as often were they repelled by showers of grape-shot and musketry ; when the English cavalry, issuing from the centre, at intervals suddenly made by disciplined troops, pursued their retreat with great execution. After twenty-six hours of incessant conflict, when great numbers of the English army had fallen, and the rest were worn out with wounds and fatigue, Lally, at the head of his 400 Europeans, supported by a large body of infantry, covered on his flanks by cavalry, advanced with fixed bayonets to the attack. At this tremendous appearance, the resolution of the sepoys failed, and they were thrown into confusion. The rage of barbarians was with difficulty restrained by the utmost efforts of a civilized commander. Lally is reported to have dyed his sword in the blood of several of the murderers, before he could draw them off from the carnage. It is remarkable, notwithstanding the dreadful circumstances of this engagement, that out of twenty officers, only one was killed, and eleven wounded. And it is but justice to add, that Tippoo treated his prisoners, especially the officers and wounded men, with real attention and humanity.

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BOOK V. The arrival of so important an aid as that of 2000  
CHAP. V. Frenchmen, augmented to an alarming degree the army of  
1782. Tippoo. Cuddalore yielded to their united force on the 3rd of April, and afforded a convenient station both naval and military for the French. In the meantime Sir Edward Hughes left Trincomalee, having effected the most necessary repairs, and arrived at Madras on the 12th of March. Towards the end of that month, the French Admiral slipped from Porto Novo, hearing that a fleet of English Indiamen had arrived upon the coast. As soon as his departure was known at Madras, Sir Edward Hughes got under weigh; but had not lost sight of the flag-staff of the fort, when he fell in with the fleet, of which the French were in quest, consisting of seven Indiamen and two line-of-battle-ships, having a king's regiment on board. He ordered the men of war to join him, and proceeded to land a reinforcement and stores for the garrison of Trincomalee. His policy was to avoid an engagement till this service was performed. Suffrein, on the other hand, whose crews were sickly, and his provisions wearing low, was eager to fight. The two fleets came in sight on the 8th of April; but the English Admiral held on his course, and the French followed, during that and the three succeeding days, when, having made the coast of Ceylon, about fifteen leagues to windward of Trincomalee, the English bore away for it during the night. This appears to have been the opportunity for which Suffrein was in wait; for having gained the wind of the English squadron, he was seen on the morning of the 12th crowding all the sail which he could carry in pursuit, while the English were so alarmingly close upon a lee-shore, that one of the ships actually touched the ground. A severe conflict ensued, in which the intrepid resolution of the English again counterbalanced the disadvantages of their situation; and the fleets, after suffering in nearly an equal degree, were parted by the night. So much were both disabled, that they lay for seven days within random-shot, only to prepare themselves to sail; and retired, the English to Trincomalee, the French to the Dutch harbour of Battacalo, without on either side attempting to renew the engagement.

The English army, who had now been some months in cantonments, took the field on the 17th of April. The

object first in contemplation was to relieve Parmacoil ; but on arriving at Carangoly, the General found it already surrendered. On the 24th, the army encamped near Wandewash, on the very spot on which Sir Eyre Coote defeated the French General Lally in 1760. The general orders boasted of the victory, and a double batta was issued to the troops ; but on the next day, on account of water, the position was shifted to the other side of the fort. Hyder and his French auxiliaries lay encamped on a strong post on the red hills near Parmacoil, from which, on the approach of the English, they removed to another in the neighbourhood of Kellinoor. As the magazines of Hyder were deposited in the strong fort of Arnee, Sir Eyre concluded that a march upon that place would draw the enemy to its assistance, and afford the opportunity of a battle. He encamped on the first of June within three miles of the place ; and Hyder, passing over a space of forty-three miles in two days, took up his head-quarters at Chittapet, on the evening of the same day. Before the dawn of the following morning, the English army were in motion toward Arnee ; but with the first of the light, a heavy cannonade was opened on their rear. The troops came twice to the right about, and the baggage was brought twice through the files, before it was possible to discover whence the fire proceeded. A Council, which was called, and deliberated in great uncertainty, agreed in opinion, that an attack was expected on the rear, and the army was immediately drawn up to receive it. The enemy's horse, in the meantime, occupied the circumjacent grounds, more elevated than the low spot which was occupied by the English, and considerably galled them ; while Hyder, dexterously detaching a division of his army under Tippoo, carried off the treasure from Arnee, gave instructions to the commandant, and reinforced the garrison. Having accomplished his object, he retired as the English advanced ; and one of his guns, and a tumbril which stuck in the bed of the river, were the only trophies of the day. Deeming it vain to attempt the reduction of Arnee, the English on the 7th were considerably advanced on their march back to Madras, when a regiment of European cavalry, which Sir Eyre Coote called his grand guard, were drawn into an ambuscade, and either killed or taken prisoners. After

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BOOK V. attempting without success to lead the enemy into a similar  
 CHAP. V. snare near Wandewash, on the 9th, the General proceeded  
 on his march, and on the 20th arrived at Madras.

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On the 29th of that month, by a letter from the Governor-General to Lord Macartney, the conclusion of peace with the Mahrattas was announced at Madras. Sir Eyre Coote, as solely invested with the power of war and peace, of his own authority, and without consulting the Governor and Council of Madras, proposed to Hyder, or rather summoned him, to accede to the treaty concluded between the English and the Mahrattas, to restore all the forts which he had taken, and within six months to evacuate the Carnatic; otherwise, the arms of the Mahrattas would be joined to those of the English, in order to chastise him. Lord Macartney, alarmed at so daring an assumption of the whole power of the Presidency, is accused of having diverted the mind of Hyder from peace, by teaching him to doubt the validity of any agreement with the General in which the Governor and Council had not a part.<sup>1</sup> But Hyder too well knew the politics of India to receive great addition to his apprehensions from the threats of the General; and was too well acquainted with the intrigues of Madras to receive new lights from the communication, even if it had been made, which was thus imputed to Lord Macartney. To retain the negotiation more completely independent of the civil authority, the General moved from Madras, on the 1st of July, and lessened his distance from Hyder. Sir Eyre was a most unequal match for the Mysorean in the arts of diplomacy, and allowed himself to be duped. Hyder amused him in the neighbourhood of Wandewash, till the army had wholly consumed not only their own rice, but also that of the garrison; and till he had completely arranged with the French Admiral a plan of combined operations for the reduction of Negapatam. He then demanded a little time for deliberation, and, suddenly withdrawing his vakeel, left the General in total darkness with regard to his designs.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of the late War in Asia, i. 403, which, being an undistinguishing panegyric upon Hastings, takes part against Macartney.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Wilks's account of this negotiation is somewhat different. According to him, it originated with Hyder. Some advances to negotiation being made by him through Colonel Brathwaite, a prisoner in Hyder's camp, these

Sir Eyre Coote was obliged to return to Madras; and good fortune alone defeated the train which was laid for the reduction of Negapatam. Suffrein, in sailing to Negapatam, was descried by the English fleet, and in spite of every attempt to gain the road without fighting, was by the skilful movements of the Admiral constrained to venture a battle. After refitting at Ceylon, both fleets had returned to the coast about the end of June; the French to the port of Cuddalore, the English to that of Negapatam. Weighing anchor about three in the afternoon on the 3rd of July, the English Admiral steered in a southward direction, in order to gain the wind of the enemy, and about 11 o'clock on the following day the action commenced. It was close, warm, and general. After an hour and a half, during which the fire had been equally well maintained on both sides, the French line appeared to be getting into disorder; and the English began to cheer themselves with the hopes of a speedy and glorious victory, when a sudden alteration of the wind disturbed their order of battle, affording an opportunity to Suffrein, of which he dexterously availed himself, to form a line with those ships which had suffered the least, for covering the disabled part of his fleet, and induced the English Admiral to collect the scattered ships. At the approach of evening he cast anchor between Negapatam and Nagore.<sup>1</sup> The French, having passed the night about three leagues to leeward, proceeded the next morning to Cuddalore; and the English fleet, though it saw them, was too much disabled to pursue. The English Admiral, after remaining a fortnight at Negapatam, arrived at Madras on the 20th, in order to refit. In the mean time Suffrein had proceeded with characteristic activity, a quality in which he was never surpassed, in preparing his fleet for sea at Cuddalore. He was a man, that, when the exigency required,

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advances were followed by the mission of an envoy to the English camp, charged with no definite proposals, and instructed merely to feel the dispositions and probable demands of the English in the event of a peace being made. Sir Eyre Coote declined to satisfy the official inquiries of Lord Macartney with regard to the nature of these communications—conduct certainly uncordial and indecorous, but less glaringly so, than if the General had taken upon himself to propose terms of peace without the knowledge of the government.—W.

<sup>1</sup> It is said that two of the French line-of-battle-ships struck during the action, but that Suffrein fired into them till they hoisted colours again; and in consequence were saved.



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would work for days, like a ship's carpenter, in his shirt. He visited the houses and buildings at Cuddalore, and for want of other timber, had the beams which suited his purpose taken out. To some of his officers, who represented to him the shattered condition of his ships, the alarming deficiency of his stores, the impossibility of supplying his wants in a desolated part of India, and the necessity of repairing to the islands to refit ; the whole value, he replied, of the ships was trivial, in comparison with the object which he was commissioned to attain ; and the ocean should be his harbour, till he found a place in India to repair them. On the 5th of August, the Governor of Fort St. George was informed, that the French fleet was already not only prepared for sea, but had actually sailed to the southward on the 1st of the month ; that the first division of the French reinforcements expected from Europe was actually arrived at Point de Galle ; and that the second, with Bussy himself, was daily expected. Greatly alarmed for the fate of Trincomalee, and even of Negapatam, the President and Committee deemed it requisite to quicken the preparations of the Admiral, whose activity equalled not his courage and seamanship, by a letter in which they drew his attention to this intelligence, and to the danger which every day was incurred, while an enemy's fleet kept the sea, without a British to oppose it. The jealousy of the Admiral was acute ; of the time for sailing, he replied, that he was the judge ; that he was not responsible for his conduct to the government of Madras ; and that he should proceed to sea with his Majesty's squadron under his command, as soon as it was fit for service.<sup>1</sup> He did not proceed to sea before the 20th of August, when he sailed to Trincomalee, and found it already in the hands of the enemy. Suffrein, after proceeding to Point de Galle, where he was joined by the reinforcements from Europe and two ships of the line, anchored in Trincomalee Bay on the 25th ; landed the troops before day the next morning ; opened the batteries on the 29th ; silenced those of the garrison before night ; and summoned the place before morning. Eager to anticipate the arrival of the English fleet, Suffrein offered the most honourable terms. The

<sup>1</sup> Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, i. 122.

forts were surrendered on the last of the month, and Hughes arrived on the 2nd of September.

Early on the following morning the French fleet proceeded to sea; when the English were eager to redeem by a victory the loss of Trincomalee. The French had twelve, the English eleven sail of the line; the French had four ships of fifty guns, the English only one. The battle began between two and three in the afternoon, and soon became general. After raging for three hours with great fury, in every part of the line, the darkness of the night at last terminated one of the best-fought actions then recorded in the annals of naval warfare. The exertions of Suffrein himself were remarkable, for he was ill seconded by his captains, of whom he broke no fewer than six, immediately after the engagement. Fortunately for the French fleet, they had the island of Trincomalee at hand, to receive them; but in crowding into it in the dark, one ship struck upon the rock, and was lost; and two others were so much disabled, that ten days elapsed before they were able to enter the harbour. Suffrein then described them as presents which he had received from the British Admiral; who, regarding the proximity of Trincomalee as a bar to all attempts, and finding his ammunition short, immediately after the battle proceeded to Madras.

Hyder, upon the disappointment of his plan against Negapatam, by the rencounter between the French and English fleets, returned upon his steps; and proceeded toward his magazine at Arnee. Upon the return of the English army to Madras, a plan had been concerted for the recovery of Cuddalore. The return, indeed, of Hyder, by alarming the General for the safety of Wandewash, made him wish to lessen rather than increase his distance from that fort; but after a day's march, having learned that Hyder had passed the river Arnee, he proceeded in the direction of Cuddalore, and on the 6th of September encamped on the Red Hills of Pondicherry. Intelligence, here received, of the fall of Trincomalee, of another action between the fleets, and of the intention of the British Admiral to return to Madras, induced the General, who had sustained a second paralytic attack, to return to the same place with the army.

The Presidency were thrown into the utmost agitation

BOOK V. and alarm by an unexpected event; the refusal of the  
CHAP. V. Admiral to co-operate in the enterprise against Cuddalore;  
1782. and the declaration of his intention to proceed to Bombay,  
and leave the coast during the ensuing monsoon. If the  
coast were left unprotected by a British fleet, while the  
harbour of Trincomalee enabled the enemy to remain, and  
while Hyder was nearly undisputed master of the Carnatic,  
nothing less was threatened than the extirpation of the  
English from that quarter of India. Beside these impor-  
tant considerations, the Council pressed upon the mind of  
the Admiral the situation of the Presidency in regard to  
food; that their entire dependence rested upon the sup-  
plies which might arrive by sea; that the stock in the  
warehouses did not exceed 30,000 bags; that the quantity  
afloat in the roads amounted but to as much more, which  
the number of boats demanded for the daily service of his  
squadron had deprived them of the means of landing:  
that the monthly consumption was 50,000 bags at the  
least; and that, if the vessels on which they depended for  
their supply were intercepted, (such would be the certain  
consequence of a French fleet without an English upon the  
coast,) nothing less than famine was placed before their  
eyes. The Admiral was reminded that he had remained  
in safety upon the coast during the easterly monsoon of  
the former year, and might still undoubtedly find some  
harbour to afford him shelter. A letter too was received  
express from Bengal, stating that Mr. Ritchie, the marine  
surveyor, would undertake to conduct his Majesty's ships  
to a safe anchorage in the mouth of the Bengal river. And  
it was known that Sir Richard Bickerton, with a reinforce-  
ment of five sail of the line from England, had already  
touched at Bombay, and was on his way round for  
Madras.

The Admiral remained deaf to all expostulations. In  
the mean time intelligence was received that the enemy  
was preparing to attack Negapatam. The President had  
already prevailed upon Sir Eyre Coote, to send a detach-  
ment of 300 men under Colonel Fullarton, into the  
southern provinces, which, since the defeat of Colonel  
Brathwaite, had lain exposed to the ravages of Hyder, and  
were now visited with scarcity, and the prospect of famine.  
Within two days of the former intelligence, accounts were



received that seventeen sail of the enemy's fleet had arrived at Negapatam, and that the place was already attacked. The most earnest expostulations were still addressed to the Admiral in vain; and the morning of the 15th of October exhibiting the appearance of a storm, the fleet set sail and disappeared. The following morning presented a tremendous spectacle to the wretched inhabitants of Madras; several large vessels driven ashore, others foundered at their anchors, all the small craft, amounting to nearly 100 in number, either sunk or stranded, and the whole of the 30,000 bags of rice irretrievably gone. The ravages of Hyder had driven crowds of the inhabitants from all parts of the country to seek refuge at Madras, where multitudes were daily perishing of want. Famine now raged in all his horrors; and the multitude of the dead and the dying threatened to superadd the evils of pestilence. The bodies of those who expired in the streets or the houses without any one to inter them, were daily collected, and piled in carts, to be buried in large trenches made for the purpose out of the town, to the number, for several weeks, of not less, it is said, than twelve or fifteen hundred a-week. What was done to remove the suffering inhabitants to the less exhausted parts of the country, and to prevent unnecessary consumption, the Governor sending away his horses, and even his servants, could only mitigate, and that to a small degree, the evils which were endured.<sup>1</sup> On the fourth day after the departure of Sir Edward Hughes and his fleet, Sir Richard Bickerton arrived, with three regiments of 1000 each, Sir John Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, amounting to 340, and about 1000 recruits raised by the Company, chiefly in Ireland; but as soon as Sir Richard was apprized of the motions of Sir E. Hughes, he immediately put to sea, and proceeded after him to Bombay. Sir Eyre Coote also, no longer equal to the toils of com-

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<sup>1</sup> The violence of the tendency there was to calumniate Lord Macartney, is witnessed by the absurd allegations which even found their way into publications in England; that he kept the grain on board the ships to make his profit out of its engrossment. See *Memoirs of the late War in Asia*, i. 413.—M. This is not asserted, nor insinuated, by the author of the work cited: he merely states that such suspicions were entertained, according to the manner of the people, originating in some restrictions laid upon the disposal of the cargoes, thought advisable by the government of Madras, on public principles, such as were common in those days, before political economy was understood.—W.



BOOK V. mand, set sail for Bengal ; and General Stuart remained  
 CHAP. V. at the head of the army, now encamped at Madras, with  
 1782. provisions for not many days, and its pay six months in  
 arrear.

The exclusive power over the military operations, which had been intrusted to Coote, and which, though it greatly impeded the exertions of the President, motives of delicacy and prudence forbade him to withdraw, belonged, under no pretext, to General Stuart ; and the Governor and Council proceeded to carry their own plans into execution, for checking the profuse expenditure of the army, and making the most advantageous disposition of the troops. A reinforcement of 400 Europeans was despatched to co-operate with the Bombay army in effecting a diversion on the western side of Hyder's dominions ; 300 of the same troops were sent to the Northern Circars against an apprehended invasion of the French ; and 500 to strengthen the garrison at Negapatam. Fortunately for the English, the French had no information or conception of the unprotected and starving condition in which Madras had been left. It remained unvisited, even by a few frigates to intercept the corn-ships : and from Bengal and the Circars considerable supplies were received. An event also arrived, of such magnitude, as to affect the views of almost every state in India, and suddenly to cheer the gloom which darkened the prospects of the English. Their great enemy, Hyder Ali, who began his career in one of the lowest situations of life ; who, totally destitute of the benefits of education, raised himself to be the sovereign of a great empire, and displayed a talent for government and for war, of which they had met with no example in India, died at Chittore in the beginning of December, at an age not exactly ascertained, but certainly exceeding eighty ; when his destined successor Tippoo was at a great distance ; having been detached to the western coast, to oppose Colonel Humberstone's invasion.

That officer, after remaining at Calicut from the end of May till the beginning of September, proceeded to Palacotah, a strong fort, situated about a mile from Palacat-cherry, and commanding the great southern pass between the coasts, with an army consisting of more than 900 British troops, and 2000 Bombay sepoys ; beside 1200 sepoys

with European officers and serjeants, furnished by the King of Tanjore ; and a proportional train of artillery, of which, however, they were obliged, for want of draught bullocks, to leave the whole of the heavy part, and one half of the remainder by the way. They remained before Ramgurree from the 20th of September to the 6th of October. Being deserted in the night, it was garrisoned with convalescents, and made the centre of a chain of communications. After taking another fort on the 14th they approached Palacatcherry ; and on the 18th, without much difficulty, dispersed the enemy, who met them at about three miles' distance from the fort. To take Palacatcherry, without heavy artillery, was after three days' inspection, considered impossible ; and the army were ordered to march at four o'clock on the morning of the 22nd, in order to occupy a camp at several miles' distance, till the battering cannon should arrive. Unfortunately, the officer who conducted the retreat, instead of putting the line to the right about, ordered them to countermarch, which threw the baggage and stores to the rear. Apprized of all their motions, the enemy dexterously watched them in a narrow defile, till all except the rear guard and the baggage had passed, when the enemy suddenly made an attack, and the whole of the provisions, and almost all the the ammunition, fell into their hands. It now only remained for the English to make their retreat to the coast with the greatest expedition. They were attacked from every thicket ; exceedingly harassed both on flanks and rear : during the two first days they hardly tasted food ; and on the 18th of November, when they reached Ramgurree, the fortifications of which, as well as those of Mangaracotah, they blew up, they received intelligence that Tippoo Saheb, with 20,000 men, whom the weakness of the English in the Carnatic had enabled Hyder to detach for the protection of his western provinces, was advancing upon them with rapid marches, and already at hand. They had marched but a few miles on the following morning, when Tippoo's advanced parties opened a cannonade on their rear. Fighting every step of the march, they arrived towards dark at the river Paniani, which appeared impassable. After a painful search of two hours a ford was found, which though it reached up to the chin of

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BOOK V. an ordinary man, they resolved to attempt, and happily  
 CHAP. V. passed with the loss of but two black women, among the  
 1782. followers of the camp. The enemy, expecting to find them  
 an easy prey in the morning, had totally neglected to  
 watch them during the night. Next day they reached the  
 town of Paniani, against which the operations of Tippoo  
 were immediately commenced.<sup>1</sup> Before dawn on the 28th  
 of November, the enemy, divided into four columns, in-  
 cluding a portion of Lally's corps, with that officer him-  
 self at their head, made a strong assault upon the English  
 lines, as yet incomplete. They had dislodged a body of  
 sepoys, and were in possession of the guns, before the  
 English troops got under arms; when the forty-second  
 regiment, advancing with fixed bayonets, threw them into  
 confusion. They made various attempts to rally, but with  
 considerable slaughter were compelled to retreat.<sup>2</sup> Tippoo  
 continued the blockade, and was understood to be medi-  
 tating another attack, when he received the news of his  
 father's decease. He departed immediately with a few  
 horse, leaving orders for the army to follow.

No sooner was intelligence received of the death of  
 Hyder, than Lord Macartney aware of the feeble cement  
 of an Indian army, and justly estimating the chance of its  
 dispersion, if, at the moment of consternation, it were  
 vigorously attacked, expressed his eagerness for action.  
 General Stuart, instead of seconding this ardour, either by  
 having the troops in readiness, or putting them in motion,  
 was employing his time and his talents in squabbles with  
 the civil authority. Slight symptoms of military im-  
 patience, under the command of the Company's servants,  
 had, at different times, already appeared. But it was un-  
 der Coote, that it first assumed a formidable aspect. The  
 independent authority which was yielded to that com-  
 mander corrupted the views of the military officers; and  
 General Stuart was well calculated to uphold a controversy  
 on the subject of his own pretensions. From the moment  
 of his elevation to the command of the troops, and to a  
 voice in the deliberations which regulated their actions,

<sup>1</sup> The command had been assumed by Colonel Macleod, sent by Sir Eyre Coote for the purpose, and who arrived at Paniani on the 19th.—W.

<sup>2</sup> According to Wilks, the assault took place on the 29th; on the 30th, Sir E. Hughes with his squadron touched at Paniani, and reinforced the detach-  
 ment with 450 Europeans.—W.



he is accused of having diligently objected to almost every proposal ; and of having filled the records of the Company with teasing discussions on his own dignity, privileges, and emoluments. The King's officers, indeed, from an early period of their services in India, assumed an air, proportionate, as they imagined to the dignity of the master whom they served ; and they now, under General Stuart, distinctly asserted the doctrine of being at liberty to obey, or not to obey the Company, as they themselves held fit. A doctrine which implied the extinction of the civil authority, and went to subvert the government of the Company, appeared to Lord Macartney to demand an explicit and decisive resistance. The Committee agreed with him in recording a declaration : that when the King lent his troops for the service of the Company, and when they passed from the pay of the King into the pay of the Company, their obedience to the Company, till the period of their recall, was a condition necessary and understood : that the king reserved to himself the regulation of their interior economy ; but with regard to their operations, gave them not so much as instructions ; which were left exclusively to the Authority, for the service of which they were employed. The General, having thought fit to deliver to the Committee what he called an answer to this declaration, and therein to assert a right of judging when he should obey, and when not, received by the unanimous resolution of the Committee, a positive order to send no commands or instructions, except on business of discipline or detail, to any of the King's or Company's officers without the approbation of the Committee. To these decisive measures, General Stuart abstained from any direct or declared resistance ; and rather chose to thwart the views of the President and Council by placing obstacles in their way. Upon their earnest application, when the news arrived of the death of Hyder, that the army should march, the General affected to disbelieve the intelligence ; and, if it was true, replied, that the army would be ready for action in the proper time. When the fact was ascertained, and the remonstrances were redoubled ; when letters were daily received, describing the importance of the moment for striking a decisive blow ; when the commanding officer at Tripassore sent express intelligence,

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BOOK V. that the whole of the enemy's camp was in consterna-  
 CHAP. V. tion, that numbers had deserted, and that, in the opinion  
 1783. of the deserters, the whole army, if attacked before the  
 arrival of Tippoo, would immediately disband and fly into  
 their own country, the General declared the army deficient  
 in equipments for marching at that season of the year ;  
 though for upwards of a month he had been receiving the  
 strongest representations on the necessity of keeping it  
 in readiness for action, with offers of the utmost exertions  
 of the government to provide for that purpose whatever  
 was required.

Tippoo, in the mean time, had admitted no delay.  
 Having reached Colar, where he performed the accus-  
 tomed ceremonies at the tomb of his father, he pursued  
 his course to the main army, which he joined between  
 Arnee and Vellore, about the end of December. The  
 address and fidelity of the leading officers,<sup>1</sup> who concealed  
 the fatal event, had been able to preserve some order and  
 obedience among the troops till he arrived ; when the  
 immediate payment of their arrears, and a few popular  
 regulations, firmly established Tippoo on his father's  
 throne. Shortly after his arrival, he was joined by a  
 French force from Cuddalore, consisting of 900 Euro-  
 peans, 250 Caffres and Topasses, 2000 Sepoys, and twenty-  
 two pieces of artillery ; while at this time, the whole of  
 the British force in the Carnatic, capable of taking the  
 field, amounted to no more than 2,945 Europeans, and  
 11,545 natives.

On the 4th of January, the army at last took the field.  
 On the 5th of February they marched. On the 8th, they  
 arrived at Wandewash, where the enemy appeared. On  
 the 13th, the General advanced and offered battle ; when  
 the enemy retired in haste and disorder towards the river.  
 He withdrew the garrisons from Wandewash and Caran-  
 goly, which it was held impracticable to maintain, and  
 blew up the fortifications of both.<sup>2</sup> He then marched  
 towards Vellore, and at that place received intelligence

<sup>1</sup> The two principal ministers of Hyder were Hindus, both Brahmans  
 Poornea and Kishen Rao. Wilks, ii. 413.—W.

<sup>2</sup> This was done in compliance, and in concurrence with, the views of the  
 Madras government ; but General Stuart afterwards expressed his regret at  
 having precipitately adopted a measure of which the army soon felt the in-  
 convenience. It also received the condemnation of the Supreme Government.  
 Wilks, ii. 424, 426.—W.

that Tippoo Saib was retreating from the Carnatic, that he had ordered Arcot to be evacuated, and two sides of the fort to be destroyed.

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Tippoo was recalled, not only by the care of establishing his government, but of meeting a formidable invasion on the western coast, which had already approached the vitals of his kingdom. The English army, which had been left unobstructed on his departure from Paniani, about the beginning of December, proceeded, about the end of that month—the sepoys, by land, to Tellicherry, the European part, by sea, to Merjee, about three hundred miles north of Paniani. In January, General Matthews, with an army under his command, from Bombay, arrived at Merjee, and summoned to his standard the rest of the troops on that part of the coast. He took by storm the fort of Onore, and reduced some other places of smaller consequence; and about the middle of the month, with a force consisting of about 1200 Europeans, eight battalions of Sepoys, and a proportionate quantity of artillery and Lascars, moved toward the great pass which is known by the appellation of the Hussain Gurry Ghaut.<sup>1</sup> The ascent consisted of a winding road of about five miles in length, defended by batteries or redoubts at every turning. The army entered the pass on the morning of the 25th, and, chiefly with the bayonet, carried every thing before them, till they reached a strong redoubt at the top of the Ghaut; this appeared impregnable; but a party, clambering up the rocks, came round upon it behind, and the whole of the pass was placed in their power. The next day they advanced to Hyder-nagur, or Bednore, the rich capital of one of the most important of all the dependencies of Mysore. They were on their march with no more than six rounds of ammunition for each man, when an English prisoner arrived, with terms from the Governor, and a proposal to surrender, not only the city of Bednore, but the country and all its dependencies. With the capital, most of the minor forts made a ready submission; but Ananpore, Mangalore, and some others, held out. Ananpore, after violating two flags of truce, stood the storm,

<sup>1</sup> This movement, intended to advance upon Bednore, was in consequence of positive orders from the Bombay Government, and in opposition to the opinion of General Matthews. Wilks, ii. 448.

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and was carried on the 14th of February. In Mangalore, a breach being effected, the commander, unable to prevail upon his people to maintain the defence, was obliged to surrender. In these transactions, particularly in the reduction of Onore and Ananpore, the English army have been accused of a barbarity unusual at the hands of a civilized foe. It appears not, however, that quarter, when asked, was refused; but orders were given to shed the blood of every man who was taken under arms; and some of the officers were reprimanded for not seeing those orders rigidly executed.<sup>1</sup> After the acquisition of Mangalore, the General, with a portion of the army, returned to Bednore, where the flames of discord were kindled by pretensions to the spoil. A vast treasure, amounting to eighty-one lacs of pagodas, £801,000, besides a quantity of jewels, was understood to have been found in Bednore. Of this, though the army was in the greatest distress for want of money, having received no pay for twelve months, some of the troops for a longer time, the General positively refused to divide any part. The most vehement complaints and remonstrances ensued. Refractory proceedings were severely, if not arbitrarily, punished; and three of the leading officers, Colonel Macleod, Colonel Humberstone, and Major Shaw, left the army, and, proceeding to Bombay, laid their representations before the Governor and Council. So flagrant to the Governor and Council did the conduct of the General appear, that they superseded him; and appointed Colonel Macleod, the next in rank, to take the command in his stead. Suspicions of his rapacity blazed with violence; but it ought to be remembered, that he lived not to vindicate his own reputation; and that in circumstances such as those in which he was placed, suspicions of rapacity are easily raised.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Annual Register for 1783; and "A Vindication of the English Forces employed in the late War, under the command of Brigadier-General Matthews, against the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun," by sundry Officers of the Bombay Establishment. Parliamentary Papers, ordered to be printed, 11th March, 1791. —M. Wilks states that the garrison of Ananpore was put to the sword in retaliation for what the English considered an act of treachery—their firing upon a party advancing under a promise of the peaceable surrender of the fort; which promise had, without any communication with the assailants, been revoked by a different authority. ii. 453.—W.

<sup>2</sup> As far as they originated with the disappointment of the army, they were unfounded. No such amount of treasure could have been collected in Bednore. The circumstances of the surrender of that place to the English, which General



Colonel Macleod, now Brigadier-General and Com-BOOK V.  
mander-in-chief, returning to the army with the two CHAP. V.  
other officers, in the Ranger snow, fell in with a Mahratta  
fleet of five vessels off Geriah, on the 7th of April. This  
fleet was not, it appears, apprized of the peace; and Mac-  
leod, full of impatience, temerity, and presumption, instead  
of attempting an explanation, or submitting to be de-  
tained at Geriah for a few days, gave orders to resist. The  
Ranger was taken, after almost every man in the ship was  
either killed or wounded. Major Shaw was killed, and  
Macleod and Humberstone wounded; the latter mortally.  
He died in a few days at Geriah, in the twenty-eighth  
year of his age, and was lamented as an officer of the most  
exalted promise; a man, who nourished his spirit with  
the contemplation of ancient heroes, and devoted his  
hours to the study of the most abstruse sciences con-  
nected with his profession. 1783.

During this interval, the forty-second regiment was sent  
from Bednore to seize some forts below the Ghauts; the  
army was dispersed in detachments, to occupy almost  
every town and mud-fort in the country; nothing, it was  
said, was dreamt of but riches: intelligence, fortifications,  
and subsistence, were all equally neglected. In this state  
of supine insensibility, Tippoo suddenly appeared on the  
9th of April, drove in a detachment stationed four miles

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Matthews thought little less than providential, considering the defective state  
of his equipments, have been fully explained by Colonel Wilks, from original  
documents. Bednore was yielded without resistance, from the treason of the  
governor, Ayaz (Hyat) Khan, one of Hyder's military pupils or slaves, who  
had always been in disfavour with Tippoo, who apprehended disgrace or death  
upon that prince's accession; and who had intercepted orders for his destruc-  
tion. He therefore at once ceded the province and capital to the English, and  
upon its investment by Tippoo, made his escape to Bombay. He probably  
stipulated for the preservation of what treasure there was in the fort, and he  
claimed compensation for what was lost, when the place was re-captured. His  
claim was but 1,40,000 pagodas, and the accounts of the Finance minister of  
Mysore state the embezzlement to have been upwards of one lack, not eighty-  
one, as particularized in the text. As usual, therefore, the English were de-  
ceived by their own unreasonable expectations, and as the negotiation between  
Ayaz and the General was kept a profound secret;—indeed Col. Wilks sup-  
poses it possible that General Matthews himself was not aware of the motives  
of the Governor, which is by no means probable;—they were at a loss to un-  
derstand why they were deprived of even so much of their booty as was to be  
divided. The conduct of the General after the occupation of Bednore, when  
the withdrawal of the positive orders of the Bombay Government left him free  
to fall back on the coast, exhibits as great a want of military judgment, as his  
disputes with his officers manifested irritability of temper. Col. Wilks has  
given a very copious and interesting account of the whole of this calamitous  
transaction, vol. ii. 448, et seq.—W.



BOOK V. distant, at Fattiput, seized the town of Bednore, with a  
 CHAP. V. considerable quantity of ammunition, neglectfully remain-  
 1783. ing without the magazine; laid siege to the fort; and  
 sent detachments to occupy the Ghauts and surrounding  
 country. The English in Bednore were then cut off from  
 retreat; the fortifications ruinous, their ammunition ex-  
 pended, their provisions low, and their numbers dimi-  
 nishing by disease and fatigue, as well as the sword.  
 Honourable terms being promised, they surrendered by  
 capitulation, on the 30th of April; but, instead of being  
 sent, according to agreement, to the coast, they were put  
 in irons, and marched like felons to a dreadful imprison-  
 ment in the strong fortresses of Mysore. To apologize  
 for this outrage upon the law of even barbarous nations,  
 Tippoo charged the English with a violation of the articles  
 of capitulation in robbing the public treasure; and the  
 suspicions which were attached to the character of the  
 General, have given currency to a story that he ordered  
 the bamboo of his palanquin to be pierced and filled with  
 pagodas.<sup>1</sup>

After this important success, Tippoo proceeded to  
 Mangalore, in which the remains of the English army  
 collected themselves, with such provisions as the sudden-  
 ness of the emergency allowed them to procure. On the  
 possession of Mangalore, the chief fortress and the best  
 harbour of Canara, Tippoo, as well as his father, set an  
 extraordinary value. On the 16th of May, a reconnoitring  
 party of his horse appeared on a height near the town.  
 On the 20th, the picquets; on the 23rd, the outposts of  
 the garrison were driven in, and the investment of the  
 place was rendered complete.

During the march of Tippoo from the Carnatic to the

<sup>1</sup> That the public treasure was divided amongst the English, is uniformly admitted. Annual Register, 1783. Wilks, ii. 462. Colonel Price, who was then serving with a detachment of General Matthews's army nearer the coast, observes, "The account of the captured treasure was at the time enormously exaggerated, but the imprudent and unwarrantable manner in which at the last extremity it was distributed, and that, after it had been determined to capitulate, furnished too plausible an apology for that breach of the capitulation of which the Sultan became immediately guilty." The same officer gives an account of an operation, the success of which might have had some effect upon a more favourable result. A sortie from the citadel took the French detachment so completely by surprise, that it might easily have been destroyed. One of the French officers, however, adroitly stepped forward, and requested a parley, as if preparatory to a surrender. The commandant of the detachment unwisely halted to receive his overtures, and during the pause the enemy armed and repulsed their assailants. Memoirs of a Field Officer, 101.

western side of his kingdom, and the operations which preceded his arrival at Mangalore, the following occurrences took place at Madras. As soon as the General ascertained the departure of the enemy, he returned with the army, and on the 30th of February encamped near the Mount. The policy of supporting the English army in Bednore against the army of Tippoo, by strong incursions on the southern and eastern parts of his dominions, presented itself, in the strongest point of view, to the Governor and Council. The army stationed in Tanjore and the southern provinces received orders to march towards the west; and to General Stuart it was recommended, to march upon Tippoo's frontier in the direction of Vellore. Any such movement he declared to be impossible; and while the army remained inactive, Suffrein, whom the British fleet had not yet returned to oppose, found no difficulty in landing Bussy, with a reinforcement of French troops, at Cuddalore. It was an object of great importance to recover possession of that place, before the works should be strengthened, and the army of Tippoo, with the French troops which were with him, should be able to return. To all the expostulations of the Governor and Council, the General is accused of having replied, only by the statement of wants and difficulties, operating as grounds of delay. About fourteen days after the time fixed upon by himself, that is, on the 21st of April, in consequence of peremptory commands, he marched with the army towards Cuddalore. Contrary to his pledge, that he would not recall to his assistance the southern army, without the strongest necessity, of which he engaged to apprise the Committee, he secretly wrote to the Commanding Officer three days before his departure, to join him with the greatest part of the force under his command. By this abuse of their confidence, the Committee were induced to withdraw the discretionary power over the southern army, which they had granted at his request. The march from Madras to Cuddalore, about 100 miles, is usually performed in twelve days. General Stuart had no obstruction either to meet or to fear; he was, to a degree unusually perfect, supplied with all the requisites for his march; yet he spent forty days upon the road, that is, marched at the rate of less than three

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miles a-day, though the chance of success mainly depended upon despatch, and the Admiral, who was to co-operate with the expedition, declared that he could not, for want of water and provisions, remain before Cuddalore till the end of June. The fleet had returned to Madras on the 12th of April, augmented to seventeen sail of the line, four frigates, and some smaller vessels; and soon after, a fleet of ten Indiamen, and three store-ships, with 1000 recruits to the army, arrived under convoy of the Bristol man-of-war, after a narrow escape from the squadron of Suffrein.

The army arrived at Cuddalore on the 7th of June, where the enemy had already thrown up, and almost completed, considerable works. An attack was to be made on these works on the 13th, in three several places at once; and it was planned to give the signal by firing three guns from a hill. Amid the noise of firing, a signal of this description could not be heard; and the attacks were made at three several times. The English were repulsed; but the enemy quitting, in the pursuit, a part of their works, which were dexterously occupied by a division of the English army, were thrown into consternation, and withdrew. This attack had nearly incurred the ruin of the English army, and left sixty-two officers, and 920 men, almost all Europeans, either dead or mortally wounded, on the field. The English lay upon their arms during the night in expectation of an attack, which the troops, fatigued and unprotected, would have found it difficult to sustain. But the spirit of Bussy was chilled with age and infirmities; and he restrained the impetuosity of his officers, who confidently predicted the destruction of the British army.<sup>1</sup>

On the following day, Sir Edward Hughes, and Suffrein, who had followed him from Trincomalee, arrived with their

<sup>1</sup> No such cause of confusion as that indicated by the text, is noticed by Wilks, nor does it appear that three simultaneous movements were intended; the object was to gain possession of what was considered the key of the enemy's position. The first operation, which was merely preliminary, succeeded. The second failed, and rendered a third necessary, which succeeded but partially. Thirteen guns, and the key of the contested position remained in possession of the English army. The retirement of the French on the same night, within the walls of Cuddalore, evinced their sense of the operations of the day, but their being permitted during the night to draw off without molestation all their heavy guns, furnished equal evidence of the impression made upon the English by a victory so dearly purchased.—W.



respective fleets. The English remained at anchor till the 16th; on the 17th, and two succeeding days, the fleets performed a variety of movements for the purpose of gaining or keeping the wind; and about four o'clock on the 20th they engaged. The English consisted of eighteen sail, the French only of sixteen, and so leaky, that most of them it was necessary to pump during the battle: yet Suffrein, by dexterous management, contrived in several instances to place two of his vessels upon one of the English, of which five were but little engaged. The combatants were parted by night, and the next day the French were out of sight, but appeared at anchor in the road of Porto Novo on the morning of the 22nd. The British Admiral, deeming it inexpedient to attack them, only offered battle, and then made sail for Madras.<sup>1</sup> It has been both asserted and denied that Suffrein weighed, and stood after him; but it is certain that he arrived at Cuddalore on the following day. He immediately proceeded to land as many men as he could spare from the fleet: and measures were concerted between him and Bussy for the most vigorous operations. They made a sally on the 25th, which was repulsed;<sup>2</sup> but a grand effort was preparing for the 4th of July; and so much were the English reduced by the sword, by sickness, and fatigue, that the most fatal consequences were probable and feared. Sir Edward Hughes at Madras, and the British army exposed to Suffrein and Bussy at Cuddalore, presented a dismal prospect to the imaginations of the Governor and Council; when intelligence was received of the signature in Europe of a treaty of peace between the English and French. It was immediately resolved, though official intelligence had

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<sup>1</sup> The English fleet was much crippled by the sickly state of the crews. Eleven hundred sick of the scurvy had been landed at Madras; and in the short space of a fortnight, seventeen hundred more had from the same cause become unfit for duty. On the other hand Suffrein had been reinforced by Bussy on the night of the 17th, with 1200 men, giving him the advantage at the lowest estimate of 3000 hands more than the strength of Sir Edward Hughes. After the action, not only were the men re-landed, but 2400 men were furnished from the fleet. *Asiat. Reg.* 1783. Wilks, ii. 440.—W.

<sup>2</sup> In this affair, Marshal Bernadotte afterwards Crown Prince of Sweden, served as a Serjeant in the French army, and was wounded and taken prisoner, as he acknowledged at a subsequent period to General Langenheim, who at Cuddalore was Commandant of the Hanoverian troops in the British service, and who had treated him with particular kindness. See the Anecdote in Wilks, ii. 442.—W.



BOOK V. not yet arrived, to send a flag of truce to Bussy, recommending an immediate cessation of arms. To this proposal the French commander acceded, with less difficulty than might have been expected. Bussy even consented to invite Tippoo to a participation in the peace, and to send positive orders to the French troops to retire immediately from his service.

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Upon the evacuation of the Carnatic by Tippoo, the occasion was not omitted of making to him an overture of peace by means of a Brahmen, in the confidence of the King of Tanjore. A favourable answer was remitted ; but a point of etiquette, for which the Governor was a great stickler, leading to another on the part of Tippoo, broke off the negotiation. To the application from Bussy, however, an answer was returned in little more than a month. offering peace upon certain conditions, and expressing a desire to send two ambassadors to Madras. Upon the arrival of the vakeels it appeared that a peace, upon the basis of a mutual restitution of conquests, might easily be made ; and for the acceleration of so desirable an event, especially on account of the prisoners, to whose feelings, and even lives, a few weeks were of importance, it was deemed expedient to send three commissioners along with Tippoo's vakeels, to expedite on the spot the business of negotiation.

Measures, in the meantime, were pursued for creating a diversion in favour of the detachment besieged in Mangalore. The two divisions of the army which were stationed for the protection, the one of the northern, the other of the southern provinces, were reinforced ; and instructed to threaten or attack the enemy in that part of his dominions to which they approached. The division in the south was, in the opinion of Colonel Fullarton, by whom it was commanded, augmented sufficiently to penetrate into the very heart of Mysore, and possibly to attack the capital itself.

Amid these proceedings, the contentions which prevailed between the heads of the civil and military departments were hastening to a decision. Along with the flag of truce which was forwarded to the French, it was resolved in the Committee to send orders for the recall of General Stuart to the Presidency, as well because they could not depend

upon his obedience, as because they deemed it necessary to hear the account which he might render of his conduct. After a temporary neglect of the commands of the Committee, the General thought proper to leave the army and proceed to Madras ; where, superseding mutual explanations, the customary disputes were renewed and inflamed. The Governor at last submitted to the Committee a motion, that General Stuart should be dismissed from the Company's service. In the minute by which this motion was introduced, the misconduct of the General in the expedition to Cuddalore, and the acts of disobedience, which were sufficient in number and magnitude to imply the transfer of all power into his hands, were stated as the principal grounds of the proposed proceeding ; to which the votes of the Committee immediately imparted their unanimous sanction. Stuart, however, announced his determination to retain the command of the King's troops ; and Sir John Burgoyne, on whom, as second in rank, the command would devolve, intimated his intention to obey the orders of General Stuart. Decisive acts were now inevitable. The Town Adjutant, accompanied by the Governor's Private Secretary, and a party of sepoys, proceeded to the villa of the General, and brought him quietly a prisoner to the fort ; where he remained a few days, and was then embarked for England.

The original plan, to the execution of which the army in the south was destined, was, that it should penetrate on the one side, and the army under Colonel Humberstone at Paniani on the other, into the country of Coimbetore, forming a line of communications from the one coast to the other, through the middle of Tippoo's dominions. In this scheme, which was framed and suggested by Mr. Sullivan, the gentleman at the head of the civil department in the Trichinopoly district, was included a negotiation for raising disturbance against Tippoo in his own dominions, by setting up the pretensions of the deposed Raja of Mysore. In the months of April and May, 1783, the forts of Caroor, Aravarcouchy, and Dindigul, were reduced ; but the exhausted state of the country, not more from the ravages of the enemy, than the disorganization of the government, cramped the operations of the army by scarcity of supplies. The first object of

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BOOK V. Colonel Fullarton, who took the command of the southern  
 CHAP. V. army, was to augment the field force by battalions from  
 1783. Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Tinivelly; and, vigorously aided  
 as he was by the chief civil servants of the Company, not  
 only to procure supplies, but soothe the minds, and conciliate the favour, of the different classes of the people. It was not before the 25th of May, 1783, that he began to march from Dindigul towards Daraporam. The reduction of this place, which fell on the 2nd of June, afforded one incident, which, being a characteristic circumstance, deserves to be stated. It was impossible to approach so near the fort as to determine with precision the most advantageous point of attack. One spy explained the circumstances of the place to the commanding officer, and another to the Adjutant-General. Each of these officers drew a plan from the description which he himself had received; and they coincided so exactly both with one another, and with the facts, that a body of troops marched in a dark night, crossed a river, and occupied a strong position within 400 yards of the fort, where the batteries were constructed which effected the breach. The accuracy with which the Indian spies convey the idea of a fort even by verbal communication, and still more by models made of clay, is represented as not surprising only, but almost incredible. The orders which General Stuart, unknown to the Committee, dispatched to the southern army stopped them at this point in their career of conquest; and they were within three miles of the enemy's camp when they received intelligence that hostilities with the French had ceased, and that an armistice was concluded with Tippoo.<sup>1</sup> In the interval Colonel Fullarton had proceeded with great activity in restoring obedience and order in Madura and Tinivelly, in which, during the distress of the Madras government, almost all the Polygars had revolted. According to Fullarton, the management of the province by the Company's and the Nabob's servants had been corrupt and oppressive, and hence preg-

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Fullarton received, at the same time, orders from the General to advance; from the government to return to the South; of the relative judiciousness of these orders, he demonstrated his opinion by disobeying the latter. The strengthening of General Stuart's army was of much more importance than an ineffective attempt at diverting Tippoo from the siege of Bednore. Fullarton's View, p. 115.—W.



nant with disorder, in the extreme. One single exception he produces, Mahomed Issoof Khan. "While he ruled these provinces, his whole administration denoted vigour and effect: his justice was unquestioned, his word unalterable, his measures were happily combined and firmly executed, the guilty had no refuge from punishment. On comparing," says the English commander, "the state of that country with his conduct and remarks, I found that wisdom, vigour, and integrity, were never more conspicuous in any person of whatever climate or complexion."<sup>2</sup> In the month of August, when the reinforcements had joined him from the army of Cuddalore, and the Polygars were sufficiently reduced and humbled to be disposed to a general submission, this Commander moved towards the frontier of Mysore, under instructions to remain inactive while the result was uncertain of the negotiation with Tippoo. In the interval thus afforded, among other arrangements, Colonel Fullarton established a system of intelligence, under a defect of which the English had laboured during the whole of the war: and established it in such perfection, even into the heart of the enemy's country, that, "during many months," to use his own expressions, "of continued marching, through a country almost unexplored, he never once failed in his supplies, nor did any material incident escape his knowledge." On the 18th of October, when the supplies of the army were almost exhausted, intelligence arrived that Tippoo had recommenced hostilities against Mangalore. Colonel Fullarton had long meditated an enterprise against Seringapatam, but none of the forts, directly in the route, were sufficiently strong to be confided in as an intermediate magazine, or, in the event of failure, as a place of retreat. It was therefore determined to march upon Palacatcherry, which was one of the strongest places in India, commanded the pass between the coasts, and secured a communication with a great extent of fertile country. After a march of great difficulty, much impeded by woods and incessant rain, the army reached Palacatcherry on the 4th of November. They immediately commenced and carried on their operations with great vigour; but the strength of the place, and the active resistance of the garrison,

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<sup>1</sup> Fullarton's View of the English Interests in India, p. 139.



BOOK V. threatened them with a tedious siege. On the 13th, two  
 CHAP. V. batteries were opened, and before sun-set the defences of  
 1783. the enemy were so much impaired, that their fire was considerably abated. At night, Captain Maitland took advantage of a heavy rain to drive the enemy from the covered way, and to pursue them within the first gateway, to the second: here he was stopped, but gallantly defended himself, till additional troops arrived; when the enemy, alarmed by the idea of a general assault, called for quarter, and put the English in possession of the fort. The army then marched to Coimbetore, which they reached on the 26th of November, and which surrendered before they effected a breach. They had now the conquest of Seringapatam, and the entire subversion of the power of Tippoo full in their view. The brave garrison of Mangalore had long baffled his whole army, which had suffered severely by a perseverance in the siege during the whole of the rains. A chain of connected operations could now be carried on by the army of Colonel Macleod on the western coast, and that of Fullarton in the south. The army of the north was acting in Cudapah, in which, and the neighbouring provinces, the power of Tippoo was ill established. All the petty princes on the western coast, were supposed ready to shake off their dependance. The co-operation was confidently expected of the Hindu inhabitants of Mysore, of whom the Brahmens were in correspondence with the English. Fullarton had provided his army with ten days' grain, repaired the carriages, and made every arrangement for pushing forward to Seringapatam, with nothing but victory sparkling in his eye; when he received, on the 28th of November, commands from the Commissioners, appointed to treat with Tippoo, to restore immediately all posts, forts, and countries, lately reduced, and to retire within the limits occupied on the 26th of July. He had made some progress in the execution of these commands, when he received on the 26th of January, directions to re-assemble the army, and prepare for a renewal of the war.

The negotiators, whom the President and Council had dispatched to the presence of Tippoo, for the purpose of accelerating the conclusion of peace, had not attained their object without many difficulties and considerable delay. Scarcely had they entered the territory of the enemy,

when they were required, and almost commanded, to surrender Mangalore, which they regarded as the chief security for the lives and restoration of the English prisoners in the hands of Tippoo. On their approach to Seringapatam, they were made acquainted with the intention to conduct them to Mangalore. No communication was allowed between them and their unfortunate countrymen, when they passed Bangalore, and other places in which they were confined. Their letters, both to and fro, were intercepted. Upon complaining they were informed, that Colonel Fullarton, notwithstanding the commencement of their mission for peace, had taken and plundered the forts of Palacatcherry and Coimbatore. Not aware that the proceedings of Fullarton were justified by the intelligence which he had received of Tippoo's breach of faith to the garrison at Mangalore, they sent their commands to that officer to restore the places, which, since the date of their commission, had fallen into his hands. After a tedious and harassing journey, through a country almost impassable, in which some of their attendants and cattle actually perished, they joined Tippoo at Mangalore, where he had wasted almost a year, and a considerable portion of his army.

The force with which, in the month of May, in the preceding year, he invested Mangalore, is stated at 60,000 horse, 30,000 disciplined sepoys, 600 French infantry, under the command of Colonel Cossigny, Lally's corps of Europeans and natives, a French troop of dismounted cavalry, commanded by an officer of the King of France, irregular troops to the amount of many thousands, and nearly one hundred pieces of artillery. The British garrison consisted of 696 Europeans, including officers, and 2850 black troops, besides pioneers, and camp followers. The operations of the enemy proceeded with so much activity, that on the 27th of May they had completed eleven embrasures, which the English made an effort to destroy, but were repulsed. On the 29th, large stones, some of them weighing 150 pounds, began to be thrown by mortars into the town. As often as they lighted upon soft earth, they buried themselves without mischief: When they fell upon houses, they laid them open, where no materials could be had to repair them, to all the incle-

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mency of the monsoon : When they fell upon a substance harder than themselves they were dashed into a thousand pieces ; and even the wounds and lacerations which were produced by the splinters proved peculiarly destructive, hardly any person surviving who received them.

From batteries erected on the north, the east, and the south, a heavy fire was constantly maintained ; the feeble fortifications on the northern side were entirely dismantled on the 4th of June ; on the 7th a practicable breach was effected in the wall ; and the English, especially as a flag of truce had been rejected, looked for an immediate assault. In the mean time they repulsed with the bayonet repeated attacks on the batteries which they had erected without the fortress ; repeatedly silenced the batteries of the enemy, and spiked their guns, which were as often expeditiously repaired. Masked batteries were opened and the approaches of the enemy brought so near, that they threw fascines on the covered way, and edge of the glacis. On the 4th of July, the assault was undertaken. A body of troops, armed with knives, of the shape of pruning hooks, two feet long, and with spears mounted on light bamboos of a prodigious length, rushed into a tower on the left of the eastern gate, while the line marched forward to support them. The enterprise did not succeed. The assaulting party were so warmly received, that they were soon disposed to retreat. On the 6th a general attack was made on the northern covered way, which, though very fierce and obstinate, was also repulsed. The garrison were now obliged to defend themselves from almost daily attempts to penetrate into the fort, while they severely suffered both from scarcity and disease. At last intelligence arrived of the peace between France and England, with the orders of Bussy to the French to co-operate no longer in the hostilities of Tippoo. The French envoy made some efforts to effect a pacification ; but even during the suspensions of hostilities, which were frequently terminated, and frequently renewed, Tippoo continued his operations. A trait of Indian humanity ought not to be forgotten. During the progress of hostilities, and especially after the prospect of peace, the enemy's sentinels in many instances beckoned to the men to get under cover, and avoid their fire : a generosity which



the English were well disposed to return. At last, after a long and intricate correspondence, a cessation of hostilities, including the garrisons of Onore<sup>1</sup> and Carwar, was concluded on the 2nd of August. Of this agreement one important condition was, that the English garrison should three times a week be furnished with a plentiful market of provisions, at the rates of Tippoo's camp. This was evaded, and prices were daily, in such a manner, increased, that a fowl was sold at eight, and even twelve rupees; and other things in a like proportion. At last the market was wholly cut off; and horse-flesh, frogs, snakes, ravenous birds, kites, rats, and mice, were greedily consumed. Even jackals, devouring the bodies of the dead, were eagerly shot at for food. The garrison had suffered these evils with uncommon perseverance, when a squadron appeared on the 22nd of November, with a considerable army under General Macleod. Instead of landing, the General, by means of his secretary, carried on a tedious negotiation with Tippoo; and having stipulated that provisions for one month should be admitted into the fortress, set sail with the reinforcement on the 1st of December.<sup>2</sup> Even this supply was drawn from damaged stores bought of a navy agent, and of the beef and pork, not one in twenty pieces could be eaten, even by the dogs. Another visit, with a similar result, was made by General Macleod, on the 31st of December. The desertion of the sepoys, and the mutiny of the Europeans, were now daily apprehended: two-thirds of the garrison were sick, and the rest had scarcely strength to sustain their arms: the deaths amounted to twelve or fifteen every day; and at last, having endured these calamities till the 23rd of January, the gallant Campbell, by whom the garrison had been so nobly commanded, offered, on honourable terms, to withdraw the troops. The Sultan was too eager to put an end to a siege which by desertion and death had cost him

<sup>1</sup> For a very interesting detail of the defence of Onore, which was maintained with consummate ability and heroism, by Captain Torriano, till the conclusion of the treaty, see Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*, iv. 111 to 175.

<sup>2</sup> The excuse was, that it would have been a violation of the armistice, which did not expire till the 2nd December, and the ships could not wait another day for want of water. The armistice had been repeatedly broken by Tippoo. Colonel Wilks states the reasons assigned for this neglect of the garrison, but they are anything but satisfactory. ii. 476.—W.



BOOK V. nearly half his army, to brave the constancy of so firm a  
 CHAP. V. foe ; and they marched to Tellicherry, with arms, accoutre-  
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 1784. ments, and the honours of war.

The negotiating commissioners, whose journey had been purposely retarded, were now allowed to approach. The injuries which the English had sustained, since Tippoo had joined in the business of negotiation, were such, as in a prouder state of the English mind, would have appeared to call for signal retribution. But the debility and dejection to which their countrymen were now reduced, and their despair of resources to continue the war, impressed the negotiators with a very unusual admiration of the advantages of peace ; and meeting the crafty and deceitful practices of Tippoo with temper and perseverance, they succeeded, on the 11th of March, 1784, in gaining his signature to a treaty, by which, on the general condition of a mutual restitution of conquests, peace was obtained.<sup>1</sup>

It is only necessary, further, to relate the manner in which the treaty was ratified by the Governor-General and Council ; and to explain the mode in which, during these momentous transactions, the relations between the Supreme and Subordinate Presidency were maintained. Lord Macartney was not only of superior rank to the highest of the Company's servants in India, but in him was set one of the first examples of elevating a servant of the king to a high station in that country ; and of intercepting the great prizes which animated the ambition of the individuals rising through the several stages of the Company's service. To these causes of jealousy were added, recommendations and injunctions, which had been pressed upon so many governors, and which had not failed to involve in odium and difficulties as many as had attempted to obey them ; recommendations and injunctions of peculiar ur-

<sup>1</sup> For the narrative of the preceding events, have been explored, and confronted, Papers presented to the House of Commons, pursuant to their orders of the 9th of February, 1803, regarding the affairs of the Carnatic, vol. ii. ; Barrow's *Macartney*, i. 109—232 ; *Memoirs of the late War in Asia*, i. 231—236, 252—286, and 403—512 ; *A View of the English Interests in India*, by William Fullarton, M.P., p. 68—195 ; *Annual Register* for 1782 and 1783 ; the *Collection of Treaties and Engagements with the native princes of India* : and the *Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy of 1782*. The recent narrative of Colonel Wilks, drawn up under the advantages of peculiar knowledge, affords me the satisfaction of perceiving, that there is no material fact which my former authorities had not enabled me to state and to comprehend.

gency, to correct abuses and effect retrenchments. Though the accomplishments and talents of Lord Macartney, which were not of an ordinary kind, and a considerable propensity to vain glory might have added to the flames of discord, the calmness of his temper, his moderation, and urbanity, were well calculated to allay them. He was aware of the sentiments to which, among the members of the superior government, his appearance in India was likely to give origin ; and lost no time in endeavouring to avert the jealousy which might naturally arise. He not only assured the Governor-General of the sentiments of esteem, and even of admiration with which all that he knew of his administration inspired him, but openly disclaimed all designs upon the government of Bengal ; and declared that the objects were not Indian to which his ambition was directed. Mr. Hastings met his professions with similar protestations, both of personal regard and of desire for co-operation. He also expressed his regret that the suddenness of the arrival of Lord Macartney had not allowed him the opportunity to furnish to that nobleman the explanation of certain acts, by which the Supreme Government might appear to him to have passed beyond the limits of its own province, and to have taken upon itself an authority which belonged to the Presidency of which he was now at the head.

Of the acts to which Mr. Hastings made allusion, one was, the treaty, into which, in the beginning of the year 1781, he had entered with the Dutch. The object of that measure was to obtain, through the Governors of Colombo and Cochin, a military force to assist in the expulsion of Hyder from the Carnatic ; but as these Governors acted under the authority of the government of Batavia, for whose sanction there was no leisure to wait, a tempting advantage was represented as necessary to prevail upon them to incur so unusual a responsibility. The negotiation was carried on through the medium of the Director of the Dutch settlements in Bengal ; and it was stipulated that for 1000 European infantry, 200 European artillery, and 1000 Malays, who should be paid and maintained by the Company, during the period of their service, the province of Tinivelly should be ceded to the Dutch, together with the liberty of making conquests in the neighbourhood of Cochin, and the exclusive right to the

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BOOK V. pearl fishery on the whole of the coast south from Ramiscram. In name and ostent, the sovereignty of the Nabob  
 CHAP. V. Mahomed Ali was not to be infringed; and the treaty,  
 1784. framed and concluded for him, was not to be ratified by his signature. The small value of the cession, and the extreme danger of the Carnatic, were urged as the motives to induce compliance on the part both of the Nabob, and of the Presidency of Madras. The ideas, however, of the Nabob, and of the Presidency of Madras, differed very widely from those of the Governor-General, respecting the value both of what was to be given and what was to be received. They not only set a high estimate on Tinivelly, but treated the offer of a body of troops, when they were much less in want of troops than of money to pay and maintain those which they had, as a matter of doubtful utility. In consequence, they declined to forward the treaty, transmitting their reasons to the Court of Directors. And the accession of the Dutch to the enemies of England, of which Macartney carried out the intelligence, superseded, on that ground, all further proceedings.<sup>1</sup>

Of the transactions, which Mr. Hastings might expect to impress unfavourably the mind of the noble President, another was, that of which the history has already occurred; the engagement into which he and his Council had entered, for setting aside the intervention of the Government of Madras, and transacting directly with the Nabob of Arcot. Under the same predicament was placed the negotiation into which the Governor-General and Council of Bengal had entered with Nizam Ali, the Subahdar of the Deccan, for obtaining from that Prince the aid of a body of his horse, and for ceding to him in return the Northern Circars. Though a treaty to this effect had been fully arranged, yet as the orders for carrying it into execution had not been despatched when Lord Macartney arrived, Mr. Hastings paid him the compliment of submitting it for his opinion. On this occasion also, the Governor-General represented, as of vast importance, the aid which the Company was thus to receive; and ascribed but little value to the territory which they were about to surrender, both as it yielded a trifling revenue, and, being a narrow strip along the coast, was, by its extent of fron-

<sup>1</sup> Supplement to the First Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1782, p. 8, 9; and the Sixth ditto, p. 118.



tier, difficult to defend. Here again the opinions of the Governor-General found themselves widely at variance with those of the Governor of Fort St. George. Lord Macartney stated the net revenue for that year of the four Northern Circars, not including Guntoor, at 612,000 pagodas; he affirmed that to the English the defence of territory was easy, not in proportion to its remoteness from the sea, but the contrary, as a communication with their ships enabled the troops to move in every direction; that as manufacturing districts, the Circars were of great importance to the Company's investment; that they would be important in a still higher point of view, as forming a line of communication between Bengal and the Carnatic, and giving to the English the whole of the eastern coast, when they should be augmented by Guntoor and Cuttack; and that the friendship of Nizam Ali was of no value, both as no dependence could be placed on his faith, and as the expense of his undisciplined and ungovernable horse would far outgo the utility of their service. On all these accounts Lord Macartney declared, that, without the special command of his employers, he could not reconcile it to his sense of duty to consent to the treaty which was proposed. Mr. Hastings gave way; but a diffidence so marked of his judgment, or his virtue, did not lessen the alienation towards the government of Madras, with temptations to which the situation of the Governor-General so largely supplied him.

The first occasion on which his measures gave uneasiness to the government of Madras, was furnished by the complaints of Coote, whom that government found it impossible to satisfy with power. Instead of interposing with their authority to allay the unreasonable dissatisfactions of the querulous General, and to strengthen the hands, at so perilous a moment, of the government of Madras, the Supreme Council encouraged his discontent, and laid their exhortations upon the Presidency of Madras, to place themselves in hardly any other capacity than that of Commissaries to supply his army, and while they continued responsible for the acts of the government, to retain with them hardly any other connexion, in no degree to possess over them any substantial control. As the coolness on the part of the Governor-General seemed

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BOOK V. to Macartney to increase, and to threaten unfavourable  
 CHAP. V. consequences, which it was of the utmost importance to  
 1784. avert, he sent to Bengal, in the beginning of the year  
 1782, his confidential secretary, Mr. Staunton, in whose  
 judgment and fidelity he placed the greatest reliance, to  
 effect a complete mutual explanation, and, if possible, to  
 secure harmony and co-operation. With this proceeding  
 Mr. Hastings expressed the highest satisfaction, and de-  
 clared his "anxious desire to co-operate with Lord Ma-  
 cartney firmly and liberally, for the security of the  
 Carnatic, for the support of his authority, and for the  
 honour of his administration." But, even at the time  
 when he was making these cordial professions, and enter-  
 taining Mr. Staunton with the highest civilities in his  
 house, he signed, as President of the Supreme Council,  
 whose voice was his own, a letter to the President and  
 Council of Madras, in which, with an intimation of a right  
 to command, they say they "do most earnestly recom-  
 mend, that Sir Eyre Coote's wishes in regard to power  
 may be gratified to their fullest possible extent; and that  
 he may be allowed an unparticipated command over all  
 the forces acting under British authority in the Carnatic."  
 Though Macartney announced his determination to act  
 under this recommendation, as if it were a legal command,  
 he yet displayed, first in a private letter to the Governor-  
 General, to which no answer was ever returned, and also  
 in a public communication, in the name of the Select  
 Committee of the Council of Madras, his opinion, that  
 the measure, as it regarded either the antecedent conduct  
 of the Governor and Council of Madras, or the nature of  
 the case, was destitute of all reasonable ground; calcu-  
 lated to involve the Madras government in difficulties;  
 and liable to produce the most dangerous consequences.  
 Of the rooted enmity of the Governor-General he regarded  
 this proceeding as a decisive proof. And from this time  
 but little between the Presidencies was preserved even of  
 the appearance of concert.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The importance of the services of Coote, and the advantage of leaving to his experience and skill the control of all military operations, was fully evinced by the events that followed his retirement and death. Mismanaged as the war had been by General Stuart and the Government of Madras, it seems probable that but for the opportune occurrence of peace with France, the South of India would have been lost to the English. The annihilation of the army at Cuddalore would have been followed by the siege of Madras, and there was

Of the inconvenience to themselves of the transfer which the Supreme Council had ordered of the powers of the Presidency, one instance speedily occurred. Upon a requisition to send a detachment from Madras to Bombay, the President and Council were obliged to return for answer, that compliance no longer remained in their power, since all authority over the troops resided in the General. It is remarkable enough, that this incident, which, with others of the like description, might have been so easily foreseen, determined the Supreme Council to revoke the orders which they had formerly given, and, by explaining away the meaning of their former words, to substitute a new regulation for the degree of power with which the General was to be supplied. A great diminution, following close in succession upon a great enlargement of power, was not likely to produce a healing effect upon such a temper as that of Coote. He now insisted upon relinquishing the command of the army; and on the 28th of September, 1782, sailed for Bengal. Measures for giving him satisfaction were there concerted between him and the Supreme Council; and he departed from Bengal in the following spring to resume the command. It has been historically stated, and without contradiction, that nothing but an accident prevented the two Presidents, even at that trying moment, from plunging their countrymen in India into something of the nature of a civil war. That Coote was despatched with powers to resume the military command, exempt from dependence upon the Madras government; and that to this illegal subversion of the authority of the subordinate Presidency, Lord Macartney was determined not to submit.<sup>1</sup> The death of the General happily prevented the chance of a struggle. The ship, in which he was proceeding from the Ganges to the coast, was

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little chance of defending it successfully against Tippoo and the French. Without denying that there was much to reprehend in the conduct of the military authorities, yet it is evident that there was a constant disposition in the civil authorities of Madras to appropriate the direction of military affairs, and to interfere beyond the strict necessity of interference, which exposed them, not without reason, to the disapprobation of the Bengal Government.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of the late War in Asia, i. 429.—M.

This can scarcely be cited as history. An anonymous author quoting no proofs, can scarcely be considered as evidence of intentions not reduced to actions. It is unjust to Lord Macartney, to impute to him the purpose of engaging in something like civil war.—W.

BOOK V. chased several days by some of the French cruisers, and  
 CHAP. VI. at times in imminent danger ; the extreme anxiety of this  
 1784. situation operating upon the irritable and enfeebled frame  
 of the General, accelerated a third fit of apoplexy, and terminated his life on the 26th of April, only three days after landing at Madras. To such an extreme the distrust of the Supreme Government was now carried, that a sum of ten lacs of rupees from Bengal, which arrived a few days after, could not be received, because the person who brought it had orders to deliver it not to the civil government, but into the hands of Sir Eyre Coote. From this time the Governor-General and Council withheld from Macartney, not only the powers which were necessary for effecting, by negotiation, a division among the enemies of the English, but all instruction with respect to their views of peace or war ; and, instead of those supplies which they had hitherto afforded in considerable quantity, they forbade the Carnatic Presidency to draw on the government of Bengal for a single rupee. Repeated applications were sent before any answer was received, for instructions in regard to the treaty which Tippoo had declared his willingness to form. It was not till after the commissioners had departed that any were received ; and when they came, they were so equivocally worded, that whatever course the Carnatic Presidency might pursue, their conduct would equally stand open to blame.<sup>1</sup>

The treaty of peace with Tippoo was transmitted for ratification to Bengal. In the absence of Mr. Hastings, who was then at Lucknow, it was acknowledged and signed by the Supreme Council, who were vested with all the powers of government. It was returned in due form. It was then, with the requisite solemnity, transmitted to Tippoo. The receipt of it was acknowledged. And this great transaction was closed.

After a number of months had elapsed, a fresh copy of the treaty was received from Bengal, having the signature as before, of the Members of the Council at Calcutta, and the additional signature of the Governor-General at Lucknow. To this instrument was annexed a declaration, that the Nabob Wala Jah had a right to be included in the

<sup>1</sup> Papers presented to the House of Commons, *ut supra* ; Barrow's *Life of the Earl of Macartney*, i. 180 and 233.



treaty; and a command to the President and Council of Madras, "at their peril," to transmit the ratification of the treaty in its second form to Tippoo.

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CHAP. V.

1784.

For understanding this transaction, it is necessary to recollect, that the Nabob, and, along with him, his mischievous agents, expressed their uneasiness at the unhappy state of his affairs, by imputing blame to the Governor, and obstructing the Government. The Supreme Council had taken part with the complaints, not only of the General, but also of the Nabob. To all practicable arrangements for peace, that dependent, ambitious, and insatiate chief, had shown aversion, and, in particular, a poignant abhorrence of Hyder Ali and his son. Important as the blessings of peace had now become, to the exhausted resources of him and the Company, he treated with unreserved disapprobation the terms of any treaty which, to the Presidency, it seemed practicable to obtain; and neither gave his consent, nor appeared to desire to become a party, to the arrangement which they endeavoured to effect. The treaty of 1769, in which the Nabob was not included as a party, nor his name mentioned, appeared to furnish a precedent to justify a treaty in which, though his participation was not expressed, his interests were secured. And as it was absolutely necessary, on behalf of the Company, that the Nabob should not have the power of breaking a treaty, essential to their interests, though by him violently condemned, it was held a great advantage to place it on a foundation independent of his will. Besides, previously to the negotiation, the Supreme Council were so far from holding up the Nabob, as a necessary and a principal party, that they did not even direct the communication to him of their instructions, or hint the propriety of taking his advice. The complaint, however, which on this account the Nabob had been instigated to raise, the Supreme Council treated now as a matter of infinite importance; and to Lord Macartney they appeared to be actuated by a wish to multiply the embarrassments of his administration. Considering the jealous temper of Tippoo, his distrust of the English, and his perpetual apprehension of treachery and deceit, Lord Macartney was convinced, that to present to him a second ratification of a treaty, after the first had been received as final and complete, could



BOOK V. only serve to persuade him that either on the first or  
 CHAP. VI. second of these occasions imposition was practised ; and  
 1780. that hostility should anticipate the effect of hostile designs. The danger of such a result determined the President to brave the resentment of the superior government, and, exonerating his council from responsibility, he declared his readiness to submit to suspension as the consequence of his refusal to obey the orders of the governing Board. The situation of Mr. Hastings himself became, about this time too alarming, however, to leave him inclination for a stretch of his authority ; and the disobedience of Lord Macartney was followed by no unpleasant result.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER VI.

*Financial Difficulties—Campaign of General Goddard on the Bombay Side of the Mahratta Country.—Attack on the Bengal Side.—Peace with Sindia.—Supreme Court of Judicature.—Efforts of the Supreme Court to extend its Jurisdiction.—Their Effects upon Individuals.—Upon the Collection of the Revenue.—Upon the Administration of Justice. — Interference of Parliament claimed. — Granted.—The Chief Justice placed at the Head of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut.—Chief-Justice recalled.—Judicial and Police Regulations.—Provincial Councils abolished, and a new Board of Revenue set up.*

WE return to the events which, during these great transactions in the south, had taken place in Bengal, and other parts of the British dominions in India.

Before the commencement of the war with Hyder, the finances of the Company in every part of India had become a source of distress. The scanty resources of Bombay, which seldom equalled the expenditure of a peace-establishment, had not, even with the supplies which had been sent from Bengal, sufficed to save that Presidency from the necessity of draining the channels of loan, and from sinking in arrear so deeply, even with the pay of the

<sup>1</sup> Barrow's Life of Macartney, i. 232--238 ; Papers presented to the House of Commons, ut supra.

army, that the General, in the month of August, 1780, declared it was no longer fit to be depended upon.<sup>1</sup> Even Bengal itself, though it had enjoyed entire tranquillity, and had only contributed to the maintenance of Goddard's army, and to other feeble operations against the Mahrattas, was so completely exhausted, that, in August, 1780, the Supreme Council were again reduced to the expedient of contracting debt; and before the end of the year, when exertions in favour of the Carnatic were required, they were obliged to announce to the Directors the probability of a total suspension of the investment.<sup>2</sup>

In the important consultations of the 25th of September 1780, upon the intelligence of the fatal irruption of Hyder, it was resolved, that terms of peace should be offered to the Mahrattas, through the mediation of the Raja of Berar; and on the 2nd of October a draught of a treaty was prepared, according to which all conquests made by the English were to be surrendered, with the exception of the fort of Gualior, destined for the Rana of Gohud, and of that part of Guzerat which had been ceded to Futty Sing Guicowar. Should the fort of Bassein, however, be taken by the English forces, before the final agreement, it was proposed to cede, in its stead, all the territory and revenue which they had acquired by the treaty of Poorunder. Of this draught, a copy with power of mediation, was sent to the Raja of Berar; and at the same time letters were written to Nizam Ali, to the Peshwa, to Sindia, and to the Poonah ministers, apprizing them of the terms on which the English government was ready and desirous to conclude a treaty of peace.

On the 16th of October, General Goddard, reinforced by

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1780.

<sup>1</sup> See Goddard's Letter to the Select Committee of Bombay, dated 24th August, 1780, Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, ut supra. p. 111 and 112. See also p. 89 and 90, with the Appendix, No. 256, for details, of the extreme poverty and necessities of the Presidency, "necessities," they say, "now pressing to a degree never before experienced."

<sup>2</sup> Sixth Report, ut supra, p. 101, 102, 103. In a letter to General Goddard, under date 20th April, 1780, the Supreme Council wrote, "Our resources are no longer equal to the payment of your army." In another, dated 15th May, they warned the Bombay Presidency against any reliance on continued supply from Bengal, "as neither their resources, nor the currency of the provinces, would endure a continuance of the vast drains," &c. In a minute of the Governor-General on the 28th of August, he said, "Our expenses have been increasing; our means declining. And it is now a painful duty imposed upon me, to propose, that we should again have recourse to the means of supplying our growing wants, by taking up money at interest. The sum I do not propose, because I think it should not be limited."

BOOK V. a body of Europeans from Madras, and relieved from apprehension of Holkar and Sindia by intelligence that an attack would be made upon their dominions from the upper provinces of Bengal, put the army in motion from Surat. The roads were still so deep, and the rivers so full, that they were unable to reach their ground before Bassein till the 13th of November. From the strength of the place and the number of the garrison, the General deemed it necessary to carry on his operations with regularity and caution. A battery of six guns and six mortars, within nine hundred yards of the fort, was completed on the morning of the 28th. Under cover of its fire, approaches were carried on to a spot within 500 yards of the wall, where a battery of nine heavy guns was opened on the morning of the 9th of December, while a battery of twenty mortars began to play upon one of the parapets. On the morning of the 10th, when a practicable breach was nearly effected, the fort made an offer of surrender, but in consequence of some demur the fire was renewed, and the next morning the enemy yielded at discretion.<sup>1</sup>

After the reduction of Bassein, the General repaired to Bombay for the purpose of settling with the Committee the further operations of the army, and there received intelligence of the irruption of Hyder into the Carnatic, and the destruction of Colonel Baillie's detachment. An attack, which might operate as a diversion, on the western side of Hyder's dominions, was pressed upon the Presidency of Bombay by that of Madras; and at the same time arrived from the Supreme Council intelligence of their designs respecting peace with the Mahrattas, and a copy of the treaty which it was intended to offer. Though directed immediately to obey a requisition in writing from the Peshwa to suspend hostilities, General Goddard and the Committee of Bombay were exhorted to prosecute the war

<sup>1</sup> No notice is taken in the text of the important and brilliant operations of a division of the Bombay army, under Colonel Hartley, in the Concan, the objects of which were to secure the revenues of the country for the British authority, and then to cover the siege of Bassein. The first object was partially, the latter completely, effected. Colonel Hartley defeated, in the beginning of October, a considerable Mahratta force at Mullunghur, and then driving the enemy's parties out of the Concan, took up a position not far from the Bhore Ghaut. From hence he fell back to Doogaur, nine miles East of Bassein, upon the advance of an overpowering force intended to raise the siege; and there, on the 10th and 11th December repulsed every attack of the Mahratta army, 20,000 strong, with the loss of their general. Duff, ii, 261.—W.



with vigour, till such time as that application should arrive. After several fluctuations of opinion, it was determined not to evacuate Tellicherry; as a place which, though burdensome to defend, might ultimately be of importance for commencing an attack upon the dominions of Hyder. And, notwithstanding the desire of the Committee to secure the Concan, or the country below the Ghauts, it was resolved, upon the recommendation of the General, to occupy the passes of the mountains, and to threaten the enemy's capital, advancing into the country as far as might appear consistent with the safe return of the army. The terror which might thus be inspired was expected to operate as the most effectual inducement to peace; and that terror would be the more powerful, as the two leading chiefs, Sindia and Holkar, were understood to be occupied in the defence of their own dominions against the attack carried on from Bengal.

The army marched from Bassein about the middle of January. The Mahratta force in the Concan was computed at 20,000 horse and foot, with about fifteen guns. It was commanded by Hurry Punt Furkea, and posted on the road to the Bhore Ghaut,<sup>1</sup> by which, as the easiest of the passes, and that leading most directly to the Mahratta capital, it was expected that the English would endeavour to ascend. Notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the enemy, they offered little resistance in the level of the country, and with only a few slight skirmishes, the English reached the foot of the pass on the 8th of February. The enemy had ascended; and from intelligence, it appeared that they had assembled in great force to dispute the passage. Holkar, whom the attack from Bengal had been too feeble to retain on the opposite side of the Mahratta country, and who had left Sindia as sufficient to cope with the force by which he was assailed, had lately joined the Poonah army, of which the whole was encamped near the top of the Ghaut. The General, who saw the advantage of audacity and despatch, resolved to storm the pass the very night of his arrival. The storming party, which consisted of the grenadiers,

<sup>1</sup> It was the same army which had been repulsed by Colonel Hartley, and had been obliged to fall back into an attitude of defence.—W.



BOOK V. headed by Captain Parker, entered about midnight, and  
 CHAP. VI. with consummate gallantry, forcing the enemy from every  
 1781. battery and post which they occupied, reached the summit at five o'clock in the morning.

At the top of the Ghaut, the English army were not distant more than forty-five miles from the Mahratta capital. On the 12th, a person arrived, commissioned, as he said, by Nana Furnavese, the Poonah minister. His object was, to declare the earnest desire of the minister to obtain the friendship of the English ; but he brought with him no credentials to authenticate his mission. For this, he apologized, by the doubts which Nana felt of the disposition towards him entertained by the English. Goddard was not willing that a mere adherence to forms should obstruct the acquisition of peace. He instructed him to assure the minister of the readiness with which the English would second his views for a termination of the existing contests, and the formation of an alliance against their respective enemies. Among other circumstances, the Mahratta agent affirmed that the copy of the treaty which had been sent for transmission to the Regent of Berar, the Regent, who had not approved of it, had declined to forward. The General, therefore, transmitted to the minister a copy, together with information of his being vested with full powers to treat ; and agreed to wait eight days for an answer. The answer arrived within the time prescribed, containing a simple and explicit rejection of the terms. Fully acquainted with the progress of Hyder in the Carnatic, and regarding the eagerness of the English for peace, as a declaration of inability for war, the Mahrattas, at this juncture, expected greater advantages from continuing, than terminating hostilities.<sup>1</sup> To the application of the Supreme Council to Moodajee, that he would employ his mediation between them and the Poonah government, an answer was not received till the 9th of January, 1781 ; and when it did arrive, it contained so many objections to the treaty, and even advanced so many pretensions on the part of Moodajee himself, that it not only convinced them of the

<sup>1</sup> Negotiations were also on foot for an alliance between all the Mahratta states, except the Gaekwar, with Hyder and the Nizam against the English.—W.

little prospect of peace, but brought into doubt the sincerity of the former professions of that person himself. BOOK V.  
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Notwithstanding this disappointment in the hopes of peace, and the approach of the English army to the capital of the enemy, Goddard, convinced that possession of the capital, which the enemy had determined to burn, would by no means ensure the attainment of his object, declined any further progress into the interior of the country ; and recommended a system of defensive warfare,<sup>1</sup> permitting the return of the Madras troops to the coast of Coromandel, both for assistance against Hyder, and to lessen the pressure upon the Bombay finances.

1781.

After maintaining their post with little disturbance at the head of the Ghauts till the 17th of April, the English descended secretly during the night.<sup>2</sup> The difficulty of supplying the troops with provisions, while the enemy, it was found, could descend by other passes, and intercept their convoys ; together with the expense of fortifying the post at the top of the Ghauts, appeared to surpass the advantage of maintaining it. The enemy descended in pursuit the following day. The route from the bottom of the hills to the coast was about twenty-four miles, through a country full of bushes, thickets, and narrow defiles. This was highly favorable to the irregular and unexpected assaults of the Mahrattas, who greatly harassed the English during the three days of the march : but though several lives were lost, and among the rest that of Colonel Parker, the second in command, no material impression was made, nor any loss sustained of the baggage and stores. The Mahratta army re-ascended the Ghauts ; and the English, left in possession of the Concan, prepared, with the Madras detachment, which the reduced state of the battalions now rendered it desirable to retain, to remain at Callian through the approaching moonsoon.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The recommendation came from the Bombay Government, and now only obtained Colonel Goddard's acquiescence upon his finding the impossibility of maintaining an advanced position in the Mahratta country, against such powerful forces as they could bring against him. Duff, ii. 439.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Although not attacked in their post, the English had suffered much from well-concerted operations upon their communications ; the country below the Ghaut being overrun by Purseram Bhow, with 1200 horse. Duff, ii. 437.—W.

<sup>3</sup> Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1782, p. 100—113, with the official documents, in its voluminous Appendix.

BOOK V. On the Bengal side of the Mahratta country, it was  
 CHAP. VI. determined, notwithstanding the eminent services of  
 1781. Major Popham, to supersede that officer in the command, and relieve his corps by that of Colonel Camac,<sup>1</sup> who, having already advanced into the territory of the Rana of Gohud, was, about the beginning of the year 1781, commanded to penetrate, at the head of five battalions of sepoy, towards Oogoin, the capital of Sindia. The force employed in this service, as it was too small to prevent Holkar from returning to assist in turning the balance against Goddard, so it was too feeble to intimidate even Sindia alone, and seems to have been saved from destruction, or at any rate from flight, by nothing but a fortunate exploit. Having reached Seronge, in the month of February, it was surrounded by a powerful enemy; its supplies were cut off; it was harassed on all sides; the princes, expected to join it, stood aloof; it was reduced to distress for want of provisions: and the commanding officer was obliged to apply by letter for the troops stationed at Futtyghur, under Colonel Muir, to enable him to retreat into the country of the Rana. Colonel Muir arrived at Gohud on the 29th of March. But before this time, Colonel Camac was reduced to such extremity, that on the 23rd of the same month he had summoned a council of war, in which Captain Bruce, the officer who commanded the storming party at the taking of Gualior, recommended, as the only possible means of preserving the army, to make that very night an attack upon the camp of Sindia. After some debate and hesitation, the resolution was adopted. At sunset on the 24th, the army moved from their ground, and after a march of thirteen hours arrived at the camp.<sup>2</sup> The surprise was, happily, complete; and all the terror and confusion ensued, which usually result from a nocturnal assault unexpectedly falling upon a barbarian army. The enemy dispersed, and fled in disorder, leaving several guns and elephants, with a quantity of ammunition, as prize to the victor.

<sup>1</sup> A typographical error pervades all the previous editions, and instead of Camac, this officer is termed Carnac, a very different person.—W.

<sup>2</sup> It is very unlikely that a march of 'thirteen hours' should have precluded a surprise, especially a nocturnal surprise, as the interval must have brought daylight on the assailants. Duff states that it was Sindia's custom to encamp every night at the distance of five or six miles, ii. 647; and Colonel Camac, in his official report, says, "the enemy encamped within three coss," a distance of five or six miles. Sixth Report, Append. 1072.—W.



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Colonel Muir was so retarded by want of cattle for the conveyance of provisions, and by other difficulties,<sup>1</sup> that he arrived not at Antry till the 4th of April; and, as senior officer, upon joining Camac, he assumed the command. In order to overcome the backwardness of the Rana of Gohud, whom the apparent feebleness of the English led to temporize, and even to intrigue with Sindia, directions were given to place him in possession of the fort of Gualior, which had been professedly taken only for him. Though the English were now enabled to remain within the territory of Sindia, they were too feeble to undertake any active operations; and spent several months in vain endeavours to induce the Rana of Gohud, and the neighbouring chieftains, to yield them any efficient support. In the meantime, the army of Sindia lay close to that of the English, which remained at Sissai, a place within the Mahratta dominions, several days' march beyond the frontiers of Gohud. The Mahratta horse daily harassed the camp, and cut off the supplies. And the troops were reduced to great distress, both by sickness and want of provisions.<sup>2</sup> Happily the resources of Sindia, too, were not difficult to exhaust; and he began seriously to desire an end of the contest. About the beginning of August, an overture was made, through the Rana of Gohud, which the English commander encouraged; and on the 16th of that month, an envoy from Sindia, with powers to treat, arrived in the English camp. Similar powers were transmitted to Colonel Muir. Negotiation commenced; and on the 13th of October a treaty was concluded. All the territory which the English had conquered on the further side of the Jumna was to be restored to Sindia: on the other part, Sindia was not to molest the chiefs who had assisted the English, or to claim any portion of the territory which the English had annexed to the dominions of the Rana Gohud: it was also agreed, that Sindia should use his endeavours to effect a peace between the English and their enemies, Hyder Ali, and the Peshwa.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Difficulties beyond conception," they are called by Mr. Hastings. See his "Answer to the Fourteenth Charge."

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hastings' Answer, before the House of Commons, on the Fourteenth Charge.

<sup>3</sup> Hastings' Answer, *ut supra*; A retrospective View, and Consideration of Indian Affairs; particularly of the Transactions of the Mahratta War, from its commencement to the month of October, 1782, p. 72. The author of this



BOOK V. During these proceedings the Governor-General and  
 CHAP. VI. Council were involved in other affairs of no ordinary importance.

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When the wisdom of parliament embraced the subject of the government of India, and by its grand legislative effort, in 1773, undertook to provide, as far as it was competent to provide, a remedy both for the evils which existed, and for those which might be foreseen, a Court of Judicature was created, to which the title of Supreme was annexed, and of which the powers, as well as the nomination of the judges, did not emanate from the Company, but immediately from the King. It was framed of a Chief Justice and three Puisné Judges ; and was empowered to administer in India all the departments of English law. It was a court of common law, and a court of equity ; a court of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery ; an ecclesiastical court, and a court of admiralty. In civil cases, its jurisdiction extended to all claims against the Company, and against British subjects, and to all such claims of British subjects against the natives, as the party in the contract under dispute had agreed, in case of dispute, to submit to its decision. In affairs of penal law, its powers extended to British subjects, and to another class of persons, who were described, as all persons directly or indirectly in the service of the Company, or of any British subject, at the time of the offence.

In the establishment of this tribunal, the British legislature performed one important act of legislative wisdom. They recognised, and by adopting, they sanctioned, the principle, that to leave any part of the emoluments of judges, as so great a portion of them in England is left, to be made out of fees extracted from the suitors in their own courts, is an abuse ; an infallible cause of the perversion of judicature. They enacted that a sufficient salary should be fixed for the judges ; that no additional emolument, in the shape of fees, or in any other, should accrue

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short narrative has evidently enjoyed the advantage of access to the records of the Bombay government. Some particulars have been gleaned in the "Memoirs of the late War in Asia." See also the copy of the Treaty with Sindia, in the Collection of Treaties with the Princes of Asia, printed by the E. I. C. in 1812, p. 97.—M.

To these authorities, the superior one of Duff's Mahratta History may be added.—W.

from their judicial functions. A sure temptation to exert, for the multiplication of suits and of their expenses, the great power of judges, was so far, accordingly, taken away; and that oppression which is inflicted upon the public by the unnecessary delay, vexation and expense of judicial proceedings, was in part deprived of its fundamental and most operative cause.<sup>1</sup>

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On the principal ground, however, the parliament, as usual, trode nearly blindfold. They saw not that they were establishing two independent and rival powers in India, that of the Supreme Council, and that of the Supreme Court; they drew no line to mark the boundary between them: and they foresaw not the consequences which followed, a series of encroachments and disputes which unnerved the powers of government, and threatened their destruction.<sup>2</sup>

The judges had not been long in the exercise of their functions when the effects of their pretensions began to appear. The writs of the Supreme Court were issued at the suit of individuals against the Zemindars of the country, in ordinary actions of debt; the Zemindars were ordered to Calcutta to make appearance, taken into custody for contempt if they neglected the writ, or hurried from any distance to Calcutta, and, if unable to find bail, were buried in a loathsome dungeon.<sup>3</sup> In a minute of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated the 11th of April, 1775, they declare that process of this description had been issued into every part of the provinces. "Zemindars," they add, "farmers, and other proprietors of the lands, have been seized upon their estates, and forcibly brought up to the Presidency, at the suit or

<sup>1</sup> They created fee-fed offices, and had the patronage of them; this class of impure motives was not therefore destroyed.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. George Rous, Counsel to the East India Company, in the report which he made to the Directors upon the documents relative to this business submitted to him in 1780, says: "It is remarkable, that the judges on the one hand, and the Council on the other, were perfectly unanimous, in every measure taken throughout this unhappy contention. This fact will lead a candid mind to look for the source of this contention, not in the temper of individuals, but in the peculiarity of their situation. In no country of which I have read, did two powers, like these, ever subsist distinct and independent of each other." See Report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1781, on the petitions relative to the administration of justice in India, of Touchet and others, of Hastings, and the other members of the Supreme Council, and of the East India Company, General Appendix, No. 39.

<sup>3</sup> See the description of the horrid gaol of Calcutta, in the First Report of the Select Committee in 1782; see also vol. iii. p. 166.

BOOK V. complaint of other natives, and detained there, or obliged  
 CHAP. V. to give bail, according to the nature of the case." By  
 1781. these proceedings, the minds of the natives were thrown  
 into the utmost consternation and alarm. They saw themselves surrounded with dangers of a terrible nature, from a new and mysterious source, the operations of which they were altogether unable to comprehend. The principles of English law were not only different, in many important respects, from those to which they had hitherto been indebted for the protection of every thing which they held dear ; but opposite and shocking to some of their strongest opinions and feelings. The language of that law ; its studied intricacies and obscurities, which render it unintelligible to all Englishmen, who have not devoted a great part of their lives to the study of it ; rendered it to the eye of the affrighted Indian, a black and portentous cloud, from which every terrific and destructive form might at each moment be expected to descend upon him. Whoever is qualified to estimate the facility and violence with which alarms are excited among a simple and ignorant people, and the utter confusion with which life to them appears to be overspread, when the series of customs and rules by which it was governed is threatened with subversion, may form an estimate of the terrors which agitated the natives of India, when the process of the Supreme Court began to operate extensively among them.

The evils, not of apprehension merely, but of actual suffering to which it exposed them, were deplorable. They were dragged from their families and affairs, with the frequent certainty of leaving them to disorder and ruin, any distance, even as great as 500 miles, either to give bail at Calcutta, a thing which, if they were strangers, and the sum more than trifling, it was next to impossible they should have in their power ; or to be consigned to prison for all the many months which the delays of English judicature might interpose, between this calamitous stage and the final termination of the suit. Upon the affidavit, into the truth of which no inquiry whatsoever was made, upon the unquestioned affidavit of any person whatsoever, a person of credibility, or directly the reverse ; it made no difference, whether the individual prosecuted, was within the jurisdiction of the court, the natives were seized, carried



to Calcutta, and consigned to prison, where, even if it was afterwards determined that they were not within the jurisdiction of the court, and of course that they had been unjustly prosecuted, they were liable to lie for several months, and whence they were dismissed totally without compensation. Instances occurred, in which defendants were brought from a distance to the Presidency, and when they declared their intention of pleading, that is, objecting to the jurisdiction of the court, the prosecution was dropped ; in which the prosecution was again renewed, the defendant again brought down to Calcutta ; and again, upon his offering to plead, the prosecution was dropped. The very fact of being seized was, in India, a circumstance of the deepest disgrace, and so degraded a man of any rank, that, under the Mohammedan government, it was never attempted, except in cases of the greatest delinquency.<sup>1</sup>

Not only the alarm which these proceedings diffused throughout the country, but the effects with which they threatened to strike the collection of the revenue, strongly excited the attention of the Company's servants and the members of their government. To draw from the ryots the duties or contributions which they owe, is well known to be a business of great detail and difficulty, requiring the strictest vigilance, and most minute and persevering applications. Anything which strikes at the credit of the Zemindar, farmer, or other functionary, by whom this duty is performed, immediately increases the difficulty, by encouraging the ryot in the hope of defeating the demand by evasion, cunning, obstinacy, or delay. The total absence of the functionary, called away to attend the proceedings of the Supreme Court, his forcible removal, or the ignominious seizure of his person, went far to suspend the collections within his district, and to cut off the source of those payments for which he was engaged to the Company.

It had been the immemorial practice in India, for that great branch of the government intrusted with the collection of the revenue, to exercise the department of jurisdiction which regarded the revenue, to decide in that field all matters of dispute, and to apply the coercive

<sup>1</sup> See the evidence of Mr. Ewan Law, Report of the Committee on Touchet's Petition, &c., p. 19.



BOOK V. process which was usual for enforcing demands. These  
 CHAP. VI. powers were now exercised by the Provincial Councils,  
 1781. and the courts established, by the name of Dewannee  
 Adaulut, under their authority. The mode of decision  
 was summary, that is, expeditious, and unexpensive ; and  
 the mode of coercion was simple, and adapted to the  
 habits and feelings of the people. One or more peons, a  
 species of undisciplined soldiery, employed in the collec-  
 tions, was set over the defaulter, that is, repaired to the  
 house, and there watched and restrained him, till the sum  
 in demand was discharged. In a short time the Supreme  
 Court began to interfere with these proceedings. The  
 defaulters were made to understand by the attorneys, who  
 had spread themselves pretty generally through the coun-  
 try, that if they would throw themselves upon the Su-  
 preme Court, they would obtain redress and protection.  
 They were taught, as often as any coercive process was  
 employed by the judges of revenue, to sue out a writ of  
 Habeas Corpus in the Supreme Court ; where it was held  
 competent, and was in practice customary, for the judges  
 to set them at liberty upon bail. This excited still more  
 violently the apprehensions of the members of govern-  
 ment, in regard to the collection of the revenue. As the  
 disposition to withhold the payment is universal and  
 unremitting in India, and never fails to lay hold of every  
 occasion which affords any chance either of delay, or eva-  
 sion ; they apprehended that such a resource, held up to  
 the people, would breed a general tendency ; and they  
 concluded, with justice, that if, in the innumerable cases  
 in which compulsion was necessary, it could only be ex-  
 ercised through the tedious, laborious, and expensive  
 forms of English law, the realizing of a revenue in India  
 was a thing altogether impossible.

While the Company exercised the office of Dewan, in  
 other words, that department of government which re-  
 garded the collection of the revenue, and in civil cases  
 the administration of justice, they had been careful to  
 keep up the appearance of the Nizamut, or remaining  
 branch of the ancient government, in the person of the  
 Nabob ; and to him, the penal department of judicature,  
 under the superintendence of the Naib Dewan, or deputy  
 Nabob, appointed by the Company, had in particular been

intrusted. To this government of the Nabob, which, though totally dependent upon the servants of the Company, and subservient to their will, was yet the instrument of a great portion of all that security for order and protection which existed in the country, the Supreme Court declared, that they would pay no regard. In their representation, under date of the 15th of January, 1776, the Governor and Council complain to the Court of Directors, that Mr. Justice Hyde had declared publicly on the bench, "The Act of Parliament does not consider Mubaruck al Dowla as a sovereign prince. The jurisdiction of this court extends over all his dominions." That Mr. Justice Le Maistre had said, "With regard to this phantom, this man of straw, Mubaruck al Dowla, it is an insult on the understanding of the Court, to have made the question of his sovereignty: but it comes from the Governor-General and Council; I have too much respect for that body to treat it ludicrously, and I confess I cannot consider it seriously:" and that the Chief Justice had treated the Nabob "as a mere empty name, without any legal right, or the exercise of any power whatsoever."

By these pretensions, the whole of that half of the powers of government which were exercised in the name of the Nabob, was taken away and abolished. By another set of pretensions, the same abolition was effected of the other half, which, in the character of Dewan, were exercised in the name of the Company.

In the same address, the Governor-General and Council add the following statement: "Mr. Le Maistre, in his late charge to the grand Jury, declares that a very erroneous opinion has been formed by the Governor-General and Council, distinguishing the situation of the East India Company, as Dewan, from the common condition of a trading company; he makes no scruple of avowing a decided opinion, that no true distinction, in reason, in law, or justice, can or ought to be made, between the East India Company as a trading Company, and the East India Company as Dewan of these provinces. With respect to the management of the territorial revenue, he is pleased to declare, that the only true interpretation of the Act of Parliament is, that our management and government is not exclusive, but subject to the jurisdiction of the King's

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BOOK V. Court ; and that it will be equally penal for the Company,  
 CHAP. VI. or for those acting under them, to disobey the orders and  
 1781. mandatory process of the King's Court, in matters which  
 merely concern the revenues, as in any other matter or  
 thing whatsoever." The Governor and Council declare :

"By the several acts and declarations of the judges, it is plain that the Company's office of Dewan is annihilated ; that the country government is subverted ; and that any attempt on our part to exercise or support the powers of either, may involve us and our officers in the guilt and penalty of high treason ; which Mr. Justice Le Maistre, in his charge, expressly holds out, *in terrorem*, to all the Company's servants and others, acting under our authority."

It would be difficult, in any age or country, to discover a parallel to the conduct which this set of judges exhibited on the present occasion. Their own powers, as it was impossible for them not distinctly to see, were totally inadequate to the government of the country ; yet they proceeded, contrary to the declared, though badly expressed, intention of the legislature, to avail themselves of the hooks and handles,<sup>1</sup> which the ensnaring system of law, administered by them, afforded in such abundance, to draw within their pale the whole transactions of the country ; not those of individuals only, but those also of the government. That this was to transfer the government into their hands is too obvious to require illustration. When a government is transferred from one to another set of hands, by a simple act of despotism, every branch of authority is directly supplied ; the machine of government remains entire ; and the mischief may be small, or the advantage great. But when the wheels of government were threatened to be stopped by the technical forms of a court of English law, and when nothing but those forms, and a set of men who could ostensibly perform nothing, but through the medium of those forms,

<sup>1</sup> The following is an amusing instance. The Provincial Council of Dacca, the grand administrative and judicative organ of government, for a great province, is thus treated : "Who are the Provincial Chief and Council of Dacca ? . . . They are no *Corporation* in the eye of the law. . . . The Chief and Provincial Council of Dacca is an ideal body. . . . A man might as well say that he was commanded by the King of the Fairies, as by the Provincial Council of Dacca ; because the law knows no such body." Argument and Judgment of Mr. Justice Le Maistre, on the return to Seroopchund's Habeas Corpus. Report, ut supra, General Appendix, No. 9. See for another specimen, equally beautiful, a few pages onwards, the maxim *Delegatus non potest delegare*.



and the pretence of administering justice, was provided to supply the place of the government which was destroyed, a total dissolution of the social order was the impending consequence. The system of English law was so incompatible with the habits, sentiments, and circumstances of the people, that, if attempted to be forced, even upon that part of the field of government which belonged to the administration of law, it would have sufficed to throw the country into the utmost disorder ; would have subverted almost every existing right ; would have filled the nation with terror and misery ; and being, in such a situation, incapable of answering the purposes of law, would have left the country in a state hardly different from that, in which it would have been, under a total absence of law. But when the judges proceeded to apply these forms to the acts of government, the powers of administration were suspended ; and nothing was provided to supply their place. Either with a blind ignorance of these consequences, which is almost incredible, unless from our experience of the narrowness which the mind contracts by habitual application to the practice of English law, and by habitual indulgence of the fancy that it is the perfection of reason ; or, with a disregard of these consequences, for which nothing but a love of power, too profligate to be stayed by any considerations of human happiness or misery, is sufficient to account,—the judges proceeded, with the apparent resolution of extending the jurisdiction of their court, and leaving as little as possible of the business of the country exempt from the exercise of their power.

To palliate the invasions which they made upon the field of government, they made use of this as an argument : That the great end of their institution was to protect the natives against the injustice and oppression of the Company's servants ; and that, without the powers which they assumed, it was impossible for them to render to humanity this eminent service. But to force upon the natives the miseries of English law, and to dissolve the bands of government, was to inflict upon the people far greater evils than those from which they pretended to relieve them. If the end proposed by the legislature was really to protect the natives from the injustice of

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BOOK V. Englishmen, they made a very unskilful choice of the  
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The representations upon this subject, which the Governor-General and Council transmitted to England, induced the Court of Directors, in the month of November, 1777, to lay a statement of the case before the Ministers of the Crown. The supposed dignity of a *King's Court*, as it inflated the pretensions of the Judges, who delighted in styling themselves King's Judges—contrasting the source of their own power with the inferior source from which the power of the Governor-General and Council was derived—so it imposed awe and irresolution upon the Court of Directors. They ventured not to originate any measure for staying the unwarranted proceedings of the Supreme Court; and could think of no better expedient, than that of praying the ministry to perform this important service in their behalf.

The Directors represented to the ministry, that the Zemindars, farmers, and other occupiers of land, against whom, writs, at the suit of natives, had been issued into all parts of the provinces, it was not the intention of the legislature to submit to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court; that the proceedings, by which they were hurried to a great distance from their homes, their persons arrested, and a long confinement in the common gaol inflicted upon them, appeared to be replete with irregularity and injustice; that the parties are “sure to suffer every distress and oppression with which the attorneys of the court can easily contrive to harass and intimidate them,” before the question whether they are subject or not to the jurisdiction of the court can be so much as broached; that after pleading to the jurisdiction, they are sure of an adverse decision, “unless they are able to prove a negative; that is, unless a native of Bengal is able, from an act of parliament, which the Governor-General and Council have declared liable to different constructions, to prove himself not subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court;” that the consequences were in the highest degree alarming, as almost all the Zemindars in the country, standing in the same predicament, felt themselves exposed to the same dangers; as the disgust and hatred of the natives were excited by the violation of their customs and laws;

and the collection of the revenue was impeded, and even threatened with suspension.

They represented also, that the Supreme Court, beside extending its jurisdiction to such *persons*, had extended it also to such *things*, as it was clearly the intention of the legislature to exempt from it: that these were "the ordering, management, and government of the territorial revenues," including the powers which that ordering and government required: that over this department the whole Bench of Judges had declared their resolution to exercise a power, superior to that of the Company: that, accordingly, the process of the ordinary Revenue Courts was opposed; persons whom they had confined being released by the Supreme Court; suits which were cognizable in none but the Revenue Courts being instituted and entertained in the Supreme Court; prosecutions being carried on by the Supreme Court against the Judges of the Revenue Courts, for acts done in the regular performance of the business of the Court; farmers of the revenue, who had fallen into arrear, refusing to obey the process of the Revenue Courts, and threatening the Judges with prosecution in the Supreme Court, if any coercive proceedings were employed: that in consequence of these acts, in some instances, the operation of the Dewannee Courts was suspended; in others, the very existence of them destroyed: and that the Governor-General and Council, in their capacity of a Court of Appeal, or Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, were discouraged from the exercise of this important jurisdiction, under the apprehension that their powers might be disputed, and their decrees annulled.<sup>1</sup>

Under the third head of complaint, the Directors represented that the Supreme Court had, on the pretext of requiring evidence, demanded the production in Court of papers liable to contain the most secret transactions of the

<sup>1</sup> See vol. iii. p. 529, for the rank which was assigned to this, in the Catalogue of Provisions for giving to the people of India the benefits of law. From the first arrival of the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Court of Sudder Dewannee Adawlut never acted; and for all that number of years, which intervened till a new regulation, nothing was provided to supply its place. A correspondence on the subject between the Council and the Supreme Court took place in the year 1775. The Court said that the Council had a right to receive appeals in all cases in which the Provincial Councils had a *legal* jurisdiction. This the Council treated as a denial of any right at all: as the Court, by not telling what they meant by "legal," and reserving to themselves a right of deciding, without rule, on each case which occurred, had the power of deciding just as they pleased.

BOOK V. government ; that the Secretary of the Council was served  
 CHAP. VI. with the writ called the *sub pœna duces tecum*, and attend-  
 1781. ing the Court without the papers, was informed that he  
 had brought upon himself all the damages of the suit ;  
 that upon his representing the impossibility of his pro-  
 ducing in Court the records of the Council which the  
 Council had forbidden to be so produced, he was ordered  
 to declare which of the Members of the Council voted for  
 the refusal of the papers, and which (if any) for the pro-  
 duction ; and that upon his demurring to such a question  
 a positive answer was demanded, and every Member of  
 the Council who had concurred in the refusal was declared  
 liable for an action ; that the Council agreed to send such  
 extracts as had a reference to the matter in dispute, but  
 persisted in the refusal to exhibit their records ; that  
 of this species of demand various instances occurred ;  
 and that it was manifestly impossible for the Board to  
 deliberate and act as a Council of State, and as the admi-  
 nistrative organ of government, if publication of their  
 minutes might at any time be called for, and if every  
 Member was answerable, in an action of damages, for  
 any measure in which he concurred, to as many persons  
 as might think themselves aggrieved by it.

In the fourth place, the Directors represented, That  
 the penal law of England was utterly repugnant to those  
 laws and customs by which the people of India had been  
 hitherto governed ; that, nevertheless, Maha Raja Nun-  
 comar, a native of high rank in Bengal, was indicted,  
 tried, convicted, and executed, for an offence, which was  
 not capital by the laws of the country where the offence  
 was committed ; that if the court was unable to miti-  
 gate the punishment, it might have deemed it prudent  
 to use its power of respiting the prisoner until the plea-  
 sure of the King was known ; that this the Directors  
 “conceived to be a matter of the most serious importance,  
 and big with consequences the most alarming to the  
 natives of India ; that the Judges seemed to have laid  
 it down as a general principle, in their proceedings against  
 Nuncomar, that all the criminal law of England is in force  
 and binding, upon all the inhabitants within the circle of  
 their jurisdiction in Bengal.” The Directors, therefore,  
 adjure the Minister to consider what will be the conse-



quences, if this principle, and the example grounded upon it, were followed up with consistency. "Can it be just," they say, "or prudent, to introduce all the different species of felony created by what is called the *Black Act*? or to involve, as what is called the *Coventry Act* involves, offences of different degrees in one common punishment? — or to introduce the endless and almost inexplicable distinctions by which certain acts are or are not burglary?" They ask whether Indian offenders, of a certain description, were to be transported to his Majesty's colonies in America, or sent to work upon the river Thames? And whether every man convicted for the first time of bigamy, "which is allowed, protected, nay almost commanded by their law, should be burnt in the hand if he can read, and hanged if he cannot read?" "These," they add, are only some of the consequences which we conceive must follow, if the criminal law of England be suffered to remain in force upon the natives of Bengal. If it were legal to try, to convict, and execute Nuncomar for *forgery*, on the Statute of George II., it must, as we conceive, be equally legal, to try, convict and to punish the Subahdar of Bengal, and all his court, for *bigamy*, upon the statute of James I."

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On the 2nd of January, 1777, a suit was instituted before the Provincial Council at Patna, which afforded occasion to the Supreme Court of carrying the exertion of their powers to a height more extraordinary than they had before attempted. A person of some distinction and property, a native Mohammedan, died, leaving a widow, and a nephew, who for some time had lived with him, in the apparent capacity of his heir, and adopted son. The widow claimed the whole of the property, on the strength of a will, which she affirmed the husband had made in her favour. The nephew, who disputed the will, both on the suspicion of forgery, and on the fact of the mental imbecility of his uncle for some time previous to his death, claimed in like manner the whole of the estate as adopted son and heir of the deceased.

For investigation of the causes, the decision of which depended upon the principles of the Mussulman law, the Provincial Councils were assisted by native lawyers, by whose opinion in matters of law it was their duty to



BOOK V. be guided. In the present instance, the Council of Patna  
 CHAP. VI. deputed a Cauzee and two Muftees, by a precept or per-  
 1781. wannah, in the Persian language, directing them to take  
 an account of the estate and effects of the deceased; and  
 secure them against embezzlement; to inquire into the  
 claims of the parties; to follow strictly the rules of  
 Mohammedan Law; and report to the Council their  
 proceedings. In all this, nothing appeared which was  
 not according to the approved and established mode of  
 procedure.

On the 20th of January, the Cauzee and Muftees, having  
 finished the inquiry, delivered their report; in which, after  
 a statement of the evidence adduced, they declare their  
 opinion, that neither the widow, nor the nephew, had  
 established their claims, and that the inheritance should  
 be divided according to the principles provided by the  
 Mohammedan law for those cases in which a man dies  
 without children and without a will; in other words,  
 that it should be divided into four shares; of which one  
 should be given to the widow, and three to the brother of  
 the deceased, who was next of kin, and father of the  
 nephew who claimed as adopted son. Upon a review of  
 the proceedings of the native Judges, and a hearing of the  
 parties, the Provincial Council confirmed the decree, and  
 ordered the division of the inheritance to be carried into  
 effect. They did more: as it appeared from the evidence,  
 that part of the effects of the deceased had been secreted  
 by the widow, before they could be secured by the Judges,  
 and that both the will, and another deed which she pro-  
 duced, were forged, they put her five principal agents  
 under confinement, till they should account for the goods;  
 and directed that they should be afterwards delivered to  
 the Phousdary, to take their trial for forgery.

It is to be observed, that the widow had opposed all  
 these proceedings from the beginning, not by course of  
 law, but such irregular and violent acts, as suggested  
 themselves to an angry and ignorant mind. When called  
 upon by the Cauzee to appoint, in the usual manner, a  
 vakeel, or representative, to act in her behalf, she posi-  
 tively refused; and when the Cauzee recommended to her  
 a relative who had lived in the house, was much in her  
 confidence, and acted as her principal agent, she persisted

in her refusal, but sent her seal, with a message that the Judges might appoint him if they pleased. Upon the arrival of the Cauzee and Muftes to carry the decree of the Council into execution, the widow resisted. The Cauzee and Muftes proceeded to enforce the orders under which they acted. The widow, contrary to their request and remonstrances, left the house, and betook herself to an asylum of Fakeers, which was in the neighbourhood, carrying along with her certain title-deeds and the female slaves. The Cauzee and Muftes divided the remaining effects, upon the valuation of appraisers mutually chosen by the parties, into four shares, of which the vakeel of the widow chose one for her, and the rest were set apart for the brother of the deceased. The widow refused to submit to the decision, or to accept of her share. She also refused to give up the title-deeds, which she had carried away, or the female slaves. In consequence of this proceeding, a petition was presented to the Council, by the nephew, representing that she had not complied with the decree, but by absconding, reflected, according to the Mohammedan ideas, disgrace upon the family, and praying that she might be compelled to deliver up the papers and slaves, and to return to the house, under his protection as representative of the heir. An order was directed by the Council to comply with this request. After some time, another petition was presented by the nephew, complaining that the Cauzee and Muftes had not yet complied with the injunctions of the Board. Upon this, the Council agreed, that the Cauzee should be reprimanded for his delay, and directed to proceed immediately in the execution of his orders. The Cauzee represented by memorial, that he had not only made frequent demands upon the widow, but had placed hircarrahs to watch her, and that, in his opinion, that species of constraint which was authorized by the Mussulman law, and customary in the country, namely, restriction from all intercourse by a guard of soldiers, was necessary to be applied. The guard was ordered, and continued for a space of six weeks. The widow still refused compliance, and at that time the guard was withdrawn.

The widow was advised to bring an action in the Supreme Court, against the nephew, the Cauzee, and Muftes,

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BOOK V. on the ground of their proceedings in the cause, and laid  
 CHAP. VI. her damages at 600,000 sicca rupees, about 66,000*l*. The  
 1781. objection taken, on the part of the nephew, to the jurisdiction of the court, the judges overruled, on the pretence that every renter was a servant of the Company.<sup>1</sup> The justification set up for the Cauzee and Muftees was, that they had acted regularly, in their judicial capacity, in obedience to the lawful orders of their legal superiors; that the Provincial Councils were vested with a power of determining suits between the natives, with the advice and assistance of the native lawyers; that the established mode in which the Provincial Councils availed themselves of that advice and assistance was, by directing them to hear the parties, to collect the evidence, and to deliver in a report of the whole, comprehending the opinion of the decision which ought to be pronounced; which decision the Council, upon a review of the whole, or with the addition of such other inquiries as they might think the case required, affirmed, or altered, subject only to an appeal to the Governor and Council; and that a judge acting in his judicial capacity could not be responsible in damages to those who might suffer by the execution of his decrees.

This defence, which to the eye of reason appears appropriate and irrefragable, the Court treated with the utmost contempt; and upon a ground which rouses surprise and indignation. A form of words, among the numerous loose expressions, which fall from the lips and pens of English lawyers, without any binding authority, or any defined and consistent application, occurred to the judges. This was the phrase, *Delegatus non potest delegare*, "he who is delegated cannot delegate." And upon this, and no other reason, so much as alleged, they decreed, that the Cauzee and Muftees, for acting regularly, acting as they were obliged to act, and had in fact been accustomed to act ever since the jurisdiction of the country had passed under English control, were liable to actions of damages at the suit of every person whom their proceedings displeased,

<sup>1</sup> This decision greatly increased the alarm among the farmers and other landowners. In the province of Bahar they joined in a petition to the Governor and Council, praying for protection against the process of the Supreme Court, or if that could not be granted, for leave to relinquish their farms, that they might retire into another country. Report, ut supra, p. 8, Patna Appendix, No. 14.



that is, one at least of the parties in almost every cause. It would be absurd to attempt, by illustration, to render more apparent the deformities of this proceeding. To quote a maxim of English law, though ever so high in authority, and invariable in its force, as a ground for committing in India a flagrant violation of natural equity amongst persons who knew not the English law, nor owned its authority, was an act of chicane, which the history of judicial encroachments, rich as it is in examples of injustice, cannot frequently surpass. It is, however, a maxim, of which, even where admissible, the authority is so little determined, that, like many more, with which the appetite of judges for power is in England so quietly gratified, it has just as little weight or as much, as, in each particular instance, the judge may happen to please. And in a variety of remarkable cases, the established course of English law goes directly against it.<sup>1</sup>

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Deciding, upon the strength of this assemblage of words, that the provincial council could not delegate any authority to the native magistrates, even as their agents; and hence that every thing which these assistant magistrates had performed was without authority, the Supreme Court thought proper to enter minutely and laboriously into the whole of the case, and, after voluminous proceedings, gave judgment against the defendants, damages 300,000 rupees, and costs 9,208, amounting to the sum of about 35,000%.<sup>2</sup>

At the commencement of the suit, a *capias* was granted with a bailable clause. A bailiff proceeded from Calcutta, and arrested at Patna the nephew, and also the Cauzee, as he was returning from his duty in one of the courts of

<sup>1</sup> In Chancery for example; when cases are referred by the Chancellor to the Master; when commissions are issued to examine witnesses, &c., in the common law courts, when cases are sent to arbitration, &c.

<sup>2</sup> In the judicial investigation, all the chicanery which two of its fruitful sources, the formalities about notice, and the rules of evidence, could supply, was played off, with decisive effect, upon the defendants. Mr. Rous, in his Report, quoted above, says, "When they attempted to mitigate the damages, by showing the circumstances, they were embarrassed by the *defects of their notice*: afterwards by the rules of evidence. Particularly they were not able to prove the personal delegation of an authority to act for her, by a woman of rank, who could not appear without disgrace; the public acts of her nearest relations in the house being rejected as no legal evidence of her consent. With this defect fell the whole of the exculpation. Lesser difficulties arose from *some* papers not being translated: *others* being fair copies, when the foul draughts were the originals." Patna App. No. 39. The Patna Appendix is a rich mine of information respecting the beauties of English law.



BOOK V. justice. The bail demanded was 400,000 rupees, or about  
 CHAP. VI. 44,000*l*. The Council of Patna, struck with consternation,  
 1781. at the probable effects of so extraordinary a procedure,  
 upon the minds of the people, upon the authority of  
 government, upon the collection of the revenue, and upon  
 the administration of justice, which it threatened to stop,  
 by deterring the native lawyers and judges from yielding  
 their services, resolved, as the best expedient which the  
 nature of the case afforded, to offer bail for the prisoners,  
 who, after a confinement of some time, in boats upon the  
 river, were enlarged. The Governor-General and Council,  
 as soon as they were informed of these proceedings, re-  
 solved, "That as the defendants are prosecuted for a re-  
 gular and legal act of government in the execution of a  
 judicial decree (except one of them,<sup>1</sup> the plaintiff in the  
 suit before Dewannee Adaulut at Patna, whose arrest is  
 not for any apparent cause) they be supported and indem-  
 nified by government from all consequences from which  
 they can be legally indemnified."<sup>2</sup> Judgment being given,  
 the defendants were put under a guard of Sepoys, that  
 they might be conveyed to Calcutta, to be surrendered.  
 The Cauzee, an old man, who had been chief Cauzee of the  
 province for many years, was unable to endure the vexa-  
 tion and fatigue; and he expired by the way. The rest  
 were carried to Calcutta, and lodged in the common gaol,  
 where they remained till relieved by the interference of  
 the British parliament in 1781. By that authority, a pe-  
 cuniary compensation was awarded to them for their losses  
 and hardships; and the Muftees were ordered to be not  
 only reinstated in their former situation and condition, but  
 to be elevated to the office of Mohammedan counsellors to  
 the court and council of Patna.

The Supreme Court and the widow were not satisfied  
 with these proceedings against the native magistrates: an  
 action was also brought against Mr. Law, and two other  
 members of the provincial council at Patna. And this  
 prosecution was instituted for official acts performed in

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the nephew.

<sup>2</sup> The Governor-General, though, in his opinion, the examination of wit-  
 nesses was a part of the procedure which the Council should not have dele-  
 gated, not only affirmed the power of delegation, but his conviction of the jus-  
 tice of the decision to which, in this case, the Council had come. See his  
 letter to Mr. Law, Patna App. No. 7.

the Company's service, the Governor-General and Council thought it fit that the Company should bear the burden of their defence. Here too the Court decided in favour of the party who brought it jurisdiction: and awarded damages to the amount of 15,000 rupees, which money was paid from the Company's treasury.

It was in this manner, that a thirst for jurisdiction incited the English judges to interfere with the administration of justice in the native *civil* courts. The following is the manner in which it induced them to interfere with the jurisdiction of the native *criminal* courts. From a former statement it will be recollected, that the system of criminal judicature among the natives had been left by the Company nearly upon the footing, on which they found it, and on which it had long been established in the country. It was a branch of authority which was reserved to the Nabob in his character of Nazim. The judges of the courts (they were known by the name of Phoujdary Courts) were appointed by the Naib Subah, or Nabob's deputy, by whom their proceedings were reviewed and controlled. They were entirely independent of all other authority; and it does appear that, considered as Indian, justice was administered in them without any peculiar strain of abuse. About the middle of the year 1777, an attorney of the Supreme Court took up his residence at Dacca. In the month of September of that year, this attorney proceeded to execute a process of arrest, issued by one of the judges of the Supreme Court, against the Dewan, or principal public officer of the Phoujdary Court at Dacca. The process was issued at the suit of a man of the low rank of a *pyke*, or messenger, who had been prosecuted in the Phoujdary Court for a misdemeanour, convicted, and confined till he made restitution. The action was brought against the principal officer of the court, for trespass and false imprisonment, in the execution of this decree. A native, employed by the attorney as a bailiff, who proceeded to the house of the Phoujdar, or chief criminal judge, entered the hall of audience in which the Phoujdar was sitting with several of his friends, and the principal officers of his court: and attempted, in a violent and disrespectful manner, to seize the person of his Dewan, or principal agent. It is to be observed, that, in India, a

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BOOK V. man considers an indignity offered to his servants, as in  
 CHAP. VI. reality offered to himself. No writ or warrant, it was  
 1781. affirmed, was produced by the bailiff; and he was not  
 allowed to perform the arrest. Upon this the attorney  
 proceeded to the house of the Phoujdar, in person, accom-  
 panied by a crowd of attendants: and entered it in a  
 forcible manner, by breaking down the gate. To see  
 violated the sanctuary of his house, the mysterious repo-  
 sitory of his wives, is a disgrace to a Mussulman more  
 dreadful than death. The reserve of Eastern manners, and  
 the respect bestowed upon the very walls which contain  
 the sacred deposit of the master, render the forcible  
 entrance of a house an event which occurs only in the  
 exercise of the most violent hostility. It is one of the  
 last outrages which may be expected at the hands of an  
 implacable foe. When the Phoujdar of Dacca, therefore,  
 beheld his gate broken down, and an irregular crowd of  
 men bursting into his house, the greatest calamity which  
 could befall him rushed naturally upon his apprehension;  
 and he proceeded to repel a danger, which every honour-  
 able Mussulman would resist at the expense of his life.  
 An affray arose in the court of the house. The father of  
 the Phoujdar received a wound in the head, from a sword  
 by an attendant of the attorney; and the brother-in-law,  
 of the Phoujdar was dangerously wounded in the body  
 with a pistol-shot, by the attorney himself.

Mr. Justice Hyde, one of the judges of the Supreme  
 Court, wrote, after hearing of these facts, to the military  
 officer upon the spot, instructing him to afford assistance  
 to the attorney; and adds, "I beg the favour of you, for  
 fear my letters to him should not be suffered to come safe,  
 to tell him, that I highly approve his conduct, and doubt  
 not that he will receive proper support from the court  
 whose officer he is."<sup>1</sup>

It is unnecessary in this case any further to pursue the  
 proceedings of the attorney or his court. The Provincial  
 Council gave bail for the Dewan; transmitted to the Go-  
 vernor-General and Council an account of the facts; and  
 they concluded their letter in the following words: "It is  
 fitting we should point out to your notice, that all criminal  
 justice is at a stand, and seems not likely to be resumed,

<sup>1</sup> Report, ut supra, p. 24.



until the decisive consequences of the present disputes shall be publicly declared and known. It touches the very existence of government throughout the province, that the jurisdiction of the Phoujdar, and his superior, the Naib Subah, be admitted; free from all doubt or ambiguity. How, otherwise, can it be supposed, a Phoujdar will perform any function of his office? How presume to execute a criminal convicted, and sentenced to death by the established laws of the government and his religion, if he is liable himself to stand to actions of damages, or to answer to a criminal accusation, according to the laws of England, for any punishment he may inflict? Paint to yourselves, gentlemen, the anarchy and distraction which may arise, if the present uncertainties are not effectually removed!"

In England, one of the notions which judges, and other lawyers, are in most particular manner eager to stamp upon the public mind is, That the administration of justice is to a most astonishing degree sensitive and delicate. That the acts and character of judges should be treated with exquisite, indeed a religious, respect. That they can hardly bear to be exposed to criticism, or blame in the slightest degree. And that, if the criticism is to any considerable degree searching and severe, it ought to be repressed and punished, however just, with terrifying penalties. This doctrine, which is so very palatable to the judges in England, and so very favourable to all the abuses of their power, we see in what respect they themselves retain, when their power may be enlarged, by trampling upon it in the dust, by annihilating the power and the dignity of the whole order of judges by whom law was administered to a great people.

These are specimens of the manner in which the Supreme Court in India attempted to carry their pretensions into effect. And specimens are all which here it is possible to adduce. A summary of the principal instances in one department, I am happy to be able to present in the words of Mr. Rous, the great law-officer of the Company themselves. "Persons confined by the courts of Dewannee Adaulut are collusively arrested by process from Calcutta, or removed by *Habeas Corpus*, where the language is as unknown as the power of the court. The process is abused to terrify the people; frequent arrests made for the same

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BOOK V. cause; and there is an instance of the purchaser of a  
 CHAP. VI. Zemindary near Dacca, who was ruined by suits commenced  
 1781. by paupers, suits derived from claims prior to his purchase, and who was at last condemned in considerable damages for an ordinary act of authority in his station. Hence the natives of all ranks become fearful to act in the collection of the revenues. The renters, and even hereditary Zemindars, are driven away, or arrested at the time of the collections, and the crops embezzled. If a farm is sold, on default of payment, the new farmer is sued, ruined, and disgraced. Ejectments are brought, for land decreed in the Dewannee Adaulut. A Talookdar is ruined by the expense of pleading to the jurisdiction, though he prevails. And, in an action, where 400 rupees were recovered, the costs exceeded 1,600 rupees. When to these abuses, incident to the institution of the court itself, and derived from distance, and the invincible ignorance of the natives respecting the laws and practice of the court, we add the disgrace brought on the higher orders, it will not, perhaps, be rash to affirm, that confusion in the provinces, and a prodigious loss of revenue, must be the inevitable consequence of upholding this jurisdiction. The Zemindar of Duckensavagepore, upon pretence that he had been arrested, and afterwards rescued, has his house broke open, and even the apartments of his women rudely violated. Another Zemindar surrenders himself to prison, to avoid the like disgrace to his family."

"We have seen with astonishment," say the Governor-General and Council, "process of contempt ordered in one instance, and civil process issue in another, against the Naib Nazim of these provinces residing at Moorshedabad, a party not owing allegiance to the King, nor obedience to his laws; deriving no benefit or security whatever, in life or member, in fame, liberty, or fortune, from the administration of justice under the authority of these laws; a party, it is worth attention, who is the chief magistrate of criminal jurisdiction throughout the provinces, and in whose jurisdiction in matters of criminal cognizance the judges have not only at all times acquiesced, but in a particular instance have actually resorted to it, in aid and exoneration of themselves."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See a very important Letter from the Governor-General and Council to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 25th January, 1780, Report, ut supra, General Appendix, No. 13.

At length a case arose, in which the disputes between the executive and judicial powers reached a crisis. Upon the 13th of August, 1779, a suit was commenced in the Supreme Court, against the Raja of Cossijurah, by Cossinaut Baboo, his agent at Calcutta. Upon the affidavit of Cossinaut, a *capias* was ordered to issue, in which bail to the amount of £35,000 was allowed to be taken. The Raja absconded, to avoid the execution of the writ, and was unable to fulfil his duty, as Zemindar, in the government of the country, and the collection of its revenues. The writ of *capias* having been returned as unexecuted, on account of the concealment of the Zemindar, another writ was issued to sequester his land and effects. For the execution of this writ, the Sheriff despatched to Cossijurah an armed force, consisting of sixty men, headed by a sergeant of the court. It was represented by the Raja, that they entered the house, and endeavoured to pass into the Zenana, or women's apartment; that of the servants of the Raja, who attempted to prevent the dishonour of their master, several were beaten and wounded; that the party then broke open and forcibly entered his Zenana, and plundered his effects; that they committed outrages upon his place of religious worship, and stript it of its ornaments; and that a stop was put to the collections, and the farmers prohibited from paying him their rents.

Upon the first intimation of this procedure, the Governor-General and Council, by the advice of the Advocate-General, had come to the resolution of instructing the Raja not to recognise the authority of the court, or to pay obedience to its process; and orders were sent to the officer commanding the troops at Midnapore, to intercept the party of the Sheriff, and detain them in his custody till further orders. The orders arrived too late to prevent the outrage committed upon the house of the Raja; but afterwards the whole of the party were seized.<sup>1</sup>

Affairs having come to this extremity, the Governor-General and Council issued a notification, to all Zemindars, Choudries, and Talookdars, in the three provinces, that, except in the two cases of being British servants, or bound

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this is not denied by the Chief Justice. He only dwells upon the resistance which was offered. See his Letter to Lord Weymouth, Cossijurah Appendix, No. 26.

BOOK V. by their own agreement, they were not to consider themselves as subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, or to obey its process ; and the provincial chiefs were forbidden to lend a military force to aid the Court in carrying its mandates into effect.

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A rule was granted by the Supreme Court to show cause why an attachment should not issue against the Company's attorney, and the officers who were immediately instrumental in seizing the Sheriff's officers and their attendants at Cossijurah. The officers were instructed, by the Governor-General and Council, to resist the execution of any writ, which had a reference to acts done in obedience to their orders in seizing the persons in question. But the attorney was committed to the common gaol of Calcutta for contempt, and a criminal prosecution carried on against him. Upon this, even Mr. Rous remarks,<sup>1</sup> "I am sorry to observe, that the judges, at this period, seemed to have lost all temper, particularly in the severe and unexampled manner of confining Mr. Nayler, attorney to the Company, who merely procured information from the office of the number of men employed by the Sheriff, and once gave directions to the vakeel of the Zemindar to withhold his warrant of attorney ;—both, acts done in obedience to the Governor-General and Council."

The Governor-General and Council themselves were at last individually served with a summons from the Supreme Court of Judicature, to answer to Cossinaut Baboo, in a plea of trespass ; but finding that the suit was brought against them for acts done in their collective capacity, as the governing organ of the country, they delivered, by the Company's counsel, a declaration that they would submit to no proceeding of the Court, in any prosecution against them as individuals, for acts done by them as Governor-General and Council ; acts to which the jurisdiction of the Court did not extend.

These proceedings were not brought to this stage, before the middle of March, 1780 ; and in the meantime a petition to parliament had been prepared and signed, by the principal British inhabitants in Bengal, against the exercise which the Supreme Court of Judicature made of their power : and this, together with a petition from the Governor-General, and members of the Supreme Council, and

<sup>1</sup> Report of Mr. Rous, ut supra.



also a petition from the Company itself, was presented in 1780, and referred to the Select Committee, which afterwards reported at such length on Indian affairs. In defence of the Supreme Court, the only matter which appears, with the exception of the speeches of the Judges in Court, which refer only to the grounds of their proceedings in special cases, is contained in three letters of the Chief Justice, addressed to Lord Viscount Weymouth, Secretary of State; one dated the 25th of March, 1779, and the other two dated the 2nd and 12th of March, 1780. In vindication of the attempt to force the jurisdiction of the Court upon the Zemindars, it is affirmed that although, as Zemindars, they are not subject to that jurisdiction, yet, as renters and collectors of the revenue, they are included in the description of servants of the Company. And it cannot be denied that the vague and inaccurate phraseology of the act, a species of phraseology which forms so remarkable a characteristic of the language of the English law, and is the source of so many evils, did leave open a door to the dispute, and to all the mischief which it produced, and which it threatened to produce; though it is clear as day, from the general import of the act, that no such jurisdiction was *intended* to be given. To the allegation of the mischievous consequences which would ensue, and which were proved to be so extensive and alarming, the Chief Justice offers no reply. If there is a verbal, or technical reason, to justify the exercise of his power, the consequences, in regard to the happiness or misery of others, are what, from his habits, must to an English Judge appear, in general, as in the present case, very much a matter of indifference. To the accusation of interfering with the administration of criminal justice in the native courts, over which the Supreme Court had undeniably no control, the only defence which is offered by the Chief Justice is, that in those tribunals justice was administered very ill. It is, however, abundantly certain, that totally to destroy those tribunals by prosecuting the Judges in the Supreme Court, when, having destroyed them, it was impossible for that Court to substitute any thing in their room, was not the way to improve the administration of justice. If those native Courts were susceptible of reform, as most assuredly they were, though,

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BOOK V. considering the state of society and the former experience  
 CHAP. VI. of the people, there was at this particular period some  
 1781. ground for praise as well as for blame, it would have been a fit and noble exercise for the mind of the Chief Justice and his brethren, to have formed an excellent plan for the administration of justice among the natives, and to have recommended it with all the weight of their authority to parliament and the Company.

The motive in this case, which guided to so desperate a line of conduct, cannot be mistaken, and ought not with hypocrisy to be disguised. It was not any conception of good; it was not ignorance of the evil; for it was too obvious to be misunderstood. It was the appetite for power, and the appetite for profit. The power sufficiently visible and extraordinary; the profit more concealed.<sup>1</sup> Nor can the pleasure of exercising unbounded sway, through the forms of administering law, be justly regarded as a feeble inducement. We see what, in this instance, it was capable of producing. And a faithful history of the law of England would exhibit no less wonderful proofs, in the misery which it has brought, and still obstinately binds, upon the people of England. Of this important inlet of evil, with which the British legislature ought to have been well acquainted, they appear, in framing the act for the administration of justice in India, to have had no remembrance or regard. And even when they set that important example of cutting off the direct profit of the Judges in the plunder of the suitors, by depriving them of all *direct* share in the fees; they did not cut off an indirect profit of no trifling importance, by allowing them to create offices, with emoluments derived from fees;

<sup>1</sup> Although these motives may have unconsciously influenced the conduct of the judges, yet it were more charitable to refer their unreasonable pretensions to the novelty of their position, and their consequent ignorance of their relative and absolute duties. They were English lawyers, had been sent out to administer English law; they had been educated in a belief of its comprehensiveness and perfection. They knew nothing of India, had never heard of Hindu or Mohammedan law, and would have despised it if they had: they had been accustomed to know that gross abuses of law and justice prevailed in India, and they imagined it to be their first of duties to show that they would resolutely exert the powers which they thought that they possessed, for the extension of the principles of the only law which they conceived to be capable of protecting the interests of society. That they entertained a mistaken opinion of their own dignity, and an equally unfounded contempt for the Company's functionaries, originated in the same cause, and to ignorance may be referred the origin of their indiscretion and intemperance.—W.

offices of which they enjoyed the patronage, itself a valuable power, and of which they could not fail to discover various ways of disposing for their own advantage. They still, therefore, retained an interest, and a very distinct and operative interest, in the amount of the fees which might be gathered in the Court ; and the candour is amusing with which the Chief Justice bewails the decline of those profits, as one of the principal evils, if not the only evil, for he scarcely specifies another, which sprang from the measures taken to circumscribe the jurisdiction of the Court. " But one term," he says, " has intervened, and the business of the Court, as I estimate, has fallen off near one-third, and in a term or two, when the causes already commenced are got rid of, I expect it will be reduced to the trial of a few causes arising in Calcutta. The advocates, attorneys, and officers of the court, who have not already succeeded, will be reduced to a most deplorable condition. The attorneys have petitioned us, that on account of the difficulty of their procuring subsistence in the present state of things, their numbers may not be increased by new admissions. Though persons may come from England so qualified and recommended, that we may not be able to comply with this requisition, yet I really apprehend we shall do them little service by admitting them ; for, it seems to me, it will be only to give them the privilege of starving in company with the present attorneys."<sup>1</sup> That there might be great abundance of advocates and attorneys, and that they, and the officers, in regard to whom the Court possessed the patronage, might be richly rewarded, appeared to the Chief Justice a sufficient reason why his court should retain a jurisdiction ruinous to the country. One of the surest effects of an excellent administration of justice, the diminution of the number of law-suits, that is, the diminution of the business of the Courts ; an effect which, if produced by the proper cause, is so highly to be desired, is here set down by the judge as one of the greatest of evils. It is no wonder. It was an effect directly contrary to his profit and power. And it may with assurance be expected, that judges who enjoy the profits of a defective and vicious

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<sup>1</sup> Report, ut supra, Letter from Sir Elijah Impey to Lord Weymouth, 2nd March, 1780.

BOOK V. system of law, will regard as an evil whatever has any  
 CHAP. VI. tendency to lessen those profits; that is, any tendency to  
 purify the law of its profitable defects.<sup>1</sup>

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At this stage of the discussions, respecting the administration of justice, a considerable alteration in the constitution of the tribunals in the civil department of the native law, was brought forward by the Governor-General, and adopted by the Council. According to the regulations of 1773, this department was wholly administered by the Provincial Councils, sitting as Dewannee Adaulut, or Court of Civil Judicature. It was now, on the 11th of April, 1780, arranged, that the business of these Courts should be divided into two parts; that which peculiarly concerned the revenue, and that which peculiarly concerned individuals. A separate Court, styled Dewannee Adaulut, was established for the cognizance of such disputes as arose between individuals: all such disputes as respected the revenue continued subject exclusively to the jurisdiction of the Provincial Councils. The new tribunals were severally composed of one covenanted servant of the Company, who was not a member of the Provincial Council, nor dependent upon it; and denominated superintendent of the Dewannee Adaulut. The reason adduced for this alteration was, to exonerate the Provincial Councils from part of their burden, and afford them more time for attending to the important business of the revenue.

About the same time, an expedient, of which the foregoing alteration was probably contrived as a subsidiary portion, suggested itself to the mind of the Governor-General, for neutralizing the animosities which prevailed between the Sovereign Council and the Supreme Court;

<sup>1</sup> Some opinion may be formed of the sort of faith with which the defence of the Judge was drawn up, by the misrepresentation which he made of facts. He thus describes the circumstances of the Patna case. "A widow of an Omrah of the empire, to whom her husband had, by deeds executed in his life-time, given personal effects to the value of some lacs of rupees, and a considerable landed property, was, under pretence that the deeds had been forged, though proof was made to the contrary, plundered and stript of the whole estate, turned out without bed or covering into the public streets, compelled to take refuge in a monument inhabited by fakeers, and to depend upon their charity for subsistence, &c. .... This action was likewise brought against *Black Agents*, whom the Council at Patna had, contrary to their original institution, empowered to hear and determine a petition," &c. Ibid. Letter from Sir E. Impey to Lord Weymouth, 26th March, 1779. "*Black Agents*"—this is the *appropriate* name he bestows on the Magistrates and Judges of the highest respectability in the country. "*Hear and determine*;"—this is what he affirms, though he knew that they only collected evidence and reported.



and thereby for terminating their disputes. He devised the plan of creating a Court for the Chief Justice, with a large allowance both of power and emolument, dependent on the pleasure of the executive power. The scheme was conducted in the following manner. Along with the establishment of the Provincial Dewannee Adauluts in 1773, had been appointed a Sudder Dewannee Adaulut at the Presidency, the object of which was to receive appeals from the Provincial Adauluts. The Sudder Dewannee Adaulut was to consist of the Governor-General and Council in person; but up to this time they had not so much as entered upon the discharge of the functions of this Court; although the Governor-General declared, and the declaration ought not to pass without remark, that, if one-half of the time of the Council were devoted to this Court, its important duties could not be adequately discharged.<sup>1</sup> If a judicial function of the highest importance, for which there was so extensive a demand, was left for seven years totally undischarged, what an opinion is it proper we should form of the situation of justice during all that time? And what opinion are we to form of a Governor-General and Council, who let justice remain in that situation? If they had time for the duties of the office (and few of the duties of government could be more important), they were inexcusable for not applying it; if they had not time, they were inexcusable for not devising and executing another plan.

In consultation on the 22nd of September, 1780, the Governor-General introduced a minute, in which he stated, that the arrangement, established a few months before, respecting the Courts of civil law, had produced not the most desirable effects, but a great deal of inconvenience. "The institution," he said, "of the new Courts of Dewannee Adaulut, has already given occasion to very troublesome and alarming competition between them and the Provincial Councils, and too much waste of time at this Board." He represented it as the business of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, not only to receive appeals from these Courts, but to superintend their conduct, revise their proceedings, remedy their defects; and, generally, to form

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General's Minute in consultation, 29th September, 1780. See First Report of the Select Committee, 1782, Appendix, No. 3.



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 CHAP. VI. to be necessary to the purpose of their institution. He  
 affirmed, that it was impossible for the Council of Govern-  
 1781. ment to spare time from its other functions for this  
 important duty ; and thus made two declarations ; one,  
 that respecting the disorders of the Dewannee Adauluts ;  
 another, this respecting the Court of Appeal : and both  
 expressive of the miserable foresight, which attended his  
 own attempts at legislation. He therefore proposed, That  
 the constitution of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut should  
 be totally changed. That it should not consist of the  
 Governor-General and Council : but that the Chief Justice  
 of the Supreme Court of Judicature should be vested  
 with all its powers. A large salary was intended to be  
 annexed to the office ; but that, for politic reasons, was  
 not as yet proposed. And it was expressly regulated,  
 that the Chief Justice should enjoy the office and the  
 salary, during the pleasure of the Governor-General and  
 Council. The happy effects which the Governor-General  
 represented as about to flow from this arrangement, were  
 these ; that when the Chief Justice possessed the super-  
 intendence of the Dewannee Adauluts, that is, obtained  
 the choice portion of their power, the Supreme Court  
 would no longer interfere in their jurisdiction ; that when  
 the Chief Justice obtained this addition of power, with  
 the large salary which would attend it, and held them  
 both at the pleasure of the Council, it “ would prove an  
 instrument of conciliation between the Council and the  
 Court,” and prevent “ those dangerous consequences to  
 the peace and resources of the government, which every  
 member of the Board,” he said, “ foreboded from the con-  
 test in which they had been unfortunately engaged with  
 the Court.” The imputation which was essentially in-  
 volved in this proposition, and which the Governor-  
 General cast upon the Chief Justice, was the most dis-  
 honourable, that ever was thrown upon the character of  
 the most infamous of men. The Chief Justice, in extend-  
 ing so vehemently the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court,  
 had affirmed, That it was an imperious sense of duty  
 which thus restrained him to act ; That by the King  
 whose servant he was, and the Act of Parliament which  
 constituted the Court over which he was placed, the

boundaries of his jurisdiction, that is, of his sacred duties, were assigned and marked out; that from these duties it was not optional for him to recede; that the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature were strictly bound to occupy every portion of the field allotted to them; and could not abandon any part of it, either from respect for the Governor-General and Council, or on account of any contingent effects which the discharge of their imperative duties might be supposed to produce. Yet, what did the proposition of the Governor-General to the Council infer? That if they gave to the Chief Justice a sufficient quantity of power, and of money, dependent upon their will, the Chief Justice would confine the pretensions of the Supreme Court within any limits which they might wish to impose. It might naturally have been objected, that to such a proposition the Chief Justice would never consent. But Mr. Hastings, it would appear, was better acquainted with the circumstances of the case: for the Chief Justice immediately discovered, that infinite advantage would arise from the plan. The proposition was, indeed, opposed, with strong arguments, by Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler. They insisted, that if the Dewannee Adauluts were defective institutions, this was not the proper course for their amendment; that, if the authority of the Governor General and Council, under which they acted, was doubtful, resting, as Mr. Hastings, to recommend his measure, had asserted, on the disputed construction of an Act of Parliament, the authority of the Council to make the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut could not be less than equally doubtful, and the Chief Justice, by accepting the office, would acknowledge their authority, and disclaim the construction which hitherto he had put upon the Act; that to accept a new office, with new emoluments, and those dependent upon the pleasure of the Company, seemed inconsistent with the Act which had expressly assigned him a large salary, in lieu of all other emoluments; that the duties of the one office were inconsistent with those of the other; especially if the doctrine of the Chief Justice himself were sound, that the Judges of the Adauluts might be sued for damages; because he might thus have to answer, in his own Court,

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BOOK V. for the acts which he had performed as Judge of Sudder  
 CHAP. VI. Adaulut ; that if the jurisdiction of the Sudder Adaulut  
 1781. would occupy one-half of the time of the Council, so it  
 would that of the Chief Justice, whose time was already  
 so much engrossed, that he could not join with his col-  
 leagues in performing the important office of a Justice of  
 the Peace for the city and district of Calcutta ; that the  
 present exhausted state of the Company's finances did  
 not justify them in creating a new office to which large  
 appointments were annexed ; that the power which would  
 thus be wielded by the Chief Justice would "too much  
 hide the government from the eyes of the natives ;" and  
 that, if the attorneys and forms of the Supreme Court  
 were in any degree introduced into the business of the  
 Dewannee, "a new and a wide door of litigation would  
 be opened." When these two opponents of the measure  
 advanced as objections, that the new powers allotted to  
 the Chief Justice would endanger the rights of the Coun-  
 cil or of the Company as Dewan, and still might not  
 terminate the endeavours of the Chief Justice to encroach  
 on their department, they estimated far less correctly,  
 than Mr. Hastings, the powers of the instrument which  
 he proposed to employ. They did not consider, that, by  
 rendering the Chief Justice dependent upon themselves  
 for a large portion of money and power, they lost no part  
 of that power which they lent to him, but gained the  
 command even of that which he derived from another  
 source.

It was on the 24th of October resolved, by a majority  
 of the Council, that the Chief Justice should be requested  
 to accept of the office of judge of the Sudder Dewannee  
 Adaulut ; and at the same time proposed, that, 60,000  
 sicca rupees per annum, nearly seven thousand pounds,  
 should be annexed to the office, under the title of salary,  
 and 7,200 sicca rupees, upwards of eight hundred pounds,  
 under the denomination of rent for an office. The assent  
 of the Chief Justice, and his appointment to the office, im-  
 mediately ensued.

When intelligence of the reconciliation between the  
 governing Council and the Supreme Court, effected by  
 the appointment of Sir Elijah Impey, with a large salary,  
 to the station of Judge of Appeal from the Dewannee



Adauluts, was brought to the Court of Directors, the case appeared to them of so much importance, as to require the highest legal advice; and it was laid before the Attorney and Solicitor General, Mr. Dunning, and their own counsel, Mr. Rous. It is a fact, more full of meaning perhaps, when applied to the character of the profession than of the individuals, that an opinion in the following words—"The appointment of the Chief Justice to the office of Judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, and giving him a salary for the latter office, besides what he is entitled to as Chief Justice, does not appear to us to be illegal, either as being contrary to the 13 Geo. III. or *incompatible with his duty as Chief-Justice*; nor do we see anything in the late act, 21 Geo. III., which affects the question"—was signed by the names, J. Dunning, Jas. Wallace, J. Mansfield. The opinion of Mr. Rous, the Counsel of the Company, was different, as had been that of their Advocate-General in India; and Mansfield, a few days afterwards, stated, in a short note to the Directors, that doubt had arisen in his mind, whether the acceptance of a salary, to be held at the pleasure of the Company or their servants, was not forbidden by the spirit of the act, or at any rate the reason of the case. He concluded in these words, "I have not been able to get the better of these doubts, although I have been very desirous of doing it, from the great respect I have for the opinions of those gentlemen with whom I lately concurred, and whose judgment ought to have much more weight and authority than mine."

The question was taken under consideration of the Select Committee of the House of Commons; who treated it, under the guidance of other feelings and other ideas. In their report, the power conferred upon Sir Elijah Impey in his new capacity was represented as exorbitant and dangerous; and so much the more so, that no regular definition of it was anywhere to be found; no distinct rule of law was anywhere pointed out; but he was to be guided by his own will: he was to be moderated by no check; he was to be restrained by no appeal; and he was to decide upon the fortunes of all the natives of Bengal. He was provided not only with judicial but legislative powers, being authorized to make rules and



BOOK V. regulations, that is to lay down laws, for governing the  
 CHAP. VI. civil jurisdiction of the country. And all this power  
 1781. was conferred upon a man, who, in the opinion of  
 Mr. Hastings at least, had been distinguished by no  
 disposition to make a moderate use of his power. The  
 grounds of expediency and policy, on which, ostensibly, the  
 measure was put, were treated as having been already proved  
 to be frivolous and weak, by the arguments of Mr. Francis  
 and Mr. Wheler, to which no answer had ever been made.  
 "The idea," it was affirmed, "of establishing peace upon  
 the ground of adverse claims still unrelaxed, and which  
 nothing even appears to reconcile but the lucrative office  
 given to the Chief Justice, can be maintained but upon  
 suppositions highly dishonourable to the public justice,  
 and to the executive administration of Bengal." One of  
 the most important features of the case was then held  
 up to view: Mr. Hastings, it was remarked, assumed,  
 and he was well acquainted with the circumstances of  
 the case, in the whole course of his reasoning, that in  
 substance and effect the Chief Justice was the whole of  
 the Supreme Court: by selling his independence to the  
 Governor-General and Council, the Chief Justice, therefore,  
 sold the administration of justice, over every class  
 of the inhabitants of Bengal. "By the independence of  
 one tribunal," says the report, "both are rendered dependent;  
 both are vitiated, so far as a place of great power,  
 influence, and patronage, with near eight thousand pounds  
 a-year of emoluments, held at the pleasure of the giver,  
 can be supposed to operate on gratitude, interest, and fear.  
 The power of the Governor-General over the whole royal  
 and municipal justice in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, is  
 as absolute and uncontrollable, as both those branches  
 of justice are over the whole kingdom of Bengal."

An observation of the Committee is subjoined, to which  
 the highest degree of importance belongs. It is founded  
 upon the grand fundamental truth, that nothing is more  
 favourable to the augmentation and corruption of the  
 executive power, than the faculty of doing, through the  
 medium of the courts of law, things which would awaken  
 suspicion or hatred, if done by the executive itself.

In the situation in which the dependence of the Chief  
 Justice has placed Mr. Hastings, "he is enabled," say the

Committee, "to do things, under the name and appearance of a legal court, which he would not presume to do in his own person. The refractory to his will may appear as victims to the law; and favoured delinquency may not appear, as protected by the hand of power, but cleared by the decision of a competent judge." When a nation is habituated, even as much as our own is habituated, to pay a blind and undistinguishing respect to the character and acts of judges; the subservience of the courts of law is an instrument of power, of portentous magnitude.

The consequence of the discussion which these transactions underwent, and of the sensations which they produced in the nation, was an act of parliament to regulate anew the Supreme Court of Judicature, and deprive it of the powers which had been found destructive: and, upon a change of ministry, an address to the King was voted by the House of Commons, on the 3rd of May, 1782, for the recall of Sir Elijah Impey, to answer to the charge of having "accepted an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the act 13 Geo. III."<sup>1</sup>

Soon after his appointment to the office of Judge of Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, thirteen articles of regulation for the practice of that Court and of the subordinate tribunals were recommended by the Judge, approved by the government, and adopted. With these were incorporated various additions and amendments, which were afterwards published in a revised code, comprising ninety-five articles. The number of provincial Dewannee Adauluts was, in April, 1781, increased from six to eighteen, in consequence of the inconvenience experienced from the extent of their jurisdiction.

As the establishment of the police magistrates, called foudjars and tannadars, introduced in 1774, followed the

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<sup>1</sup> For these important proceedings, the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, to which the petitions respecting the administration of justice in Bengal were referred; and the First Report of the Select Committee of 1781, with the ample documents contained in their voluminous appendices, have been laboriously consulted. See also the Speech of Sir Elijah Impey, delivered at the bar of the House of Commons on the 4th day of February, 1788, with the documents printed in the Appendix; though this defence refers almost solely to the conduct of the Chief Justice in the trial and execution of Nuncomar. See also Colebrooke's Supplement, p. 14, 23, 128; and the Fifth Report from the Select Committee on India affairs, in 1810, p. 8 and 9.

BOOK V. example of so many of the contrivances adopted in the  
 CHAP. VI. government of India ; that is, did not answer the end for  
 1781. which it was designed ; the judges of Dewannee Adaulut  
 were vested with power of apprehending depredators and  
 delinquents, within the bounds of their jurisdiction, but  
 not of trying or punishing them ; a power which was still  
 reserved to the Nizamut Adauluts, acting in the name of  
 the Nabob. The Governor-General and Council also  
 reserved a power of authorizing, in cases in which they  
 might deem it expedient, the Zemindars to exercise such  
 part of the police-jurisdiction as they had formerly exer-  
 cised under the Mogul administration. And in order to  
 afford the government some oversight and control over  
 the penal jurisdiction of the country, a new office was  
 established at the Presidency, under the immediate super-  
 intendence of the Governor-General. To this office,  
 reports of proceedings, with lists of commitments and  
 convictions, were to be transmitted every month ; and an  
 officer, under the Governor-General, with the title of  
*Remembrancer of the Criminal Courts*, was appointed for  
 the transaction of its affairs. In November, 1782, in con-  
 sequence of commands from the Court of Directors, the  
 jurisdiction of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut was resumed  
 by the Governor-General and Council.<sup>1</sup>

Upon these changes in the judicial, followed close  
 another change in the revenue, system. In 1773, the  
 plan had been adopted of performing the collection of  
 the revenues by means of provincial Councils ; but under  
 the declared intention of its being only temporary, and  
 preparatory to another plan ; namely, that of a Board of  
 Revenue at the Presidency, by whom, with local officers,  
 the whole business of realizing the revenue might be per-  
 formed. Afterwards, when disputes with Mr. Francis,  
 and other opposing members of the Council, arose, Mr.  
 Hastings had maintained, that the expedient of provincial  
 Councils was the most excellent which it was possible for  
 him to devise. On the 20th of February, 1781, however,  
 a very short time after the departure of Mr. Francis, he  
 recurred to the plan which was projected in 1773, and  
 decreed as follows : that a Committee of Revenue should

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report of the Select Committee in 1810 ; Second Report of the Select  
 Committee in 1781.



be established at the Presidency, consisting of four covenanted servants of the Company; that the provincial Councils should be abolished, and all the powers with which they were vested transferred to the Committee; that the Committee should transact, with full authority, all the current business of revenue, and lay a monthly report of their proceedings before the Council; that the majority of votes in the Committee should determine all those points on which there should be a difference of opinion; that the record, however, of each dissentient opinion was not expected; that, even upon a reference to the Council, the execution of what the majority had determined should not be stayed, unless to the majority themselves the suspension appeared to be requisite; and that a commission of two per cent. on all sums paid monthly into the treasury at Calcutta, and one per cent. on all sums paid monthly into the treasuries which remained under charge of the collectors, should be granted as the remuneration, according to certain proportions, of the members and their principal assistants. Against this arrangement, it was afterwards urged, that it was an addition to those incessant changes, which were attended with great trouble, uncertainty, and vexation to the people; that it was a wanton innovation, if the praises bestowed by Mr. Hastings on the provincial Councils were deserved; that it divested the Supreme Council of that power over the business of revenue, with which they were solely intrusted by the legislature, to lodge it in the hands of Mr. Hastings, as the members of the Committee were under his appointment, and the Council were deprived of the means of forming an accurate judgment on all disputed points—hearing the reasons of the majority alone, while those of the minority were suppressed. To these objections, Mr. Hastings replied, that the inconveniences of change were no argument against any measure, provided the advantages of the measure surpassed them; that he was not bound by his declarations respecting the fitness of the provincial Councils, when the factious disputes which divided them, and the decline of the revenues, proved that they were ill adapted to their purpose; that the business of the revenue was necessarily transferred from the Supreme Council, because the time of the Council was inadequate to its demands; that the Committee of Revenue were not

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BOOK V. vested with the powers of the Council, in any other  
 CHAP. VII. sense than the provincial Councils, or any other dele-  
 gates ; but, on the contrary, acted under its immediate  
 1781. control.

It was intrusted to the Committee to form a plan for the future assessment and collection of the revenues. And the following are the expedients of which they made choice : to form an estimate of the abilities of the several districts, from antecedent accounts, without recurring to local inspection and research : to lease the revenues, without intermediate agents, to the Zemindars, where the Zemindary was of considerable extent : and, that they might save government the trouble of detail, in those places where the revenues were in the hands of a number of petty renters, to let them altogether, upon annual contracts.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER VII.

*Journey of the Governor-General to the Upper Provinces.—History of the Company's Connexions with the Raja of Benares.—Requisitions upon the Raja.—Resolution to relieve the Company's Necessities by forcible Exaction on the Raja.—The Governor-General arrives at Benares.—The Raja put under Arrest.—A Tumultuous Assemblage of the People.—An Affray between them and the Soldiers.—The Raja Escapes.—War made upon him, and the Country subdued.—Condemnation of Mr. Hastings by the Directors.—Double Negotiation with the Mahrattas of Poonah.—Treaty of Peace.*

IT was immediately subsequent to these great changes in the financial and judicial departments of the government, that the celebrated journey of the Governor-General to the Upper Provinces took place. Important as was the business, which at that time pressed upon the attention of the government, when war raged in the Carnatic, when the contest with the Mahrattas was carried on in two

<sup>1</sup> The official documents are found in the Appendix, Sixth Report of the Select Committee, 1782 : and in the papers printed for the House of Commons, on the question of the impeachment. See too the Fifteenth article of Charge against Hastings, and the answer.

places at once, and when the Supreme Council was so greatly reduced in numbers, that, upon the departure of the Governor-General, one member alone, Mr. Wheeler, was left to conduct the machine of government, it was to be concluded, that matters of great concernment had withdrawn the Governor-General from the principal scene of intelligence, of deliberation, and of action. The transactions which he had in view were chiefly those proceedings which he meditated with regard to the Raja of Benares, and the Nabob of Oude. The government was distressed for money, and the intention was avowed, of making those tributary Princes subservient to its supply. The Governor-General departed from Calcutta on the 7th of July, 1781, and arrived at Benares on the 14th of August. To understand the events which ensued, it is necessary to trace from its origin, the connexion which subsisted between the English and the Raja.

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After the shock, which the empire of the Great Mogul sustained by the invasion of Nadir Shah, when the Subahdars and other governors, freed from the restraint of a powerful master, added to the territory placed under their command, as much as they were able of the adjacent country, the city and district of Benares were reduced under subjection to the Nabob of Oude. This city, which was the principal seat of Brahmenical religion and learning, and to the native inhabitants an object of prodigious veneration and resort, appears, during the previous period of Mohammedan sway, to have remained under the immediate government of a Hindu. Whether, till the time at which it became an appanage to the Subah of Oude, it had ever been governed through the medium of any of the neighbouring viceroys, or had always paid its revenue immediately to the imperial treasury, does not certainly appear. With the exception of coining money in his own name; a prerogative of majesty, which, as long as the throne retained its vigour, was not enfeebled by communication; and that of the administration of criminal justice, which the Nabob had withdrawn, the Raja of Benares had always, it is probable, enjoyed and exercised all the powers of government, within his own dominions.<sup>1</sup> In 1764, when

<sup>1</sup> This is an adoption of one of those errors upon which the charge against Mr. Hastings, in regard to his relations with Cheit Sing, was founded, and

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the war broke out between the English and the Subahdar of Oude, Bulwant Sing was Raja of Benares, and, excepting the payment of an annual tribute, was almost independent of that grasping chief, who meditated the reduction of Benares to the same species of dominion which he exercised over the province of Oude. The Raja would gladly have seen the authority of the English substituted in Oude

which commences with the Second Report of the Select Committee, who talk of "the expulsion of a Raja of the highest rank from his dominions." In point of fact, however, no Raja had enjoyed and exercised the powers of government in the province of Benares, since the middle of the eleventh century, at the latest. At the period of the Mohammedan conquest, it was part of the kingdom of Kanoj. It was annexed to Delhi by the arms of Kutteb, early in the 13th century, and in the 14th was included in the Mohammedan kingdom of Jonpur. In the reign of Akbar, it was comprised in the Subah of Allahabad, and in that of Anrungleb it was comprehended in that of Oude. In all this time no mention is made of a Raja of Benares. The title originated in the beginning of the eighteenth century, or A.D. 1730, when Mansa Ram, Zemindar of Gangapoor, having, in the distracted state of affairs, added largely to his authority, obtained a Sunnud of Raja, from Mohammed Shah of Delhi—a mere honorary title, conferred then, as it is now by the British Government, without any suspicion of its implying princely power or territorial dominion. Mansa Ram procured the title for his son, Bulwant Sing, who succeeded him in 1740; so that even the title was only forty years old at the time of Cheit Sing's removal. It had never conferred independence, for the Raja had still remained a Zemindar, holding under the Subahdar of Oude. It is true, that the minutes of Council of various dates speak of the Raja as a sort of king; tributary, but reigning in his own right, and by the position of his supposed kingdom, calculated to be a valuable feudatory or ally of the British Government. Some of this was merely vagueness of expression, some of it ignorance. The word Raja seems to have imposed even upon Hastings; certainly it did upon Clavering and his party; and language was used in allusion to Cheit Sing, which exposed Hastings to the charge of contradiction and inconsistency. There is no vagueness or inconsistency, however, in the document upon which Cheit Sing's whole power and right depended. The Sunnud of 1776, granted to the Raja by the Governor and Council, and which, it is to be observed, "causes all former Sunnuds to become null and void;" confers no royalties, acknowledges no hereditary rights, fixes no perpetual limit to the demands of the Supreme Government; but appoints him Zemindar, Aumeen, and Foujdar of Benares, and other districts. All these terms imply delegated and subordinate offices, and recognise in him nothing more than receiver of the rents, and civil and commercial Judge. In the Kabooleat, or assent to this Sunnud, Cheit Sing acknowledges the sovereignty of the Company, and promises to pay them a certain sum, the estimated net revenue, and to preserve peace and order. Whatever, therefore, may be the fluctuating and contradictory language of the minutes of Council, there is not the slightest pretext for treating the Zemindar of Benares as a sovereign, however subordinate or tributary, to be drawn from the official paper acknowledged by himself to be the tenure by which he held whatever power he enjoyed. It is true, that the genuineness of this document was disputed by the prosecutors; and they affirmed that the Sunnud was altered in compliance with the representation of Cheit Sing, who objected to the insertion of the term, "Muchulka," and the clause annulling all former Sunnuds. They could not prove, however, that any other Sunnud was ever executed; and whatever might at one time have been the disposition of the Council to accede to the Raja's wishes, it does not appear that any actual measure ensued. Even, however, if the omissions had been made, of which there is no proof, it is not pretended that any clause, exempting the Raja for ever from all further demands, was inserted; and this was the only material point at issue. Minutes of Evidence, p. 60.—W.



for that of the Vizir, whom he had so much occasion to dread. He offered to assist them with his forces ; and, to anticipate all jealousy, from the idea of his aiming at independence, expressed his willingness to hold the country, subject to the same obligations under them, as it had sustained in the case of the Nabob ; and so highly important was the service which he rendered to the Company, that the Directors expressed their sense of it in the strongest terms.<sup>1</sup> When peace was concluded, the Raja was secured from the effects of the Nabob's resentment and revenge, by an express article in the treaty, upon which the English insisted, and the guarantee of which they solemnly undertook. Upon the death of Bulwant Sing in the year 1770, the disposition of the Vizir to dispossess the family, and take the province into his own hands, was strongly displayed, but the English again interfered, and compelled the Vizir to confirm the succession to Cheyte Sing, the son of the late Raja, and his posterity for ever, on the same terms, excepting a small rise in the annual payment, as those on which the country had been held by his father.<sup>2</sup> In the year 1773, when Mr. Hastings paid his first visit to the Nabob of Oude, the preceding agreement was renewed and confirmed. "The Nabob," said Mr. Hastings, "pressed me, in very earnest terms, for my consent, that he should dispossess the Raja of the forts of Leteefgur and Bidgegur, and take from him ten lacs of rupees over and above the stipulated rents : and he seemed greatly dissatisfied at my refusal."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hastings, however, insisted that all the advantages which had been secured to Bulwant Sing, and confirmed by the Nabob's own deed to Cheyte Sing, should be preserved ; and he expressed, in the same letter, his opinion both of the faith of the Vizir, and the independence of the Raja, in the following words :

"I am well convinced that the Raja's inheritance, and perhaps his life, are no longer safe than while he enjoys the Company's protection ; which is his due, by the ties of justice, and the obligations of public faith ; and which

<sup>1</sup> In their Bengal Letter, 26th May, 1763.

<sup>2</sup> This stipulation ceased to be in force under the subsequent Sunnud of 1776.—W.

<sup>3</sup> The Vizir had urged no more than he had a right to do, and the opposition of the Governor-General established a claim to the gratitude of the Benares family.—W.



BOOK V. policy enjoins us to afford him ever most effectually : his  
 CHAP. VII. country is a strong barrier to ours, without subjecting us  
 1781. to any expense ; and we may depend upon him as a sure  
 ally, whenever we may stand in need of his services." It  
 was established accordingly, that "no increase of revenue  
 should ever thereafter be demanded."<sup>1</sup>

When the Company's new government, established in 1774, resolved upon forming a new arrangement with the son and successor of the Vizir, lately deceased ; the interest, whatever it was, which was possessed by the Vizir in the territory of the Raja Cheyte Sing, was transferred from that chief to the Company. Upon this occasion it was resolved, not only that no infringement should take place of the previous rights and privileges of the Raja, but that other advantages should be annexed. Mr. Hastings took the lead in this determination ; and earnestly maintained the policy of rendering the Raja totally independent in his government of Benares, under no condition but the payment of a fixed and invariable tribute. To this, with only a nominal modification, the Council agreed. It was a primary object, professed by all, that the Raja should be completely secured from all future encroachments, either upon his revenue, or his power ; and a unanimous resolution was passed, that so long as he discharged his engagements, "no more demands should be made upon him, by the Honourable Company, of any kind ; nor, on any pretence whatsoever, should any person be allowed to interfere with his authority." To preclude all ground for such interference, the right of coining money, and of administering penal justice, was transferred to him. Mr. Hastings proposed that the Raja should pay his tribute, not at his own capital of Benares, but at Patna, which was the nearest station for the business of government, within the territory of the Company. And the reason which he suggested is worthy of record : "If a resident was appointed to receive the money, as it became due, at Benares ; such a resident would unavoidably acquire an influence over the

<sup>1</sup> Secret Consultations, Fort William, 4th Oct. 1773 ; Extract of the Governor-General's Report ; Second Report of the Select Committee, 1782, p. 12.—M.

Here is no acknowledgement of independence, unless the word "ally" be so construed ; but in the voluminous correspondence of the Indian Governments, it is impossible that words should not be used sometimes in their general sense, without intending a rigid interpretation.—W.

Raja, and over his country ; which would, in effect, render him master of both. This consequence might not, perhaps, be brought completely to pass, without a struggle ; and many appeals to the Council, which, in a government constituted like this, cannot fail to terminate against the Raja : and, by the construction, to which his opposition to the agent would be liable, might eventually draw on him severe restrictions : and end in reducing him to the mean and depraved state of a mere Zemindar.”<sup>1</sup> The chain of acknowledgements is instructive and memorable : 1st, that a resident of the Company, at the court of a native Prince, though for ever so confined and simple a purpose, no more than that of receiving periodical payment of a definite sum of money, would engross the power of the Prince, and become, in effect, the master of the country : 2ndly, That in any disputes which might arise with the agent, in the resistance offered by the Prince to these encroachments, the Prince is sure of injustice from the Company’s government, sure that all appeals to it will terminate against him, and that even his attempts to oppose the encroachments of the agent will be liable to such constructions, as may induce the Company’s servants to plunge him into the lowest state of oppression and degradation : and, 3rdly, That this state of “meanness and depravity” is the ordinary state of a Zemindar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Minute in Council of the Governor-General on the 12th of June, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Barwell even went so far, as to record it in his minute as his opinion and desire, that the Raja should be exempt even from tribute, and rendered in all respects an independent Sovereign. His words are these : “The independence of Gauzeepore (the Raja’s country) on Oude, is a great political object, and ought to be insisted on ; and whatever may be resolved respecting the revenue paid by the Raja of that country, the English government ought not to stand in the same relation to it as the late Vizir, because the country of Benares and Gauzeepore is a natural barrier to these provinces ; and the Raja should have the strongest tie of interest to support our government, in case of any future rupture with the Subah of Oude.—To make this his interest, *he must not be tributary* to the English government ; for, from the instant he becomes its tributary, from that moment we may expect him to side against us, and by taking advantage of the troubles and commotions that may arise, attempt to disburden himself of his pecuniary obligations.” Bengal Consultations, 13th Feb. 1775. As a specimen of the changes to which the sentiments of these rulers were liable, compare the words of the Minute of the same Mr. Barwell, not three years and five months afterwards, viz., in his Minutes in Council, 9th of July, 1779 ; “I have *long* regarded the military establishment of Benares, under the Raja’s native officers, as a defect ; I therefore most heartily agree to the present proposal for three disciplined battalions to be kept up and paid by the Raja, and sincerely hope the Company will direct that the whole force of Benares and Gauzeepore, under the Zemindar, be placed upon the same footing as the regular military force of the Presidency.” It is to be observed, that the three battalions were a mere pretence. The Raja was only required to give money ; and the battalions were never raised.



BOOK V. It was in the end arranged, that the payment of the tri-  
 CHAP. VII. bute should be made at Calcutta, a commission being  
 1781. allowed for the additional expense: and Mr. Francis was  
 anxious that the independence of the Raja should be  
 modified no further than by an acknowledgment of the  
 supremacy of the English; a condition not practically  
 affecting his government, and conducive no less to his se-  
 curity than to the dignity of those to whom the compli-  
 ment was paid.<sup>1</sup>

Upon these terms the settlement was concluded; and  
 the Raja continued to pay his tribute with an exactness  
 rarely exhibited in the history of the tributary princes of  
 Hindustan. Unhappily for him, he was not an indifferent  
 spectator of the disputes which agitated the Supreme  
 Council. "It is a fact," says the Governor-General, "that  
 when the unhappy divisions of our government had pro-  
 ceeded to an extremity bordering on civil violence, by the  
 attempt to wrest from me my authority, in the month of  
 June, 1777,<sup>2</sup> he had deputed a man named Sumboonaut,  
 with an express commission to my opponent; and the  
 man had proceeded as far as Moorshedabad, when hearing  
 of the change of affairs, he stopped, and the Raja recalled  
 him."<sup>3</sup> It is somewhat wonderful that a circumstance, no  
 greater than this, should have made so deep an impression  
 upon the mind of the Governor-General, as to be enume-

<sup>1</sup> The third paragraph of his Minute in Council, on the 13th of February, 1775, was in these words: "The present Raja of Benares to be confirmed in the Zemindary, which may be perpetuated in the family under a fixed annual tribute, and a fixed fine at each future investiture; the Raja's authority in his own country to be left full and uncontrolled." And this he further explained in a Minute, dated the 4th of March, in the following words: "In agreeing to the proposed independence of the Raja of Benares, my meaning was, to adhere strictly to the third paragraph of my Minute of the 13th of February, that the Zemindary may be perpetuated in his family on fixed and unalterable conditions. It is highly for his own advantage, to be considered as a vassal of the Sovereign of these kingdoms, holding a great hereditary fief by a fixed tenure, and acknowledging the Sovereign of Bengal and Bahar to be his lord paramount. Speaking my sentiments without reserve, I must declare, that in settling this article, I look forward to the assertion or acceptance of the sovereignty of these provinces, *pleno jure*, on the part of his most Gracious Majesty, the King of Great Britain."

<sup>2</sup> What he calls the attempt to wrest from him his authority, was his own refusal to obey the appointment of the Company, when Sir John Clavering was nominated to the place of Governor-General, upon the resignation which Mr. Hastings disowned.—M.

Having disowned it, he had not resigned, and the conditional appointment, therefore, fell to the ground. The attempt to enforce it without the condition, was an attempt at usurpation.—W.

<sup>3</sup> The Governor-General's Narrative of the Transactions at Benares, App. No. 1; Second Report of the Select Committee, 1781.

rated, after the lapse of years, in a laboured apology among the causes which justified the prosecution of the Raja to his ruin.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1778, the Governor-General proposed, that a requisition should be made upon the Raja Cheyte Sing, for the maintenance of three battalions of sepoys, estimated at five lacs of rupees per annum, during the continuance of the war. In settling the terms of the connexion of the Raja with the Company, in 1775, it had been proposed, for *consideration*, by the Governor-General, whether the Raja should not engage to keep a body of 2000 cavalry constantly on foot, which should be consigned to the service of the Company, receiving an additional pay or gratuity, as often as the public interest should require. But this proposition was rejected by the rest of the Council, even by Mr. Barwell, on the score of its being a mere enhancement of the tribute of the Raja, under a different name. And the Governor-General then declared, that "it was far from his intention to propose this, or any other article, to be imposed on the Raja by compulsion; he only proposed it as an article of speculation." Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler, in 1778, consented that an aid, to the amount which the Governor-General proposed, should be requested of the Raja, but demurred as to the right of enforcing any demand beyond that of the stipulated tribute: and Mr. Hastings agreed to reserve the question of right to their superiors.<sup>2</sup> Professing a strong desire to show his friendship to the Company, the Raja, as was to be expected, endeavoured to obtain an abatement of the sum; and when he gave his consent to the whole, expressly declared that it was only for a single year. In resentment of these endeavours to limit the amount of the contribution, the Governor-General proposed, that no time should be allowed for the convenience of payment; but the whole should be exacted immediately. "I acquiesce," were the

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<sup>1</sup> The manner in which this circumstance is described is uncandid. There is no reason to infer from the notice taken of the conduct of Cheit Sing, that Hastings alludes to it from any cherished feeling of resentment. He alludes to the Raja's alacrity in fomenting the divisions of the Council, as one proof among others of his being on the watch for opportunities to throw off subjection to the English government, and establish his own independence.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The expressions in his Minute of Council (9th July, 1778) are these.... "wishing to avoid the question of right".... "I wish to leave the decision of future right to our superiors."



BOOK V. words of Mr. Francis's Minute; "though, in my own  
 CHAP. VII. opinion, it would answer as well to us, and be less dis-  
 1781. tressing to the Raja, if the subsidy were added in equal  
 proportions to the monthly receipts of the tribute."

The Raja pleaded poverty, and praying for indulgence in point of time, engaged to make good the total payment in six or seven months. The Governor-General treated the very request as a high offence, and added the following very explanatory words, "I will not conceal from the Board, that I have expected this evasive conduct in the Raja, having been some time past well informed that he had been advised in this manner to procrastinate the payment of the five lacs, to afford time for the arrival of dispatches from England, which were to bring orders for a total change in this government; and this he was given to expect would produce a repeal of the demand made upon him by the present government." A delay, founded upon the hope that the Governor-General would be stript of power, might sting the mind of the Governor-General, if it was a mind of a particular description; but a delay founded upon the hope of remission (even if it had been ascertained to be the fact) would not by any body, unless he were in the situation of the Governor-General, be regarded as much of a crime. Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler were over-ruled, and the resident at Benares was commanded immediately to repair to the Raja, to demand, that in five days the whole of the money should be paid, to denounce to him that a failure in this respect would be treated as equivalent to an absolute refusal, and to abstain from all intercourse with him till further instructions, if the requisition was not obeyed.

In the following year, the demand was renewed. The Raja now more earnestly represented the narrowness of his circumstances; the hardship which was imposed upon him by so heavy an exaction; his exemption, by the terms of his treaty,<sup>1</sup> from all demands, beyond the amount of his tribute, which was most regularly paid; and his express stipulation, annexed to his former payment, that it was

<sup>1</sup> There was no treaty; a Sunnud is not a treaty, but a grant or patent from a superior to an inferior. No exemption was specified; and although a specific sum was named, there was no pledge that it should never be altered.  
 —W.

not to be for more than a year. The Governor-General BOOK V.  
replied in terms more imperious and harsh than before, CHAP. VII.  
threatening him with military execution unless he paid  
immediate and unconditional obedience to the command. 1781.  
The Raja repeated his remonstrance, in the most earnest,  
but the most submissive, and even suppliant terms. The  
troops were ordered to march. He was compelled to pay  
not only the original demand, but 2000*l.* as a fine for  
delay, under the title of expence of the troops employed to  
coerce him.<sup>1</sup>

In the third year, that is, in 1780, the exaction was re-  
newed; but several new circumstances were, in this year,  
annexed to the transaction. The Raja sent his confidential  
minister to Calcutta, to mollify the Governor-General, by  
the most submissive expressions of regret for having  
incurred his displeasure, even by confessions of error and  
of fault, and by the strongest protestations of a desire to  
make every possible exertion for the recovery of his  
favour. This however included not the payment of the  
five lacks, of which the agent was instructed to use his  
utmost endeavours to obtain a remission. For the better  
accomplishment of this object, he was furnished with a  
secret compliment to the Governor-General, of the amount  
of two lacs of rupees. At first, as we are told by Mr.  
Hastings, he absolutely refused the present, and assured  
the agent of the Raja that the contribution must be paid.  
Afterwards, however, he accepted the present; with a  
view, as he himself informs us, to apply the money to a  
peculiar exigency of the public service. Be it so. The  
money of the Raja however was tendered, for a purpose  
which it was impossible to mistake; and that money, with  
all the obligation which the receipt of it imported, was in  
fact received.<sup>2</sup> The contribution, nevertheless, was ex-

<sup>1</sup> The questions at issue were the ability and disposition of Cheit Sing to render effective assistance to the state in a period of real emergency. Had the latter been evinced, had not a contrary disposition been cherished, more leniency would have been deserved, and would no doubt have been manifested, in enforcing the demands of the government.—W.

<sup>2</sup> For the circumstances of this present, see Hastings' Answer to Burke's Eighth Charge; the Eleventh Report of the Select Committee, 1781; and the Minutes of the Evidence taken at the trial of Warren Hastings. These circumstances are remarkable and characteristic. At first, perfect concealment of the transaction; such measures, however, taken, as may, if afterwards necessary, appear to imply a design of future disclosure; when concealment becomes difficult and hazardous, then disclosure made. The Governor-General, on the 29th of June, offered to apply 23,000*l.*, which, as he described it, *ap-*

BOOK V. acted. The remonstrances of the Raja, and his renewed  
 CHAP. VII. endeavours to gain a little time, were treated as renewed  
 1781. delinquency; and for these endeavours the Governor-General imposed upon him a mulct or fine of 10,000*l.*; and the troops were ordered to march into the Raja's country, on the same errand, and on the same terms, as in the preceding year.

The Raja again submitted, and the money was again discharged. But these submissions and payments were no longer regarded as enough. An additional burthen was now to be imposed. A resolution was passed in the Supreme Council, that the Raja, besides his tribute, and the annual contribution of five lacs of rupees, should be required to furnish to the Bengal Government such part of the cavalry entertained in his service, as he could spare: and the resident was instructed by the Governor-General to make a peremptory demand of 2000. The Raja represented that he had only 1300 cavalry in his service, and that they were all employed in guarding the country, or in collecting the revenues. The Governor-General reduced

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*peared* to be, though not asserted to be, money of his own, to the support of the detachment under Colonel Camac, destined to act in the country of Scindia. Whether the accommodation was meant to be a loan or a gift, did not appear. Of the receipt of this money as a present, no intimation was made to the Court of Directors before the 29th of November following; when he only alludes to it, but expressly withholds explanation; stating the reason of mentioning the matter at all, to be a desire of "obviating the false conclusions or purposed misrepresentations" which might be made of his offer to defray the expense of Camac's detachment, as if that offer were "either an artifice of ostentation, or the effect of corrupt influence," he tells them, "that the money, by whatever means it came into his possession, was not his own; that he had himself no right to it, nor would or could have received it, but for the occasion which prompted him to avail himself of the accidental means which were at that instant afforded him, of accepting and converting it to the property and use of the Company." Even here, he represents his converting it to the use of the Company, as a voluntary favour he conferred upon the Company, when the money was in reality the money of the Company, and when every thing received in presents was theirs. He had given no further explanation up to the end of 1783; and the first knowledge obtained in England of the source whence the money was derived, was drawn from Major Scott by the interrogatories of the Select Committee. See Eleventh Report, p. 7.—M.

The transaction, however exceptionable in many respects, is not open to one very important part of the charges here preferred. There was not "perfect concealment." It appeared in evidence that Hastings communicated all the circumstances relating to this present to the Accountant-General, who received the money, and transferred it to the Company's Treasury, from whence it was issued in payments on public account. It is undeniable, therefore, that Hastings never intended to appropriate this money to his own use. Min. of Evid. 1155, 2747.—W.

<sup>1</sup> The payment of this mulct is stated as doubtful, in Burke's Charges; but as it is passed without mention in the Answer, the silence must, in this, as in other cases, be taken for confession.



his demand, first to 1500, and at last to 1000. The Raja collected 500 horse, as he himself, and without contradiction, affirmed, and 500 matchlock men as a substitute for the remainder.<sup>1</sup> He sent word to the Governor-General that this force was ready to receive his commands; but never obtained any answer.

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The Governor-General had other views. He wanted money, and he was resolved that the plunder of the unhappy Raja, whom he disliked, should be the source from which it was to flow. "I was resolved," says the Governor-General, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses. In a word, I had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency."<sup>2</sup> The confession has the merit of frankness, be the other virtues belonging to it such as they may. The guilt as it is called, consisted, exclusively, in a reluctance to submit to the imposition of a very heavy burthen, from which the Raja considered that he ought to be free.<sup>3</sup>

The Raja was informed of the hostile designs which were entertained against him, and in order to mitigate the fury of the storm, sent an offer to the Governor-General of twenty lacs of rupees for the public service. The offer was scornfully rejected. A sum of not less than fifty lacs was the peremptory demand. From the Governor-General's information we learn, that he was at this time offered a large sum of money for the dominions of the Raja, by the Nabob of Oude; that he was resolved to extort the obedience of the Raja; otherwise to reduce his forts, and seize the treasure which they were supposed to contain; or to conclude a bargain for his dominions with the Nabob Vizir.

It is necessary to be remarked, that Mr. Fowke, who had been replaced in the office of resident at Benares by the express command of the Court of Directors, the Governor-General removed about six months before his

<sup>1</sup> A return given by one of his principal officers, stated his established forces to be above 7000 horse and foot. After his flight from Benares, he readily assembled above 20,000. Narrative, 43.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Governor-General's Narrative, K., supra.

<sup>3</sup> This was not "exclusively" the guilt of the Raja. His main offence was disaffection to the Company's Government, and the purpose of freeing himself from it whenever opportunities offered.—W.



BOOK V. journey to Benares, on the sole pretence that "he thought  
 CHAP. VII. the resident there should be a man of his own nomination  
 1781. and confidence;" though the Court of Directors had decreed the contrary, and issued to that effect their most peremptory commands. It is also requisite to be stated, that though the Governor-General departed for Benares with the intention of inflicting a severe vengeance on the Raja, a design which he communicated in trust to some of his confidential friends,<sup>1</sup> he entered no intimation of this design in the consultations, or records of the Deliberative Council, but on the contrary a minute importing nothing beyond an amicable and ordinary adjustment, and desiring powers for nothing but to make such arrangements, and perform such acts, for the improvement of the Zemindary "as he should think fit and consonant to the mutual engagements subsisting between the Company and the Raja." The aptness of the expression consisted in its having sufficient laxity to stretch around all that the actor had in view, while its more obvious signification led not the mind of the hearer to any but ordinary transactions.

Upon the approach of the Governor-General to the boundary of the Raja's dominions, that Prince went out to meet him, and, to render the compliment still more respectful, with a retinue unusually great. Not contented with a mere interview of form, the Raja pressed for a more confidential conversation. "He professed," says Mr. Hastings, "much concern to hear that I was displeased with him, and contrition for having given cause for it assuring me that his Zemindary, and all that he possessed, were at my devotion; and he accompanied his words by an action, either strongly expressive of the agitation of his mind, or his desire to impress on mine a conviction of his sincerity—by laying his turban on my lap." Mr. Hastings, according to his own account, treated the declarations of the Raja as unworthy of his regard, and dismissed him.

Mr. Hastings arrived in the capital of the Raja on the 14th of August; earlier by some hours than the Raja himself. The Raja communicated his intention of wait-

<sup>1</sup> He communicated it to the only other member of Council, Mr. Wheler, as that gentleman publicly acknowledges. Narrative 13, Note.—W.

ing upon him in the evening. But the Governor-General sent his prohibition ; and at the same time directed him to forbear his visits, till permission should be received. The resident was next morning sent to the Raja with a paper of complaints and demands. The Raja in reply transmitted, in the course of the day, a paper in which he endeavoured to make it appear that his conduct was not liable to so much blame as the Governor-General imputed ; nor deserved the severity of treatment which was bestowed. The Governor-General, without any further communication, put him under arrest the following morning ; and imprisoned him in his own house with a military guard.

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This is the point at which the reader should pause, to examine, by the rules of justice, the conduct of the parties ; since to this time their actions were the offspring of choice ; afterwards, they became more the result of necessity on both sides.

Suppose the justice of the demand to have been ever so clear and certain ; suppose that the Raja had procrastinated, and endeavoured to evade the payment of his defined and established tribute, which on the contrary he always paid with singular exactness ; suppose that importunity on each occasion had been requisite, and the delay of a few months incurred even in this case, where blame, if inability hindered not, might without dispute have been due, it will be acknowledged, that the behaviour of the Governor-General would have been harsh, precipitate, and cruel. Even the fines, and the soldiers would have been too hastily and vindictively applied to an offence, so common in India, and to which any consequences of importance are so little attached. The arrest, which to a man of rank is the deepest disgrace and injury, would have been an excess of punishment to a very considerable degree beyond the line of justice and humanity. If so, how much must be supposed to be added to that excess, when it is considered that the demand itself was extraordinary, irregular, and liable to the imputation of injustice ; that some even of Mr. Hastings' colleagues disputed the right of the Company to enforce any such demand ; and that Mr. Hastings, though he declared that his opinion was in favour of the right, dared not to decide upon

BOOK V. it, but in express terms left the question doubtful, and reserved the decision for his superiors ?  
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Mr. Hastings imposes a heavy burden upon a native Prince. His right, in point of law or justice is a matter of doubt. The Prince shows reluctance to submit to what he very naturally regards as oppression : and by some little and ordinary artifices he endeavours to elude the demand. To this reluctance and these little artifices, Mr. Hastings attaches the name of guilt. Having sufficiently attached to them the name of guilt, he holds it requisite that guilt should meet with punishment : and as it is the dignity of the state against which the offence has been committed ; the dignity of the state, which is infinite, requires that punishment should be adequately severe. If this be justice, a way may be found for inflicting any punishment justly at any time, upon any human being.

There are considerations, on the opposite side, which must not be forgotten. Mr. Hastings, in his present exigency, might naturally expect assistance from the Raja. It was common for the tributary Princes of the country to be compelled to assist their superiors in war. And it is probable that Mr. Hastings counted upon that assistance, when, in 1775, the agreement with the Raja was formed. It is, however, not a matter of doubt, that by the terms of that solemn compact, the Governor-General and his colleagues, whether they so intended or not, did surrender and renounce all right to make any demand upon the Raja of such assistance, or of any emolument or service whatsoever beyond the amount of his annual tribute.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Hastings, in contest with his accusers, endeavoured to lay the burthen of his defence upon the duties which in India a dependent ruler owes to the authority on which he depends. But if these duties, whatever they may be, are solemnly remitted by him to whom they are due, and the right to exact them is formally given up, the obligation is destroyed, and becomes as if it never had existed. That the words of the grant of the Rajah Cheyte Sing barred every demand beyond that of his tribute, and by consequence that which was now made, Hastings no

<sup>1</sup> This, as mentioned above, was cancelled by the Sunnud of 1776. See p. 262 note.—W.



where directly controverts.<sup>1</sup> He meets not the argument, because it could not be answered; he endeavours to defeat it by other means; by hiding it from observation, while he sedulously directs the attention to different points.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The form of the words was affirmative and negative; the first clause defining that which he was to pay; the latter clause excluding by express declaration whatever was not defined and specified in the former. Ambiguity could not more effectually be excluded. The first clause included his tribute, and nothing else; the latter negatived whatever was not in the first clause, that is, whatever was not his tribute. The words to which reference is always made, are the words of the resolution of the Council. It is true, that the words of the Sunnud, which was afterwards actually granted, and which ought to have been exactly correspondent to the words of the resolution, were too indefinite to fix any thing whatsoever in favour of the Raja. But this is one of the injuries which the Raja sustained; and cannot be employed to justify the oppression which was grounded upon it; it is on the contrary, a heinous fraud, for which the authors were justly accountable. And the words of the resolution ought to be the explanation, and the standard of what is left undefined in the Sunnud. It is remarkable, that there was a great deal of irregularity, and some suspicious circumstances, in the mode of making out the deeds, and performing the investment. The Raja objected to the first forms. They were altered. Other forms were adopted. And in the charges against Mr. Hastings, voted by the House of Commons, it is stated, that neither the first set of deeds, nor the second set of deeds, were entered in the records, or transmitted to the Court of Directors. In fact, there is so much of the appearance of improper design in these proceedings, that Mr. Burke scruples not to say, they "give, by that complicated, artificial, and fraudulent management, as well as by his (Mr. Hastings) omitting to record that material document, strong reason to presume that he did even then meditate to make some evil use of the deeds which he thus withheld from the Company, and which he did afterwards in reality make, when he found means and opportunity to effect his evil purpose." The design was, however, probably, no worse than to leave himself a latitude of power with regard to the Raja. But the indefiniteness of the Sunnud very ill agreed with the solicitude expressed in Council by the Governor-General, in 1775, to exempt the Raja from dependence, and all chance of encroachment on his power. It is also necessary to state, that Mr. Hastings avers he had no concern in making out the Sunnuds, or omitting to record them; that these practical operations belonged to the Secretary of the Board, under the superintendence of the majority, of which at this time he was not a part; and that if there was any misconduct, that majority are to answer for it. See his Defence on the Third Charge.

<sup>2</sup> The argument in the text and that in the note, repeated after Burke, rests upon either an erroneous or a wilful confounding of very different things. There are no such words in the grant as are here asserted. The grant contains no clause excluding, by express declaration, all demands beyond the specified sum; there is but one grant, one Sunnud, that which was duly executed by the government, and accepted by Cheit Sing. Where then are the conditions to be found which the adversaries of Hastings choose to consider as conceded? Either in a Sunnud, granted by the Vizir in 1773, or in the resolutions of the Council. The former is declared to be cancelled by the Sunnud of 1776; the latter were not final, and the public would have known nothing of them had they not been dragged into observation; and the worst that can be said of them is, that they were inconsistent with the measure finally adopted. They afforded to Cheit Sing no ground of complaint. They had not been communicated to him to raise hopes which were disappointed. He knew of nothing but the terms to which he acceded—for him there were no others, and none could therefore have been violated. Hastings may be blamed for evading opposition, by acquiescing in purposed stipulations which he did not carry into effect, but it is not true that any breach of compact was committed. The Sunnud, the only authority that can be appealed to, remits no duties, relinquishes no rights, and annihilates no obligations.—W.



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We must also be allowed to examine the rights which the custom of India gave to the Prince who received, over the Prince who afforded, the tribute. Far were they, indeed, from being of such a nature, as Mr. Hastings, for the benefit of his own exculpation, affirmed. By whose construction? By the habitual construction, by the public acts, of Mr. Hastings himself. The East India Company were the dependants of the Shah Aulum, and paid him a tribute. Did the East India Company hold themselves bound to obey every demand which the Emperor might choose to make upon them for assistance in his wars? Did they not treat him as a person to whose commands, or most urgent supplications, not the smallest attention was necessary? Did they not even treat him as a person toward whom they had no occasion to fulfil even the most solemn engagements? Did they not, as soon as they pleased, refuse to pay him even his tribute for that part of his dominions which they continued to hold in his name? Did not their ally, the Nabob of Oude, in like manner depend upon the Emperor, and owe him tribute, which he never paid? Was he not even his Vizir; in other words, his chief minister and servant, and therefore bound by a double duty to obey, to aid, and to protect him? Did he, on these accounts, perform towards him the smallest act of service, or obedience? No one, than Mr. Hastings, better knew, that in India the obligation of the person who pays tribute to the person who receives it is deemed so very slight, as scarcely to be felt or regarded; and no man was more ready to act upon that principle, when it suited his purposes, than Mr. Hastings. The law of the strongest, indeed, was in perfect force; and whenever any party had the power to enforce obedience, it had no limit but that of his will.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This argument is a complete vindication of Hastings' proceedings. No doubt the subordinate authorities of the Mohammedan kingdom of Delhi, in its declining condition, were well enough disposed to withhold from the state it just dues, whenever they thought themselves strong enough to do so with impunity; but what does the admission of this fact amount to?—Not to a justification of the subordinate, but the condemnation of the principal; to evidence of extreme impolicy or helpless weakness, which relaxed irrecoverably the reins of authority, and prostrated the sovereign at the feet of his subjects. Was it for the Governor of Bengal to imitate the imbecility and folly of the Mogul, and allow refractory or rebellious dependants to grow into disproportionate and dangerous importance? What consequences could have been expected from such a policy, but those of which the empire of Delhi furnished so striking an illustration—the utter subversion of the state?—W.

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<sup>1</sup> There was no such compact.—W.' '

The affidavits, appended to Mr. Hastings' Narrative, instead of proving that any design of rebellion was on foot, prove the contrary; by showing the total want of a foundation for the pretended suspicions. Much testimony was given in defence to this point on the trial. It amounted, however, to nothing but a statement of *rumours*, or of *equivocal appearances*, or of the *opinions* of witnesses who believed that which they wished. (See printed Minutes of Evidence on the Benares Charge, p. 1601 to 1616 and 1664—1788.) Lieu-

BOOK V. By Mr. Hastings the Raja was represented as having  
 CHAP. VII. vast riches, which he ungratefully desired to withhold  
 1781. from the Company in their greatest distress. If the fact  
 had corresponded with the assertion, it is not very allowable, for a mere debt of gratitude, to prosecute a man to his ruin. Of the riches of the Raja, however, we look in vain for the proof; and the fancy of those riches was, in all probability nothing more than a part of that vain imagination of the unbounded opulence of India, which the experience of our countrymen might at a very early period have extinguished in their minds, but which their cupidity has, in spite of their experience, kept alive, to hurry them into many of the weakest and most exceptionable of their acts. Of the Princes of India, there has not been one whom, after experience, they have not found to be poor; scarcely has there been any whom, before experience, they have not believed to be rich.

Mr. Hastings endeavoured to strengthen his justification by chicaning about the quality of the Raja, or his

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tenant-Colonel Crabb, on the subject of the reports respecting the disaffection of the Raja—(after the treatment which he had received, the known existence of a cause for disaffection was very likely to be confounded with the supposed existence of disaffection itself)—was asked by the Select Committee (Second Report, Appendix, No. 11),—"Whether there were any circumstances in the Company's situation at that time to consider those reports probable? He said, Not that he knew of; reports were circulated one half-hour, and contradicted the next; and no one can trace the origin." Among the alleged proofs, was given, a recent augmentation of his troops; of cavalry, to the amount of 5000; (see the Evidence of Major Fairfax, Report, ut supra, Appendix No. 15); yet all the horse in his service, when he was obliged to take the field, amounted only to about 2000; see Hastings' Narrative, ut supra, Dd. The same sort of suspicions, and the same sort of reports, existed against the Nabob of Oude; and with more probability, and with more danger, because he had greater power. The Governor-General himself says, "I had received several intimations, imputing evil designs to the Nabob, and warning me to guard myself against them, and especially be careful that I did not expose myself to the effects of concealed treachery, by visiting him without a strong guard. Many circumstances favoured this suspicion. No sooner had the rebellion of this Zemindary (Benares) manifested itself, than its contagion instantly flew to Fyzabad—and the extensive territory lying on the north of the river Dewa, and known by the names of Goornucpoor and Bareech. In the city of Fyzabad, the mother and grandmother of the Nabob openly espoused the party of Chcyte Sing, encouraging and inviting people to enlist for his service, and their servants took up arms against the English. Two battalions of regular sepoys in the Vizir's service, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hannay, who had been intrusted with the charge of that district, were attacked and surrounded in various places, many of them cut to pieces, and Colonel Hannay himself, encompassed by multitudes, narrowly escaped the same fate. The Nabob Vizir was charged with being privy to the intrigues which had produced and fomented those disturbances; and the little account that he seemed to make of them served to countenance the suspicion." (Narrative, ut supra, Cc.)



dignity and rank. Mr. Hastings denied that he was a sovereign prince: he was only a Zemindar. Did this, however, change the nature of the compact, by which the Company had bound themselves to exact from this man, whether Prince or Zemindar, no more than his annual tribute? Would Mr. Hastings have asserted, that, being a Zemindar, the Company had any better right to plunder him, than if he was a dependent Prince? Had he been a subject, in the most unlimited sense of the word, would it have been anything else than plunder, not to have taxed him along with the rest of his fellow-subjects, but to have gone to him personally, and singly, and have taken from him by compulsion, whatever it was the pleasure of the exactor to take? Would Mr. Hastings have undertaken to point out where the line of distinction between a Zemindar, and a dependant Prince was to be found? Was not every Zemindar that had a large extent of territory and power, a dependent Prince; and was not every Prince of a small extent of territory and power, a mere Zemindar? What could constitute any man a sovereign Prince, if all the powers of government secured, without participation, to him and his heirs for ever, over a country surpassing the extent of considerable kingdoms, did not constitute the Raja of Benares a Prince? But the father of the Raja, Bulwunt Sing, said Mr. Hastings, rose from the condition of a petty Zemindar. What had this to do with the question? Did any one, better than Mr. Hastings, know, that those who acquired the station of dependant Princes in India almost uniformly ascended from the lowest origin? Did the birth of Aliverdi Khan prevent him from being the Subahdar of Bengal, and leaving his heir in the state of a tributary Prince?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> What was the condition of the Zemindars of the province of Benares, whose obedience as subjects was due to Cheyte Sing? The fact is, that nothing was so indefinite as the title of Zemindar. Mr. Hastings himself says, "The expulsion of Cheyte Sing was indisputably a *revolution*. I have always called it so." A revolution, consisting in the mere change of a land-renter, removeable at pleasure! It is curious to contrast the words of Mr. Hastings' own agent, Major Scott, who had occasion to exalt the situation of the Raja: "Mr. Fowke, as resident at Benares, appears to him, and certainly is, as an ambassador at a foreign though dependent court. From that Raja, the Company receive 300,000*l.* sterling a-year. Benares is a seat of politics; vakeels, or ambassadors, from every power in India reside constantly there." Evidence of Major Scott, in the fifth redort (p. 7) of the Select Committee,



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Another of the allegations, upon which the defence was attempted, of the demands which Mr. Hastings made upon the Raja, and of the arrest of him for evasions of payment, was, that the police of the Raja's dominions was very defective. It would have been difficult for his accuser to show in what part of India it was good. Three instances are adduced, on the complaint of Major Eaton, the English officer commanding at Buxar, in which the people of the country had behaved without respect to the English authority, and, in one instance, with violence to English sepoys, and even English officers. Upon this, remonstrance had been made to the Raja, and, though it is not alleged that he abetted his officers or people, yet he had not made redress, to the satisfaction of the offended party. On the 14th of December, 1780, the Supreme Council wrote, commanding the Raja to make inquiry into one of the cases; which, as there is no complaint to the contrary, except that an answer had not been received on the 17th of next month, it would appear that he did. And just seven months after the date of this letter, Mr. Hastings set out on the journey to inflict that punishment on the Raja which led to his ruin.<sup>1</sup>

Another extraordinary declaration of Mr. Hastings remains to be considered. "I will suppose," says he, "for a moment, that I have erred—that I have acted with an unwarranted rigour towards Cheyte Sing, and even with injustice: let my motive be consulted." Then follows the account of this motive, in the following words: "I left Calcutta, impressed with the belief that extraordinary means, and those exerted with a strong hand, were necessary to preserve the Company's interests from sinking under the accumulated weight which oppressed them. I saw a political necessity for curbing the overgrown power of a great member of their dominion, and to make it contribute to the relief of their pressing exigencies. If I erred, my error was prompted by an excess of zeal for their interests, operating with too strong a bias on my

1781. Yet no small portion of the evidence adduced for the defence on Mr. Hastings' trial went to prove that the Raja was a mere Zemindar. Vide Minutes of Evidence, ut supra.—M.

See preceding note. p. 361.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Vide Minutes of Evidence on the Trial, p. 1601.

judgment.”<sup>1</sup> Here some portion of the truth comes forth. The Company were in want of money. The Raja was supposed to possess it. And since he would not give what was demanded willingly, the resolution was formed to take it from him by force. The pretence, however, that his power was overgrown — that is, from its magnitude an object of danger, was utterly groundless. In what respect had that power increased, during the short period of five years, from the time when Mr. Hastings and his colleagues confirmed and established his power, and when Mr. Hastings was so far from dreading it, that he wished to make it still more independent than it was really made? By a small body of troops, hastily collected together, and wretchedly provided both with provisions and pay, the whole power of the Raja was, in a few days, and with but little bloodshed, completely subdued. And the military officers declared, that, even if the country had deliberately rebelled, a single brigade of the Company’s army would have sufficed for its reduction.<sup>2</sup>

Nor was the Governor-General so perfectly disinterested as he was desirous to make it appear. The whole power and emoluments of his office, over which he watched with so much jealousy and desire, were the powerful interests by which he was stimulated. He knew, under the sentiments which prevailed at home, by what a slender and precarious tenour he enjoyed his place. He knew well that success or adversity would determine the question. He knew, that with those whom he served, plenty of money<sup>3</sup> was success; want of that useful article, adversity.

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General’s Narrative, ut supra, O, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See the Evidence of Lieutenant-Colonel Crabb, Second Report, ut supra, Appendix, No. 11. Observe the words of Mr. Hastings himself: “The treachery of Raja Cheyte Sing has compelled me to retreat to this place, where I wait to reduce this Zemindary; a work I trust of no great difficulty or time.... Troops are assembling daily, to which he can afford no opposition.” Governor-General’s Letter to Colonel Muir, dated Chunargur, 29th August, 1781, ut supra, No 4. Evidence was adduced on the trial, however, to prove this point with the rest. Vide Minutes, ut supra, on the Benares charge.

<sup>3</sup> It is not candid to ascribe the motives of the Governor to a wish to conciliate support at home by possession of money. He knew that the very existence of the British authority in India was at stake—Hyder triumphant in the Carnatic; war with the French and Dutch; the Mahrattas formidable in the Concan; Madras and Bombay destitute of resources, and depending wholly upon Bengal for means of keeping an army on foot. Bengal labouring under financial difficulties, and all the Governor-General’s views obstructed by a factious opposition; it was not a time to reject legitimate means of saving the empire, because they were informal, or because they were harsh.



BOOK V. He found himself in extreme want of it. The treasure to  
 CHAP. VII. which he looked, was the fancied treasure of the Raja;  
 1781. and he was determined to make it his own. If, under such  
 circumstances as these, a zeal for the government which  
 he served could sanctify his actions, then may Jefferies be  
 regarded as a virtuous judge.<sup>1</sup>

On the very evening of the first day after the arrival of the Governor-General in the capital of the Raja, he gave his commands to Mr. Markham, the Resident; who proceeded the next morning, with a few of his orderlies, to the palace of the Raja; and he thus reported to his employer the result of his mission: "The Raja submitted quietly to the arrest, and assured me, that whatever were your orders, he was ready implicitly to obey: he hoped that you would allow him a subsistence; but as for his Zemindary, his forts, and his treasure, he was ready to lay them at your feet, and his life if required. He expressed himself much hurt at the ignominy which he affirmed must be the consequence of his confinement, and entreated me to return to you with the foregoing submission, hoping that you would make allowance for his youth

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Whether more candour and leniency would have effected the same objects may be matter of doubt; but the object was of a magnitude amply sufficient to justify the means by which it was accomplished.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hastings represented his animosity as inflamed by the danger, to which the detachment of Colonel Camac in Sindia's country was exposed. The money expected from the Raja was, according to the statement of Mr. Hastings, destined to that service. But in the first place, Mr. Hastings was inexcusable, if he left the subsistence of an army, in a dangerous situation, to depend upon a supply which he knew to be precarious. Besides, it is, by the Select Committee, in their Second Report, shown, from the comparison of the dates, that the distress of the army was not an effect of delay in the payments of the Raja. And it is still further shown by the Committee in their Eleventh Report, that the present of two lacs of rupees (23,000*l.* sterling), which the Governor-General took from the Raja, he actually proposed to the Council on the 26th of June, 1780, to employ (not representing it as money not his own) in supporting the detachment under Camac. The following are a few of the words of the Committee. "If the cause of Colonel Camac's failure had been true, as to the sum which was the object of the public demand, the failure could not be attributed to the Raja, when he had on the instant privately furnished at least 23,000*l.* to Mr. Hastings; that is, furnished the identical money which he tells us (but carefully concealing the name of the giver) he had from the beginning destined, as he afterwards publicly offered, for this very expedition of Colonel Camac's. The complication of fraud and cruelty in this transaction admits of few parallels. Mr. Hastings, at the Council Board of Bengal, displays himself as a zealous servant of the Company, bountifully giving from his own fortune; and in his letter to the Directors (as he says himself), as going out of the ordinary roads for their advantage; and all this on the credit of supplies, derived from the gift of a man, whom he treats with the utmost severity, and whom he accuses, in this particular, of disaffection to the Company's cause and interests." *Ibid.* p. 7.

and inexperience, and, in consideration of his father's name, release him from his confinement as soon as he should prove the sincerity of his offers, and himself deserving of your compassion and forgiveness." BOOK V.  
CHAP. VII.  
1781.

This conversation had only been a few minutes ended, when a guard of two companies of sepoy's arrived : the servants of the Raja were disarmed ; and he was left in charge of the officers. The sensation which this event produced in the minds of the people, was immediately seen. The government of the Raja, and of his father, Bulwant Sing, had for many years afforded the people an uncommon portion of justice and protection ; and they had prospered under its beneficent care. Captain Harper, an officer of the Company, who had performed a great deal of service in that part of Hindustan, was asked in evidence, by the Select Committee, "How the provinces of Benares and Gazeepore were cultivated, compared with those parts of Bahar which adjoin, and are only separated by the river Caramnassa ? He said, The provinces of Benares and Gazeepore were more highly cultivated than any he ever passed through ; and far superior to the adjoining one of Bahar ; and that he attributed this comparative prosperity of those provinces to the industry of the inhabitants, and to the secure and lenient government they lived under."<sup>1</sup> In consequence, the family of the Raja was naturally beloved ;<sup>2</sup> and it sufficiently appears, from the affidavits<sup>3</sup> adduced by the Governor-General, that the English were, by the natives in those parts, in a peculiar manner detested. The confinement of their Prince was an act, which, under the ignominious light in which imprisonment is regarded by the Indians, they viewed as an outrage of the most atrocious description. The passions of the people were inflamed ; and they flocked in crowds to the spot where their sovereign was confined. So little had any conception of resistance been

<sup>1</sup> Report on the petition of Touchet, &c., p. 56. And the Governor-General himself, in his Minute in Council, 12th of June, 1775, declared that the Zemindary of the Raja consisted of "as rich and well cultivated a territory as any district, perhaps, of the same extent in India."

<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence to this effect, and the fact is doubtful : it is certain that no particular respect is felt by the people of Benares for their memory : the editor has frequently heard Chelt Sing and his father spoken of by the natives as robbers and oppressors. W.

<sup>3</sup> Appended to his narrative.



BOOK V. entertained, that the two companies of sepoy, who were  
 CHAP. VII. placed on guard, had come without ammunition. As the  
 1781. intercourse of people increased, two additional companies,  
 with a supply of ammunition, were ordered to their support. But before they arrived at the palace, all the avenues were blocked up; and a tumult arose, which soon led to bloodshed, and, at last, to a furious engagement between the people and the troops. The unfortunate consequence was, that the sepoy and their officers were almost all destroyed. On which side the acts of provocation and violence began, does not sufficiently appear.<sup>1</sup> The Rajah, during this confusion, escaped by a wicket which opened to the river, and, letting himself down the bank, which was very steep, by turbans tied together, he escaped to the other side. The multitude immediately followed him across the river, and left the palace to be occupied by the English troops.

That this assemblage of the people, and the attack which they made upon the guard, was the fortuitous result of the indignation with which they were inspired, by the indignity offered to their prince, and that it was in no degree owing to premeditation and contrivance, was amply proved by the events. The Raja knew that Mr. Hastings was unattended by any military force; and, if he had acted upon a previous design, would not have lost a moment in securing his person. The Governor-General himself declares; "If Cheyte Sing's people, after they had effected his rescue, had proceeded to my quarters, instead of crowding after him in a tumultuous manner, as they did, in his passage over the river, it is probable that my blood, and that of about thirty English gentlemen of my party, would have been added to the recent carnage: for they were about two thousand, furious and daring from the easy success of their last attempt: nor could I assemble more than fifty regular and armed sepoy for my whole defence."<sup>2</sup> Nothing was

<sup>1</sup> The Raja asserted, and Mr. Hastings has nowhere contradicted, that the provocation was given by the violence and insolence of the English and their agents. But his assertion, unless supported by circumstances, should not in such a case go far towards proof.—M. How little credit the Raja's account deserves, is easily estimated. He asserts, in a letter to the Governor-General, that the tumult began by the Sepoy firing on the people. "The people of the Sirkar first fired balls from their guns, and discharged their muskets," No one has ever disputed the fact that the Sepoy were first sent without ammunition Narrative, App. 106.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Narrative, ut supra.

it possible to have said, more decisive of the character of a casual mob, led by the mere contingency of the moment, without foresight, and without an end.

BOOK V.  
CHAP. VII.

1781.

It was by no means worthy of a man of prudence and experience to have proceeded deliberately to a measure so likely to make a violent impression upon the minds of the people, without having made any provision whatsoever for preventing the unhappy effects which it tended to produce. Mr. Hastings at first was able to assemble for his defence only six companies of Major Popham's regiment, about sixty sepoy which he had brought with him from Buxar as a guard to his boats, and a few recruits newly enlisted for the Resident's guard; in all about four hundred and fifty men; and without provisions even for a single day.

Ramnagur, was a fortified palace of the Raja, on the opposite side of the river, close to Benares. It was not expected that it could for any length of time resist the effect of artillery; and the resolution was taken of reducing it with all possible dispatch. The remaining four companies of Major Popham's regiment of sepoy, with one company of artillery, and the company of French rangers, lay at Mirzapoor; and were ordered to march to Ramnagur. Major Popham was destined to assume the command, as soon as all the troops intended for the service had arrived. But the officer, who in the mean time commanded the troops, was stimulated with an ambition of signaling himself; and, without waiting for the effects of a cannonade, marched to the attack of the palace through the narrow streets of the town by which it was surrounded. In this situation the troops were exposed to a great variety of assaults, and after a fruitless opposition were compelled to retreat. The commanding officer was killed; a considerable loss was sustained; and an unfavourable impression was made at the commencement of the struggle, which would have been a serious evil in a less trifling affair.

The Governor-General now regarded himself as placed in imminent danger. Letter upon letter was written to the commanding officers at all the military stations from which it was possible that timely assistance could be received. Few of these letters reached their destination;

BOOK V. for all the channels of communication were interrupted ;  
CHAP. VII. and so greatly were the people of the country animated  
1781. against the English, that it was extremely difficult for any  
agent of theirs to pass without discovery and prevention.  
The contagion of revolt and hostility flew with unusual  
rapidity and strength. Not only did the whole of the district  
which owed the sway of the Raja fly to arms, the very fields  
being deserted by the husbandmen, who voluntarily flocked  
to his standards and multiplied his ranks : but one half of  
the province of Oude is by the Governor-General affirmed  
to have been in a state of as complete rebellion as Benares.  
Even the British dominions themselves afforded cause of  
alarm ; many of the Zemindars of Bahar had exhibited  
symptoms of disaffection : and the Governor-General  
received reports of actual levies, in that province, for the  
service of Cheyte Sing. The danger was exceedingly augmented  
from another source. The Governor-General was entirely  
destitute of money ; and affirms, that the whole extent of  
both his treasure and his credit exceeded not three thousand  
rupees ; while the troops were all four months, and some of  
them five months, in arrear.<sup>1</sup>

He was alarmed with the prospect of an attack from  
Ramnagur, which report described as about to take place  
in the night. His situation at Benares was regarded, by  
himself, and by his military officers, as not defensible ; and  
he resolved to make his escape to the strong fortress of  
Chunar. He secretly quitted the city, after it became dark,  
leaving the wounded sepoys behind ; and arrived in safety  
at the place of his retreat.

Though the letters of the Governor-General reached not  
Colonel Morgan who commanded at Cawnpore, yet some  
intelligence travelled to him of the disorder which had  
arisen ; and with promptitude and decision he ordered the  
principal part of the force which he commanded to march.  
The requisition both for money and for troops, which had  
been despatched to Lucknow, was happily received : and  
was promptly obeyed. About the middle of September,  
one lack and a half of rupees had been received, and a  
force was now collected deemed sufficient for the accomplishment  
of the enterprise.

<sup>1</sup> See his letter to Mr. Wheler, Appendix to his Narrative, No. 127.



The Raja had endeavoured to make his peace from the moment of his escape. He had written letters, in which he declared his sorrow for the attack which had been made upon the soldiers of the guard, and for the blood which had been spilt ; protested his own innocence with regard to the effects which had taken place, and which he affirmed to have arisen solely from the casual violence of the multitude, inflamed by the insolence of an English agent ; and professed his readiness to submit with implicit obedience to whatever conditions the Governor-General might think fit to impose. Not contented with repeating his letters, he made application through every person on whose influence with the English ruler he thought he might depend ; through one of the gentlemen of his party ; through Cantoo Baboo, his confidential secretary ; and through Hyder Beg Khan, one of the ministers of the Nabob Vizir. All his applications Mr. Hastings treated as unsatisfactory and insincere ; and deigned not to make to them so much as a reply. The Raja collected his forces, and appealed by a manifesto to the princes of Hindustan. He was reported, truly or falsely, to be also venting the most extravagant boasts of the ruin which he meant to bring down upon the English ; though he totally abstained from all operations not purely defensive, and in his letters to the Governor-General appealed to his forbearance, as a proof of his desire to retain his obedience. In the mean time he sustained several partial attacks. On the 29th of August a considerable body of his troops, who occupied a post at Seeker, a small fort and town within sight of Chunar, were defeated, and a seasonable booty in grain was procured. On the 3rd of September a detachment was formed to surprise the camp at Pateeta, about seven miles distant from Chunar. But the enemy were on their guard, and received the party in good order, at the distance of a mile beyond their camp. They fought with a steadiness and ardour which disconcerted the sepoys and were beginning to produce disorder, when an attack, made with great gallantry upon their guns, by the two companies of grenadiers, induced them to leave the field with four of their cannon to the victors.

Pateeta was a large town surrounded by a rampart of earth, which extended a considerable way beyond the



BOOK V. town, to the adjoining hills. It had also a small square  
CHAP. VII. fort, built of stone, fortified with four round towers, a  
1781. high rampart, and a great ditch. The principal force of  
the enemy was collected at this place, and at Lutteefpoor,  
a large stone fort, surrounded with hills and a wood, at  
the distance of about fourteen miles from Chunar. The  
strength of both consisted mostly in the difficulty with  
which they were approached. According to the plan of  
operations, which the English had arranged, Ramnagur  
was first to be assailed, both as it was the place where  
their arms had met with a disgrace, and because reduction  
of it would restore possession of the capital, and redeem  
their credit with the public. Several days were spent, in  
conveying battering cannon and mortars, with other prepa-  
rations for a siege, to the camp of Major Popham, which  
was placed before the town. In the mean time one of the  
natives represented that it would be extremely dangerous  
to allow time to the enemy to strengthen themselves at  
Pateeta and Lutteefpoor; that the approaches to both  
were strongly guarded; and that those to Lutteefpoor, in  
particular, could not be forced but with a serious loss;  
that even if Lutteefpoor were reduced, the object would  
not be attained, because the enemy could immediately  
gain the pass of Sukroot, which was behind, and there  
maintain themselves against any force which could assail  
them. He, therefore, recommended an attempt to gain  
possession of the pass by surprise, to which he undertook  
to conduct a part of the army by an unknown road; and  
the more to distract the enemy, he advised that an attack  
should at one and the same time be conducted against  
Pateeta. His representation was favourably received;  
Major Popham, with the quick discernment and decision,  
on which so much of military success depends, immedi-  
ately acknowledging the excellence of the plan. The army  
was divided into two parts, of which that which was des-  
tined for Sukroot began their march, under command of  
Major Crabb, about an hour before midnight, on the 15th  
of the month; and that for Pateeta, conducted by the  
commanding officer, Major Popham, about three o'clock  
on the following morning.

He found the works of Pateeta strong, and the approach  
more hazardous than he had anticipated. He had marched

without his battering cannon or mortars. They were sent for, but made little impression. Apprehensive lest further delay should frustrate the attempt at Sukroot, he resolved to make an assault on the morning of the 20th. On that very morning the other division of the army arrived, through ways nearly impracticable, at a village about two miles from the pass. Major Roberts led the storming party at Pateeta, which hardly met with any resistance. After a slight stand at the outer entrenchment, the enemy fled through the fort, and the English soldiers followed without opposition. The pass at Sukroot was guarded by a body of men with three guns, who made a stout defence, but after a considerable loss, fled through the pass, in which the English encamped for the remainder of the day. The intelligence of the loss of Pateeta, and of the pass, was carried at nearly the same time, to Lutteefpoor, to the Raja. He now, it is probable, began to despair. About four o'clock on the same day he fled from Lutteefpoor, and proceeded with a few followers to the fort of Bidgegur, which was his last resource. His army disbanded themselves ; and "in a few hours, the allegiance of the country," says the Governor-General, "was restored as completely, from a state of universal revolt, to its proper channel, as if it had never departed from it."

The Governor-General made haste to return to Benares, where the formation of a new government solicited his attention. To quiet the minds of the people, a proclamation was issued, offering pardon to all, with the exception of Cheyte Sing and his brother. A grandson of the Raja Bulwant Sing, by a daughter, was selected as the future Raja ; and as his years, nineteen, or his capacity, appeared to disqualify him for the duties, his father, under the title of Naib, was appointed to perform them in his name. Two important changes, however, were produced in the condition of the Rajah. His annual tribute was raised to forty lacs of rupees ; and the police, with the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the city of Benares, and the criminal jurisdiction of the whole country, was taken out of his hands. It was alleged that they had been wretchedly administered under his predecessor : and it was either not expected, or not desired, that he should be the author of an improvement. A separate establishment



BOOK V. was erected for each, and the whole was placed under the  
 CHAP. VII. superintendence of a native officer, who was denominated  
 1781. the Chief Magistrate of Benares, and made responsible to  
 the Governor-General and Council. The power of the  
 mint was also withdrawn from the Raja, and intrusted to  
 the resident at his court.

After possession was taken of Lutteefpoor, the army lost no time in marching to Bijygur. The Raja did not wait for their arrival, but fled for protection to one of the Rajas of Bundelcund, "leaving," says Mr. Hastings, "his wife, a woman of an amiable character, his mother, all the other women of his family, and the survivors of the family of his father Bulwant Sing, in the fort." Mr. Hastings cuts very short his narrative of the transactions at Bijygur, and only remarks, that it yielded by capitulation on the 9th of November. These transactions were not omitted by him, because they were devoid of importance. The Ranee, that is, the widow of the deceased Raja, Bulwant Sing, endeavoured, before she opened the gates of the fort, which had been her own peculiar residence, to stipulate for some advantages, and among them for the safety of her own pecuniary and other effects; representing her son, as having carried along with him whatever belonged to himself.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hastings mani-

<sup>1</sup> The allegation, though it was possible that it might not be true, was at any rate highly probable. What he took away, Mr. Hastings describes in the following pompous terms; "As much treasure as his elephants and camels could carry, which is reported to me to have consisted of one lack of mohrs, and fifteen or sixteen of silver, besides jewels to an unknown amount." There could be no reason for his leaving behind any part of what belonged to him. "If he took as much as his elephants and camels could carry;" and if it amounted only to what the Governor-General is pleased to represent, the Raja must have been badly provided with beasts of burden, as the value of his jewels was "unknown," that is to say, no estimate was put upon them by rumour, it was probably known to be small; since rumour seldom fails to give a name to the amount of any portion of wealth, which, from his magnitude, it is led to admire. Besides, it has never been found, when the exaggerations of the fancy were suppressed, by the real discovery of the facts; that the value of the jewels of these eastern princes was very great. And, moreover, the Raja of Benares was but a petty Prince; according to Mr. Hastings, a mere middleman, for collecting the Company's rents; no prince at all; and, therefore, could have had no great superfluity of wealth to bestow upon jewels. Over and above all which, his family had enjoyed their state only for some years of his father's life, and five or six of his own. But any great accumulation of jewels in any family was seldom the purchase of a few years, but the collection of several generations. And still further, it is to be considered, that neither the Raja nor his father had ever enjoyed the whole of their revenues; but had always paid a large tribute, either of the Nabob of Oude, or to the English; and were subject moreover to the drain, both of wars and of exactions. It ought likewise to be taken into the account, that they had contented themselves with moderate imposts upon the people, who were rich;

fested a desire to have her despoiled. What is more remarkable, in his letters to the commanding officer, he employed expressions which implied that the plunder of those women was the due reward of the soldiers; expressions which suggested one of the most dreadful outrages, to which in the conception of the country, a human being could be exposed. The very words of the letter ought to be produced, that no inference may be drawn from it beyond what they evidently support. "I am this instant favoured with yours of yesterday. Mine of the same date has before this time acquainted you with my resolutions and sentiments respecting the Ranee. I think every demand she has made to you, except that of safety and respect for her person, is unreasonable. If the reports brought to me are true; your rejecting her offers, or any negociation with her, would soon obtain your possession of the fort, upon your own terms. I apprehend that she will contrive to defraud the captors of a considerable part of the booty, by being suffered to retire *without examination*. But this is your consideration, and not mine. I should be very sorry that your officers and soldiers lost any part of the reward to which they are so well entitled; but I cannot make any objection, as you must be the best judge of the expediency of the promised indulgence to the Ranee. What you have engaged for, I will certainly ratify; but as to permitting the Ranee to hold the pergunnah of Hurlak, or any other, without being subject to the authority of the Zemindar, or any lands whatever, or indeed making any condition with her for a provision I will never consent to it."<sup>1</sup> It was finally arranged that the Ranee should give up the fort, with all the treasure and effects contained in it, on the express condition, along with

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that is, had never been oppressed by rents severely screwed up. It is further evident, that if the Raja had carried much wealth away with him, it must have somewhere afterwards appeared.—M.

That some was taken away is certain. From 250,000*l.* to 300,000*l.* was found in the fort. This is enough to invalidate the Raja's pleas of poverty when called upon for a contribution of 50,000*l.*—W.

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable, that of the inferences which are drawn from this letter, by Mr. Burke, is in his Third Article of charge, no notice whatsoever is taken by Mr. Hastings, in his Answer to that Charge or indeed of any thing relative to the surrender of Bijygur, and the fate of the prize-money.—M.

It did not deserve a reply. Any examination which could have been intended, was of course of a public nature only, applying to the baggage and effects of the Ranee, not to her person.—W.



BOOK V. terms of safety, that the persons of herself and the other  
 CHAP. VII. females of her family should be safe from the dishonour of  
 1781. search. The idea, however, which was suggested in the  
 letter of Mr. Hastings, "that she would contrive to defraud  
 the captors of a considerable part of the booty, by being  
 suffered to retire without examination," diffused itself but  
 too perfectly among the soldiery ; and when the Princesses,  
 with their relatives and attendants, to the number of three  
 hundred women, besides children, withdrew from the  
 castle, the capitulation was shamefully violated ; they  
 were plundered of their effects ; and their persons other-  
 wise rudely and disgracefully treated by the licentious  
 people and followers of the camp.<sup>1</sup> One is delighted for  
 the honour of distinguished gallantry, that in no part of  
 this opprobrious business the commanding officer had any  
 share. He leaned to generosity, and the protection of the  
 Princesses, from the beginning. His utmost endeavours  
 were exerted to restrain the outrages of the camp ; and  
 he represented them with feeling to Mr. Hastings, who  
 expressed his "great concern ;" hoped the offenders would  
 be discovered, obliged to make restitution, and punished ;  
 and directed that recompense should be made to the  
 sufferer, "by a scrupulous attention to enforce the per-  
 formance of the remaining stipulations in her favour."<sup>2</sup>

The whole of the treasure found in the castle, of which  
 the greater part did probably belong to the Ranee, and  
 not to the Raja, amounted to 23,27,813 current rupees.  
 The whole, therefore, of the treasure which the exiled  
 Prince appears to have had in hand, not only to defray the  
 current expenses of his government, but also to advance  
 regularly the Company's tribute, was so far from answer-  
 ing to the hyperbolical conceptions or representations of  
 the Governor-General, that it exceeded not the provision

The authority referred to, sanctions no such exaggerated statement as that of the text. Hastings writes, "It gives me great concern that the licentiousness of any persons under your command should have given cause to complain of the infringement of the smallest article of the capitulation in favour of the mother of Cheyte Sing and her dependants." No other authority for the disgraceful treatment of the princesses by the licentious followers of the camp has been found. That they or rather their attendants were subjected to personal search, is possible, and this may have been the subject of complaint—the searchers were females. "Resolved:—that ten gold mohurs be given to each of the four female searchers." Proceedings of a Committee of Officers, Tenth Report, 532.—W.

<sup>2</sup> See his Letter, Tenth Report, Select Committee, Appendix, No. 3.

which a prudent Prince would have thought it always necessary to possess.

The army proceeded upon the obvious import of the words of the Governor-General in the letter, in which he seemed to desire, that they should not allow the female relations of the Raja to leave the fort, without the examination of their persons. They concluded, that the whole of the booty was "the reward to which they were so well entitled," and divided it among themselves.<sup>1</sup> Among the practical conclusions deducible from his letter, it appears that this, at least, the Governor-General did not wish to receive its effect. He endeavoured to retract the permission which the army had inferred; and, by explaining away the terms which he had used, to recover the spoil for the exigencies of his government. The soldiers, however, both officers and men, refused to surrender what they had, upon the faith of the Governor-General, appropriated. Failing in this attempt, he endeavoured to prevail upon the army, in the way of loan, to aid the Company with the money, in its urgent distress. Even to this solicitation they remained obdurate. When Major Fairfax, in his examination before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, was asked, "whether the officers assigned any reason for refusing to obey the requisition of Mr. Hastings? he said, he heard it was, because the Rohilla prize-money had never been paid."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hastings was therefore, not only frustrated as to every portion of that pecuniary relief which he expected from the supposed treasures of the Raja Cheyte Sing; he added to the burden, under which the Company was ready to sink, the expense which was incurred in subduing the revolt.

It is but justice to the Court of Directors to record the

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to the commanding officer, without date, but supposed by the Select Committee to have been written early in November (vide Tenth Report, App. No. 3) the Governor-General's words were still more precise, with regard to the booty. "If she (the Begum) complies, as I expect she will, it will be your part to secure the fort, and the property it contains, for the benefit of yourself and detachment."

<sup>2</sup> Second Report, ut supra, Appendix, No. 15. "Being asked, whether this was the sole reason? he said, it was. Being asked, whether he did not hear it alleged; that a promise was claimed by the officers from Mr. Hastings, that the prize-money, in the Rohilla war, when taken, should be the property of the captors? he said, he never heard of a promise previous to the capture; but he has heard that Mr. Hastings, after the prize-money was divided, promised, that if they would deliver it up, government would distribute it, in the manner they should think most proper."

BOOK V, resolutions, in which they expressed their opinion of the  
 CHAP. VII. conduct pursued by their principal servant in India,  
 towards the unfortunate Raja of Benares :

1781. "That it appears to this Court, that on the death of  
 Suja-ad-dowla, 1775, a treaty was made with his successor,  
 by which the zemindary of Benares, with its dependencies,  
 was ceded in perpetuity to the East India Company :

"That it appears to this Court, that Raja Cheyte Sing  
 was confirmed by the Governor-General and Council of  
 Bengal, in the management of the said zemindary (subject  
 to the sovereignty of the Company) on his paying a certain  
 tribute, which was settled at sicca rupees 22,66,180 ; and  
 that the Bengal government pledged itself that the free  
 and uncontrolled possession of the zemindary of Benares,  
 and its dependencies, should be confirmed and guaranteed  
 to the Raja and his heirs for ever, subject to such tribute,  
 and that no other demand should be made upon him, nor  
 any kind of authority or jurisdiction exercised within the  
 dominions assigned to him, so long as he adhered to the  
 terms of his engagements :

"That it appears to this Court, that the Governor-  
 General and Council did, on the 5th of July, 1775, recom-  
 mend to Raja Cheyte Sing, to keep a body of 2000 horse ;  
 but at the same time declared there should be no obliga-  
 tion upon him to do it :

"That it appears to this Court, that Raja Cheyte Sing  
 performed his engagements with the Company, in the  
 regular payment of his tribute of sicca rupees 22,66,180 :

"That it appears to this Court. that the conduct of the  
 Governor-General towards the Raja, while he was at  
 Benares, was improper ; and that the imprisonment of his  
 person, thereby disgracing him in the eyes of his subjects,  
 and others, was unwarrantable, and highly impolitic, and  
 may tend to weaken the confidence which the native  
 princes of India ought to have in the justice and modera-  
 tion of the Company's government."

That the conception, thus expressed by the Court of  
 Directors, of the several facts which constituted the great  
 circumstances of the case, was correct, the considerations  
 adduced in the preceding pages appear to place beyond  
 the reach of dispute. The sensibility which, in his answer,



Mr. Hastings shows to the inferences which they present, is expressed in the following words: "I must crave leave to say, that the terms, improper, unwarrantable, and highly impolitic, are much too gentle, as deductions from such premises." History, if concealment were not one of the acts by which truth is betrayed, would, out of tenderness to Mr. Hastings, suppress the material part of that which follows, and which he gave in his defence:

"I deny, that the Bengal government pledged itself, that the free and uncontrolled possession of the zemindary of Benares, and its dependencies, should be confirmed and guaranteed to the Raja and his heirs for ever:

"I deny, that the Bengal government pledged itself that no other demand should be made upon him, nor any kind of authority or jurisdiction, within the dominions assigned him, so long as he adhered to the terms of his engagement:

"I deny that I ever required him to keep up a body of 2000 horse, contrary to the declaration made to him by the Governor-General and Council, on the 5th of July, 1775, that there should be no obligation to him to do it:

"My demand (that is, the demand of the Board) was not that he should maintain any specific number of horse, but that the number which he did maintain should be employed for the defence of the general state:

"I deny, that Raja Cheyte Sing was bound by no other engagements to the Company, than for the payment of his tribute of sicca rupees 22,66,180:

"He was bound by the engagements of fealty and absolute obedience to every order of the government which he served.

"I deny that the Raja Cheyte Sing was a native Prince of India."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On equal grounds might the denial have been set up, that the Company held the dignity of a prince of India. They were not only the subjects of Shah Aulum, but the subjects of the Nabob of Bengal; and according to the doctrine of Mr. Hastings, "bound by the engagements of fealty, and absolute obedience to every order of the government which they served." Hear what the Governor-General and Council themselves declare respecting their subordinate relations to that Nabob, in their secret letter (Second Report, ut supra, p. 22), 3rd August, 1775. "In the treaties entered into with the late Vizir, in the years 1765, 1770, the Company's representatives acted as plenipotentiaries from the Nabob Nujum ul Dowlah, and his successor Syef ul Dowlah." Hastings's plan of defence was this: To avail himself of the indefiniteness and uncertainty which surrounded every right, and every condition in India; and out of that to manufacture to himself a right of unbounded



BOOK V. Mr. Hastings says, "I forbear to detail the proofs of  
 CHAP. VII. these denials;" and as the pleas involved in them coincide  
 1781. with those allegations of his which have been examined  
 above, it is only necessary to refer to what has there been  
 adduced.<sup>1</sup> The Court of Directors, notwithstanding their  
 condemnation of the treatment which the Raja had re-  
 ceived, and notwithstanding the manner in which, by a  
 train of unhappy circumstances, the trial of arms was  
 forced upon him, thought proper to declare, that his  
 dethronement and proscription were justified by the war.<sup>2</sup>

It was shortly after his retreat to Chunar, that the  
 Governor-General received from Colonel Muir the intelli-  
 gence, that Mahdajee Sindia had offered terms of peace.  
 This was an event, calculated to afford him peculiar satis-  
 faction. One of the ostensible objects of his journey was,

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despotism. There is one remark, however, to which he is, in justice, entitled; that this indefiniteness, and the latitude of authority, the exercise of which was, in the practice of the country, never bounded by anything but power, constituted a snare into which it was very difficult not to fall. It is also to be remembered, that it is one thing to act under the casual and imperfect information of the moment of action, agitated by the passions which the circumstances themselves produce; and a very different thing to sit in judgment upon those acts, at a future period, when all the evidence is fully before us, illustrated by the events which followed, and when we are entirely free from the disturbance of the passions which the scenes themselves excite. It is the business of history, to exhibit actions as they really are; but the candid and just will make all the allowance for the actors, of which the case will admit. With regard to Mr. Hastings, it ought to be allowed, that the difficulties under which he acted were very great; and might he expected to betray any but a very extraordinary man into expedients for relief which would not always bear examination. Mr. Hastings deserves no hypocritical tenderness with regard to the instances in which he violated the rules of justice or of policy; but he deserves credit, in considerable, and perhaps a large degree, for having, in his situation, violated them so rarely.—M. The case which is here under review, was one in which there was no violation of justice or policy. Justice and policy both demanded the punishment of a disaffected dependant, and it was matter of urgent policy to draw forth all the resources of the state, when the state, as is universally admitted, was in imminent peril. Cheit Sing was quite able to afford the most important services to his Government, and he withheld them. He deserved no lenity. For his expulsion, he had to thank either his own treachery, or the indiscreet zeal of his followers. A few professions of regret for the past, and the proffer of a few lacs of rupees, would no doubt have preserved his Zemindary and prevented an act of atrocity that left him without the slightest claim on the forbearance of the Government. It is possible that Hastings acted with unnecessary rigour in his first communications with the Raja at Benares, but this was an error of judgment not deserving of impeachment.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Supra*, p. 233—40.

<sup>2</sup> The official documents relative to this passage of the history of India are found, in a most voluminous state, in those parts of the Minutes of Evidence on Mr. Hastings' trial, which relate to the Benares Charge; in the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, (1781) and its Appendix; in the Third of the Articles of Charge, and Answer to it, with the Papers called for by the House of Commons to elucidate that part of the accusation.

to confer with the Minister of the Raja of Berar, who was expected to meet him at Benares ; and, through the influence of the government of that country, to accelerate the conclusion of a peace. That Minister, however, died, before the arrival of Hastings ; and the loss of his intervention rendered the pacific intentions of Sindia more peculiarly gratifying. So far back as February, 1779, the Presidency of Bombay had recommended the mediation of Sindia, as that which alone was likely to render any service. The Colonel immediately received his instructions for a treaty, on the terms either of mutual alliance, or of neutrality ; and either including the Peshwa, or with Sindia individually. If it included the Peshwa, the Colonel was authorized to cede every acquisition, made during the war, except the territory of Futteh Sing Guicowar, Lahar, and the fortress of Gualior ; and to renounce (but without the surrender of his person) the support of Ragonaut Rao. He was instructed to retain Bassein, if it were possible, even with the surrender, in its stead, of all the territory (Salsette with its adjacent island and the moiety of Baroach excepted,) ceded by the treaty of Colonel Upton ; but not to allow Bassein itself to be any obstruction to the conclusion of peace.

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When the separate treaty was concluded with Sindia, who undertook to mediate with the Mahratta powers, the Governor-General, who had not yet departed from Benares, sent Mr. Anderson and Mr. Chapman ; the former to the court of Sindia, with full powers to negotiate and conclude a peace with the Poonah government ; the latter to the court of the Raja of Berar, to perform what was in his power towards the accomplishment of the same object.

The business was not very speedily, nor very easily concluded. The Poonah ministers, solicited for peace by the three English Presidencies at once,<sup>1</sup> though they were somewhat shaken in their opposition, by the defection of Sindia from the war, by the steadiness with which the

<sup>1</sup> About the same time that the proposals for a peace were sent from Bombay and Bengal, a letter was addressed to the Peshwa, in the joint names of Lord Macartney, Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Edward Hughes, and Mr. Macpherson, through the Vakeel of Mohammed Ali, at Poonah, expressing their wish for peace, the moderation of the Company, and the desire of the nation to conclude a firm and lasting treaty : a proceeding wholly unauthorized, contrary to the existing constitution of the Government of India, and only calculated to obstruct the negotiation. Duff, ii. 455.—W.



BOOK V. English sustained themselves against Hyder, by the facility  
 CHAP. VII. with which they had subdued the Raja of Benares, and  
 1781. the vigour with which they carried the war almost to the  
 gates of Poonah, were yet encouraged by the pressure  
 which the English sustained, and still more, perhaps, by  
 the eagerness which they manifested for peace.

Colonel Goddard, not yet informed of the steps which  
 had been taken by Mr. Hastings for urging the business  
 of peace with the Poonah ministers, deemed it necessary  
 in pursuance of the powers for treating and concluding,  
 with which he was invested, to commence a formal nego-  
 tiation. And he gave the requisite commission to Mr.  
 Watherstone, who arrived at Poonah on the 14th of  
 January, 1782.

The cunning of the Poonah Ministers taught them the  
 advantage of negotiation with two ambassadors, acting  
 under separate commissions ; who, by the desire of attain-  
 ing the object for which they were sent, might be expected  
 to bid against one another, and give to the Mahrattas the  
 benefit of an auction in adjusting the terms of peace.  
 They pretended, therefore, to be puzzled with two sets of  
 powers : though they laboured to retain Col. Watherstone,  
 after he was recalled.<sup>1</sup> They put on the forms of distance ;  
 and stood upon elevated terms. Sindia, too, who meant  
 to sell his services to the English very dear, was displeased  
 at the commission sent to solicit the interference of the  
 government of Berar. The extensive sacrifices, however,  
 which the English consented to make, the unsteadfast  
 basis on which the power of the leaders of Poonah was  
 placed, and the exhausted state of the country, from the  
 long continuance of its internal struggles, as well as the  
 drain produced by the English war, triumphed over all  
 difficulties ; a cessation of hostilities was effected early  
 in March ; and a treaty was concluded on the 17th of  
 May.

Not only the other territories which the English had  
 acquired during the war, but Bassein itself, the city also  
 of Ahmedabad, and all the country in Guzerat which had  
 been gained for Futty Sing, were given up ; and the two

<sup>1</sup> Their wish to retain this officer was, however, part of a policy not appre-  
 ciated by the author : the ministers of the Peshwa would have willingly con-  
 cluded a peace without Sindia's mediation. Duff, ii. 456.—W.

brothers, the Guicowars, were placed in the same situation, both with respect to one another, and with respect to the Peshwa, as they stood in previous to the war. Even of the territory, which had been confirmed to them by the treaty of Colonel Upton, the English agreed to surrender their pretensions to a part (yielding annually three lacs of rupees), which had not yet come into their possession when the war was renewed. And all their rights in the city and territory of Baroach, valued at 200,000*l.* a year, were resigned, by a separate agreement, to Sindia and his heirs for ever. To Sindia was also given up, by the liberty of seizing it, the territory, including the fort of Gualior, of the Rana of Gohud; who had joined the English, but, as usual in India with the petty princes, who choose their side from the hope of protection on the one hand, and the dread of plunder on the other, had been neither very able nor very willing, to lend great assistance. Having given offence by his defect of service, and created suspicions by his endeavours to effect a separate reconciliation with Sindia, he was, in adjusting the terms of the treaty with Sindia, left to his fate. The amity of Sindia was purchased, by still further sacrifices, which evince but little foresight. The project of Sindia for invading the territories of the Mogul Emperor, those of Nujuf Khan, and those of other chiefs in the province of Delhi and the adjoining regions, was known and avowed. And it was, intentionally, provided, that no obstruction, by the treaty with the English, should be offered to the execution of those designs.<sup>1</sup>

All that was stipulated in behalf of Ragonaut Rao was a period of four months, in which he might choose a place

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<sup>1</sup> The letter of instructions of the Governor-General to Colonel Muir says, We are under no engagements to protect the present dominions of the King, or those of Nudjiff Khan, and the Raja of Jaynagar; and if peace is settled betwixt Madajee Sindia and us, I do not desire that he should be restrained in carrying into execution any plans which he may have formed against them; at the same time, I think it necessary to caution you against inserting any thing in the treaty, which may expressly mark either our knowledge of his views or concurrence in them. It will be sufficient for us (and Sindia ought to be satisfied with the latitude implied in it) if he is only restricted in the treaty from making encroachments on our own territory and those of our allies." Second Report, ut supra, App. No. 1. By the way, we may here remark, how enormous a difference exists, between the obligations of fealty which Mr. Hastings imposed upon himself (as representative of the Company) towards his undoubted Sovereign the Mogul; and the obligations which, as supposed sovereign of Cheyte Sing, he exacted (on the same ground) from that unfortunate chief. Vide supra, p. 252.



BOOK V. for his residence. After that period the English agreed to  
 CHAP. VII. afford him neither pecuniary nor any other support. The  
 1781. Peshwa engaged, on the dangerous condition of his residing within the dominions of Sindia, where he was *promised* security, to allow him a pension of 25,000 rupees per month.

An article was inserted respecting Hyder Ali, to which we have scarcely information to enable us to attach any definite ideas. The Mahrattas engaged, that within six months after the ratification of the treaty, he should be compelled to relinquish to the English, and their allies, all the places which he had taken from them during the war. But neither did the Mahrattas perform, nor did the English call upon them to perform, any one act toward fulfilment of this condition. The English, on their part, engaged that they would never make war upon Hyder till he made war upon them; an engagement to which they as little expected that the Mahrattas would call upon them to adhere.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the twentieth article of charge, we have Mr. Burke's view of the case. He says, that Mr. Hastings did wish to engage with the Mahrattas in a plan for the conquest and partition of Mysore; that in order to carry this point, he exposed the negotiation to many difficulties and delays; that the Mahrattas, who were bound by an engagement with Hyder to make no peace with the English in which he was not included, pleaded this sacred obligation; but Hastings undertook to instruct even the Mahrattas in the arts of crooked faith, by showing how they might adhere to the forms of their engagement, while they violated the substance; and what is most heinous of all, that Hastings, having effected the assent of the Mahrattas to the article which is inserted in the treaty, and led by his desire of conquest, opposed obstructions to the conclusion of a peace with the son and successor of Hyder Ali; that it was for this reason he endeavoured to blind the hands of the Presidency of Fort St. George, by withholding his authority from the negotiation; and that it was not till after a long experience of the total absence of any intention on the part of the Mahrattas, to engage with him in his schemes upon Mysore, and till he was assured of the fact by his agent at the court of Sindia, that his late and reluctant assent to the negotiation was obtained; and that, after the peace was concluded, and ratified by the Supreme Council, from which, he was absent, and of which, by reason of his absence, he formed not a part, he endeavoured to break it, or at least exposed it wantonly to the greatest danger of being broken, by insisting that its formal conclusion and ratification should be of none effect, and that it should be opened again for the purpose of inserting the useless, if not mischievous, formality of an article, admitting as a party the Nabob of Arcot. These imputations receive all the confirmation conveyed by an answer, which, passing them over in silence, appears to admit them.—M.

All these imputations had no foundation whatever but in the malignity with which Burke came to regard Hastings. It was no doubt the object of the latter to engage the Mahrattas in an offensive and defensive alliance, and with this view, the articles regarding Hyder were inserted. What better course of policy could be devised? That the agreement was not acted upon was not the fault of the British Government, for in truth the treaty was not ratified by the Peshwa until after Hyder's death. The object of Nana Furnavese in this delay is explained by Duff to have been the intimidation of both the English

The Mahrattas also agreed, and to this the imaginations of the English attached a high importance, that, with the exception of the ancient Portuguese establishments, they would permit no other nation, except the English, to open with them any friendly intercourse, or to erect a factory within their dominions.

The terms of this agreement, the gentlemen of the Presidency of Bombay arraigned as inadequate, nay humiliating; and declared, that had the negotiation been left to them and to Goddard, who best knew the state of the Mahratta government, and with what facility it might have been induced to lower its tone, a far more favourable treaty might have certainly been obtained.

BOOK V.

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1781.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

*Burdens sustained by the Nabob of Oude.—His Complaints.*

*—How received by the English.—Mr. Bristow removed from Oude.—Agreement between Mr. Hastings and the Nabob.—The Begums despoiled.—Whether the Begums incited Insurrection.—Alleged oppressions of Colonel Hannay.—The head Eunuchs of the Begums tortured.—A present of ten Lacs given to Mr. Hastings by the Nabob.—Governor-General accuses Middleton, and replaces Bristow.—Treatment received by Fyzoolla Khan.—Decision by the Court of Directors relative to the Begums.—Set at nought by Mr. Hastings.—Governor-General's new Accusations against Mr. Bristow.—Governor-General's Plan to remove the Residency from Oude.—Governor-General repeats his visits to Oude.—Resigns the Government.—Financial Results of his Administration.—Incidents at Madras.*

THE next of the great transactions to which the presence of the Governor-General, in the upper provinces, gave immediate existence, was the memorable arrangement which

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and Hyder, by holding out the possibility of a union with either against the other, by which he hoped to recover from the latter the territories south of the Nerbudda, and from the former, Salsette. If any blame could be imputed to Hastings, it was not for delaying or impeding the treaty, but sanctioning the sacrifices necessary to obtain it. Hist. of Mahrattas, ii. 463.—W.

BOOK V. he formed with the Nabob of Oude. In his payments to the  
 CHAP. VIII. Company, that Nabob had fallen deeply into arrear ; and  
 1781. the extreme pecuniary distress endured by the Company,<sup>1</sup>  
 rendered it necessary to devise the most effectual means  
 for obtaining what he owed. His country, however, had,  
 by misgovernment, fallen into the greatest disorder. The  
 Zemindars were almost everywhere in a state of disobedience ; the country was impoverished ; and the disposition of the people, either deserting it or pining with want, threatened the evils, or promised the blessings, of a general revolt.<sup>2</sup> Before the connexion between the English and Oude, its revenue had exceeded three millions sterling, and was levied without being accused of deteriorating the country. In the year 1779, it did not exceed one-half of that sum, and in the subsequent years fell far below it, while the rate of taxation was increased, and the country exhibited every mark of oppressive exaction.

By the treaty of Fyzabad, formed with the late Nabob, at the conclusion of the Rohilla war, it was agreed, that a regular brigade of the Company's troops should, at the expense of the Nabob, be kept within the dominions of Oude. Even this burden was optional, not compulsory ; and the Court of Directors gave their sanction to the measure, "provided it was done with the free consent of the Subah, and by no means without it."<sup>3</sup>

To the first was added, in the year 1777, a second, called the *temporary* brigade ; because the express condition of it was, that the expense should be charged on the Nabob for so long a time only as he should require the corps for his service." The Court of Directors were still more anxious in this case than in the former, to determine, that the burden should not be fastened on the Nabob contrary to his will. "If you intend" (say they, addressing the Governor-General and Council) "to exert your influence, first, to induce the Vizir to acquiesce in your proposal,

<sup>1</sup> Even the pay of the troops was, everywhere, four and five months in arrear.

<sup>2</sup> The Minute in which the Governor-General introduced the subject of his journey to the upper provinces, begins in these words ; "The province of Oude having fallen into a state of great disorder and confusion, its resources being in an extraordinary degree diminished, and the Nabob Asoph ul Dowla," &c. Tenth Report of the Select Committee in 1781, App. No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Directors to the Governor-General and Council, dated 15th December, 1775.



and afterwards to compel him to keep the troops in his pay during your pleasure, your intents are unjust, and a correspondent conduct would reflect great dishonour on the Company.”

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Even the temporary brigade did not put a limit to the expense for English soldiers whom the Nabob was drawn to maintain. Several detached corps, in the Company's service, were also placed in his pay; and a great part of his own native troops were put under the command of British officers.

In the year 1779, the expense of the *temporary* brigade, and that of the country troops under British officers, increased, the one to the amount of more than eighty, the other of more than forty thousand pounds sterling, above the estimate. These particulars, however, constituted only the military part of his English expense. The civil expense resulted from an establishment under the Resident, which, without any authority from the Court of Directors, or any record in the books of the Council, had gradually and secretly swelled to a great amount; and was increased, by another establishment for another agent of the Company, and by pensions, allowances, and large occasional gifts, to various persons in the Company's service.

In that year, viz. 1779, the Nabob complained that the pressure was more than he was able to endure. “During three years past,” said he, “the expense occasioned by the troops in brigade, and others commanded by European officers, has much distressed the support of my household; insomuch, that the allowances made to the seraglio and children of the deceased Nabob, have been reduced to one-fourth of what it had been, upon which they have subsisted, in a very distressed manner, for two years past. The attendants, writers, and servants, &c. of my court, have received no pay for two years past; and there is at present no part of the country that can be allotted to the payment of my father's private creditors, whose applications are daily pressing upon me. All these difficulties I have for these three years past struggled through, and found this consolation therein, that it was complying with the pleasure of the Honourable Company, and in the hope that the Supreme Council would make inquiry, from im-



BOOK V. partial persons, into my distressed situation ; but I am  
 CHAP. VIII. now forced to a representation. From the great increase  
 1781. of expense, the revenues were necessarily farmed out at a  
 high rate, and deficiencies followed yearly. The country  
 and cultivation is abandoned. And this year, in particular,  
 from the excessive droughts, deductions of many lacs<sup>1</sup>  
 have been allowed the farmers, who are still unsatisfied.—  
 I have received but just sufficient to support my absolute  
 necessities, the revenues being deficient to the amount of  
 fifteen lacs ;<sup>2</sup> and for this reason, many of the old chief-  
 tains, with their troops, and the useful attendants of the  
 court, were forced to leave it ; and there is now only a few  
 foot and horse for the collection of my revenues ; and  
 should the Zemindars be refractory, there is not left a  
 sufficient number to reduce them to obedience.” In con-  
 sequence of these distressing circumstances, the Nabob  
 prayed, that the assignments for the new brigade, and the  
 other detached bodies of the Company’s troops, might not  
 be required ; declaring that these troops were “not only  
 quite useless to his government, but, moreover, the cause  
 of much loss, both in the revenues and customs ; and that  
 the detached bodies of troops, under their European  
 officers, brought nothing but confusion into the affairs of  
 his government, and were entirely their own masters.”<sup>3</sup>

This representation, which events proved to be hardly  
 an exaggeration, and the prayer by which it was followed,  
 the Governor-General received, with tokens of the highest  
 indignation and resentment. “These demands,” he said,  
 “the tone in which they are asserted, and the season in  
 which they are made, are all equally alarming.” In the  
 letter which was despatched in his words to the Resident,  
 the grounds on which the Nabob petitioned for relief are  
 declared to be “totally inadmissible.—He stands engaged,”  
 it is added, “to our government, to maintain the English  
 armies which, at his own request, have been formed for  
 the protection of his dominions ; and it is our part, not  
 his, to judge and determine in what manner, and at what  
 time, these shall be reduced or withdrawn.” In his minute,

<sup>1</sup> Stated by the resident, in his letter, dated 13th December, 1779, to amount to twenty-five lacs, 250,000*l*.

<sup>2</sup> 150,000*l*.

<sup>3</sup> Tenth Report, *ut supra*, Appendix, No. 7.

in consultation upon the subject, he says, that by the treaty made with Asoph ul Dowla, upon the death of his father, "he became, eventually, and necessarily, a vassal of the Company." He affirmed that, "the disorders of his state, and the dissipation of his revenues, were the effects of his own conduct, which had failed, not so much from the casual effects of incapacity, as from the detestable choice which he has made of the ministers of his power, and the participators of his confidence."<sup>1</sup> And to the Nabob himself he declared, "Your engagements with the Company are of such a nature as to oblige me to require and insist on your granting *tuncans* for the full amount of their demands upon you for the current year, and on your reserving funds sufficient to answer them, even should the deficiency of your revenues compel you to leave your own troops unprovided for, or to disband a part of them to enable you to effect it."<sup>2</sup>

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1781.

The difficulties under which the Governor-General was placed, were severe and distressing. It is true, that the protection of the Nabob's dominions rested solely upon the British troops, and that without loss of time they would have been overrun by the Mahrattas, had those troops been withdrawn; it is true, that the debt due to the Company would, in that case, have been lost; that a dangerous people would have been placed upon the Company's frontier; that the Company's finances, always in distress, and then suffering intensely by war, could not maintain the same number of troops, if their pay was stopped by the Vizir. And the law of self-preservation supersedes that of justice. On the other hand, from the documents adduced, it is evident, that the English had no *right* to compel the Nabob, if not agreeable to him, to maintain any part of those their troops; and the Governor-General was not entitled, as he did, to plead at once, both

<sup>1</sup> The words which follow sufficiently indicate the species of companions which he meant: "I forbear to expatiate further on his character; it is sufficient that I am understood by the Members of the Board, who must know the truth of my allusions." Lord Thurlow, the friend of Hastings, and his fierce defender on his trial, speaks out plainly, and calls them without reserve, the instruments of an unnatural passion. See "Debate in the House of Lords, on the Evidence delivered at the Trial of Warren Hastings," &c.; a quarto volume got up by Mr. Hastings, and distributed to his friends, but never published.

<sup>2</sup> Tenth Report, ut supra, Appendix, No. 7.

BOOK V. the law of self-preservation, and the law of right. The  
 CHAP. VIII. truth also is, that his law of self-preservation, when ex-  
 1781. amined, and brought into conformity with the facts, implies a strong convenience, and nothing more. It was very convenient for the English at that time, to have a large body of troops maintained by a different treasury from their own. But it will hardly be maintained, at any rate by the friends of Mr. Hastings, that, in his hands, the British empire in India must have been destroyed, had it been compelled to rely upon its own resources.<sup>1</sup> It was for a great convenience, then, and for nothing else, that the English, without any claim of right, compelled the Nabob Vizir to maintain their troops; that is, treated him as the vassal which Mr. Hastings described him, and substantially seized and exercised the rights of sovereign and master over both him and his country.

Another point well deserves to be considered: whether the original brigade of the Company's troops was not a force sufficient to protect the Nabob's country against all the dangers with which it was threatened. If the English who included in their own line of defence the boundaries of Oude, did not provide their due proportion, but impose the whole upon the Nabob, they defended themselves at his expense; they delivered themselves from a burden which was their own, and, by compelling the Nabob to bear it, violated the laws of justice.

It is also a question, whether the troops quartered upon him, in addition to that brigade, as they were kept in idleness in his dominions, were not, with all their expense, of little use either to him or the Company. As they were not employed against the enemies of the Company, they could be of little use in repelling them; and the complaint of the Vizir that they and their officers acted as the masters in his country, and as a source both of expense and of disorder, is confirmed by Mr. Francis, who, in Council, pronounced it "notorious, that the English army had devoured his revenues and his country, under colour of defending it."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It would be presumptuous to affirm that it must have been destroyed, but it was enough for the government to apprehend the possibility of such an event, to justify their employing all available resources for its prevention. It was for something more than convenience; it was for security.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Extract of Bengal Consultations, 15th December, 1779; Tenth Report, ut supra, Appendix, No. 7.



The Governor-General, when pressed for argument, made the following avowal ; that ambiguities had been left in the treaty : and that it was the part of the strongest to affix to these ambiguities that meaning which he pleased.<sup>1</sup> That this is a very common political procedure, every one knows. The allegation, however, in its essence, is, it is evident, only a varnish placed upon injustice by fraud. In the present case, besides, it happened, by a singular chance, that ambiguity had not existence, and the allegation of it was false. "So long only as the Nabob pleased," was the express condition of the compact ; and the moment at which the Nabob desired relief, the most exact definition was applied.

The Governor-General surmised a circumstance, which always seems to have animated him to peculiar severity : that the idea of the instability of the existing government was among the causes which emboldened the Nabob to complain. "I, for my own part," said he, "do not attribute<sup>2</sup> the demand of the Nabob to any conviction impressed on his mind by the necessity of his affairs ; but to the knowledge which his advisers have acquired of the weakness and divisions of our own government. This is a powerful motive with me, however inclined I might be, upon any other occasion, to yield to some part of his demands, to give them an absolute and unconditional refusal in the present ; and even to bring to punishment, if my influence can produce that effect, those incendiaries who have endeavoured to make themselves the instruments of division between us."<sup>3</sup>

Under the enormous demands of the English, and the Nabob's inability to meet them, the debt with which he stood charged in 1780 amounted to the sum of 1,400,000*l*.

<sup>1</sup> His words are these : "As no period was stipulated for the continuance of the temporary brigade, or of the troops which are to supply their place in his service, nor any mode prescribed for withdrawing them ; the time and mode of withdrawing them must be guided by such rules as necessity, and the common interests of both parties, shall dictate. These, either he must prescribe, or ourselves. If we cannot agree upon them, in such a division, the strongest must decide."

<sup>2</sup> It would be very curious, if the Governor-General at the commencement of the year 1780, was totally ignorant of the ruin of the Nabob's finances ; and in eighteen months afterwards, viz. at the time of his journey to the upper provinces, was so convinced of that ruin, as to make it the principal ground of the extraordinary procedure which he adopted, when he, allowing the inability to be real, removed the brigade and other objects of complaint.

<sup>3</sup> Extract of Bengal Consultations, 15th December, 1779 ; Tenth Report, *ut supra*, Appendix, No. 7.



BOOK V. The Supreme Council continued pressing their demands.

CHAP. VIII. The Nabob, protesting that he had given up everything, that "in the country no further resources remained, and that he was without a subsistence," continued sinking more deeply in arrear : till the time when the resolution of Mr. Hastings was adopted, to proceed to make with him a new arrangement upon the spot.

1781.

As a step preliminary to the affairs which the Governor-General meant to transact with the Nabob, he withdrew the resident, Mr. Bristow. This gentleman had been appointed by the party of General Clavering, when they removed Middleton, the private agent of Mr. Hastings : the Governor-General had removed him soon after the time when he recovered his superiority in the Council : the Court of Directors had ordered him to be replaced, as unjustly and improperly removed. Mr. Hastings, in disobedience of these orders, had refused to replace him, till it became a condition of the compromise into which he entered with Francis : and he now removed him again with a fresh violation of the authority of the Court of Directors, in conformity with whose orders he occupied the place. Mr. Middleton was again appointed, on the reason, notwithstanding the condemnation of the Court of Directors, again avowed, that a person in the Governor-General's own confidence was necessary in that situation.

As the Governor-General intended to make a very short stay at Benares, and then proceed to Lucknow, the Nabob had already left his capital, in order to pay him the usual compliment of a meeting, when he received intelligence of the insurrection. Mr. Hastings, who wished not for the interview in a state of humiliation, or under the appearance of receiving protection from his ally, endeavoured by a letter to make him return to his capital. But the Nabob was eager to show the interest which he took in the fate of the Governor-General, or eager to know the situation in which he was placed ; and hastened with but a few of his attendants to Chunar. The English ruler was at pains to afford him a cordial reception. And with little debate or hesitation they made a memorable arrangement. In consequence of "the repeated and urgent representations of the Nabob, that he is unable to support the expenses of the temporary brigade of cavalry, and English officers with

their battalions, as well as other gentlemen who are now paid by him," (such are the terms of the preamble to the covenant) it was agreed, on the part of the Governor-General, that from the expense of the temporary brigade, and of all other English troops, except the single brigade left with Suja-ul-dowla, and a regiment of sepoys for the resident's guard ; and from the expense of all payments to English gentlemen, excepting those of the resident's office ; the Nabob should be relieved.<sup>1</sup> According to another article, permission was granted him to resume such of the jaghires within his territories, as he himself might choose, with only this reservation, that a pension equal to the net rent should be paid to the holders of such of them as had the Company for their guarantee. An article was also inserted, according to which the Nabob was to be allowed, when the suitable time should arrive, to strip Fyzoolla Khan of his territory, allowing him only a pension in its stead.

BOOK V.  
CHAP. VIII.

1781.

Such was all that was seen on the face of this agreement ; where no advantage to the English appeared. The circumstances, however, which constituted the real nature of the transaction were only behind the curtain.

There were two Princesses, known by the name of the Begums ; the one, the mother of Suja-ul-dowla, the late Nabob ; the other, the widow of the late Nabob, and mother of the present. These Princesses the preceding sovereign had always treated with the highest consideration and respect ; and allowed them a magnificent and expensive establishment. At the death of Suja-ul-dowla, those Prin-

<sup>1</sup> See page 301, where it appears that Hastings, little more than a year before, treated as *incendiaries*, and threatened with punishment, those advisers, by whose suggestion he deemed it proper to assume that the Nabob implored the relief which was now granted, and so much as stated those sufferings of the country which the Governor-General now held studiously up to view. To threaten to punish the representation of grievances, as Burke justly on this passage remarks, is to endeavour to obstruct one of the most sacred duties of a dependent prince, and of his advisers ; a duty in the highest degree useful both to the people who suffer, and to the governing power. It affords a curious moral spectacle to compare the minutes and letters of the Governor-General, when maintaining, at the beginning of the year 1780, the propriety of compelling the Nabob to sustain the whole of the burden imposed upon him ; and his minutes, and letters, when maintaining the propriety of relieving him from these burdens in 1781. The arguments and facts adduced on the one occasion, as well as the conclusion, are in flat contradiction to those exhibited on the other. See the Documents in the Second and Tenth Reports, ut supra ; printed also for the House of Commons on the 16th of Burke's Charges : and in the Minutes of Evidence on the Trial.

BOOK V. cesses, according to the custom of India, were left in possession of certain jaghires ; that is, the government portion of the produce of a part of the land, over which, for the greater certainty of payment, the holder of the jaghire was allowed the powers of management and collection. This was the fund, from which the Begums provided for their state and subsistence ; and for the state and subsistence of the numerous families of the preceding Nabobs, placed under their superintendence. Suja-ul-dowla, at his death, had also left to the Begums the greater part of the treasure which happened to be in his hands ; and imagination swelled the sum to a prodigious extent. Mr. Hastings had been disappointed in the mine which he expected to drain at Benares. His power and reputation depended upon the immediate acquisition of money. In the riches of the Begums appeared to lie an admirable resource. It was agreed between Mr. Hastings and the Nabob, that his Highness should be relieved from the expense, which he was unable to bear, of the English troops and gentlemen ; and he, on his part, engaged to strip the Begums of both their treasure and their jaghires, delivering to the Governor-General the proceeds.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP. VIII.

1781.

This transaction, however objectionable it may at first sight appear, Mr. Hastings represented as attended with circumstances which rendered it not only just but necessary. The weight of these circumstances ought to be carefully and impartially considered.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1775, not long after the death of Suja-ul-

<sup>1</sup> To enable the Nabob "to discharge his debt to the Company in the shortest time possible," that is, to get money from him ; "and to prevent his alliance from being a clog instead of an aid ;" that is, costing money, instead of yielding it, is declared by the Governor-General to have been "the chief object in his negotiations with the Nabob." Letter to Mr. Middleton, 23rd September, 1781.

<sup>2</sup> Although the text does not repeat the enormous falsehoods which the oratory of Sheridan and Burke invented, and has been by some imagined to excuse, yet the general tone of the narrative is influenced by the misrepresentations of those masters in the art of rhetorical deception. The jaghires and treasures of the Begums were of considerable value, and what is of more consequence, were illegally held. The easy temper of the Nabob allowed the period of his accession to pass without interfering with the possessions of the Begums, but their occupancy of the jaghire was always dependant upon his pleasure ; and the wealth, which had been his father's, was, by the Mohammedan law, indubitably his own : a mother being entitled to one-eighth only of her husband's property, and a grandmother having no claim to inheritance where a mother is living : therefore, as sovereign or son, the Nabob had full right over the major part of the great wealth and power which the Begums had appropriated.—W.



Dowla, his widow, the mother of the reigning Nabob, complained, by letter, to the English government, of the treatment which she received from her son. She stated that various sums, to the extent of twenty-six lacs of rupees, had been extorted from her, under the plea of his being in want of money to discharge his obligations to the English chiefs; and that a recent demand had been urged for no less than thirty lacs, as absolutely necessary to relieve him, under his engagements to the Company; and to save his affairs from a ruinous embarrassment. Upon the faith of the English government, to which alone she would trust, she agreed to make this sacrifice; and it was solemnly covenanted, on the part of her son, and guaranteed on the part of the English government,<sup>1</sup> that no further invasion should ever be made upon her, in the full enjoyment of her jaghires and effects, whether she resided within the dominions of Asoph ul Dowla, or chose to reside in any other place. This agreement was far from producing peace between the Nabob and the Begums. Perpetual complaints of injurious treatment were made by the Princesses, and the business of mediation was found by the English resident a difficult and delicate task.

BOOK V.  
CHAP. VIII.  
1781.

In the beginning of the year 1778, those dissensions arose to a great height, and the aged Princess, "whose residence the treatment of her grandson" (to use the words of Mr. Middleton, the resident) "seems to have rendered irksome and disgusting to her," resolved to abandon his dominions, and repair on a pilgrimage to Mecca. To the execution of this design, the Nabob was exceedingly averse; because it would withdraw from the sphere of his power the great treasure which he imagined she possessed, and which at her death, if not before, he could render his own. Both the Nabob and his grandmother applied to the resident; the one for the purpose of procuring his influence to prevail upon the Begum to remain; the other for the purpose of procuring it to

<sup>1</sup> This covenant was the grand error of the whole proceeding; for the English had no possible right to interfere in a family dispute. It was the unauthorised act of the Resident at Lucknow, always strongly condemned by Hastings, and acquiesced in by the Council, on the plea of its having been done, and from the reluctance of the majority to withdraw their support from the Resident. Min. of Evid. 440.—W.



BOOK V. induce the Nabob to allow her to depart. The Begum  
CHAP. VIII. complained that she was subject to daily extortions and  
1781. insults; that the Nabob withheld the allowance which  
had been established by the late Vizir for the maintenance  
of the family of her deceased husband; that he had  
resumed the jaghires and emoluments of her servants and  
dependants; that he had made no provision for the main-  
tenance of the women and children (a very numerous  
family) of the late Vizir, his own father; that the educa-  
tion and condition of the children were wholly neglected;  
and that the favourites of the Nabob were allowed, and  
even encouraged, to degrade his family by their oppres-  
sions and insults. The resident reported to the Governor-  
General and Council, that "the deportment of the Nabob  
toward her, his family, and relations in general, was, he  
could not but admit, very exceptionable; that her claims  
were very moderate and just, and such as it would be  
natural to suppose the Nabob could not in decency refuse."  
He even suggested, if the Nabob should refuse to comply  
with these reasonable demands, "that the influence of  
the English government should be exerted, to secure to  
the Begum whatever might appear to be her rights;" in  
which case he doubted not that her design of departing  
with her treasure would be willingly abandoned.

While the resident was endeavouring, but without suc-  
cess, to prevail upon the Nabob to afford to his grand-  
mother a reasonable satisfaction, he received from the  
second of the Princesses a representation of the violations  
which had been committed by her son of the conditions  
of the recent treaty; a treaty which she called upon the  
English government, in quality of its guarantee, to pro-  
tect. The resident in vain endeavoured to improve the  
behaviour of the Nabob; and in reporting upon his disap-  
pointment, observes, "I have on all occasions, as much as  
possible, avoided troubling the Honourable Board with any  
matters which reflect upon the conduct or government of  
the Nabob, wishing rather to check and obviate abuses, by  
friendly admonitions and remonstrances to his Excellency  
himself, than to correct them by an appeal to your au-  
thority. But such is his Excellency's disposition, and so  
entirely has he lost the confidence and affections of his  
subjects, that, unless some restraint is imposed upon him,

which would effectually secure those who live under the protection of his government, from violence and oppression, I am but too well convinced, that no man of reputation or property will long continue in these provinces.”<sup>1</sup>

BOOK V.  
CHAP. VIII.

1781.

On the 23rd of March, the Council-General, in which Mr. Hastings had then the ascendant,<sup>2</sup> took under their consideration the complaints of the Begums. With regard to the eldest of the Princesses, and those of the relations and subjects of the Nabob, in favor of whom the guarantee of the Company was not interposed, they held themselves incapable, in any other way than that of remonstrance, and by tokens of displeasure, to oppose the oppressions of the Nabob. But as they had become parties to a treaty for the protection of the second of the Begums, the mother of the Nabob, they determined to make use of their authority on her behalf. On the rapacity which he had practised with respect to the elder of the Begums, and some of his other relations, their instructions to the resident were in the following words, “We desire you will repeat your remonstrances to the Vizir on these points, in the name of this government; representing to him the consequences of such an arbitrary proceeding; the reproach to which his honour and reputation, as well as ours, from being connected with him, will be exposed, by such acts of cruelty and injustice; and the right which we derive, from the nature of our alliance with him, to expect that he will pay a deference to our remonstrances.” They add, “with respect to the Bao Begum (the mother of the Nabob), her grievances came before us on a very different footing. She is entitled to our protection, by an act, not sought by us, but solicited by the Nabob himself. We therefore empower and direct you, to afford your support and protection to her, in the due maintenance of all the rights she possesses, in virtue of the treaty executed between her and her son, under the guarantee of the Company.”<sup>3</sup>

Such was the light in which the relative conduct of the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Middleton's Letter to Gov.-Gen. and Council, dated Fyzabad, 3rd Feb. 1778. Report, ut supra.

<sup>2</sup> The members were, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Barwell, Mr. Francis, Mr. Wheler.

<sup>3</sup> Report, ut supra. The documents to which reference is here made were all reprinted, both in the papers called for by the House of Commons, and in the Minutes of Evidence, taken at the Trial in Westminster Hall.

BOOK V. Nabob and the Begums appeared to the Governor-General  
 CHAP. VIII. and Council, in 1778; and on the footing which was then  
 1781. established, matters between them remained, till the  
 meeting between Mr. Hastings and Asoph ul Dowla at  
 Chunar, in 1781, when the Nabob was, by treaty, allowed  
 to seize the property of the Princesses, and of others his  
 relations; and, on the condition of bestowing that pro-  
 perty upon the English, actually rewarded for the seizure,  
 by obtaining relief from a permanent and oppressive ex-  
 pense. The reasons which Mr. Hastings adduced for this  
 proceeding are, that the Begums had endeavoured to  
 excite insurrection in Oude in favour of Cheyte Sing, and  
 that they employed their power and influence to embarrass  
 and disturb the Nabob's administration.

If the testimony of an accuser shall pass for proof, when that accuser derives great advantage from the supposition of guilt, and great loss from the supposition of innocence, no individual is under protection.<sup>1</sup> It is further to be remarked, that the insurrection at Benares happened on the 16th of August; and the treaty by which the Nabob was authorized to resume the jaghires was signed at Chunar, on the 19th of September. The Begums, who had first to hear of the insurrection at Benares, and then to spread disaffection through a great kingdom, had, therefore, little time for the contraction of guilt. Besides, when the government of the Nabob, as the English themselves so perfectly knew, had fallen into contempt and detestation with all his subjects, it was very natural to suppose, that the servants and dependants of the Begums, who were among the severest of the sufferers, would not be the least forward in exhibiting their sentiments. And as the seclusion of the Begums rendered it impossible for them to superintend the conduct of their servants abroad, they were less than other people responsible for their conduct.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is arguing as if Hastings derived a personal advantage from the guilt of the Begums—whatever advantage resulted from the recovery of the wealth illegally detained by the Begums was entirely public. There could be no doubt that the position of the Begums, their resources, their armed followers, their pretensions, and their temper, were injurious in the highest degree to the government of the Vizir.—W.

<sup>2</sup> If the Begums were incapable of responsibility, it followed that they were unfit to have power. They had no business with armed adherents if they could not prevent those adherents from perpetrating what they pleased. The fact is not true. The Begums had the means of controlling their servants;



But the observation of greatest importance yet remains to be adduced. What was the proof, upon the strength of which the Begums were selected for a singular and aggravated punishment? Answer: no direct proof whatsoever. Hardly an attempt is made to prove any thing, except a *rumour*. Mr. Hastings' friends are produced in great numbers to say that they heard a *rumour*. Upon allegation of a *rumour*, that the Begums abetted Cheyte Sing, judgment was pronounced, and punishment followed.

Before a just judgment can be pronounced, and punishment can be justifiably inflicted, it is necessary that trial should take place, and that the party accused should be heard in his defence. Was this justice afforded the Begums? Not a tittle of it. So far from it; that Mr. Hastings, while yet in the heat of the insurrection at Chunar, when the Begums had scarcely had time to rebel, much less had he had time to make any enquiry into the imputation of guilt; at a moment when all was confusion, alarm and hurry; when everything was ready to be reported, and everything to be believed; pronounced a final judgment, to supersede the guarantee of the English government, to strip the Princesses of Oude of their estates, and give them up helpless into the hands of the Nabob.

Of the evidence adduced upon this important point, it is highly requisite to give a short account. If anything be indispensable to righteous judgment, it is, that evidence should first be collected, and judgment follow after. Mr. Hastings pronounced judgment, and sent his instrument, the Nabob, to inflict punishment in the first place. Some time after all this was done, he then proceeded to collect evidence. But evidence of what sort? He brought forward persons who, he knew (or might know) beforehand, would give the sort of evidence he wished; and a month after judgment had been pronounced, got them to make affidavit, before Sir Elijah Impey, of the facts, or supposed facts, of which it was useful for him to establish the belief. It is altogether unnecessary to allude to the character or credibility of the individuals

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but had it been otherwise, as asserted in the text, it would at once justify whatever measures were necessary to wrest from them resources and powers they could not safely be trusted with.—W.



BOOK V. who were taken into his service. It is perfectly sufficient  
CHAP. VIII. to observe, that this is a mode of getting up a proof, by  
1781. means of which there never can be any difficulty of getting a proof of anything. Find a number of persons, even if not mendacious, with minds sufficiently partial to you, or sufficiently influenced by circumstances, to believe as you would have them (often a very easy matter, whatsoever may be the state of the facts), and get them to set down whatever they and you think proper, exposed to no cross-examination, exposed to no counter-evidence; and think, whether it would not be an extraordinary case, in which, upon these terms, any man, more especially a powerful ruler, could remain without a defence.

The fact is, that recourse to such a mode of defence betrays a deep consciousness, that the conduct in favour of which it is set up, stands much in need of a defence, and seems pretty strongly to imply that no better defence can be found for it.

The behaviour of the Supreme Judge, in lending himself to this transaction, exposed him to the severest strictures from the Managers for the Commons' House of Parliament on the trial of Mr. Hastings. He acknowledged, upon his examination, that he went from Benares, where his business was concerted between him and Mr. Hastings, to Lucknow, the capital of Oude, for the express purpose of taking these affidavits, though he acknowledged that "undoubtedly he did not consider his jurisdiction as extending to the province of Oude;" and though, in taking an affidavit, there is so little occasion for any remarkable qualifications in the Judge, that all he has to do is to hear a person swear that something in a paper is true, and to testify that he has heard him do so. "What the affidavits contained," said the Judge when examined upon the trial, "I did not know; nor do I at present, for I have never read them." He also declared that he did not know, whether the persons who swore to them had ever read them. He also said, "I believe Mr. Middleton, in consequence of a letter Mr. Hastings wrote to him, had communicated the subject-matter of what they were to depose to." At the time of taking the affidavits of the natives, not so much as a sworn

interpreter was present. The judge declared he never asked of one of the deponents, whether they knew the contents of their affidavits : and, “ had no means of knowing whether the deponents in the Persian or the Hindu language understood anything of the depositions which they gave, except that they brought their affidavits ready drawn.” He also admitted that he had no means of knowing whether, of the affidavits which were taken before him, the whole were published by Mr. Hastings, or whether all that had been unfavourable to him had not been suppressed. In fact, the examination of Sir Elijah Impey, upon the subject of affidavits, discloses a curious scene, in which it appears that one object alone was in view, namely that of getting support to any allegations which Mr. Hastings had set up.<sup>1</sup> A set of affidavits, thus circumstanced, could be no proof of the guilt of an absent party.<sup>2</sup>

These affidavits affirm not one criminal fact, on the part of the Begums. All that they affirm with regard to these Princesses is *rumour* merely. The witnesses had *heard* that the Begums instigated that disaffection, which manifested itself in almost every part of the Nabob’s dominions. In one sense, this is evidence of the fairness and honourableness of Mr. Hastings ; for undoubtedly it goes a certain way to prove that no undue means were used to put matter into these affidavits.

Some of them speak directly to certain tumultuary proceedings in Goruckpore, one of the districts of Oude. But the insurrection, if such it might be called, was not against the *British* authority, for there was none there to oppose. The *Nabob’s* sepoys were refractory for want of pay. An Aumil, or renter of the Begums, showed a disinclination to permit a party of the *Nabob’s* sepoys

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes of Evidence at the trial, p. 622 to 651, and 838 to 848.—M.

<sup>2</sup> As usual this is uncandidly stated, and no regard is had to Sir Elijah Impey’s own account of the transaction. He states that he suggested the arrangement to Hastings, that people in England might be satisfied that Hastings in his narrative had affirmed no more than the truth. He thought the public would derive additional confidence from declarations on oath taken before a judicial authority, and offered his services accordingly. The narrative of Hastings carries with it proof of its own credibility, and the suggestion of the Chief Justice was a work of supererogation. His interposition was a mistaken act of friendship, but it deserved not the strictures made upon it by the managers of the Commons, strictures of which the acerbity was deepened by the clear and resolute manner in which Sir Elijah’s evidence was given.—W.

BOOK V. to pass through his district, which he knew they would  
 CHAP. VIII. plunder, and hence impose upon him a severe pecuniary  
 1781. loss. And the country people in general showed a hostile disposition to these same sepoys of the *Nabob*. What has this to do, in the smallest degree, with the *British* authority? And if the sepoys had been British, which they were not, what proof is given, that the Begums were the cause of the hatred they experienced, or knew of the commotions to which that hatred gave birth?<sup>1</sup>

*Rumour* affirmed that the Begums promoted the disaffection. If rumour, on such an occasion, were a proper ground of belief, rumour affirmed that the Nabob himself, together with his brother Saadut Ali, not only abetted the disaffection, but had entered into a deliberate plan for the extirpation of the English from the country. Why is rumour to be evidence against one, not evidence against another, just as it suits the pleasure and convenience of Mr. Hastings?<sup>2</sup>

One of the deponents, who spoke most distinctly to what he reckoned symptoms of hostility on the part of the Begums, was a Major Macdonald, an English officer in the service of the Nabob. He states that his march, at the head of a party of the Nabob's sepoys, was opposed by Zalim Sing, a Zemindar, who had long been treated by the Nabob as a rebel. This hostile chief showed, even to Macdonald's people, a paper purporting to be a sunnud from the Nabob, restoring him to his Zemindary, and vesting him with the government of certain districts; and he informed them he had the Nabob's instructions to drive says the affidavit, "the Fringies out of his districts, that he only waited for the fortunate hour, boats being already provided from Fyzabad (which the deponent knew absolutely to be the case) to cross the Gogra, and carry the

<sup>1</sup> Contumely to the Nabob's officers was no new thing with the Begums, nor ever treated as rebellion till it suited the Governor-General. In January, 1776, when the Begum was complaining to the English government, and when it was affording her protection, the Resident in Oude writes to the Governor-General and Council: "In making this complaint, the Begum forgets the improper conduct of her own servants, who have hitherto preserved a total independence of the Nabob's authority; beat the officers of his government; and refused obedience to his Perwannahs." Minutes, ut supra, p. 2048.

<sup>2</sup> Whether the rumours hostile to the fidelity of the Nabob were founded at all upon fact is doubtful; but certainly they were shown to be of little regard when he put himself in the power of Hastings at Chunar.—W.



Nabob's orders into execution. Further, that his Excellency had altered his sentiments regarding the part he was to take in the present contest ; that his Excellency set out with the intent of adhering to his treaty with the Company, but that Mirza Saadut Ali wrote him he was to blame if he gave any assistance ; that now was the time to shake off the English yoke ; that it might not be prudent to declare himself at once ; that he had only to stand neuter ; and, under pretence of defending themselves, direct his subjects to take arms, and endeavour to prevent the junction of the English forces, when the matter would work of itself. The deponent said, he believed the reports, as before related, at that time, and still is of opinion, the threats contained were intended to be carried into execution had the league been successful."<sup>1</sup>

BOOK V.  
CHAP. VIII.  
1781.

Of the disturbances, moreover, in Goruckpore, and the hostile disposition manifested by the people to the sepoys of the Nabob, we are presented with another and a very different account. They are said to have been the effect of oppression ; of oppression, cruel, and extraordinary, even as compared with the common degree of oppression under the government of the Nabob. It was given in evidence, that the country, from a very flourishing state in which it existed under the preceding Nabob, had been reduced to misery and desolation ; that taxes were levied, not according to any fixed rule, but according to the pleasure of the collector : that imprisonments and scourgings for enforcing payment, were common in every part of the country ; that emigrations of the people were frequent ; and that many of them were so distressed as to be under the necessity of selling their children.<sup>2</sup>

The country thus oppressed, was under the management of Colonel Hannay, an officer of the Company, who had obtained permission to quit for a time the Company's service, and enter into that of the Nabob. He was allowed to rent the provinces of Goruckpore and Baraitch ; and, commanding also the military force in the district, engrossed the whole of the local government. Mr. Holt, who was appointed assistant to the resident at the Vizir's court about the beginning of the year 1780, was asked, "Did you hear that Colonel Hannay was himself in particular danger

<sup>1</sup> Minutes, ut supra, p. 259, 261.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 381—390.



BOOK V. from the insurrections in 1781!—I did.—What do you  
 CHAP. VIII. suppose those insurrections arose from at first—did you  
 1781. ever hear of any machinations or contrivances of particular persons, or did you ever hear what the cause was they objected to?—I have heard it was owing to the misconduct and misgovernment of Colonel Hannay?<sup>1</sup>

Captain Edwards, another of the Company's officers, who had obtained permission to accept of service with the Vizir, and who was aide-de-camp to that Prince at the time of Mr. Hastings' quarrel with Cheyte Sing, was asked, "In what situation was Colonel Hannay," meaning in the service of the Vizir?—"I understand that he rented a great part of the Nabob's country, called Baraitch and Goruckpore.—Do you know what was the general fame of the country with respect to Colonel Hannay's administration in those provinces?—That the measures of his government appeared to the natives there very unjustifiable and oppressive.—Did you ever see, or know, any fact or circumstance from which you could infer in the same manner?—When I accompanied his Excellency the Nabob into that country (I believe it was in the latter end of the year 1779, or early in the year 1780), the country seemed to be little cultivated, and very few inhabitants made their appearance; and the few that were in the country seemed much distressed; and I understood that the country had been better peopled, but that they had all left the country in consequence of Colonel Hannay's administration.—Was it at Lucknow that you heard the reports concerning Colonel Hannay, and his oppressions? It was both at Lucknow and at many other places: it was a general report.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Minutes, ut supra, p. 391. See to the same purpose the evidence of Colonel Achmuty, p. 783.—M. Some other passages should have been quoted from the evidence of this witness if it was worth while to quote any. With regard to this very subject, he was asked, "What effect the administration of Colonel Hannay had in exasperating the natives?—I saw no marks of exasperation whilst I was there.—At the time you were there you saw no marks of exasperation?—What I mean by exasperation is—*there was no insurrection.*" In clemency to Mr. Holt, it should be added, that when he was in Goruckpore, and heard one thing and saw another, he was between sixteen and seventeen years of age. Min. Evid. 402. It is something beneath the dignity of history to quote such testimony as this, in depreciation of a great public character.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes, ut supra, p. 778, 782. Of the insurrections one principal part at least was occasioned by indignation at the confinement of a great number of persons in the Fort of Goruckpore, followed by a design to effect their rescue. See Minutes, ut supra, p. 1963, where a letter of Colonel Hannay's is acknowledged, to the officers on the spot, stating that the release of those prisoners would quiet the country. See the Cross-examination of Captain Williams, throughout, Ibid. p. 1935—1966.

It is also a circumstance of great importance, that when Colonel Hannay entered the service of the Nabob in 1778, he was a man in debt, or what is called by the witness "involved circumstances." Before the end of 1781, that is in a period of about three years, he was understood to have realized a fortune of 300,000*l*.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK V.  
CHAP. VIII.  
1781.

It is now, however, in justice to Colonel Hannay, to be observed, with regard both to the oppressions of which he is accused, and the vast amount of his fortune, that most of the evidence adduced is evidence rather to the *rumour* of these facts, than to the facts themselves. But if this be a plea, as it undoubtedly is, in behalf of Colonel Hannay, it is a plea,<sup>2</sup> it must be remembered, no less availing in favour of the Begums. It appears, indeed, with strong evidence from the cross-examination of Mr. Hastings' own witnesses upon the trial, that a considerable number of the Rajas or ancient chiefs of the country,<sup>3</sup> who till that time had remained in possession of their respected districts, paying an annual sum, as revenue, to the Vizir, were driven out during the administration of Colonel Hannay; and that they retained the country in a state of perpetual disturbance, by endless efforts for their restoration.<sup>4</sup> This accounts for the turbulent state of the country. Whether it was injustice, by which the Rajas were expelled; or whether it was impossible to make them obedient subjects, sufficient evidence is not afforded to determine.

It is at any rate certain, that Colonel Hannay became in the highest degree odious to the Vizir; he dismissed him from his service before the end of the year 1781, and having heard that he was using his influence to be sent back, he wrote to the Governor-General, about the beginning of September following, in these extraordinary terms:

"My country and house belong to you; there is no difference. I hope that you desire in your heart the good

<sup>1</sup> Minutes, ut supra, p. 390, 391.

<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding this admission, it is clear that the 'rumours' to Colonel Hannay's disadvantage are treated with a leniency, and adopted with a readiness, not shown to those that were unfavourable to the Begums.—W.

<sup>3</sup> Here again the word Raja is misunderstood. In the district of Goruckpore, every Zemindar, however petty, takes the name of Raja. These 'ancient chiefs,' therefore, are the creation of the text, and they were nothing but refractory farmers of the revenue, who would not pay their rents. Goruckpore has always been a troublesome district.—W.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 1909—2008.

BOOK V. of my concerns. Colonel Hannay is inclined to request  
 CHAP. VIII. your permission to be employed in the affairs of this  
 1781. quarter. If, by any means, any matter of this country  
 dependent on me, should be intrusted to the Colonel, I  
 swear by the Holy Prophet, that I will not remain here,  
 but will go from hence to you. From your kindness let no  
 concern, dependent upon me, be intrusted to the Colonel ;  
 and oblige me by a speedy answer, which may set my  
 mind at ease."<sup>1</sup>

It is also a most suspicious circumstance, that the accusations of the Begums seem originally to have come from Colonel Hannay, and to have depended almost entirely upon the reports of him and his officers ; who were deeply interested in finding, for the disturbances of the country, which they ruled, a cause different from their own malversations.

When the Nabob departed from Chunar, at which time, according to the statements of Mr. Hastings, the Begums were in a state of rebellion, he chose to pass through Fyzabad, the place of their residence, accompanied merely by his usual attendants, and about five or six hundred horse : and, according to the opinion of Captain Edwards, probably entered the city with only a few attendants, as in general his rate of travelling far exceeded the utmost speed of a body of horse.

As every mark of suspicion that rebellion was excited or intended by the Begums was thus removed from the behaviour of the Nabob ; so not a single expression ever appears to have been obtained from him, which implied that they had been guilty of any such offence ; and yet if he had conceived any apprehension from them, it was to the English he must have flown for protection, and to them he would naturally have communicated his fears. His aide-de-camp, Captain Edwards, who had accompanied him to Chunar, and proceeded with the rest of the troops to Lucknow, when the Nabob left the direct road to his capital to pass through Fyzabad, was asked, "Did you hear upon the return of the Nabob, and Hyder Beg, to Lucknow, any charge, or any thing that led you to believe, that discoveries of rebellion or treason had been made by the Nabob while at Fyzabad ?—No, I did not.—When did you

<sup>1</sup> Minutes, ut supra, p. 660.



first hear of any accusation, or charge, of any rebellion or disaffection, against the Begums?—Some time after I arrived at Lucknow; about a fortnight after, I heard the gentlemen in the Resident's family mention the different accounts, that Colonel Hannay and his officers had sent.—Was the intelligence you received upon that subject confined to communications, made by Colonel Hannay and his officers, to the Resident's office, or did you hear of any other besides? I heard that such reports prevailed at Lucknow, among the natives, which were not generally believed; and there were a few who mentioned they had heard the reports.—The question put to you is, whether you heard of any other instances than those mentioned by Colonel Hannay and his officers?—I heard my own servants say, as they went through the market-place, they had heard from the Resident's servants, that they had heard such reports did prevail.—Meaning the reports from Colonel Hannay?—Yes, meaning those reports.—Did the natives in general give any credit to these reports?—No, I do not think they did.—Did you not hear more of this sort of report after the treasure was seized in January, 1782?—I did; I heard the treasures were seized in consequence of the report, and the charge and accusation, made by Colonel Hannay and some of his officers, that the Begums had been in a state of rebellion.”<sup>1</sup>

As Colonel Hannay and his officers, white and black, were almost the only persons whose affidavits, originally taken at Lucknow, imputed any acts of disaffection to the Begums; so they were his officers, including the Paymaster of his troops, who alone, or nearly so, were called to prove the allegation in England.<sup>2</sup> One or two other persons, the aid of whose testimony was required, could speak to nothing but *reports*, at Allahabad, or at Calcutta. And it appears, with great force of evidence, from the examination of the witnesses adduced in favour of Mr. Hastings, that the accusation rested upon the allegations of Hannay, and his officers: who, themselves, could affirm nothing but rumour, or facts of which it is more probable that they themselves were the cause than the Begums; and that the story,

<sup>1</sup> Minutes, *ut supra*, p. 777.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Hannay might have been an indifferent administrator of a province, though that is not proven, but that is no reason why he and his officers should be suspected of untruth.—W.



BOOK V. being taken up by Mr. Hastings, and propagated by him  
 CHAP. VIII. and his friends, with all the authority of government, was  
 1781. spread abroad among the English throughout the country, and by them, in the usual manner, upon no better authority, passively, but not the less fervently and confidently, believed.<sup>1</sup>

The departure of the Nabob from Chunar, for the purpose of seizing the property of his mother and his grandmother, was urged by Mr. Hastings: upon the arrival, however, of that Prince in his own dominions, he manifested a great reluctance to enter upon the ungracious work. The Governor-General waited, as he himself informs us, "with much impatience." He urged the Nabob by the strongest remonstrances. He enjoined the Resident, in the most earnest and most peremptory terms, to leave no effort unattempted for the accomplishment of this important event. The reluctance, however, of the Nabob continued unsubdued; and Mr. Middleton, the Resident, was instructed to supersede the authority of the Nabob, and perform the necessary measures by the operation of English power. He proceeded at last to the execution of the Governor-General's commands; but the Nabob, shocked at the degradation which he would sustain in the eyes of his people, if acts under his government of so much importance should appear to emanate from any power but his own, undertook the melancholy task.<sup>2</sup> The words of the Resident to the Governor-General are instructive: "I had the honour to address you on the 7th instant, informing you of the conversation which had passed between the Nabob and me on the subject of resuming the jaghires; and the step I had taken in consequence." The step was

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes of Evidence for the Prosecution, p. 361—951 Ditto, for the Defence, p. 1823—2008.—M.

There can be no doubt that the allegation was in the main true,—that the Begums were disaffected to the British Government,—that they connived at, if they did not authorize, levies of armed men for the service of Cheit Sing,—that their followers were prepared to rise in his behalf. There was no actual rebellion, but there was a manifestation of hostile feeling which justified retribution.—W.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mr. Hastings, the Nabob had no objection to plunder the Begums. But he had given jaghires to certain persons, whom Mr. Hastings calls his "Orderlies, and others of that stamp;"..... "the companions of his looser hours." These he wished not to resume; and, therefore, endeavoured to depart from his engagement of resumption altogether. But the cause appears not sufficient to account for the effect. If he had resumed the jaghires of his orderlies, which were of trifling amount, what would have hindered him from giving them something of equal or greater amount?

the issuing of perwannahs or warrants to the Aumils or agents on the jaghires, to desist from acting in behalf of the Begums. "His Excellency appeared to be very much hurt and incensed at the measure; and loudly complains of the treachery of his ministers, first, in giving you any hopes that such a measure would be adopted; and, secondly, in promising me their whole support in carrying it through. But as I apprehended" (he means, expected) "rather than suffer it to appear that the point had been carried in opposition to his will, he at length yielded a nominal acquiescence, and has this day issued his own perwannahs to that effect; declaring, however, at the same time, both to me and his ministers, that it is an act of compulsion."<sup>1</sup>

The resumption of the jaghires was not the only measure which had been conceived and resolved against the Begums. Their treasures were to be seized.<sup>2</sup> The Nabob

BOOK V.  
CHAP. VIII.  
1781.

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Mr. Hastings, dated 9th of December, 1781. Notwithstanding these, and the numerous other proofs, that Hastings was well aware of the reluctance of the Nabob, to proceed to the acts by which his parents were plundered, Hastings, when it suited his purpose to put on the show of a wonderful tenderness for the Nabob, wrote to his private agent, Major Palmer, viz., on the 6th of May, 1783, "that it had been a matter of equal surprise and concern to him to learn from the letters of the resident, that the Nabob Vizir was with difficulty, and almost unconquerable reluctance, induced to give his consent to the attachment of the treasure deposited by his father under the charge of the Begum his mother, and to the resumption of her jaghire, and the other jaghires of the individuals of his family;" as if he had never heard of these facts before! Such specimens of Mr. Hastings, as this, meet us often in the records of his government.

<sup>2</sup> As some confusion took place, though much less than what was expected, and the servants and agents of the princesses withheld not some demonstrations of opposition, when the jaghires were taken away; this was called resistance: and Mr. Hastings was willing it should appear that this was heinous guilt, and that only in punishment of this guilt the resolution of seizing their money was adopted. See Letter of Governor-General and Council to the Court of Directors, 11th of February, 1782; Tenth Report, *ut supra*, Appendix, No. 5). He himself, however, has furnished sufficient proof, that the resolution was adopted before the resumption of the jaghires was begun. "It may be necessary," he says, in his letter dated at Suragegurrah, on the Ganges, 23rd of January, 1782, "in this place to inform you, that in addition to the resolution of resuming the Begums' jaghires, the Nabob had declared his resolution of reclaiming all the treasures of his family which were in their possession, and to which by the Mohammedan laws he was entitled. This resolution I have strenuously encouraged and supported.... I have required and received the Nabob's promise, that whatever acquisitions shall be obtained from the issue of these proceedings, it shall be primarily applied to the discharge of the balance actually due from him to the Company." Tenth Report, *ut supra*, Appendix, No. 6; and Minutes of Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 2078). Before the acquiescence of the Nabob could be procured to the execution of the plan for resuming the jaghires, viz., on the 6th of December, 1781, the Resident writes to Mr. Hastings as follows: "Your pleasure respecting the Begums, I have learnt from Sir Elijah; and the measure heretofore proposed will soon follow the resumption of the jaghires. From both, or indeed from the former alone, I have no doubt of the complete liquidation of the Com-



BOOK V. and the Resident, with a body of English troops, proceeded  
 CHAP. VIII. towards the abode of the princesses at Fyzabad, where  
 1781. they arrived on the 8th of January. The first days were  
 spent in demands and negotiations. On the 12th the  
 troops were ordered to storm the town and the castle, but  
 little or no opposition was made ; for no blood was shed  
 on either side ; and the troops took possession of all the  
 outer enclosure of the palace of one of the princesses, and  
 blocked up the other.

Still, however, the female apartments were unviolated, and the treasure was not obtained. The difficulty was to lay hands on it without the disgrace of profaning and polluting the sacred precinct. The principal agents of the princesses were two aged personages of great rank and distinction, who had been in high trust and favour with the late Nabob ; the eunuchs, Jewar Ali Khan, and Behar Ali Khan. It was resolved to put those personages in confinement, and apply to them other severities, in order that the Begums might, by their compassion, be moved to give up the treasure ; or that the eunuchs themselves should be compelled, by their sufferings, to give up what was in their own custody, and use their influence with the princesses to resign what they possessed. By the torture of one party, money was to be extorted from another. The cruel lessons of Eastern despotism were well acquired by Englishmen.<sup>1</sup>

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pany's balance." These expressions apply so necessarily to the seizure of the treasures, that they can be applied to nothing else. In another letter to the Governor-General, on the following day, the Resident alludes to the same measure in the following terms : " His Excellency talks of going to Fyzabad, for the purpose heretofore mentioned, in three or four days ; I wish he may be serious in his intention ; and you may rest assured I shall spare no pains to keep him to it." The representation which was made, both in this letter to the Directors, and in the defence which Mr. Hastings first presented to the House of Commons, that the opposition of the Begums to the seizure of their jaghires, was the cause on account of which the treasure was forcibly taken away from them, Mr. Hastings in a second defence retracted, affirming that the assertion was a blunder. See this defence, Minutes of Evidence at the Trial, p. 366. It was attempted to account for the blunder, by stating that the first evidence was not written, and hardly examined by Mr. Hastings. According to this account, his blood was very cool upon the subject of his accusation, notwithstanding the loud complaints he so frequently preferred of the mental torture which it inflicted upon him.—M.

What this last remark imports is not very clear. The fact was, that a very few days were allowed to reply to charges of most voluminous extent. It was wholly impossible for one person, unaided, to compose a reply to each head of accusation. Hastings wrote some of the answers, his friends wrote others, of which he approved upon a cursory perusal ; it is more wonderful that so few mistakes, than that any, should have been made.—W.

<sup>1</sup> This is quite unauthorized. No person was " tortured ;" and whatever punishments were inflicted were not the acts of Englishmen. Except as

The expedient was attended with success. The Begums, BOOK V.  
or rather the elder of the two, in whose possession, as head CHAP. VIII.  
of the female department, the treasure was placed, was  
wrought upon by these proceedings to make a surrender ;  
and money was paid to the English resident to the amount  
of the bond given to the Company by the Nabob for his  
balance of the year 1779-80. 1782.

The eunuchs were not yet released. Another balance remained, for the year 1780-81. Money for the discharge of this remaining debt was also demanded of the Princess. "She declared with apparent truth," says the Resident, "that she had delivered up the whole of the property in her hands, excepting goods ; which, from the experience," he adds, "of the small produce of the sale of a former payment made by her in that mode, I refused, as likely to amount, in my opinion, to little or nothing." Money, however, was absolutely required ; and new severities were employed. To the officer guarding the eunuchs, the following letter was addressed by the Resident, dated the 20th of January, 1782." "Sir, when this note is delivered to you, I have to desire, that you order the two prisoners to be put in irons, keeping them from all food, &c., agreeable to my instructions of yesterday. (Signed) Nath. Middleton."

The sufferings to which they were thus exposed, drew from the eunuchs the offer of an engagement for the payment of the demanded sum, which they undertook to complete, within the period of one month, from their own credit and effects. The engagement was taken, but the confinement of the eunuchs was not relaxed ; the mother and grandmother of the Nabob remained under a guard ; and the Resident was commanded, by Mr. Hastings, to make with them no settlement whatsoever. In the mean time, the payment upon the bond extorted from the eunuchs was begun ; the Begums delivered what they declared was the last remaining portion of their effects, including down to their table utensils ; and the Resident himself reported, "that no proof had yet been obtained of

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guards in the service of the Vizir, they had nothing whatever to do with the proceedings ; and the severities adopted were the acts of the Nabob and his ministers. The orders for their enforcement were addressed to the officers on duty, through the Resident, but they originated with the Nabob.—W.



BOOK V. their having more." Before the 23rd of February, 1782, CHAP. VIII. upwards of 500,000*l.* had been received by the Resident for the use of the Company; and there remained on the extorted bond a balance, according to the eunuchs, of 25,000*l.*; and of no more than 50,000*l.* according to the Resident. The prisoners entreated for their release, declaring their inability to procure any further sums of money while they remained in confinement; but expressing a confident hope of being able to raise the balance required, if they were allowed to go abroad among their friends, and solicit their assistance. So far from any relaxation of their sufferings, higher measures of severity were enjoined. On the 18th of May, after they had lain two months in irons, the officer who commanded the guard under which they were confined, wrote to the Resident in the following words: "The prisoners, Behar Ali Khan, and Jewar Ali Khan, who seem to be very sickly, have requested their irons might be taken off for a few days, that they might take medicine, and walk about the garden of the place where they are confined. Now, as I am sure that they will be equally secure without their irons as with them, I think it my duty to inform you of this request. I desire to know your pleasure concerning it." The nature of the orders under which the Resident acted, rendered it necessary for him to refuse the smallest mitigation of their torture. Nay, within a few days, that is, on the 1st of June, other terrors were held up to them. They were threatened to be removed to Lucknow, where, unless they performed without delay, what they averred themselves unable to perform, they would not only be subjected to still severer coercion, but called upon to atone for other crimes. As these crimes were not specified, the threat was well calculated to act upon their fears. It involved the prospect of unbounded punishment; any infliction, in short, for which persons with arbitrary power in their hands could find or feign a pretence. Several expedients were offered, both by the prisoners and the Begums, who were alarmed at the prospect of losing, by removal, their confidential servants. These expedients were not treated as objectionable, on any other score except that of time. They were rejected. The prisoners were removed to Lucknow, and cruelties inflicted upon them, of which the

nature is not disclosed, but of which the following letter, addressed by the assistant-resident to the commanding officer of the English guard, is a disgraceful proof. "Sir, the Nabob having determined to inflict corporal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see proper."

BOOK V.  
CHAP. VIII.  
1722.

All the measures, however, of severity which could be devised, proved unavailing, though the women of the Zenana were at various times deprived of food till they were on the point of perishing for want. The rigours went on increasing till the month of December, when the Resident, convinced, both by his own experience, and the representation of the officer commanding the guard by which the princesses were coerced, that every thing which force could accomplish was already performed, and that if any hope remained of further payments, it was by lenient methods alone they could be obtained, removed, of his own authority, the guard from the palaces of the Begums, and set at liberty their ministers. As endeavours had been used to make the severities appear the act of the Nabob, so the Resident strove to make the favour appear the bounty of the man by whom the English sceptre was swayed; declaring to the Begums, that it was the Governor-General from whom the relief had been derived, and that he "was the spring from whence they were restored to their dignity and consequence." The letter in which the commanding officer reported the execution of the order of release, exhibits what no other words can express. "I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant; and, in consequence, immediately enlarged the prisoners, Behar Ali Khan, and Jewar Ali Khan, from their confinement, a circumstance that gave the Begums, and the city of Fyzabad in general, the greatest satisfaction. In tears of joy, Behar and Jewar Ali Khan expressed their sincere acknowledgments to the Governor-General, his Excellency the Nabob Vizir, and to you, Sir, for restoring them to that invaluable blessing, liberty; for which they would ever return the most grateful remembrance: and at their request, I transmit you the enclosed letters. I wish you had been present at the



BOOK V. enlargement of the prisoners. The quivering lips, with  
 CHAP. VIII. the tears of joy stealing down the poor men's cheeks, was  
 1782. a scene truly affecting. If the prayers of these poor men  
 will avail, you will at the last trump be translated to the  
 happiest regions in heaven."<sup>1</sup>

Of the transactions of Mr. Hastings with the Nabob at Chunar, another feature still remains. A present was offered; a present of a sum of no less than ten lacs, or 100,000*l.* sterling; and, notwithstanding the Company's laws against presents—notwithstanding the acknowledged distress of the Nabob, and his inability to pay the debt he owed to the Company, it was accepted. The Nabob was totally unprovided with the money: the gift could be tendered only in bills, which were drawn upon one of the great bankers of the country. As the intention of concealing the transaction should not be imputed to Mr. Hastings, unless as far as evidence appears,<sup>2</sup> so in this case the disclosure cannot be imputed to him as virtue,

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Resident, dated Fyzabad, 5th of December, 1782. See Tenth Report, *ut supra*, and Minutes of Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 348, 725. Appendix to 2nd Art. of Charge, p. 78, 97, 43, 172.—M.

The Eunuchs were, no doubt, very happy to be released from confinement, but during the greater part of the time it was little more than nominal. They resided in a spacious and commodious house, belonging to one of themselves. They had all their servants about them, no restriction was placed on their food, and they were allowed to receive visitors. For about three months they had irons on their legs, but even then they could walk in the garden, and their fetters were removed when they returned from Lucknow, in August. The two Begums, the grandmother and mother of the Nabob, were subjected to no hardships, nor indignities, except a guard at the gate of the palace. So little did they suffer, that their faithful adherents, the two Eunuchs, were desirous they should be made to apprehend something worse—their forcible removal from Fyzabad. The officer in command writes to the Resident, "The *Cajahs* (the two Eunuchs) one day told me that if I would pitch the Begum's camp equipage, and desire her to prepare for an immediate journey, she would probably pay the balance due." With regard to the distress for provisions, suffered by the inmates of the Khurad Mahal, the inferior women of Shuja-ad-Dowlah's Zenana, it appears to have been, in some respects, accidental, and was one in which the English were not implicated; their maintenance was by assignments upon the revenues of a particular district, which revenues were ill-collected, and the native officer, whose business it was to provide the establishment with supplies, was deficient in the means. Whether there was any design in this, or what object was to be effected by it, is not very obvious; but it was not a case in which the English authorities could with propriety interfere. Major Gilpin, the commandant of the guard, however, advanced 10,000 rupees for the expenses of the Mahal. Evidence of Captain Jaques and Major Gilpin.—Minutes of Evidence, 849-910. Nothing could be more grossly unjust than to impute the sufferings which were thus occasioned, and which were most preposterously and falsely exaggerated, to the purposes or orders of Hastings.

<sup>2</sup> The removal just before of the Company's agent, Mr. Bristow, and the appointment of a private agent of his own, ought constantly to be treated as a ground of suspicion; because it is exactly what a man with rapacious intentions would have performed.

since no prudent man would have risked the chance of discovery which the publicity of a banker's transactions implied. Mr. Hastings informed the Directors of what he had received, in his letter dated the 20th of January, 1782; and in very plain terms requested their permission, as a reward for his services, to make the money his own.<sup>1</sup>

In the beginning of 1782, when little or no progress had been made in realizing the sums of money which the Governor-General expected from his arrangements with the Nabob, he began to express, in a strain of unusual severity, his disapprobation of the Resident, Mr. Middleton: either really dissatisfied with him, under the failure of his efforts; or, by a concerted plan, anticipating the commands of the Directors for the restoration of Bristow, by removing the confidential agent, now when the confidential transactions were closed, that the restoration of Bristow might carry the appearance of his own act, and receive its completion before the commands of the Directors should arrive.<sup>2</sup> Manifesting extreme anxiety for the money, on account of which he had ventured on disreputable ground, "the agreement," he said, "which I concluded with the Vizir, has yet served only to gratify revenge, or some concealed interest, and to make me odious to my own countrymen."<sup>3</sup> The Resident had at first suggested

<sup>1</sup> Letter of the Governor-General, Eleventh Report, ut supra, Appendix C, No. 1. Why he should have wished for his reward out of this, rather than any other portion of the Company's money, at first strikes the mind as obscure. But a very appropriate reason may be supposed. Drawn from any of the known sources of the Company's revenue, the money must have appeared in their accounts, and could not be given to the Governor-General without the consent of the Company at large. The assent of the Directors obtained, the gift of the Nabob might have never appeared in any account, no consent of the Company at large have been sought, and the donation appropriated by the Governor-General without the knowledge of the public.

<sup>2</sup> The complaints against Middleton are exposed to the suspicion of insincerity; 1, by their unreasonableness; 2, by the conformity of the artifice to the character of Mr. Hastings; 3, by its great utility for the interest of his reputation, as well as of his pride and consequence; 4, by the continued and very extraordinary subservience of Middleton, afterwards, to the views of Hastings, notwithstanding the serious injury which he now sustained at his hands.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Middleton, dated Benares, 1st of January, 1782. Extracts from Papers (in No. 1, vol. i.) presented to the House of Commons, 13th of March, 1786, p. 52. The Governor-General, showing a keen sensibility to the imputations on his character to which the transactions in Oude exposed him, ("I must desire," said he, "that your letters, upon all official and public subjects, may be official; I cannot receive any as private, and my reputation and character have been too far committed to admit of an intercourse which I cannot use as authority") seemed to think that the success of the measure, the money in hand, would sanctify the means. The rule, he well knew, too generally holds.



BOOK V. his doubts, whether the force which he could employ in  
 CHAP. VIII. the resumption of the Jaghires, would be sufficient to  
 overcome the opposition which he anticipated. "I judged  
 1782. it improper," says the Governor-General, "to expose a  
 service of such importance, either to the hazard of a defeat, or the chance of a delay; and therefore immediately issued orders for the march of Colonel Sir John Cumming, with his entire detachment, for the performance of it."<sup>1</sup> The Resident hastened to communicate his opinion, that the Nabob would be alarmed and disgusted at the march of this force into his dominions; that the payment of the detachment would be a breach of the immediate treaty, equivalent to an order for imposing upon him anew the expense of the temporary brigade; that a part of the Nabob's troops were equal to the service; and that a fortnight would suffice for its accomplishment. Under these representations, the Governor-General ventured not to continue the march of the detachment; but he declared to the Resident, that the contradictions in his statements covered them with doubts; and, if the Resident could not assure him of his perfect competence to the service, that he would himself suspend his journey to the Presidency, and repair to Lucknow for the accomplishment of the business in person. The Resident declared his competence; and the Governor-General departed from Benares, on his way to Calcutta, on the 7th of January. He departed, however, "after much hesitation, and, I will confess," says he, "with some reluctance. I dread the imbecility and irresolution which too much prevail in the Nabob's councils, and must influence, in some degree, both the conduct of the Resident and the Minister; and I consider the impending measure of too much consequence to be exposed to the risk of a disappointment." The Resident had stated, that the Governor-General had not by him been understood as intending the reformation, this year, of the Nabob's military establishment, or as expecting a present supply to the Company's treasury. "These," says the Governor-General, in his letter of 3rd January, "are fresh instances of what I have had too frequent cause to complain of, your total inattention to my instruc-

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Governor-General to the Council, dated 23rd of January 1782; Tenth Report, Appendix, No. 6.

tions." He then repeats to the Resident the passage in his instructions, in which he told him, that "to enable the Nabob to discharge his debt to the Company in the shortest time possible, was the chief object of his negotiation:" that the Jaghires should be appropriated to that purpose: and that the reform of the troops should take place immediately after the settlement of the sum to be allowed for the personal and domestic expenses of the Nabob.<sup>1</sup> But these expressions are vague, and necessarily express no more than a very eager desire for despatch; and the Resident, for aught that appears in the words, might be well justified in the conclusion which the Governor-General thought proper to condemn.

Mr. Middleton continued the exertions, and practised all the severities, which have already been described, for extorting the money which the Governor-General demanded. Yet he was formally accused by the Governor-General on the 23rd of September, and pronounced guilty of remissness in his duty; when Mr. Bristow was appointed to fill the office from which, before the recent transactions, he had just been removed. In the meantime, that is, on the 6th of May preceding, Major Palmer had been sent to Oude, as the private agent of Mr. Hastings; and various new demands were urged upon the dependent Prince. The current annual claims varied from seventy to one hundred and thirty lacs per annum, previous to the time of Middleton's appointment in 1781. The receipts of the Resident, in discharge of those claims, varied from sixty to eighty lacs per annum, whence the balance of debt perpetually increased. At the time of concluding the treaty between the Nabob and Hastings at Chunar, that balance appeared to stand at forty-four lacs. The Resident, instead of eighty lacs, which before was the maximum of the annual payments, realised one crore and forty-six lacs. By demands, however, urged by Major Palmer to the amount of eighty-two lacs, and claims of unknown balances, which appeared on adjusting the books of the Presidency, the sums, of which payment in that year was required of the Nabob, exceeded considerably two crores and a-half; that is, were at least equal to twice the annual revenue of the

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from Papers, ut supra, p. 53; Tenth Report, ut supra, Appendix, No. 6.

BOOK V. whole country.<sup>1</sup> In vindicating himself from the charge  
CHAP. VIII. of remissness, in seizing the treasures of the Begums, Mr.

1782.

Middleton shows, that not only had he been successful in regard to the ultimate acquisition, but that no unnecessary time had intervened, and that no instrument of coercion, except the disgraceful one of violating the apartments and the persons of the Princesses, had been left unemployed. "The Nabob," he says, "was son to the Begum we were to proceed against: a son against a mother must at least save appearances: circumstances sufficiently marked the English as the principal movers in the business: the favourable occasion was not missed to persuade the Nabob that we instigated him to dishonour his family for our benefit: I had no assistance to expect from the Nabob's ministers, who could not openly move in the business: in the East, it is well known, that no man, either by himself or his troops, can enter the walls of a Zenana—scarcely in the case of acting against an open enemy—much less an ally—a son against his own mother. The outward walls, and the Begum's agents, were all that were liable to immediate attack: they were dealt with—and successfully, as the event proved."<sup>2</sup>

The reply which is made by the Governor-General to this defence is remarkable. As usual with the Governor-General, it is mysterious and equivocal. But if anything can be gathered from it, they are the two following things: that he did intend that Mr. Middleton should have violated the Zenana; and that not having acted in that manner, Mr. Middleton, his own chosen and confidential agent, might, both by himself and by others, be suspected of having betrayed his duty for bribes. "I was pointed," says the Governor-General, "in my orders to Mr. Middleton, that he should not allow any negotiation or forbearance, when he had once employed the Company's influence or power in asserting the Nabob's claims on the Begums. My principal, if not sole inducement, for this order, which, with the instructions following it, was as

<sup>1</sup> "The Nabob's net revenue," (says Mr. Middleton, Defence to the Governor-General and Council; Extracts from Papers in No. 1, vol. ii., presented to the House of Commons, 13th March, 1786, p. 2.) "to my knowledge, never exceeded a crore and a half, but generally fell very short of that sum." The Governor-General disavowed the demands which were made by his private agent, Palmer, and other remissions took place.—*Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 3.



absolute as it could be expressed, was—to prevent the imputation which is too frequently, with whatever colour of reason, cast on transactions of this nature, begun with demands of sums of money to an enormous amount, supported with a great military parade and denunciations of vengeance for a refusal, and all relenting into the acceptance of personal submission and promise of amendment: in plainer words, I did not choose to be made the instrument of private rapacity, if any such design existed; nor to expose myself to the obloquy of it, if such a design did not exist.”<sup>1</sup> The Governor-General, however, nowhere said to Mr. Middleton, You shall enter the Zenana itself, if respect for it prove any obstruction to your designs. And it would have been equally easy for him to have condemned the Resident had he understood his orders in that invidious sense, as it was, according to the sense in which he did understand them. If the Resident had been guilty of the violation, and a storm of odium had arisen, the political conduct of the Governor-General lays sufficient ground for the presumption, that he would not have scrupled to form for himself a screen out of his own ambiguity.<sup>2</sup>

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Upon the intelligence received of the recall of Mr. Bristow, and the appointment of Mr. Middleton to the office of Resident with the Vizir, previous to the memorable journey to Benares, the Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General and Council in the following terms:—“Equally extraordinary, and unwarrantable, have been your proceedings respecting Mr. John Bristow. He was appointed Resident at Oude in December, 1774. In December, 1776, he was recalled, without the shadow of a charge being exhibited against him. By our letter of the 4th of July, 1777, we signified our disapprobation of the proceedings against Mr. Bristow, and directed that he should be restored to his station; which direction we confirmed by our subsequent letter of the 23rd of December, 1778. Mr. Bristow arrived in India in February, 1780, and in October of the same year it was resolved by

<sup>1</sup> Governor-general's Minute on Mr. Middleton's Defence, 21st October, 1783. Ibid. p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Hastings intended that his orders should be obeyed. It was for his agents to adopt the least objectionable mode of executing them. This is all that can be fairly inferred from his instructions.—W.



BOOK V. your Board, that Mr. Bristow should return to Oude ; but  
 CHAP. VIII. that his appointment should be limited solely to the con-  
 duct of political negotiations, Mr. Middleton being at the  
 1782. same time nominated to settle pecuniary matters with the  
 Vizir. On the 21st of May, 1781, upon receiving a letter  
 from the Vizir, expressing his desire that Mr. Bristow  
 should be removed from his court, he was again recalled.  
 But, without entering into the consideration of this matter,  
 and in order to vindicate and uphold our own authority,  
 we do hereby positively direct that Mr. Bristow do forth-  
 with proceed to Oude, in the station of our Resident there.  
 You are likewise to observe, that we shall not suffer any  
 other person to proceed to Oude, for the management of  
 finance, one person being, in our opinion, sufficient to  
 transact our business there as principal in both these  
 departments.”<sup>1</sup>

Along with the reprobation of the recall, and command  
 for the restoration of Mr. Bristow, a similar reprobation  
 and command arrived from the Court of Directors re-  
 specting Mr. Fowke, as Resident at Benares. The Governor-  
 General, claiming a latitude in disobeying the orders of  
 the Company, when those orders were “destructive to  
 their own affairs ;” and alleging that the diminution of  
 authority of the Governor-General, in displaying to the  
 eyes of India the defeat of his intentions, even with respect  
 to his own agents, was so destructive ; insinuating also,  
 besides these general, some particular objections, of which  
 he spoke in the following mysterious terms : “My present  
 objection to his appointment I dare not put upon record,  
 the Members of the Board individually know it ;” opposed  
 obedience to the Company’s injunctions. The other Mem-  
 bers, however, of the Board, consisting of Mr. Stables, Mr.  
 Macpherson, Mr. Wheler, and Sir Eyre Coote, were of a  
 different opinion ; they declared that, where the commands  
 of the Directors were precise and peremptory, they con-  
 ceived themselves to have no latitude of choice ; and Mr.  
 Fowke received his appointment. The arrangement which  
 the Governor-General had made for the management of  
 the affairs of Benares had, as usual, disappointed his pe-  
 cuniary expectations ; and his dread of blame on the

<sup>1</sup> Company’s General Letter to Bengal. 28th August, 1782 ; Tenth Report, ut  
 supra, Appendix, No. 8.

score of the transactions, to which his journey had given birth, seems upon this head to have rendered his irascibility peculiarly keen. The storm of his indignation fell upon the person into whose hands the collection of the revenues had fallen, the father of the newly-made Raja. "I feel myself," said Hastings, "and may be allowed on such an occasion to acknowledge it, personally hurt at the ingratitude of this man, and at the discredit which his ill-conduct has thrown upon my appointment of him. He has deceived me : he has offended against the government which I then represented." The "personal hurts" of the Governor-General seem but too frequently to have prompted the measures of his administration. If he was "personally hurt," he was ill-qualified to assume the function of a judge. The Naib had failed in raising all the money which had been imposed as tribute upon the province. Had the tribute not been, as it was, too large, dismissal from his office might appear to be a sufficient visitation for his offence. He was also deprived of lands, thrown into prison, and threatened with death, by the sole authority of Mr. Hastings, who did not so much as communicate the measures to his Council till after they were passed ; while the Naib in vain represented, that the tribute exceeded the means of the country ; that the ordinary receipts had been diminished by a drought ; and that, from a severe illness, he had, during two months, been incapable of attending to the painful and laborious duties of his office.<sup>1</sup>

Among the articles in the treaty, formed by the Governor-General with the Vizir at Chunar, one related to the Nabob Fyzoolla Khan. This was the chief who survived the ruin of the Rohilla nation in 1774, and who, having occupied a strong post on the hills, concluded a treaty, under the sanction and guarantee of the English government, by which he received in jaghire the country of Rampore and some other districts of Rohilcund, estimated at a revenue of fifteen lacs of rupees. "From the month of October, 1774, to the latter end of February, 1778," says the Governor-General, "we had no reference made to us relative to Fyzoolla Khan ; but on the 25th of February, 1778, we received a letter from Mr. Middleton, in which he informed us, that reports had prevailed

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<sup>1</sup> See the Minutes of Evidence upon the Benares Charge.

BOOK V. at Lucknow, that Fyzoolla Khan retained in his service a  
 CHAP. VIII. greater body of troops than were specified in the treaty of  
 1774, and that he had given protection and encouragement  
 1782. to Zabita Khan's defeated army. Mr. Middleton, in the  
 same letter, told us that he did not pay much attention to  
 these reports; but added — that the Nabob's oppressive  
 and unjust conduct, in various instances, might induce  
 Fyzoolla Khan to form connexions, and to engage in  
 schemes, incompatible with his duty and allegiance to the  
 Vizir."

The treaty which had been formed between Fyzoolla Khan and the Vizir, in 1774, commonly known by the name of the treaty of Lal Dang, had been signed by the English Commander-in-Chief, in the name of his nation, as both a party to the transaction, and guarantee of the engagement. Distrusting the faith of the Nabob, and alarmed by the preceding imputations, which he justly regarded as proofs that the wish was formed to dispossess him of his country, Fyzoolla Khan endeavoured to assure himself more completely of the protection of the English; and, as if the signature of the commanding officer was not sufficiently binding, made earnest application to have the treaty ratified by the Governor-General and Council. 'Upon this subject,' says Mr. Hastings, "I had frequent applications from him. But the guarantee appeared to me unnecessary, except as it would afford great satisfaction to Fyzoolla Khan; for our government must have interfered, if the Nabob Vizir had attempted to encroach upon the rights which Fyzoolla Khan enjoyed under his treaty with the Vizir. Mr. Middleton deputed Mr. D. Barwell to Rampore, the residence of Fyzoolla Khan. Mr. Barwell transmitted to Mr. Middleton a very particular account of Fyzoolla Khan's conduct, which appeared to have been in no instance contrary to his engagements; and in the month of April, his treaty with the Nabob Vizir was guaranteed by the Company, agreeably to his earnest and reiterated requests. By whose suggestions doubts were instilled into the mind of Fyzoolla Khan, as to the validity of the treaty which Colonel Champion had witnessed, I know not." On the occasion of the guarantee a present of elephants, horses, and other articles, with a lac of rupees, or 10,000*l.* sterling was made to the Nabob,



and one of a similar sum, or another lac, to the Com- BOOK V.  
pany.

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This transaction was soon followed by another. In the same year intelligence was received of a war between England and France. Fyzoolla Khan, "being indirectly sounded," displayed the greatest readiness to assist. He was under no obligation to afford a single man; but, at the suggestion of the Resident at Oude, made an offer of all his cavalry, 2000 strong, and actually furnished 500. The Governor-General, on the 8th of January, 1779, wrote to him, "that in his own name, as well as that of the Board, he returned him the warmest thanks for this instance of his faithful attachment to the Company and the English nation."

In the treaty of Lal Dang, were the three following articles: "That Fyzoolla Khan should retain in his service 5000 troops, and not a single man more: that with whomsoever the Vizir should make war, Fyzoolla Khan should send two or three thousand of his troops, according to his ability, to join him: and that if the Vizir should march in person, Fyzoolla Khan should attend him with his forces."

In November, 1780, the Governor-General and Council recommended to the Vizir to demand, that is, the Governor-General and Council did themselves demand, of Fyzoolla Khan, to furnish a body of 5000 horse, "as the quota stipulated by treaty for the service of the Vizir." The treaty, however, did not stipulate for 5000, but only for 2000, or 3000, according to his ability; and not for *horse*, but *troops*, of which not the whole, but the usual proportion in horse, equity of construction, could by any means, require: and the troops were not for the service of the Vizir, but of the Company.<sup>1</sup> With the strongest expressions of duty and allegiance, Fyzoolla Khan represented, that his whole force was by treaty limited to 5000 men; of which 2000 were horse, and 3000 foot; that 3000 foot were required for the business of his government and col-

<sup>1</sup> This was too evident to be denied by any body; but it was expressly stated to Fyzoolla Khan, by the Vizir, on the letter in which he communicated the demand, that the demand was made by the direction of Mr. Hastings, and "not for his (the Vizir's), but the Company's service." (See the Twenty-Second Charge, moved by Mr. Burke,) Mr. Hastings himself says (see his answer to that charge), "Fyzoolla Khan was under no engagement to furnish us with a single man, *nor did I ever demand a man from him.*" True, in sound, us usual with Mr. Hastings; false in substance.



BOOK V. lections ; but the whole was at the command of the Vizir  
 CHAP. VIII. and the Company. When this answer was received, the  
 1782. Governor-General, who, together with Mr. Wheeler, constituted the whole Board, and by his casting vote united in his own person all the powers of government, declared upon record, that "The Nabob Fyzoolla Khan had evaded the performance of his part of the treaty between the late Nabob Suja-ul-Dowla and him, to which the Honourable Company were guarantees, and upon which he was lately summoned to furnish the stipulated number of troops, which he is obliged to furnish on the condition by which he holds the jaghire granted to him."

In defence of this procedure, Mr. Hastings states, that the Company was environed with difficulties : the burden of the Mahratta war ; the alarming progress of Hyder Ali in the Carnatic ; the march of the Berar army into Cuttack : and the prospect of an armament from France : That Sir Eyre Coote, before departing for Madras, recommended application to Cheyte Sing for a body of horse to cover the province of Bahar ; a battalion of sepoys ; 1000 of the Vizir's infantry ; and as many of Fyzoolla Khan's troops as could be procured, for the defence of Rohilcund. That the British officer who commanded in that district complained by letter of having with him only 500 of that chieftain's horse, though, "in his agreement with government, he was obliged to keep up 500 troops for assisting in the defence of Rohilcund : " That in the hurry of business, he, and the other Members of the Board, were deceived by this letter in the belief that 5000 was the quota defined ; and that horse, though not expressed in the treaty, was undoubtedly understood.<sup>1</sup>

A deception of such a kind, in matters of such importance, is not the most honourable sort of apology, even where it holds.<sup>2</sup> The demand, however, of the Board went far beyond the erroneous words of the letter. The letter spoke of only *troops*, not *horse* ; and it spoke of 5000, as only *to be kept up* ; not sent out of the country, for de-

<sup>1</sup> Hastings' Defence on the Charge respecting Fyzoolla Khan.

<sup>2</sup> The Vizir knew the terms of the treaty better ; and his letter was before Hastings, in which he admitted that the demand was a breach of that treaty. "Should Fyzoolla Khan mention any thing of the tenor of the treaty, the *first* breach of it has been committed by him. I will reproach him with having kept *too many troops*, and will oblige him to send the 5,000 horse."

duction was necessary of those required for indispensable service at home : And the declaration of one of the parties as to what was *understood* in a treaty, but not expressed, when there is no reason why it should not have been expressed, is an unavailing pretence, which, if admitted, would for ever place the weaker of two contracting parties at the mercy of the stronger. As to the dangers of the British government, urged by the Governor-General on this, as they are on so many other occasions, there is only one principle which can render them applicable in his defence ; viz. that they furnished sufficient grounds for taking from every prince or lord of the country, whatever any of them had not ability to prevent him from taking.

In proceeding to measures of compulsion, Hastings somewhat lowered his demand. On the 15th of February, 1781, he decreed in council, "that a deputation to Fyzoolla Khan should be immediately recommended to be sent by the Nabob Vizir, accompanied by an agent from Mr. Middleton in behalf of the English government, as guarantees, and that in presence of proper witnesses they should demand immediate delivery of 3000 cavalry ; and if he should evade or refuse compliance, that the deputies should deliver a formal protest against him for breach of treaty, and return, making their report to the Vizir, which Mr. Middleton was to transmit to the Board." The deputation was sent. Fyzoolla Khan, alleging both his inability and the express words of the treaty, offered "in addition to the 1000 cavalry already granted, to give 1000 more, when and wheresoever required, and 1000 foot ;" together with one year's pay in advance, and funds for the regular payment of them in future. The offer was rejected ; and the protest made. Hastings suspended all proceedings upon this protest at the Board ; met with the Nabob at Chunar ; and signed the following article relative to Fyzoolla Khan :—"That as Fyzoolla Khan has, by his breach of treaty, forfeited the protection of the English government, and causes, by his continuance in his present independent state, great alarm and detriment to the Nabob Vizir, he be permitted, when time shall suit, to resume his lands and pay him in money, through the Resident, the amount stipulated by treaty, after deducting the amount and charges of the troops he stands engaged

BOOK V.

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BOOK V. to furnish by treaty ; which amount shall be passed to the  
 CHAP. VIII. account of the Company during the continuance of the  
 present war."

1782.

What comes next to be stated is a characteristic circumstance. In transmitting the treaty of Chunar to his colleagues at the Board, Mr. Hastings accompanied each article with his own explanations and remarks. Those upon the article relating to Fyzoolla Khan, were as follows : "The conduct of Fyzoolla Khan in refusing the aid demanded, though not an absolute breach of treaty, was evasive and uncandid. The demand was made for 5000 cavalry ; the engagement in the treaty is literally for 5000 horse and foot ; Fyzoolla Khan could not be ignorant that we had no occasion for any succours of infantry from him, and that cavalry would be of the most essential service ; so scrupulous an attention to literal expression, when a more liberal interpretation would have been highly useful and acceptable to us, strongly marks his unfriendly disposition ; though it may not impeach his fidelity ; and leaves him little claim to any exertions from us, for the continuance of his jaghires. But I am of opinion that neither the Vizir's, nor the Company's interests would be promoted by depriving Fyzoolla Khan of his independency : and I have, therefore, reserved the execution of this agreement to an indefinite term ; and our government may always interpose to prevent any ill effects from it."

This imperiously calls for some observations. Mr. Hastings inserts, in an article of a solemn, public treaty, and sets his hand to the article, that a dependent of the Company has been guilty of a breach of treaty ; when at the same moment, he writes to his colleagues, that he has *not* been guilty of a breach of treaty, and that his fidelity is unimpeached. He gives to the Vizir, by equally solemn treaty, what the Vizir anxiously solicited, as an object of great desire, permission to dispossess Fyzoolla Khan ; yet he writes to his colleagues, that this was a fraudulent artifice, and that he never meant the permission to have any effect. The cause of Mr. Hastings, during a calm investigation, suffers exceedingly by his practice and skill in the arts of deceit ; because the fair colours, which he himself can throw upon his conduct, become thoroughly



untrustworthy, and, unless where they are supported by other evidence, cease to persuade.

When, too, Mr. Hastings informs his colleagues, that by the treaty in virtue of which Fyzoolla Khan possessed his jaghire, he was bound to afford 5000 troops, the information was glaringly incorrect; for the oppressed dependant had expressly appealed to the treaty, and offered obedience to the full extent of its bonds. Nay, by the treaty, he was rigidly bound not to retain in his service any more than 5000 troops both horse and foot; and had he sent 5000 horse to the service of the English, in addition to which he must have raised horse and foot for the business of his country, he might have been punished for breach of treaty, and on this pretext, deprived of his independence.

For several months after the return of the Vizir to his own capital, the Governor-General was importuned, by applications both from him and from the Resident, to permit the expulsion of Fyzoolla Khan. Towards the end of the year, 1782, a negotiation was opened for a pecuniary commutation of the military aid. Major Palmer was deputed to Rampore; and spent a month, as he himself significantly expresses it, "in order to effect by persuasion, what he could have obtained in an hour by threats and compulsions;" that is, a sum of fifteen lacs of rupees, on the condition of being exempted from all future claims of military service.

Endeavour was used to obtain from Fyzoolla Khan another sum of fifteen lacs; for which his jaghire, which was only a tenure for life, was to be converted into a perpetual hereditary possession. As this change in his tenure was supposed to be of the highest importance to Fyzoolla Khan, he very much surprised the English agent by declaring his inability to advance the money required, and declining the bargain. From the improving cultivation of the country, and apparent riches of the people, the effects of the good government which that lord had maintained, the English, as usual, believed, in company with the Viziir, that his riches were immense.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The result proved the unsoundness of his excuse, for he did pay the fifteen lacs and without any inconvenience. Of the rapid improvement of his resources, we have undeniable testimony in the life of Hafiz Rhemat Khan



BOOK V. Major Palmer bore his testimony, on this occasion, to  
 CHAP. VIII. the falsehood, too, of the imputations upon which the  
 1782. oppression of Fyzoolla Khan had been founded: That he had given encouragement to the desertion of the ryots of the Vizir; and that he had a greater number of troops than 5000. The numbers of the Rohilla people in this Country exceeded that amount; but Rohillas, in other than military employments, were not by the treaty forbidden. At any rate, the Major adds, "it does not appear that their number is formidable, or that Fyzoolla Khan could by any means subsist such numbers as could cause any serious alarm to the Vizir; neither is there any appearance of their entertaining any views beyond the quiet possession of the advantages which they at present enjoy."

It was an object with the Governor-General and Council, to convince the Court of Directors that the bargain they had made with Fyzoolla Khan was a good one, and the money obtained an ample compensation for the alienated right. They now, therefore, distinctly understood and affirmed, that Fyzoolla Khan was bound not to exceed the number of 5000 troops, in horse and foot, and to send to the service of the Vizir only two or three thousand *men*; which, to the Vizir, they said, was "a precarious and unserviceable right;" that "the rumours which had been spread of the hostile designs of Fyzoolla Khan, against the Vizir, were totally groundless; and if he had been inclined, that he had not the means to make himself formidable."<sup>1</sup> These expressions are to be contrasted with those

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It is there stated by Mustajat Khan, "When Fyzoolla Khan took possession of the territory granted to him by the treaty of Lolldong, he adopted every means in his power for increasing the cultivation, and, in a few years, so improved the country, that the produce was treble, or perhaps quadruple, the former amount. Being prudent in his expenditure, his coffers were well filled, and he was enabled to entertain a large proportion of the Afghans of Bareilly, Phillibheet, Ownla, etc., all of whom eagerly flocked to his standard," p. 130. That in all this Fyzoolla Khan acted wisely is not denied, but the tendency of his measures was as undeniably a violation of the spirit of the treaty, into which he had entered; and their success is a proof that his plea of inability to furnish either men or money was dishonest.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Secret Letter from Bengal, dated 5th of April, 1783; Extracts from Papers (in No. 2, vol. 1), presented to the House of Commons, ut supra, p. 44. In the Secret Letter from Bengal, dated 10th of March, 1783, the Governor-General and Council also say, "This," (the fifteen lacs) "is a valuable compensation for expunging an article of a treaty, which was of such a tenor, and so loosely worded, that the Vizir could never have derived any real advantage from it. The money will of course be received by the Company, in part liquidation of the Vizir's debt."

made use of, on the 1st of April, 1781, by the Assistant Resident Johnson ; who was sent for the purpose of making the protest, in case of the refusal of 3000 horse. On the hunt for appearances of guilt, he found them at every step ; and the very day after his arrival, reported, that “ the Rohilla soldiers, in the district of Rampore alone, were not less than twenty thousand.” With great caution should men in power receive from their agents reports by which their known wishes are flattered ; because the proportion of observers is lamentably small, who, in such cases, will not deceive themselves, and without any formed intention of mendacity, yet from the very lust of pleasing the men on whose favour or disfavour their prosperity or adversity depends, give them reports which will deceive them. It is necessary, in justice to Mr. Hastings, to add, that with respect to the permission, granted by the treaty of Chunar, to resume the jaghire of Fyzoolla Khan, he afterwards allowed that his conduct was the proper object of blame.<sup>1</sup>

It appears that the Vizir relented at a period rather early in the persecution of the Begums. Before the recall of Mr. Middleton, he wrote to the Governor-General several letters, on the particular subject of the resumption of the estates, and the confiscation of the treasures of the Princesses, and appears to have severely complained of the opprobrious part which he was compelled to perform. It was one of the rules of the Governor-General, to suppress as much as possible of any correspondence, of which the appearance would give him pain. These letters, accor-

<sup>1</sup> For the passage relating to Fyzoolla, see Parliamentary Papers, ut supra ; the Twenty-second Article of Charge presented by Mr. Burke ; the Answer of Mr. Hastings ; and the Tenth Report of the Select Committee.—M.

Hastings admits that in the anxiety and alarm, which he naturally suffered during the crisis of Cheit Sing's insurrection, he assented without due consideration, to the Vizir's views of dispossessing Fyzoolla Khan ; even then, however, he provided against their being precipitately realized, and what was the consequence ? They were never realized. It was therefore monstrous injustice to impeach him for concurrence in a measure that never took place, in consequence of his own precautions against its unreasonable accomplishment. That the expulsion of the Nabob of Rampore might in time become imperative was very probable, for there was no doubt, whatever may be pretended in the text, that the Nabob's troops and resources considerably exceeded those limits to which the treaty purposed to restrict him, and there was as little doubt of his hostility to the Vizir. The contingency was, however, obviated by a pecuniary levy, in consideration of which he was released from all obligations to furnish troops for the service of the Vizir. So little real injury was done to Fyzoollah Khan, by this arrangement, that he enjoyed a prosperous administration until his death, in the year 1794, during which his country became exceedingly flourishing and prosperous, and he left a large accumulated treasure to unworthy descendants.—W.



BOOK V. dingly, were not entered in the Company's records. But  
 CHAP. VIII. what he wrote to the Resident on the subject of them  
 1782. remains, and shows, that in his breast they excited the  
 highest resentment. He chose to consider them as not  
 the letters of the Vizir; whom he represents as too void  
 of character, to write anything of himself. He called  
 them the letters of the minister, "who," says he, "by an  
 abuse of his influence over the Nabob, he being, as he ever  
 must be, in the hands of some person, a mere cipher in his  
 hands, dared to make him assume a very unbecoming tone  
 of refusal, reproach, and resentment, in opposition to mea-  
 sures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my  
 authority."

He persisted in ascribing guilt to the Begums, and said,  
 "the severities which have been exercised towards them,  
 were most justly merited, by the advantage which they  
 took of the troubles in which I was personally involved  
 last year, to create a rebellion in the Nabob's govern-  
 ment;<sup>1</sup> and to complete the ruin which they thought was  
 impending on ours." "If it is the Nabob's desire to forget  
 and forgive their past offences, I have no objection to his  
 allowing them, in pension, the *nominal* amount of their  
 jaghires; but if he shall ever offer to restore their jaghires  
 to them, or to give them any property in land, after the  
 warning which they have given him, by the dangerous  
 abuse which they formerly made of his indulgence; you  
 must remonstrate, in the strongest terms, against it; you  
 must not permit such an event to take place; until this  
 government shall have received information of it, and shall  
 have had time to interpose its influence for the prevention  
 of it." On this, and on various other occasions, where the  
 Governor-General spoke of pensions with so much ease, he  
 well knew, that in the circumstances and with the dispo-  
 sition of the government of the Vizir, a pension, unless to

<sup>1</sup> When it suited the Governor-General he could assign the disturbance in Oude to very different causes. In a Minute [Bengal Secret Consultations, 10th December, 1783; Extracts from Papers (in No 2, vol iv.) presented to the House of Commons, upon the 13th day of March, 1786, p. 7], he says, "The Zemindars in the provinces of Oude, and in the other dominions of the Nabob, Asoph ul Dowlah, have ever been either in a state of actual rebellion, or bordering upon it; even in the time of the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, they could only be restrained by a military force superior to that which they could oppose to it." The instigations, surely of the Begums, was not then wanted to account for the little ferment which took place in Oude, upon the occasion of the explosion in Benares.

Englishmen whom he feared, little or nothing differed from a name. Nay more ; if the payment had been sure, the nominal revenue was but a portion of the actual proceeds ; and the Begums, of course, were to be robbed of all the rest. It was, in fact, from this robbery, namely, the revenue which the Nabob could extract from the estates of the Begums, beyond the pensions he would bind himself to pay them, that the money was to come, by which the distress of Mr. Hastings was to be relieved.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK V.  
CHAP. VIII.

1782.

The period at last arrived for the review by the Court of Directors, of the proceedings of their government in India, relative to the Begums. In their letters of the 14th of February, 1783, "It nowhere," say the Directors, "appears, from the papers at present in our possession, that the Begums excited any commotions previous to the imprisonment of Cheyte Sing, and only armed themselves in consequence of that transaction ; and it is probable that such a conduct proceeded from motives of self-defence under an apprehension that they themselves might likewise be laid under unwarrantable contributions." The Court of Directors, in consequence, gave their commands, that if, upon inquiry, it should appear that the Princesses had not been guilty of the practices of which Mr. Hastings accused them, their estates should be restored ; and an asylum offered them within the Company's territory. In obedience to this injunction, it was moved by Mr. Stables, a member of the Supreme Council, that the inquiry should be instituted.

The conduct pursued by the Governor-General is the next object of regard. He set himself in opposition to the inquiry ; and, having a majority of the Council on his side, he prevented it. The reasons by which he supported his opposition were as follows. He asserted, "that the reasons of the Court of Directors, if transmitted with the orders for the inquiry, will prove, in effect, an order for collecting evidence to the justification and acquittal of the Begums, and not for the investigation of the truth of the charges which have been preferred against them." Here

<sup>1</sup> Jagirs and estates are here confounded, although two very different things ; the Begums had no estates, and every principle of good government demanded the resumption of grants held upon the condition of military service, which only furnished a pretext for levying armed followers, and a means of defying the authority of the state.—W.



BOOK V. the insinuation is, that whenever, in India, the views of  
CHAP. VIII. government are known, all evidence tendered will be sure  
1782. to coincide with those views. The Governor-General  
ought to have reflected, that, if this be true, all the evidence which he produced against the Begums, Cheyte Sing, or any of the other parties, whom he pretended to punish under the colour of guilt. if in other respects less devoid of the essentials of proof than it really was, ought to be counted for nothing. Besides, it was neither necessary nor did the author of the proposal require, that "the reasons" of the Court of Directors should be transmitted with the order for inquiry. Mr. Hastings, in a further Minute asserted, that the inquiry would be fraught with "evils greater than any which exist in the consequences which have already taken place, and which time has almost obliterated." "If," said he, "I am rightly informed, the Nabob Vizir and the Begums are on terms of mutual good will, it would ill become this government to interpose its influence, by any act which might tend to revive their animosities, and a very slight occasion would be sufficient to effect it. They will instantly take fire on such a declaration, proclaim the judgment of the Court in their favour, demand a reparation of the acts, which they will construe wrong, with such a sentence warranting that construction, and either accept the invitation (to reside under the protection of the Company), to the proclaimed scandal of the Nabob Vizir, which will not add to the credit of our government, or remain in his dominions, but not under his authority, to add to his vexations and the disorders of the country, by continual intrigues and seditions. Enough already exists to affect his peace, and the quiet of his people. If we cannot heal, let us not inflame the wounds which have been inflicted." He added, "If the Begums think themselves aggrieved to such a degree as to justify them in an appeal to a foreign jurisdiction; to appeal to it against a man standing in the relation of son and grandson to them; to appeal to the justice of those who have been the abettors and instruments of their imputed wrongs; let us at least permit them to be the judges of their own feelings, and prefer their complaints, before we offer to redress them. They will not need to be prompted. I hope I shall not depart from the simplicity

of official language, in saying, the Majesty of Justice ought to be approached with solicitation, not descend to provoke or invite it, much less to debase itself by the suggestion of wrongs, and the promise of redress, with the denunciation of punishments, before trial, and even before accusation." If nothing remains to stain the reputation of Mr. Hastings, but the principles avowed in this singular pleading, his character, among the friends of justice, would be sufficiently determined.

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CHAP. VIII.  
1782.

Although the commands of the Court of Directors, respecting reparation to the Begums, were strengthened by a formal application from the Vizir, "requesting" (such are the words of Mr. Hastings, introducing the subject to the Board) "that he might be permitted to restore, to his grandmother and other relations, the jaghires which were taken from them the beginning of last year," the authority of the Governor-General was sufficient to prevent, at the present time, the adoption of any measure in their favour.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the severities practised upon the family of the Vizir, and the usurpation of his authority by Mr. Middleton, who even issued warrants upon his own authority for the resumption of the jaghires, Mr. Middleton was dismissed for want of rigour in pressing the demands of the English government ; and Mr. Bristow was appointed, under the implied as well as declared expectation, that he would supply what had been remiss in the conduct of his predecessor. Nor was this all. He was furnished with a set of instructions, from the hand of the Governor-General, bearing date the 23rd of October, 1782. In these instructions, in which he was particularly referred to the injunctions which Mr. Middleton had previously received, four objects were principally pointed out to his attention : 1st, "To limit, and separate the personal disbursements of the Vizir from the public accounts ; 2ndly, To reform the military establishment, reducing the troops to one uniform corps, and to the form, if possible, most useful to the Company, that of cavalry ; controlling even the appointment of officers, nay, "peremptorily opposing it," as often as the Vizir should persist in a choice which to the Resi-

<sup>1</sup> See the Fourth Article of Charge, and Mr. Hastings' Answer, with the Papers printed by the House of Commons, in 1786.

BOOK V. dent should appear objectionable ; 3rdly, To control, or  
 CHAP. VIII. rather to exercise, the power of appointing Aumils and  
 1782. collectors in the revenue department, it being reserved to  
 the Nabob's ministers to appoint them, with the concurrence of the Resident ; 4thly, To endeavour to reform the disgraceful state of the administration of justice.

The grand object of the English government was, to obtain from the Nabob the payment of the sums for which they had induced him to become bound. But such were the disorders of his administration, and such the effects of those disorders upon the population and produce of the country, that without great reforms this payment seemed impracticable, and without the virtual assumption of the powers of government into better hands than those of the Vizir and his agents, all reform was an object of despair. The government, accordingly, had been converted into a government of Englishmen, in fact ; conducted by the instrumentality of the Vizir and his agents, and under the forms of their authority. Of this, the points of instruction to Mr. Middleton, described above, are more than adequate proof.

In the administration of the Nabob, the principal organ went by the name of the Minister. The person raised to this office by the influence of the Governor-General was Hyder Beg Khan. The character and situation of this person, as described by Mr. Hastings himself, require to be noticed. In his instructions to Mr. Bristow, in October, 1782, he says : "Immediately on your arrival, sound the disposition of Hyder Beg Khan. His conduct has, for some time past, been highly reproachable. Till within these three months he possessed, without control, both the unparticipated and entire administration, with all the powers annexed to that government ; the Nabob being, as he ever must be in the hands of some person, a mere cipher in his." To so great a degree did Mr. Hastings represent the Vizir as being the mere tool of the minister, that he treated the very letters of the Vizir as literally the letters of the minister ; and spoke of him and of them in the following terms : "He has dared to use both the Nabob's name and even his seal affixed to letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or written from him without his knowledge." He then proceeded to state the necessity,



that this man, in whose hands the Vizir was a tool, should be merely a tool in the hands of the English Resident ; in other words, that the English Resident should wield substantially the powers of government. "I cannot omit," said he, "to repeat the sentiments which I expressed in the verbal instructions which I gave you at your departure, that there can be no medium in the relation between the Resident and the minister, but either the Resident must be the slave and vassal of the minister, or the minister at the absolute devotion of the Resident." He then describes him as the mere creature of the English government. "He exists," said the Governor-General, "by his dependence on the influence of our government ; and if he will submit to hold his office on such conditions as I require, I would prefer him to any other. At the same time, it will be necessary to declare to him, in the plainest terms, the footing and conditions on which he shall be permitted to retain his place, with the alternative of dismission, and a scrutiny into his past conduct, if he refuses. These conditions are described as follows : "In the first place, I will not receive from the Nabob, as his, letters dictated by the spirit of opposition—but shall consider every such attempt as his minister's and as an insult on our government. In the second place, I shall expect that nothing is done, in his official character, but with your knowledge and participation ; at the same time the first share of the responsibility will rest with you : the other conditions will follow distinctly in their places, because I consider you as responsible for them." The responsibility implies the power ; therefore the power was to exist in the Resident ; and any opposition, so much as by letter, that is, by complaint, was to be considered as an insult on the English government.

To the Minister, Hyder Beg, Mr. Hastings himself wrote in the following terms. "In answer to my letter Raja Gobind Ram received a perwanna from the Nawab, containing complaints and reproaches at my interference in his affairs, and his unwillingness to receive any agent from me. These sentiments, and these expressions, are neither consonant to the benevolence of the Nawab's temper, nor to the friendship which, I know, he possesses for me ;—but were dictated for other purposes, known to yourself only. They



BOOK V. are your sentiments, and your expressions ; and not the  
 CHAP. VIII. Nawab's. But my astonishment at the other parts of the  
 1782. perwanna is not to be expressed ; for it declares all I had said respecting the disordered state of the Nawab's government to be entirely false. Either these affirmations were dictated by the Nawab ; or written without his knowledge. If they were dictated by the Nawab, they were such as would not admit of a reply from me, in an immediate address to himself ; because I must have told him that he was deceived, and kept in utter ignorance of his own affairs, at the same time that the whole world, except himself, saw the condition they were in, and the destruction that was hanging over him. If the letter was written in the Nawab's name, but without his knowledge, what must have been your opinion of me, that could induce you to attempt so gross a deception upon my understanding ? In either case, your conduct is without excuse. Its object I plainly see. By the authority of the Nawab Vizir you mean your own. When you make the Nawab to complain of the usurpation upon that authority, and to assert his right to the uncontrolled exercise of it, the plain interpretation of this is, that you yourself lay claim to the usurpation of his authority, and to the uncontrolled exercise of it. And how has it been exercised ? I shall not repeat particulars, having already written to you fully upon them—and the subject is unpleasant. But I must tell you that such is their notoriety, that the report of them is echoed to me from all parts of Hindostan and the Deccan ; and the most alarming apprehensions are expressed by my agents, employed in the remote affairs of this government, lest they should attract the hostilities of other powers." <sup>1</sup>—Such, at the end of October, 1782, was the opinion declared by Mr. Hastings of the condition in which the government of Oude was kept in the hands of the Nabob and his Minister.

In pointing out to Mr. Bristow the establishment of new offices, for the business of the revenues, for reform in the administration of justice, for the appointment of new administrators, and the coercion of rebellious Zemindars ; as part of the objects, on the accomplishment of which, for

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General to Hyder Beg Khan, dated 20th October, 1782. Minutes, ut supra, p. 797.

the reform in the disorders in the Nabob's government, the desires of the Governor-General were fixed ; absolute performance was exacted at the hands of the Resident, without any other limitation to the exercise of his power, than what the rules of prudence, and "every ostensible and external mark of respect to the Nabob," might recommend.

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1782.

When the Resident had as yet been but a few months in office, a letter was written by the Vizir, dated the 28th of March, 1783, arrived, complaining, in the most bitter terms, of the assumption of his authority by the Resident. Instead of treating it, according to the terms of his paper of instructions, as the letter, "not of the Vizir, but of the Minister, and as an insult on the English government," the Governor-General received it with profound respect ; and, on the 21st of April, presented it, with the documents by which it was attended, to the Council, as a matter deserving their most serious regard. From the delicacy of the relation, in which, on account of former oppositions, he stood to Mr. Bristow, he professed a desire to be guided in his sentiments, on this occasion, by the sentiments of the Board. On the 19th of May, consultation upon the subject took place, when the reserve of the Governor-General disappeared. He declared, that "the facts, as stated in the Nabob's complaints, were usurpations of the authority, and even of the sovereignty, of the Nabob Vizir." But, what was more singular, he declared that his instructions to Mr. Bristow did not authorize any usurpation of that authority or sovereignty. And he proposed, even before Mr. Bristow should be heard in his defence, that certain proceedings of his, the objects of the Vizir's complaint, should be immediately revoked. The Council, however, rejected this proposition ; and only so far concurred with the Governor-General, as to send Mr. Bristow a copy of the papers, and require his defence. The tone of the Governor-General, upon this, rose very high. "The Governor-General," such were the terms of his minute, "desires it to be recorded, that he protests against the resolution of the Board, and will assign his reasons at large hereafter." What follows is still more remarkable. As if he had penned the instructions by his sole authority, and as if upon that authority alone their

BOOK V. validity rested, he declared them no longer of any force.  
 CHAP. VIII. The minute goes on: "He (the Governor-General) also  
 1783. desires, that as the instructions given by him to Mr Bristow have no longer any force, and as he solemnly disavows their authority, under any construction, for Mr. Bristow to exercise any control over the Nabob Vizir, or participation in the sovereignty of the Vizir's dominions, the Board will be pleased to cause such new instructions to be drawn out, and transmitted to Mr. Bristow, as they shall think proper." If the whole extent is admitted, of the exaggerating language of Mr. Hastings and the Nabob, which nevertheless very far exceeded the facts, the whole of his paper of instructions not only authorized, but commanded, a complete control over the Nabob Vizir, and not a participation only in the sovereignty, but the substantial exercise of the whole.<sup>1</sup>

On the 24th of July, Mr. Hastings complained to the Board, that Mr. Bristow had been guilty of disrespect to the Board, in not transmitting his defence; and on this occasion could not forbear alluding to an offence, which he appears never to have surmised without a purpose of punishment: "Perhaps," said he, "Mr. Bristow may wish to avail himself of the principle, which forbids that any man should be condemned unheard, to withhold his defence until he shall have exceeded the period which has been so repeatedly portended, for the close of the present government." On the 28th of the same month, he moved, "That Mr. Bristow, for disrespect to the Board, and disobedience of the written orders to him by the Board, on the 29th of May, be removed and recalled from his station and office at Lucknow." Yet Mr. Hastings had before him a letter of Mr. Bristow, dated on the 23rd of June, in the following words: "Since I had last the honour to address you, I have been confined to my room by indisposition. I am now somewhat recovered, and shall not fail to expedite my reply to your commands of the 22th ult.,

<sup>1</sup> It is memorable, that there is actually in his Paper of Instructions the following passage: "From the nature of our connexion with the government of Oude, from the Nabob's incapacity, and the necessity which will for ever exist (while we have the claim of a subsidy upon the resources of his country), of exercising an influence, and frequently substituting it entirely in the place of an avowed and constitutional authority in the administration of his government," &c.



which I have on this account been compelled to postpone." The Board refused to acquiesce in the precipitate condemnation recommended to them by their President; and soon after, the letter of Mr. Bristow, dated on the 30th day of July, arrived. The Resident either absolutely denied the facts which were asserted in the complaints of the Vizir, or represented the actions with which he was charged, as actions to the performance of which he was, by the tenor of his instructions, compelled, actions absolutely necessary to accomplish the ends which the English government had in view, actions attended with beneficial effects, and performed with all the delicacy possible towards the Vizir. The complaints he represented as flowing solely from the Minister, to whose interests all reform was averse, who had opposed it in every instance, with all the power of eastern subtlety, with all the power of a despotic influence tyrannically exercised over the helpless Vizir, and with all the effect which could be given to this power by a hold upon the ear of the Governor-General. On hearing this defence, the Council-General, with the exception of Mr. Hastings, the accuser, unanimously declared, that no misconduct on the part of Mr. Bristow had been proved; and, by their decision, pronounced a heavy condemnation of their chief. Nothing seems better supported, than the opinion which the minute of Mr. Macpherson expressed, "That Mr. Bristow has fully refuted the accusations advanced against him; and that, if they had in some degree been established, they would lie more against the Board than against Mr. Bristow, who continually advised them of his endeavours to carry their instructions into effect."

The Governor-General meditated an important change in the relations between the Nabob of Oude and the English government. He moved, that in conformity with the proposal of the Vizir, and of his Minister, the English residency should be withdrawn, and the joint security of the Nabob and the Minister taken for the discharge of the obligations which the Company held upon the government of Oude. In the instructions, to which reference has so frequently been made, of Hastings to Bristow, "The Nabob," it was said, "has repeatedly and bitterly complained of the indignity which he suffers in his authority, by the

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1782.



BOOK V. usurpation of the Company's residents ; and has repeatedly demanded, that whenever the Company's balance shall be completely discharged, he may be free from this vexation, that he may be permitted to pay the subsidy in ready money ; and that the assignments which have been granted to satisfy that demand may be restored him." The quarter from which this proposition proceeded, Mr. Hastings at the same time declared, was no secret to him. It proceeded, he said, from Hyder Beg Khan. He added, "It may not, however, be amiss to talk with the Minister on this subject ; to let him know that it is well understood to be a demand for substituting his authority in the place of the Company's, and to invest him with the sovereignty of the Vizir's dominions." These words are pregnant with meaning. In the first place they declare, that the authority exercised by the Company, embraced the sovereignty of the Vizir's dominions, though, for the sake of criminating Mr. Bristow, he could erect every interference in that sovereignty into an act of guilt ; and secondly, they declare, that to withdraw the English residency from Oude, was to deliver over the Vizir and his sovereignty into the hands of Hyder Beg, whose character he painted in the blackest colours. Yet, at the very moment when he was proposing to offer up this sacrifice of the Vizir and his sovereignty to the cupidity and tyranny of Hyder Beg Khan, he was not restrained from the glaring hypocrisy of expressing a deep concern for the indignity which he pretended the Vizir had sustained, by the part which the English Resident had acted, in endeavouring to reform his government, and check the malversations of the Minister by whom he was oppressed.

At the very time, however, of penning his instructions, Mr. Hastings stated that he had an inclination to the present measure. "I confess," says he, "that I did myself give encouragement to this proposition ; knowing at the same time the quarter from which it came, I mean from Hyder Beg Khan ; but willing to exonerate this government from the trouble and responsibility, and the Company from the disgrace, of whatever might attend the administration of the Nabob's government. I thought, too that it presented a sure prospect of the regular pay-

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ment of the current demands, by the penalty which would attend the failure, in the resumption of the former system of assignments, and in the personal claims which it would lay on the Minister. But his misconduct has since manifested itself in so many particular instances—besides the universal disorder of the country; and this is so alarming in its effects to our government, that I shall hesitate, until I have the surest and most satisfactory grounds, to recommend an acquiescence in such a measure.” What change there was in the grounds, except for the worse, in the few months between the time when this was written, and the date of his motion, does not appear. Another point is also remarkable. In the conversation which the Governor-General recommended to the Resident to hold with the Minister on this subject, he desired him to ask, provided the sovereignty of the Vizir’s dominions, according to the terms of his proposition, were transferred to him, “Whether, in the event of his involving our government in a new scheme of hostilities, by those which his mal-administration may produce, whether internally or by invasion in that country, he shall think himself in justice exempt from the personal vengeance which we may be disposed to exact from him.”

In the first letter of complaint, which was received from the Vizir against Mr. Bristow, the proposition for the removal of the residency, and the appointment of Hyder Beg Khan to the entire management of the country, was renewed; and Mr. Stables, in his Minute in Council on the 19th of May, 1783, declares, that this was the “great object which the minister, and” (the cipher in his hands) “his master, had in view, in preferring their complaints against the Resident.” Mr. Stables added, “In justice and candour to the Nawab Vizir and his minister, I think the Board ought explicitly to declare that they cannot, on any account, comply with the Vizir’s request, to grant him discretionary powers over his country, while such heavy debts remain due to the Company.” In the debate, too, in Council, of the 31st of July, after the proposition was formally moved by the Governor-General, it met with the opposition of all the other members of the Board. The tone of the Governor-General, however, after the opposition has lasted for a little time, grew so high, as to intimi-

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BOOK V. date his colleagues ; threatening them with the inconveniences of a divided administration, and the loss of his authority in the difficulties which attended the government of Oude. They were, therefore, induced to offer, on the 31st of December, to acquiesce in his proposal, provided he would take the whole responsibility of the measure upon himself. This, however, was a load which the Governor-General declined. It was afterwards explained, that responsibility with his fortune, or a pecuniary responsibility, was not understood. Responsibility, thus limited, which in fact was no responsibility at all, leaving nothing to be affected but his reputation, which it was impossible to exempt, he had no objection to undergo. On the 31st of December, it was determined, that the residency should be withdrawn ; on receiving the security of creditable bankers for the balance which the Nabob owed to the Company, and for the accruing demands of the current year.

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Many grounds of suspicion are laid in this transaction. From one remarkable fact, they derive the greatest corroboration. There is great reason to believe, that the letters which were written in the name of the Nabob, complaining of Bristow, were in fact suborned by the Governor-General, written in consequence of instructions, that is, commands secretly conveyed.

When Mr. Bristow was removed, just before the first journey of the Governor-General towards Oude, the removal was in like manner preceded by violent complaints from the Nabob. These complaints were suborned. Mr. Hastings himself, when proposing the return of Mr. Bristow in 1782, informs the Nabob's Vakeel, that "His Highness," meaning the Nabob, "had been well pleased with Mr. Bristow, and that he knew what the Nabob had written formerly was at the instigation of Mr. Middleton."<sup>1</sup> The instigation of Mr. Middleton was the instigation of Mr. Hastings.

Besides, it is in evidence, that this was not a singular case. It was the ordinary mode of procedure, established between Mr. Hastings and the Nabob. There was, it ap-

<sup>1</sup> Extract of an Arzee, written (27th August, 1782) from Raja Gobind Ram to the Vizir, by the Governor-General's directions. Minutes of Evidence, ut supra, p. 795.



1783.

pears, a regular concert, that the Nabob should never write a public letter respecting the residents or their proceedings, till he had first learned privately what Mr. Hastings wished that he should express, and that he then wrote accordingly. This appeared most fully, after the departure of Mr. Hastings, when the Nabob proposed to carry on the same practice with his successor. In a letter received on the 21st of April, 1785, "I desire," says the Vizir, "nothing but your satisfaction: and hope that such orders as relate to the friendship between the Company and me, and as may be your pleasure, may be written in your *private* letters to me through Major Palmer, in your letters to the Major, that he may, in obedience to your orders, properly explain them to me, and whatever may be settled he may first, in secret, inform you of it, and afterwards I may write to you, having learnt your pleasure—in this way, the secrets will be known to your mind alone, and the advice upon all the concerns will be given in a proper manner." The same thing is still more clearly expressed by the minister Hyder Beg Khan, on the same occasion. "I hope that such orders and commands as relate to the friendship between his Highness's and the Company's governments, and to your will, may be sent through Major Palmer in your own *private* letters, or in your letters to the Major, who is appointed from you at the presence of his Highness, that, in obedience to your orders, he may properly explain your commands, and whatever affair may be settled, he may first secretly inform you of it, and afterwards his Highness may, conformably thereto, write an answer, and I also may represent it. By this system, your pleasure will always be fully made known to his Highness, and his Highness and I will execute whatever may be your orders, without deviating a hair's breadth." When it was the intention of Mr. Hastings that Mr. Bristow, who had been withdrawn upon complaints, which, without any dislike to Mr. Bristow, the Nabob, through Middleton, had been instructed to prefer, that obedient sovereign was instructed to make an application of a very different description. "The Governor," said the Nabob's Vakeel in the Arzee already quoted, "directed me to forward to the presence, that it was his wish, that your Highness would write a letter to him; and,



BOOK V. as from yourself, request of him that Mr. Bristow may be  
 CHAP. VIII. appointed to Lucknow." In his answer to the Vakeel the  
 1783. Nabob curiously says, "As to the wishes of Mr. Hastings, that I should write for him to send Mr. John Bristow, it would have been proper and necessary, for you, privately to have understood what were Mr. Hastings' real intentions; whether the choice of sending Mr. John Bristow was his own desire; or, whether it was in compliance with Mr. Macpherson's—that I might then have written conformably thereto.—Writings are now sent to you for both cases. Having privately understood the wishes of Mr. Hastings, deliver whichever of the writings he shall order you." <sup>1</sup> After all this, and after the threats of Mr. Hastings against all letters from the Nabob which he might dislike, the meaning of the letters complaining of Bristow cannot be misunderstood. It was a shrewd surmise of the Nabob, respecting Macpherson: who had become recently a Member of the Supreme Council, and whose support Mr. Hastings might require. The accusations, which the Governor-General afterwards aimed at Mr. Macpherson for supporting Bristow, fall in, at least, with the conjecture.

The cause which prompted so violent a desire for his recall is involved in comparative mystery. We can trace a kind of analogy. As the preceding removal of Mr. Bristow was immediately followed by the first visit of the Governor-General to the Nabob; so the present removal was immediately followed by another. This, undoubtedly, proves nothing against Mr. Hastings: but if there be any other grounds for suspicion, this tends to confirm them. If these visits were intended for any unjustifiable transactions between the Governor and Nabob, the removal of a witness, whose compliance could not be depended upon, was just the proceeding which, in such circumstances, every man would adopt.<sup>2</sup>

Before the removal of the residency was finally settled, the Governor-General had represented, that a great demand existed for his presence in Oude, to aid in settling

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Evidence, ut supra, p. 798, 799, 796.

<sup>2</sup> This detail of the conflicting opinions of the Council, and of the machinery by which Hastings maintained a necessary control over the Vizir, his minister, and the British Resident, is scarcely matter for history, especially when the object of the whole proves to be the indication of a very vague inference, unfavourable to the private integrity of Hastings.—W.

the disorders of the country, and in making such arrangements as would enable the Vizir to fulfil his engagements. His journey was opposed by the other Members of the Board. Upon it, however, for some reason or other, the Governor-General had set his heart. A letter was procured from Major Palmer, representing the state of the country as alarming, and urgently requiring the immediate presence of Mr. Hastings ; with other letters from the Vizir, and his minister, earnestly requesting to see the Governor-General at Lucknow. The consent of a majority of the Council was at last obtained ; and Mr. Hastings was authorized to proceed to Lucknow, invested with all the powers of the Board, to regulate and determine the affairs both internal and external of the state, and for that purpose to command even the military resources of the English government without control. The proposition of the Governor-General was introduced on the 20th of January, 1784 ; the consultation was closed, and the authority of the Board conferred on the 16th of February ; and on the following day, the 17th, the journey of the Governor-General began.

In proceeding to Lucknow, he passed through the province of Benares, which, in the time of Cheyte Sing and his father manifested so great a degree of prosperity ; and, there, witnessed the effects of his late proceedings. The first deputy whom he had appointed for the Raja was dismissed for the offence of not making up his payments to the exacted amount. The second, as might well be expected, acted upon the "avowed principle that the sum fixed for the revenue must be collected." The consequence was, that the population was plunged into misery ; and desolation pervaded the country. "From the confines of Buxar," says Mr. Hastings, "to Benares, I was followed and fatigued by the clamours of the discontented inhabitants. The distresses which were produced by the long-continued drought unavoidably tended to heighten the general discontent. Yet, I have reason to fear, that the cause existed principally, in a defective, if not a corrupt and oppressive administration." "I am sorry to add, that from Buxar to the opposite boundary, I have seen nothing but traces of complete devastation in every village." "I cannot help remarking, that except

BOOK V.  
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1784.

BOOK V. the city of Benares, the province is in effect without a  
 CHAP. VIII. government. The administration of the province is mis-  
 1784. conducted, and the people oppressed; trade discouraged,  
 and the revenue in danger of a rapid decline from the  
 violent appropriation of its means.”<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable,  
 how few of the political arrangements of Mr. Hastings  
 produced the effects which he expected from them; and  
 how much his administration consisted in a perpetual  
 change of ill-concerted measures. The arrangements for  
 the government of Benares were his own; and for the  
 effect of them he was responsible; but he enjoyed a  
 happy faculty of laying the blame at any door rather  
 than his own. He ascribed the existing evils to the  
 deputy solely; and with the approbation of the Council  
 removed him. The predecessor of that deputy, who trans-  
 gressed in nothing but the extent of his exactions, met  
 with a severer fate. To procure some redress of his  
 grievances, he had even repaired in person to Calcutta,  
 where, so far from receiving any attention, he received  
 two peremptory orders from the Supreme Council to quit  
 the city and return. Nor was this all. Upon the arrival  
 of Mr. Hastings at Benares, he ordered him into prison  
 again; after which his vexations and hardships soon put  
 a period to his life. His poverty was real and he died  
 insolvent.

The Governor-General arrived at Lucknow on the 27th  
 of March. He had some success in obtaining money from  
 the minister into whose hands the government was trans-  
 ferred. In order still more to disburden the revenues  
 of the Vizir, he agreed to withdraw the English detach-  
 ment commanded by Colonel Sir John Cumming, which  
 still was stationed on the frontiers of Oude at the Nabob’s  
 expense; and agreed for this reason, “That the Company  
 would gain nothing by its continuance, since the Nabob  
 had not the means of defraying the expense; and whether  
 it remains,” he added, “on account of the Company, or be  
 continued to swell the Nabob’s with an accumulating debt  
 which he cannot pay, its effects on the Company’s funds  
 will prove the same, while it holds out a deception to the  
 public.” Mr. Hastings had eluded inquiry into the truth of

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Governor-General to the Council Board, dated Lucknow,  
 2nd of April, 1784.



the allegations on which the confiscation of the estates and treasures of the Begums, and others, had been ordered; and the commands of the Court of Directors had till this time remained without effect. The time, however, was now come, when at least a partial obedience was deemed expedient; and Mr. Hastings reported to the Board, that the jaghires of the Begums, and of the Nabob Salar Jung, the uncle of the Vizir, had been "restored, conformably to the Company's order, and more so to the inclinations the Nabob Vizir, who went to Fyzabad for the express purpose of making a respectful tender of them in person to the Begums." The restoration, however, tardy as it was, fell greatly short of completeness; for Mr. Hastings reported that the personages in question, had made a *voluntary* concession of a *large* portion of their respective shares." The Governor-General was now so far from expressing any apprehensions of disorder from the possession of jaghires by the Princesses and other principal persons of the Nabob's family, that he declared his expectation of their influence in supporting the arrangements which had taken place with the Vizir.<sup>1</sup>

The Governor-General departed from Lucknow on the 27th of August. He arrived at the Presidency on the 4th of November, resumed his seat at the Council Board on the 11th, and on the 22nd reminded the Directors of his request, addressed to them on the 20th of March, in the year 1783 to nominate his successor. He now began to prepare for his departure. On the 8th of February, 1785, he resigned his office, and embarked for England.<sup>2</sup>

In India, the true test of the government, as affecting the interest of the English nation, is found in its financial results. In 1772, when the administration of Mr. Hastings began, the net revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which, being the principal branch of receipt, will suffice for that general conception which is all I can attempt

<sup>1</sup> Letters from the Governor-General to the Council Board, dated Benares, 20th September, 1784.

<sup>2</sup> For the preceding train of measures, the reader is referred to the Papers, relating to the province of Oude, presented to the House of Commons in the year 1786; to the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixteenth, and Twenty-second Articles of Charge, presented by Burke, with the Answers of Mr. Hastings, and the Appendix of Documents printed along with them; also to the Minutes of Evidence on the Trial, in which the documents were printed again.



BOOK V. to convey, were 2,373,650*l.*; the civil and military charges  
 CHAP. VIII. of the government of Bengal were 1,705,279*l.*; difference  
 1785. 668,371*l.*: the whole of the bond and other debts in India  
 were 1,850,166*l.*; and the debt in England, including  
 capital stock, and the sums due to the annuitants, were  
 12,850,166*l.* In 1785, the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and  
 Orissa, including the new revenue of Benares, and the  
 subsidies from Oude, amounted to 5,315,197*l.*; the charges,  
 deducting Clive's jaghire, 30,000*l.* per annum, which ceased  
 in 1784, one-half of the allowance to the Nabob of Bengal,  
 and the tribute to the Mogul, amounted to 4,312,519*l.*; the  
 difference, 1,002,678*l.*, is an improvement upon the  
 year 1772, of 334,307*l.*; but, on the other hand, the debt  
 in 1786, when the whole of the arrears of Mr. Hastings'  
 administration were brought to account, was raised to  
 15,443,349*l.* in England; and in India, including China  
 to 10,464,955*l.*; a sum of 25,908,334*l.*; to which should  
 be joined 1,240,000*l.*, the sum which was yielded by the  
 subscription at 155 per cent. of 800,000*l.* added this year  
 to the capital stock. The administration of Mr. Hastings,  
 therefore, added about twelve and a-half millions to the  
 debt of the East India Company; and the interest at  
 five per cent. of this additional debt, is more than the  
 amount of the additional revenue.<sup>1</sup>

Nor is this the only unhappy result in the financial  
 administration of Mr. Hastings. The net territorial reve-  
 nues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, instead of increasing  
 had actually declined. In the year ending the 1st of May,  
 1772, they amounted to the sum of 2,126,766*l.*, and in  
 the year ending on the same day in 1785, to that of  
 2,072,963*l.*<sup>2</sup> In Lord Cornwallis's celebrated revenue let-  
 ter, dated the 16th November, 1786, it is allowed, that  
 the state of the accounts exhibits a debt in India of  
 8,91,25,518 rupees, and assets valued at 5,81,24,567, with

<sup>1</sup> For these statements see the accounts exhibited in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Reports of the Committee of Secrecy, in 1781; and the accounts presented to Parliament for the several years. See also Bruce's Plans for British India, p. 323.—M.

It should not be forgotten, however, that during his administration he had to provide, from the revenues under his management, for the whole charge of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, during most ruinous wars, for armaments sent to their succour, for operations and negotiations intended for their relief, and for the defence of Bengal. The addition to the debt was as moderate as could have been looked for under such extraordinary pressure.—W.

<sup>2</sup> An account presented to the House of Commons, March 30th, 1786. See

a balance against the Company of 3,10,00,950. But Lord Cornwallis observes, that the amount of assets is so much made up for the sake of show, that is, a delusion, that it presents a result widely different from the truth; and that the balance between the debts, and such assets as are applicable to their extinction, would not, in his opinion, fall short of 7,50,00,000 rupees. "Of this debt something more than a crore of rupees was subscribed for transference to England, leaving a debt of about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  crores, "nearly the whole of which," he says, "is running at an average rate of interest of  $8\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. per annum." "For the discharge of this," his Lordship adds, "your Bengal

BOOK V.  
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1785.

also the following statement of the Bengal Revenues, taken from the printed Minutes of Evidence on Mr. Hastings' Trial, p. 1275.

Years.	Current net Collections.	Balances collected.	Total.	Bengal charges Collection.
1776—7	187,15,865	13,94,769	201,10,634	49,05,739
1777—7	170,49,710	20,78,451	191,28,161	53,80,818
1778—8	173,95,871	19,19,747	193,15,618	56,45,947
1779—80	180,21,226	15,66,322	195,87,548	56,80,637
Rupees.	711,82,672	69,59,289	781,41,961	216,13,141
1781—2	189,55,004	6,23,989	195,78,993	66,55,869
1782 3	188,24,855	6,50,462	194,75,317	59,63,661
1783—4	181,93,492	4,49,916	186,43,408	71,29,094
1784—5	176,68,646	8,91,701	185,60,348	73,73,738
Rupees.	736,41,997	26,16,069	762,58,066	271,22,362
Less in last four years ....				18,83,895
Increase in last four years.....				55,09,221
1777—80	Total .....		580,31,327	
1781—4	.....		576,97,718	
Less in last three years ..			3,33,909	
1774—5	195,69,610	17,40,399	213,10,009	
1775—6	195,25,825	12,18,176	207,44,001	
1776—7	187,15,865	13,94,769	201,10,634	
	578,11,300	43,53,344	621,64,644	
Total in 1781—4 .....			576,97,718	
Less in last three years .....			44,66,927	

BOOK V. government alone can hereafter furnish a fund; which  
 CHAP. VIII. (under the limitations in the estimate) is stated at a  
 1785. gross sum of about 46,00,000 current rupees per annum. And the ordinary expenses of your different settlements, allowing for the provision of an European investment, at present exceed their resources."<sup>1</sup> That is to say; the revenue of the Indian government at the close of the administration of Mr. Hastings, was not equal to its ordinary expense.

The incidents which had occurred under the Presidency of Madras, from the period of terminating the war with

Another View of the Collections under the Bengal Government.

Years.	Current Col- lections.	Collected account Balances.	Gross Col- lection.	Charges Collection.	Annual Receipts into the Treasury.
1772—3	2,37,29,763	18,18,226	2,56,17,989	41,56,970	2,14,61,019
1773—4	2,35,77,528	18,05,528	2,53,83,057	43,02,596	2,10,80,460
1774—5	2,37,20,882	17,40,399	2,54,61,282	41,51,272	2,13,10,009
1775—6	2,40,33,296	12,18,176	2,55,51,472	45,07,471	2,10,44,001
1776—7	2,36,21,604	13,94,769	2,56,16,373	49,05,739	2,01,10,434
1777—8	2,24,30,527	20,79,450	2,45,08,978	53,80,818	1,91,28,160
1778—9	2,30,41,818	19,19,747	2,49,61,565	56,45,946	1,93,15,618
1779—80	2,37,01,863	15,66,321	2,47,68,185	56,80,937	1,90,83,547
1780—81	2,26,82,691	14,24,542	2,41,07,233	60,98,510	1,80,08,723
1781—2	2,56,10,873	6,23,989	2,62,34,863	66,55,869	1,95,78,993
1782—3	2,47,88,515	6,50,461	2,54,38,977	59,63,660	1,94,75,316
1783—4	2,53,22,585	4,49,915	2,57,72,201	71,29,093	1,86,43,107

Mr. Stuart's Minute on the Revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, Minutes of printed Evidence of Hastings' Trial, Appendix, Art. vi. No. 157 p. 904.—M.

This statement, it may be remarked, explains the preceding, and puts in a clearer light, the real nature of the financial operations of Hastings' administration. The absolute collections of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, had not declined, on the contrary, they had *increased*. The total collections of 1772 were rupees 2,56,17,000; those of 1783, 2,57,72,000, giving a surplus on the latter of rupees 1,55,000. The former period too, it should be remembered, was the first year of the new settlement, under which farmers of the revenue bade against each other, and raised the amount to a height which proved ruinous. The charges of collection had at the same time increased, and these being deducted from the collectors, left a decrease upon the "net" collections. As observed by Mr. Macpherson, the successor of Hastings, those charges "might more properly be called the increasing expenses of our government, than the increased expenses of the collection of the Revenue," including, in fact, the charges of the Dewani and Foujdari Adaulat, or Civil and Criminal Courts, besides many other expenses only remotely collected with the business of collection. Min. Evid. 714, 722—904. The strong tendency of such charges to increase, and the difficulty of effectively controlling them in seasons when the energies of the government are absorbed by great political interests, are so universally a part of the history of all administrations, in all countries, that they reflect no particular discredit on the government of Hastings.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Extract from Revenue Letter, printed by order of the House of Commons, 1787.



Tippoo, till the time when Mr. Hastings surrendered his office, remain to be adduced.

BOOK V.

CHAP. VIII.

1782.

The situation of the Nabob of Arcot, as it had long been, so it continued to be, a source of uneasiness and of difficulty to the English rulers in the southern Presidency. The wretched government which that Nabob maintained, and which his want of talents, his want of virtue, and the disadvantages of his situation, disqualified him for improving, not only sunk the people into the deepest wretchedness, but cut off the resources required for the defence of the country. The impossibility, which the Presidents had experienced, of obtaining, through his hands, the means which were necessary to provide for the security of the province ; or their connivance, from unworthy motives, at his unwillingness to provide them, had laid open the country to all the disasters, to which the weak and unprotected state in which it was found by Hyder Ali exposed it. When the war began, the strongest necessity existed for rendering the resources of the country available to its defence. Supplies, in the highest degree defective, had been obtained from the Nabob ; nor was there any rational prospect of improvement. For the payment of particular debts, both to the Company and to individuals, it had been usual with him, according to the custom of Indian princes, to grant assignments on the revenues of particular districts ; and no inconsiderable portion of the whole was under this disposition. As the exigency was peculiarly violent, nothing less being immediately at stake than the existence, in the Carnatic, of both the Nabob and the English, Lord Macartney regarded an extension of the same expedient, namely, an assignment of all his revenues, as the only feasible plan for meeting the present difficulties ; and compliance with it, as no unreasonable condition imposed on the Nabob, seeing the proceeds were to be employed for his own defence, and that it was impossible he could, if defended at all, be so well defended by any other means. Not without great difficulty the consent of the Nabob was obtained. It was an arrangement far from agreeable to that vanity and ambition, which formed a strong ingredient in his character. And there was no want of persons in his confidence who inflamed his dis-



BOOK V. content, and who excited him to employ every stratagem  
CHAP. VIII. to obtain the surrender of the power he had given away.

1782.

It has already been observed, that the seat or durbar of the Nabob, who had taken up his residence at Madras, was one of the most corrupt and active scenes of intrigue that had ever been exhibited in India. The Nabob, who was totally incompetent to his own defence, was necessarily in a state of abject dependence upon the Company; but, receiving directly the revenues of the country, he endeavoured, as far as possible, by the application of money, to secure the gratification of his will. His policy was, to purchase friends among the English rulers; and to excite opposition to those whose acquiescence he failed in acquiring. The effects were mischievous, in a variety of ways. The servants of the Company were too frequently taught to look to the violation, rather than the performance of the duties, as their most certain source of reward; and the business of the Presidency was in general disturbed by a violent spirit of division and counteraction.

The mind of the Nabob was of that class of minds which must, by a kind of necessity, be always governed by somebody; and in the imbecility of age, and of a constitution worn with indulgence, he now leaned more absolutely on the accustomed support than at an earlier period of his life. The persons who at this period had acquired the entire ascendancy over him were Ameer ul Omrah, his second son, and Paul Benfield. The former is described as excelling in all the arts of Eastern, the latter in all the arts of Western, villany. The passion of the former was power, the passion of the latter, money; and this much, at least, appears, that both pursued their ends with much ardour, with great talents for intrigue, with great audacity, and not much of moral restraint. The immediate object of the former was to get his elder brother disinherited, and to obtain the succession for himself. For this purpose the old Nabob, whose passions and those of his favourite were one, had employed all his arts to obtain from the Company an acknowledgment, that he had the right of naming his successor, without regard to the established order of inheritance. With a view, by obtaining favour with the English, to pave the way to this and other desirable objects, the Ameer ul Omrah had acted the part of

a zealous instrument in obtaining the consent of his father to the assignment of the revenues. When he found that Lord Macartney was as little subservient to his purposes, after this event as before, his disappointment and his enmity were equally strong. His endeavour was to render the assignment useless ; to annul, if possible, the transaction. As he had his father's mind compliant in all things, so he had it eager in the pursuit of an end, the hope of which served as a balm to the wound his pride had received, in ever relinquishing the management of the revenues. In Benfield he met with an able coadjutor. Benfield had been removed by Lord Macartney from some of the offices which he held as a servant of the Company. The liberalities and the views of the Nabob and his son pointed out a path to fortune as well as revenge.

The first expedient was, by practising on the renters, and other persons in charge of the revenues, to render unproductive the collections. Disordered and desolate as the country was, without a government, and ravaged by a destructive foe, the realising of any revenue was in itself a difficult task. Lord Macartney had appointed a committee, consisting of some of the most trustworthy of the Company's servants at the Presidency, for conducting the business relative to the assigned revenues. They speedily discovered that secret orders and suggestions, which counteracted all their proceedings, had been sent into the districts. The people had been taught to distrust the validity of the engagements formed with the English government ; and hence to practise all the arts of delay and evasion. The greatest oppression was evidently exercised upon the unhappy cultivators : yet little could be obtained from the renters and collectors for the Company's treasury ; while large sums, it is affirmed, were privately sent to the Ameer ul Omrah.<sup>1</sup>

The known enmity of Sir Eyre Coote to Lord Macartney suggested the first stratagem for overturning the engagement with the President. A bait was offered, the attractions of which, it was supposed, the avidity of the General for power would not be able to resist. The Nabob offered to vest in his hands full authority over all the officers of his government and revenues. But the General too well

BOOK V.  
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1782.

<sup>1</sup> Barrow's Life of Macartney, I. 241.

BOOK V. knew what a frightful chaos his government was, to have  
 CHAP. VIII. any desire for the responsibility of so dangerous a trust.

1783.

As soon as it was found that the ear of the Governor-General was open to representations against the Governor of Madras, it was a channel in which the Nabob and his instruments industriously plied. Lord Macartney was accused of not having abilities to render the assignment of the revenues productive; of enhancing the disorders of the country; and, above all, of practising the utmost cruelty and oppression towards the Nabob and his family. Letters of this import were not only sent at various times, in the Nabob's name, to Bengal; but one was written and transmitted to the British King.

Sufficient encouragement having been received from the Governor-General, the Nabob ventured at last to solicit the restoration of his revenues, by the surrender of the assignment; and his former agents, Assam Khan, and Mr. Richard Sullivan, were sent on a second mission to Bengal, in January, 1783.

Their criminative representations against Macartney were received; and not only entered on the records, but immediately sent to England; without communication to the party accused; and of course without an opportunity afforded him of obviating their effects, however undeserved, by a single word of defence. A most singular examination of the Nabob's agents or advocates took place before the Supreme Council, on the subjects on which the Nabob prayed their interference. The agents were directed to state whatever they knew, and did state whatever they chose; matters of hearsay, as much as of perception; without a word of cross-examination, from an opposite party, to limit and correct the partial representation of interested reporters. After completing their statements, and not before, they were asked, if they would swear to the truth of what they had stated. The compulsion was almost irresistible. To have said, they would not swear, was to confess they had not spoken the truth. Assam Khan, however, excused himself, on the plea that it was not honourable for a Mussulman to confirm what he said by an oath. Mr. Sullivan had no such apology, and therefore he took his oath, but with a tolerable latitude; that, "to the best of his belief and remembrance, he had



spoken the truth, and nothing but the truth ;” an oath which, if we have charity enough to believe it to be in no degree strained, affected not any part of the truth, however material, which it might have suited and pleased him to suppress.

On the strength of this information, partial and interested as it was, a resolution was passed, on the 8th of January, 1783, to surrender the assignment into the hands of the Nabob ; though not only had this assignment been formerly approved and highly praised by the Governor-General and Council, as an act of equal utility and justice, but the delicacy of the Madras government, which endeavoured to accomplish the end by gentle means, had been treated as too scrupulous, and the utility of a greater severity particularly and strongly displayed.<sup>1</sup>

The interruption and disturbance which the Nabob was able to give to the government of Madras, he was emboldened to carry to the greatest height, by the encouragement he received from so high a quarter. A viler display of hypocrisy is not upon record, than the language in which the author of the calamities of the whole Rohilla nation, of those of Cheyte Sing, and of the Begums of Oude, affected to bewail the cruelties which, he said, were practised upon the Nabobs of the Carnatic and Oude, by Lord Macartney, and Mr. Bristow. “ The condition,” Mr. Hastings said,<sup>2</sup> “ of both Princes is equally destitute and

<sup>1</sup> The reader should have before him the very words. In the letter from the Governor-General and Council to the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George, dated 5th April, 1782, they “ regret,” they say, “ that the government of Madras should have suffered any consideration, even of delicacy towards the Nabob, or attention for those feelings which it might be natural for him to retain, to restrain them from availing themselves as effectually for the assignment as the desperate necessity which exacted such a concession, inevitably demanded.” They add a great compliment, and say, “ Happy would it be for the national interest and reputation, if the same disinterested and forbearing spirit should invariably dictate the conduct of their affairs.” They rise to the use of unlimited terms, instructing the Governor to assume every power necessary to render the assignment effective—“ in a word, the whole sovereignty ” (such is their expression) “ if it shall be necessary to the exercise of such a charge, not admitting the interposition of any authority whatever, which may possibly impede it. If you continue the Nabob’s agents ; or suffer them to remain, under whatever denomination, in the actual or virtual control of the revenue, they are your servants, and you alone will be deemed responsible for all their acts. And your intercourse with the Nabob may and ought to be restricted to simple acts and expressions of kindness.”

<sup>2</sup> In his Minute on the 2nd of November, 1783, printed among the papers presented to the House of Commons on the 13th of March, 1786. For the opinion which Mr. Hastings entertained of the mischievous character of the Nabob, and of the intrigues of which he was at once the cause and the dupe,



BOOK V. equally oppressed ; and the humiliation of their remon-  
 CHAP. VIII. strances shows them to be equally hopeless of any redress  
 1783. but in the mercy of their oppressors.”<sup>1</sup> Orders were des-  
 \* patched to Madras for the restoration of his revenues to  
 the Nabob ; of which the sixth part, which he had reserved  
 he himself, as requisite for the maintenance of his family  
 and dignity, had been exactly paid ; and in reality yielded  
 to him more money for his private purposes, than he had  
 ever before enjoyed. It curiously happened that before  
 the orders of Supreme Council arrived at Madras, des-  
 patches were received from the Court of Directors, which  
 conveyed their approbation of the assignment, and com-  
 manded the assistance of the Bengal government to render  
 it effectual ; despatches which, at the same time, contained  
 the condemnation of the transaction by which Mr. Sullivan  
 was appointed an agent of the Supreme Council at the  
 residence of the Nabob, and a declaration that the only  
 organ of communication with Mahommed Ali was the  
 Governor and Council of Madras. Upon this communica-  
 tion from the Court of Directors, the Governor and  
 Council applied to the Supreme Council for the assistance  
 which they were commanded to yield. After a hesitation  
 of a few months, the Supreme Council resolved to disobey :  
 and informing the Governor and Council of Madras, that  
 they assumed the right of judging for themselves, they  
 repeated their orders of the 13th of January, and com-  
 manded the surrender of the assignment.

The consequences of obedience appeared to Lord Mac-  
 artney of the most alarming description. The pay of the  
 Madras army was at that moment seven months in arrear :  
 from the resources of the Carnatic alone was any supply  
 to be obtained : not a single pagoda, since the death of  
 Sir Eyre Coote, had been sent from Bengal : if the assign-  
 ment was given up, the slender produce of the Circars,  
 which Mr. Hastings would have sacrificed, would alone  
 have remained ; and neither the native, nor European

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entertained as long as since the period when he was second in Council at  
 Madras ; see the records of that Presidency in Rous's Appendix, p. 682\*,  
 688\*, 704, 717, 718, 729.

<sup>1</sup> Nothing is here stated but the truth ; and the cases of both princes were  
 not analogous to those with which they are contrasted. At the same time  
 there is no doubt that Hastings would have felt little sympathy for either,  
 if he thought their situation incompatible with public benefit or necessity.  
 —W.

troops, could be expected to bear any addition to the privations which they now endured. With a prospect of the actual dissolution of the government, if the revenues, on which every thing depended, were at so extraordinary a moment given up; and fully impressed with the conviction that to surrender them to the Nabob was to render them unavailing to the defence of the country, defence which then fell upon the Company without any resources, and oppressed them with a burden which they were unable to bear, he resolved to maintain the assignment, which, at the close of the second year, had yielded one million sterling from those very countries, which for eighteen months after the invasion of Hyder Ali had not contributed a pagoda toward the expenses of the war.

BOOK V.  
CHAP. VIII.

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1785.

With this disobedience, Mr. Hastings, whose administration was now so formidably assailed in England, and who was deeply concerned in the success with which he might perform the business of winding it up, found, either not leisure, or not inclination, to enter into contest.<sup>1</sup>

After the unreserved exhibition, which I have accounted it my duty to make, of the evidence which came before me of the errors and vices of Mr. Hastings's administration, it is necessary, for the satisfaction of my own mind, and to save me from the fear of having given a more unfavourable conception than I intended of his character and conduct, to impress upon the reader the obligation of considering two things. The first is, that Mr. Hastings was placed in difficulties, and acted upon by temptations, such as few public men have been called upon to overcome: and of this the preceding history affords abundant evidence. The second is, that no man, probably, who ever had a great share in the government of the world, had his public conduct so completely explored and laid open to view. The mode of transacting the business of the Company, almost wholly by writing; first, by written consultations in the Council; secondly, by written commands on the part of the Directors, and written statements

<sup>1</sup> Papers presented to the House of Commons, pursuant to their orders of the 9th of February, 1803, regarding the affairs of the Carnatic, vol. ii.; Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, i. 238—280.

BOOK V. of every thing done on the part of their servants in India;  
CHAP. VIII. afforded a body of evidence, such as under no other  
1785. government ever did or could exist. This evidence was brought forward, with a completeness never before exemplified, first by the contentions of a powerful party in the Council in India; next by the inquiries of two searching committees of the House of Commons; in the third place by the production of almost every paper which could be supposed to throw light upon his conduct, during the discussions upon the proceedings relative to his impeachment in the House of Commons; lastly, by the production of papers upon his trial. And all this was elucidated and commented upon by the keenest spirits of the age; and for a long time without any interposition of power to screen his offences from detection. It is my firm conviction, that if we had the same advantage with respect to other men, who have been as much engaged in the conduct of public affairs, and could view their conduct as completely naked, and stripped of all its disguises, few of them would be found, whose character would present a higher claim to indulgence than his. In point of ability, he is beyond all question the most eminent of the chief rulers whom the Company have ever employed; nor is there any one of them, who would not have succumbed under the difficulties which, if he did not overcome, he at any rate sustained. He had no genius, any more than Clive, for schemes of policy including large views of the past, and large anticipations of the future; but he was hardly ever excelled in the skill of applying temporary expedients to temporary difficulties; in putting off the evil day; and in giving a fair complexion to the present one. He had not the forward and imposing audacity of Clive; but he had a calm firmness, which usually, by its constancy, wore out all resistance. He was the first, or among the first, of the servants of the Company, who attempted to acquire any language of the natives, and who set on foot those liberal inquiries into the literature and institutions of the Hindus, which have led to the satisfactory knowledge of the present day. He had the great art of a ruler, which consists in attaching to the Governor those who are governed; his administration



assuredly was popular, both with his countrymen and the natives in Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK V.

CHAP. IX.

1773.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Legislative Proceedings from 1773 to 1780.—Renewal of the Charter.—Select and Secret Committees of the House of Commons.—Proceedings against Indian Delinquency.—Mr. Dundas's East India Bill.—Mr. Fox's East India Bills —Mr. Pitt's East India Bill.*

IT is now time to inquire into the proceedings to which the affairs of India had given birth in England since the last great legislative interference. From the year 1767 till the year 1773, the East India Company was bound to pay to the public, yearly, the sum of 400,000*l.*, "in respect of the territorial acquisitions and revenues lately obtained in the East Indies." But in the year 1773, the financial embarrassments of the Company became so great, that

<sup>1</sup> The same course is here adopted that was pursued in regard to Clive, and an inculpatory review of almost all the leading measures of the administration of Hastings is nullified by a tardy admission of its general merits. But if all his most important acts are open to the charges of cruelty, injustice, vindictiveness, corruption, vileness, self-seeking, dishonesty, and hypocrisy; if he trampled upon the just rights of all the native princes with whom he had to deal; if he instigated and fostered wars of unjust aggression; if he interfered unauthorizedly and impolitically with the powers of the other Presidencies; if he patronised base and corrupt men, and dismissed and persecuted honest men; if he employed the authority of justice to sanctify falsehood, and even to minister to his vengeance; it is not possible to conceive in what his redeeming virtues consisted. It cannot be believed, that with all this mass of criminality against him, he should have enjoyed the attachment of those whom he governed, and that his administration should have been popular, not only with his countrymen, but with the natives of Bengal. The more ready solution of the problem is, the falsehood of the accusation. That every act of a government, so full of momentous and perilous matter as his, should be free from rational exception, perhaps from just censure, would be a phenomenon to which the history of man could afford no parallel. Like other men, he was occasionally ignorant or imperfectly informed; he doubted, he wavered, he changed his opinion, he was biassed by his feelings; he judged erroneously; he acted wrongly. He was not, however, judged like other men, by his acts, but every mistake or misconception, every hasty impression, every fluctuating purpose, every injudicious resolution, was hunted out, made public, and arrayed in evidence against him. The Author may well say, that few statesmen could endure such a searching exposure. The ultimate decision of the world will, however, be pronounced not upon a pitiful dissection of his private, but the great body of his public acts, and this decision has already elevated him above grovelling detraction. We look now with wonder, not unmingled with contempt, upon the almost insane virulence with which he was assailed, and think of him in no other character than that of the ablest of the able men who have given to Great Britain her Indian empire.—W.



BOOK V. they were obliged to solicit, and they received, a loan from  
 CHAP. IX. the public of 1,400,000*l*. At that time it was represented,  
 1781. "That in the then circumstances of the East India Com-  
 pany, it would not be in their power to provide for the re-  
 payment of such loan, and for the establishing their affairs  
 upon a more secure foundation for the time to come,  
 unless the public should agree to forego for the present,  
 all participation in the profits arising from the territorial  
 acquisitions and revenues lately obtained in the East  
 Indies."<sup>1</sup> It was accordingly, at that time enacted, that  
 it should not be lawful to make a dividend of more than  
 six per cent. per annum on the Company's capital stock,  
 till that loan was repaid ; and that the whole of their sur-  
 plus profits should be applied to its liquidation : that  
 after the loan of 1,400,000*l*. should be repaid, it should not  
 be lawful to make a dividend of more than seven per cent.  
 per annum upon the capital stock, until, by the applica-  
 tion of the whole of their surplus profits, their bond debt  
 should be reduced to the sum of 1,500,000*l*. In the year  
 1769, the loan being repaid, and the debt reduced, accord-  
 ing to the terms of the preceding ordinance, an act was  
 passed, to be in force for one year, permitting a dividend  
 of eight per cent. for that year, and reserving the surplus  
 profits for the future disposal of the legislature. In the  
 year 1780, another act was passed for one year also, con-  
 taining precisely the same enactments as that of the pre-  
 ceding year.

As the exclusive privileges were to expire upon three  
 years' notice after the 25th of March, 1780, it was now  
 high time to treat about a renewal of the charter ; and ac-  
 cordingly, during the latter part of that year, and the  
 beginning of 1781, much negotiation took place between  
 the treasury and the East India House. In parliament,  
 the business was of very difficult handling. The contests  
 between the Supreme Council and Supreme Court, which  
 were represented as actually opposing one another with  
 an armed force, had given occasion to petitions from the  
 British subjects in India, from the Governor-General and  
 Council, and from the East India Company ; and had  
 made a deep impression upon the public mind. The com-  
 plaints and representations of Mr. Francis, taken up

<sup>1</sup> Such are the words of the preamble of the Act, 21 Geo. III. c. 65.

warmly by a powerful party in the legislative assembly, had filled the nation with ideas of injustice and other crimes on the part of Mr. Hastings. Intelligence had been received of the irruption of Hyder Ali into the Carnatic, with the strongest representations of the misconduct of those agents under whom so much calamity had arrived. And strong fears were excited, that the ruin of the English interests, in that part of the world, was at hand.

The points were two, upon which the views of the minister and the Company found it difficult to concur; the right to the territory; and the remuneration due to the public for the advantages which the East India Company were allowed to enjoy. According to the minister, the right of the crown to all territory acquired by subjects, was a matter of established law. The Company were at this time sufficiently bold to assert, that the Indian territory which they had acquired belonged of right to themselves. On the other point, the only question was, what proportion of the proceeds from the Indian territory the East India Company should be made to give up to the nation.

Lord North was now tottering on the ministerial throne; the East India Company were, therefore, encouraged to greater boldness, in standing out for favourable terms; and they declined to bring forward a petition for a renewal of the charter, on those terms to which the minister desired to reduced them. On the 9th of April, 1781, he represented, that "though he did not then intend to state any specific proposition relative to the future management of the Company's affairs, still he held it to be his duty to state to the House some points, that would be very proper for them to consider, before they should proceed to vote. First, the propriety of making the Company account with the public for three-fourths of all the net profits above eight per cent. for dividend; Secondly, of granting a renewal of the charter for an exclusive trade for a short rather than a long term; Thirdly, of giving a greater degree of power than had been hitherto enjoyed, to the Governor of Bengal, that, in future, among the members of the Council, he might be something more than a *primus inter pares*, equal with the name of chief; Fourthly, of establishing a tribunal in England, for juris-

BOOK V. diction in affairs relating to India, and punishing those  
 CHAP. IX. servants of the Company who should be convicted of  
 1781. having abused their power ; Fifthly, the propriety, as all  
 the despatches received from India by the Directors were  
 by agreement shown to his Majesty's Secretary of State, of  
 making all despatches to India be shown to him before  
 they were sent, lest the Directors might, at some time or  
 other, precipitate this kingdom into a war, without neces-  
 sity, with the princes of that country ; Sixthly," he said,  
 " it would be the business of the House to determine, upon  
 what terms, and whether with or without the territorial  
 revenues, the charter should be renewed ; Seventhly, whe-  
 ther, if government should retain the territories, it might  
 not compel the Company to bring home the revenue for  
 government ; and, Eighthly, whether any, and what regu-  
 lations ought to be made, with respect to the Supreme  
 Court of Judicature."<sup>1</sup>

Of these propositions, the third, the fourth, and the fifth,  
 are remarkable, as the archetype, from which were after-  
 wards copied three of the principal provisions in Mr. Pitt's  
 celebrated East India Bill.<sup>2</sup>

At last a compromise was effected between the minister  
 and the Directors. A petition for renewal of the charter  
 was presented from the Directors, on the 26th of June,  
 1781. An act was passed, of which the following were the  
 principal provisions : That, whereas the Company, since

<sup>1</sup> See Parliamentary History, xxii. 111.

<sup>2</sup> The purport of these three propositions he expressed more explicitly on  
 the 25th of May. " He had an idea which he had once thrown out, of giving  
 the Governor-General greater powers than were at present vested in him ;  
 authorizing him in some cases to act independently of his Council, only stating  
 to them, after he had so acted, the reasons upon which he justified his con-  
 duct, and sending home those reasons ; together with such as the Council  
 should at the time have delivered, in case they differed in opinion from the  
 Governor-General. . . . Another matter he designed to introduce was this :  
 At present the Company were obliged to send copies of all their despatches  
 from India, but not of any of the orders and instructions which they sent  
 out : he meant, therefore, to insert in the bill a clause, obliging them to show  
 to the Lords of the Treasury, or the Secretaries of State, all their instructions  
 to their servants that related to their political and military conduct ; and to  
 add further, that if his Majesty thought proper to signify, through his Secre-  
 taries of State, to the Directors, any order relative to the particular conduct  
 of the Company's servants, in regard to the prosecution and management of  
 war in India, or to the political direction of affairs, or to any treaties with the  
 powers in India, that the Directors should be obliged to obey such order,  
 and to send it out to India immediately. . . . He thought it would be a de-  
 sirable thing to establish a Court of Judicature in this kingdom, to hear and  
 determine, in a summary way, all charges of peculation and oppression in  
 India." *Ib.* p. 326.



the 24th of June, 1778, when they had paid their loan to the public, and reduced their bond debt to the pre-appointed limits, had been in possession of all the profits arising from the Indian territory, exempt from participation with the public, they pay 400,000*l.* to the public, in discharge of all claims upon that account previous to the 1st of March, 1781 : that all the former privileges granted to the Company be continued to them, till three years' notice after the 1st of March, 1791 : that the Company pay out of their clear profits, a dividend of eight per cent. per annum on the capital stock, and of the surplus three-fourths to the public, reserving the remainder to their own use : and that the claims with respect to the territory, on the part both of the Crown and of the Company, remain unaffected by the present act. Of the propositions, thrown out by the minister, for the introduction of reforms into the government of India, only one was carried into effect ; namely, that regarding the powers of ministers over the political transactions of the Company. It was ordained that they should communicate to ministers all despatches which they sent to India, with respect to their revenues, and their civil and military affairs ; and that in all matters relative to war and peace, and transactions with other powers, they should be governed by the directions which ministers might prescribe.<sup>1</sup>

On the 12th of February, 1781, petitions from the Governor-General and Council, and from a number of British subjects residing in Bengal, and from the United Company of merchants trading to the East Indies, against the pretensions and proceedings of the Supreme Court of Judicature, were read in the House of Commons ; and after a debate it was agreed, that a Select Committee should be chosen to whom they were referred. This was that celebrated committee who were afterwards instructed to take into consideration the administration of justice, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa ; and in what manner that country might be governed with the greatest advantage to the people, both of Great Britain and of India ; in which Committee the most conspicuous, as well as the most laborious member, was Edmund Burke.

The Select Committee was moved for by General Smith,

<sup>1</sup> 21 Geo. III. cap. 65.



BOOK V. who belonged to what is called the opposition party  
 CHAP. IX. in the House; and it was chiefly composed of members  
 1781. who had acted not in concert with the minister. That a want of equal zeal for the elucidation of Indian delinquency might not be imputed to his party, the minister, on the 30th of April, immediately after the arrival of the news of the irruption of Hyder Ali into the Carnatic, moved for the formation of a Secret Committee, who should inquire into the causes of the war, then subsisting in the Carnatic, and into the state of the British possessions on the coast. This Committee was composed almost entirely of persons connected with the minister; and Mr. Henry Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland, was its presiding and most active member.

The first of these Committees presented the House with twelve Reports, the other with six; and the public is deeply indebted to them for the publication of the most important documents of the Indian government, during the period to which their inquiries applied. Any considerable desire for the welfare of India, guided by any considerable degree of intelligence, would have drawn a great lesson from that example. An adequate plan for a regular, and successive, and still more perfect publication of the most material documents of the Indian administration, would be one of the most efficient of all expedients for improving the government of that distant dependency.<sup>1</sup>

On the 23rd of May, a report from the Select Committee on the petitions against the Supreme Court was read; and leave to bring in a bill for the better administration of justice in Bengal, for the relief of certain persons imprisoned at Calcutta under a judgment of the Court, and for indemnifying the Governor-General and Council for resisting its process. The subject was debated on the

<sup>1</sup> The Reports of the two Committees, described in the text, undoubtedly contain a vast mass of authentic and important matter, so as to have extracted from the Records of the Company all that is of consequence for the elucidation of events during the periods to which they refer. Some of the contents are trivial and irrelevant, but the whole compilation is of exceeding value. Many important official documents, illustrative of the history of British India, have been published from time to time, since the date of those celebrated Reports, and, consistently with the spirit of the present day, official muniments regarding India likely to be multiplied. Their utility, however, is even already impaired by their abundance, and the labour of consulting them is unfavourable to their being advantageously consulted. A systematized and judicious selection is wanted, to render them conveniently subservient to public information.—W.

19th of June, Mr. Dunning being the most remarkable of the opponents of the bill. It was passed without delay; and it exempted from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court the Governor-General and Council, all matters of revenue, and all Zemindars, and other native farmers and collectors of the revenue.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK V.  
CHAP. IX.  
1782.

Lord North resigned the office of Minister in the month of March, 1782; and was succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham and party, the hostility of whom to the present managers in India was sufficiently known.

On the 9th of April, 1782, Mr. Dundas moved that the reports which he had presented as Chairman of the Secret Committee should be referred to a Committee of the whole House; and, in a speech of nearly three hours in length, unfolded the causes and extent of the national calamities in the East. He expatiated on the misconduct of the Indian Presidencies, and the Court of Directors; of the former, because they plunged the nation into wars for the sake of conquest, contemned and violated the engagement of treaties, and plundered and oppressed the people of India; of the latter, because they blamed misconduct only when it was unattended with profit, but exercised a very constant forbearance towards the greatest delinquency, as often as it was productive of a temporary gain. The speech was followed up by a number of propositions, which he moved in the shape of resolutions. Beside the reproaches which these resolutions cast upon the general strain of the Company's administration in India, they pronounced a condemnation, so strong upon the measures of the Presidency of Madras, that nothing less than criminal proceedings against the authors of them could accord with so vehement a declaration of their guilt. The resolutions

<sup>1</sup> The object of the act is not so much to exempt from the jurisdiction of the Court natives of India inhabitants of the provinces, as to forbid the pretexts under which they had been attempted to be brought within that jurisdiction. It is therefore enacted, that no person shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, for, or by reason of his being a land-owner, land-holder or farmer of land, or deriving his support in any way from connexion with landed property, or exercising any ordinary or local authority commonly annexed to the possession or farm of lands. It also declared that no native, for or by reason of his being employed by the Company, or British subjects, either in public or private matters, should become subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, in any questions of inheritance or contract, except under special agreement. The exemptions of the Governor and Council, and the prohibition of the Court's interference on matters of revenue, are as stated in the text. See a useful compilation, entitled the Law relating to India and the East India Company, 1840, p. 41.—W.



BOOK V. were solemnly voted ; articles of charge against Sir  
 CHAP. IX. Thomas Rumbold and other Members of the Madras  
 1782. Council were adopted ; and a bill of pains and penalties, for breaches of public trust, and high crimes and misdemeanors, committed by Sir Thomas Rumbold, was introduced by Mr. Dundas. The bill was read a first time. Before the second reading, Sir Thomas Rumbold was heard in his defence. The session drew to a close, before a great progress was made. In the beginning of 1783, the state of the ministry was unsettled. And, as if, when ministry is unsettled, parliament were inadequate to its functions, the bill was neglected till the middle of the session. After the middle of the session, the members soon began to be remiss in their attendance.<sup>1</sup> And on the 19th of December, immediately after the dismissal of Mr. Fox's coalition ministry, a motion was made and carried for adjourning the further consideration of the bill till the 24th of June next, by which the prosecution was finally dropped. Sir Thomas consented to accept of impunity without acquittal ; his judges refused to proceed in his trial, after they had solemnly affirmed the existence of guilt : and a black stain was attached to the character of them both.

Beside his prosecution of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Mr. Dundas proceeded to urge the legislature to specific propositions against Mr. Hastings and Mr. Hornby, the presiding members of the other Presidencies. Against Mr. Hastings, in particular, he preferred a grievous accusation, grounded on the recent intelligence of the ruin brought upon the Raja Cheyte Sing. On the 30th of May, 1782,

<sup>1</sup> On the 2nd of May, 1783, "The Lord Advocate complained of the very thin attendance that he had hitherto found, whenever the bill of pains and penalties against Sir Thomas Rumbold became the subject of discussion. He wished to know whether it was seriously intended to pursue the business to the end or not ? If it was the intention of the House to drop it, he wished to be made acquainted with that circumstance, and then he would not move for another hearing on the subject ; for it was a mockery to go into the evidence on the bill, when there could not be kept together a sufficient number of members to make a house.—Mr. Fox declared, that, to drop the bill would be productive of the most fatal consequences ; for it would convince the world, that the most atrocious misconduct in India would meet with impunity in parliament. And, therefore, he requested gentlemen would, for the credit, honour, and interest of the country, attend to the evidence for and against the bill. If the bill should be lost for want of attendance, it would not clear the character of Sir T. Rumbold. On the other hand, it would hold out his idea to the people of India, that it was in vain for them to expect redress of their grievances in England—Mr. W. Pitt thought, that some mode might be devised to enforce attendance, as in the case of ballots for election committees." Parliamentary History, xxiii. 805.

he moved, and the House adopted, the following resolution: "That Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor-General of Bengal, and William Hornby, Esq. President of the Council of Bombay, having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expenses on the East India Company, it is the duty of the Directors of the said Company to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said Governor-General and President from their respective offices, and to recall them to Great Britain." The Marquis of Rockingham was still minister; and his party appeared to have firmly determined upon the recall of Mr. Hastings. The vote of the House of Commons was therefore followed by a similar proceeding on the part of the Directors. But the death of the Marquis, which happened at this critical period, gave courage and strength to the friends of that Governor, and in a Court of Proprietors of East India Stock on the 31st of October, 1782, the order of recall which had been made by the Court of Directors was rescinded by a large majority.

On the 24th of April, 1782, the Chairman of the Select Committee presented a series of resolutions, which referred to little more than two points. Mr. Sullivan, who was Chairman of the East India Company, had mis-stated a conference held between him and certain Members of the House of Commons; and the consequence had been, that the relief intended to certain persons confined in the common gaol at Calcutta, had been considerably delayed. Mr. Sullivan had also postponed the transmission of the act of parliament for the remedy of the evils arising from the proceedings of the Supreme Court of Judicature. Mr. Sullivan had, moreover, bound a clerk at the India House, peculiarly qualified to give information, by an oath of secrecy, from communicating evidence to the Select Committee. A series of resolutions were, therefore, moved and carried for the censure of Mr. Sullivan. This is the first of the points to which the resolutions moved on the part of the Select Committee referred. On the second, viz. the conjunct transaction of Mr. Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey, in making the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court head of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, it was

BOOK V.

CHAP. IX.

1783.



BOOK V. resolved, that the dependence of the Chief Justice, created  
 CHAP. IX. by holding emoluments at the pleasure of the executive  
 1783. government, was inconsistent with the faithful administration of justice. That the Governor-General and Chief Justice were highly culpable in that transaction : and that the appointment should be immediately vacated and annulled. To these resolutions were added other two : the first, "That the powers given to the Governor-General and Council by the East India Act of 1773, ought to be more distinctly ascertained." The second, "That it will be proper to reduce into one act the several acts of parliament made to regulate the East India Company, and further to explain and amend the same, and also to make new regulations and provisions to the same end." The whole of these resolutions were carried ; and upon those which related to the dependence, in other words the corruption, of the Chief Justice, was founded a resolution, voted on the 3rd of May, for an address to the King, that he would recall Sir Elijah Impey, to answer for his conduct in that transaction.

The vote of the Court of Proprietors, in opposition to the recall of Mr. Hastings, was severely reprobated by Mr. Dundas, at the beginning of the next session of parliament, when he moved, that all the proceedings in relation to it should be laid before the House ; and pronounced it an act both dangerous in principle, and insulting to the authority of parliament.

On the 5th of March, 1783, a petition from the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies was presented to the House of Commons, and referred to a Committee. It set forth, that having paid 300,000*l.* of the sum exacted of them for the benefit of the public, by the late act, they were unable to pay the 100,000*l.* which remained ; that the advances which had already been received by the public "were made under mistaken ideas of the petitioners' pecuniary abilities ;" that the aid necessary to carry on their affairs only to the 1st of March, 1784, would, upon the most moderate calculation, be 900,000*l.*, even if excused the payment of the sum of 100,000*l.*, due upon the late agreement ; and they prayed, that if reimbursement be not made to them, they be allowed to increase their bond debt, without diminishing their dividend,

which would affect their credit ; that they be not required to share anything with the public, till the increase thus made of their bond debts be again wholly reduced ; that the term of their exclusive privileges, a short term being injurious to their credit, should be enlarged ; and that the petitioners be relieved from that share of the expense attending the service of the King's troops and navy which according to the late act they were bound to afford. Two acts were passed for their relief ; the first allowing more time for the payment of the taxes for which they were in arrear, and enabling them to borrow money on their bond, to the amount of 500,000*l.* ; the second act (the relief granted by the first being found insufficient), accommodated them with a loan from the public to the amount of 300,000*l.* ; both acts permitting them to continue a dividend of eight per cent. ; though, after paying necessary expenses, their receipt fell short of that dividend by a sum of 255,813*l.*<sup>1</sup> They borrowed money, therefore, to be divided among themselves, to that amount ; a singular way for a trader to keep out of debt.

Upon the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, became minister, and continued in office from the 13th of July, 1782, till the 5th of April, 1783. At that time, the coalition of Lord North and Mr. Fox gave existence to the ministry which that circumstance has served to designate, and to characterize.

The former exertions of Mr. Dundas, in the investigation and adjustment of the nation's Indian affairs, were followed up by a bill, which he introduced to the House on the 14th of April, 1783. Its principal provisions were these : That the King should have the power of recall over the principal servants of the Company : that the Governor-General and Council of Bengal should have a controlling power over the other presidencies ; and that the Governor-General should have a power of acting, on his own responsibility, in opposition to the opinion of his Council : that the Governors of the other presidencies should not have a power of originating any measure contrary to their Councils, but a power of suspending their

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<sup>1</sup> See the acts of 23 Geo. III. cap. 36 and 89 ; and Cobbett's Parl. Hist. xxiii. 571.

BOOK V. action by a negative till the opinion of the Controlling  
 CHAP. IX. Presidency should be known : that the displaced Zemindars should be replaced : that the Raja of Tanjore should be secured in all his present possessions. In his speech he repeated his former arguments for the recall of Mr. Hastings ; and then launched out into the numerous and extraordinary circumstances, which pointed out Lord Cornwallis as the fittest person in the world for the government of India. "Here there was no broken fortune to be mended ! Here was no avarice to be gratified ! Here was no beggarly, mushroom kindred to be provided for ! No crew of hungry followers, gaping to be gorged !" <sup>1</sup> Leave was given to bring in the bill. But Mr. Dundas, who was now in opposition, and of course received no encouragement from the ministry, did not persevere.

On the 11th of November, in the year 1783, a new parliament met. In the speech from the throne they were informed, that definitive treaties of peace had been signed, or preliminaries ratified, with the courts of France and Spain, with the United States of America, and the States General of the United Provinces. They were also informed, that among the important objects, the urgency of which had required their presence after so short a recess, the affairs and government of India solicited the utmost exertions of their abilities, and that the fruit was now expected of those important inquiries, which had been so long and diligently pursued.

By the treaty of peace with France, Pondicherry, and Carrical, to both of which some territory was annexed, the whole of the possessions which France enjoyed in Bengal and Orissa at the commencement of the war, together with Mahé, and the power of restoring their factory at Surat, were conceded to the French. In the treaty with the Dutch, Trincomalee was restored ; but Negapatam was retained.

The opponents of the ministry, in both houses of parliament, proclaimed aloud the necessity, occasioned by the state of affairs in India, for instant and effectual reform. They enumerated the abuses which appeared to prevail ; and they called upon, they stimulated, and importuned

<sup>1</sup> See the acts of 23 Geo. III. cap. 36 and 39 ; and Cobbett's Parl. Hist. xliii. 759.



the minister to bring forward a scheme of improvement, and without delay to gratify the impatient expectation of the people. In these vehement calls, the voice of Mr. William Pitt was distinguished for its loudness and importunity. At that time it suited him to desire not only reform, but complete reform: reform, co-extensive with the evil possible to be removed, and the good capable of being attained. He challenged and summoned the minister to bring forward a plan, "not of temporary palliation or timorous expedients; but vigorous and effectual; suited to the magnitude, the importance, and the alarming exigency of the case." Mr. Fox afforded his adversaries but little time to complain of delay.

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His plan was divided into two parts, and introduced in two separate bills; one having a reference to the governing power at home; the other to the administration in India.

I. For constituting an organ of government at home, the two existing Courts of Directors and Proprietors of the East India Company were to be abolished, as totally inadequate to the ends of their institution; and, in their room, seven Commissioners were to be named in the act, that is, chosen by the legislature. These commissioners, acting as trustees for the Company, were to be invested with full powers for ordering and administering the territories, revenues, and commerce of India; and to have the sole power of placing and displacing all persons in the service of the Company, whether in England or abroad.

The following were the most material of the subordinate regulations.

For managing the details of the commerce, but subject to the authority and commands of the Superior Board, nine assistant Directors were to be named by the legislature, being Proprietors, each of not less than 2,000*l.* of East India capital stock.

In the superior body, vacancies were to be supplied by the King; in the inferior, they were to be supplied by the Proprietors, voting by open poll. Removals in the superior body were to be performed by the King, upon the address of either house of Parliament; in the inferior, by the same authority, and also by concurrence



BOOK V. of any five of the Chief Directors, recording their  
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For the more speedy and effectual repression of offences committed in India, the Directors were, within twenty-one days after the receipt of any accusation or charge, to enter upon the examination of it, and either punish the offender, or record their reasons for not punishing.

Before any person who had served in India, and against whom any charge appeared, should be allowed to return, the Directors were to make a particular inquiry into the circumstances of the charge, and to record their reasons for permitting the return.

Upon knowledge of any dispute subsisting between the heads of the different settlements, or between the heads and their councils, the Directors were to institute immediate inquiry, and come to a decision in three months, or to record their reasons why they did not.

If the constituted authorities at any of the settlements should require the direction or opinion of the Directors, they were to give it in three months, or to record their reasons for not giving it.

If any injury to any native prince should be complained of, or appear, the Directors were to inquire, and to make compensation wherever it was due.

For publicity, one expedient was thought to suffice,—that the Directors should, once in six months, lay before the Proprietors the state of the commerce ; and before the commencement of each parliamentary session, should present to the ministers certain political and commercial statements, which the ministers should exhibit to parliament.

It was provided that no Director or Assistant Director, should, while in office, hold any place of profit under the Company, or any place during pleasure under the King ; but neither was to be disqualified for retaining a seat in parliament. And the act was to continue in force during four years.

II. Under the second part of the plan, that which had for its object the reform of the immediate administration in India, no improvement whatsoever, in the order and distribution of the powers of government, was attempted, and hardly any thing higher was proposed, than to point out what were deemed the principal errors or delinquencies

into which the Indian government had strayed, and to forbid them in future.

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Strict obedience was enjoined to the commands of the Directors, because Mr. Hastings, whenever a strong motive occurred, disobeyed them.

The councils were forbidden to delegate their powers ; because, in two memorable instances, those of his journeys to the Upper Provinces, the Supreme Council had delegated theirs to Mr. Hastings.

The regular communication to the councils of all correspondence, was rendered imperative, upon the Governor-General and other Presidents ; because Mr. Hastings, when he had certain objects to serve, had withheld parts of the correspondence.

Because the other servants of the Company had usually united with the governors, in those proceedings of theirs which were most highly condemned, the servants were to be rendered less dependent upon the governors, by lodging a greater share of the patronage in the hands of the commissioners.

No banyan, or native steward, of any of the principal servants, was to be allowed to rent the revenues ; because the banyan of Mr. Hastings had rented them to a great amount. Such renting to the banyan was declared to be the same thing as renting to the master.

No presents were to be taken, even for the use of the Company ; because Mr. Hastings had taken presents, and screened himself by giving them up, at last, to the Company.

The abolition was to be ordained of all monopolies ; because the Company's servants in Bengal had been the cause of evil, by monopolizing salt, beetel-nut, and tobacco.

Passing then from the imputed errors in Bengal to those at Madras, the bill proposed to enact :

That no protected or dependent prince should reside in the Company's territory, or rent their lands ; because the Nabob of Arcot had disturbed the Presidency with intrigues, by residing at Madras, and had rented, as was alleged, corruptly, the Madras Jaghire.

That no civil or military servant of the Company should lend money to such prince, rent his lands, or

BOOK V. have with him any pecuniary transaction; because, the  
 CHAP. IX. lending of money to the Nabob of Arcot, renting his  
 1783. lands, and other money transactions between him and  
 the Company's servants, had given rise to many inconveniences.

As the inaccurate definition of the limits prescribed to the control of the Governor-General and Council over the other Presidencies, had been fertile in disputes, an attempt, but not very skilful, was made to remove that deficiency, by enacting that it should extend to all transactions which had a tendency to provoke other states to war.

The old prohibition of the extension of territory was enforced, by forbidding hostile entrance upon any foreign territory, except after intelligence of such hostile preparations, as were considered serious by a majority of the Council; forbidding alliance with any power for dividing between them any acquirable territory; and loans of troops to the native princes; excepting, in all these cases, by allowance of the Directors.

The project of declaring the Zemindars, and other managers of the land revenue, hereditary proprietors of the land, and the tax fixed and invariable—originally started by Mr. Francis, and in part proposed for enactment in the late bill of Mr. Dundas—was adopted.

Instead of the regulation, introduced into the bill of Mr. Dundas, that the Governor-General should have a power of acting on his own responsibility, independently of the will of his Council, power was only to be given to him, and to the Presidents at the other settlements, of adjourning or postponing, for a limited time, the consideration of any question in their respective councils.

A mode was prescribed for adjusting the disputes of the Nabob of Arcot with his creditors, and with the Raja of Tanjore.

All offences against the act were rendered amenable to the courts of law in England and India. And all persons in the service of the Company, in India, or in that of any Indian prince, were declared unfit, during the time of that service, and some succeeding time, to hold the situation of a member of the lower house of parliament.

No proceeding of the English government, in modern



times, has excited a greater ferment in the nation, than these two bills of Mr. Fox. An alarm diffused itself, for which the ground was extremely scanty, and for which, notwithstanding the industry and the art with which the advantage was improved by the opposite party, it is difficult, considering the usual apathy of the public on much more important occasions, entirely to account. The character of Mr. Fox, who was at that time extremely unpopular, and from the irregularity of his private habits, as well as the apparent sacrifice of all principle in his coalition with Lord North, was, by a great part of the nation, regarded as a profligate gamester, both in public and in private life, contributed largely to the existence of the storm, and to the apprehensions of danger from the additional power which he appeared to be taking into his hands.<sup>1</sup> In the House of Commons, indeed, the party of the minister eminently prevailed; and though every objection which the imagination of the orators could frame, was urged against the measure, with the utmost possible pertinacity, vehemence, and zeal, the bill passed by a majority of more than two to one.

In the meantime opportunity had been found for alarming the mind of the King. The notion circulated was, that, by vesting the whole patronage of India in the hands of Mr. Fox, by vesting it in a board of commissioners, under his appointment, it would be impossible for the King ever to employ, as minister, any other man; and the power of Mr. Fox would be rendered absolute over both the King and the people. Instead of having recourse to the expedients, which the law had placed in his hands, of dismissing his ministers, or even dissolving the parliament; a clandestine course was adopted, which violated the forms of the constitution. Though it had often been declared that the constitution depended on the total exemption of the deliberations in parliament from the im-

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<sup>1</sup> To prevent misconception, it is necessary to preclude the inference that I concur in the opinion, which I give in the text, as one among the causes of a particular effect. In the private character of Mr. Fox, there was enough, surely, of the finest qualities, to cast his infirmities into the shade. And though, absolutely speaking, I have no great admiration to bestow upon him, either as a speculative or practical statesman; yet, when I compare him with the other men who had figured in public life in his country, I can find none whom I think his superior, none, perhaps, his equal.



BOOK V. pulse of the royal will, the King employed Lord Temple to  
CHAP. IX. inform as many as he thought fit of the peers of parliament, that those who should vote for the Indian Bill, he would take for his enemies. On the day of the second reading of the bill, the minister was left in a minority of seventy-nine to eighty-seven.

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The outcry which was raised against this measure holds a considerable rank among the remarkable incidents in the history of England. It was a declaration, a vehement declaration, on the part of the King, and of the greatest portion of all the leading orders in the state, as well as of the body of the people, that the Commons House of Parliament, as now constituted, is altogether inadequate to the ends which it is meant to fulfil. Unless that acknowledgment was fully made, the outcry was groundless and preposterous.

The essence of the change which Mr. Fox proposed to introduce consisted in this, and in nothing but this: that the Board of Directors should be chosen, not by the owners of Company's stock, but by the House of Commons.

Surely, if the House of Commons were a fit instrument of Government, a better choice might be expected from the House of Commons, than from the crowd of East India Proprietors. The foundation on which the justice of the clamour had to rest, if any justice it contained, was this: that the House of Commons would act under a fatal subservience to the profligate views of the minister. But to suppose that the House of Commons would do this in one instance only, not in others, the motive being the same: that they would make a sacrifice of their duty to their country, in one of the most ruinous to it of almost all instances, while in other instances they were sure to perform it well, would be to adopt the language of children, or of that unhappy part of our species whose reason is not fit to be their guide. If the House of Commons is so circumstanced, as to act under motives sufficient to ensure a corrupt compliance with ministerial views, then, undoubtedly, the House of Commons is a bad organ for the election of Indian rulers. If it is not under such motives to betray the interests of the country to the views of ministers, then it is undoubtedly the best instrument of choice which the

country can afford : nor is there anything which can render it, compared with any other electing body, which could be formed in the country, unfit for this function, which does not, by necessity, imply an equal unfitness for all its peculiar functions : if it is unworthy to be trusted with the election of East India Directors, it is still less worthy to be trusted with the purse-strings of the nation : if there would be danger to the British people in the one case, the danger is far greater in the other.

A heart-felt conviction, that the House of Commons, as now constituted, is totally unworthy of trust, announced in the strongest of all possible terms, by the King, by the principal part of the aristocracy, of the whole, in short, of that part of the nation whose interests and ideas are in the strongest manner linked to monarchical and aristocratical privileges and distinctions, is of infinite importance ; because it may be so employed as to make them ashamed of that opposition to reform, which, by so many selfish and mean considerations, they are in general engaged to maintain.

There is but one allegation, which appears capable of being employed to elude the force of this deduction : that the House of Commons would not act under a profligate subservience to the views of a minister, if subject only to the influence which was then at the command of the minister ; but would be sure to do so, if subject to all that influence which would be created by adding the patronage of India.

This allegation, then, rests upon the assumption, that the profligate subservience of the House of Commons depends wholly upon the degree, more or less, of the matter of influence to which it is exposed : if the quantity to which it is exposed is sufficiently small, it will have no profligate subserviency : if the quantity to which it is exposed is sufficiently great, its profligate subserviency will be unbounded. Admit this : and is anything necessary, besides, to prove the defective constitution of that assembly ? In taking securities against men, in their individual capacity, do we rest satisfied, if only small temptations to misconduct exist ? Does not experience prove, that even small temptations are sufficient, where there is nothing to oppose them ?

BOOK V. In the allegation is implied, that the House of Commons  
 CHAP. IX. would, as not yet feeling the influence of Indian patronage,  
 1783. have, in choosing men for the Board of Direction, at that first time, chosen the best men possible ; but these men, being the best men possible, would have employed the Indian patronage placed in their hands, to corrupt the House of Commons into a profligate subservience to the views of the minister. For what cause ?

The analysis of the plea might, it is evident, be carried to a great extent, but it is by no means necessary ; and for the best of reasons ; because the parties who joined in predicting the future profligacy of the House, universally gave it up. The House of Commons, they said, is now, is at this instant, that corrupt instrument, which the patronage of India applied to it in the way of influence would make it. The House of Commons, they maintained, was then at the beck of the minister ; was, even then, in a state of complete subservience, even for the worst of all purposes, to the minister's views. Mr. Pitt said, " Was it not the principle, and declared avowal of this bill, that the whole system of Indian government should be placed in seven persons, and those under the immediate appointment of no other than the minister himself ? He appealed to the sense and candour of the House, whether, in saying this, he was the least out of order ? Could it be otherwise understood, or interpreted ? That these seven men were not to be appointed solely by the minister." <sup>1</sup> On another occasion, he said, that he objected to Mr. Fox's bill, " because it created a new and enormous influence, by vesting in *certain nominees of the minister* all the patronage of the East." <sup>2</sup> Mr. W. Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville) said, " The bill was full of blanks, and these blanks were to be filled by that House : it was talking a parliamentary language to say, the minister was to fill the blanks : and that the seven commissioners were the seven nominees of the minister : seven commissioners chosen, by parliament ostensibly, but in reality by the servants of the Crown, were to involve in the vortex of their authority, the whole treasures of India : these, poured forth like an

<sup>1</sup> Debate on Mr. Fox's motion for leave to bring in his East India Bills ; Cobbett's Parl. Hist. xxiii. 1210.

<sup>2</sup> Debate on the state of the nation ; Cobbett's Parl. Hist. xxiv. 271.



irresistible flood upon this country, would sweep away our liberties, and all that we could call our own.”<sup>1</sup> But if parliament would choose these seven commissioners at the beck of the minister ; what is there they would not do at the beck of the minister ! The conclusion is direct, obvious, and irresistible. Upon the solemn averments of these statesmen, the question is for ever set at rest.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, it must be admitted, that the bills of Mr. Fox, many and celebrated as the men were who united their wisdoms to compose them, manifest a feeble effort in legislation. They afford a memorable lesson ; because they demonstrate, that the authors of them, however celebrated for their skill in speaking, were not remarkable for the powers of thought. For the right exercise of the powers of government in India, not one new security was provided ; and it would not be very easy to prove, that any strength was added to the old.

I. There was nothing in Mr. Fox's number *Seven*, more than in the Company's number *Twenty-four*, to ensure good government : and by this change of one electing assembly for another, the nation decided, and under the present constitution of the House of Commons decided well, that bad would only be improved into worse.

If such was the nature of the fundamental expedient, it cannot be imagined that the subsidiary ones would impart

<sup>1</sup> Debate on Mr. Fox's motion, ut supra, Cobbett's Parl. Hist. xxiii. 1229.

<sup>2</sup> The character here given of the House of Commons is an exaggerated picture of defects inseparable from its constitution at any period, inseparable from the constitution of all popular assemblies, and proofs not of profligacy ; the term is absurd ; but of the bounded extent of human wisdom and virtue. No assembly, comprising a number of persons of various tempers, prejudices, education, intelligence and interests, will ever be capable of considering any question whatever upon its own merits alone, and, according to their unbiassed judgment ; they will and must act under various influences, the combination of which constitutes the grand element of all parliamentary opinion —party. The ministerial party, be the House of Commons sublimated to the utmost tenuity of purification by the alembic of reform, must always comprise in it elements of strength which may be more than a match for the utmost efforts of the opposition, and it must, therefore, ever be an object of prudent precaution to guard against their augmentation, either in number or efficiency. It was no universal conviction, therefore, that the House of Commons of 1783 was in a special degree unworthy of trust, which rendered the proposed ministerial accession of patronage so widely unpopular, but a reasonable jealousy of that additional influence which not only at that particular period, but in all time to come, in reformed or unreformed parliaments alike, must have accrued to the party of the minister from his monopoly of the East India patronage. It is taking a very circumscribed view of the measure to consider it only in relation to any particular state of the national representation : the objections to it are abstractedly valid at all seasons, and are founded on the constitution of parliament, and the nature of man.—W.



BOOK V. a high degree of merit to the whole. If not absolutely  
 CHAP. IX. nugatory, they were all feeble in the highest degree.

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What useful power of publicity, for example, was involved in transferring annually to the hands of the ministers a certain portion of Indian papers? A proper policy being established between the minister and his seven directors, they could present to parliament everything which favoured their own purposes, keep back everything which opposed them; and thence more effectually impose upon the nation. It seems, from many parts of the bill, to have been the opinion of its authors, that if they only gave their commands to the rulers of India to behave well, they would be sure to do so. As if there were no channel of corruption but one, it was held sufficient, if the directors, while in office, were prohibited from holding places of profit under themselves, and places of profit during pleasure under the King.

The seven directors, in the case of some of their most important decisions, were bound to record their reasons; a most admirable security where the *public* are to see those reasons. Where they are to be seen only by the parties themselves, and by those who have like sinister interests with themselves, as in this case by the minister, they are obviously no security at all.

Good conduct in any situation depends upon the motives to good conduct, which operate in that situation; and upon the chance for intelligence and probity in the individuals by whom it is held. That, in regard to motives, as well as intelligence and probity, the public had less security for good conduct, in the case of the ministerial commissioners, than in the case of Directors chosen by the Company, will be fully made to appear, when we come to examine the nature of the ministerial board erected by Mr. Pitt; a board which, in all those particulars, is very nearly on a level with that of Mr. Fox.

II. With regard to that part of the scheme which was intended to improve the state of administration in India, no change in the order and distribution of the powers of government was attempted. The plan of the machinery, therefore, that is, the whole of its old tendency to evil, described by Mr. Fox as enormous, was to remain the same. All, it is evident, that, upon this foundation, could

be aimed at, was to palliate ; and, in the choice of his palliatives, Mr. Fox was not very successful.

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Merely to forbid evil, in a few of the shapes in which it had previously shown itself, was a slender provision for improvement, when the causes of evil remained the same as before ; both because there were innumerable other shapes which it might assume, and because forbidding, when there is no chance, or little chance, of harm from disobedience, is futile, as a barrier against strong temptations.

To lessen the power of the Chief Ruler in selecting the immediate instruments of his government, was so far to ensure a weak and distracted administration. The sure effect of it was, to lessen the power of a virtuous ruler in obtaining assistance to good. And as the co-operation of the inferior servants, in the imputed plunder, embezzlement, and oppression, was secured, not by the power of the Governor-General to promote them, but by the common interest which they had in the profits of misrule ; his not having the power to promote them was no security against a co-operation secured by other means.

In respect to sanctions, on which the efficiency of every enactment depends, Mr. Fox's bill provided two things : chance of removal, and prosecution at law ; nothing else. In respect to chance of removal ; as the effect of the bill was to render the minister absolute with regard to India, those delinquencies alone, which thwarted the views of the minister, created any danger ; those which fell in with his views were secure of protection. From prosecution at law, under tribunals and laws such as the English, a man who wields, or has wielded the powers of government, has it is obvious from long experience, very little to fear.

It really is, therefore, hardly possible for anything in the shape of a law, for regulating the whole government of a great country, to be more nugatory than the bill of Mr. Fox.

On the great expedient for ensuring the rights of the native subjects, borrowed from Mr. Francis, the scheme of declaring the land unchangeable, and the renters hereditary ; we have already made some and shall hereafter have occasion to make other remarks, to show that it is

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 CHAP. IX. than good.

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The prohibition of monopolies and presents, and some other minor regulations, were beneficial, as far as they went.

If this project of a constitution for India proves not the existence of a vast portion of intellect among those by whom it was framed, the objections of those who had only to criticise, not to invent, appear to prove the existence of a still smaller portion among its opponents. Not one of their objections was drawn from the real want of merits in the plan; from its total inefficiency, as a means, to secure the ends, at which it pretended to aim. They were all drawn from collateral circumstances; and, what is more, almost all were unfounded.

The danger to the constitution, in giving the appointment of Directors to the House of Commons, was the subject of the principal cry. But it has been shown that this could have no injurious effect, unless the House of Commons were already perverted from its supposed ends, and the goodness of the constitution destroyed.

Much rhetoric was employed to enforce the obligation created by the "chartered rights of men." But it was justly observed, That the term, "chartered rights of men," was a phrase full of affectation and ambiguity; That there were two species of charters: one, where some of the general rights of mankind were cleared or confirmed by the solemnity of a public deed; the other, where these general rights were limited for the benefit of particular persons: That charters of the last description were strictly and essentially trusts, and ought to expire whenever they substantially vary from the good of the community, for the benefit of which they are supposed to exist.

The loss of the India bill, in the House of Lords, was the signal for the dissolution of the ministry. At the head of the new arrangement was placed Mr. Pitt. On the 14th of January, 1784, he moved for leave to bring in a bill on the affairs of India. A majority of the House of Commons still supported his opponent, and his bill was rejected. Mr. Fox gave notice to the House of his inten-



tion to bring in a second bill. On the 10th of March, however, parliament was dissolved; and in the new House of Commons the minister obtained a decided majority. The re-introduction of his India bill could now wait his convenience.

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The new ministry had been aided in the triumph obtained over their opponents, by all the powers of the East India House, who had petitioned against the bills of Mr. Fox, had employed every art to excite the public disapprobation, and had exerted themselves at the general election to swell the ministerial majority. The minister owed a grateful return. The Company's sale of teas was a principal source of their income. It had of late been greatly reduced by the powers of smuggling. As high price afforded the encouragement of smuggling, a sufficient reduction would destroy it. Any part of the monopoly profit would not have been a pleasant sacrifice to the Company. The public duties, they thought, were the proper source of reduction: and it pleased the minister to agree with them. On the 21st of June, he moved a series of resolutions, as the foundation for an act, which soon after passed, and is known by the name of the Commutation Act. The duties on tea, about 50 per cent., were reduced to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. It was estimated that a diminution would thence arise of 600,000*l.* in the public revenue. Under the style and title of a commutation, an additional window-tax, calculated at an equal produce, was imposed.

To relieve their pecuniary distress, the Company, as we have seen, had applied to parliament for leave to borrow 500,000*l.*, and for a further aid, afterwards of 300,000*l.* in Exchequer bills. They had also prayed for a remission of the duties which they owed to the public, to the amount of nearly a million. They were bound not to accept, without consent of the Lords of the Treasury, bills drawn on them from India, beyond the annual amount of 300,000*l.* Bills, however, had arrived from Bengal, to the amount of nearly one million and a half beyond that amount. For these distresses some provision had been made before the dissolution of the preceding parliament. The minister now introduced a bill, to afford a further relief in regard to the payment of duties, and to enable them to accept



BOOK V. bills beyond the limits which former acts of the legislature  
 CHAP. IX. had prescribed.

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In other pecuniary adventures, the receipts upon the capital embarked are in proportion to the gains. If profit has been made, profit is divided. If no profit, no division. Instead of profit, the East India Company had incurred expense, to the amount of an enormous debt. It was proposed that they should still have a dividend, though they were to borrow the money which they were to divide, or to obtain it, extracted, in the name of taxes, out of the pockets of their countrymen. A bill was passed which authorized a dividend of eight per cent. In defence of the measure, it was urged, that unless the dividend was upheld, price of India stock would fall. But why should the price of India stock, more than the price of anything else, be upheld, by taxing the people? It was also urged, that not the fault of the Company, but the pressure arising from the warlike state of the nation, produced their pecuniary distress. If that was a reason, why was not a similar relief awarded to every man that suffered from that cause? The arguments are without foundation; but from that time to this they have supported an annual taxation of the English people, for the convenience of the parties on whom the government of India depends.

At last, Mr. Pitt's bill, for the better government of the affairs of the East India Company, was again introduced; and being now supported by a competent majority, was passed into an act, on the 13th of August, 1784. With some modification, it was the same with the bill which the former House of Commons had rejected.

The Courts of Directors and Proprietors remained, in form, the same [as before. The grand innovation consisted, in the erection of what was called a Board of Control. This, together with, 1. The creation of a Secret Committee of Directors; 2. A great diminution in the powers of the Court of Proprietors; 3. A provision for a disclosure of the amount of the fortunes brought home by individuals who had been placed in offices of trust in India; 4. The institution of a new tribunal for the trial and punishment of the offences liable to be committed in India; constituted the distinctive features of this legis-

lative exertion ; and are the chief particulars, the nature of which it is incumbent upon the historian to disclose. The other provisions were either of subordinate efficacy, or corresponded with provisions in the bills of other reformers, which have already been reviewed.

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I. The Board of Control was composed of six Members of the Privy Council, chosen by the King, of whom the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the principal secretaries of state were to be two ; in the absence of whom, the senior of the remaining four was to preside. In point of fact, the whole business has rested with that senior ; the other commissioners being seldom called to deliberate, or even for form's sake to assemble. The senior is known by the name of the President of the Board of Control, and is essentially a new Secretary of State ; a secretary for the Indian department. Of this pretended Board and real Secretary, the sphere of action extended to the whole of the civil and military government, exercised by the Company ; but not to their commercial transactions. Its duties, very ill defined, or rather not defined at all, were adumbrated, in the following vague and uncertain terms : "From time to time, to check, superintend and control, all acts, operations, and concerns, which in any wise relate to the civil or military government, or revenues, of the territories and possessions of the said United Company in the East Indies." All correspondence, relative to the government, was to be communicated to the Board ; including all letters from India, as soon as received, and all letters, orders, or instructions intended for India, before they were sent. The Board was also to be furnished with copies of all proceedings of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors ; and to have access to the Company's papers and records. By one clause, it was rendered imperative on the Court of Directors to yield obedience to every command of the Board, and to send out all orders and instructions to India, altered and amended at the pleasure of the Board. On the second introduction of the bill, when a sure majority made the minister bold, a power was added by which, in cases of secrecy, and cases of urgency ; cases of which the Board itself was to be the judge ; the Board of Control might frame and transmit orders to India without the inspection of the Directors.

BOOK V. It was only in the case of a doubt whether the orders of  
 CHAP. IX. the Board of Control related or did not relate to things  
 1784. within the sphere of the civil and military government, that  
 the Directors were allowed an appeal. Such a doubt they  
 were to refer to the King in Council. An appeal from the  
 King's Council, to the King in Council, was an appeal from  
 men to themselves.

Of two bodies, when one has the right of unlimited command, and the other is constrained to unlimited obedience, the latter has no power whatsoever, but just as much, or as little, as the former is pleased to allow. This is the relative position of the Board of Control, and the East India Company. The powers of the Board of Control convert the Company's Courts into Agents of its will. The real, the sole governing power of India is the Board of Control, and it only makes use of the Court of Directors as an instrument, or as a subordinate office, for the management of details, and the preparation of business for the cognizance of the superior power.

The real nature of the machine cannot be disputed, though hitherto its movements have been generally smooth, and the power is considerable which appears to remain in the hands of the Directors. The reasons are clear. Whenever there is not a strong motive to interfere with business of detail, there is always a strong motive to let it alone. There never yet has been any great motive to the Board of control to interfere ; and of consequence it has given itself little trouble about the business of detail, which has proceeded with little harm, and as little benefit, from the existence of that Board. So long as the Court of Directors remain perfectly subservient, the superior has nothing further to desire. Of the power which the Directors retain, much is inseparable from the management of detail.

The grand question relates to the effects upon the government of India, arising from an authority like the Board of Control, acting through such a subordinate and ministerial instrument as the Court of Directors.

It is evident, that, so far as the Directors are left to themselves, and the Board of Control abstain from the trouble of Management, the government of India is left to the imperfections, whatever they were, of the previous



condemned system, as if no Board of Control were in existence. In that part of the business, in which the Board takes a real share, it is still to be inquired, what chance exists, that better conduct will proceed from the Board of Control, than would have proceeded from the Court of Directors ?

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Good conduct in public men arises from three causes ; from knowledge or talent : from the presence of motives to do good ; and the absence of motives to do evil.

I. Few men will contend that the lord, or other person, whose power, or powerful kinsman, may recommend him for President of the Board of Control, is more likely to possess knowledge or talent, than the Court of Directors. That which the practical state of the British constitution renders the presiding principle in directing the choice of men for offices wherein much either of power or money is to be enjoyed, affords a much greater chance for ignorance than knowledge. Of all the men who receive education, the men who have the most of parliamentary interest are the least likely to have any unusual portion of talent ; and as for appropriate knowledge, or an acquaintance in particular with Indian affairs, it cannot be expected that the Board of Control should, except by a temporary and rare contingency, be fit to be compared with the Court of Directors ; besides, it would have been easy, by laying open the direction to men of all descriptions, and by other simple expedients, to increase exceedingly the chance for talent in the Court of Directors.

II. If the Board of Control, then is more likely than the Court of Directors to govern India well, the advantage must arise from its situation in regard to motives : motives of two sorts ; motives to application ; and motives to probity. Both the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors, are destitute of these motives to a high degree ; and it is a matter of some nicety to make it appear on which side the deficiency is most extraordinary.

Motives to application, on the part of the Board of Control, can be discovered none. And application, accord-



BOOK V. ingly, such as deserves the name, a careful pursuit of  
 CHAP. IX. knowledge, with incessant meditation of the ends and the  
 1784. means, the Board has not even thought of bestowing. If  
 Mr. Dundas be quoted as an objection, it is only necessary  
 to explain the circumstances of the case. The mind of  
 Mr. Dundas was active and meddling, and he was careful  
 to exhibit the appearance of a great share in the govern-  
 ment of India ; but what was it, as President of the Board  
 of Control, that he ever did ? He presented, as any body  
 might have presented, the Company's annual budget, and  
 he engrossed an extraordinary share of their patronage.  
 But I know not any advice which he ever gave, for the  
 government of India, that was not either very obvious, or  
 wrong.

The Institution of the Board of Control, as it gave  
 no motives to application in the members of that  
 Board, so it lessened prodigiously the motives to ap-  
 plication in the Court of Directors. Before the exis-  
 tence of the Board of Control, the undivided reputation  
 of good measures, the undivided ignominy of bad, re-  
 dounded to the Court of Directors. The great sanction  
 of public opinion acted upon them with undivided energy.  
 Men are most highly stimulated to undergo the pains  
 of labour, when they are most sure of reaping the fruits  
 of labour ; most surely discouraged from labour, when  
 they are least sure of reaping its advantages ; but, in  
 taking pains to understand the grounds of action, and  
 laboriously to frame measures adapted to them, the  
 Court of Directors, before their subjugation to the  
 Board of Control, were sure of reaping the fruits of  
 their labours in the execution of their schemes. What  
 motive, on the other hand, to the laborious considera-  
 tion of measures of government, remained, when all  
 the fruits of knowledge and of wisdom might be rejected  
 by the mere caprice of the President of the Board of  
 Control ?

Such is the sort of improvement, a retrograde improve-  
 ment, in respect to knowledge or talent, and in respect to  
 application, which the expedient of a Board of Control  
 introduced into the government of India.

It only remains that we examine it in relation to pro-

bity; and inquire, whether the men who compose it are subject to the action of stronger, or weaker motives, to the exercise of official probity, than the Court of Directors.

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There are two sorts of motives, on which, in regard to probity, the conduct of every man depends: by the one he is attracted to virtue; by the other repelled from it.

In regard to attracting motives, very little is provided to operate either upon the Board of Control, or the Court of Directors. The sanction of public opinion, the credit of good, and the discredit of bad conduct, is one source: and it does not appear that there is any other. In the first place, it ought to be remembered, as a law of human nature, that the influence of this sanction is weakened, or more truly annihilated, to any important purpose, by division. Whatever might have been its force, upon either the Board of Control, or the Court of Directors, acting alone, it is infinitely diminished when they act both together; and, by sharing, go far to destroy responsibility.

For the salutary influence of public opinion, both the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors, are unfavourably situated; but it will probably, without much dispute, be allowed, that the Court of Directors is the least unfavourably situated. So long as they acted by themselves, the Court of Directors were exposed, without shelter, to the public eye. The President of the Board of Control is the mere creature of the minister, existing by his will, confounded with the other instruments of his administration, sheltered by his power, and but little regarded as the proper object either of independent praise, or of independent blame.

With regard to motives repelling from probity, in other words, the temptations of improbity, to which the Board of Control and the Court of Directors are respectively exposed, the following propositions are susceptible of proof:—That almost all the motives of the deleterious sort, to which the Court of Directors stand exposed, are either the same, or correspond, with those to which the Board of Control is exposed. That those to which the

BOOK V. Court of Directors are exposed, and the Board of Control  
 CHAP. IX. is not exposed, are of inconsiderable strength : that those  
 1784. to which the Board of Control is exposed, and the Court  
 of Directors are not exposed, are of great and uncommon  
 strength : and that by the conjunct action of the two  
 bodies, the deleterious motives of the one do not destroy  
 those of the other, but combine with them, and increase  
 the power of the whole.

It is to be observed, that neither the Board of Control, nor the Court of Directors have any *direct* interest in the misgovernment of India. Their ambition is not gratified by the unnecessary wars, nor their pockets filled by the oppressions and prodigalities of the India rulers. In as far as the Directors are proprietors of Indian stock, and in as far as good government has a tendency to increase the surplus produce of India, and hence the dividend upon stock, the Court of Directors have an interest in the good government of India. The Board of Control, as such, has necessarily no such interest ; in this respect ; therefore, it is inferior to the Court of Directors.

If exempt from motives of the *direct* kind, to them is government of India, it remains to inquire what are the motives of the *indirect* kind, to the action of which the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors, are severally and respectively exposed.

In the first place, we recognise the love of ease ; an incessant force, and for that reason of the most potent agency in human affairs. Bating the cases in which the result depends not upon the general qualities of the species, but the accidental ones of the individual, this is a motive which it is not easy to find other motives sufficient to oppose ; which, in general, therefore, prevails and over-rules. This is a motive, to the counteraction of which, there is scarcely anything provided, in the case either of the Board of Control, or of the Court of Directors. To a great extent, therefore, it is sure to govern them. Provided things go on in the beaten track, without any unusual stoppage or disturbance, things will very much be left to themselves.

Little, however, as is the application to business, which



can rationally be expected from the Court of Directors, still less can be looked for on the part of the Board of Control, where either hereditary idleness and inefficiency will preside; or the mind of the President will be engrossed by those pursuits and struggles on which the power of the ministry, or the consequence of the individual, more immediately depends. The consequence is certain; whenever aversion to the pain and constraint of labour governs the superintendent, the interest of the subordinates, in every branch, is naturally pursued at the expense of the service, or of the ends which it is the intention of the service to fulfil.

Beside the love of ease, which everywhere is one of the chief causes of misgovernment, the motives to the abuse of patronage, and to a connivance at delinquency in India, seem almost the only deleterious motives, to the operation of which either the Board of Control, or the Court of Directors, are exposed.

In regard to patronage, the conduct of the Court of Directors will be found to exhibit a degree of excellence which other governments have rarely attained. In sending out the youths who are destined for the different departments of the service, the Directors have been guided, no doubt, by motives of affection and convenience; but all youths go out to the lowest stations in their respective departments, and can ascend only by degrees. The rule of promotion by seniority has sometimes been too rigidly observed; seldom, comparatively, violated by favouritism. The Directors, who send out their relatives and connexions, have very often retired from the direction, before the youths whom they have patronized are of sufficient age or standing in the service, to occupy the stations in which the power of producing the greater evils is enjoyed.

But, as the constitution of the Court of Directors has prevented any considerable abuse of patronage; so the situation of the British minister, depending as he does upon parliamentary interest, creates, it may, without much fear of contradiction, be affirmed, a stronger motive to the abuse of patronage, than, under any other form of government, was ever found to exist. In this respect, good government is far less exposed to violation from an insti-



BOOK V. tutition such as that of the Court of Directors, than an  
 CHAP. IX. institution such as that of the Board of Control.<sup>1</sup>

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To connivance at delinquency in India, the Directors may be supposed to be led by three sorts of motives :

1. Inasmuch as they may have been delinquents themselves.

2. Inasmuch as they may send out sons and other relatives, who may profit by delinquency.

3. Inasmuch as delinquents may be proprietors of India stock, and hence exert an influence on the minds of Directors.

1. The motive to connive at any delinquency, in which a man is to have no profit, because he himself has formerly been delinquent in a similar way, must be regarded as a feeble, if any motive at all. Experience proves it. Clive was not less violent against the undue emoluments of the Company's servants, because he had drawn them so copiously himself. If the Court of Directors be inferior in this respect to the Board of Control, it must be allowed to be an inferiority easily compensated by other advantages. Besides, if a man must be supposed to sympathize with delinquency, because he has been a delinquent himself, the disposition is pretty nearly the same which leads to delinquency in India and in England ; and hence a danger fully as great, of finding this kind of sympathy at the Board of Control, as in the Court of Directors.

2. The Directors may send out sons and nephews. So may the Secretary of State for the India department, the President of the Board of Control.

3. East India delinquents may operate on the minds of Directors through influence in the Court of Proprietors. East India delinquents may also operate on the minds of ministers through parliamentary influence. And the latter operation, it is believed, will certainly appear to be, out

<sup>1</sup> "With respect to the abuse of patronage," said Mr. Windham, in his famous speech (May 26th, 1809) on Mr. Curwen's Reform Bill, "one of those by which the interests of countries will in reality most suffer, I perfectly agree, that it is likewise one, of which the government, properly so called, that is to say, persons in the highest offices, are as likely to be guilty and from their opportunities more likely to be guilty than any others. Nothing can exceed the greediness, the selfishness, the insatiable voracity, the profligate disregard of all claims from merit or services, that we often see in persons in high official stations." Parliamentary Debates, xiv. 758 ; for publication in which the speech was written and prepared by the author.

of all comparison, the stronger, and more dangerous operation of the two. BOOK V.

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In point of fact, the influence exerted upon the Directors through the Court of Proprietors has never been great. The Court of Directors have habitually governed the Court of Proprietors ; not the Court of Proprietors the Court of Directors. The Company's servants returned from India have not been remarkable for holding many votes in the General Court.

The powerful operation of ministerial support extends to every man in India, whose friends have a parliamentary interest in England. The men who have the greatest power of doing mischief in India, are the men in the highest stations of the government. These are sure to be generally appointed from views of ministerial interest. And the whole force of the motives, whatever they are, which operate to their appointment, must operate likewise to connivance at their faults.

In every one of the circumstances, therefore, upon which good government depends, the Board of Control, when examined, is found to be still more defective, as an instrument of government, than the Court of Directors, the incompetency of which to the right government of India, had been so loudly and so universally proclaimed.

What will be said in its favour is this: That the Board of Control and the Court of Directors check each other. To this end we must of necessity suppose, that where the Court of Directors may have an interest in misgovernment, the Board of Control will have no such interest, and in that case will not allow the Court of Directors to pursue their interest ; that, in like manner, where the Board of Control may have an interest in misgovernment, the Court of Directors will have no such interest, and in that case will not allow the Board of Control to pursue their interest.

According to this supposed mode of operation, the interests of all the governing parties are defeated. The theory unhappily forgets that there is another mode of operation ; in which their interests may be secured. That is the mode, accordingly, which stands the best chance of being preferred. It is a very obvious mode ; the one party having leave to provide for itself, on condition that

BOOK V. it extend to the other a similar indulgence. The motives  
 CHAP. IX. to misgovernment, under this plan, are increased by aggre-  
 1784. gation, not diminished by counteraction. Such are the  
 greater part of the pretended checks upon misgovernment  
 which have ever been established in the world ; and to  
 this general law the Board of Control and Court of Di-  
 rectors do not, certainly, form an exception.

There is still another circumstance ; and one to which  
 the greatest importance will doubtless be attached. So  
 long as the government of India was independent of the  
 minister, he had no interest in hiding its defects ; he  
 might often acquire popularity by disclosing them. The  
 government of India, in these circumstances, was subject  
 to a pretty vigilant inspection from Parliament. Inquiries  
 of the most searching description had twice been insti-  
 tuted, and carried into its innermost recesses. The per-  
 sons charged with the duties of government in India,  
 acted under a full sense of the attention with which they  
 were watched, and of the exposure to which their conduct  
 was liable. A beneficial jealousy was preserved alive, both  
 in parliament, and in the nation. At that time both  
 erred, perhaps, by too much, rather than too little, of a  
 disposition to presume among their countrymen in India  
 the existence of guilt : a disposition far more salutary,  
 notwithstanding, than a blind confidence, which, by pre-  
 suming that every thing is right, operates powerfully to  
 make every thing wrong. A great revolution ensued, when  
 the government of India was made dependent upon the  
 minister, and became in fact an incorporated part of his  
 administration. Then it was the interest of the minister  
 to prevent inspection ; to lull suspicion asleep ; to ward  
 off inquiry ; to inspire a blind confidence ; to praise in-  
 cessantly the management of affairs in India ; and, by the  
 irresistible force of his influence, make other men praise  
 it. The effects are instructive. From the time of the  
 acquisition of the territorial revenues of Bengal, parlia-  
 ment and the nation had resounded with complaints of  
 the Indian administration. The loudness of these com-  
 plaints had continually increased, till it became the inte-  
 rest of the minister to praise. From that very moment  
 complaint was extinguished ; and the voice of praise was  
 raised in its stead. From that time to this, no efficient



inquiry into the conduct of the government has ever taken place. Yet, in the frame of the government, no one new security can be pointed out, on which a rational man would depend for any improvement; and the incumbrances of the East India Company have continued to increase.<sup>1</sup>

II. It was ordained by this act, that the Court of Directors should choose a Committee of Secrecy, not to exceed the number of three. As often as the Board of Control should frame orders which required secrecy, they were to transmit these orders, without communicating them to the Court of Directors; and receive answers to them under the same concealment. This was a regulation which enabled the Board of Control and the Committee of Secrecy, to annihilate, as often as they pleased, the power of the Court of Directors. With respect to the government of India, the Court of Directors might be regarded as, in fact, reduced to three. Of this subsidiary regulation, the effect was to render more complete the powers of the Board of Control.

III. It was ordained, that no act or proceeding of the Court of Directors, which had received the approbation of the Board of Control, should be annulled, or in any way affected, by the Court of Proprietors. This was a provision, by means of which, as often as it pleased the

<sup>1</sup> The assertion that complaint was extinguished by the new bill, is somewhat incompatible with the fact, that it was immediately followed by the impeachment of Hastings. It is also possible, that that very impeachment exercised more influence than the bill. So impotent a conclusion, after such pompous note of preparation was well calculated to disgust the public, and teach them the salutary lesson of listening in future to complaints with caution and distrust. It would, however, have been more generous to have believed that complaint ceased because grievances ceased; not because the minister had an interest in silencing the aggrieved. And whether he had or not an interest in so doing, the position in which he was now placed was very unfavourable for such a purpose. The author has omitted to notice the origin of a new principle in all questions affecting India, which is, an English House of Commons is more likely to operate as a stimulus to attention than any disinterested tenderness for the condition of the people of India. The administration is now responsible for the foreign and domestic policy of India. This is quite enough to provoke jealousy, to animate inquiry, to keep open the eyes of opposition in a persevering vigil, which the absence of all party-feeling would be too soporific a state to maintain. So far, therefore, was the institution of the Board of Control from administering a narcotic to the representatives of the people in Indian questions, it had a tendency to supply them with new inducements to vivacity. That it failed so to do, that no more instances of public ingratitude welcomed the return of the Governor-Generals, who succeeded Warren Hastings, is to be attributed in candour and in truth to the extinction of all pretext for a similar abuse of the power of the Parliament, as well as to an improvement in the spirit of the House, and to a more extensive knowledge of the nature of our Indian Empire, and the difficulties of its administration, amongst the educated portion of the people.—W.



BOOK V. Board of Control, and the Court of Directors, they could  
 CHAP. IX. annihilate all direct power of the Court of Proprietors.  
 1784. By these several regulations, for more and more lessening  
 the number of persons in whom any efficient part of the  
 power of the East India Company remained, the facility  
 of using it as a tool of the minister, was more and more  
 increased.

IV. The next important provision in the bill of Mr. Pitt, was that by which it was rendered obligatory upon the servants of the Company, to give an inventory of the property which they brought from India. If the undue pursuit of wealth was there the grand cause of delinquency, this undoubtedly was a regulation of no ordinary value. When the amount of a man's acquisitions in India was known, comparison would take place between his acquisitions and his lawful means of acquiring; and the great sanction of popular opinion would operate upon him with real effect. The difficulty of convicting the delinquent would thus be exceedingly diminished; and this prospect of punishment would contribute powerfully to save him from crime.

To the credit of the authors of the bill be it spoken, means of far greater than the usual efficacy were employed to force out the real state of the facts, and to defeat the efforts of concealment or deception. The parties were rendered subject to personal examination upon oath; and, for false statement, to the forfeiture of all their goods, to imprisonment, and incapacitation. Information tending to the detection of falsehood was called for by the greatest rewards.<sup>1</sup>

So important an instrument of good government as this, ought not, assuredly, to be confined to India. Wherever the pursuit of wealth is liable to operate to the produc-

<sup>1</sup> These clauses were repealed, only two years afterwards, in the amended Bill, by Act 26, Geo. III. cap. lvi., and, notwithstanding the commendation bestowed upon them in the text, most justly; for as even Burke, although he opposed some of the amendments, observed of the original law, which rendered every individual who had been in India accountable for his fortune, it was incongruous with the national character, a violation of national rights, unbecoming to the legislature, and disgraceful to the country; it afforded every subterfuge which villany could desire, and exposed honesty alone to ridicule and contempt." The orator treated the following scheme, for the establishment of a Special Tribunal for Indian Delinquencies, with equal severity. All that had been said in its condemnation "fell short of its turpitude; it had no authority, example, similitude, or precedent, except perhaps the Star-Chamber of detestable memory." Parliamentary History, xxv. p. 1276.—W.

tion, in any degree, of bad government, there undoubtedly it ought to exist. BOOK V.  
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V. A new tribunal was constituted, "for the prosecuting and bringing to speedy and condign punishment British subjects guilty of extortion, and other misdemeanours, while holding offices in the service of the King or Company in India." The Judicature was composed of one judge from each of the common law courts in Westminster Hall, chosen by his Court; four peers, and six members of the House of Commons, chosen, after an operose method, by their respective houses of parliament.

Of the procedure, according to which justice was, in this channel, to be administered, the only part which it is here material to notice, is that which regards its powerful instrument, Evidence.

For more effectually opening the sources of evidence, it was ordained, that witnesses should be compelled, by punishment as for a misdemeanor, to attend, and, by fine or imprisonment, at the discretion of the Court, to give evidence. The Commissioners or judges might send for papers, persons, and records, and commit to prison for all prevarication.

The punishment of offences committed in India, by trial in England, conducted under the rules of evidence mischievously established in the English courts, was impracticable, and the attempt absurd. This important truth seems, in part at least, to have been now very clearly perceived by the legislature; and an attempt was made, very feeble indeed, and far from commensurate with the evil, to remedy a defect of the law; a disgusting defect, which ensured, or little less than ensured, impunity to one of the highest orders of crimes.

"Whereas the provisions made by former laws" (such are the words of the statute,) "for the hearing and determining in England offences committed in India, have been found ineffectual, by reason of the difficulty of proving in this kingdom matters done there," it was enacted, that witnesses should be examined in India, by the competent judges; that their testimony should be taken down in writing, and that, when transmitted to England, it should be received as competent evidence by the tribunal now to be established. It was further enacted, "in order"

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(says the statute) "to promote the ends of justice, in ascertaining facts committed at so great a distance from this country, by such evidence as the nature of the case will render practicable," that all writings which might have passed between the Company and their servants in India, might, as far as they related to the facts in question, be read, and their evidence, as far as to the Court might appear to weigh upon the question, should be received. And also, upon the prayer of either of the parties, power was given of obtaining the examination, upon interrogatories, before a commissioner duly appointed, of absent witnesses, the depositions of whom, in this manner procured, should be admitted as evidence.

Of this important provision in the East India bill of Mr. Pitt, the nature will appear, if we consider, first the necessity for it, and next its adaptation to the ends which it had in view.

1. The necessity for it implies, that there was no tribunal, as yet existing in this kingdom, which was adequate for the purpose of punishing and repressing crimes committed in India; because, if there was any such tribunal, no other, for a purpose which might have been answered without it, ought to have been called into existence. By enacting, therefore, a law for the creation of this new tribunal, the legislature of the country, with all the solemnity and weight of legislation, declared, that, for the punishment of crimes of the description here in question, the other tribunals of the kingdom, the courts of law, the courts of equity, and even the high court, as it is called, of parliament, are unfit. In what respect, unfit? Not merely for their absurd exclusion of such evidence as it was ordained that the new tribunal should receive. Because, had this been the only objection, it might have been easily removed, by simply prescribing what sort of evidence they ought to receive. They were, therefore, according to the declaration of the legislature, unfit on other grounds, and these so fundamental, that no superficial change could remove the unfitness.

This declaration is of very great extent. For if the tribunals, previously existing, were all, even with such rules for the admission of evidence, as the legislature might have compelled them to observe, unfit to try and to punish



the crimes of high functionaries in India, they were equally unfit to try and to punish the crimes of high functionaries in England. The crimes of high functionaries are not one sort of thing in England, another sort of thing in India. They are the same sort of thing in both countries. And the only difference is, that the means of proof are to be brought in one case from a greater distance.

BOOK V.  
CHAP. IX.  
1784.

That the courts of law and equity are not tribunals by which the crimes of high functionaries can be repressed, was already the doctrine of the constitution ; since it appointed the method of impeachment before the high court of parliament. The present declaration of the legislature bore, then, particularly, only upon the method of impeachment. That the declaration was just, in regard to the method of impeachment, if any doubt till then could possibly have remained, was made appear, according to the confession of all parties, even in parliament, a few years afterwards, by the trial of Mr. Hastings.

We may then proceed upon it as a fact, fully established by experience, and solemnly recognised by the legislature, that, as far as law is concerned, there is impunity, almost or altogether perfect, to the crimes of high functionaries in England.

2. If we consider the adaptation of this tribunal of Mr. Pitt to the ends which it had in view, we shall first perceive that it was so constituted as to be an instrument in the hands of the minister, and sure to do whatever could be done with any tolerable degree of safety, to secure his objects, whatever they might be.

It consisted of two parts ; three judges sent from the three courts of common law ; and ten members from the houses of parliament. The subservience of the judges of the common-law courts to the minister, or to the master of the minister, is the doctrine of one of the most remarkable parts of the British constitution ; the trial by jury. If it were not for the wrong bias to which the judges of England are liable, and all biases are trifling compared with the bias towards the Court, the institution of a jury would not only be useless, but hurtful. And if this be the doctrine of the constitution, there is assuredly none of its doctrines, which an experience more full and



BOOK V. complete, an experience more nearly unvarying, can be  
CHAP. IX. adduced to confirm.

1784.

Such is the state of the case, in as far as regards that part of the proposed tribunal, consisting of the ordinary judges. With regard to that part which consisted of members chosen by the two houses of parliament, the case is cleared by the doctrine of the authors of the bill themselves. Mr. Pitt and his friends maintained, and nobody affected to deny, that the members to be chosen by parliament for Mr. Fox's Directors, would be "nominees" of the minister. There was nothing which could give the minister a power of nomination in that, which he would not possess in the present case. The second class of the members of the tribunal would, therefore, be "nominees" of the minister.<sup>1</sup>

The subservience of the whole would for that reason be complete. So far only as it was the interest of the minister that justice should be well administered, so far only would there be the *intention* to administer it well. How far, even when it *had* the intention, it would have the *other* qualities requisite for the detection and punishment of the official offences of official men, would demand a long inquiry sufficiently to unfold. I must leave it to the reader's investigation. Enough has probably been said to give a correct, if not a complete, conception of this new expedient for the better government of India.

Such were the five principal provisions in the celebrated India bill of Mr. Pitt. Of other particulars, not many require to be mentioned; and for such as do, a few words will suffice.

<sup>1</sup> For some curious information on this subject, see a debate which took place in the House of Commons, on the 16th of February, 1785, on the positive fact, that a ministerial list of members to be balloted for on the very first choice for this new tribunal, was handed to members, by the door-keeper, at the door of the House. Cobbett's Parl. Hist. xxv. 1054—1060. After some experience, viz. on the 19th of March, 1787, Mr. Burke said, "that the new judicature was infinitely the worst sort of jury that could be instituted, because it had one of the greatest objections belonging to it that could belong to any panel. The members of it were nominated by the minister, and it was known soon after the commencement of every session who they were." Cobbett's Parl. Hist. xxvi. 748. Mr. Pitt said, "if the Right Hon. Gent. meant generally to insinuate, that, in every act of the House, the influence of the minister was prevalent, he should not attempt to enter into the question, nor did he think such an insinuation decent or respectful to parliament." This, if not an admission, was not far from it. The only other circumstance with which he attempted to contradict the assertion was this, that each gentleman gave in a list. True; but what list? The minister's list, or another.

As the increase of the patronage and influence of the minister was the foundation of the furious outcry, which had been raised against the plan of Mr. Fox, there was a great affectation of avoiding all increase of ministerial patronage, by the bill of Mr. Pitt. In particular, no salaries were annexed to the offices of President, or Members of the Board of Control ; and it was stated, that these offices might always be filled, without increase of expense to the nation, or of influence to the Crown, by functionaries who enjoyed other places of profit. We shall afterwards see, that this was a mask ; which it was not long thought necessary that the project should wear.

The patronage of India was left to the Directors, subject to the following inroads : that the nomination of the Commander-in-Chief, who should always be second in Council, should belong exclusively to the King ; that the Governor-General, Presidents, and Members of all the Councils, should be chosen, subject to the approbation of the King : and that the King should have the power of recalling them.

When it is said that the patronage of the Company was left with the Directors, it can only, by any body, be meant, that it was *ostensibly* left. For it never can for one moment be doubted that whatsoever patronage is in the hands of the subordinate and obeying body, in *reality* belongs to the superordinate and commanding. To ministerial purposes in general the patronage of the East India House is the patronage of the minister : in all the departments subordinate to the minister a large portion of the patronage necessarily follows the superintendence of the details. And it is probable that, in the East India House, a less proportion of the patronage remains, not placed immediately at the command of the minister, than in the most immediate departments of his administration, those, for example, of the Admiralty, and the Commander-in-Chief.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Burke said, "The new bill (Mr. Pitt's) vested in the crown an influence paramount to any that had been created by the first bill (Mr. Fox's). It put the whole East India Company into the hands of the crown : and the influence arising from the patronage would be the more dangerous, as those who were to have the distribution of the whole, in reality, though perhaps not in name, would be removeable at the will and pleasure of the Crown." Cobbett's Parl. Hist. xxiv. 354. Mr. Fox said, "By whom is this Board of Superintendence to be appointed ? Is it not by his Majesty ? Is it not to be under his control ? In how dreadful a point of view, then, must the very supposition of an agreement between this Board and the Court of Directors

BOOK V. Such were the contrivances for improving that part of  
 CHAP. IX. the machinery for the Indian government, which had its  
 1784. seat in England. For immediate operation upon the faults  
 of that part of it which had its seat, by unavoidable necessity, in India, the provisions of Mr. Pitt coincided to a great degree with the palliatives of Mr. Fox. A control was given to the Governor-General and Council of Bengal over the other Presidencies. Aggressive wars, presents, and disregard of orders, were forbidden. The Zemindars who had been displaced, were to be restored, and their situation as much as possible rendered permanent; though nothing was said about their hereditary rights, or a tax incapable of augmentation. The debts of the Nabob of Arcot, and his disputes with the Raja of Tanjore, were to be taken into consideration, and a plan of adjustment was to be devised, by the Directors.

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strike every one who attends to it! Must not the existence of such a union extend the influence of the prerogative, by adding to it the patronage of the Company? Is it not giving power to the Sovereign for the ends of influence, and for the extension of that system of corruption which had been so justly reprobated?" Ibid. 395. Mr. Fox again said, "The last parliament, to their immortal honour, voted the influence of the Crown inconsistent with public liberty. The Right. Hon. Gent., in consequence of that vote, finds it probably unequal to the great objects of his administration. He is, therefore, willing to take the present opportunity of making his court—where he knows such a doctrine as the above will never be acceptable—and the plain language of the whole matter now is—that the patronage of India must be appended to the executive power of this country, which otherwise will not be able to carry on schemes hostile to the constitution in opposition to the House of Commons." Ibid. 337.—To these authorities may be added that of the Court of Directors. In the "Reply to the Arguments against the Company's Claim," &c., dated, East India House, 19th January, 1805, it is affirmed, "The control and direction of Indian affairs is not with the Company: unless, indeed, it be argued, that the *small share of patronage left to them* constitutes power and influence: All the great wheels of the machine are moved by government at home, who direct and control the Company in all their principal operations in India." See State Papers in Asiat. Ann. Reg. for 1805, p. 201.









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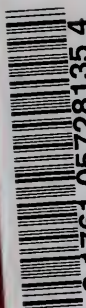
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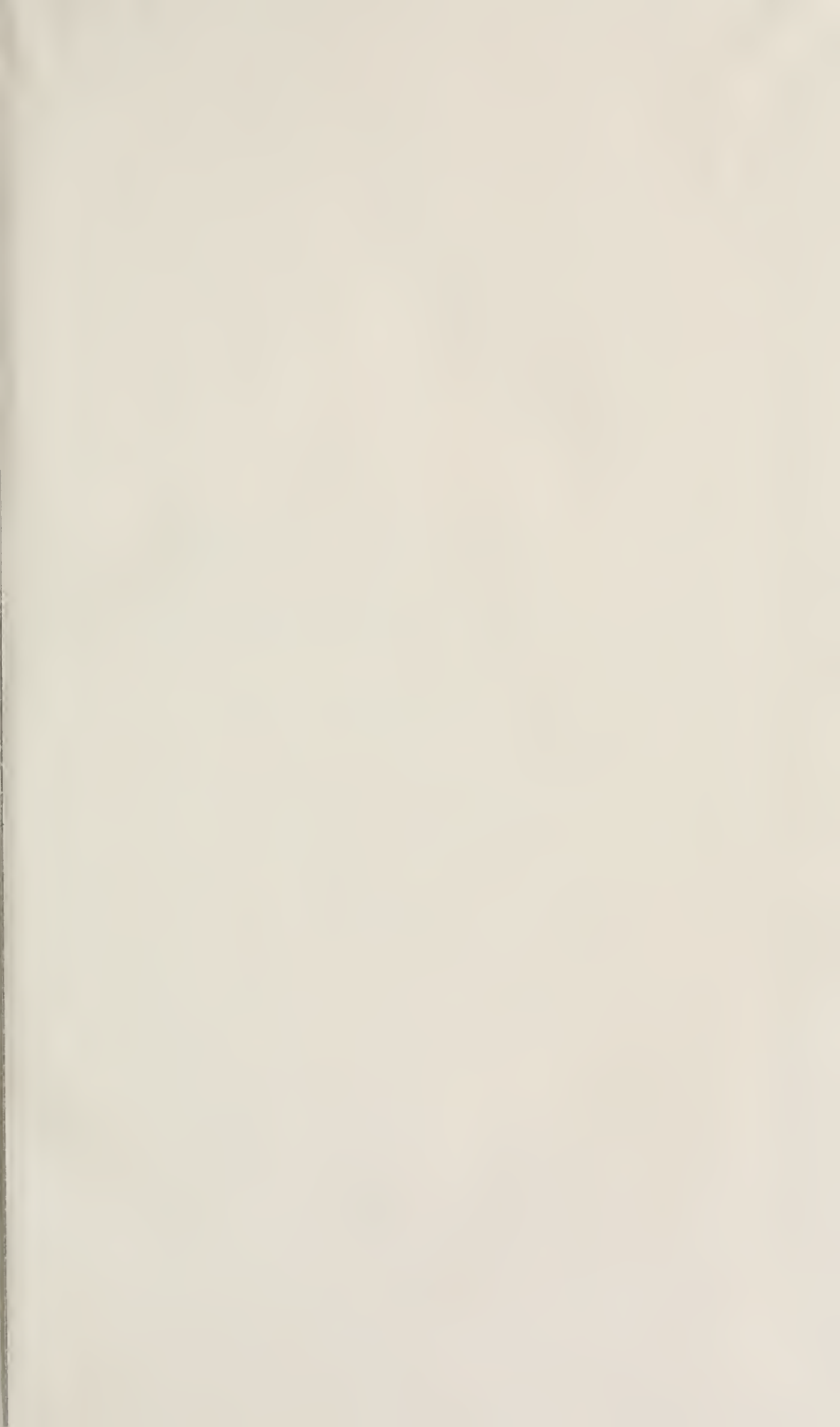


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MILL'S HISTORY  
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IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

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# THE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BY JAMES MILL, ESQ.

FOURTH EDITION, WITH NOTES AND CONTINUATION,

By HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A. F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY AND OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS AND  
CALCUTTA; OF THE IMPERIAL SOCIETY OF NATURALISTS OF MOSCOW;  
OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC. ETC.;  
AND EODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOLUME V.

329315  
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LONDON

JAMES MADDEN AND CO.,

SUCCESSORS TO PARBURY & CO., 8, LEADENHALL STREET.

L. A. LEWIS, FLEET STREET.

MDCCCXXX.

LONDON :

E. VARTY, 27, CAMOMILE STREET, BISHOPSGATE.

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CHAPTER I.

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BOOK VI UPON the departure of Mr. Hastings from Bengal,  
CHAP. I.

1785.

Mr. Macpherson succeeded, as senior in council, to the power and dignity of Chief Governor of the British establishments in India. Certain peculiarities marked the history of this gentleman in the service of the Company. He sailed to Madras in 1766, purser of an India ship; and having obtained the means of an introduction to the Nabob of Arcot, insinuated himself quickly into his inmost confidence. As the Nabob, since the first moment of his deliverance from the terror of the French, had been in a state of perpetual struggle with the servants of the Company for a larger share of power, Mr. Macpherson appears to have flattered him with the hopes of advantage from an application to the British minister; and to have prevailed upon the Nabob to make use of himself as the organ of the attempt. The project was, to persuade the minister, that the Nabob was suffering under a load of oppression by the Company's servants. Mr. Macpherson arrived in England, in execution of this commission, towards the end of the year 1768. Upon his return to Madras, he was, during the administration of Governor Dupré, admitted into the civil service of the Company, and employed by that Governor in the most confidential transactions; particularly, in writing his despatches, to which the superior skill of Mr. Macpherson in the art of com-

position afforded a recommendation. In the year 1776, Lord Pigot was Governor of Madras. Mr. BOOK VI  
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 Macpherson had ascended to the rank of a factor in 1785.  
 the Company's service; when a paper, purporting to be a memorial to the Nabob of Arcot, was presented to the Council by their President. It had no signature: but it recapitulated various services, which the writer had rendered to the Nabob in England; and the concurrence of circumstances rendered it but little possible that he should be any other person than Mr. Macpherson. Mr. Macpherson was called before the Board; and asked whether, or not, he acknowledged the production. Mr. Macpherson replied, "That he could not give a precise answer; that it was not written in his hand, nor signed by him; and that it referred to transactions before he was in the Company's service." Lord Pigot regarded this answer as not only evasive, but a satisfactory proof that Mr. Macpherson was the author; and as the transactions appeared to him to be those of a man unfit for the service of the Company, he therefore moved that he should be dismissed. The following is a passage of the memorial: "The object of this commission was to procure relief from the oppressions under which the Nabob was labouring: to procure this wished-for relief, the means to be employed were, if possible, to raise in the breast of the Prime Minister a favourable respect for the Nabob; then to lay before him the distress of the Prince; likewise to show the advantage which would arise to the state, from granting him the proper protection." In describing his first interview with the Minister, the Duke of Grafton, the memorialist

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1785. said, "I expatiated upon the superior merits of the Nabob; showed that he was the person to whom Britain owed the rise of her power in India; that his attachment and unsullied honour to the English were unparalleled. I then dwelt upon his personal merits, as a statesman and a gentleman; and showed, that though he had assurances of protection, under the sovereign hand, he was treated with indignity, and even tyranny." "Having represented," continues the author, "the Nabob's distress, and the oppressions under which he laboured, in the most cautious manner to his Grace, I availed myself of the disputes which subsisted, or were rather commencing, between his Grace, as First Lord of the Treasury, and the India Directors, to enforce the propriety of supporting the Nabob." Another of the topics which he says he always laboured was, "that the firm support of his Highness was the best restraint which government had upon the usurpations of the servants of a certain Company." The memorialist also desires the Nabob to recollect, whether he was not the inventor of the plea, by which the Nabob claimed to be a party to the treaty of Paris; that is, to rank himself with the princes of Europe, as a member of their general system; and to make the King of France an arbiter between him and the English. Beside the general project of relieving the Nabob from oppression, that is, from the necessity of paying his debts, and of yielding anything from the revenues of the country toward its defence, the memorialist claims the merit of having exerted himself in favour of two other favourite designs of the Nabob; that of usurping the seat of the Subah of the

Deccan, and that of disinheriting his elder in favour of his second son. Beside the arguments which the memorialist employed upon the minister, and the publications by which he boasts of having influenced the public mind, he recurred to other instruments of persuasion. He offered presents to the minister, but they were rejected; and then to the minister's secretary, but they were rejected again. His next offer, but under the necessary portion of disguise, was that of a present to the nation: a sum of seventy lacs, or even more, to be given to the minister, on loan for the public service, at an interest of two per cent.

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1785.

As the memorialist in these transactions appeared distinctly to have lent or sold himself to the Nabob, to act in hostility to the Company, it was decided in the Council, by a majority of nine to two, that Mr. Macpherson should be dismissed from the service. Four of the members, not satisfied with a silent acquiescence in the reasons of the President, add, that "a man of the intriguing disposition which that paper shows Mr. Macpherson to be, is, we think, very unfit to be employed as a servant of the Company; more especially as we believe Mr. Macpherson has been concerned in the intrigues, which the greater part of the Board must be sensible have lately been carried on at the Nabob's Durbar, to the detriment of the Company's service, and which may have impeded the execution of their late orders."

As the Board regarded the evidence against Mr. Macpherson as conclusive, they held it unnecessary to call upon him for a defence. To the Directors, the offence, when it came before them, must have ap-



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peared of a very trivial nature. About the restoration of Mr. Macpherson they seem not to have hesitated. 1785. Their only anxiety was to restore him, without submission to the condition (the votes of three-fourths of the Directors and three-fourths of the Proprietors) prescribed by the act. The opinion obtained from the Company's Council was, that though his dismissal, pronounced without receiving his defence, was informal, he could not, without submission to the clause of the act, be restored. The council added, " And it is worth considering, if Mr. Macpherson should be restored, whether he is a proper person to be continued in the Company's service: He has, in my opinion, too much connexion with the Nabob of Arcot; and when the Company's interest and Nabob's are opposite, (as they will often happen,) they will greatly disturb a man of honour and integrity." As this opinion appears not to have accorded with the wishes of the leading portion of the Directors, they made an experiment whether a more favourable opinion could not be obtained from another quarter. They consulted the Solicitor-General, Wedderburne, who had sufficient power over technical language to satisfy them completely. He pronounced the dismissal of Mr. Macpherson not a dismissal; and by consequence, the clause of the act, which regarded dismissal, had in this case no application. Mr. Macpherson was immediately restored. In announcing, however, this decree to the Governor and Council of Madras, the letter of the Court of Directors has the following words: " But, as his behaviour was disrespectful to the Board, and, in other particulars,

very reprehensible, we direct that you give him a severe reprimand, and acquaint him that a like conduct will meet with a severer punishment." From the humiliation, however, of such a reprimand, and such a menace, the Court of Directors, who prescribed them, afforded him effectual protection. Though restored to his rank and emoluments in the service, he was allowed to remain in England, till January, 1781, when he was chosen to fill the high office, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Barwell, in the Supreme Council of Bengal. This appointment excited the attention of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, who took it under examination, and deemed it of sufficient importance to make it the subject of their third report. The conduct of Mr. Macpherson, who undertook the office of a secret enemy of the Company, and became the willing and mercenary instrument of designs levelled against his country; the conduct of the Court of Directors in shielding such a man from the punishment awarded for his offence, nay distinguishing him, as if he had been a model of excellence, by a most unusual reward; lifting him up from a low rank in the service, and placing him all at once in nearly the highest and most important office which they had to bestow, the Select Committee condemned in language of the greatest severity. The design of the Nabob to exempt himself from all dependence upon the Company, the Committee represented as early formed, systematically pursued, and pregnant with danger. He endeavoured to negotiate a treaty of neutrality with the French, which would have secured that nation at Pondicherry. He carried on, to the perpetual dis-

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1785.

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1785.

turbance of the Company's government, a perpetual system of intrigue, in pursuance of his plan. Of Mr. Macpherson's construction of the article in the treaty of Paris respecting the guarantee of his independence by France, he was eager to take advantage, and to interpose that nation between himself and the English. "By means of such flattering delusions," say the Committee, "the ambition of the Nabob Mohammed Ali had been, before this invention, as well as ever since, stimulated to desperate designs and enterprises; which have disturbed the peace of India, shaken the lawful government of the Company at Madras, wasted his own revenues, and at length brought the power of Great Britain in that part of the world to the verge of ruin."

A copy of this report was sent out by the Directors to Bengal, where Mr. Macpherson was then performing so important a part in the government of India. It was a call upon him for a defence of his own conduct and of theirs. The apology was written, under date the 30th of March, 1783. It consisted of the following particulars: First, an assertion, that the transactions in which he had been engaged for the Nabob of Arcot, were made fully known to the Company's Governor at Madras, at the time when he entered into the Company's service, and that he had never presented any memorial of those transactions to the Nabob, but what had that Governor's approbation: Secondly, of a display of the meritorious proceedings of the Supreme Government in Bengal, from the time when he became a member of it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For these facts, see the Third Report of the Select Committee formed in 1781; and Mr. Macpherson's Letter to the Court of Directors, dated

Upon the first part of this apology, it is obvious to remark, that it consisted entirely of his own affirmation of what passed between himself and a man that was dead. Besides, if it was true, it only proved that a certain governor sanctioned a certain conduct; not that such conduct was innocent. The secret concurrence of a governor, if in any thing wrong, was a collusion between two individuals, not the sanction of government. Upon the second part, an observation equally conclusive was, that the plea was foreign to the charge; for surely the acts of the Supreme Council, whether excellent or the reverse, during the time in which Mr. Macpherson had possessed a seat at the Board, were no proof that nearly twenty years before he had not committed an act, which ought to have excluded him from the service.

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As Mr. Hastings remained in India, till the passing of Mr. Pitt's bill left no longer any doubt of his recall, Mr. Macpherson had time to rise to seniority in the Council; and by virtue of his station, occupied, when left vacant, the Governor-General's chair.<sup>1</sup>

Calcutta, 30th of March, 1783, printed by order of the House of Commons, among the papers laid before them in 1787.

<sup>1</sup> Thus far, relates not to Mr. Macpherson's administration, which alone is the legitimate subject of the History of India, but to matters of a private and personal nature, which have little or no historical importance. The notice is borrowed, both in language and spirit, from the 'Third Report of the Select Committee, the whole of which is most unworthily taken up with similar topics. Admitting, that Mr. Macpherson had, twenty years before, and when he owed no fealty to the Company, advocated the claims of the Nabob of Arcot—admitting that he had, whilst yet young in the Company's employment, memorialized the Nabob on the subject of the services he had rendered him, a fact not substantiated—admitting, that he had been precipitately dismissed and informally restored—these were circumstances that could have been swelled into such magnitude, as to have been deemed worthy of special parliamentary investigation, only by secret



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The state of the revenues; the affairs of Oude ;  
and the proceedings of Sindia, the great Mahratta

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motives, with which we are imperfectly acquainted, but which we may suspect had their origin in some party virulence, provoked by the share which Mr. Macpherson was known to have taken, both in 1769 and 1777, whilst in England, as a writer on the side of the Government. There is no doubt that the Court of Directors and the public duly appreciated the character of the Report, as it led to no ulterior measures. As, however, the personalities of the Committee have been repeated in the text, it is advisable to offer some corrections of them by a statement of the facts. Mr. Macpherson went out to India, nominally, as Purser of the Mansfield Chinaman, commanded by his uncle, Captain Macleod. He was the son of the Rev. Dr. Macpherson, of Sleat, in the Isle of Skye, and received a classical education, first at Aberdeen, and afterwards at Edinburgh, where he was the favourite pupil of Professor Fergusson, and became the tutor of the sons of the Earl of Warwick. He left England in March, 1767. The ship touched at Madras, and Mr. Macpherson, having been introduced to the Nabob of Arcot, speedily acquired so much consideration with him, that he engaged the young man to return to England as his agent, with letters addressed to the Minister: with these he arrived in November, 1768, and presented his despatches to the Duke of Grafton. Whatever may be the truth of the assertions of the memorial, that bribes were offered to the Minister and his Secretary, it is very certain that nothing in Mr. Macpherson's conduct was offensive to either, as it was solely by the Duke's interest that a writership was obtained for him. Mr. Macpherson remained in England till the beginning of 1770; he then sailed to Madras with an appointment in the service, to which, therefore, he was not "admitted by Mr. Dupré." In 1774 he was paymaster to the army. In 1776 he was dismissed. We have seen the violence of the disputes which enlisted the whole of the Madras community as partisans, either of the Governor or the Nabob. Mr. Macpherson had no doubt been flattered by the notice and confidence of the latter; he felt grateful to him as indirectly the cause of his success in life, and he entertained to the last a strong impression of the validity of the Nabob's pretensions to regal independence and power, and of his being treated with indignity and injustice. His expression of these sentiments was no doubt the real cause of Lord Pigot's animosity, and of his removal from the service. Mr. Macpherson returned to England in 1777, and was again the bearer of communications from the Nabob of Arcot, including his 'Will,' in which the King was nominated his executor and the guardian of his family, trusts which were accepted by His Majesty. He was also charged with an account of secret overtures made by France to the Nabob, soliciting his alliance and co-operation, and promising to assist him in recovering Tanjore; information which enabled the English authorities in India to prepare for the war with France that ensued; and under secret orders from the Chairman, and Deputy, and

chief, occupied first the attention of the new administration.

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The state in which Mr. Macpherson received the government, he represents as far from happy and prosperous. In a statement, bearing date the 4th of March, 1785, "The public distress," he says "was never so pressing as in this moment. The season of the heavy collections is over; the demands of Madras and Bombay are most pressing; and our arrears to the army are upwards of fifty lacs."<sup>1</sup> To the Court of Directors, when rendering an account of his government, upon the intimation of his recall, he represents himself, as having been called upon, "to act as their

President of the Board of Control, which the Secretary of State would not sign, to effect the capture of Pondicherry. The readiness with which the Nabob imparted the temptations offered him, displayed none of that disposition to engage in desperate designs against the British power, with which he is charged by the Report, as a consequence of Mr. Macpherson's flattering delusions. These communications, and the support he gave to Lord North's administration, both by his pen, and in parliament, in which he represented Cricklade, no doubt recommended him to the friendship of the minister, and led to his nomination to a seat in Council at Bengal. The Directors in concurring in his appointment, must have felt secure that they had little reason to apprehend his giving countenance to the Nabob, in opposition to the interests of the Company, and more probably anticipated, from his personal influence, the confirmation of the Nabob's purpose in a continued rejection of any intercourse with France. These particulars are derived from private correspondence, and various printed documents, viz.—"Letter to Sir J. Macpherson from J. Robinson, Esq., Secretary to Lord North, dated May, 1800." "Letter from Sir J. M. to the Hon. W. Elphinstone, Chairman of the Court of Directors, August, 1804." "Letter from the same to Whitshead Keene, Esq., M. P., May, 1806;" and from a quarto volume printed by his friends in 1808, entitled, "Case of Sir John Macpherson, &c.," the statements of which are verified by extracts from the Correspondence between the Governments of India and the Court of Directors. See also a notice of Sir John Macpherson in Wraxall's Posthumous Memoirs, vol. i. p. —W.

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Major Palmer, printed among extracts from papers in No. 2, vol. vii., presented to the House of Commons on the 13th of March, 1786.

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Governor-General, at a season of peculiar difficulty, when the close of a ruinous war, and the relaxed habits of their service, had left all their armies in arrear, and their presidencies in disorder.”<sup>1</sup> The loose language, in which the Indian Governors indulge, makes it impossible to know very exactly what Mr. Macpherson indicated, by the term “relaxed habits” of the service; undoubtedly, however, he meant bad government; since he described them as among the causes of some of the worst effects,—armies all in arrear—and presidencies all in disorder.

The Governor-General and Council stood pledged to Mr. Hastings for the maintenance of his new system for the management of Oude. To reduce, however, the drain upon the Nabob’s treasury, produced by allowances and gratuities to the Company’s servants, a rule was introduced, that every thing of this nature should appear upon the face of his accounts, should be recorded by the Council, and transmitted for the inspection of the Court of Directors. A body of troops had been assigned by the Nabob to Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Copy of a Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 10th of August, 1786, printed by order of the House of Commons.—The Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1810, in their Third Report, p. 370, say, “The effects of the war which ended in the year 1783, were particularly prejudicial to the financial system of India. The revenues had been absorbed, the pay and allowances of both the civil and military branches of the service were greatly in arrear; the credit of the Company was extremely depressed: and, added to all, the whole system had fallen into such irregularity and confusion, that the real state of affairs could not be ascertained till the conclusion of the year 1785-6.” Such is the state, in which India was left, by the administration of Mr. Hastings.—M. Such were the inevitable consequences of the ruinous wars engaged in by the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. That the mischief was not incurable, was the merit of Hastings’s administration.—W.

Hastings, as a body guard, during his residence in Oude; and to these troops had been appointed British officers at the Nabob's expense. This too was a burden upon the Nabob which the Governor-General deemed it improper any longer to impose. The expense, however, of Major Palmer, the private agent of Mr. Hastings, left at the seat of the Nabob when the ostensible resident was withdrawn, he was induced "from motives (he says) of delicacy to the late Governor-General, and his arrangements in the upper provinces," not immediately to remove; though the expense was enormous,<sup>1</sup> and the agent employed for no other function than to transmit to the Presidency the letters of the Vizir and present those addressed to him by the Governor-General. The Futty-gur detachment, from the changes which had taken place on the frontiers of Oude, it was also, for the present, deemed unsafe to withdraw. But the Governor-General declared his resolution of confining the military burden imposed upon the Vizir to the smallest amount, consistent with the security of his dominions; and for this he conceived that one complete brigade, in constant readiness, and punctually paid, would suffice.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In all 112,950*l.* of which 22,800*l.* was in salary to Major Palmer alone. The expense of the residency, under Mr. Bristow, which Mr. Hastings had represented as frightfully enormous, amounted to 64,202*l.* See Burke's Charges, No. 16, sect. 89.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter to Major Palmer, quoted in the preceding page.—M. The portion of the text that follows, and which relates to Sindia, belongs almost entirely to the administration of Hastings, and not to that of his successor; of whose measures, therefore, scarcely any account is given. With regard to Sindia, the only important transaction that took place with him, was his demand on behalf of Shah Aulum of the tribute due to the Mogul to the amount of four millions sterling: the demand was civilly,



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The proceedings of Sindia were already an object of great jealousy, if not of dread. In 1781, Mr. 1785.

but peremptorily resisted by Sir John Macpherson's government, not, as might be supposed from the loose manner in which it is alluded to in the text, by that of Hastings. The leading feature of Sir John Macpherson's administration, however, was the eminent success which attended his efforts to reduce public expenditure, and re-establish public credit. In a minute in the Secret Department, dated 15th December, 1785, it is stated, that a comparison of the receipts and disbursements of the year ending 30th April, 1786, exhibited a deficit of about 1,300,000*l*. The arrears due to the armies of the three Presidencies were about two millions. The ascertained Bengal debt alone was about four millions sterling. The troops at Madras and Bombay were in a state of utter destitution, and some of them in open mutiny, from the great amount of their arrears. In this situation, the government of Bengal declared itself responsible for the debts of the three Presidencies. All remittances of cash from the Collectors' Treasuries, were prohibited, until the arrears of troops within or near their districts had been discharged. All civil servants, civil surgeons, and uncovenanted servants drawing more than 300 rupees per month, were to be paid their salaries and all their arrears, with certificates bearing interest at 8 per cent. per annum, until cashed. All issues of paper on account of the Company, except the Company's bonds, were ordered to be registered, the registry was to be published, and the paper was to be paid off in the order of its issue. The cash accumulating in the Treasuries, was to form a fund, by which the certificates and other paper were dischargeable, and under these arrangements the Governor-General and Council publicly expressed their expectations, that "all the paper in currency at the end of 1785, would be paid off in the course of twelve months, through funds derivable from the amount of the reductions made in the established charges of the government, aided by the effects of these regulations, and the additional resources to be derived from the Upper Provinces." These measures were made known to the public by advertisement in the Official Calcutta Gazette, 29th December, 1785, and 15th January, 1786. The orders were followed up by subsidiary arrangements, which completely altered the aspect of affairs. "Every man in the settlement," observes a competent authority on the spot, "witnessed the magical effects of this measure. It operated like a charm in restoring public confidence, which once secured, this moving fund acquired life and activity. At no remote period from the commencement of the plan, Treasury Certificates could raise cash in the market at a discount less than the legal interest of the money. I shall ever bear grateful testimony of the salutary relief from ruin, which the measure afforded to me, and to every trader in the settlement." Prinsep's Proposal of a Substitute for Funding, 1797. In a letter to the Governor of Madras from the Governor-General, dated 20th May, 1786, he writes, "In our reductions of expense, which have been

Hastings, apparently engrossed by one object, the accomplishment of peace with Sindia, and through him with the government at Poonah, overlooked or misunderstood the dangers which were involved in the aggrandizement of the Mahratta chief, and expressly instructed the English ambassador to throw no obstacles in the way of the designs which he entertained against the remaining territories of the Mogul. Toward the end of the year 1782, died Nujuf Khan, whose talents had, even in its present decline, given a portion of stability to the imperial throne. The remaining chiefs by whom it was surrounded immediately broke into general discord. In the petty, but virulent warfare, in which they engaged, the unhappy Emperor was bandied from one to another, according as each, attaining a precarious ascendancy, became master of his person; and he was equally enslaved, and oppressed by them all. About six months after the death of Nujuf Khan, Mr. Hastings, though he had directed Colonel Muir, not to insert any thing in the treaty with Sindia “which might expressly mark our knowledge of his views, or concurrence in them,” namely, his views on the territory of Shah Aulum; and though he had on that occasion declared, that “our connexion with the Mogul had long been suspended, and he wished

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very great, (125 lacs,) 1,250,000*l.*, I shall have cold praise and a thousand secret enemies.” He received, however, in November, 1786, the unanimous thanks of the Court of Directors, for his able administration of the affairs of India, and was raised by His Majesty to the dignity of a baronet. It was during the government of Sir John Macpherson, that by an amicable arrangement with the King of Queda, the valuable settlement of Penang, or Prince of Wales’ Island, was added to the Company’s Eastern possessions.—W.

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never to see it renewed, as it had proved a fatal drain to the wealth of Bengal, and the treasury of the Company," sent certain agents, among whom were Major Browne, and Major Davy, to the court of the Emperor at Delhi; and, by means of them, entered into negotiations, if not engagements, of which the nature has never been satisfactorily explained. It appears, that an offer was made, on conditions which were accepted, to provide for the expense of any troops which the King might require; and Major Browne, in his despatch to Mr. Hastings laid before the Board, declared, that "The business of assisting the Shah can and must go on, if we wish to be secure in India, or regarded as a nation of faith and honour."<sup>1</sup> The proposition, however, which was made by the Governor-General, to grant assistance to the Mogul, was disrelished by the other members of the Board; and the scheme was defeated. At what mark it was aimed, we no where distinctly perceive.<sup>2</sup> "I avow," says Mr. Hastings, "that I would have afforded effectual assistance to the Mogul, that is, to the King Shah Aulum, if powers had been granted to me; but my Council differed in opinion with me, and nothing was done." This is all the information which, in his answer to the charge on

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Major Brown to Mr. Hastings, dated at Delhi, 30th December, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> The papers on this subject were refused by the ministry, or rather by the House of Commons, under the guidance of the minister. See the Debates in Parliament, under date March 6th and 17th, 1786.—M. At the same time it is evident from the 18th charge, presented to the House on the 26th of the following April, that Burke was in possession of the papers. The debates were therefore merely on a question of form.—W.

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this subject, Mr. Hastings condescends to yield. When urging upon the Directors his wishes for sending troops to the assistance of the Mogul, he had indeed held a language, contradictory both to his former and his subsequent declarations. If the King's authority, he said, "is suffered to receive its final extinction, it is impossible to foresee what power may arise out of its ruins, or what events may be linked in the same chain of revolution with it. But your interests *may* suffer by it; your reputation certainly *will*—as his right to our assistance has been constantly acknowledged—and, by a train of consequences to which our government has not intentionally given birth, but most especially by the movements, which its influence, by too near an approach, has excited, it has unfortunately become the efficient instrument of a great portion of the King's present distresses and dangers." Mr. Burke, however, affirms, with a strength which the circumstances will not warrant, that the pretended design of Mr. Hastings to free the Emperor from thralldom under the Delhi chiefs, was not his real design, because not consistent with some of his declarations, and some of his acts. While Mr. Hastings was at Lucknow, in 1784, the eldest son, and heir apparent of the Emperor, repaired to Oude, to solicit the protection of the Governor-General and Nabob. He was received with marks of distinction, which had no tendency to extinguish hope, and was described by Mr. Hastings as a person of considerable qualifications, well versed in affairs. His solicitations for aid to deliver his father from oppression, and re-establish in some degree the fortunes of his house, Mr. Hast-



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ings informed him, were opposed, by the present temper of the English nation, as well as by that of his colleagues in the government ; and he advised an intermediate application to Sindia, as the most powerful Mahratta Prince, the ally of the English nation, and a man who, unless early prevented, was likely to take an opposite part. To Sindia, Mr. Hastings, as he informed the Court of Directors, had himself written, on the very first advice he received of the flight of the Mogul Prince, not only to apprise him of that event, but to solicit his advice. Sindia immediately sent to Lucknow his familiar and confidential ministers, with whom Mr. Hastings held several secret conferences, without the presence even of a secretary. He reported no more than the result of these conferences ; namely, “ that the inclinations of the Mahratta chief were not very dissimilar from his own ; ” and he added, that neither in this, nor in any other instance, would he suffer himself to be drawn into measures which should tend to weaken the connexion between the English government and Sindia ; “ nor, in this, even to oppose his inclinations.” What his inclinations were, at the time of the negotiation with Colonel Muir, the reader will remember : What were the recent declarations of Mr. Hastings, respecting the obligations both of justice and of policy, to support the Emperor, has been immediately stated : What were the inclinations of Sindia at the present moment, Mr. Hastings is far from disclosing : The actions of Sindia made them soon distinctly appear.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor, from

<sup>1</sup> The insinuations of Mr. Burke that the negotiation of the Governor-General with the Mogul covered an insidious design to betray him into

the impulse of a feeble mind, which deems any evil less than that under which it is immediately suffering,

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the hands of Sindia, receives its greatest confirmation from what Mr. Pitt was brought to say in the House of Commons, on the 18th of March, 1786, in the debate on the production of Delhi papers. "If he were inclined to lay open secrets which the interests of the country required should be concealed, he could easily prove," he said, "that the junction of the Mogul with the Mahratta powers was of the highest advantage to the Company." Two other objects, which were always found an efficient source of terror, as terror is always, in such hands, a most convenient instrument of persuasion, were, on this occasion, brought forward by the minister. These were, Tippoo Saib, and the French. These two, he said, were, at that time, plotting against the Company; and Tippoo was making efforts, by holding out dazzling projects to the Mogul, to realize the great advantage of the imperial authority and name. "In order to counteract this," said Mr. Pitt, "it became necessary for the servants of the Company to exert themselves to the utmost to ingratiate themselves with the Court of Delhi, and by that means secure to their employers that great body of strength and influence which would naturally result from the countenance of the Shah." Ibid. It was a "body of strength and influence," on which Mr. Hastings set a high value, in his instructions for a negotiation with Sindia!—M. The insinuation of Burke was founded solely upon his malevolence towards Hastings, and was, as he well knew, contradicted by the instructions given by Hastings to Major Browne, for he had those instructions before him when he framed his charge, every syllable of which they falsified. He gets rid of this difficulty by asserting, that either Hastings entered upon the Bengal Consultation of the 5th (it should be the 6th) October, 1783, a false paper as the true, or that he gave to Major Browne other secret instructions, totally different from, and even opposite to, his public instructions. Now of these two alternatives, the first is easily disposed of. On the Consultations of the 3rd March, 1783, the appointment of Major Browne is adverted to, and the Governor-General affirms, that the instructions furnished him had been given with the knowledge and approbation of the Council. The other members of Council present do not deny this affirmation, and their acquiescence in it proves that it was the truth. The instructions, when finally entered, are described as those formerly alluded to. Of the members present on the 6th of October, two, Messrs. Macpherson and Stables, were present on the 3rd of March. They must have known whether the instructions were the same as those which they had formerly sanctioned, and if the document was false, must have connived at the substitution—a connivance with which they were never charged, and of which it is not probable that they could have been guilty. The second insinuation is also disproved by the whole course of the proceedings, which were throughout in harmony with the instructions given to Major Browne. These were of a general nature, and were designed to

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listened to the insidious overtures of Sindia, who offered him deliverance from the undutiful servants

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assure Shah Alem of a disposition, sincerely entertained by Hastings certainly, and possibly by the Council, to support the Emperor against the factious nobles of his court, who contended with each other for his person and authority, and had reduced him to the lowest pitch of degradation and distress. The agent, however, was most particularly cautioned against committing the government by any positive engagement, as they wisely desired, before entering into any agreement, to ascertain the real state of parties at Delhi, and the character and the resources of the Emperor. The question was, however, decided before Major Browne reached Delhi. After the death of Nujuf Khan, the scenes of anarchy and violence that ensued, and the indignity with which he was treated, made Shah Alem turn anxiously towards the English for succour, and repeated letters arrived from him in the early part of 1783, praying for military aid. Hastings was inclined to give it, but all the other members at the consultation above referred to, that of the 3rd of March, determined, that it did not appear immediately advisable to send any forces to the assistance of the King, which might involve the British government in fresh troubles. It was subsequently to this, that Major Browne arrived at Delhi, and very excusably compassionating the wretchedness of the Emperor, urged that prompt and effective aid should be at once afforded. He expresses himself as if a treaty had been set on foot, and articles proposed and accepted; but at the date of his letter, the 30th December, 1783, he had not been presented to the King; and the chief ministers, lately elevated by violence and murder to their stations, were not likely to have entered into any treaty which was to liberate Shah Alem from their control. Early in 1784, Hastings went to Lucknow; while there, Prince Juwan Bukht, son of Shah Alem, fled from Delhi, from the insolence of Afrasiab Khan, and sought protection from the Vizir. Major Browne continued to recommend that military assistance should be given to the Mogul, but now Hastings himself, although retaining the same sentiments towards the Emperor, was satisfied that the support of him by arms, was no longer advisable. An extract from the Public Letter of the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors, 5th July, 1784, will show the soundness of his views, and the utter baselessness of the charges against him. "In a second letter of the same date (22nd April) the Governor-General transmitted to us several letters which he had received from Major Browne at Delhi, strongly recommending an alliance with his Majesty Shah Alem, together with the plan of a treaty to be entered into, as *proposed to him* by Afrasiab Khan; but the Governor-General acquainted us at the same time, that he had given no encouragement to Afrasiab Khan's expectations. The reasons urged by Major Browne in favour of this alliance, are the supposed intrigues carrying on at the Court of Delhi, by Mahdajee Sindia, unfavourable to the interests of the Company, and the danger of the King's throwing himself upon the Seiks for assist-

that enthralled him. Partly by intrigue, and partly by force, Sindia got possession easily of the imperial

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ance and protection, in case of our refusing to afford him aid in the present distracted situation of his affairs. On the other hand, the Governor-General stated to us such arguments as appeared to militate against the proposed alliance. These were the dangers of converting Sindia into an enemy, by thwarting his views, (*if he had any,*) at the Court of Delhi. The probability that the account of his intrigues at that Court was fabricated by Afrasiab Khan, to suit an interested purpose—the impolicy of giving way to hasty suspicions, and the change in his Majesty's situation since the month of October last, when he deemed such an interference on our part expedient, his dominions having been since that period harassed by intestine commotions, and his resources exhausted by the calamities incident to such a situation." The Council concurred entirely in these views, and unanimously determined to exhort the Governor-General to avoid most sedulously and cautiously committing the Company, either as to their arms or treasure, in his correspondence with the King. A subsequent letter from Hastings to the Court of Directors, dated the 16th June, details all that had occurred; and although it still shows a leaning to the policy of interfering in behalf of the unhappy old King, expresses a determination to adhere to the instructions of the Court, and the sentiments of his colleagues. Anticipating now, what he before evidently hesitated to believe, the intention of Sindia to interpose, he, consistently with his instructions to Colonel Muir, remarks:—"I consider the alliance of Mahdajee Sindia, as of such importance to your political interests, that you may rest assured, that neither in this nor any other instance will I suffer myself to be drawn into any measures which shall tend to weaken this connexion." He proceeds to say, that he believes the intentions of Sindia are not very different from his own wishes, and that he seeks to vindicate the authority, and protect the life of Shah Alem. Shortly after this, Sindia avowed his purpose of taking a part in the political agitations of Delhi, professedly in favour of the Emperor; and there was no longer any occasion, nor would it have been compatible with the declared policy of the Government of Bengal, to interfere. From all this the inferences are palpable. Hastings would have stepped forward as the protector of Shah Alem, had the character and resources of that prince encouraged him to do so, and had the resources at his own command permitted his so doing with safety; but when he was fully aware of the state of affairs at Delhi, and that whatever was to be done, must have been effected wholly at the Company's expense—an expense to which their finances were inadequate, as the war with Tippoo still continued, he relinquished the enterprise—a determination confirmed by the appearance of Sindia on the scene of action, to whom he considered it of vital importance to avoid giving offence. There was nothing in this conduct that merited censure; he throughout kept a prudent restraint upon a generous impulse, and ultimately sacrificed it to more emergent considerations.



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person, and with the imperial person, of all the pretensions, and all the territories, which belonged to the imperial throne. Nor was it long before he manifested the value of that friendship of his to the English, which Mr. Hastings claimed so much of merit for maintaining. Mr. Hastings had not yet left Calcutta, when a body of the Seiks invaded Rohileund; and it was on strong grounds believed, that they received encouragement from Sindia to the attempt. That ambitious chief proceeded in his plans with so much expedition, that before the end of March he was master of Agra; and the fort of Ally Ghur, which could not long be defended, remained, in that part of India, the only place of strength, beyond the confines of the Vizir, which was not in his power. He afforded protection to Cheyte Sing, and gave him a command in his army. He had already treated the Vizir with so little delicacy, that nothing but the prospect of effectual resistance, as Major Palmer and Mr. Anderson united in representing, could be expected to restrain him within the bounds of justice.<sup>1</sup> What was more, he compelled the Emperor to declare him Vicegerent to the Mogul empire, an authority which superseded that of the Vizir; and consolidated in the hands of the Mahrattas all the legal sovereignty of India. These advantages he failed not to direct immediately

Neither was there any cause to regret the predominance of Sindia's authority established at this period at the Court of Delhi. Whilst it lasted, it was much more favourable to the comfort, and even the dignity, of Shah Alem, than the power of any of the military adventurers, who in the usurped character of servants, had been cruel and tyrannical masters over their sovereign. MS. Records. See also Francklin's Shah Aulum.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from Papers in No. 2, vol. vii. ut supra.

against the Company themselves; and incited the Mogul to make a demand of the tribute due to him from the English. On the charge, however, of having connived with the designs of Sindia, Mr. Hastings has the following words, “ I declare, that I entered into no negotiations with Madajee Sindia for delivering the Mogul into the hands of the Mahrattas : but I must have been a madman indeed, if I had involved the Company in a war with the Mahrattas, because the Mogul, as his last resource, had thrown himself under the protection of Madajee Sindia.”<sup>1</sup> The question is, whether he did not more surely prepare a war with the Mahrattas, by allowing Sindia to feed his presumption and his power, with all the resources and pretensions of the imperial throne.

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The power of Sindia over the Mogul family was not complete, so long as the eldest son of the Emperor remained out of his hands. Towards the end of March a negotiation was opened with him by Sindia, of which the object was his return to Delhi. The conditions offered were extremely favourable. “ This convinced me,” said Major Palmer, “ they were insidious ; and I earnestly recommended that the Prince should not trust to promises ; as, without security for their performance, he would expose his dignity, his succession, and even his life, to the greatest hazard.” Major Palmer continues, “ I consider the interests of the Company, and the Vizir, as deeply involved in the fate of the Prince. Whilst he continues under the protection of the Vizir and the Company, the usurpation of the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hastings's Answer to the Nineteenth, Eighteenth, and Seventeenth Articles of Charge.

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1785. Mahrattas must be incomplete; but, if he should fall under their power, it will be perpetuated, and the consequences of their being permanently established in the authority of the empire, would be truly alarming to the peace of the Vizir's, and the Company's dominions." The Major added, "It will not only be impracticable to withdraw the Futty Ghur detachment, in the event of Sindia's obtaining a firm footing in the Dooab, which is his aim, and which he has nearly accomplished; but it will also be necessary for the Vizir to maintain a respectable body of cavalry to act with the Company's infantry for the protection of his dominions. And his Excellency is so seriously alarmed at the growing power of the Mahrattas in his neighbourhood, that I am convinced he will readily adopt any practicable plan for securing himself against the consequences of it."<sup>1</sup>

The Board of Control, at the head of which was placed Mr. Henry Dundas, had not been long in the exercise of its functions, when it manifested pretty

<sup>1</sup> Letters from the agent in Oude, dated Lucknow, 1st April, 1785; Extracts from Papers, ut supra.—M.

The vicissitudes of the different parties disputing for the last fragments of the Mogul empire, were so sudden and incessant, that they baffled the keenest political foresight. Sindia, after holding the power of prime minister for two years, was expelled from his office by a new combination of the Mogul chiefs. His army was defeated, and he himself obliged to fly to his own dominions. He was succeeded by various nobles, amongst whom was the infamous Gholam Kadir, by whom Shah Alem was deposed and blinded. This outrage brought Sindia again to Delhi, but the consolidated power of the British rendered him less formidable than he had been. The Princee Juwan Bukht, after several vain attempts to engage the Nawab Vizir and the British Government to aid him, and after one unsuccessful effort in 1787, to re-establish himself at Delhi by force of arms, returned to Delhi, and died suddenly in 1788. Francklin's Shah Aulum, 159.—W.

clearly the ends which it was calculated to promote. BOOK VI  
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So strong a conviction was impressed upon Englishmen, in general, of the evil resulting from the magnitude of the debts due to British subjects by the Nabob of the Carnatic; of the fraudulent methods by which they had been contracted; and of the mischievous purposes which the Nabob pursued, by acknowledging debts, where nothing had been received, and nothing but a dangerous co-operation was expected in return; that, in every one of the schemes which the late reformers had proposed for the government of India, a provision had been included, for an adjustment of those enormous and suspicious contracts. In Mr. Dundas's bill it was proposed, that the Governor-General and Council "should take into consideration the present state of the affairs of the Nabob of Arcot, and inquire into and ascertain, the origin, nature, and amount of his just debts," and take the most speedy and effectual measures for discharging them. A provision to the same effect, and couched very nearly in the self-same words, was contained in Mr. Fox's bill; and to prevent the recurrence of a like evil in future, it was declared "unlawful for any servant, civil or military, of the Company, to be engaged in the borrowing or lending of any money, or in any money transaction whatsoever, with any protected or other native prince." The clause in Mr. Pitt's act was in the following words: "Whereas very large sums of money are claimed to be due to British subjects by the Nabob of Arcot, . . . . be it enacted, That the Court of Directors shall, as soon as may be, take



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1785. into consideration, the origin and justice of the said demands; and that they shall give such orders to their Presidencies and servants abroad for completing the investigation thereof, as the nature of the case shall require; and for establishing, in concert with the Nabob, such fund, for the discharge of those debts which shall appear to be justly due, as shall appear consistent with the rights of the Company, the security of the creditors, and the honour and dignity of the said Nabob."

The Directors, from the words of this enactment, concluded, as anybody would conclude, that this inquiry, respecting these alleged debts, was a trust, expressly and exclusively devolved upon them; and that an inquiry into "the origin and justice of the said demands" implied (what was absolutely necessary to the end which seemed to be proposed, the separation of the false from the true) that scrutiny should be made into each particular case. They proceeded to the fulfilment of the obligations, which this enactment seemed to lay upon them; drew up a set of instructions for their Presidencies and servants abroad; and transmitted them for approbation to the Board of Control.

They were not a little surprised to find the Board of Control take the whole business out of their hands. The Board of Control thought proper to divide the debts of the Nabob into three classes; 1. A class consolidated, as it was called, in the year 1767, constituting what it called the loan of 1767; 2. A class contracted for paying the arrears of certain cavalry discharged in 1777, which it called the cavalry loan; 3. Another class, which it called

the consolidated debt of 1777.<sup>1</sup> And it ordered, BOOK VI  
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that all these three classes should be discharged, 1785.  
without any inquiry.

As it was only by degrees that funds for that discharge could arise; and twelve lacs annually were set apart for that purpose; the following order was prescribed: That the debt consolidated in 1767 be made up to the end of the year 1784 with the current interest at ten per cent.; the cavalry loan made up<sup>2</sup> to the same period with the current interest at twelve per cent.; the debt consolidated in 1777 made up to the same period with the current interest at twelve per cent. to November, 1781, and from thence with the current interest at six per cent.: That the annual twelve lacs should be applied; 1. To the growing interest on the cavalry loan at twelve per cent.; 2. To the growing interest on the debt of 1777 at six per cent.; 3. Of the remainder, one-half to the payment of the growing interest, and liquidation of the principal of the loan of 1767, the other half to the liquidation of the debt which the Nabob, beside his debt to individuals, owed to the Company: That when the loan of 1767 should thus be discharged, the twelve lacs should be applied; 1. To the growing interest of the loan of 1777; 2. Of the remainder, one-half to pay the interest and liquidate the principal of the cavalry loan, the other half to the liquidation of the debt to the Company: That when the cavalry loan should thus be discharged, the

<sup>1</sup> This classification seems to have been adopted from a pamphlet entitled "A clear and candid exposition of the origin, progress, and state of the several loans made to Mohammed Ally Khan, from 1760 to 1777."—W.

<sup>2</sup> "*Made up*," means augmented by the addition of interest due.

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twelve lacs should be applied, in the proportion of five lacs to the interest and principal of the loan of 1777, seven lacs to the debt due to the Company: and lastly, when the debt to the Company should thus be discharged, that the whole of the twelve lacs should go to the extinction of the debt of 1777.

The Directors remonstrated, but very humbly. “ My Lords and Gentlemen, It is with extreme concern that we express a difference of opinion with your Right Honourable Board, in this early exercise of your controlling power; but, in so novel an institution it can scarce be thought extraordinary, if the exact boundaries of our respective functions and duties should not at once, on either side, be precisely and familiarly understood, and therefore confide in your justice and candour for believing that we have no wish to evade or frustrate the salutary purposes of your institution, as we on our part are thoroughly satisfied that you have no wish to encroach on the legal powers of the East India Company; we shall proceed to state our objections to such of the amendments as appear to us to be either insufficient, inexpedient, or unwarranted.” And under the head of, private debts of the Nabob of Arcot, “ You are pleased,” they say, “ to substantiate at once the justice of all those demands which the act requires us to investigate.” After “ submitting,” which is all that they presume to do, “ to the consideration” of the Board, whether “ the express direction of the act, to examine the nature and origin of the debts,” had thus been “ complied with;” and likewise “ submitting,” whether inquiry could have done any harm; they add, “ But to your appropriation of the fund, our duty

requires that we should state our strongest dissent. BOOK VI  
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 Our right to be paid the arrears of those expenses by 1785.  
 which, almost to our own ruin, we have preserved  
 the country, and all the property connected with it,  
 from falling a prey to a foreign conqueror, surely  
 stands paramount to all claims, for former debts,  
 upon the revenues of a country so preserved, even if  
 the legislature had not expressly limited the assist-  
 ance to be given to private creditors to be such as  
 should be consistent with our rights. The Nabob  
 had, long before passing the act, by treaty with our  
 Bengal government, agreed to pay us seven lacs of  
 pagodas, as part of the twelve lacs, in liquidation of  
 those arrears; of which seven lacs the arrangement  
 you have been pleased to lay down would take away  
 from us more than the half and give it to private  
 creditors, of whose demands there are only about a  
 sixth part which do not stand in a predicament that  
 you declare would not entitle them to any aid or  
 protection from us in the recovery thereof, were it  
 not upon grounds of expediency. Until our debt  
 shall be discharged, we can by no means consent to  
 give up any part of the seven lacs to the private  
 creditors."<sup>1</sup>

The correspondence upon this subject between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control passed during the months of October and November in the year 1784. The Board of Control persisted in the plan which it had originally adopted. And on the 28th of February, 1785, it was moved by Mr. Fox, in the House of Commons, that the directions which

<sup>1</sup> Beside the Parliamentary Papers, these documents are found in the Appendix to Burke's speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.



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had in consequence been transmitted to India, should be laid before the House. A vehement debate ensued, in which Mr. Burke delivered that celebrated speech, which he afterwards published, under the title of "Mr. Burke's Speech on the Motion made for Papers relative to the Directions for charging the Nabob of Arcot's Private Debts to Europeans on the Revenues of the Carnatic." Mr. Dundas defended the Board of Control: By showing that, whatever might be the natural and obvious meaning of the words of the legislature commanding inquiry, and committing that inquiry to the Court of Directors; it was yet very possible for the strong party to torture them into a meaning, which enabled the strong party to do what it pleased: By asserting that the Directors had sufficient materials in the India House, for deciding upon all three classes of debts; though the opinion of the Directors themselves was precisely the reverse: By observing, that, if any improper claim under any of the three classes was preferred, it was open to the Nabob, to the Company, and to the other creditors, to object. The only object, which, as far as can be gathered from the report of his speech, he held forth as about to be gained, by superseding that inquiry, which all men, but himself and his majority in parliament, would have concluded to be the command of the legislature, was, that this measure would not leave "the Nabob an opportunity to plead in excuse for not keeping his payments to the Company, that he was harassed by the applications of his private creditors."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> How wretched his foresight, if he really was sincere in this opinion, and how little he was capable of calculating the effects of his own mea-

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Mr. Burke took a very extensive view of the Indian policy of the ministers. The most curious and important part of his speech; and that is important indeed; is the part, where he undertakes to show what was the real motive, for superseding that inquiry which was called for by the legislature, and for deciding at once, and in the lump, upon a large amount of suspicious and more than suspicious demands. The motive, which he affirms, and in support of which he adduces as great a body of proof as it is almost ever possible to bring, to a fact of such a description (facts of that description, though of the highest order of importance, are too apt to exhibit few of those marks which are commonly relied upon as matter of evidence), was no other than that baneful source of all our misgovernment, and almost all our misery, *Parliamentary Influence*. It was to hold the corrupt benefit of a large parliamentary interest, created by the creditors and creatures, fraudulent and not fraudulent, of the Nabob of Arcot, that, according to Mr. Burke, the ministry of 1784 decided they should all, whether fraudulent or not fraudulent, receive their demands. "Paul Benfield is the grand

sure, soon appeared by the event. "The actual loss," says Mr. Hume, "by this proceeding of the Board of Control is not limited to the large sum which has been paid: for the knowledge of the fact, that Mr. Dundas had in that manner admitted, without any kind of inquiry, the whole claims of the consolidated debt of 1777, served as a strong inducement to others, to get from the Nabob obligations or bonds of any description, in hopes that some future good-natured President of the Board of Control would do the same for them. We accordingly find that an enormous debt of near thirty millions sterling was very soon formed after that act of Mr. Dundas, and urgent applications were soon again made to have the claims paid in the same manner." Speech of Joseph Hume, Esq. at a general Court of Proprietors at the East India House, on the 9th of June, 1814, p. 23.

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parliamentary reformer. What region in the empire, what city, what borough, what county, what tribunal in this kingdom, is not full of his labours. In order to station a steady phalanx for all future reforms, this public-spirited usurer, amidst his charitable toils for the relief of India, did not forget the poor rotten constitution of his native country. For her, he did not disdain to stoop to the trade of a wholesale upholsterer for this house, to furnish it, not with the faded tapestry figures of antiquated merit, such as decorate, and may reproach, some other houses, but with real solid, living patterns of true modern virtue. Paul Benfield made (reckoning himself) no fewer than eight members in the *last* parliament. What copious streams of pure blood must he not have transfused into the veins of *the present* !”

But the occasions of Mr. Benfield had called him to India. “It was therefore,” continues Mr. Burke, “not possible for the minister to consult personally with this great man. What then was he to do? Through a sagacity that never failed him in these pursuits, he found out in Mr. Benfield’s representative his exact resemblance. A specific attraction, by which he gravitates towards all such characters, soon brought our minister into a close connexion with Mr. Benfield’s agent and attorney; that is, with the grand contractor (whom I name to honour) Mr. Richard Atkinson; a name that will be well remembered as long as the records of this house, as long as the records of the British treasury, as long as the monumental debt of England, shall endure! This gentleman, Sir, acts as attorney for Mr. Paul Benfield. Every one who hears me is well acquainted with the sacred

friendship and the mutual attachment that subsist between him and the present minister. As many members as chose to attend in the first session of this parliament can best tell their own feelings at the scenes which were then acted." After representing this Atkinson, as the man whose will directed in framing the articles of Mr. Pitt's East India Bill, Mr. Burke proceeds: "But it was necessary to authenticate the coalition between the men of Intrigue in India, and the minister of Intrigue in England, by a studied display of the power of this their connecting link. Every trust, every honour, every distinction was to be heaped upon him. He was at once made a Director of the India Company; made an Alderman of London; and to be made, if ministry could prevail (and I am sorry to say how near, how very near they were to prevailing), representative of the capital of this kingdom. But to secure his services against all risk, he was brought in for a ministerial borough. On his part he was not wanting in zeal for the common cause. His advertisements show his motives, and the merits upon which he stood. For your minister, this worn-out veteran submitted to enter into the dusty field of the London contest; and you all remember that in the same virtuous cause, he submitted to keep a sort of public office, or counting-house, where the whole business of the last general election was managed. It was openly managed, by the direct agent and attorney of Benfield. It was managed upon Indian principles, and for an Indian interest. This was the golden cup of abominations; this the chalice of the fornications of rapine, usury, and oppression, which was

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held out by the gorgeous Eastern harlot; which so many of the people, so many of the nobles of this land, had drained to the very dregs. Do you think that no reckoning was to follow this lewd debauch? that no payment was to be demanded for this riot of public drunkenness, and national prostitution? Here! you have it, here before you. The principal of the grand election manager must be indemnified. Accordingly the claims of Benfield and his crew must be put above all inquiry."

This is a picture! It concerns my countrymen to contemplate well the features of it. I care not to what degree it may please any one to say that it is not a likeness of the group that sat for it. To me it is alone of importance to know, that, if it presents not an individual, it presents, and with consummate fidelity, a *family* likeness; that it represents the tribe; that such scenes, and such exactly, were sure to be acted, by the union between Indian influence and parliamentary influence; that such was sure to be the game, which would be played into one another's hands, by Indian corruption, and parliamentary corruption, the moment a proper channel of communication was opened between them.

The points to which Mr. Burke adverts in the next place, are of a more tangible nature. "Benfield," he says, "for several years appeared as the chief proprietor, as well as the chief agent, director, and controller of this system of debt. My best information goes to fix his share at 400,000*l.* By the scheme of the present ministry for adding interest to the principal, that smallest of the sums ever mentioned for Mr. Benfield will form a capital of 592,000*l.*, at

six per cent. interest. Benfield has thus received, by the ministerial grant before you, an annuity of 35,520*l.* a year, charged on the public revenues.”<sup>1</sup>

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After several other remarks on the proceedings of Benfield, he thus sums up; “ I have laid before you, Mr. Speaker, I think with sufficient clearness, the connexion of ministers with Mr. Atkinson at the general election; I have laid open to you the connexion of Atkinson with Benfield; I have shown Benfield’s employment of his wealth in creating a parliamentary interest to procure a ministerial protection; I have set before your eyes his large concern in the debt, his practices to hide that concern from the public eye; and the liberal protection which he has received from the minister. If this chain of circumstances do not lead you necessarily to conclude that the minister has paid to the avarice of Benfield the services done by Benfield’s connexion to his ambition, I do not know any thing short of the confession of the party that can persuade you of his guilt. Clandestine and collusive practice can only be traced by combination

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hume applied to the Directors in 1814, for information relative to the money which had been paid by the Company, under this decision of the Board of Control; also for a copy of the instructions which the Directors proposed to send out to the Presidency for separating the true from the fraudulent debts, and which instructions the Board of Control superseded. In both instances the application was unsuccessful; and Mr. Hume, from the best information he could obtain, places the amount at nearly 5,000,000*l.* “ These claims,” he says, “ for what was called the consolidated debt of 1777, ‘ of which the Directors had never heard until 1776, and had never been able to obtain any satisfactory information,’ amounted, with high interest made up to the end of 1784, to the sum of 54,98,500 pagodas, or 2,199,400*l.* : and, agreeably to the orders of the Board of Control sent out at that and subsequent periods, the total had been paid in 1804, with nearly twenty years’ interest, amounting in the whole to near five millions sterling.” Speech, ut supra, p. 22.

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and comparison of circumstances. To reject such combination and comparison is to reject the only means of detecting fraud ; it is indeed to give it a patent, and free license, to cheat with impunity. I confine myself to the connexion of ministers mediately or immediately with only two persons concerned in this debt. How many others, who support their power and greatness within and without doors, are concerned originally, or by transfers of these debts, must be left to general opinion. I refer to the Reports of the Select Committee for the proceedings of some of the agents in these affairs, and their attempts, at least, to furnish ministers with the means of buying general courts, and even whole parliaments, in the gross.”<sup>1</sup>

In what proportion these ancient debts were false, and either collusive or forged, we have, as far as they were exempted from inquiry, no direct means of knowing. If a rule may be taken from those of a more modern date, when suspicion was more awake, and after all the checks of Mr. Dundas and his successors had been applied, it will be concluded that few were otherwise. The commissioners, who were appointed in the year 1805, to decide upon the claims of the private creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, had, in the month of November, 1814, performed adjudication on claims to the amount of 20,390,570*l.*, of which only 1,346,796*l.* were allowed as good, 19,043,774*l.* were rejected as bad ; in other words, one part in twenty was all that could be regarded as true and lawful debt.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Second Report of Select Committee, 1781.

<sup>2</sup> See Tenth Report of Commissioners, the last which has yet come to

Mr. Dundas assumed that he had done enough, when he allowed the Nabob, the Company, and other creditors to object. That this was a blind, is abundantly clear; though it is possible that it stood as much between his own eyes and the light, as he was desirous of putting it between the light and eyes of other people. Where was the use of a power given to the Nabob to object? The Nabob was one of the fraudulent parties. Or to the creditors to object? of whom the greater number had an interest in conniving at others, in order that others might connive at them. Or to the Company to object? The Company was not there to object: And the servants of the Company were the creditors themselves.

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It was not thus decided, by the parties on whom the power of decision depended, when the commissioners for adjudication on the debts of the Nabob

my hand, p. 469. Mr. Hume says, "The claims which formed the consolidated debt of 1777, amounting to 2,199,400*l*. were considered equally objectionable in 1774, as these new claims in 1806; and if Mr. Dundas had permitted a proper inquiry to be instituted in 1785, as the act of 24 Geo. III, directed, there is every reason to conclude that a much larger proportion of the old than the new debt would have been rejected. . . . . We are fully warranted in drawing the above conclusion, as the Court of Directors, and all the Governors in India, had invariably declared these claims of 1777 to be shameful, and such as *could not bear the light*. And, in 1781, the claimants had so bad an opinion of their right to the whole, that they made a voluntary offer to the government in Bengal to take off *one fourth* from the amount of their claims, and to agree to any kind of settlement, without interest, if the Company would but sanction their title to the remainder. There is also very little doubt, I think, but that the debt of 1767, and also the cavalry debt, if properly examined, would have turned out very objectionable. And it was the duty of Mr. Dundas to have ordered the necessary inquiry into the justice of the whole, agreeably to Mr. Pitt's bill, which made no distinction in the debts of 1767 and 1777." Speech, ut supra, p. 24, 25.



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were appointed in 1805. It was not accounted wisdom, then, to approve of all in the lump, and only allow the power of objection. It was thought necessary to inquire; and to perform adjudication, after inquiry, upon each particular case. The consequence is, as above disclosed, that one part in twenty, in a mass of claims exceeding twenty millions sterling, is all that is honest and true.

In this imputed collusion between the ministry and the creditors of the Nabob, it was not insinuated that the ministers had taken money for the favour which they had shown. Upon this Mr. Burke makes a remark, which is of the very highest importance. "I know that the ministers," says he, "will think it little less than acquittal, that they are not charged with having taken to themselves some part of the money of which they have made so liberal a donation to their partisans. If I am to speak my private sentiments, I think, that in a thousand cases for one, it would be far less mischievous to the public (and full as little dishonourable to themselves), to be polluted with direct bribery, than thus to become a standing auxiliary to the oppression, usury, and speculation of multitudes, in order to obtain a corrupt support to their power. It is by bribing; not so often by being bribed; that wicked politicians bring ruin on mankind. Avarice is a rival to the pursuits of many; it finds a multitude of checks and many opposers in every walk of life. But the objects of ambition are for the few: And every person who aims at indirect profit; and therefore wants other protection than innocence and law; instead of its rival becomes its instrument; There is a natura

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allegiance and fealty due to this domineering paramount evil from all the vassal vices ; which acknowledge its superiority, and readily militate under its banners ; and it is under that discipline alone, that avarice is able to spread to any considerable extent, or to render itself a general public mischief. It is, therefore, no apology for ministers, that they have not been bought by the East India delinquents ; that they have only formed an alliance with them, for screening each other from justice, according to the exigence of their several necessities. That they have done so is evident : and the junction of the power of office in England, with the abuse of authority in the East, has not only prevented even the appearance of redress to the grievances of India, but I wish it may not be found to have dulled, if not extinguished, the honour, the candour, the generosity, the good-nature, which used formerly to characterize the people of England."

In October, 1784, the Directors appointed Mr. Holland, an old servant, on the Madras establishment, to succeed eventually to the government of Fort St. George, upon the resignation, death or removal of Lord Macartney. The Board of Control disapprove the choice ; not as wrong in itself, but " open to plausible misrepresentation." The Directors not only persist in their appointment, but proceed so far as to say, that the Board are interfering in matters " to which their control professedly does not extend." The conduct of the Board of Control is characteristic. " If the reasons," say they, " which we have adduced, do not satisfy the Court of Directors, we have certainly no right to control their

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the moment he arrives in India, he will be re-called.

1785. This terminates the dispute; and Sir Archibald Campbell, a friend of Mr. Dundas, is nominated in his stead.

According to the very force of the term, the operation of control is subsequent, not precedent. Before you can control, there must be something to be controlled. Something to be controlled must be something either done or proposed. The subsequent part of transactions by no means satisfied the new organ of government for the East Indies, the Board of Control. Without an interval of reserve, the Board took upon itself to *originate* almost every measure of importance.

Intimately connected with its proceedings relative to the debts of the Nabob of the Carnatic, was the resolution formed by the Board of Control with respect to the revenues. The assignment had been adopted by the government of Madras, and approved by the Court of Directors, upon the maturest experience; as the only means of obtaining either the large balances which were due to the Company, or of preventing that dissipation of the revenue, and impoverishment of the country, by misrule, which rendered its resources unavailable to its defence, involved the Company in pecuniary distress, and exposed them continually to dangers of the greatest magnitude.

The same parties, however, whose interests were concerned in the affair of the debts, had an interest, no less decisive, in the restoration to the Nabob of the collection and disbursement of the revenues;

from which so many showers of emolument fell upon those who had the vices requisite for standing under them. The same influence which was effectual for the payment of the debts was effectual also for the restoration of the revenues. The Board of Control decreed that the revenues should be restored; for the purpose, the Board declared, of giving to all the powers of India, a strong proof of the national faith.

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The order for the restitution of the assignment, and the notification of the appointment of a successor, were received by Lord Macartney at the same time. The appointment of a successor he had solicited. The overthrow of his favourite measure, from a full knowledge of the interests which were united, and at work, he was led to expect. "Well apprized," he said, "of the Nabob's extensive influence, and of the ability, industry, and vigilance of his agents, and observing a concurrence of many other circumstances, I was not without apprehensions, that, before the government of Madras could have timely notice of the train, the assignment might be blown up at home; the sudden shock of which, I knew, must almost instantly overthrow the Company in the Carnatic. I, therefore, employed myself most assiduously, in making preparations, to mitigate the mischief; and by degrees collected and stored up all the money that it was possible to reserve with safety from other services and demands; so that when the explosion burst upon us, I had provided an unexpected mass, of little less than thirteen lacs of rupees, to resist its first violence."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Macartney to the Committee of Secrecy of the Court



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In conformity with his declared determination, not to be accessary to a measure which he regarded as teeming with mischief, or a witness to the triumph of those whose cupidity he had restrained,<sup>1</sup> Lord Macartney chose not to hold any longer the reins of government. But one attempt he thought proper to make; which was, to return to England by way of Bengal; and endeavour to convey to the Supreme Board so correct a notion of the evils to which the recent instructions from home were likely to give birth, as might induce them to delay the execution of those orders, or at least exert themselves to prevent as far as possible their pernicious effects. In less than a week, after receiving the despatches from England, he embarked, and arrived about the middle of June at Calcutta. The Governor-General and Council were too conscious of their own pre-

of Directors, dated Calcutta, 27th July, 1785. How much Lord Macartney and his Council agreed with Mr. Burke, respecting the springs which in all these transactions moved the machinery, still further appears from the following words: "The Ameer al Omrah and Mr. Benfield were well known to each other; mutual esteem did not appear to attract them to each other; but as soon as the objects of their antipathies were the same, they united at once. In this partnership, Mr. Benfield has brought his knowledge of ministers, his interest in parliament, to the former experience of his successful intrigues upon the spot." Copy of Letter from the Government of Fort St. George to that of Bengal, dated 28th May, 1783.

<sup>1</sup> "I considered the assignment as the rock of your strength in the Carnatic, and therefore had guarded it with vigilance against the assaults of the Durbar and the menaces of Bengal. It had contributed largely to your support through the war, and might have secured the stability of your commerce and dominion on the coast. *DIIS ALITER VISUM EST!* I had long since expressed my hope of not being made a witness or an accessary to a premature surrender of it; and indeed no man could be less properly qualified on such an occasion than myself, being personally disagreeable to the Durbar, and from my knowledge of their duplicity, disaffection, and politics, totally unqualified for any negotiation that required the slightest degree of confidence to be reposed in them." Letter to the Secret Committee, 27th July, 1785.

carious and dependent situation, to risk the appearance of disobedience to an order, regarding what they might suppose a favourite scheme of the Board of Control. Lord Macartney, therefore, was disappointed in his expectation, of obtaining through them, a delay of the embarrassments which the surrender of the revenues would produce. He had indulged, however, another hope. If the resources of the Carnatic were snatched from the necessities of the Madras government, he believed that the want might be supplied by the surplus revenues of Bengal. "I had long before," he says, in a letter to the Secret Committee of Directors, "been so much enlivened (and your Honourable House was, no doubt, enlivened also) by the happy prospects held out in the late Governor-General's letter to you of the 16th of December, 1783, published in several newspapers both foreign and domestic, that I flattered myself with hopes of finding such resources in Bengal alone, as might relieve any exigency or distress in the rest of India, resulting from a loss of the assignment, or from other misfortunes; but in the range of my inquiries, no distinct traces were to be discovered of these prognosticated funds. I had, it seems, formed a visionary estimate; the reality disappeared like a phantom on the approach of experiment, and I looked here for it in vain. The government declared themselves strangers to Mr. Hastings's letter, and indicated not a few symptoms of their own necessities."<sup>1</sup>

They, accordingly, assured Lord Macartney, "that

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Secret Committee, 27th July, 1785.

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the exhausted state of the finances of the Bengal government would not admit of any extraordinary and continued aid to Fort St. George ;"<sup>1</sup> expressing at the same time their desire to contribute what assistance was in their power to relieve the distress, which the loss of the revenues, they acknowledged, must produce.<sup>2</sup>

A dangerous illness prolonged the stay of Lord Macartney at Calcutta, and previous to his departure, he received a despatch from the Court of Directors, in which was announced to him his appointment to be Governor-General of Bengal. After his removal from the Government, after the subversion of his favourite plans at Madras ; an appointment, almost immediate, and without solicitation, to the highest station in the government of India, is not the clearest proof of systematic plans, and correspondent execution. The motives, at the same time, appear to have been more than usually honourable and pure. Though Lord Macartney, from the praises which Mr. Fox and his party had bestowed upon him in Parliament, might have been suspected of views in conformity with theirs ; though he had no connexion with the existing administration which could render it personally desirable to promote him ; though the Board of Control had even entered upon the examination of the differences between him and Mr. Hastings, with minds unfavourably disposed, the examination impressed the mind of Mr. Dundas with so strong an

<sup>1</sup> Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, i. 282.

<sup>2</sup> The conduct of Lord Macartney in this important business is displayed in a series of official documents, entitled, " Papers relating to the affairs of the Carnatic," vol. ii., printed by order of the House of Commons in 1803.

idea of the merit of that Lord's administration, that he induced Mr. Pitt to concur with him in recommending Lord Macartney to the Court of Directors, that is, in appointing him Governor-General of Bengal.

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The gratification offered to those powerful passions, the objects of which are wealth and power, had not so great an ascendancy over the mind of Lord Macartney, as to render him insensible to other considerations. His health required a season of repose, and the salutary influence of his native climate. The state of the government in India was such as to demand reforms; reforms, without which the administration could not indeed be successful; but which he was not sure of obtaining power to effect. The members of the Bengal administration had been leagued with Mr. Hastings in opposing and undervaluing his government at Madras; and peculiar objections applied to any thought of co-operation with the person who was left by Mr. Hastings at its head.<sup>1</sup> He resolved, therefore, to decline the ap-

<sup>1</sup> This assumption which is gratuitous, is quite at variance with the language of repeated letters from Lord Macartney to Sir John Macpherson. On the 3rd January, 1782, he writes, "Let me now thank you for your kindness in telling me what appears to you amiss in my conduct; you have acted like a true friend, and I shall ever remember it with gratitude as long as I live." On the 20th, he resumes, "In all the parts of the world I have been in, and of the various men I have transacted business with, I must say, I never was better pleased with any man than yourself. There is no pleasure equal to the sympathy of friends." The only event that could have disturbed this cordiality, the restoration of the assigned territory to the Nabob of Arcot was the act of the Court of Directors, not of Mr. Macpherson, although it had his concurrence. This difference of opinion was scarcely sufficient to have cancelled a gratitude which Lord Macartney had professed should end only with his life. There is no reason to believe that Lord Macartney entertained any peculiar objection to a co-operation with his former friend. Case of Sir John Macpherson, 5, 6.—W.



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pointment; at least for a season, till a visit to England should enable him to determine, by conference with ministers and directors, the arrangements which he might have it in his power to effect.

He arrived in England on the 9th of January, 1786, and on the 13th had a conference with the chairman, and deputy chairman, of the Court of Directors. The regulations on which he insisted, as of peculiar necessity for the more successful government of India, were two. The entire dependence of the military upon the civil power he represented, as not only recommended by the most obvious dictates of reason, but conformable to the practice of the English government in all its other dependencies, and even to that of the East India Company, previous to the instructions of 1774; instructions which were framed on the spur of the occasion, and created two independent powers in the same administration. Secondly, a too rigid adherence to the rule of seniority in filling the more important departments of the State, or even to that of confiding the choice to the Company's servants, was attended, he affirmed, with the greatest inconveniences; deprived the government of the inestimable use of talents; lessened the motives to meritorious exertion among the servants; and fostered a spirit, most injurious to the government, of independence and disobedience as towards its head. With proper regulations in these particulars; a power of deciding against the opinion of the Council; and such changes among the higher servants, as were required by the particular circumstances of the present case, he conceived that he might, but without them, he could not, accept of the

government of India, with hopes of usefulness to his country, or honour to himself.

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A minute of this conversation was transmitted by the Chairs to the Board of Control; and on the 20th of February, Lord Macartney met Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt. Even since his arrival, Mr. Pitt, in answer to an attack by Mr. Fox, upon the inconsistency of appointing that nobleman to the chief station in the Indian government almost at the very moment when his principal measure had been reversed, had been called forth to pronounce a warm panegyric upon Lord Macartney; and to declare that, with the exception of that one arrangement, his conduct in his government had merited all the praise which language could bestow; and pointed him out as a most eligible choice for the still more important trust of Governor-General of Bengal. To the new regulations or reforms, proposed by Lord Macartney, Mr. Pitt gave a sort of general approbation; but with considerable latitude, in regard to the mode and time of alteration. Lord Macartney remarked, that what he had observed in England had rather increased, than diminished, the estimate which he had formed of the support which would be necessary to counteract the opposition, which, both at home and abroad, he was sure to experience; and he pointed in direct terms to what he saw of the enmity of Mr. Hastings, the influence which he retained among both those who were, and those who had been the servants of the Company, as well as the influence which arose from the opinion of the favour borne to him by some of those persons who were high in the administration. His opinion was, that

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some distinguished mark of favour, which would impose in some degree upon minds that were adversely disposed, and proclaim to all, the power with which he might expect to be supported, was necessary to encounter the difficulties with which he would have to contend. He alluded to a British peerage, to which, even on other grounds, he conceived that he was not without a claim.

No further communication was vouchsafed to Lord Macartney ; and in three days after this conversation he learned, that Lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General of Bengal. The appointment of Lord Macartney was opposed by several members of the administration, among others the Chancellor Thurlow, whose impetuosity gave weight to his opinions ; it was also odious to all those among the East India Directors and Proprietors, who were the partisans either of Hastings or Macpherson. “ When, therefore,” says a letter of Lord Melville, “ against such an accumulation of discontent and opposition, Mr. Pitt was induced by me to concur in the return of Lord Macartney to India, as Governor-General, it was not unnatural that both of us should have felt hurt, that he did not rather repose his future fortune in our hands, than make it the subject of a *sine qua non* preliminary. And I think if Lord Macartney had known us as well then as he did afterwards, he would have felt as we did.” These were the private grounds : As public ones, the same letter states, that the precedent was disapproved of indicating to the world that a premium was necessary to induce persons of consideration in England to accept the office of Governor-General in India, at the very moment

when the resolution was taken of not confining the high situations in India to the servants of the Company.<sup>1</sup>

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We have now arrived at the period of another parliamentary proceeding, which excited attention by its pomp, and by the influence upon the public mind of those whose interests it affected, much more than by any material change which it either produced, or was calculated to produce, upon the state of affairs in India. In a history of those affairs, a very contracted summary of the voluminous records which are left of it, is all for which a place can be usefully found.

The parties into which parliament was now divided; the ministerial, headed by Mr. Pitt; and that of the opposition, by Mr. Fox; had, both, at a preceding period, found it their interest to arraign the government in India. The interest of the party in opposition remained, in this respect, the same as before. That of the ministry was altogether changed. It appeared to those whose interest it still was to arraign the government in India, that the most convenient form the attack could assume was that of an accusation of Mr. Hastings. The ministry had many reasons to dislike the scrutiny into which such a measure would lead. But they were too far committed, by the violent censures which they had formerly pronounced, to render it expedient for them to oppose it. Their policy was, to gain credit by an appearance of consent, and to secure their own objects, as far as it might be done, under

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Melville, in Barrow's Macartney, i. 330.



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specious pretences, during the course of the proceedings.

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The vehement struggles of the parliamentary parties had prevented them, during the year 1784 from following up by any correspondent measure the violent censures which had fallen upon the administration of India. The preceding threats of Mr. Burke received a more determinate character, when he gave notice on the 20th of June, 1785, "That if no other gentleman would undertake the business, he would at a future day, make a motion respecting the conduct of a gentleman just returned from India." On the first day of the following session, he was called upon by Major Scott, who had acted in the avowed capacity of the agent of Mr. Hastings, to produce his charges, and commit the subject to investigation. On the 18th of February, 1786, he gave commencement to the undertaking, by a motion for a variety of papers; and a debate of great length ensued, more remarkable for the criminations, with which the leaders of the two parties appeared desirous of aspersing one another, than for any light which it threw upon the subjects in dispute.

Mr. Burke began his speech, by requiring that the Journals of the House should be opened, and that the 44th and 45th of that series of resolutions, which Mr. Dundas had moved, and the House adopted on the 29th of May, 1782, should be read: "I. That,—for the purpose of conveying entire conviction to the minds of the native princes, that to commence hostilities, without just provocation, against them, and to pursue schemes of conquest and extent of dominion, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and

the policy of this nation—the parliament of Great Britain should give some signal mark of its displeasure against those, (in whatever degree intrusted with the charge of the East India Company's affairs,) who shall appear wilfully to have adopted, or countenanced, a system, tending to inspire a reasonable distrust of the moderation, justice, and good faith of the British nation:—2. That Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor-General of Bengal, and William Hornby, Esq. President of the Council at Bombay, having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expenses on the East India Company, it is the duty of the Directors of the said Company, to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said Governor-General and President from their respective offices, and to recall them to Great Britain.” After Mr. Burke had remarked that the present task would better have become the author of these resolutions than himself, he vented his sarcasms on a zeal against Indian delinquency, which was put on, or put off, according as convenience suggested; exhibited a short history of the notice which parliament had taken of Indian affairs; and, in the next place, adduced the considerations which, at the present moment, appeared to call upon the House to institute penal proceedings. It then remained for him, to present a view of the different courses, which, in such a case, it was competent for that assembly to pursue. In the first place, the House might effect a prosecution by the Attorney-General. But to this mode he had three very strong objections. First,

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the person who held that office appeared to be unfriendly to the prosecution; whatever depended upon his exertions was, therefore, an object of despair. Secondly, Mr. Burke regarded a jury as little qualified to decide upon matters of the description of those which would form the subject of the present judicial inquiry. Thirdly, he looked upon the Court of King's Bench as a tribunal radically unfit to be trusted in questions of that large and elevated nature. The inveterate habit of looking, as in that court, at minute affairs, and that only in their most contracted relations, produced a narrowness of mind, which was almost invariably at fault, when the extended relations of things or subjects of a comprehensive nature were the objects to be investigated and judged.<sup>1</sup> A bill of pains and penalties was a mode of penal inquiry which did not, in his opinion, afford sufficient security for justice and fair dealing toward the party accused. The last mode of proceeding to which the House might have recourse, was that of impeachment; and that was the mode, the adoption of which he intended to recommend. He should however, propose a slight departure from the usual order of the steps. Instead of urging the House to vote immediately a bill of impeachment, to which succeeded a Committee by whom the articles were framed, he should move for papers, in the first instance: and then draw up the articles with all the advantage in favour of justice, which deliberation and knowledge, in place of precipitation and igno-

<sup>1</sup> "The magnitude of the trial would overwhelm," he said, "the varying multitude of lesser causes, of *meum* and *tuum*, assault and battery, conversion and trover, trespass and burglary," &c.

rance, were calculated to yield. He concluded by a motion for one of the sets of papers which it was his object to obtain.

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Mr. Dundas thought that the allusions to himself demanded a reply. He observed, that, at one time during the speech, he began to regard himself, not Mr. Hastings, as the criminal whom the Right Honourable Gentleman meant to impeach: that he was obliged, however, to those who had any charge to prefer against him, when they appeared without disguise: that he wished to meet his accusers face to face: that he had never professed any intention to prosecute the late Governor-General of India: that the extermination of the Rohillas, the aggression upon the Mahrattas, and the misapplication of the revenue, were the points on which his condemnation rested: that he did move the resolutions which had been read; and entertained now the same sentiments which he then expressed: that the resolutions he had moved, went only to the point of recall; that though in several particulars he deemed the conduct of Mr. Hastings highly culpable, yet, as often as he examined it, which he had done very minutely, the possibility of annexing to it a criminal intention eluded his grasp; that the Directors were often the cause of those proceedings to which the appearance of criminality was attached; that after India was glutted with their patronage, no fewer than thirty-six writers had been sent out, to load with expense the civil establishment, in one year; that year of purity, when the situation of the present accusers sufficiently indicated the *shop*, from which the commodity was supplied; that subsequently to the



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period at which he had moved the resolutions in question, Mr. Hastings had rendered important services; and merited the vote of thanks with which his employers had thought fit to reward him. Mr. Dundas concluded, by saying, that he had no objection to the motion, and that, but for the insinuations against himself, he should not have thought it necessary to speak.

The defence, however, of Mr. Dundas, is not less inconsistent than his conduct. His profession of a belief, that he himself was to be the object of the prosecution, was an affectation of wit, which proved not, though Mr. Hastings were polluted, that Mr. Dundas was pure; or that in the accusation of the former it was not highly proper, even requisite, to hold up to view what was suspicious in the conduct of the latter. Whether he ever had the intention to prosecute Mr. Hastings, was known only to himself. But that he had pronounced accusations against Mr. Hastings, which were either unjust, or demanded a prosecution, all the world could judge. When he said that the resolutions which he had moved, and which had immediately been read, implied nothing more than recall, it proved only one of two things; either that he regarded public delinquency, in a very favourable light, or that this was one of those bold assertions, in the face of evidence, which men of a certain character are always ready to make. If Warren Hastings had really, as was affirmed by Mr. Dundas, and voted at his suggestion by the House of Commons, “in sundry instances tarnished the honour, and violated the policy of his country, brought great calamities on India, and enormous

expenses to the East India Company," had he merited nothing but recall? Lord Macartney was recalled; Sir John Macpherson was recalled; many others were recalled; against whom no delinquency was alleged. Recall was not considered as a punishment. And was nothing else due to such offences as those which Mr. Dundas laid to the charge of Mr. Hastings? But either the words of Mr. Dundas's resolutions were very ill adapted to express his meaning, or they did imply much more than recall. Of the two resolutions which Mr. Burke had required to be read, the *last* recommended the measure of recall to the Court of Directors, whose prerogative it was; the *first* recommended something else, *some signal mark of the displeasure of the Parliament of Great Britain*. What might this be? Surely not recall; which was not within the province of Parliament. Surely not a mere advice to the Directors to recall, which seems to fall wonderfully short of a *signal mark of its displeasure*. But Mr. Dundas still retained the very sentiments respecting the conduct of Mr. Hastings which he had entertained when he described it as requiring "some signal mark of the displeasure of the British Parliament;" yet, as often as he examined that conduct, the possibility of annexing to it a criminal intention eluded his grasp: nay, he regarded Mr. Hastings as the proper object of the Company's thanks; that is to say, in the opinion of Mr. Dundas, Mr. Hastings was, at one and the same moment, the proper object of "some signal mark of the displeasure of the British Parliament," and of a vote of thanks at the East India House.

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The Court of Directors were the cause of the bad actions of Mr. Hastings. Why then did Mr. Dundas pronounce those violent censures of Mr. Hastings? And why did he profess that he now entertained the same sentiments which he then declared? He thought him culpable, forsooth, but not criminal; though he had described him as having "violated the honour and policy of his country, brought great calamities upon India, and enormous expense on his employers;" so tenderly did Mr. Dundas think it proper to deal with public offences, which he himself described as of the deepest dye! But he could not affix criminal *intention* to the misconduct of Mr. Hastings. It required much less ingenuity than that of Mr. Dundas, to make it appear that there is no such thing as criminal intention in the world. The man who works all day to earn a crown, and the man who robs him of it, as he goes home at night, act, each of them, with the very same intention; that of obtaining a certain portion of money. Mr. Dundas might have known, that criminal intention is by no means necessary to constitute the highest possible degree of public delinquency. Where is the criminal intention of the sentinel who falls asleep at his post? Where was the criminal intention of Admiral Byng, who suffered a capital punishment? The assassin of Henry the Fourth of France was doubtless actuated by the purest and most heroic intentions. Yet who doubts that he was the proper object of penal exaction? Such are the inconsistencies of a speech, which yet appears to have passed as sterling, in the assembly to which it

was addressed ; and such is a sample of the speeches which have had so much influence in the government of this nation !

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The year in which Mr. Fox had been minister was accused of overloading the patronage of India ; and Mr. Dundas hazarded a curious proposition, to which his experience yielded weight, that the circumstance of who was minister always indicated the *shop*, as he called it, from which Indian patronage was retailed.<sup>1</sup> This called up Mr. Fox, who began by declaring that he spoke on account solely of the charges which had been levelled against himself. Surmise might be answered, he thought, by assertion ; and, therefore, he solemnly declared, that he had never been the cause of sending out except one single writer to India, and that during the administration of Lord Shelburne. The consistency, however, of the Honourable Gentleman suggested strongly a few remarks,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dundas did not intimate that the circumstance of who was minister "always" indicated the shop for Indian patronage. He indicated it in one specific case only, that of the administration of 1783, and why ? This should have been stated if it was worth while to have noticed the subject at all. Hastings had written home in 1782, complaining of the situation he was in, in consequence of so many writers being sent out to him, declaring that he had at that time 250 young men, the younger sons of the first families in Great Britain, all gaping for lacs, and scrambling for patronage. Notwithstanding this remonstrance thirty-six writers were sent out in 1783. Fox and Burke disclaimed for themselves any hand in these appointments ; but it seems to have been understood on both sides of the House, that the ministry of the time of which they were members were not unconcerned in the abuse of patronage. This overloading of the India Service was at once a source of embarrassment to the government, and disappointment to the individuals ; and the latter was very likely to have brought upon Hastings much of the opposition which his measures encountered, and much of the animosity which he personally experienced.—W.



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notwithstanding his boasted readiness to face his opponents. The power of facing, God knew, was not to be numbered among his wants; even when driven, as on the present occasion, to the miserable necessity of applauding, in the latter part of his speech, what he condemned in the former. His opinion of Mr. Hastings remained the same as when he arraigned him; yet he thought him a fit object of thanks. He condemned the Rohilla war; the treaty of Poorunder; and the expense of his administration. Gracious heaven! Was that all? Was the shameful plunder of the Mogul Emperor, the shameful plunder of the Raja of Benares, the shameful plunder of the Princesses of Oude, worthy of no moral abhorrence, of no legal visitation? Was the tender language now held by the Honourable Gentleman, respecting the author of those disgraceful transactions, in conformity either with the facts, or his former declarations?

Mr. Pitt rose in great warmth, to express, he said, some part of the indignation, with which his breast was filled, and which he trusted, no man of generous and honourable feelings could avoid sharing with him. Who had accused his Honourable Friend of guilt, in now applauding the man whom he had formerly condemned? Who, but he, who, in the face of Europe, had united councils with the man whom for a series of years he had loaded with the most extravagant epithets of reproach, and threatened with the severest punishment! The height of the colouring which that individual had bestowed upon the supposed inconsistency of his friend, might have led

persons unacquainted with his character, to suppose that he possessed a heart really capable of feeling abhorrence at the meanness and baseness of those who shifted their sentiments with their interests. As to the charge of inconsistency against his Honourable Friend, was it not very possible for the conduct of any man to merit, at one time, condemnation, at another, applause? Yet it was true, that the practice of the accuser had instructed the world in the merit of looking to persons, not to principles! He then proceeded to extenuate the criminality of the Rohilla war. And concluded, by ascribing the highest praise to that portion of the administration of Hastings which had succeeded the date of the resolutions of Mr. Dundas.

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On this speech, what first suggests itself is, that a great proportion of it is employed, not in proving that Mr. Dundas had not, but in proving that Mr. Fox had, been corruptly inconsistent. In what respect, however, did it clear the character of Mr. Dundas, to implicate that of the man who accused him? How great soever the baseness of Mr. Fox, that of Mr. Dundas might equal, and even surpass it. True, indeed, the conduct of a man, at one time bad, might, at another time, be the reverse. But would that be a good law which should exempt crimes from punishment, provided the perpetrators happened afterwards to perform acts of a useful description? A man might thus get securely rich by theft and robbery, on the condition of making a beneficent use of the fruits of his crimes. “The former portion of the administration of Mr. Hastings was criminal; the

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latter, meritorious." It suited the minister's present purpose to say so. But they who study the history, will probably find, that of the praise which is due to the administration of Mr. Hastings, a greater portion belongs to the part which Mr. Pitt condemns, than to that which he applauds : To such a degree was either his judgment incorrect, or his language deceitful!<sup>1</sup>

The production of the papers was not opposed, till a motion was made for those relating to the business of Oude during the latter years of Mr. Hastings's

<sup>1</sup> The abstract and criticisms of this debate are partial and uncandid. The 45th Resolution of the Committee imposed upon the Directors of the East India Company, "The duty of pursuing all legal and effectual means for the removal of Warren Hastings and William Hornby from their respective offices, and their recall to Great Britain." In proposing such a Resolution, most certainly Mr. Dundas gave no intimation whatever, much less a pledge of his intending to propose that parliament should undertake a duty thus specially imposed upon the Court. Much less was it incumbent on him or any member of the government to suggest further proceedings, when the result of the Court's recourse to legal measures to carry the Resolution of the House of Commons into execution, was the confirmation by those vested with lawful authority, the Court of Proprietors, of the individuals whom it had been proposed to remove. Again, supposing that the measures anterior to the resolution of the 26th May, 1782, had been proved, as they were not, "repugnant to the wish and the honour and policy of the nation," where was the inconsistency of admitting their exculpation by subsequent merits? The principle laid down by Mr. Pitt, is that alone by which the conduct of persons in office can be equitably tested. "He held it," he observed, "absolutely necessary in point of justice and of right, to examine the whole of the public conduct of any servant of the people, to give him due credit for such parts as were meritorious, as well as to censure him for such as were culpable; and, for his own part, he should not hesitate for one moment to declare that, however censurable some parts of Mr. Hastings's conduct might be made to appear, he must, notwithstanding, consider such as were praiseworthy as entitled to the warmest approbation. Nay, as a sufficient ground for reward and thanks, could they be proved to predominate over what was exceptionable."—W.

administration. To this Mr. Pitt objected. He said, it would introduce new matter; and make the ground of the accusation wider than necessary: He wished to confine the judicial inquiry to the period embraced in the reports of the Committees of 1781. Mr. Dundas stood up for the same doctrine. If the object, however, was, to do justice between Mr. Hastings and the nation, it will be difficult to imagine a reason, why one, rather than another part of his administration should escape inquiry. Even the friends, however, of Mr. Hastings, urged the necessity of obtaining the Oude papers; and, therefore, they were granted.

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A motion was made for papers relative to the Mahratta peace. It was opposed, as leading to the discovery of secrets. On ground like this, it was replied, the minister could never want a screen to any possible delinquency. A motion for the papers relative to the negotiations which Mr. Hastings had carried on at Delhi in the last months of his administration, was also made, and urged with great importunity. It was opposed on the same grounds, and both were rejected.

During the debates on these motions, objections had begun to be started, on the mode of procedure which Mr. Burke had embraced. To call for papers relative to misconduct, and from the information which these might afford, to shape the charges by the guilt, was not, it was contended, a course which parliament ought to allow. The charges ought to be exhibited first; and no evidentiary matter ought to be granted, but such alone as could be shown to bear



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upon the charge. These objections, however, produced not any decisive result, till the 3rd of April when Mr. Burke proposed to call to the bar some of the gentlemen who had been ordered, as witnesses, to attend. On this occasion, the crown lawyers opposed in phalanx. Their speeches were long, but their arguments only two. Not to produce the charges in the first instance, and proof, strictly confined to those charges, was unfair, they alleged, to the party accused. To produce the charges first and no proof but what strictly applied to the charges was the mode of proceeding in the Courts of Law. Mr. Burke, and they who supported him, maintained that this was an attempt to infringe the order of procedure already adopted by the House; which had granted evidence in pursuance of its own plan; had formed itself into a Committee for the express purpose of receiving evidence; and had summoned witnesses to be at that moment in attendance. They affirmed, that the mode of proceeding, by collecting evidence in the first instance, and thence educing the charges, was favourable to precision and accuracy; that the opposition, which it experienced, savoured of a design to restrict evidence; and that the grand muster of the crown lawyers for such a purpose was loaded with suspicion. The House, however, agreed with the lawyers; which is as much as to say, that such was the plan of the minister; and the accuser was obliged to invert the order of his steps. Some elucidation of the incident is strongly required.

To collect some knowledge of the facts of the sup-

posed delinquency ; to explore the sources of evi-  
 dence ; to seek to throw light upon the subject of  
 accusation ; to trace the media of proof from one link  
 to another, often the only way in which it can be  
 traced ; and, when the subject is thus in some degree  
 understood, to put the matter of delinquency into  
 those propositions which are the best adapted to  
 present it truly and effectually to the test of proof, is  
 not, say the lawyers, the way to justice. Before you  
 are allowed to collect one particle of knowledge re-  
 specting the facts of the delinquency ; before you are  
 allowed to explore a single source of evidence, or do  
 any one thing which can throw light upon the sub-  
 ject, you must put the matter of delinquency, which  
 you are allowed, as far as the lawyers can prevent  
 you, to know nothing about, into propositions for the  
 reception of proof. And having thus made up the  
 subject, which you know nothing about, into a set of  
 propositions, such as ignorance has enabled you to  
 make them, you are to be restrained from adducing  
 one particle of evidence to any thing but your first  
 propositions, how much soever you may find, as light  
 breaks in upon you, that there is of the matter of  
 delinquency, which your propositions, made by com-  
 pulsion under ignorance, do not embrace. And this  
 is the method, found out and prescribed by the  
 lawyers, for elucidating the field of delinquency, and  
 ensuring the detection of crime !

To whom is the most complete and efficient pro-  
 duction of evidence unfavourable ? To the guilty  
 individual. To whom is it favourable ? To all who  
 are innocent, and to the community at large. Evi-

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dence, said the lawyers, shall not be produced, till after your charges, because it may be unfavourable to Mr. Hastings.

If they meant that partial evidence might operate unequitably on the public mind; the answer is immediate: why allow it to be partial? Mr. Hastings knew the field of evidence far better than his accusers, and might call for what he required.

The lawyers were very merciful. It was a cruel thing to an innocent man, to have evidence of guilt exhibited against him; and every man should be presumed innocent, till proved guilty. From these premises there is only one legitimate inference; and that is, that evidence of guilt should never be exhibited against any man.

The rule of the lawyers for the making of propositions is truly their own. It is, to make them out of nothing. All other men, on all occasions, tell us to get knowledge first; and then to make propositions. Out of total ignorance how can any thing the result of knowledge be made?—No, say the lawyers; make your propositions, while in absolute ignorance; and, by help of that absolute ignorance, show, that even the evidence which you call for is evidence to the point. It is sufficiently clear, that when the man who endeavours to throw light upon delinquency is thus compelled to grope his way in the dark, a thousand chances are provided for delinquency to escape.

When a rule is established by lawyers, and furiously upheld; a rule pregnant with absurdity, and

contrary to the ends of justice, but eminently con-  
 ductive to the profit and power of lawyers, to what  
 sort of motives does common sense guide us in  
 ascribing the evil? Delinquency produces law-  
 suits; law-suits produce lawyers' fees and lawyers'  
 power; whatever can multiply the law-suits which  
 arise out of delinquency, multiplies the occasions on  
 which lawyers' power and profit are gained. That  
 a rule to draw up the accusatory propositions before  
 inquiry, that is, without knowledge, and to adduce  
 evidence to nothing but those propositions which  
 ignorance drew, is a contrivance, skilfully adapted,  
 to multiply the law suits to which delinquency  
 gives birth, is too obvious to be capable of being  
 denied.

And what is the species of production, which  
 their rule of acting in the dark enables the lawyers  
 themselves, in the guise of the writing of accusation  
 or bill of indictment, to supply? A thing so  
 strange, so extravagant, so barbarous, that it more  
 resembles the freak of a mischievous imagination,  
 playing a malignant frolic, than the sober contri-  
 vance of reason, even in its least instructed con-  
 dition.

Not proceeding by knowledge, but conjecture, as  
 often as the intention is really to include, not to  
 avoid including, the offence, they are obliged to  
 ascribe to the supposed delinquent, not one crime,  
 but all manner of crimes, which bear any sort of  
 resemblance to that of which they suppose him to  
 have been really guilty; in order, that, in a multi-  
 tude of guesses, they may have some chance to be  
 right in one.



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And this course they pretend to take, out of tenderness to the party accused. To save him from the pain of having evidence adduced to the crime of which he is guilty, they solemnly charge him with the guilt of a great variety of crimes. When innocence really exists, the production of evidence, evidence to innocence, and is the greatest favour which innocence, under suspicion, can receive.

The absurdities, with which, under this irrational mode of procedure, a bill of indictment is frequently stuffed, far exceed the limits of ordinary belief. Not only are the grossest known falsehoods regularly and invariably asserted, and found by juries upon the oaths; but things contradictory of one another, and absolutely impossible in nature. Thus, when it is not known in which of two ways a man has been murdered, he is positively affirmed to have been murdered twice; first to have been murdered in one way; and after being murdered in that way, to be murdered again in another.

The truth, in the mean time, is, that a system of preliminary operations, having it for their object to trace out and secure evidence for the purpose of the ultimate examination and decision, so far from being adverse to the ends of justice, would form a constituent part of every rational course of judicial procedure. By means of these preparatory operations the judge would be enabled to come to the examination of the case, with all the circumstances before him on which his decision ought to be grounded, which the nature of the case allowed to be produced. Without these preparatory operations, the judge is always liable to come to the examination with on

a small part of the circumstances before him, and very seldom indeed can have the advantage of the whole. The very nature of crime, which as much as possible seeks concealment, implies that the evidence of it must be traced. Some things are only indications of other indications. The last may alone be decisive evidence of guilt; but evidence, which would have remained undiscovered, had the inquirer not been allowed to trace it, by previously exploring the first. One man may be supposed to know something of the crime. When examined, he is found to know nothing of it himself, but points out another man, from whom decisive evidence is obtained. If a preliminary procedure for the purpose of tracing evidence is allowed, the persons and things whose evidence is immediate to the fact in question, are produced to the judge; and the truth is ascertained. If the preliminary procedure is forbidden, the persons and things, whose evidence would go immediately to the facts in question, are often not produced to the judge; and in this and a thousand other ways, the means of ascertaining the truth, that is of satisfying justice, are disappointed of their end.

It thus appears, that a confederacy of crown lawyers and ministers, with a House of Commons at their beck, succeeded in depriving the prosecution of Mr. Hastings of an important and essential instrument of justice, of which not that cause only, but every cause ought to have the advantage; and that they succeeded on two untenable grounds; first, because the search for evidence was unfavourable to Mr. Hastings, which was as much as to say, that

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Mr. Hastings was guilty, not innocent; next, because it was contrary to the practice of the courts of law as if the vices of the courts of law ought not only to be inviolate on their own ground, but never put to shame and disgrace by the contrast of virtues in any other place! <sup>1</sup>

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Mr. Burke being thus compelled to produce the particulars of his accusation, before he was allowed by aid of evidence to acquaint himself with the matter of it,<sup>2</sup> exhibited nine of his articles of charge on the fourth of April, and twelve more in the course of the following week. I conceive that in this place nothing more is required than to give indication of the principal topics. These were, the Rohilla war, the transactions respecting Benares and its Raja, the measure by which Corah and Allahabad, and the

<sup>1</sup> For a profound elucidation of what he calls Investigatorial Procedure see Mr. Bentham's Treatise, entitled Scotch Reform.

<sup>2</sup> If this were true, it would argue Burke capable of atrocious iniquity. To prefer a charge without being acquainted with the matter of it, would be a most infamous species of delation. But it is not true. Burke's charges were avowedly framed upon the investigations of the Select Committee, and upon documents already in his possession; and so little were his accusations affected by the decision of the 3rd of April, that they were preferred on the following day. In all that has been previously said upon this subject, it has been forgotten, that in theory at least, the question was not the guilt or innocence of Hastings. He was not supposed to be upon his trial. The proceedings were preliminary, and amounted to no more, than to determine whether there were reasonable grounds why the House of Commons should become his accusers. Proof of this, as in the bills found by a Grand Jury did not render it necessary to exhaust evidence; and it was the more necessary to be reserved in calling for it, as whatever might be the professed principles of the proceedings of the House, they could not fail to prejudice the accused. It is argued indeed, that the evidence was as likely to clear as to condemn Hastings, but here again it is forgotten, that evidence on one side only was demanded, evidence in support of the accusation. A perusal of the debate will satisfy every impartial mind that the lawyers were more rational than the rhetoricians.—W.

tribute due for the province of Bengal, were taken from the Mogul; the transactions in Oude respecting the Begums, the English Residents, and other affairs; those regarding the Mahratta war, and the peace by which it was concluded; the measures of internal administration, including the arrangements for the collection of the revenues and the administration of justice, the death of Nuncomar, and treatment of Mohammed Reza Khan; disobedience of the commands, and contempt for the authority, of the Directors; extravagant expense, for the purpose of creating dependants and enriching favourites; and the receipt of presents or bribes. An additional article was afterwards presented, on the 6th of May, which related to the treatment bestowed upon Fysoolla Khan.<sup>1</sup> I shall not account it necessary to follow the debates, to which the motions upon these several charges gave birth, in the House of Commons; both because they diffused little information on the subject, and because the facts have already been stated with such lights as, it is hoped, may suffice to form a proper judgment upon each.

Not only, on several preliminary questions, did the ministers zealously concur with the advocates of Mr. Hastings; but even when the great question of the Rohilla war, and the ruin of a whole people, came under discussion, Mr. Hastings had the decisive advantage of their support. Mr. Dundas himself, who had so recently enumerated the Rohilla war

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<sup>1</sup> The better understanding of the subject seems to require a more precise detail of the charges than is given in this place, or than can be collected from the detached notices found elsewhere. As a summary recapitulation of them may be useful, it will be given at the end of this chapter.—W.



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among the criminal transactions which called forth his condemnation, rose up in its defence;<sup>1</sup> and the House voted, by a majority of 119 to 67, that no impeachable matter was contained in the charge.

It was not without reason that the friends of Mr. Hastings now triumphed in the prospect of victory. Every point had been carried in his favour: The minister had steadily and uniformly lent him the weight of his irresistible power: And the most formidable article in the bill of accusation, had been rejected as void of criminating force.

The motion on the charge respecting the extermination of the Rohillas was made on the first of June. That on the charge respecting the Raja of Benares was made on the 13th of the same month. On that day, however, the sentiments of Mr. Pitt appeared to have undergone a revolution. The exceptions, indeed, which he took to the conduct of Mr. Hastings, were not very weighty. In his demands upon the Raja and the exercise of the arbitrary discretion intrusted to him, Mr. Hastings had exceeded the exigency

<sup>1</sup> The following are the words of the eighth of the resolutions, which he moved in 1781, "That too strong a confirmation cannot be given to the sentiments and resolutions of the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors, *in condemnation* of the Rohilla war:—That the conduct of the President and Select Committee of Bengal appears, in almost every stage of it, to have been biassed by an interested partiality to the Vizir, to transgress their own, as well as the Company's positive and repeated regulations and orders:—That the extermination of the Rohillas was not necessary, for the recovery of forty lacs of rupees:—And that if it was expedient to make their country a barrier against the Mahrattas, there is reason to believe, that this might have been effected by as easy, and by a less iniquitous, interference of the government of Bengal; which would, at the same time, have preserved the dominion to the *rightful* owners, and exhibited an attentive example of justice, as well as policy, to all India."

Upon this ground, after having joined in a sentence of impunity on the treatment of the Rohillas, the minister declared, that "upon the whole, the conduct of Mr. Hastings, in the transactions now before the House, had been so cruel, unjust, and oppressive, that it was impossible he, as a man of honour or honesty, or having any regard to faith or conscience, could any longer resist; and therefore he had fully satisfied his conscience, that Warren Hastings, in the case in question, had been guilty of such enormities and misdeemeanours, as constituted a crime sufficient to call upon the justice of the House to impeach him."

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Some article of secret history is necessary to account for this sudden phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> With the conduct of the minister, that too of the House of Commons underwent immediate revolution; the same majority, almost exactly, which had voted that there was no matter of impeachment in the ruin brought upon the Rohillas, voted that there was matter of impeachment in the ruin brought upon the Raja Cheyte Sing. The friends of Mr. Hastings vented expressions of the highest indignation; and charged the minister with treachery; as if he had been previously pledged for their support.<sup>2</sup>

No further progress was made in the prosecution

<sup>1</sup> The cause is variously conjectured; some turn in the cabinet; or in the sentiments of the King, whose zeal for Mr. Hastings was the object of common fame; an increasing dread of unpopularity, from the progress of indignation in the public mind.

<sup>2</sup> The contemporary historian says, "The conduct of the minister on this occasion drew upon him much indecent calumny from the friends of Mr. Hastings. They did not hesitate to accuse him, out of doors, both publicly and privately, of treachery. They declared it was in the full confidence of his protection and support, that they had urged on Mr. Burke to bring forward his charges: and, that the gentleman accused had been persuaded to come to their bar, with an hasty and premature defence. And they did

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of Mr. Hastings during that session of the parliament. But the act of Mr. Pitt for the better government of

1786. India was already found in need of tinkering. Mr. Francis, early in the session, had moved for leave to bring in a bill for amending the existing law agreeably to the ideas which he had often expressed. Upon this, however, the previous question was moved and carried without a division.

In the course of the year 1786, no fewer than three bills for amending the late act, with regard to the government of India, were introduced by the ministers, and passed. The first<sup>1</sup> had for its principal

not scruple to attribute this conduct in the minister to motives of the basest jealousy." Annual Register for the year 1786, chap. vii.—Mr. Pitt's view of the case was as little satisfactory to the enemies, as to the friends, of Hastings. He maintained that the Government of India was fully warranted in calling upon the Zemindar of Benares for extraordinary contributions in circumstances of public emergency. To the first demand upon Cheit Sing he entertained no objection, but thought that the subsequent conduct of the Governor-General in imposing a fine of half a million upon the Raja, for his delay in the payment of a contribution of fifty thousand pounds, was oppressive and unjust; but he specifically limited his censure to the exorbitancy of the fine, and expressly protested against any extension of it to the other parts of the charge. His biographer, Gifford, observes, of the feelings with which his speech was received, that while one side wished him to exculpate the Governor-General, the other was dissatisfied with the limitation of his censure to a particular point. His conduct, however, was such as justice demanded, and conscience approved. Life of Pitt, i. 184. See also Tomlins's Life of Pitt, i. 215. Where the purport of Mr. Pitt's speech is given in the same manner, "the exorbitant amount of the fine was the only unjust part of the transaction. Cheit Sing's rebellion was not to be vindicated by the plea of resistance to exaction, for he knew not that the fine intended to be levied was exorbitant, Hastings' intention to levy such fine never having been announced to him. The fine was never exacted—very probably never would have been. The intention was merely matter of conversation. Hastings was not pledged to its accomplishment; and after all, therefore, even Mr. Pitt was led to join in charging as a high crime and misdemeanour—an unfulfilled design—a design which would probably never have been carried into effect—and of which nothing could have been known but from Hastings's own honest avowal of having for a time entertained it.—W.

<sup>1</sup> 26 Geo. III. c. 16.

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object to free the Governor-General from a dependence upon the majority of his council, by enabling him to act in opposition to their conclusions, after their opinions, together with the reasons upon which they were founded, had been heard and recorded. This idea had been first brought forward by Lord North, in the propositions which he offered as the foundation of a bill, immediately before the dissolution of his ministry. It appears to have been first suggested by Mr. Dundas; and the regulation was insisted upon by Lord Macartney, as indispensable to the existence of a good government in India. It was violently, indeed, opposed by Mr. Francis, Mr. Burke, and the party who were led by them, in their ideas on Indian subjects. The institution, however, bears upon it considerable marks of wisdom. The Council were converted into a party of assessors to the Governor-General, aiding him by their advice, and checking him by their presence. Individual responsibility and unity of purpose were thus united with multiplicity of ideas, and with the influence, not only of eyes, to which every secret was exposed, but of recorded reasons, in defiance of which, as often as the assessors were honest and wise, every pernicious measure would have to be taken, and by which it would be seen that it might afterwards be tried.

The same bill introduced another innovation, which was, to enable the offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, to be united in the same person. It was undoubtedly of great importance to render the military strictly dependent upon the civil power, and to preclude the unavoidable evils of



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two conflicting authorities. But very great inconveniences attended the measure of uniting in the same person the superintendence of the civil and military departments. In the first place, it raised to the greatest possible degree of concentrated strength the temptations to what the parliament and ministry pretended they had the greatest aversion; the multiplication of wars, and pursuit of conquest. In the next place, the sort of talents, habits, and character, best adapted for the office of civil governor, were not the sort of talents, habits, and character, best adapted for the military functions: nor were those which were best adapted for the military functions, best adapted for the calm and laborious details of the civil administration. And, to omit all other evils, the whole time and talents of the ablest man were not more than sufficient for the duties of either office. For the same man, therefore, it was impossible, not to neglect the one set of duties, in the same degree in which he paid attention to the other.

This bill was arraigned by those who generally opposed the minister, and on the 22nd of March, when, in the language of parliament, it was committed, in other words, considered by the House, when the House calls itself a committee, Mr. Burke poured forth against it one of his most eloquent harangues. It established a despotical power, he said, in India. This, it was pretended, was for giving energy and despatch to the government. But the pretext was false. He desired to know, where that arbitrary government existed, of which dignity, energy, and despatch, were the characteristics. To what had democracy, in all ages and countries, owed most of its

triumphs, but to the openness, the publicity, and strength of its operation."<sup>1</sup>

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Mr. Dundas called upon his opponents to inform him, whether it was not possible for despotism to exist in the hands of many, as well as in the hands of one: and he observed, that if the power of the Governor-General would be increased, so would also his responsibility. The answer was just and victorious. It is a mere vulgar error, that despotism ceases to be despotism, by merely being shared. It is an error, too, of pernicious operation on the British constitution. Where men see that the powers of government are shared, they conclude that they are also limited, and already under sufficient restraint. Mr. Dundas affirmed, and affirmed truly, that the government of India was no more a despotism, when the despotism was lodged in the single hand of the Governor-General, than when shared between the Governor and the Council. What he affirmed of increasing the force, by increasing the concentration of responsibility, is likewise so true, that a responsibility, shared, is seldom any responsibility at all. So little was there, in Burke's oratory, of wisdom, if he knew no better, of simplicity and honesty, if he did.

The second of the East India acts of this year<sup>2</sup> was an artifice. It repealed that part of Mr. Pitt's

<sup>1</sup> Cobbett's Parl. Hist. xxv. 1276. In the same speech Mr. Burke said, "What he, from the experience derived from many years' attention, would recommend as a means of recovering India, and reforming all its abuses, was a combination of these three things—a government by law—trial by jury—and publicity in every executive and judicial concern." *Ibid.* Of these three grand instruments of good government, what he meant is not very clear as to any but the last; of which the importance is, undoubtedly, great beyond expression.

<sup>2</sup> 26 Geo. III. c. 25.

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original act which made necessary the approbation of the King for the choice of a Governor-General

1787. It reserved to the King the power of recall, in which the former was completely included.

The third of the acts of the same year<sup>1</sup> had but one object of any importance; and that was, to repeal the part of Mr. Pitt's original bill, which almost alone appears to have had any tendency to improve the government to which it referred: I mean the disclosure of the amount of the property which each individual, engaged in the government of India realized in that country. This was too searching a test: And answered the purposes neither of ministers in England, nor of the Company's servants in India.

Nor was this all. There was also, during the course of this year, a fourth bill, granting relief to the East India Company: that sort of relief, for which they had so often occasion to apply, relief in the way of money. A petition from the Company was pre-

<sup>1</sup> 26 Geo. III. c. 57.

<sup>2</sup> The following is a curious testimony to the importance of the clause which was now repealed. Major Scott, the famous agent of Mr. Hastings, in the debate of the 7th of February, 1788, on the impeachment of Sir E. Impey, counteracting the panegyrics which had been pronounced on Mr. Francis, said, "Before I join in applauding the integrity of the Hon. Gen., I require it to be proved *by the only possible way in which his integrity can possibly be proved*. Let him come fairly, boldly, and honestly forward, as Lord Macartney has done; let him state that he left England in debt, that he was six years in India, that his expenses at home and abroad were so much, and his fortune barely the difference between the amount of his expenses and the amount of his salary. When the Hon. Gent. shall have done this, I will join the committee of impeachment with cheerfulness, in pronouncing Mr. Francis to be one of the honestest men that ever came from Bengal. But until he shall submit to *this only true test* of his integrity, I shall pay no attention to the animated panegyrics of his friends." Cobbett's Parl. Hist. xxvi. 1425, I wish I could have availed myself of this testimony, without repeating the surmise of a man who would not have confined himself to surmise against Mr. Francis, had he had any thing stronger to produce.

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ented; and the subject was discussed in the House of Commons, on the 9th, and 26th of June. The act<sup>1</sup> enabled them to raise money by the sale of part, to wit, 1,207,559*l.* 15*s.* of the 4,200,000*l.*, which they had lent to the public; and also, by adding 800,000*l.* in the way of subscription to their capital stock.

On the first day of the following session, which was the 23rd of January, 1787, Mr. Burke announced, that he should proceed with the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, on the first day of the succeeding month. The business, during this session, was carried through its first and most interesting stage. The House of Commons reviewed the several articles of charge; impeached Mr. Hastings at the bar of the House of Peers; and delivered him to that judicatory for trial. Of the proceedings at this stage it is necessary for me to advert to only the more remarkable points.

On the 7th of February, the charge relating to the resumption of the jaghires or lands of the Princesses of Oude, the seizure of their treasure, and the connected offences, was exhibited by Mr. Sheridan in a speech which powerfully operated upon the sympathy of the hearers, and was celebrated as one of the highest efforts of English eloquence. On this subject Mr. Pitt took a distinction between the landed estates, and the treasures. For depriving the Begums, of their estates, he could conceive that reasons might exist, although peculiar delicacy and forbearance were due on the part of the English, who were actually the guarantees to the Princesses for the

<sup>1</sup> 26 Geo. III. c. 62.



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secure possession of those estates. But the confiscation of their treasures, he thought an enormity altogether indefensible and atrocious; and the guilt of that act was increased by stifling the order of the Court of Directors, which commanded the proceedings against the Princesses to be revised. The plunder of the Chief of Furruckabad, a dependant, also, of the Nabob, whom the English were bound to protect, formed a part of the transactions to which the Governor-General became a party by the treaty of Chunar. It was made a separate article of charge. And, in the matter of that, as well as the preceding article, it was voted by large majorities, that high crimes and misdemeanours were involved. Mr. Pitt observed, that the conduct of the Governor-General, in receiving a present of enormous value from the Nabob, at the time when he let him loose to prey upon so many victims, was not justified by the pretence of receiving it for the public service, in which no exigence existed to demand recurrence to such a resource: "it could be accounted for by nothing but corruption."

In the course of these proceedings, Mr. Burke thought it necessary to call the attention of the House to the difficulties under which the prosecution laboured in regard to evidence. The late Governor-General, as often as he thought proper, had withheld, mutilated or garbled the correspondence which he was bound to transmit to the East India House. Nor was this all. Those whose duty it was to bring evidence of the charges were often ignorant of the titles of the papers for which it was necessary to call; and papers, however closely connected with the sub-

ect, were withheld, if not technically included under the title which was given. He himself, for example, had moved for the Furruckabad papers, and what he received under that title, he concluded, were the whole; but a motion had been afterwards made, by another member, for the Persian correspondence, which brought forth documents of the greatest importance. To another circumstance it befitted the House to advert. The attorney of the East India Company, in vindication of whose wrongs the prosecution was carried on, was (it was pretty remarkable) the attorney, likewise, of Mr. Hastings; and while the House were groping in the dark, and liable to miss what was of most importance, Mr. Hastings and his attorney, to whom the documents in the India House were known, might, on each occasion, by a fortunate document, defeat the imperfect evidence before the House, and laugh at the prosecution.

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On the charge, that expense had been incurred by Mr. Hastings for making dependants and creating a corrupt influence, brought forward on the 15th of March, Mr. Pitt selected three particulars, as those alone which appeared to him, in respect to magnitude, and evidence of criminality, to demand the penal proceedings of parliament. These were, the contract for bullocks in 1779; the opium contract in 1780;<sup>1</sup> and the extraordinary emoluments bestowed

<sup>1</sup> There were several pecuniary transactions with individuals, such as a contract for supplying the army with bullocks, a contract for feeding elephants, an agency for the supply of corn, a contract for the Company's opium, which were laid hold of by the accusers of Mr. Hastings, as either not having been performed agreeably to the rules and orders of the service, or in some way implying corruption on the part of the Governor-General,

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on Sir Eyre Coote. In the first there were not only he said, reprehensible circumstances, but strong marks of corruption: while the latter transaction involved in it almost every species of criminality; a violation of the faith of the Company, a wanton abuse of power against a helpless ally, a misapplication of the public property, and disobedience to his superiors, by a disgraceful and wicked evasion.<sup>1</sup>

On the 2nd of April, when the report of the Committee on the articles of charge was brought up, it was proposed by Mr. Pitt, that, instead of voting whether the House should proceed to impeachment, a preliminary step should be interposed, and that a committee should be formed to draw up articles of impeachment. His reason was, that on several of the particulars, contained in the articles of charge, he could not vote for the penal proceeding proposed, while he thought that on account of others it was clearly required. A committee might draw up articles of impeachment, which would remove his objections, without frustrating the object which all parties professed to have in view. After some little opposition, this suggestion was adopted. Among the

and thence included among the subjects of criminal charge. As the indications of criminality in these transactions appeared to me to fall short of proof; and as they were matters of that degree of detail, to which the limits of history do not allow it to descend, no account of them is included in the narrative of Mr. Hastings's Indian Administration.

<sup>1</sup> The extra allowances paid to Sir E. Coote were charged to the Nawab Vizir whilst the General was in Oude, and they were continued to him after his return to Bengal, and embarkation for Madras. Hastings admits the facts in his defence. He no doubt submitted to these arrangements to keep Sir E. Coote in good humour. And they were chargeable with indifference to expenditure, but not with the criminality imputed by the minister.—W.

names presented for the Committee was that of Mr. Francis. Objection to him was taken, on the score of a supposed enmity to the party accused; and he was rejected by a majority of 96 to 44.

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On the 25th of the month, the articles of impeachment were brought up from the Committee by Mr. Burke. They were taken into consideration on the 31 of May. The formerly celebrated, then Alderman, Wilkes, was a warm friend of Mr. Hastings; and strenuously maintained that the prosecution was unjust. He said, what was the most remarkable thing in the debate, that it was the craving and avaricious policy of this country, which had, for the purpose of getting money to satisfy this inordinate appetite, betrayed Mr. Hastings into those of his measures for which a defence was the most difficult to be found. The remark had its foundation in truth; and it goes pretty far in extenuation of some of Mr. Hastings's most exceptionable acts. The famous Alderman added, that a zeal for justice, which never recognises any object that takes any thing from ourselves, is a manifest pretence. If Mr. Hastings had committed so much injustice, how disgraceful was it to be told, that not a single voice had yet been heard to cry for retribution and compensation to those who had suffered by his acts? The stain to which the reformed patriot thus pointed the finger of scorn, is an instance of that perversion of the moral sentiments to which nations by their selfishness are so commonly driven, and which it is therefore so useful to hold up to perpetual view. Among individuals, a man so corrupt could scarcely be formed as to cry out with vehemence against the cruelty of a plunder, perpetrated for his



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benefit, without a thought of restoring what by justice he had obtained.<sup>1</sup> There was in this debate another circumstance worthy of notice ; that Mr. Pitt pronounced the strongest condemnation of those who endeavoured to set in balance the services of Mr. Hastings against the crimes, as if the merit of the one extinguished the demerit of the other. This was an attempt, he said, to compromise the justice of the country. Yet at a date no further distant than the preceding session, Mr. Pitt had joined with Mr. Dundas, when that practical statesman urged the

<sup>1</sup> The objection was most just. Not even Burke proposed that the money said to have been extorted from the Vizir, from the Begums, from Fyzoolla Khan, should be restored to them, nor that Corah and Allahabad should be redeemed from the Vizir, and given back to Shah Alem, nor that Cheit Sing should be replaced in his Zemindary of Benares. As long as the Company reaped the advantages of these measures, as long as the nation kept firm hold of the wealth and power derived from Indian territory acquired by such means, as long as both appropriated and retained the plunder that their agents laid at their feet, it was monstrous inconsistency to denounce and punish those agents as plunderers and spoilers. At the same time, irrefutable as is the argument, it was not employed by Wilkes. The speech of the Alderman as reported in the History of Parliament, and as published separately, although a most reasonable and manly vindication of Hastings, does not contain the passage cited in the text. Something like it occurs in the speech of Mr. Nathaniel Smith, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, who had been throughout opposed to the policy of Hastings, and had strenuously advocated his recall. He ascribed the origin of all the evils that had occurred to the financial embarrassments of the Company, consequent upon "the inconsiderate eagerness of the ministers after immediate gain from the newly-acquired revenues of India, while every other object was neglected." Mr. Dundas also remarked, that "the intention being to this day signified from any quarter to refund the money received by Warren Hastings, (from the native princes,) with what propriety could he be impeached for procuring it? These are the only traces of the argument found in the Report of the Debate, to which it seems likely, therefore, Mr. Mill had not referred, contenting himself with the abstract of the speeches contained in the Annual Register for 1787, c. v. where the words of the text, with others to the same purport, are given the essence of Wilkes's speech. Parliamentary History, xxvi, 109. Speech of Mr. Wilkes, 9th May, 1787.—W.

merit of the latter part of Mr. Hastings's administrations, as reason to justify himself for not following up by prosecution the condemnations which he had formerly pronounced.<sup>1</sup>

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The articles of impeachment, which were now brought up from the Committee, received the approbation of the House; a vote for impeaching Mr. Hastings was passed; the impeachment was carried by Mr. Burke to the bar of the Lords; Mr. Hastings was brought to that bar; admitted to bail; and allowed one month, and till the second day of the following session of parliament, to prepare for his defence.

On the 24th of April, 1787, Sir Gilbert Elliot, whose intention had been delayed by other business which was before the House, gave notice of a day on which he intended to bring forward the subject of the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey, but on account of the approaching termination of that session was induced to postpone it till the next.

On the 12th of December, after an introductory speech, Sir Gilbert exhibited his articles of charge. They related to five supposed offences, regarding, 1. The catastrophe of the Raja Nuncomar; 2. The Patna cause; 3. The Cossijurah cause; 4. The office of Sudder Dewannee Adaulut; 5. The affidavits at Lucknow. They were referred to a Committee of the whole House, and on the 4th of February, 1788,

<sup>1</sup> This is not quite fairly stated: the argument used by Pitt in the first debate, was that in judging of an administration, its character should rest upon its general merits, and should not be condemned, because every part of it was not equally defensible. His present assertion was, that if great crimes could be proved, they were not to be overlooked, because there were great merits. To such a "set off" he objected, and so did Hastings; but errors and demerits are not necessarily 'great crimes.'—W.

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Sir Elijah Impey was heard in his defence. When he advanced was confined to the subject of the first charge, his concern in the death of Nuncomar. Further discussions took place, on the same subject on the 7th and 8th. On the 11th and 26th February, and on the 16th of April, witnesses were examined at the bar, and more or less of discussion accompanied. On the 28th of April, on the 7th and 9th of May, Sir Gilbert Elliot summed up and enforced the evidence on the first of the charges, and on the last of these days moved, "That the Committee, having considered the first article, and examined evidence thereupon, is of opinion, that there is ground of impeachment of high crimes and misdemeanours against Sir Elijah Impey, upon the matter of the said article." After a debate of considerable length, the motion was negatived, by a majority of seventy-three to fifty-five. An attempt was made to proceed with the remaining articles on the 27th of May; but the business was closed, by a motion to postpone it for three months. In the affair, the lawyers, as was to be expected, supported the judge. The minister, Mr. Pitt, distinguished himself by the warmth with which he took up the defence of Sir Elijah from the beginning of the investigation, and by the asperity with which he now began to treat Mr. Francis.<sup>1</sup>

The operation of Mr. Pitt's new law produced occasion for another legislative interference. In passing that law, two objects were very naturally pursued. To avoid the imputation of what was represented as the heinous guilt of Mr. Fox's bill,

<sup>1</sup> See Parliamentary Hist. *ad dies*.

as necessary, that the principal part of the power should *appear* to remain in the hands of the Directors, for ministerial advantage, it was necessary, that it should in *reality* be all taken away.

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Minds drenched with terror are easily deceived. Mr. Fox's bill threatened the Directors with evils which to them, at any rate, were not imaginary. And with much art, and singular success, other men were generally made to believe, that it was fraught with mischief to the nation.

Mr. Pitt's bill professed to differ from that of his rival, chiefly in this very point, that while the one destroyed the power of the Directors, the other left almost entire. The double purpose of the minister was obtained, by leaving them the forms, while the substance was taken away. In the temper into which the mind of the nation had been artfully brought, the deception was easily passed. And vague and ambiguous language was the instrument. The terms, in which the functions of the Board of Control were described, implied, in their most obvious import, no great deduction from the former power of the Directors. They were susceptible of an interpretation which took away the whole.

In all arrangements between parties of which the one is to any considerable degree stronger than the other, all ambiguities in the terms are sooner or later forced into that interpretation which is most favourable to the strongest party, and least favourable to the weakest. The short-sighted Directors understood not this law of human nature; possibly saw not, in the terms of the statute, any meaning beyond that they desired to see; that which the authors of



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the terms appeared, at the time, to have as ardently at heart as themselves.

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The Directors had not enjoyed their imaginary dignities long, when the Board of Control began operations which surprised them; and a struggle which they were little able to maintain, immediately ensued. The reader is already acquainted with the disputes which arose on the payment of the debts of the Nabob of Arcot; and on the appointment of a successor to Lord Macartney, as Governor of Fort St. George.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ross had been guilty of what the Directors considered an outrageous contempt of their authority. In July, 1785, they dictated a severe reprimand. The Board of Control altered the despatch, by striking out the censure. The dignity of the Directors was now touched in a most sensible part. "The present occasion," they said "appeared to them so momentous, and a submission on their part so destructive of all order and subordination in India, that they must take the liberty of informing the Right Honourable Board that no despatch can be sent to India which does not contain the final decision of the Directors on Lieutenant-Colonel Ross." The Board of Control, it is probable deemed the occasion rather too delicate for the scandal of a struggle. It could well afford a compromise: and crowned its compliance, in this instance, with the following comprehensive declaration. "We trust, however, that by this acquiescence, it will not be understood that we mean to recognise any power in you to transmit to India either censure or approbation of the conduct of any

servant, civil or military, exclusive of the control of this Board:" that is to say, they were not to retain the slightest authority, in any other capacity than that of the blind and passive instruments of the superior power.

These cases are a few, out of a number, detached for the purpose of giving greater precision to the idea of the struggle which for a time the Court of Directors were incited to maintain with the Board of Control. At last an occasion arrived which carried affairs to a crisis. In 1787, the democratical party in Holland rose to the determination of throwing off the yoke of the aristocratical party. As usual, the English government interfered, and by the strong force of natural tendency, in favour of the aristocratical side. The French government, with equal zeal, espoused the cause of the opposite party; and war was threatened between England and France. The Directors took the alarm; petitioned for an augmentation of military force; and four royal regiments, destined for that service, were immediately raised. Happily the peace with France was not interrupted. The Directors were of opinion that, now, the regiments were not required. The Board of Control, however, adhered to its original design. The expense of conveying the troops, and the expense of maintaining them in India, would be very great. The finances of the Company were in their usual state of extreme pressure and embarrassment. This addition to their burdens the Directors regarded as altogether gratuitous; and tending to nothing but the gradual transfer of all military authority in India from the Company to the minister. Their ground

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appeared to be strong; by an act which passed in 1781, they were exempted from the payment of any troops which were not sent to India upon their requisition. They resolved to make a stand, refusing to charge the Company with the expense of the ministerial regiments. The Board of Control maintained that, by the act of 1784, it received the power, upon the refusal of the Company to concur in any measure which it deemed expedient for the government of India, to order the expense of the measure to be defrayed out of the territorial revenues. The Directors, looking to the more obvious, and, at the time of its passing, the avowed meaning of the act, which professed to confirm, not to annihilate the "chartered rights of the Company," denied the construction which was now imposed upon the words. They took the opinion of several eminent lawyers, who, looking at the same points with themselves, rather than the unlimited extent to which the terms of the act were capable of stretching, declared that the pretensions of the ministers were not authorized by law.

The question of the full, or limited, transfer of the government of India, was to be determined. The minister, therefore, resolved to carry it before a tribunal on whose decision he could depend. On the 25th of February, 1788, he moved the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill. When the meaning of an act is doubtful, or imperfect, the usual remedy is a bill to explain and amend. Beside the confession of error which that remedy appears to imply, a confession not grateful to ministerial sensibility, something is understood to be altered by that

proceeding in the matter of the law. Now, the extraordinary powers, to which the claim was at this time advanced, might, it was probable, be more easily allowed, if they were believed to be old powers, already granted, than new powers, on which deliberation, for the first time, was yet to be made. For this, or for some other reason, the ministers did not bring in a bill to explain and amend their former act, but a bill to declare its meaning. The business of a legislature is to *make* laws. To *declare the meaning of the laws*, is the business of a judicatory. What, in this case, the ministers therefore called upon the parliament to perform, was not an act of legislation, but an act of judicature. They called upon it successfully, of course, to supersede the courts of justice, and to usurp the decision of a question of law; to confound, in short, the two powers, of judicature and legislation.

In the speech, in which Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in the bill by means of which this act of judicature was to be performed, it was, he declared, incomprehensible to him, that respectable men of the law should have questioned that interpretation of the statute of 1784 for which he contended. "In his mind nothing could be more clear, than that there was no one step that could have been taken previous to passing the act of 1784, by the Court of Directors, touching the military and political concerns of India, and also the collection, management, and application of the revenues of the territorial possessions, that the Commissioners of the Board of Control had not now a right to take by virtue of the powers and authority vested in them by the act of 1784."



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If every power which had belonged to the Directors, might be exerted by the Board of Control, against the consent of the Directors ; but the Directors could not exercise the smallest political power, against the consent of the Board of Control, it is evident that all political power was taken away from the Directors. The present declaration of Mr. Pitt, with regard to the interpretation of his act, was, therefore, directly contradictory to his declarations in 1783, when he professed to leave the power of the Directors regulated, rather than impaired.

Mr. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, spoke a language still more precise. “ It was the meaning, he affirmed, of the act of 1784, that the Board of Control, if it chose, might apply the whole revenue of India to the purposes of its defence, without leaving to the Company a single rupee.”

The use to which the minister was, in this manner, about to convert the parliament, the opponents of the bill described as full of alarm. To convert the makers of law into the interpreters of law, was, itself, a circumstance in the highest degree suspicious ; involved in it the destruction of all certainty of law, and by necessary consequence of all legal government. To convert into a judicature the British parliament, in which influence made the will of the minister the governing spring, was merely to erect an all-powerful tribunal, by which every iniquitous purpose of the minister might receive its fulfilment. The serpentine path, which the minister had thus opened, was admirably calculated for the introduction of every fraudulent measure, and the accomplishment of every detestable design. He finds an object

with a fair complexion; lulls suspicion asleep by liberal professions; frames a law in terms so indefinite as to be capable of stretching to the point in view; watches his opportunity; and, when that arrives, calls upon an obedient parliament, to give his interpretation to their words. By this management, may be gained, with little noise or observation, such acquisitions of power, as, if openly and directly pursued, would at least produce a clamour and alarm.

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When, however, the opponents of the bill contended that the act did not warrant the interpretation which the legislature was now called upon to affix; they assumed a weaker ground. They showed, indeed, that the act of 1784, was so contrived as to afford strong appearances of the restricted meaning from which the minister wished to be relieved; such appearances as produced general deception at the time;<sup>1</sup> but it was impossible to show, that the terms of the act were not so indefinite, as to be capable of an interpretation which involved every power of the Indian government.

It was indeed true, that when a law admits of two interpretations, it is the maxim of Courts of law, to adopt that interpretation which is most in favour of the party against whom the law is supposed to operate. In parliament, the certain maxim is, to adopt that interpretation which is most favourable to the minister.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Baring said, that "when the bill of 1784 was in agitation, it had not been intimated to the Directors, that the bill gave any such power to the Commissioners of Control, 'as was now contended for: if they had so understood it, they would not have given their support to a bill, that tended to annihilate the Company, and deprive them of all their rights and powers.'" Parl. Hist. xxvii. 67.

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The memory of the minister was well refreshed with descriptions of the dreadful effects which he said would flow from the powers transferred to the minister by the bill of Mr. Fox. As the same or still greater powers were transferred to the minister by his own, so they were held in a way more alarming and dangerous. Under the proposed act of Mr. Fox, they would have been avowedly held. Under the act of Mr. Pitt, they were held in secret, and by fraud. Beside the difference, between powers exercised avowedly, and powers exercised under a cover and by fraud, there was one other difference between the bill of Mr. Fox and that of Mr. Pitt. The bill of Mr. Fox transferred the power of the Company to commissioners appointed by parliament. The bill of Mr. Pitt transferred them to commissioners appointed by the King. For Mr. Pitt to say that commissioners chosen by the parliament were not better than commissioners chosen by the King, was to say that parliament was so completely an instrument of bad government, that it was worse calculated to produce good results than the mere arbitrary will of a King. All those who asserted that the bill of Mr. Pitt was preferable to that of Mr. Fox, are convicted of holding, however they may disavow, that remarkable opinion.

The declaratory bill itself professed to leave the commercial powers of the Company entire. Here, too, profession was at variance with fact. The commercial funds of the Company were blended with the political. The power of appropriating the one, was the power of appropriating the whole. The military and political stores were purchased in Eng-

land with the produce of the commercial sales. The Presidencies abroad had the power of drawing upon the domestic treasury to a vast amount. The bill, therefore, went to the confiscation of the whole of the Company's property. It was a bill for taking the trading capital of a Company of merchants, and placing it at the disposal of the ministers of the crown.

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Beside these objections to the general powers assumed by the bill, the particular measure in contemplation was severely arraigned. To send out to India troops, called the King's, when troops raised by the Company in India could be so much more cheaply maintained, was an act on which the mischievousness of all unnecessary expense stamped the marks of the greatest criminality. That criminality obtained a character of still deeper atrocity, when the end was considered, for which it was incurred. It was the increase of crown patronage, by the increase of that army which belonged to the crown. And what was the use of that patronage? To increase that dependence upon the crown which unites the members of the House of Commons, in a tacit confederacy for their own benefit, against all political improvement.

Another objection to the troops was drawn from what was called the doctrine of the constitution : that no troops should belong to the King, for which parliament did not annually vote the money.

Some of the Directors professed, that though the powers, darkly conveyed by the act of 1784, were not altogether concealed from them at the time ; they had given their consent to the bill, from the confidence



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they had in the good intentions of the ministry; whom they never believed to be capable of aiming at such extravagant powers as those which they now assumed.

This body of arguments was encountered by the minister, first with the position that no interpretation of a law was to be admitted, which defeated its end. But what was the end of this law of his, was a question, from the solution of which he pretty completely abstained. If it was the good government of India; he did not attempt the difficult task of proving that to *this* end the powers for which he contended were in any degree conducive. If it was the increase of ministerial influence; of their conduciveness to this end, no proof was required.

To the charge that he had introduced his act, under professions of not adding to the influence of the Crown, nor materially diminishing the powers of the Company; professions which his present proceedings completely belied; he made answer by asserting, broadly and confidently, that it was the grand intention of the act of 1784 to transfer the government of India from the Court of Directors to the Board of Control; and that he had never held a language which admitted a different construction.

Mr. Dundas denied, what was asserted on the part of the Company, that for some time after the passing of the act, the Board of Control had admitted its want of title to the powers which now it assumed. The Company offered to produce proof of their assertion at the bar of the House. The ministers introduced a motion, and obtained a vote that they

should not be allowed. No further proof of the Company's assertion, according to the rules of practical logic, could be rationally required.

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To show that the Board of Control had exercised the powers which it was thus proved that they had disclaimed, Mr. Dundas was precipitated into the production of facts, which were better evidence of other points than that to which he applied them. He made the following statement: that in 1785, the resources of the Company were so completely exhausted, as to be hardly equal to payment of the arrears which were due to the army: that the troops were so exasperated by the length of those arrears, as to be ripe for mutiny: and that the Board of Control sent orders to apply the Company's money to the satisfaction of the troops, postponing payments of every other description. In this appropriation, however, was it not true, that the Directors, though reluctantly, did at last acquiesce?

Mr. Dundas further contended, that without the powers in question, namely, the whole powers of government, the Board of Control would be a nugatory institution.

If the whole powers of government, however, were necessary for the Board of Control, what use was there for another governing body, without power? This was to have two governing bodies; the one real, the other only in show. Of this species of duplication the effect is, to lessen the chances for good government, increase the chances for bad; to weaken all the motives for application, honesty, and zeal in the body vested with power; and to furnish it with an ample screen, behind which its love of

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ease, power, lucre, vengeance, may be gratified more safely at the expense of its trust.

To crown the ministerial argument, Mr. Dundas advanced, that the powers which were lodged with the Board of Control, how great soever they might be, were lodged without danger, because the Board was responsible to parliament. To all those who regard the parliament as substantially governed by ministerial influence, responsibility to parliament means responsibility to the minister. The responsibility of the Board of Control to parliament, meant, according to this view of the matter, the responsibility of the ministry to itself. And all those, among whom the authors of the present bill and their followers were to be ranked as the most forward and loud, who denounced parliament as so corrupt, that it would have been sure to employ, according to the most wicked purposes of the minister, the powers transferred to it by the bill of Mr. Fox, must have regarded as solemn mockery, the talk, whether from their own lips, or those of other people, about the responsibility of ministers to parliament.

Meeting the objections to the sending of King's troops, Mr. Pitt confessed his opinion, that the army in India ought all to be on one establishment; and should all belong to the King; nor did he scruple to declare, that it was in preparation for this reform that the troops were now about to be conveyed.

With regard to the doctrine, called constitutional, about the necessity of an annual vote of parliament for the maintenance of all troops kept on foot by the

King, he remarked, that the Bill of Rights, and the Mutiny Act, the only positive laws upon the subject, were so vague and indefinite (which is very true) as to be almost nugatory; that one of the advantages attending the introduction of the present question would be, to excite attention and apply reform to that important but defective part of the constitutional law; and that he was ready to receive from any quarter the suggestion of checks upon any abuse to which the army, or the patronage of India, might appear to be exposed.

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If any persons imagined, that this language, about the reform of the constitutional law, would lead to any measures for that desirable end; they were egregiously deceived. Besides, was it any reason, because the law which pretended to guard the people from the abuse of a military power was inadequate to its ends, that therefore a military force should now be created, more independent of parliament than any which, under that law, had as yet been allowed to exist? That any danger, however, peculiar to itself, arose from this army, it was, unless for the purpose of the moment, weak to pretend.

Notwithstanding the immense influence of the minister, so much suspicion was excited by the contrast between his former professions, and the unlimited power at which he now appeared to be grasping, that the bill was carried through the first stages of its progress, by very small majorities. With a view to mitigate this alarm, Mr. Pitt proposed that certain clauses should be added; the first, to limit the number of troops, beyond which the orders of the Board of Control should not be



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obligatory on the East India Company ; the second to prevent the Board from increasing the salary attached to any office under the Company, except with the concurrence of Directors and Parliament ; the third, to prevent the Board, except with the same concurrence, from ordering any gratuity for services performed ; the fourth, to oblige the Directors annually to lay before parliament the account of the Company's receipts and disbursements.

The annexation of these clauses opened a new source of argument against the bill. A declarator bill, with enacting clauses, involved, it was said, an absurdity which resembled a contradiction in terms. It declared that an act had a certain meaning ; but meaning limited by enactments yet remaining to be made. It declared that a law without limiting clauses, and a law with them, was one and the same thing. By the bill before them, if passed, the House would declare that certain powers had been vested in the Board of Control, and yet not vested without certain conditions, which had not had existence. Besides, if such conditions were now seen to be necessary to prevent the powers claimed under the act from producing the worst of consequences, what was to be thought of the legislature for granting such dangerous powers ? It was asked whether this was not so disgraceful to the wisdom of parliament, if it saw not the danger ; so disgraceful to its virtue, if it saw it without providing the remedy, as to afford a proof, that no such powers in 1784 were meant by the legislature to be conveyed ?

A protest in the upper house, signed Portland

Carlisle, Devonshire, Portchester, Derby, Sandwich, Cholmondely, Powis, Cardiff, Craven, Bedford, Loughborough, Fitzwilliam, Scarborough, Buckinghamshire,—fifteen lords—exhibits, on the subject of the patronage, the following words: “The patronage of the Company—and this seems to be the most serious terror to the people of England—the Commissioners of Control enjoy in the worst mode, without that responsibility which is the natural security against malversation and abuse. They cannot immediately appoint; but they have that weight of recommendation and influence, which must ever inseparably attend on substantial power, and which, in the present case, has not any where been attempted to be denied.—Nor is this disposal of patronage without responsibility the only evil that characterizes the system. All the high powers and prerogatives with which the commissioners are vested, they may exercise invisibly—and thus, for a period at least, invade, perhaps, in a great measure finally baffle, all political responsibility; for they have a power of administering to their clerks and other officers an oath of secrecy framed for the occasion by themselves; and they possess in the India House the suspicious instrument of a Secret Committee, bound to them by an oath.”

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## CHARGES AGAINST WARREN HASTINGS.

PREFERRED ON THE 4TH APRIL, 1786.

1. That in contradiction of the positive orders of the Court of Directors, Warren Hastings furnished the Nabob of Oude, for a stipulated sum of money, to be paid to the East India Company, with a body of troops, for the declared purpose of “thoroughly extirpating the nation of the Rohillas.”

BOOK VI 2 That in violation of the agreement under which the English Govern-  
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 1788. by which they engaged to pay him an annual sum of money, and to secure  
 to him the possession of the districts of Corah and Allahabad, Warren  
 Hastings had seized upon those districts, and sold them to the Nabob of  
 Oude, appropriated the money to the Company's use, and withheld the  
 annual tribute promised to the King.

3. That in violation of solemn agreements, by which Cheit Sing, the  
 Raja of Benares, was acknowledged as an independent prince, liable only  
 to a fixed annual contribution, the amount of which it was declared should  
 on no account, and at no time whatever, be exceeded; Warren Hastings,  
 on the plea of war with France, extorted from the Raja repeated augmenta-  
 tions of his annual contributions, and upon his inability to discharge fresh  
 demands, forcibly dispossessed him of his hereditary dominions, and drove  
 him into exile.

4. That contrary to justice and equity, and the security of property, as  
 well as to public faith, and the sanction of the Company's guarantee, War-  
 ren Hastings authorized the Nabob of Oude, a dependant or vassal of the  
 East India Company, and over whom he possessed an entire and absolute  
 command, to seize upon and confiscate to his own profit, the landed estates of  
 his mother and grandmother, his kindred and principal nobility, as also the  
 personal property of the two princesses; and that in the enforcing of these  
 measures against the latter, they, with other females of the royal family,  
 their servants and dependants, were treated with atrocious indignity and  
 barbarity, in obedience to his injunctions and commands.

5. That by frequent changes in his policy, with regard to the Nawab of  
 Furruckabad, at one while placing a British Resident in the province, at  
 another restoring it to the oppressive superintendence of the Nawab of  
 Oude; he had been the cause of subjecting the person and kindred of the  
 Nawab of Furruckabad to great suffering and distress, and the whole pro-  
 vince to misgovernment and desolation.

6. That a Hindoo prince, the Raja of Lahore, having been dispossessed  
 of his territory by the Nawab of Oude, made frequent incursions into his  
 former country, to the constant occurrence of disturbances, and effusion of  
 blood; to prevent the recurrence of which, it was proposed by the officer  
 in command, to grant the Raja a pension—that Hastings omitted to order  
 any relief to the Raja; and that instead of any provision for the Raja, to  
 which in equity and humanity he was entitled, a price was set upon his  
 head, and he was hunted down and killed.

7. That in disregard of the orders of the Court of Directors, that all  
 contracts should be publicly advertised, and certain contracts for the army  
 should be annually renewed by public advertisement, W. Hastings did  
 from time to time accept of private proposals, and for periods of three and  
 five years, many of which contracts were notoriously made on disadvan-  
 tageous conditions, to the great waste of the public property, and with the  
 view of forming a party to support his measures; with which view also  
 he created new offices, and lavished on various individuals excessive  
 salaries and emoluments, especially on Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-

in-Chief; and that in consequence of this profusion, the cost of the civil establishment alone was raised from 205,399*l.* per annum in 1776, to 27,945*l.* in 1783.

8. That notwithstanding his covenants and engagement to receive no presents, fees, or gratuities, whatever, sundry charges had been brought against Hastings for gifts or presents corruptly taken by him, some of which charges having been brought against him before the Council were never denied or disputed; that of those, of which explanations had been promised by him, the explanations were never submitted to the Court of Directors; that, after a long interval, he informed them of his having received money from the Prince of Oude, as well as from other persons, especially Raja Nuncomar, Munny Begum, Khan Jehan Khan, and Raja Dhrit Sing, of which there is no proof that the sums so received ever were, as he asserts, applied to the public service; and that his description of his own conduct in these matters, is marked with gross evasions, and palpable prevarication and deceit, and confirms all former evidence of his having constantly used the influence of his station for the most scandalous, illegal, and corrupt purposes.

9. That after Warren Hastings had signified his intention of resigning the Government, in consequence of which General Clavering was appointed his successor, he refused to relinquish his situation to General Clavering, and in so doing, was guilty of a breach of faith, and of an act of disrespect to the Court of Directors and his Majesty's Ministers, tending to bring their authority into contempt, and that such refusal was an act of injustice to General Clavering, and was, *or might have been*, to Mr. Wheler, and was an act of signal treachery to Laughlan Maclean, Esq., as also to Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Stewart: "and the said refusal was prejudicial to the affairs of the servants of the Company in India, by shaking the confidence to be placed in their agents by those persons with whom it might be for their interests to negotiate on matters of importance, and by thus subjecting the communication of persons abroad with those at home to difficulties unknown before." (This to be matter of solemn impeachment!)

#### ADDITIONAL CHARGES, 12TH APRIL.

10. That Warren Hastings did grant to the Surgeon-General a contract for three years for defraying every kind of hospital and medicinal expense.

11. That he persuaded the Council to enter into a contract with Archibald Frazer, Esq., for the repairs of the pools and tanks of Burdwan, at a fixed rate for four years.

12. That he granted to Stephen Sullivan, son of Lawrence Sullivan, Chairman of the Court of Directors, a contract for four years for the provision of opium; that in order to pay for the opium so provided, he borrowed large sums at an interest of 8 per cent., at a time when he declared the drug could not be exported with profit, and yet he sent it to China, which was an act of additional criminality, as he knew that importation of opium into China was prohibited by the Chinese; that a great loss ensued, and that every part of the transaction was a disobedience of orders and continued breach of trust.



BOOK VI 13. That Mr. R. J. Sullivan, having on false prettexts retired from the  
CHAP. I. Madras service, entered into that of the Nabob of the Carnatic, and was

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received by Hastings as the agent of the Nabob, and was appointed by him Resident at Arcot. And that when this was revoked by the Court of Directors, who dismissed Mr. Sullivan from their service, Warren Hastings, in defiance of their orders and authority, recommended him to be employed as ambassador at the Court of the Nizam.

14. That notwithstanding the Rana of Gohnd, agreeably to stipulations previously made with the British Government, was a party to the treaty of peace concluded with Madajee Sindia, yet immediately afterwards Sindia was allowed to make war upon the Rana, and dispossess him of his territory, without any interference on the part of the English Government in behalf of their ally, thereby forfeiting the honour, and injuring the credit, of the British nation in India.

15. That notwithstanding his own admissions of the declining resources of the country, Warren Hastings enforced a settlement of the revenue for five years, at a higher rate than had ever been exacted before. That he next, in violation of the hereditary rights of the Zemindars, the sole proprietors of the lands in India, let the lands in farm for five years; and in contradiction to positive orders of the Court of Directors, that no farm should exceed the annual amount of one lac of rupees, and that no native servant of a collector of revenue should hold land in farm, or become security for other farmers, he allowed his own Banian to farm lands to the extent of thirteen lacs of rupees per annum; and that by repeated alterations in the system of managing the revenues, he did harass and afflict the inhabitants, and destroy all security to private property, and all confidence in the good faith, principles, and justice, of the British Government.

16. That he was guilty of high offence and misdemeanour in his various transactions with the Nabob of Oude; or in deceits, prevarications, contradictions, malicious accusations, fraudulent concealments, and compelled discoveries, in secret, corrupt and prodigal dispositions of the revenues of Oude; in breach of faith to the Nabob in continuing expensive establishments under a private agent of his own, (Major Palmer,) after he had agreed to remove the agent of the Company.

17. That after a long course of public service, in which his merits had been repeatedly acknowledged by the Government of Bengal, Mohammed Reza Khan, Naib Subah of Bengal, was arrested by the private orders of Warren Hastings, and brought prisoner to Calcutta, where he was long ignominiously and needlessly detained without trial. That his authority as guardian of the Nawab of Bengal, and manager of his affairs, was transferred to Munny Begum, a woman of the lowest and most discreditable order of society, notoriously incapable of the duties thus assigned to her. That after Mohammed Reza Khan was acquitted of every charge against him, and was restored to his offices by order of the Court of Directors, Warren Hastings again removed him, on the pretext that the Nabob was competent to manage his own affairs; and when the Court again insisted upon the restitution of Mohammed Reza Khan to an authority rendered necessary

by the incapacity of the Nawab, he long resisted their orders, his support of Munny Begum having been secured by corrupt means. That in other matters affecting the Nabob, he also exercised undue and mischievous interference, by which the affairs of the Court of Murshedabad had fallen into extreme disorder and distress.

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18. That in contradiction to the safe, just, and honourable policy of the Court of Directors, which whilst it forbade their government engaging in any measure for the extension of the authority of Shah Alem, enjoined that he should be treated with friendship, good faith, and respectful attention, Warren Hastings did unite with the Captain-General of the Mahratta State, called Madajee Sindia, in designs against the few remaining territories of the Mogul Emperor; and that whilst he sent an agent to Delhi, and carried on intrigues with the King and his ministers, tending to involve the Company in renewed hostilities, he did all along concur with the Mahrattas in their designs against the said King and his ministers, under the treacherous pretext of supporting the authority of the former against the latter, and did contrive and effect the ruin of them all, having in view one only object, the aggrandizement of the lately hostile, and always dangerous, power of the Mahrattas, which he pursued by means highly dishonourable to the British character for honour, justice, candour, plain-dealing, moderation, and humanity.

19. That although it was highly improper to publish letters or papers in defence of measures under the consideration of the Court of Directors, without their consent, Warren Hastings published a narrative of his transactions at Benares without leave had, in order to preoccupy the minds of their servants, and ensure a factious countenance and support; and that upon the communication to him of the Resolutions of the Court disapproving of his proceedings, he did write and cause to be printed and published a certain false, insolent, malicious, and seditious libel, purporting to be a letter from him to the Court, and calculated, as they remark, to bring upon them odium and contempt, and excite a spirit of disobedience to the lawful government of this nation in India, through all ranks of their service.

#### ADDITIONAL CHARGES, 28TH APRIL.

20. That although W. Hastings pronounced the war entered into by the Bombay Government with the Mahrattas, to be unseasonable, impolitic, unjust, and unauthorized, and sent an envoy to conclude peace, yet he afterwards sanctioned the violation of the article upon which its establishment depended, and by concurring in the support given by the Bombay Government to the unjustifiable pretensions of Ragoba, a person universally held in abhorrence in the Mahratta empire, prevented the conclusion of the treaty, and that he was therefore specially and principally answerable for the war that followed, with all the expense, distress, and disgraces, which attended it. That being finally obliged to conclude peace, Warren Hastings did consent to articles highly disadvantageous to the Company, and dishonourable to the British character, by con-

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ceding every object for which the war had been undertaken, and abandoning to the vindictive resentment of the Mahrattas, the princes who had been our allies—such as the Rana of Gohud, the Nabob of Bhopal and Futty Sing Guicowar. That he embarrassed the negotiation by employing different ministers to treat, evincing an eagerness highly detrimental to the interests of the English, and originating not in any sincere desire for tranquillity, but the purpose of engaging the India Company in a new war with Hyder Ally, and making the Mahrattas parties thereto: and that upon the conclusion of peace with Tippoo by the Government of Fort St. George, ratified by that of Bengal, during the absence of Warren Hastings at Lucknow, he did endeavour, at the interested instigation of the Nabob of Arcot, to impose additional articles in favour of the Nabob, to the imminent peril of a renewal of the calamities and dangers of the war.

21. That in defiance of the Act of Parliament commanding the obedience of the Governor-General and Council to the orders of the Court of Directors, and in disregard of positive orders from the Court, that the correspondence with the Princes or country powers, although carried on by the Governor-General, should be communicated to the Council, and ultimately to the Court, Warren Hastings in sundry instances concealed from his council the correspondence carried on by him with the princes of India, and withheld from the Court copies of the correspondence, and the proceedings thereon, for the purpose of covering his own improper and dangerous practices from his employers.

## FURTHER ARTICLE OF CHARGE, 5TH MAY.

22. That in violation of solemn treaties and guarantees entered into with Fyzoolla Khan, Nabob of Rampore, W. Hastings demanded of the Nabob to furnish more than his stipulated quota of troops, conspired with the Nawab Vizir to strip Fyzoolla Khan of his possessions, and finally, extorted from him a large sum of money in lieu of the troops which were illegally required; in consideration of which, he fully exculpated the Nawab of the evil intentions of which he, under the influence of secret and criminal purposes, had falsely and unjustly accused him.

These were the charges preferred against Mr. Hastings, and most of them were extended to an inordinate length, from the desultory manner in which they were urged, and the vast quantity of collateral, and not unfrequently, irrelevant matter, with which they were overloaded. The Benares charge, for example, is classed under five heads, besides an introduction, and contains 110 paragraphs, some of them of great length. Notwithstanding all this parade of denunciation, the Trial was confined to the third and fourth charges, or those relating to Cheit Sing and the Begums of Oude; the seventh, that of the contracts, including the other articles relating to the same subject; and the eighth, or that concerning 'presents.'—W.

## CHAPTER II.

*The Trial of Mr. Hastings.*

THE trial of Mr. Hastings commenced in Westminster Hall on the 13th day of February, 1788. So great was the interest which this extraordinary event had excited, that persons of the highest elevation crowded to the scene.<sup>1</sup> After two days were

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<sup>1</sup> Take the following account, from the publication entitled, Trial of W. Hastings, Esq., &c. p. 1.—“Previous to their Lordships’ approach to the Hall, about Eleven o’Clock, her Majesty, with the Princesses Elizabeth, Augusta, and Mary, made their appearance in the Duke of Newcastle’s gallery. Her Majesty was dressed in a fawn-coloured satin, her head-dress plain, with a very slender sprinkling of diamonds. The royal box was graced with the Duchess of Gloucester and the young Prince. The ladies were all in morning dresses; a few with feathers and variegated flowers in their head-dress, but nothing so remarkable as to attract public attention.

“Mrs. Fitzherbert was in the royal box.

“The Dukes of Cumberland, Gloucester, and York, and the Prince of Wales, with their trains, followed the Chancellor, and closed the procession.

“Upwards of 200 of the Commons, with the Speaker, were in the gallery.

“The Managers, Charles Fox and all, were in full dress.

“But a very few of the Commons were full dressed—some of them were in boots. Their seats were covered with green cloth—the rest of the building was “one red.”

“Mr. Hastings stood for some time—On a motion from a Peer, the Chancellor allowed, as a favour, that the prisoner should have a chair—And he sat the whole time—but occasionally, when he spoke to his Counsel.

“His Counsel were Mr. Law, Mr. Plomer, Mr. Dallas.—For the Commons—Dr. Scott and Dr. Lawrence; Messrs. Mansfield, Piggot, Burke, and Douglas.



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spent in the preliminary and accustomed ceremonies on the 15th Mr. Burke began. His oration was continued on the 16th, 18th, and 19th, and lasted four days. It was the object of this address to convey to the members of the court a general idea of the character and circumstances of the people of Hindustan; of their situation under the government of Englishmen; of the miseries which he represented them as enduring through the agency of Mr. Hastings; and of the motives, namely, pecuniary corruption, to which he ascribed the offences with which that Governor was charged. The most remarkable passage in the speech was that which related to the enormities imputed to Devi, or Deby Sing; a native placed by Mr. Hastings in a situation of confidence and power. It cannot be omitted; both because the delivery of it is a matter of history, whatever may be the proper judgment with respect to the accusations which it brought, and also, because it gave birth to several subsequent proceedings on the trial. This man was admitted; according to the accuser, improperly, and for corrupt ends; to farm the revenues of a large district of country. After a time, complaints arrived at Calcutta, of cruelties which he practised, in extorting money from the people; upon whom, contrary to his instructions, he had raised the rents. Mr. Paterson, one of the gentlemen in the civil service of the Company was deputed, in the capacity of a Commissioner,

“A party of horse-guards, under the command of a Field Officer, with a Captain’s party from the horse-grenadiers, attended daily during the trial.

“A body of 300 foot-guards also kept the avenues clear, and a considerable number of constables attended for the purpose of taking offenders into custody.”

to inquire into the foundation of the complaints. It was from his report, that the statements of Mr. Burke, reported in the following words, were derived.

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“ The poor Ryots, or husbandmen, were treated in a manner that would never gain belief, if it was not attested by the records of the Company; and Mr. Burke thought it necessary to apologize to their Lordships for the horrid relation, with which he would be obliged to harrow up their feelings; the worthy Commissioner Paterson, who had authenticated the particulars of this relation, had wished that, for the credit of human nature, he might have drawn a veil over them; but as he had been sent to inquire into them, he must, in discharge of his duty, state those particulars, however shocking they were to his feelings. The cattle and corn of the husbandmen were sold for less than a quarter of their value, and their huts reduced to ashes! the unfortunate owners were obliged to borrow from usurers, that they might discharge their bonds, which had unjustly and illegally been extorted from them while they were in confinement; and such was the determination of the infernal fiend, Devi Sing, to have these bonds discharged, that the wretched husbandmen were obliged to borrow money, not at twenty, or thirty, or forty, or fifty, but at SIX HUNDRED per cent. to satisfy him! Those who could not raise the money, were most cruelly tortured; cords were drawn tight round their fingers, till the flesh of the four on each hand was actually incorporated, and became one solid mass: the fingers were then separated again by wedges of iron and wood driven in between them.— Others were tied two and two by the feet, and thrown

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across a wooden bar, upon which they hung, with their feet uppermost; they were then beat on the soles of the feet, till their toe-nails dropped off.

“They were afterwards beat about the head till the blood gushed out at the mouth, nose, and ears; they were also flogged upon the naked body with bamboo canes, and prickly bushes, and, above all, with some poisonous weeds, which were of a most caustic nature, and burnt at every touch. The cruelty of the monster who had ordered all this, had contrived how to tear the mind as well as the body; he frequently had a father and son tied naked to one another by the feet and arms, and then flogged till the skin was torn from the flesh; and he had the devilish satisfaction to know that every blow must hurt; for if one escaped the son, his sensibility was wounded by the knowledge he had that the blow had fallen upon his father: the same torture was felt by the father, when he knew that every blow that missed him had fallen upon his son.

“The treatment of the females could not be described:—dragged forth from the inmost recesses of their houses, which the religion of the country had made so many sanctuaries, they were exposed naked to public view: the virgins were carried to the Court of Justice, where they might naturally have looked for protection: but now they looked for it in vain; for in the face of the Ministers of Justice, in the face of the spectators, in the face of the sun, those tender and modest virgins were brutally violated. The only difference between their treatment and that of their mothers was, that the former were dishonoured in the face of day, the latter in the gloomy recesses of

their dungeon. Other females had the nipples of <sup>BOOK VI</sup>  
their breasts put in a cleft bamboo, and torn off. <sup>CHAP. 2.</sup>

What modesty in all nations most carefully conceals,  
his monster revealed to view, and consumed by slow  
res; nay, some of the tools of this monster Devi  
ing had, horrid to tell! carried their unnatural  
rutility so far as to drink in the source of genera-  
on and life.

“Here Mr. Burke dropped his head upon his  
hands a few minutes; but having recovered himself,  
said, that the fathers and husbands of the hapless  
emales were the most harmless and industrious set of  
men. Content with scarcely sufficient for the sup-  
port of nature, they gave almost the whole produce  
of their labour to the East India Company: those  
hands which had been broken by persons under the  
Company’s authority, produced to all England the  
comforts of their morning and evening tea: for it  
was with the rent produced by their industry, that  
the investments were made for the trade to China,  
where the tea which we use was bought.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words of the quotation are taken from the short account of the  
speech which is given in the History of the Trial of Warren Hastings,  
sq, published by Debrett. The account, though short, is the best which  
I have been able to procure. The report to which I have had access, in  
the MS. of the short-hand writer, is exceedingly confused, and indistinct.  
Upon this passage, the compiler of the History of the trial adds in a note,  
“In this part of his speech Mr. Burke’s descriptions were more vivid—  
more harrowing—and more horrific—than human utterance on either fact  
or fancy, perhaps, ever formed before. The agitation of most people was  
very apparent—and Mrs. Sheridan was so overpowered that she fainted.”

“On the subject of the Ministers of these infernal enormities, he broke  
out with the finest animation!

“‘My Lords,’ exclaimed Mr. Burke, ‘let me for a moment quit my  
elegated character, and speak entirely from my personal feelings and  
conviction. I am known to have had much experience of men and  
manners—in active life, and amidst occupations the most various! From



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The next proceeding in the course of the trial was a matter of great importance. As soon as Mr

that experience, I now protest—I *never* knew a man who was *bad*, fit for service that was *good*! There is always some disqualifying ingredient mixing and spoiling the compound! The man seems *paralytic* on the side! His muscles there have lost their very tone and character!—The cannot move! In short, the accomplishment of any thing good, is physical impossibility for such a man. There is decrepitude as well as distortion—he *could* not if he would, is not more certain, than he would not, if he could!

“Shocking as are the facts which Mr. Burke related, and which he says he finds recorded in the account taken by Mr. Paterson, who was appointed Commissioner to inquire into the circumstances of this dreadful business, and of a rebellion which took place in consequence, Mr. Burke says, of the above-mentioned cruelties: our readers must see that Mr. Hastings cannot be responsible for them, unless it shall be proved that he was privy to, and countenanced the barbarities.”—M. Burke’s oratory on this occasion was liable to still more serious censure. It was a tissue of falsehood. In any case, the cruelties of Deby Sing in collecting his rent could not be charged upon Hastings, for as soon as he heard or knew of them he displaced him, and that in so hasty a manner as to expose himself to the charge of having acted with too much severity towards Deby Sing. But, in fact, although some acts of violence had been committed nothing had occurred to justify Burke’s exaggeration. The late Henry Thomas Colebrooke, who, in 1788, had been some time in India, and was not at all an admirer of Hastings, nor inclined to extenuate his errors thus writes to his father. “Mr. Paterson’s report was not founded upon evidence taken and facts ascertained. Sent up to investigate accusations preferred against Raja Deby Sing, he received every petition presented, however improbable the facts asserted, and drew up his report upon no better grounds than the tenor of the complaints delivered to him.” . . . .

“It is from such a report that Mr. Burke has selected Mr. Paterson for his hero, unaware that a respectable commission consisting of three gentlemen of known abilities and integrity, with diligence unremitted during many months, investigated those matters, and that the result of their inquiries and the whole purport of a large body of evidence from witnesses produced on both sides, proved the assertions in Paterson’s report groundless. Notices of the Life of H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. by his son. Trans. R. Asiatic Society, vol. v. p. 11. At a subsequent period, June 1794, Mr. Law, adverting to this charge, states the fact of this commission and of its results, and he also does justice to Mr. Paterson, who he says, “was so little pleased with the encomiums of the leading manager, (Burke,) that he has publicly disavowed them, and expressed concern that his reports should have been tortured into evidence against Hastings.” Parliamentary History, xxxi, 949. Burke knew Mr. Paterson’s opinion long before:

Burke had finished his opening speech, Mr. Fox BOOK VI  
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stood up, and explained to the Court the order of

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possibly even at the very moment when he was charging Hastings with being the cause of atrocities that he had reason to believe were at least of equivocal existence. Certainly some intimation had been conveyed to Burke from Mr. Paterson, early in 1788, the year in which the crimes of Deby Sing were dwelt upon with such an unnatural appetite for disgusting details, that he was desirous of qualifying or retracting the information he had given in his report. That this intimation alarmed and irritated Burke, is evident from a Letter in the Editor's possession, from him, to a friend of Mr. Paterson, through whom the communication had been conveyed. The Letter is dated 7th of April, 1788, in it he endeavours to intimidate Mr. Paterson from disclaiming his concurrence in Burke's accusations; without effect, it should seem, from the tenor of Mr. Law's statement. Burke thus writes about six weeks after he had made his oration; "On the credit and authority of Mr. Paterson's accuracy and fidelity, I have in the name of the Commons of this Kingdom, in the presence of Europe, and before the most awful of all tribunals, given a strong representation of the ill-government exercised in Rungpore, during the administration of Mr. Hastings. It is not in my choice, because I do not act for myself, but in trust for others, to suffer the Commons of Great Britain to be discredited, without doing all in my power to bring to punishment those, who through negligence, or other unjustifiable causes, have been the means of misleading them. It is not in my choice for a moment to tolerate any sort of compromise, which tends to destroy the credit, not only of the testimony which Mr. Paterson has collected, but of all other testimony which can be produced hereafter, on any complaint of oppression. There is no medium. Either Mr. Paterson has been guilty of criminal and unpardonable negligence, implying a strong suspicion of corruption in executing his office of commissioner, or there has been a most shocking and corrupt scene of combination and collusion to abet tyranny, and to suppress truth, one or the other of these at some time must be determined to be the fact, and the point so determined *must* be acted upon. I am no longer alone in this business, nor does it depend upon my single life, or my continuance in parliament." The meaning of this last menace is somewhat mysterious, but it is evidently designed to terrify a timid, though conscientious man, from proclaiming any truth unfavourable to Burke's purposes. As to the alternatives which the orator leaves to time, neither has been established. There was neither criminality nor collusion in the commissioner's report, or in his retraction, although upon Mr. Colebrooke's testimony, it appears that there were the same errors in Mr. Paterson's proceedings, which marked every step of Burke's; a prejudiced disposition to listen alone to ex parte evidence, and an imprudent readiness to credit the exaggerated language of complaint.—W.

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proceeding which it was the intention of the manager for the prosecution to adopt.

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They proposed that one of the articles of impeachment only should be taken under consideration at one time; that the speakers and the evidence, both for the prosecution, and for the defence, should, in the usual manner, be heard on that individual article; that the sentence of the court should then be pronounced; and that the several charges should thus be treated, and thus disposed of, one after another, to the end.

The counsel for Mr. Hastings, three barristers Mr. Law, Mr. Plomer, and Mr. Dallas, were asked by the Lords, if they agreed to the proposed course of procedure. Upon their declaration, that they desired the matter of accusation upon all the articles to be exhibited first, after which they would deliver all the matter of defence upon them all, when, lastly the Court might decide upon them all, the parties were ordered to produce what they could urge in support of their respective demands.

Mr. Fox maintained, that the weight of evidence was best appropriated when fresh in the memory; that distinctness and clearness, notwithstanding the complexity of the subject, and facility of conception, notwithstanding its vastness, might, according to the method recommended by the managers, be to a considerable degree attained; whereas, according to the mode of procedure for which the lawyers contended, evidence would be decided on after it was forgotten, and such an accumulation of matter would be offered all at once to the mind, as no mind, without taking it piecemeal, was competent to manage.

The three learned gentlemen, as the lawyers are called, spoke, one after another, very earnestly, and at considerable length. Mr. Law was first, and most vehement. He proceeded to animadvert upon the strong language of condemnation which had been employed by Mr. Burke; and was reproached for the very offence of which he complained. He alluded to the opprobrious language with which a great state prisoner had been treated by a hot-headed lawyer of former times, and said, "this defendant has been loaded with terms of such calumny and reproach, which since the days of Sir Walter Raleigh were never used at the bar of this House."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fox interrupted him, and said, that, vested with a great trust by the house of Commons, he could not sit and hear such language applied to an accusation which that House, in the prosecution of high crimes, had carried to the bar of the competent court.

In opposition to the order of proceeding, recommended by the managers, the allegations urged by the lawyers were; that such an order was contrary to ancient usage; that the cases offered by the managers as precedents did not apply, and in fact there was no precedent; that the mode proposed was contrary to the modes of procedure at common law; and that it was disadvantageous to the defendant. Mr. Law and Mr. Dallas specified one disadvantage, That in giving their answer upon one charge, they might be compelled to disclose to their adversary the defence which they meant to employ upon others. "My Lords," said Mr. Law, "we

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<sup>1</sup> Short-hand writer's report, MS. in the writer's hands.



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are to come forward, on the first article, to state our case, and to produce all the evidence, and all the defence, we are to make on nineteen others. Is it just? Is it reasonable? Is it what would be admitted in any other court of justice? On the first article we are immediately put under the necessity to sustain our defence: the cross examination of the prosecutor immediately attaches on those witnesses; they extract from them perhaps some evidence which may make it less necessary to call on their part such evidence as they want. Is that right?" It was further urged by Mr. Dallas, that as the charges had a close connexion, the evidence which applied to one, would sometimes be necessary for another, whence repetition and delay.

The Lords withdrew to their own chamber to deliberate, and adjourned the Court to the 22nd. The Lord Chancellor Thurlow opened the question in the chamber of the Lords, by strongly recommending, in a speech of considerable length, the order of proceeding contended for by the lawyers; and his proposition was adopted without a division. The business of the Court on the 22nd was opened by the Lord Chancellor, proclaiming, "Gentlemen, I have in charge to inform you, that you are to produce all your evidence, in support of the prosecution, before Mr. Hastings is called upon for his defence."

The historian, who is not bound by the opinion, either of the Judges, or of the prosecutors, is called upon to try if he can discover the decision which is pronounced by reason upon the facts of the case.

<sup>1</sup> MS. ut supra.

It will not, surely, admit of dispute, that a question will be decided most correctly, when all the evidence which bears upon it is most fully present to the memory, and every part of it receives its due portion of regard. As little will it admit of dispute, that two things contribute to that just appreciation of evidence, namely, recent delivery, and freedom from the mixture both of other evidence not bearing upon the point, and of other questions distracting the attention. The truth of every affirmation is best seen, when the mind, as exempt as possible from every other thought, applies the proof immediately to the point which is in dispute; confronts the affirmative with the negative evidence; adjusts the balance, and decides. There cannot be a question, that for the purpose of ascertaining the truth, of estimating the evidence correctly, and arriving at a decision conformable to the facts, as they took place, the course recommended by the managers was the proper course. As little can it be doubted, that for the purposes of lawyer-craft; for all the advantages to be gained by the suppression of evidence, by the loss of it from the memory, by throwing the Judges into a state of confusion and perplexity, when the mind becomes passive, and allows itself to be led by the adviser who seems most confident in his own opinion; the course successfully contended for by the lawyers, was infinitely the best. The course recommended by the managers, was most favourable to an innocent defendant, to the man for whose advantage it is that the truth should be correctly ascertained. The course successfully contended for by the lawyers was most favourable to a guilty

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the truth should not be correctly ascertained.

1788. If *truth* is the end, we have, then, arrived at a decision. To this reasoning and its conclusion, there is not, in the harangues of the lawyers, a tittle opposed. On this, the only question at issue, they were silent: and diverted the attention to other objects. They did not inquire, whether the path pointed out was that which led to the discovery of truth; but whether the Lords, or the lawyers, had been accustomed to tread in that path before. We shall now, however, decide, that whenever the path which leads to truth is discovered, it is no longer the question who has *not* walked in it before, but who shall best walk in it for the future. When the path which leads to truth is discovered, it is a wretched solicitude, which endeavours to find out that our predecessors have *not* walked in it, in order that we may follow their unhappy example, instead of proceeding in the direction which reason points out as the only one that is good. As for the practice of the lawyers' courts, if that was ascertained to lead in a direction not the most favourable to the discovery of truth, there was no obligation on the Lords to follow it.

After this, the lawyers had two allegations, and no more. There was Mr. Law's complaint, that they would be obliged, on one charge, to disclose the grounds of their defence on all. This is a complaint, at being obliged to contribute to the discovery of truth. It is a demand, that a door should be left open to lawyer-craft, for the purpose of defeating the discovery of truth. No disadvantage,

but that which the disclosure of truth inferred, could thus arise to the defendant. The necessity of producing evidence would be equal to both parties. If the defendant were obliged, in answering one charge, to disclose the grounds of his defence on others, the accusers would be equally obliged to disclose the grounds of their accusation. The party who by this course would gain, is the party to whom the truth would be favourable; the party who would lose, the party to whom the truth would be noxious. According to the course of the lawyers, the advantage and disadvantage change their sides.

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Last of all, we notice the allegation of Mr. Dallas, that, as several of the articles of charge were closely connected, it would be necessary to repeat a part of the evidence. This is true; and so far as it goes a valid objection. But surely the small portion of additional labour, and the small portion of additional time, requisite for hearing more than once the same article of evidence, may be counterbalanced by a small advantage afforded to the discovery of truth. Besides, when the Judges, after the lapse of years, came to pronounce a separate judgment upon each of the charges, it was absolutely necessary for them, either to repeat to themselves the evidence as often as repetition was necessary, or so far to decide without evidence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This reasoning is full of fallacies. The main argument is, that prompt decision ensures perfect recollection of the evidence; but what judge ever trusts to his memory for the appreciation of evidence, unless it be very brief and simple, and applicable to a case which can at once be decided; or what memory can accurately retain many and complicated particulars, asserted by a number of witnesses during a long and desultory



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A protest, on the subject, well worthy of a place in the history of this trial, was entered on the Journals of the Lords :

examination, continued during many successive days, and often suspended for many days ? There was in Hastings's Trial no such thing as " recent delivery of the testimony, there was no possibility of preventing it escaping to a very material extent from the recollection. No conscientious person could have founded a decision upon it as it was heard. He would have weighed it, and pronounced judgment upon it as it was recorded. But if it is necessary for the ends of justice, and that it is so, no person can question, that evidence should be recorded, the recollection of it become a matter of indifference. We are as competent at this time to examine it bearing, and determine the amount of its proof, as the persons who actually listened to its utterance. Again, as to another chief argument—the advantage of examining the proofs of each charge separately in detail : it is evident from the minutes of the evidence, that such a course would have been most unfavourable to the elicitation of truth. The circumstances of the principal charges were inseparably connected with each other, and to have passed judgment on one, without investigating both, would have excluded the judges from the cognizance of much that was indispensable to a comprehensive view of either. The managers, themselves, admitted this most unequivocally, when they abandoned a number of specific charges, because they were " partly involved in others previously investigated." The charges assailed the whole of the intentions and the acts, and the general character of the administration of Hastings, through a series of years ; and it was absolutely necessary to look at them together, to judge of them individually. A different procedure, a piece-meal investigation, would have been open to the objections so justly taken to such a course in the preface, and would have exemplified the apologue of the blind men and the elephant.

As to the arguments of the managers, they, like all the sophistical reasonings of public debaters were adapted to a particular object, and not founded on general principles. Of this a very remarkable and irrefutable proof is afforded by the conduct of Mr. Fox, who on this occasion stood foremost in advocating a decision upon the charges severally. Unfortunately for his consistency he had not very long before maintained the opposite doctrine. " Mr. Secretary Fox perfectly agreed in the method proposed by the learned lord, and advised the Hon. Baronet (Sir Thomas Rumbold) to postpone his defence until he heard every thing that could be alleged against him."—*Debates on Charges against Sir T. Rumbold*, 29th April, 1782, *Parliamentary Hist.* xxii. 1316. It may be said that there was no inconsistency in this ; Fox wishing in one instance to screen, in the other to convict. This is true—but it is not calculated to inspire us with any respect for arguments that take their colour from personal interests and feelings, not from a love of truth or reverence for justice.—W.

“DISSENTIENT. 1st. Because we hold it to be <sup>BOOK VI  
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“2nd. Because we cannot with equal facility, accuracy, and confidence, *apply and compare the evidence adduced*, and more especially the arguments urged by the prosecutors on one side and the defendant on the other, if the whole charge be made one cause, as if the several articles be heard in the nature of separate causes.

“3rd. Because, admitting it to be a clear and acknowledged principle of justice, that the defendant against a criminal accusation should be at liberty to make his defence in such form and manner as he shall deem most to his advantage; we are of opinion, that such principle is only true so far forth as the use and operation thereof shall not be extended *to defeat the ends of justice, or to create difficulties and delays equivalent to a direct defeat thereof*; and, because we are of opinion, that the proposition made by the managers of the House of Commons, if it had been agreed to, would not have deprived the defendant in this prosecution, of the fair and allowable

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benefit of such principle taken in its true sense; inasmuch as it tended only to oblige him to apply his defence specially and distinctly to each of the distinct and separate articles of the Impeachment, *in the only mode in which the respective merits of the charge and of the defence can be accurately compared and determined, or even retained in the memory*, and not to limit or restrain him in the form and manner of constructing, explaining, or establishing his defence.

“4th. Because, in the case of the Earl of Middlesex, and that of the Earl of Strafford, and other cases of much less magnitude, extent and variety, than the present, this House has directed the proceedings to be according to the mode now proposed by the managers on the part of the Commons.

“5th. Because, even if no precedent had existed, yet, from the new and distinguishing circumstances of the present case, it would have been the duty of this House to adopt the only mode of proceeding, which, founded on simplicity, *can ensure perspicuity, and prevent confusion.*

“6th. Because we conceive, that the accepting the proposal made by the Managers would have been no less *consonant to good policy than to substantial justice*, since by possessing *the acknowledged right of preferring their articles as so many successive Impeachments*, the Commons have an undoubted *power of compelling this House in future virtually to adopt that mode which they now recommend*; and if they should ever be driven to stand on this extreme right, jealousies must unavoidably ensue between the two Houses, whose harmony is the vital principle of na-

ional prosperity; public justice must be delayed, if BOOK VI  
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not defeated; the innocent might be harassed, and  
he guilty might escape. 1788.

“7th. Because many of the reasons upon which a different mode of conducting their prosecution has been imposed upon the Commons, as alleged in the debate upon this subject, appear to us of a still more dangerous and alarming tendency than the measure itself, forasmuch as *we cannot hear but with the utmost astonishment and apprehension, that this Supreme Court of Judicature is to be concluded by the instituted rules of the practice of inferior Courts; and that the law of Parliament, which we have ever considered as recognised and revered by all who respected and understood the laws and the constitution of this country, has neither form, authority, nor even existence; a doctrine which we conceive to strike directly at the root of all parliamentary proceeding by impeachment, and to be equally destructive of established rights of the Commons, and of the criminal jurisdiction of the Peers, and consequently to tend to the degradation of both Houses of Parliament, to diminish the vigour of public justice, and to subvert the fundamental principles of the constitution.*

[Signed]

PORTLAND,	WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM,
DEVONSHIRE,	STAMFORD,
BEDFORD,	LOUGHBOROUGH,
CARDIFF,	CRAVEN,
DERBY,	

For the 1st, 2nd, and 7th reasons, MANCHESTER.

For the 1st and 2nd reasons only { TOWNSHEND,  
HARCOURT,  
LEICESTER.”



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After withdrawing for a few minutes to deliberate, the managers for the Commons submitted to the decision of the Lords, and proceeded to the investigation upon the first of the charges; that relating to the conduct of the defendant toward the Raja of Benares, Cheyte Sing. Mr. Fox addressed the Court as accuser, and Mr. Grey followed him the succeeding day. This was the eighth day of the trial; and time was consumed in hearing evidence, with disputes raised about its admission or exclusion, from that till the 13th, when Mr. Anstruther summed up, and commented upon the matter adduced. Of the evidence, or the observations by which it was attended, both for the accusation and the defence, as it is hoped that the preceding narrative has already communicated a just conception of the facts, a repetition would be attended with little advantage; and the incidents by which the course of the proceedings was affected will appear, in most parts of the trial, to include nearly the whole of what the further elucidation of this memorable transaction requires.

On the 29th of February, which was the eleventh day of the trial, Mr. Benn, a witness, professing forgetfulness, or speaking indeterminately, on a point on which he appeared to the managers to have spoken more determinately, when previously examined before the House of Commons, was interrogated as to the tenor of his evidence on that preceding occasion. The barristers, of counsel for the defendant, had cavilled several times before at the questions of the accusers. They now made a regular stand.

Mr. Law, and Mr. Plomer, argued, that a party should not be allowed to put any questions tending

to lessen the credit of his own witness. Their reasons were, that such a proceeding was not allowed in the courts of law; that if the party believed his witness unworthy of credit, he acted fraudulently, in proposing to take the benefit of his evidence, if favourable; to destroy his credit, if the reverse; and that such an inquisition is a hardship to the man upon whom it is imposed.

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The managers for the Commons contended; That such a question as they had put was conformable to the practice both of the courts of law, and of the high court of parliament; as appeared by the trial of Lord Lovat, by the permission given to put leading questions to a reluctant witness, and the practice in the courts of law of questioning a witness as to any deposition he may have made on the same subject in a court of equity: That most of the witnesses, who could be summoned upon this trial, were persons whose prejudices, whose interests, whose feelings, were all enlisted on the side of the defendant; and who would not, if they could help it, tell any thing to his prejudice: And that hence, in all cases similar to this, the privilege for which they contended was essential to justice.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident from former reasonings, that the first and principal plea of the lawyers is altogether foreign to the question, and deserves not a moment's regard. A contrary practice was universal in the courts of law. What then? The question of the wise man

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the Trial of Warren Hastings, MS. The reader may, however, consult the printed History, ut supra, which differs in nothing material from the original document in my hands.

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is, not what *is* done in the courts of law, but what *ought* to be done.

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Witnesses would suffer by sustaining the proposed inquisition. But surely inquisition is not a worse thing, performed by one, than performed by another party. Inquisition is performed upon every witness by the cross examination. But if inquisition is to be performed, what objection is there to giving *truth* the benefit of it? Why confine it to one of the parties?

We now come to that plea of theirs which alone has any obscurity in it. A party ought not to bring a witness, whose testimony is unworthy of trust. To this two things are to be given in answer. First, he may bring a witness, not knowing that he is unworthy of trust. Secondly, he may bring a witness, knowing that he is very imperfectly worthy of trust, because he has none that is better.

If a party brings a witness, expecting he will speak the truth, but finds that he utters falsehood, he is without resource, unless he is permitted to show that what is uttered is falsehood, or at any rate destitute of some of the requisite securities for truth. Upon these terms, a man need only be admitted a witness, to defeat, when he pleases, the cause of justice. This is to shut up one of the doors to the discovery of truth; and whatever in judicature shuts up any of the doors to the discovery of truth, by the same operation opens a door to the entrance of iniquity. Let us inquire what danger can arise from the privilege to which the lawyers object. If the testimony is really true, to scrutinize is the way to confirm, not weaken it. If the credibility of the

witness is good, the more completely it is explored, the more certainly will its goodness appear. Make the most unfavourable supposition ; that a party brings a witness, expecting mendacity ; and, finding truth, endeavours to impair his credit. This is a possible case : Let us see what happens. All that a party can do to weaken the credit of a witness, is to point out facts which show him to be capable of mendacity. The credibility of a witness is either strong or weak. If strong, the attempts of a party who stands in the relation of a summoning party, to detract from it, can hardly ever have any other effect than to confirm it, and cast suspicion on his own designs. If weak, he can only show the truth, which ought always to be shown ; and if it appears, that he brought a witness, known to be mendacious, whose character he discloses only when he speaks the truth, in this case too he affords presumption against himself. Even when a witness, who has a character for mendacity, speaks the truth, it is fit that his character should be made known to the judge. It is not enough that one of the parties happens to know the conformity between the testimony and the facts. The satisfaction of the public is of more importance than that of an individual ; and for the satisfaction of the public, it is necessary that all the requisite securities for the discovery of truth should have been employed.

It very often happens, that the only witness to be had is a mendacious and reluctant witness ; a partner, for instance, in the crime. Justice may yet have some chance, if the party whose interest it is that the truth should be discovered is allowed the use of all the most efficient instruments of extraction. But if

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his witness declares, for example, that he does not recollect, and the party is not allowed to adduce evidence to show that it is impossible he should not recollect, a witness of such a description has a license put into his hand to defeat the ends of justice. It is thus abundantly evident that the honest suitor has often the greatest possible occasion for the power of discrediting his own witness, and must be defeated of his rights if deprived of it. Let us see what possible evil the dishonest suitor can effect by being possessed of it. He wishes, for example, to prove the existence of a fact which never had existence; and he brings a man whom he expects to swear to it, but who disappoints him. Here it is plain that to discredit his witness does no harm; the false fact remains unproved. Let us suppose that he brings, to disprove an actual fact, a witness who disappoints him. In this case he gains as little by discrediting his witness; the true fact is not in the least by that means disproved. But these two are the only possible sets of cases, to which for a fraudulent purpose evidence can be adduced. It appears then, we may almost say, demonstratively, that the power of discrediting his own witness may very often indeed be of the utmost importance to the honest suitor, can never, or almost never, be of any use to the dishonest one. It is a power, therefore, essential to the ends of justice.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a specimen of just ideas on this, and other parts of the subject of evidence, see an unfinished work, entitled "Rationale of Evidence, by J. Bentham, Esq." For a complete elucidation, the public must wait for that more voluminous production, which he announced as nearly prepared, so long ago as in the first edition of the Letters to Lord Grenville on Scotch Reform.

The Lords, however, in conformity with the wishes of the lawyers, and with a grand lawyer at their head, having adjourned to their own chamber for the purpose of deliberation, opened the business, the day on which the court was next convened, by informing the managers for the Commons, that it was not allowed them to put the question which they had last proposed. “The managers for the Commons,” say the printed Minutes of Evidence, “requested leave to withdraw for a while.—The managers for the Commons, being returned, said it was with the greatest concern they informed the House, that it was impossible for them to acquiesce in the decision of the House: That they felt it so important, not only to the present question, but to the whole of the trial, that they should hold themselves bound to go back to the House of Commons, who sent them thither, to take instructions from them how to proceed—if they did not feel it necessary to proceed with vigour and despatch, which might make them, for the present, wave their opinion upon the subject, but under a protest the most strong, that they had a right to put the question proposed, and that if they should think a similar question necessary to be put in the course of the future proceedings, they would propose it for the more deliberate judgment of the House.”<sup>1</sup>

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On the 10th day of April, and thirteenth of the trial, the evidence for the prosecution, on the first article of impeachment, was closed. On the following day it was summed up by Mr. Anstruther; and this

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the Evidence taken at the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq., p. 321.

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part of the trial was concluded by some observation which Mr. Burke requested permission to adduce, of a peculiar feature of the evidence, to which the nature of the circumstances compelled the complainants in this case to resort. It had been already remarked that of the witnesses who could be called upon the prosecution, the greater part from powerful cause would be favourable to the defendant. It was now remarked that they would be lenient to the crimes "It was to be recollected, that some of those men who had been called to the bar of the court, had been the instruments of that tyranny which was now arraigned. Those who were deputed to oppress were to be heard with caution when they spoke of the measure of the oppression. It was easy to be seen that those who had inflicted the injustice would not use the harshest terms when speaking of its measure and rate."<sup>1</sup>

On the 15th day of April, and the fourteenth of the trial, the proceedings were opened on the second article of the accusation; or that, relating to the Begums of Oude. Mr. Adam, in a speech of great length, exhibited a view of the allegations. On the following day, Mr. Pelham commented on the answer of Mr. Hastings, and evidence began to be heard.

The extreme want of recollection, professed by Mr. Middleton, and the embarrassment and confusion of his statements, having drawn down certain strictures from Mr. Sheridan, "I must take the liberty," said Mr. Law, the counsel, "of requesting, that the Honourable Manager will not make comments on the

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. MS. of the shorthand writer.

evidence of the witness, in the presence of the witness. BOOK VI  
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 It will tend to increase the confusion of a witness  
 who is at all confused ; and affect the confidence of 1788.  
 the most confident,—I shall, therefore, hope the  
 Honourable Manager will, from humanity and de-  
 corum, attend to it. I am sure I do not mention it  
 out of disrespect to him.”<sup>1</sup> This passage is adduced  
 to show the opinion of a person, of great eminence in  
 the law, on a matter of some importance—the *brow-*  
*beating* of a witness.

The courts in which, by the usual steps, he rose  
 to preside, are justly designated, as, of all the places  
 set apart for the administration of justice, those in  
 which the rule of humanity and decorum, here set up  
 by the advocate, is the most grossly and habitually  
 violated. The advantage taken of the embarrassment  
 of a witness, who really appears desirous to conceal  
 or contradict the truth, is not of course the practice  
 which it is meant to condemn. What excites the  
 disgust and indignation of every honest spectator,  
 from every quarter of the globe, is the attempt so  
 often made, and so often made successfully, to throw  
 an honest witness into confusion and embarrassment,  
 for the sake of destroying the weight of his testimony,  
 and defeating the cause of truth ; the torture unne-  
 cessarily and wantonly inflicted upon the feelings of  
 an individual, to show off a hireling lawyer, and  
 prove to the attorneys his power of doing mischief.

Mr. Middleton availed himself to an extraordinary  
 extent of the rule, a rule upheld by the Lords ; that  
 a witness might refuse to answer a question, which

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. MS. of the short-hand  
 writer, twentieth day.



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tended to criminate himself. This is a rule, which i  
thieves, robbers, and murderers, were the makers o  
1789. law, one would not be surprised at finding in force  
and repute. That the personages, by whom it was  
established, wished the discovery of guilt, it is no  
easy to believe; for so far as it operates, the impunity  
of the criminal is secured.

On the 30th day of May, thirty-first of the trial  
the evidence for the prosecution on the subject of the  
Begums was closed; and on the following, Mr. Sheri  
dan began to present the view of it which he wished  
to imprint upon the minds of the judges. Four days  
were occupied in the delivery of the speech; and this  
part of the business was concluded on the 13th o  
June, when the Lords adjourned to the first Tuesday  
in the next session of parliament.

Before the time which was destined for re-assem  
bling the parliament, the event occurred of the menta  
derangement of the King. This delayed the resump  
tion of proceedings till the 21st of April, 1789. On  
that day, the thirty-sixth day of the trial, the article  
of impeachment, relating to the receipt of presents.  
was opened by Mr. Burke. The intermediate articles  
were omitted, partly as involved in the question  
respecting the Begums of Oude, and partly for the  
avoidance of delay, of which complaints were now  
industriously raised and dispersed.

Having stated in his speech those facts, the first  
information of which was derived from the Raja  
Nuncomar, the manager declared that, "if the counsel  
for the defendant should be so injudicious as to bring  
forward the conviction of the Raja, for the purpose  
of destroying the effect of these charges, he would

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open that scene of blood to their Lordships' view, and show that Mr. Hastings had murdered Nuncomar by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey." Six days afterwards, that is on the 27th of April, when the manager had spoken for two days, Major Scott presented to the House of Commons a petition from Mr. Hastings, complaining that Mr. Burke had adduced against him a variety of accusations extraneous to the charges found by that House; and especially had accused him of having murdered Nuncomar by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey. Upon the subject of this petition several debates ensued. It was first disputed, whether the petition should be received: The managers contending, that the motion was irregular and unprecedented; that if every expression not agreeable to the feelings of the party accused, were improper in a criminal prosecution, it would be necessary for criminal prosecutions to cease; that a practice of petitioning against the accuser would regularly convert him into a species of defendant, and, by creating a diversion, defeat the prosecution of crimes; that if the prosecutor misconduct himself in his function, it is for the tribunal before which he offends to animadvert upon his conduct; that the Commons might undoubtedly change their managers, if experience had proved them to be unfit for their office; that if the Commons, however, did not mean to withdraw their trust, it would be inconsistent, by any discrediting procedure, to weaken the hands of those who, contending with an adversary so numerous, surrounded, so potently supported, and whose delinquencies, by distance of place, distance of time, complexity of matter, and difficulties of innumerable sorts

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by which the production of evidence was loaded, were to so extraordinary a degree covered from detection had need of support, not of debilitation; and who required additional strength to enable them to remove the obstacles which separated the evidence from the facts.

The minister, and with him the ministerial part of the house, observing that the Commons had given to their conductors limited powers, and that, if those conductors exceeded the bounds within which it was intended to confine them, it belonged to the Commons not the Lords, to impose the due restraint, carried the vote that the petition ought to be received.

It was agreed, that the subject of the petition should undergo deliberation on the 30th of the month and that in the mean time the Lords should be requested, by a message, to suspend proceedings on the trial.

On the 30th, instead of proceeding to the appointed deliberation, the House, on a suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, anxious, he said, to preserve the regularity of the proceedings of the House, communicated to the member whose conduct was charged (though everybody had seen him present a every thing which had passed), a formal notice, that a petition had been received, and that the House would take it into consideration on a day that was named. Mr. Burke, without objecting to the formality, said, that he had no wish for it on the present occasion; that he willingly cast himself on the honour and justice of the House; that he should gladly, if it were their pleasure, retire from the heavy burden under which they had placed him; that in

order to facilitate the inquiry he should not be present at their deliberation, and should in the mean time distinctly confess that he did employ the words, on account of which the complaint had been brought.

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In justification of them he observed; That circumstantial evidence constituted the proof by which the pecuniary corruption of Mr. Hastings was to be ascertained; that, in tracing the indications of concealed delinquency, a solicitude to destroy the sources of evidence had always been considered as one of the strongest; that it was for this purpose, the circumstances attending the death of Nuncomar had been exhibited; that this individual having offered to produce evidence of the pecuniary corruption of Mr. Hastings, and Mr. Hastings having lent himself both actively and passively to the destruction of this source of evidence, such behaviour on the part of Mr. Hastings, was circumstantial evidence of guilt; and that if circumstantial evidence must not be produced, because the mention of the scenes from which it is to be extracted may give pain to the individual, whose imputed guilt is the object of inquiry, the use of circumstantial evidence is precluded, and the punishment of some of the most dangerous crimes is rendered impossible.

On the following day, to which the consideration of the petition was postponed, a member of the House produced, and read a letter, from Mr. Burke. Its object was to exhibit again, and in a permanent form, the reasons which induced him to abstain from any share in the controversy respecting his own behaviour; and to declare that no appearance of disavowal, no discouragement, provided the House,



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whose servant he was, still left in his hands the trust which they had originally placed in them, should affect his attachment to the great service which he had undertaken to render, or slacken his diligence therein to the end. Describing the petition as a stratagem, familiar to the politics of Calcutta, for turning the accuser into a defendant, and diverting inquiry, he adduced two reasons, for declining a defence; first, because he would not expose his sources of proof to the knowledge, nor his witnesses to the power of the defendant; secondly, because a man whose conduct is good, can hardly ever be injured by unjust accusations. "It would," he said, "be a feeble sensibility on my part, which at this time of day would make me impatient of those libels, which by despising through so many years, have at length obtained the honour of being joined in commission with this committee, and becoming an humble instrument in the hands of public justice. The last of the reasons, which were thus solemnly adduced by Mr. Burke, reaches far beyond the limits of any single inquiry, however important; since it involves in it the freedom of the press; and shows that, even when it is converted to abuse, it is not for the advantage of an innocent man to seek to restrain it; he will find his advantage in continuing through life to despise its excesses.

In favour of Mr. Hastings it was proposed that evidence should be taken to prove the words of which the petition complained; and Major Scott made a speech, in which, after giving his own explanation of the death of Nuncomar, he adduced, as a defence on which he might rely, the circumstance, that after

the facts relating to the death of Nuncomar were known in England, Mr. Hastings had been repeatedly chosen by the Ministers and the Company to fill the high office of chief ruler in India, and upon his return to England had never been called upon for one word of explanation in regard to that extraordinary affair.

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That could not be a very sure defence of one party, which possibly was but a severe accusation of another.

In opposition to this proposal, and in order to explode the inquiry, it was moved, that the House do adjourn. After some contention, 158 members voted against ninety-seven, that evidence should be heard; and it was moved, that the short-hand writer be called in. This was not a proper mode, it was said, of proving the words of a member of parliament. And, in cavilling about evidence, the managers showed an inclination, not much better than that of their opponents.

It was moved, and upon division carried, that a Committee should be formed to search for precedents, and the House adjourned.

On the 4th of May the Committee reported that a precedent exactly in point was not to be found. A question then was raised, whether the examination of the short-hand writer should extend to the whole of the speech, or so much of it only as was the subject of complaint. The managers contended for the whole. Mr. Pitt spared not upon them either sarcasms or imputations. The question, urged to a division, went of course with the minister.

The words being proved, which Mr. Burke had

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begun with confessing, it was moved, “That no direction, or authority, was given by this House, to bring as a charge against Mr. Hastings, or to impute to him, the condemnation and execution of Nuncomar.” Mr. Pitt described the motion, as a necessary atonement which the House owed to Mr. Hastings for charging him with murder; at the same time disclaiming all intention of throwing blame on the managers. Mr. Fox had not much objection to the motion, as it implied no censure on Mr. Burke, nor restrained him in future from adducing the facts; but he threw out insinuations against the minister, as having belied his professions of fairness and impartiality; and contended that it was inconsistent with the honour and justice of the House to leave men to struggle with a duty, whom they found unequal to its discharge; that in proving a crime, it was essential to the ends of justice to be allowed to adduce every relevant fact: that it was no matter whether the fact was innocent or criminal; and that in courts of law themselves, it was a rule to admit one crime as evidence to prove another; a greater crime as evidence of a less; murder, for example, as proof of a fraud.

Mr. Sheridan represented that he had used the same words a year before, when no notice was taken of them: that Mr. Hastings was familiar with the imputation of causing the death of Nuncomar, for in his defence he had noticed it, and repelled it by denial. With regard to the truth of the allegation, he called upon Mr. Pitt to rise, and say, if he dared, that Nuncomar, if he had not accused Mr. Hastings, would have died the death to which he was exposed.

Nor was this all. Both he and Mr. Fox declared, that if they had occasion in the course of the trial to speak again of the death of Nuncomar, they would speak of it in terms exactly the same with those which Mr. Burke had employed.

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“Mr. Pitt said he disregarded the insinuations against himself, but he and his friends should be watchful over the conduct of the managers, and take care they transgressed not the directions of the House.

“Mr. Fox replied, that no tyrant ever behaved in a more barbarous manner over those whom he governed, nor with more treachery and fraud: that the privileges of the Commons were never more invaded, or endangered, within this century, nay, he would say within the last, than they had been within these few days.”

In consequence of this altercation, the ministerial party proposed to increase the asperity of the motion, by adding, that the words “he murdered him by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey,” ought not to have been spoken. Mr. Fox, after inveighing against the absurdity of condemning and not changing the managers, proposed the following amendment; “Notwithstanding in a former year no notice was taken of the words spoken by another manager to the same effect; and that Mr. Hastings in his defence had considered them as a charge, and given it a reply.” Upon his intimating very plainly his belief, that the ministerial party, after finding it convenient to vote for the impeachment, were now at work to defeat it of its end, and through the medium of a courtly censure meanly to convey sentiments which they



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were afraid or ashamed to avow, Colonel Phipps rose to order, describing the words which had been uttered as words not fit for that assembly, and which would not be tolerated in any other place. This being treated by Mr. Francis as an indecent menace and receiving a severe reply from Mr. Fox, strangers that is the public, as if something were about to occur which it was not good the public should know were turned out. Upon their admission, after an hour's exclusion, Mr. Pitt was repeating former arguments; to which, after Mr. Fox had made a reply, the House called impatiently for the question. Mr. Fox's amendment was negatived without a division, and the original motion with its amendment passed by a majority of 133 to sixty-six.<sup>1</sup> This was followed by a motion for a vote of thanks to the managers; but that was treated as premature, and resisted by a vote for the previous question.

The trial was resumed by the Lords on the 5th of May, when Mr. Burke continued his opening speech on the charge relating to presents. He announced with great dignity the proceedings which had taken place in the House of Commons, and the restrictions which they had imposed upon him with

<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt of the propriety of the decision. The accusation was of too serious a nature to be thrown out at random, merely to create a prejudice against the accused, in the minds of those who were sitting in judgment upon him for charges of very inferior criminality. If the death of Nuncomar was in any way imputable to Hastings, it should have been made matter of positive accusation. It was wholly unwarrantable to denounce him as guilty of murder, merely as a collateral proof of his being culpable of corruption. If it was impossible to substantiate the charge, as Burke well knew that it was, it was most unfair to Hastings to prefer it in so indirect a manner, as should leave him no opportunity of disproving it. With regard to the accusation itself, see former remarks, vol. 3, p. 614, note.—W.

egard to the death of Nuncomar ; at the same time declaring that he had used the word *murder* only because he could not find a stronger ; that the opinion of which that word was the expression, was the result of a nine years' laborious inquiry ; and that it would be torn from him only with his life. On the 7th, which was the next day of the trial, he concluded his speech. It was left to the managers either to produce evidence on that part of the charge which Mr. Burke had opened, or to go on to that, the opening of which was reserved to another speaker ; and the first was the mode which they preferred.

On this article of the impeachment it will be necessary, rather more than on the former articles, to enter into the particulars of the evidence ; first, because in the history of the government and people it was fit to confine the narrative to events of which the consequences were important to the government and people, instead of complicating it with questions which had little reference beyond the character of an individual ; and, secondly, because, at this stage, a variety of questions, on the admission or exclusion of evidence, arose ; questions, the operation of which extended far beyond the limits of any single inquiry, and of which, without a knowledge of the circumstances, a due conception cannot be obtained.

The question, whether the defendant had or had not received presents corruptly, was divided into two parts. The first related to the presents, alleged to have been received previously to the arrival of Clavering, Monson, and Francis, the receipt of which Mr. Hastings had not voluntarily disclosed ; the second related to the presents which he had received

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when Clavering and Monson were dead, one just before, the rest after the departure of Mr. Francis for Europe, presents which, after a time, he confessed that he had received, and which he said he received not for his own use, but that of the Company.

The principal object of the managers in the first part of the inquiry was to prove, that the appointment of Munny Begum to the office of Naib Subah was a corrupt appointment, made for the sake of the bribes with which it was attended.

The first part of the proof was to show that the choice of Munny Begum was so improper and absurd, that as no good motive could be assigned for it, so the receipt of bribes was the only rational one it was possible to find.

First, the duties of the office of Naib Subah, as described by Mr. Hastings himself, were numerous and important; and such as could not be neglected, or misperformed, without the deepest injury, not only to the population of the country, but to the East India Company itself. In the long list of those duties, were the administration of justice and police, of which the Naib Subah was not, like our kings, the mere nominal head. The actual performance of a considerable portion of the business of penal judicature (for the civil was mostly attached to the office of Dewan), was reserved to him; and the portion so reserved was the high and governing portion; without which the rest could not at all, or very imperfectly, go on. The same was the case with the police, of which he was the principal organ. The conduct of all negotiations, and execution of treaties, that is, the charge of all the external relations of the

tate, though, really, as the agent of the Company, was ministerially vested in him. Nor was the administration of all that related to the person and family of the Nabob, who, though in a dependent condition, still maintained the appearance of sovereignty, a matter of which the performance was as easy as it might seem to be familiar.

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That the Court of Directors had the same conception of the importance of the office of Naib Subah, the managers proved by one of their despatches, in which they gave directions to choose for it "some person well qualified for the affairs of government," that is, a person endowed with the rarest qualifications. Nay, so much stress did they lay upon this selection, that they actually pointed it out as one of the most signal proofs which their President and Council could afford, that the confidence they reposed in them was not misapplied.<sup>1</sup>

That Munny Begum, whom Mr. Hastings appointed to this office, was devoid of every requisite qualification for the proper performance of its duties, was, they contended, indisputable, from a variety of facts and considerations. In the first place, she was a woman, that is, a person, according to Oriental manners, shut out from the acquisition of knowledge and experience; acquainted with nothing but the inside of a haram; precluded from intercourse with mankind; and, in the state of seclusion to which she was chained, incapacitated, had she possessed the knowledge and talents for those transactions with the world, in which the functions of government

<sup>1</sup> Letter, dated 28th of August, 1778; Minutes, ut supra, 973.



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consist. In the next place they contended that she was a person, not only of the lowest rank, but of an infamous life; having not been the wife of Meer Jaffier; but, a dancing girl; that is, a professional prostitute, who caught his fancy at an exhibition, and was placed as a concubine in his haram.<sup>1</sup>

They next proceeded to prove that, when Munny Begum was chosen, other persons were set aside whose claims were greatly superior to hers.

In the first place, if a lady of the haram of Meer Jaffier was a proper choice, the mother of the Nabob was alive; and she, it was inferred, would have been a fitter guardian of her son during nonage, than a spurious step-mother, a person whose interests were so apt to be contrary to his.

In the next place, if there was any peculiar fitness for the office in a member of the family of the late Meer Jaffier, Ahteram ul Dowla, the brother of that Nabob, and the eldest surviving male of the family, had actually advanced his claims. But as Mr. Hastings had stated a reason for setting him aside, the managers offered to show by evidence that what he alleged was a false pretence.

The reason produced by Mr. Hastings was, that Ahteram ul Dowla had a family of his own; that he might, therefore, be tempted to shorten that life which stood between them and promotion: that his son and he, if Nabob and guardian, would possess an inconvenient, if not a dangerous, portion of power; that the establishment of any male in the office of

<sup>1</sup> See a letter, dated 30th September, 1765, from the President Lord Clive and Council, in which her son by the Nabob is treated as a bastard. Minutes, ut supra, p. 976.

Naib Subah would prevent the Company from availing themselves of the minority, to withdraw from the Nabob a still greater share of his power; and that, until a greater share of power were withdrawn from the Nabob, the authority and even security of the Company were by no means complete. The managers proceeded to show, that this pretext was false; and for this purpose produced a document to prove, that when a different view of the subject favoured the purpose of Mr. Hastings, he made affirmations of a very different sort. He then affirmed, that the Company had already taken from the Nabob every particle of independent power; and that the anticipation of danger from such a quarter, by any possible combination of circumstances, was altogether absurd. "No situation of our affairs," he said, "could enable the Nabob, or any person connected with him, to avail himself, by any immediate or sudden act, of the slender means which he has left to infringe our power, or enlarge his own. He has neither a military force—authority in the country—foreign connexion—nor a treasury."<sup>1</sup>

Having given such evidence, that the pretexts on which Mr. Hastings rejected other parties were false, the managers proceeded to give evidence that the pretexts were equally false, on which he made choice of Munny Begum. The first was, that it was inexpedient to leave in existence the office of Naib Subah. The second was, that the annual charge of three lacs of rupees, the salary of that officer, was an expense of which the East India Company would

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<sup>1</sup> President's Minute in Consultation, 28th July, 1772. Minutes of Evidence, ut supra, p. 973—976.

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not approve. The third was, that the existence of such an officer lessened the consequence of the Company's own administration. The fourth was, that it was expedient to divide the duties among three officers, one, the guardian of the person and household of the Nabob; a second, the steward of that household, under the title of Dewan; a third, the superintendent of judicature and police, under the title of Roy Royan of the Khalsa. And a fifth was, that Munny Begum, as widow of Meer Jaffier, had a peculiar fitness for the office of guardian of the Nabob. To show that the pretext of abolishing the office of Naib Subah was false, the managers brought evidence to prove that it still existed; as all the powers of it were vested in Munny Begum, other persons being nothing but agents and subordinate dependent upon her will: "You," said the Board, "are undoubtedly the mistress, to confirm, dismiss and appoint whomsoever you shall think fit in the service and offices of the Nizamut; they are accountable to you alone for their conduct, and no one shall interfere between you and them." That the pretext relating to the expense was false, was proved by the fact, that no diminution was ever attempted, but the whole three lacs were given to Munny Begum and her subordinates. The pretext that the dignity of any person administering what Mr. Hastings himself called the slender means of the Nabob, could lessen the consequence of the Company's government, upon which both he and the Nabob depended absolutely for all they possessed, is so evidently false, as to be ridiculous. That the pretext about dividing the duties was false appeared from the fact, that they

were not divided, any further than by name; Munny Begum being the absolute mistress of all the instruments, just as if she had been appointed the Naib Subah in title. And that it was a false pretext to rest the fitness of Munny Begum upon her being the widow of Meer Jaffier, was proved by the fact that she was not his widow, that she had never been his wife, but his concubine, and that her offspring had been treated as spurious by the English government.<sup>1</sup>

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Having thus shown, or endeavoured to show, that the choice of Munny Begum to fill the office, or supply the place of Naib Subah, could not be accounted for upon any other supposition than that of pecuniary corruption, the managers next proceeded to prove that Mr. Hastings, as well as his creatures, did actually receive large sums of money for that appointment. And at this point began the great efforts which were made on the part of the defendant to exclude evidence; and so successfully made, that nothing more than a vigilant application of the rules which his lawyers laid down, and the lords confirmed, was necessary, in the case of a ruler who has a little cunning, to render conviction of delinquency all but impossible.

To one of the preliminary points, the managers wished to adduce the evidence of a letter of Mr. Hastings. The original letter, however, was not to be found. But there was a copy of it in the book at the India House, into which all letters were transcribed; and there was a printed copy of it in the

<sup>1</sup> Minutes, ut supra, p. 978—980.



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report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons. The counsel for the defendant objected and the Lords determined, that before any of these copies could be received as evidence, the manager must prove three points; first, that the original letter had existed; secondly, that now it could not be found; thirdly, that the alleged copy was exact. All these points might have been determined immediately, had not one of the darling rules of the lawyers, for the exclusion of evidence, shut up, on this occasion, the source from which perfect evidence might have been immediately derived. Had the real discovery of truth been the direct and prevailing object, there stood the supposed author of the letter; he might have been asked, upon his oath, whether he did write such a letter or not; and the question would have been decided at once. Oh! but! say the lawyers, this would have been to make him criminate himself. Quite the contrary, provided he was innocent; if guilty, the lawyers will not *say*, that his guilt ought not to be proved. Upon the strength, however, of the lawyers' rules, this instrument for the discrimination of guilt from innocence was not to be used.

Whereas Mr. Hastings had the express command of the Court of Directors, dated in August, 1771, to make it appear in the Nabob's accounts for what particular purpose every disbursement was made, and yet nothing was exhibited in those accounts but general statements of so much expended, while it was ascertained that Mr. Hastings had given no orders agreeably to the commands of the Directors, and that inaccuracies prevailed in the statements

that were given; a strong presumption was thereby created against the Governor-General, because he had thus provided a grand channel through which the current of presents might flow into his pockets without the necessity of an entry, sufficient to detect them, in any books of account. After the statement of this presumption, the managers proceeded to the exhibition of direct testimony, that bribes were received by Mr. Hastings, for the appointment both of Munny Begum and her subordinates. They began with the information received from the Raja Nuncomar, that Mr. Hastings had accepted a present of two lacs and a half from Munny Begum for appointing her Regent during the minority of the Nabob; and a present of one lac from himself for appointing his son, the Raja Gourdass, steward under Munny Begum. The documents produced were the Minutes of Consultation of the President and Council at Calcutta. The reading was not interrupted till it came to the examination of the Raja, before the Council, on the subject of the charges which he had preferred. The learned counsel represented that it ought not to be read, First, because it was not upon oath; Secondly, because it was taken in the absence of Mr. Hastings; Thirdly, because it was not before a competent jurisdiction; Fourthly, because the Raja was afterwards convicted of a forgery, committed before the date of the examination. On the objection as to the want of an oath, it was shown to have been the practice of Mr. Hastings to avail himself of the allegation that an oath was not a requisite to the testimony of a noble Hindu, of whose religion it was a

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breach. Besides, it can, on reflection, be regarded by no body, as adding any thing considerable; and may perhaps, be, with justice, regarded as adding nothing at all, to the securities for truth, to compel a man, who otherwise would certainly affirm a lie to the judge, to perform a short religious ceremony beforehand. In the case of the man who otherwise would not tell a lie to the judge, the oath evidently is of no use whatever. Further; testimony admits of degrees; one testimony has so many of the securities for truth, another has so many less, another fewer still; the value of each is estimated by the judge, and even the lowest is reckoned for what it is worth. So, when the oath is wanting to an article of testimony, it is only one of the securities that is wanting; and the testimony may be worthy of the highest possible credit on other accounts. As to the objection drawn from the absence of Mr. Hastings, it was treated as not merely unreasonable, but impudent. Why was Mr. Hastings absent? Because he determined not to be present: and if a man is thus allowed to fabricate by his own act an objection to evidence, and then to employ it, he is above the law. The objection to the competence of the jurisdiction was founded upon a disallowed assumption, that the Council, after it met, was dissolved by the simple fiat of the President, though the majority, whose vote was binding, determined it was not. As to the conviction of Nuncomar, the managers declared that they were only restrained by the authority of those whom they represented from asserting that it was a conviction brought about for the very purpose to which it was now applied, the suppression of evi-

dence against Mr. Hastings. I shall add, that the rule upon which the objection was founded, is pregnant with the same sort of absurdity and injustice with the other rules of exclusion, examples of which we have already beheld. If a man has committed a crime, ought he therefore to be endowed with the privilege of conferring impunity on every crime committed in his presence, provided no body sees the action but himself? The evidence of the greatest criminal is of so much importance, that pardon is commonly granted to any one of a combination who gives evidence against the rest.

Upon the whole, with regard to this document, it is most obvious to remark, that it is contrary to the nature of things to suppose that evil should have arisen from hearing it read; because every observation which could tend to show how little on the one side, or much on the other, was its value as an article of evidence, it was the business of the parties to present; and this the Lords were surely as competent to determine as the still more important questions which it behoved them to decide. When the judge has heard the information which is tendered to him, he can ascertain whether it does or does not contain any of the matter of proof, and if any, in what precise quantity, little or great: When of the evidence tendered to him there is any portion which he has not heard, he can determine nothing about it; and may possibly have lost, rejected, and destroyed that very information on which the power of righteous judgment depended,

Another observation which might have been urged with irresistible force of reason was, that the pro-

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priety of receiving such evidence was already weighed and determined by the Legislature, which, in constituting a new Court of Judicature for the trial of offences committed in India, had enacted, that all documents, of the nature of that which was now tendered in evidence, should be received as evidence. The assent of the Lords was included in every act of the Legislature; and that very assembly, therefore, which had already decreed, in its legislative capacity, that such evidence was useful, now, in its judicial capacity, decreed that it was the reverse.

For the purpose for which the managers now adduced the examination of Nuncomar, it was not necessary, they said, to insist upon the truth of the testimony left behind him by that unfortunate man. They meant to exhibit the behaviour which Mr. Hastings had manifested, when accusations of such a nature were preferred against him; and by the relation of the behaviour to the charge manifest the probability of guilt. The demeanour of a criminal was circumstantial evidence of his crime.

If the examination was to be read for the sake alone of the circumstantial evidence afforded by the demeanour of Hastings, not for the purpose of adducing as evidence the testimony itself, the Counsel expressed a sort of willingness to give way. But the managers refused to bind themselves to any conditions, in limitation of what they claimed as a right. On a suggestion from Lord Kenyon, the Lords adjourned to their own chamber to consult.

On the next day of the trial, the Lords announced, "That it is not competent for the managers for the Commons to produce the examination of Nuncomar

in evidence ; the said managers not having proved, or even stated any thing as a ground for admitting such evidence, which, if proved, would render the same admissible." If the reason which precedes be well founded, admissibility in regard to relevant evidence ought never to be a question.

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The managers desired leave to withdraw. Upon their return, Mr. Burke declared, it was with equal surprise and concern they had heard the determination of their Lordships: It was a determination which exceedingly increased the difficulty of bringing criminality to conviction: To the Lords, however, belonged the power of determining: It remained for the managers to submit.

At a consultation of the Board of Council at Calcutta, on a subsequent day, when Mr. Hastings was present, it appeared that the minutes of consultation of the day on which the examination of Nuncomar was taken, including the examination itself, were read; and that the minutes of that day were signed by Mr. Hastings, and by him transmitted to the Court of Directors. The managers proposed that these minutes should be read. The counsel for the defendant objected; as this was to introduce obliquely that very document of which the direct introduction was forbidden by the Court. The Lords, upon a second suggestion from Lord Kenyon, withdrew to deliberate, and determined, "That the circumstance of the consultation of the 13th of March, 1775, being read at a consultation of the 20th of March, 1775, at which Mr. Hastings was present, does not of itself make the matter of such consultation of the 13th of March, 1775, admissible evidence." Mr. Burke pro-

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fessed that, worded as the resolution was, he could not say that he perfectly understood it. It was affirmed that one particular circumstance did not render the evidence in question admissible evidence. But perhaps there were other circumstances which might have that happy effect. If so, the managers, as not being technical men, claimed the same assistance as was due to men without professional assistance pleading their own cause.

The Lord Chancellor replied, that what was *said* or *done* by Mr. Hastings was evidence against him ; not what was said or done by other persons ; for then calumny might stand as evidence of guilt. Something said or done by Mr. Hastings was therefore necessary to render this examination admissible evidence.

Mr. Fox rejected this decision. *Forbearing* to do, was often guilt, or evidence of guilt, as well as *doing*. There are circumstances in which, if charges are made against a man, and instead of promoting he does all in his power to prevent inquiry, he gives evidence, and satisfactory evidence of his guilt. This was the evidence which the managers desired to present to their Lordships, and which their Lordships were so unwilling to receive. If this kind of evidence were rejected, Mr. Burke would give joy to all East Indian delinquents. “ Plunder on. The laws intended to restrain you are mere scarecrows. Accumulate wealth by any means, however illegal, profligate, infamous. You are sure of impunity : for the natives of India are by their religion debarred from appearing against you out of their own country, and circumstantial evidence will not be received.” If the

new principle were established, that acts of omission were not evidence, Mr. Fox observed, that Indian delinquents were rendered secure. They would take no notice of any charges preferred against them ; and thereby render inadmissible the only evidence by which guilt could be proved.

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The managers, therefore, proposed to read the whole of the consultation of the 20th of March, including that of the 13th, in order to show the demeanour of Mr. Hastings. Then the House adjourned to the chamber of parliament. Next day the resolution of the Lords was announced, "That the consultation of the 13th of March, 1775, cannot now be read." Mr. Burke said that how great soever the pain with which he heard the resolution, he was consoled by the use of the word *now* ; which left him room to hope, that the evidence in question might be admitted another time.

As Cantoo Baboo, the Banyan of Mr. Hastings, when summoned by the Council to give evidence on the subject of the charges of Nuncomar, was ordered by Mr. Hastings not to attend, the managers affirmed that this was something *done* by Mr. Hastings ; and that the condition prescribed by the Chancellor was therefore fulfilled. The Lord Chancellor asked what the Council for Mr. Hastings had to offer against this plea. Mr. Law said, they possessed their Lordships' decision for excluding this evidence, and claimed the benefit of it. The managers conjured the Lords to reflect, that in the sort of cases before them, to adhere to the rules of evidence upheld by English lawyers, was to let loose rapine and spoil upon the subjects of government. The managers were then asked, "if



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they would state the whole of the circumstances upon which they meant to rely, as a ground to entitle them to read the proceedings of the 13th of March, 1775." The managers desired leave to withdraw. Upon their return they expressed their regret, at not being able to comply with the request of the Lords. In the course of the trial various circumstances might arise, which did not at present occur to their minds. At present they held it enough to adduce one ground which to themselves appeared satisfactory, and upon this they craved the judgment of the Court. The Lords adjourned.

At this point, the Lords demanded to be enlightened, or kept in countenance, by the sages of the law. The following question was referred to the twelve judges. "Whether it be competent for the managers to produce an examination without oath by the rest of the Council, in the absence of Mr. Hastings the Governor, charging him with corruptly receiving 3,54,105 rupees, which examination came to his knowledge, and was by him transmitted to the Court of Directors as a proceeding of the said Councillors, in order to introduce the proof of his demeanour thereupon; it being alleged by the managers for the Commons, that he took no steps to clear himself, in the opinion of the said Directors, of the guilt thereby imputed, but that he took active means to prevent the examination by the said Councillors of his servant Cantoo Baboo." To this the judges returned for answer, "That it is not competent for the managers to produce an examination, without oath, by the rest of the Councillors, in the absence of Mr. Hastings the Governor, charging

him with corruptly receiving 3,54,105 rupees, which examination came to his knowledge, and was by him transmitted to the Court of Directors, as a proceeding of the said Councillors, in order to introduce the proof of his misdemeanour thereupon." It being carried in the affirmative that the Lords do agree to this opinion, the Court was resumed, and the managers were informed, "That the examination of Nuncomar, and the rest of the proceedings of the Councillors, on the 13th of March, 1775, after Mr. Hastings left the Council, ought not to be read."

The managers began now to complain bitterly, that the resolutions of the Lords were pronounced, without the accompaniment of the reasons on which these resolutions were founded. The managers affirmed that they were thus left completely in the dark, and embarrassed in all their proceedings. This was a point of the highest importance, and it is to be regarded as one of the most characteristic parts of the exhibition then made of itself, by the tribunal before which Mr. Hastings was tried. To issue decisions, without presenting the reasons, is to act the part not of a judge, but of a despot. The mandate of a despot rests on his will. The decision of a judge is founded on reasons, or it deserves any thing rather than the name. But if the decision of the judge is founded on reasons, it is of infinite importance that they should not be confined to his own breast. In the first place, the necessity of stating reasons is one of the strongest securities against all the causes of bad decision, the ignorance

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of the judge, the negligence of the judge, and the corruption of the judge; against the ignorance of the judge, by making it visible and ridiculous; against the negligence and corruption of the judge, by making him know that he himself must be the indicator of his own offences, the herald as well as author of his own shame. This is one, but not the only benefit derived from imposing upon judges the necessity of giving the reasons upon which their decisions are grounded. The public do not enjoy the advantages of security, unless they have what is called the *sense* of security, or the belief that they are secure. Unless the administration of justice yield the *sense* of security, it fails of accomplishing one of the most important of its ends. But of all possible means to convey this sense of security one of the most potent undoubtedly is, to make known to the people invariably the reasons upon which the decisions of the judges are founded. It is this alone with which the people can, or ought to be satisfied. How can they know, that a decision is just, when they are ignorant of its grounds? It is to be considered as circumstantial evidence (and evidence which in general ought to be held conclusive), when reasons are not given for a judicial decision, that it is for one of two causes; either, 1. because no good reasons can be given; or 2. in order to favour a practice according to which decisions, for which no good reason can be given, may be pronounced at any time.

It is therefore a fundamental axiom in the science of jurisprudence, that without reasons strictly accom-

panying every judicial decision, the duty of the judge is most imperfectly performed, and good judicature altogether impossible.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the resolution itself, Mr. Burke proclaimed, in the face of the Court by which it was formed, "That it held out to future governors of Bengal the most certain and unbounded impunity. Peculation in India would be no longer practised, as it used to be, with caution and with secrecy. It would in future stalk abroad in noon-day, and act without disguise; because, after such a decision as had just been made by their Lordships, there was no possibility of bringing into a court the proofs of peculation."

The fact is of the highest importance. The rules of evidence, deplorably adopted by the Lords, are so many instruments of protection to the crimes of public men in public places; that is, crimes, from the very nature of the case, more extensively mischievous than all others; and crimes of which the existence can seldom be legally ascertained except by the very sort of evidence, which the Court, set up in this country to punish them, makes rules to exclude.

Besides the examination of the Raja Nuncomar,

<sup>1</sup> For the Lords, to have assigned reasons, however unanswerable, would have only furnished the Commons with occasion of cavil—and this no doubt induced them to refuse their formal communication. For the purposes of justice all that was really essential was performed, for although not formally communicated, the grounds of the decisions of the Lords were fully known to the managers of the Commons, as they were the consequence of discussions which were publicly reported. The managers had thus ample opportunity of controverting any doctrines adverse to their cause without violating the privileges of parliament, or losing time and dignity in personal controversy. The character and relative positions of the parties do not admit of any analogy to the discharge of his duty by an individual judge.—W.



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there was recorded in the consultation of the 13th of March, a letter from Munny Begum, which stood, according to the managers, upon grounds of its own. Its authenticity was fully proved by Sir John D'Oyley, Mr. Auriol, and a Persian Moonshee who had translated it, and after having examined the seal, pronounced it to be the seal of Munny Begum. This person, whose character and rank Mr. Hastings placed very high, had stated in this letter her having given a large sum of money to Mr. Hastings for appointing her regent during the minority of the Nabob. The evidence of this letter the managers proposed to adduce. The counsel for the prisoner objected. The ground of the objection was, that the letter was recorded in those minutes of the consultation of the 13th of March, which the Court had refused to admit. The House sustained the objection, and forbade the letter to be read.<sup>1</sup>

The next part of the proceedings is truly remarkable. "The managers desired that Philip Francis, Esq., might be called in, to prove that a letter from Munny Begum to the Raja Nuncomar, charging Mr. Hastings with a receipt of three and a-half lacs of rupees, was delivered in to the Council on the 13th of March, 1775, and that Mr. Hastings knew the Begum had written such letter." The witness was not allowed to speak to the consultation of that day, or to the letter. The reason was, because the proceedings existed in writing, the letter existed in

<sup>1</sup> The circumstances respecting the proposal to produce this letter, and the decision upon it, appear more distinctly in the Hist. of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. part ii. p. 57, than in the Minutes of Evidence, where there is obscurity, and probably an omission.

writing ; and that which itself existed in writing was better evidence than parole testimony to its contents. The witness was not allowed to speak, because there existed a writing that was better evidence ; and that writing which was better evidence the Court had determined they would not receive ! The witness was not allowed to speak, on the pretext that something else was better evidence, while the Court itself had determined that the said something else was not evidence at all !

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When the accounts of Munny Begum, in her quality of Regent, were called for by the Board of Council, after the arrival of Clavering, Monson, and Francis, a large sum appeared, of the mode of disposing of which no explanation was given. A commission, at the head of which was placed Mr. Goring, was sent to Moorshedabad, to inquire. Upon this investigation came out the declarations of Munny Begum, that the sum not accounted for had, at the time of vesting her with the Regency, been given to Mr. Hastings and his attendants. Certain papers, stating the receipt, by Mr. Hastings, of one lac and a-half of rupees, papers transmitted by Mr. Goring to the Board at Calcutta, received by them, recorded without any objection on the part of Mr. Hastings, and transmitted by him, still without objection, to the Court of Directors, it was proposed, by the managers, to read. The council for Mr. Hastings insisted, that these papers were not direct evidence, as wanting the requisite securities of oath and authentication ; and not circumstantial evidence, because no act of Mr. Hastings, as required by the Court, connected them with himself. The Lords

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determined that the papers ought not to be read.

And yet that there was matter of evidence in papers so delivered, and that there might be in the demeanour of the person whom they regarded, it is impossible to deny. That the papers did contain the declaration of Munny Begum, was susceptible of the completest proof. That her declaration, not judicially given, and not subject to cross examination, was of much less value than if it had received these securities, is no less true ; but still, as far as it was not invalidated by other circumstances, it was of some value, and ought to have been counted for what it was worth. And if Mr. Hastings, instead of taking the course which was natural to an innocent man, took that which a consciousness of guilt would naturally prescribe, this demeanour would be circumstantial evidence against himself. Instead of permitting light to come in from these two sources, light of which the value, whatever it was, would appear, when it was seen and examined, the Lords resolved to shut it out, without permitting it to be seen at all.

The managers next offered to produce, in evidence of the same facts, an original Persian letter, under the hand and seal of the Munny Begum, signed by the Nabob, and transmitted by Mr. Goring to the Board. And as an act of demeanour, fulfilling the condition required by the Lords to constitute any document a link in a chain of circumstantial evidence, they stated that Mr. Hastings, after Munny Begum was freed from all influence but his own, never attempted to invalidate the testimony she had given.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With respect to Mr. Hastings personally, I am anxious to observe,

The House determined that the letter should not be read.

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The Managers next proposed to examine Mr. Goring, in order to prove that Munny Begum delivered to him a paper, in the Persian language, under her own hand, stating, that Mr. Hastings had received from her a lac and a half of rupees, under colour of money for his entertainment. The counsel for the defendant objected to evidence of any consultation with Munny Begum, Mr. Hastings himself not being present. They objected also to the production of any paper which had not been delivered in the presence of Mr. Hastings, and the contents of it read to him. The Managers offered the paper as an original instrument, which possessed all the securities for truth required by the Indian laws, being under the seal of the Begum, and attested by the Nabob, while it was contrary to the manners of the country for a woman of rank to appear in public, or take an oath. The House decided that the paper could not, upon these grounds, be admitted as evidence against the defendant.

As Major Scott, agent of Mr. Hastings, with full, and almost unlimited powers, had delivered to the Select Committee of the House of Commons, a translation of a letter from Munny Begum to Mr. Hastings, in which she affirmed the delivery to him of one lac and a half of rupees, the managers contended that this was a perfect acknowledgment of the letter on the part of Mr. Hastings; and that, there-

that this affords a presumption of innocence; at least of the truth of his allegation, that the sum in question, which was given him for entertainment-money, as he had never denied it, so he never meant to conceal.



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fore, the letter ought to be read. The matter was pressed by the managers in every possible direction and every expedient which they could imagine for opening a way to its reception was tried, but in vain. The lawyers for the defendant, burying in silence the rule which on another occasion they would have strained their lungs to proclaim, *Qui facit per alium facit per se*, insisted that what is done for a man by his agent, is not done by himself; and that the recognition of a piece of evidence by Major Scott was not recognition by Mr. Hastings. After some days of contention, the Lords retired to their chamber to deliberate; and, on the next day of the Court came out, in the usual oracular style, the response "That the Persian paper, purporting to be a letter from the Munny Begum, and the translation of the same, offered in evidence by the managers for the House of Commons, ought not to be read."

Beside the absurdity already disclosed, of refusing to receive an article of evidence, because it is not so strong as it would have been, had it possessed more of the causes of strength; while the interests of truth require that the exact value of it should be ascertained, and that it should not be thrown away but counted for what it is worth; it is obvious to common sense that the question agitated on this occasion so long and vehemently before the Court, might have been settled in one instant, by barely asking Mr. Hastings, if he acknowledged the writing as a letter to himself from Munny Begum.

The vulgar notion, that a man should not be required to give evidence which may operate against himself, is then only rational, when the law is so bad,

that it really ought not to be executed; and when humanity approves of every subterfuge by which men may escape from its detestable fangs. That this was once the case with the law of England, as it is the case with the laws of all countries, in times of ignorance, and times of despotism, is undoubtedly true; and then it was, that the vulgar notion, and the rule founded upon it, received their birth. In times when the law was so bad, and the King and other great men so powerful, that they were able on most occasions to use the law as a commodious instrument, for executing upon individuals the dictates of their vengeance, their jealousy, their avarice, or their caprice, that great instrument for defeating the law, namely, the rule, that a man shall not be compelled to give evidence against himself, had often a very obvious though a temporary, and limited utility. Like most other matters of law it obtained its existence more immediately from the interests of the great men. In times of rudeness, which are times of turbulence, contests are frequent for the crown; and the great men are ranged on different sides. If it happens to them sometimes to be on the winning side, it is equally incident to them to be on the losing. When that happens, the law will be employed to destroy them. And as they live in such a state of things that all foresee they may very probably stand in this predicament themselves, they all eagerly concur in establishing the credit of a rule that shall render it very difficult for the law to convict them; in other words, shall afford them many chances to escape. The moment, however, at which the law becomes good, and no man has power to

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wrest it iniquitously to his own purposes, the case is altered. The moment the law becomes such, that it really ought to be executed, that it is good for the community it should be exactly executed, that it cannot without mischief to the community, in one instance, be defeated of its execution, then every subterfuge by which he who has infringed the law may escape, is an evil; then every thing which guards the truth from discovery, is a cause of mischief; and, surely, it is one of the most effectual expedients for guarding the truth from discovery; surely it is one of the most effectual of all the subterfuges by which he who has infringed the law may escape its penalties, if he who knows the most of the circumstances shall be protected in concealing what he knows.

Mr. Burke complained of the inextricable perplexity in which the managers were involved by these naked decisions. If reasons were given, they would know, that wherever the same reasons applied, the same decision would be pronounced. Issued without any reason, every decision stood for itself alone; was confined to an individual, not extended to a species; and furnished no rule for anything else. They doubted not but the resolution of the House was founded upon *technical grounds*. But “in the case on which their Lordships had last decided, the managers had offered in evidence a paper, proved to have been written by Munny Begum, and transmitted to Mr. Hastings—they offered also a translation of that paper, delivered to the Committee of the House of Commons by the very agent of Mr. Hastings—they proved that these papers had

been sent to the prisoner in the Eleventh printed Report of that Committee, and that when he drew up his defence he must have had them before him. That papers so substantiated, should have been rejected by their Lordships, must be a matter of astonishment to all the thinking part of mankind, who should happen to be unacquainted with the *technical* grounds on which their Lordships had resolved that these papers were not to be received.”<sup>1</sup>

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During these contentions two incidents occurred, the importance of which requires, that they should here be presented to view. It was given out, as a *dictum*, by Mr. Law, the defendant's counsel, That every accusation brought against a man, and not

<sup>1</sup> The expressions are here taken from the report of the speech, in the History of the Trial, ut supra, part ii. p. 64. Mr. Burke, on this occasion, took pointed notice of a circumstance of some importance in the history of the public life of Mr. Hastings. Having warned the Lords of the wide door they laid open for the escape of guilt, by sustaining the disavowals which the guilty found it convenient to make; “In the case of Mr. Hastings,” he said, “there appeared to be a system of *disavowals*. The prisoner once appointed an agent, who, in *his* name, made a formal resignation of the Government of Bengal. But the principal afterwards disavowed this act of his agent, and strenuously resisted it, though the ruin of the British empire in the East might have been the consequence of it.

“At another time he delivered at the bar of the House of Commons, (as *his own*) a written defence against the charges then pending against him in that House. But afterwards, at their Lordships' bar, he *disavowed* this defence, and produced evidence to prove that it had been drawn up by others, and not by *himself*, and that, therefore, he ought not to be accountable for the contents of it.

“In the case immediately before their Lordships, it had appeared in evidence, that Major Scott was the agent of the prisoner, and that his powers were as unlimited as words could make them, except in one point only. This agent delivered to the Committee of the House of Commons, the papers of which he was then speaking; certainly with some view, and probably to serve his principal, for he delivered them *unasked*. But now he *disavowed* all authority for such delivery.”



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proved, was a calumny and slander. “Mr. Burke,” says the historian of the trial, “replied, with much indignation, that he was astonished the learned gentleman dared to apply such epithets to charges brought by the Commons of Great Britain, whether they could or could not be proved by *legal* evidence. It was very well known that many facts could be proved to the satisfaction of every conscientious man, by evidence which, though in its own nature good and convincing, would not be admitted in a court of law. It would be strange, indeed, if an accusation should be said to be slanderous and calumnious, merely because certain rules of law declared that evidence not to be admissible in law, which would carry conviction to the breast of every man who read it.”<sup>1</sup> But this observation, pointed as it was in the particular case, was too much limited to that particular case; as was, indeed, the misfortune of most of the instruments with which Mr. Burke endeavoured to parry the weapons of the lawyers. The *dictum* of the lawyer is *universally* mischievous, and also contemptible; and ought to have been proved to be so; the efficacy of it, as far as it is allowed to have any, is to provide impunity for crimes. When is it known that an accusation can be proved? Never, till the cause is tried before the judge. If an accusation must, therefore, never be brought (assuredly a calumny ought never to be brought), unless it is known that it can be proved, an accusation ought never to be preferred at all. There ought to be no accusation of guilt; and of course, no trial; and no

<sup>1</sup> History of the Trial, ut supra, part ii. p. 62

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punishment! If, in order to escape from these atrocious consequences, the lawyer will not say that it is necessary a man should *know* his accusation can be proved, but declare it is enough provided he *believes* that it can be proved, the wretched *dictum* is wholly given up. The fact is, that presumption, and often a very slight presumption, may not only justify, but urgently demand accusation. According to the vile doctrine of the lawyer, every indictment found by the grand jury, upon which a verdict of guilty is not given at the trial, is a calumny; and yet the grand jury proceed so purely upon presumption, and are so precluded from the possibility of knowing whether the accusation can be proved, that they can hear evidence only on one of the sides.

The other incident is closely connected with the foregoing. Mr. Law, whose native audacity had, by the support which he found he received, and the indignities put upon the accusation, been gradually rising to a tone of great disrespect to the managers, had now broken out into such language, as the House thought it necessary to rebuke for indecency. Mr. Law defended himself by saying, he did not mean to apply the terms *slander* or *calumny* to any proceeding of the House of Commons; but he had the authority of that House for declaring, that the Honourable Manager had used *slandrous* and *calumnious* expressions, not authorized by them. “Mr. Fox,” says the historian of the trial, “took fire at this expression. He said it was indecent and highly irregular, in an advocate, to allude to what had taken place within the walls of the House of Commons: that the learned counsel had done worse, he had *misrepresented* that

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to which he had presumed to allude : he had charged the whole body of the Commons with having sent up slanders in the shape of charges : and he had pronounced the deputies of the Commons calumniators, merely because they offered in evidence those very documents, on the authority of which the Commons had pronounced the charges to be well-founded, and sent them as articles of impeachment to the Lords." Mr. Law defended himself acutely from the impropriety of alluding to any proceeding in the House of Commons, by affirming that he alluded only to what the Honourable Manager himself had told them of the proceedings of that House. Mr. Fox said, that this was a new misrepresentation ; their Lordships had not been told that any thing which had fallen from the managers had been designated by the House of Commons, slanderous or calumnious ; nor any thing which could be tortured into such a meaning.

Mr. Fox would not proceed in the trial, until the Lords should give an opinion on this language. If that was refused, he must return to the Commons for fresh instructions.

The words were taken down, read to their author, and recognised. It was proposed that the Lords should withdraw to consider them. But a mode was found of giving satisfaction to the managers without this interruption. The Lord Chancellor, it was agreed, should admonish the learned counsel, That it was *contrary to order* in the counsel to advert to any thing that had passed in the House of Commons : That it was *indecent* to apply the terms slander or calumny to any thing that was said by

their authority : And that such expressions must not be used.<sup>1</sup>

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The managers next proceeded to prove, that when Mr. Hastings became master of the votes of the Council, he re-appointed Munny Begum, and the Raja Goordass, to the offices from which the majority of the Council had removed them, after those persons had presented public official accounts charging him with the receipt of three and a half lacs of rupees. This was an act of Mr. Hastings, in relation to these accounts, which, the managers contended, fulfilled the condition required by the Lords for receiving them. The counsel for the defendant produced his objections. The managers answered. The counsel replied. The Lords withdrew to their chamber to deliberate. They asked the opinion of the twelve judges. The judges required a little time. After an intermission of proceedings from the 17th of June to the 24th, the Lords met in Westminster Hall, and informed the managers, "That the accounts last offered by them in evidence ought not to be read."

Before any further proceedings commenced, it was proposed by Lord Portchester, one of the Peers, that certain questions should be referred to the judges. It was according to form, that this business should be transacted, by the Lords, in their chamber of parliament. To this they returned. And at six o'clock in the evening, they sent a message to the Commons, that they had adjourned the further proceedings on the trial for six days. When they met on the 30th in Westminster Hall, no communication of what had

<sup>1</sup> History of the Trial, ut supra, part ii. p. 62, 63.



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passed in their chamber of parliament, was made to the parties. And the managers for the Commons were desired to proceed.

Upon their adjournment, however, on the 24th, the Lords had spent the day in debate; and agreed to proceed with the further consideration of the subject on the 29th. On that day, they went into a committee, "To inquire into the usual method of putting questions to the judges and receiving their answers in judicial proceedings." A great number of precedents were read. There was a long debate. At last it was determined, "That the proceedings on the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. had been regular, and conformable to precedent in all trials of a similar nature."

It had been agreed at an early period of the trial, that of the documents received in evidence only so much as referred strictly to the point in question should be read; and that they should be printed entire by way of appendix to the minutes. In this way, a letter of Mr. Goring, reporting the statements made by Munny Begum relative to the money received by Mr. Hastings, had been printed. This report the managers now desired might be read. As printed, by order of the peers, to give information on the subject of the trial, it was already in evidence before them. A long contention ensued. The Lords adjourned twice to deliberate, on two separate points. They at last determined, "That no paper ought to be read merely because it is printed in the appendix; and, therefore, that the letter of Mr. Goring, last offered in evidence, ought not to be read."

The managers offered the letter again, and urged

its acceptance, on two other grounds ; First, as part of a consultation which had already been read, and applied to the same subject ; Secondly, as rendered evidence by the demeanour of Mr. Hastings, who had requested the Court of Directors to read and consider it. The objections of the counsel were made. The usual reply and rejoinder were heard. The managers were asked, “ If the above were the whole of the grounds upon which they put the admissibility of the papers offered : To which they made answer, That they were. The House adjourned to the chamber of parliament.” The next day of the trial the managers were informed, that “ the letter ought not to be read.”

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The managers after this proceeded to prove, that when Mr. Hastings, as soon as he recovered an ascendancy in the Council, re-established Munny Begum in the regency, the pretext upon which he grounded this proceeding, namely, the will of the Nabob, who had a right to make the appointment, was false, and impostrous ; in as much as the Nabob, according to Mr. Hastings himself, according to the Judges of the Supreme Court, and according to the known facts of his situation, had no will ; and was nothing but a creature in the hands of Mr. Hastings. They also offered proof, that this proceeding was condemned by the Court of Directors, and that it was injurious to the government, and to the interests of the people. To the evidence tendered for this purpose, but little opposition was raised. And here the case for the managers upon the first part of this article of the impeachment was closed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the Minutes of Evidence, ut supra, p. 953—1101, with the History of the Trial, ut supra, part ii.—M. The greater part of this

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Before proceeding to open the question upon the second part, the Lord Chancellor requested to know to what length of time it appeared to the managers that their proceedings on this branch of the subject would extend. As he received an answer, importing that several days would be requisite, even if no delay was created by the lawyers in objecting to evidence: and as these communications seemed to point to a design of adjourning further progress in the trial, till the beginning of the next session of parliament, Mr. Hastings rose, and made a very humble and pathetic speech, complaining of the hardships of the trial, and earnestly deprecating delay. His life, he said, would not suffice, if this prosecution proceeded at the pace at which it had begun, to see it to an end. He affirmed, but qualifying the assertion carefully, that it might not appear offensive to the Lords, that he would have pleaded *Guilty*, had he foreseen the space of time which the trial would consume. He

second year of the trial was occupied with disputes in regard to the evidence, and it is urged in the text that these disputes originated in the technical objections of the lawyers to the evidence tendered by the managers. It is clear from a perusal of the proceedings, however, that the legal objections were provoked by the tenacity of the managers in insisting upon what was quite as technical as the legal arguments by which they were defeated—the formal recognition by the Court, of documents, which, however exceptionable as legal proof, had been all along admitted to be authentic. The main fact—that alone of an equivocal appearance, the receipt of money from the Begum, had been acknowledged, and the money had been accounted for,—and the appointment of her to the chief authority at Murshedabad, was matter of public notoriety. Nothing more could have been proved against Hastings, had the documents been received as testimony, and their production, therefore, was merely designed to raise in the minds of the judges a personal prejudice against him. The attempt was, with good reason, therefore, resisted by the counsel for the defence, who displayed, throughout the discussion, quite as much talent as was enlisted on the side of the prosecution.—W.

could not frame, he said, any specific prayer to their Lordships, nor could he press them to a greater waste of their time, at so advanced a period of the season; but if the managers could specify any such limited period as their Lordships could devote, to close the impeachment, which he had been informed was to end with this article, he would rather consent to wave all defence, than postpone the decision to another year. The House adjourned to the chamber of parliament, where it was agreed to proceed on the trial on the first Tuesday in the next session of parliament.

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On the 16th of February, 1790, the business of the trial, now prolonged to the fifty-sixth day, was resumed. What remained of the sixth article of impeachment, and a part of the seventh, were opened by Mr. Anstruther. And on the 18th of February, which was the fifty-seventh day of the trial, evidence began to be heard.

A letter was produced, dated 29th of November 1780, from Mr. Hastings to the Court of Directors. In this letter the Directors were told, that, so far back as on the 26th of June, Mr. Hastings had made "a very unusual tender," as he calls it; that is, to defray with his own money the extraordinary expense of sending against the Mahrattas the detachment under Major Camac. He also at the same time gives them to understand that the money, which he had thus expended, was not his own. But, without a word to show to whom, in that case, the money did belong, he only adds, "With this brief apology I shall dismiss the subject." His language is somewhat strange. This account of this transaction he



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calls an "anecdote."—"Something of affinity," he says, "to this anecdote may appear in the first aspect of another transaction." Of that transaction too the same letter contains an account. When Bengal was threatened with the detachment of the Berar army, which during the war with the Mah-rattas marched into Cuttack, one of the means which Mr. Hastings employed for eluding the danger was, to supply that detachment with money. He now informs the Court of Directors, that he took upon himself the responsibility of sending three lacs of rupees, unknown to his Council. Two-thirds of this sum, he says, *he had raised by his own credit*; and should charge as a debt due to himself by the Company: the other third he had supplied from the cash in his hands belonging to the Company.

About these several sums, this was all the information which the Governor-General thought fit to give to the Directors on the 29th of November, 1780.

On the 5th of January, 1781, the following notice was communicated by the Governor-General to the Members of the Council, "Honourable Sir, and Sirs, Having had occasion to disburse the sum of three lacs of sicca rupees, on account of secret services, which having been advanced *from my own private cash*, I request that the same may be repaid to me," &c.; and on the 9th he received three bonds for the amount.

Of the whole sum it was proved that one-third was paid to Mr. Hastings in England.

The next document was a letter from Mr. Hastings to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors,

dated Patna, 20th January, 1782, stating, that he had, when at Chunar, accepted from the Nabob Vizir, a present of ten lacs of rupees, which he requested their permission to appropriate to himself.

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Another of his letters to the same Committee, dated 22nd May, 1782, gave an account of the sums which he had privately received, and expended in the service of the Company. Excepting the sum from the Nabob Vizir, no information was yet given of the sources whence any part of that money had been derived. Of the use which was made of the several sums, he says, that the reference which he gives to the several accounts, in which they are credited in the Company's books, is specification enough. With regard to the sources whence they were derived, the motives for receiving them, and his own modes of dealing with them, he satisfies himself with the following mysterious and obscure expressions. "Why these sums were taken by me; why they were, except the second" (that applied to the service of Camac's detachment) "quietly transferred to the Company's use; why bonds were taken for the first," (that sent to the Berar army in Cuttack), "and not for the rest, might, were this matter to be exposed to the view of the public, furnish a variety of conjectures, to which it would be of little use to reply. Were your Honourable Court to question me upon these points, I would answer, that the sums were taken for the Company's benefit, at times in which the Company very much needed them; that I either chose to conceal the first receipts from public curiosity by receiving bonds for the amount, or possibly acted without any studied design which my memory

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could at this distance of time verify: and that I did not think it worth my care to observe the same means with the rest.”

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The managers proved; that in the letter of the 29th of November, 1780, two-thirds of the money sent to the Berar army were stated as the money of the Governor-General himself: that in this of the 22nd of May, 1782, the whole is stated as the money of the Company. It may, however, be also observed, that the taking of the bonds, instead of being a transaction to keep the matter secret, was the only thing which could make it public. He received the money from a private source; he gave it to the Berar Raja privately, and told him the gift was a secret; all this might have been hid from the world for ever, except for the bonds.

Another thing which is very remarkable is, the idea, which the Governor-General seems to have formed, of the strange negligence of the Court of Directors toward the proceedings of their servants; when he could present to them such an account, as this, of such transactions, without expecting their most severe displeasure. Great sums of money, received from secret sources, and instead of any account of such extraordinary and suspicious transactions given to them, to whom the fullest account of every transaction was due, a declaration that this was not a matter for public view, and that it would furnish a variety of conjectures if known, make up one of the strangest scenes between a master and servant, that the history of public negligence presents for the instruction of mankind.

The negligence, which the Governor-General here

imputes to himself, the crime of acting in such affairs with so disgraceful a measure of inattention, that he himself knew not the motive by which he was guided, ought alone, if true, to have condemned him in the minds of vigilant employers, and proved his total inaptitude for the trust which was placed in his hands; if not true, conclusions are suggested of a different sort.

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The above-mentioned account of the appropriation to the service of the Company of certain sums privately received, though dated on the 22nd of May, 1782, was not sent from Calcutta on the 16th of December. By this time, Mr. Hastings had received accounts of the inquiries instituted, and even the resolutions passed, with respect to his conduct, by the House of Commons in England. To escape the appearance of having been impelled to produce this account by the terror of investigation, he got Mr. Larkins, the Accountant-General, to affix to it his affidavit of the time in which it was written. In his letter of this date he reproaches his employers for rendering necessary, by their want of confidence, this humiliating precaution. Addressing the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, he says, "If I wanted integrity and honour, the Court of Directors have afforded me but too powerful incentives to suppress the information which I now convey to them through you, and to appropriate to my own use the sums which I have already passed to their credit—by the unworthy, and, pardon me if I add, dangerous reflections which they have passed upon me for the first communication of this kind. And your own experience will suggest to you that there are persons



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who would profit by such a warning." He adds with regard to the sums in question, and the declaration is important, "I could have concealed them, had I had a wrong motive, from yours and the public eye, for ever." He makes in the same letter another declaration, which is worthy of a man conscious of rectitude; "if I appear in any unfavourable light by these transactions, I resign the common, and legal security of those who commit crimes or errors. I am ready to answer every particular question, that may be put against myself, upon honour, or upon oath."

There he laid his finger on the material point. There he appealed to an efficient test. Innocence is proved by interrogation, and best proved when the interrogation is most severe. Had Mr. Hastings acted up to this declaration; had he really submitted himself to scrutiny; instead of using, to defend himself from it, every effort which the artifice of lawyers could invent, and every subterfuge which the imperfections of the law could afford, he might have left his rectitude, if real, without a suspicion; whereas now, if his accusers could not prove his guilt, it is still more certain that he has not proved his innocence<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> If it had been the fortune of Hastings to have had his conduct investigated by wise, just, and dispassionate judges, he would, no doubt, have established his personal integrity and rectitude of intention, although it might have appeared that in his anxiety to provide for critical emergencies, he had not always been sufficiently scrupulous in obtaining the necessary means, nor sufficiently careful in preparing precise statements of their amount, origin, and appropriation. The investigation, however, was not instituted to ascertain truth, but to fix criminality upon him. Talents the most popular, and passions the most ungoverned, were let loose against him; and no reasonable man can believe, that if he had stood alone in his defence, his innocence would have shielded him from the combined assault of

Mr. Hastings, to prove that he never meant to appropriate the money for which he took the bonds, stated in his defence, delivered at the bar of the House of Commons, that a few months after the receipt of the bonds, that is in July, 1781, he indorsed all three payable to the Company, and left them in the hand of the Accountant-General, with express directions to deliver them up. The managers gave evidence to prove that they were not indorsed till the 29th of May, 1782; and not communicated to the Board and cancelled, till the 17th of January, 1785.

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The managers next gave in evidence a letter of Mr. Hastings to the Court of Directors, dated the 21st of February, 1784, in which he gave them an account of several sums, which had been expended in their service, but drawn from his own fortune, without having, as yet, been charged to their account. Some of the objects of this expenditure were of the most excellent kind, as the digest and translation of the native laws. Having stated these debts, amounting to a sum of not less than 34,000*l.* sterling, Mr. Hastings added, that he meant to pay himself by a sum of money which had privately come into his hands. Of the source from whence this money was derived, he afforded, as on former occasions of the sort, no information to his employers whatsoever. He left them absolutely and unceremoniously in the dark.

The managers next presented a passage from Mr.

Fox, Sheridan, and Burke. His only chance of justice lay in opposing like to like, and in his friend Scott, and his counsel Law, he was fortunate enough to find courage and ability equal to the conflict.—W.

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Hastings's defence, delivered at the bar of the House of Commons, in which the mode of receiving this money is declared in the following words. "In the year 1783, when I was actually in want of a sum of money for my private expenses, owing to the Company not having at that time sufficient cash in their treasury to pay my salary, I borrowed three lacs of rupees of Raja Nobkissen, an inhabitant of Calcutta, whom I desired to call upon me, with a bond properly filled up—he did so; but, at the same time I was going to execute it, he entreated, I would rather accept the money than execute the bond: I neither accepted the offer nor refused it; and my determination upon it remained suspended between the alternative of keeping the money as a loan to be repaid, and of taking it and applying it, as I had done other sums, to the Company's use; and there the matter rested till I undertook my journey to Lucknow, when I determined to accept the money for the Company's use. And these were my motives: Having made disbursements from my own cash, which I had hitherto omitted to enter into my public accounts, I resolved to reimburse myself, in a mode most suitable to the situation of the Company's affairs, by charging these disbursements in my Durbar accounts of the present year, and crediting them by a sum privately received, which was this of Nobkissen's."

A letter was then read, from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General and Council at Fort William, dated 16th March, 1784, in which they require an account (none had as yet been given) of the presents which the Governor-General had con-

fessed. “Although it is not,” they say, “our intention to express any doubt of the integrity of our Governor-General, on the contrary, after having received the presents, we cannot avoid expressing our approbation of his conduct, in bringing them to the credit of the Company: yet, we must confess, the statement of these transactions appears to us in many parts so unintelligible, that we feel ourselves under the necessity of calling on the Governor-General for an explanation, agreeable to his promise, voluntarily made to us. We therefore desire to be informed—of the different periods when each sum was received—and what were the Governor-General’s motives for withholding the several receipts from the knowledge of the Council—or of the Court of Directors—and what were his reasons for taking bonds for part of these sums—and for paying other sums into the treasury as deposits on his own account.”

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Mr. Hastings was at Lucknow when this letter was received. He returned to Calcutta on the 5th of November, 1784; and departed for England in the month of February, 1785. During all this time no answer was returned. When in England, he was given to understand that an explanation was still required; and he addressed a letter to the Chairman, dated Cheltenham, 11th July, 1785. He first apologizes, for delay, by his absence from Calcutta, and the pressure of business at the close of his government. He can give no further account, he says, of dates, than he has given, though possibly Mr. Larkins could give more. The necessities of the government, he says, were at that time so great, that “he eagerly seized every allowable means of relief;” but partly



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1790. thought it unnecessary to record these secret aids, partly thought it might be ostentatious, partly that it would excite the jealousy of his colleagues. He made the sums be carried directly to the treasury, and allowed them not to pass through his own hands, to avoid the suspicion of receiving presents for his own use. Two of the sums were entered as loans. One was entered as a deposit, namely, that expended on Camac's detachment, because the transaction did not require concealment, having been already avowed. He makes a curious declaration, that though destined for the public service, and never meant for his own use, "it certainly was his original design to conceal the receipt of all the sums, except that one, even from the knowledge of the Court of Directors." This relates to all the sums, except that from the Nabob Vizir. With respect to that he says, "When fortune threw in my way a sum, of a magnitude which could not be concealed, and the peculiar delicacy of my situation, at the time in which I received it, made me more circumspect of appearances, I chose to apprise my employers of it, and to add to the account all the former appropriations of the same kind."

In this, if something, be it what it may, be alleged, as a motive for concealment from the Council, nothing whatsoever is even hinted at as a motive for concealment from the Court of Directors. This, the principal question, was still completely evaded, and left without a shadow of an answer. One of the allegations is altogether unintelligible, that it would have excited suspicion had the sums been carried to his own house, but no suspicion when, as his money,

not the Company's, it was lodged in their treasury either as a deposit or a loan. If the money was represented as his, the question, how he came by it, was the same in either case. With respect to these most suspicious transactions, two important points of information were still obstinately withheld; namely, from what parties the sums were obtained, and why the transactions were concealed from those from whom it was a crime in their servants, of the deepest dye, to conceal any thing which affected the trust committed to their charge.

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On the 18th of July, 1785, a week after the date of his letter from Cheltenham, Mr. Hastings wrote to Mr. Larkins, still in India; to send to the Court of Directors, an account of the dates of the sums which he had privately received. The letter of Mr. Larkins, sent in compliance with this request of Mr. Hastings, was now produced by the managers. In this letter, beside the dates, four of the sources of receipt were incidentally mentioned; namely, Cheyte Sing, and the renters of Bahar, Nuddea, and Dinagapore.

From this, the managers proceeded to a different head of evidence; namely, the changes which Mr. Hastings had introduced in the mode of collecting the revenues. The object was to show that these changes increased the facilities of peculation, and laid open a wide door for the corrupt receipt of money; that such facilities had not been neglected; and that money had been corruptly received. The great points to which the managers attached their inferences of guilt were three; the appointment of the Aumeens, with inquisitorial powers for the

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purpose of the inquiry into the taxable means of the country, at the termination of the five years' settlement in 1777; the abolition of the Provincial Councils and appointment of the Committee of Revenue; and the receipt of presents from the farmers of the revenue in Nuddea, Dinagepore, and Bahar.

The managers began with the Provincial Councils. It was proved by a variety of documents, that the Provincial Councils had received the strongest approbation of the Court of Directors. It was proved that they had repeatedly received the strongest testimonies of approbation from Mr. Hastings himself. Yet, on the 9th of February, 1781, Mr. Hastings abolished them; and formed his Committee of Revenue.

It was next proved, that Gunga Govind Sing was appointed Dewan to this Committee; and that high and important powers were attached to his office.

To prove that the character of Gunga Govind Sing was bad, a consultation of the Council in 1775 was read. On that occasion he was, for a fraud, dismissed from his office of Naib Dewan to the Provincial Council of Calcutta; Mr. Francis and Mr. Monson declaring that from general information they held him to be a man of infamous character; the Governor-General asserting that he had many enemies, and not one advocate, but that all this was general calumny, no specific crime being laid to his charge. Lastly, the managers offered evidence to prove that Gunga Govind Sing, at the time of this appointment, was a public defaulter, by a large balance, of which he would render no account.

They now passed from the abolition of the Provincial Councils, to the present from the revenue farmer of Patna. In the sixth article of charge, Mr. Hastings was accused of having taken from a native, of the name of Kelloram, as a consideration for letting to him certain lands in Bahar, a sum of money amounting to four lacs of rupees. It was inferred that this was a corrupt appointment, as well from other circumstances, as from this : That Kelloram was notoriously a person of infamous character, and, in all other respects, unqualified for the office.

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The managers proposed to begin with the proof of this unfitness. The Counsel for the defendant objected ; because unfitness was not a charge in the impeachment. After hearing both parties, the Lords adjourned. Finally, they resolved, " That the managers for the Commons be not admitted to give evidence of the unfitness of Kelloram for the appointment of being a renter of certain lands in the province of Bahar ; the fact of such unfitness not being charged in the impeachment."

The point is of importance. It is only when conformable to reason, that the authority of lords, or of any one else, is the proper object of respect.

Whether the appointment of a particular man to a particular office was corrupt, or not corrupt, was the question to be tried. If circumstantial evidence is good in any case, it is good in this. But surely, it will not be denied, that the fitness or unfitness of the person to the office, is one among the circumstances from which the goodness or badness of the



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motives which led to his appointment may be inferred. Accordingly, the counsel for the defendant did not deny that the unfitness of Kelleraam was proper to be made an article of circumstantial evidence. Not denying that it would be just matter of evidence, if given, they insisted that it should not be given.

Their objection amounted to this, that to prove one fact of delinquency, no other fact importing delinquency shall be given in evidence, unless the evidentiary fact itself is charged as delinquency in the instrument of accusation. Now such is the nature of many crimes, that other crimes are the most common and probable source of circumstantial evidence. At the same time, it may be very inconvenient, or even impossible, to include all these minor crimes in the instrument of accusation appropriated to the principal crime. They may not all be known, till a great part of the evidence has been heard and scrutinized. The tendency of such a rule cannot be mistaken. It adds to the difficulties of proving crimes ; it furnishes another instrument, and, as far as it operates, a powerful instrument, for giving protection and impunity to guilt. The objection, that a man cannot be prepared to defend himself against an accusation which has not been preferred, is futile ; because the fact is not adduced as the fact for which the man is to be punished, but a fact to prove another fact. Besides, if on this, or any other incident of the trial, he could show cause for receiving time to adduce evidence, or in any other way to prepare himself, for any fresh matter

which might arise on the trial, a good system of judicature would provide the best mode of receiving it.

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Mr. Burke took the liberty of making remarks. He said the Commons of England had a right to demand that they should not be held to technical niceties. And he complained of the obstruction, which this resolution of the Court would create, in dragging to light the offences of the accused, or even in ascertaining the measure of the crime. "If the managers were to be debarred," he said, "from giving evidence of corrupt intentions, and of aggravations arising from circumstances, *not specifically stated in the charges*, it would be impossible for their Lordships to determine the amount of the fine, which ought to be imposed upon the prisoner, if he should be convicted; and their Lordships must, in the end, be embarrassed by their own decision."

The managers then gave in evidence, that, in July 1780, Mr. Hastings wrote an order to the chief of the Patna Council, to *permit* Kellaram to go to Calcutta: that it was debated in the Council, whether, "in his present situation," he ought to be permitted to go in consequence of the Governor-General's orders: that two out of five members voted against the permission: that Kellaram, on receiving permission, requested a guard of Sepoys for his protection down to Calcutta, which was granted: that proposals were received by Mr. Hastings from Cullian Sing for renting the province of Bahar: that the proposals were accepted: and that Kellaram was appointed deputy, or naib.

The managers for the Commons stated, that they

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would next give evidence to show that this bargain had been extremely injurious to the interests of the Company, as Kelleraam had not made good his engagements.

The Counsel for the defendant objected to this evidence, and a long debate ensued. They took the same ground as before, that this would be evidence to a crime not specified in the charge. The Lords adjourned, and spent the rest of the day in deliberation. On the next day of the trial, the managers were informed, "That it was not competent for them to give evidence, upon the charge in the sixth article, to prove that the rent at which the defendant, Warren Hastings, let the lands, mentioned in the said sixth article of charge, to Kelleraam, fell into arrear and was deficient." Yet why should a fact, which was offered only as a matter of evidence, be rejected as evidence because it was not offered also as matter of charge? This was to confound the most important distinctions. Assuredly, if the corruption of a bargain can be proved by circumstances, its evil consequences, if such as might easily have been, or could not but be, foreseen, is one of those circumstances, and an important one. This, said the Lords and the lawyers, must not be adduced.

The managers vehemently renewed their complaint, that the resolutions of their Lordships were unaccompanied by the reasons on which they were founded. The judges of other courts, it was said, pursued a different course. The evil consequence on which they principally rested their complaint was, the ignorance in which a decision without a reason left them of what would be decided in other cases.

The managers next gave in evidence, that a rule, with regard to peshcush, or the gratuity offered by a renter upon the renewing of his lease, had been established in 1775; and that a small sum, merely to preserve an old formality, was accurately prescribed, and made permanent. The great sum, taken by Mr. Hastings from Kelleraam, was not, therefore, peshcush. Mr. Young, who had been six years a member of the Provincial Council of Patna, said that the lease stood in the name of Cullian Sing; but Kelleraam was considered as a partner. Being asked, Whether, if the lands had been let at their full value, it would have been for the interest of Kelleraam to give four lacs of rupees as a gratuity upon the bargain, he replied, "I think, in the circumstances in which Kelleraam stood, he could not afford it." He was asked, "In what circumstances did he stand?" The opposing lawyers objected; upon the old ground, that the unfitness of Kelleraam was not matter of charge. True, and not proposed to be made. But it was matter of evidence, and, as such, ought to have been received. The managers waved the question.

The same witness proved, that at the time when this bargain was struck between Mr. Hastings and Kelleraam, a contract had actually been concluded for the whole province by the Provincial Council, who had let the lands, in the usual proportions, to the Zemindars of the country, and other renters. This legal transaction was therefore violated by the bargain subsequently struck between Mr. Hastings and Kelleraam. Within the knowledge of the wit-

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ness the province had never before been all let to one man.

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It was given in evidence that Cullian Sing was Dewan of the province; that it was the duty of the Dewan to check the collectors, and prevent the oppression of the ryots; that of course this check was annihilated by making the Dewan renter; but it was also stated, that Cullian Sing had never, in fact, exercised any of the powers of Dewan, being prevented by the Provincial Council as unfit.

The witness was asked, "Whether the withdrawing the Provincial Council, and abolishing the office of Dewan, did not put it in the power of the farmer to commit oppression with greater ease than before?" His answer was, "Doubtless." He was asked "What impressions the letting of the lands to Kelleram and Cullian Sing made upon the minds of the inhabitants of the country?" Mr. Young answered, "They heard it with terror and dismay." After the answer was given, Mr. Law objected to the question; it not being within the competence of the witness to speak of any body's sentiments but his own. To give in evidence the sense of the country was on the other hand affirmed to be an established practice. The Lords returned to their own house. They put a question to the judges. The judges requested time to answer it. And further proceedings on the trial were adjourned for two days. When the court resumed, the managers were informed, "That it was not competent for them to put the following question to the witness on the sixth article of the charge;—What impression the letting of the lands to Kelleram

and Cullian Sing made upon the minds of the inhabitants in the province of Bahar." Yet it will not be denied, that when a man was set over a country with powers to which those of a despot in Europe are but trifling, the impression on the minds of the people might rise to such a height as to be a circumstance of great importance, and indispensably necessary to be taken into the account, in forming a correct and complete conception of the views of him by whom the appointment was made. To refuse to receive such evidence is, therefore, to refuse the means of forming a complete and correct conception of that on which the most important judicial decisions may turn.

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The witness was asked, what effects arose from the appointment of Kelleraam? and how he conducted himself as renter of the province? Neither of these questions was allowed.

After this the managers went back to the abolition of the Provincial Councils and the Committee of Revenue. Mr. Young deposed, that Gunga Govind Sing, who was appointed Dewan; that is, under the new system, the great executive officer of revenue; was a man of infamous character, in the opinion both of Europeans and natives; that the Board of Revenue was in his opinion an institution which gave a new degree of power to the Governor-General; that under that system, mischief could more easily exist and be concealed, than under that of the Provincial Councils; that the people were more open to the oppression of the Dewan. When the question was asked, whether it came within his knowledge that

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more evil, or less evil, existed under the Committee of Revenue, than under the Provincial Councils, the right of exclusion was urged afresh. Acts of oppression could not be given, because oppression was not charged in the articles. Be it so; but corruption was charged, and acts of oppression were offered as proof of it. Nor is there any contempt of rationality so great as to deny, that acts of oppression may afford evidence, in proof of corruption. To exclude that evidence, by rule, is to deprive justice of one of the means of disclosing guilt. The managers maintained, that oppression was in reality matter of charge, by the words, "to the great oppression and injury of the said people." The lawyers contended, that this, like the words, "contrary to the peace of our Lord the King," was but an inference of law. The managers insisted that the cases were radically different, because an act of murder, felony, treason, was, by its nature, and necessarily, contrary to the King's peace; the appointment of a Board of Revenue was not by necessity, oppression. The oppression was not matter of inference, but matter of proof. The Lords adjourned to deliberate, and consumed in the chamber of parliament the rest of the day. The managers were at last informed, "That it was not competent for them to put the following question to the witness upon the seventh article of charge, viz., Whether more oppressions did actually exist under the new institution than under the old."

The managers then reverted to the bargain of Mr. Hastings with Cullian Sing, and Kelleraam. The purport of the questions was to prove that a rumour, a prevalent belief, of the receipt, as a gratuity or

present, of a sum of four lacs of rupees, by Mr. Hastings, existed, previous to the time at which he made confession of it to his employers. Many of the questions of the managers were resisted by the Counsel for the defendant, but such questions were put by some of the Peers as elicited proof that the rumour did precede the confession.

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By cross-examination it was shown, that the abolition of the Provincial Councils was injurious to the interests of the witness ; that Gunga Govind Sing, to whose reputed character he spoke, lived at Calcutta, while he himself resided principally at Patna ; that one of the individuals from whom he had heard a bad character of Gunga Govind Sing was his enemy ; but that his bad character was a subject of common conversation.

In the course of this examination it came out, though the Counsel for the defendant objected to it as evidence, that Kelloram at the time of his bargain with Mr. Hastings, was a bankrupt and a prisoner.

Mr. David Anderson was examined, the President of the Committee of Revenue, and a man selected by Mr. Hastings for the most important employments. It appeared that his office, as President of the Committee, was almost a sinecure, for excepting about three months, he was always absent on other employments. He, too, was acquainted with the rumour about the money received from Kelloram, which made him so uneasy about the reputation of Mr. Hastings, that he conversed with him upon the subject, and was told that the money had been accounted for. He understood, that sums were pri-



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1790. vately received from persons employed in the reveue, which never were entered in the public accounts. He himself was sworn not to receive money privately. The Dewan of the Committee of Revenue might extort money unduly from the people, without detection, provided the offence was not very general. The question was put, and a most important question it was: "Whether, after all, the Committee, with the best intention, and with the best ability, and steadiest application, might not, to a certain degree, be tools in the hands of the Dewan." The question was objected to, and given up.

On his cross-examination, he affirmed that Ganga Govind Sing had not a bad character, he thought he had in general a good character. To show that three lacs of the money privately received were sent to the Berar army, two questions were put, to which the managers objected, with as little to justify their objections, as those of their opponents, and more to condemn them, because contrary to the principles to which they were calling for obedience on the opposite side.

The managers added the following pertinent questions: "Whether during the whole of the year '80, there was any such distress in the Company's affairs as to put them to difficulty in raising three lacs of rupees?—I do not believe there was.—Whether after the year 1781, the Company did not borrow several millions?—They borrowed very large sums; I cannot say what."

This was intended to meet the allegation of Mr. Hastings, that the extreme exigence of the Company's affairs had led him to the suspicious resource

of taking clandestine sums of money from the subjects and dependants of the state.

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After some further evidence, bearing upon the same points, and exciting objections of the same tendency, on which therefore it is unnecessary to dwell, the managers proceeded to the questions connected with the province of Dinagopore, whence one of the secret sums had been derived.

In order to show the opinion of Mr. Hastings himself, that great enormities might be committed under the Committee of Revenue, and yet be concealed, they read the passage from his minute of the 2<sup>d</sup> of January, 1785, in which he says, "I so well know the character and abilities of Raja Deby Sing, that I can easily conceive it was in his power both to commit the enormities which are laid to his charge, and to conceal the grounds of them from Mr. Goodell," the collector, and Company's chief officer in the district. The managers said, they would next proceed to show the enormities themselves.<sup>1</sup>

But the Counsel for the defendant objected, on the ground they had so often successfully taken, that these enormities were not matters of charge. To this, as before, the simple answer is, that corruption was the matter of charge; and that the enormities of a man placed in a situation to do mischief might be a necessary and important article in the proof that corruption placed him there. To reject it was, therefore, to reject that without which it might be that justice could not be faithfully administered; without which it might be that misconception would

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of remark, that by this time Burke knew that the authority on which these enormities were asserted, had been retracted. See p. 10. See also Hastings's Defence at the end of the next note.—W.

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be created in the mind of the judge; and hence misdecision, wrong in place of right, become the ultimate and unavoidable result.

The managers again contended that oppression *was* a matter of charge; that Mr. Hastings well knew it must flow from the system which he pursued; and that the honour of the Court, and the character of the British nation, were at stake, when the question was, whether enormities, such as no tongue could describe, should be thought worthy of investigation, or be for ever screened from it by lawyers' ceremonies. The Counsel for the defendant answered this appeal to honour and feeling, by challenging the managers to make these enormities an article of impeachment, and boasting their readiness to meet such a charge. But this was a mere evasion. Why meet those enormities only as matter of impeachment, refuse to meet them as matter of evidence? They had the same advantages in the one case as in the other. They might equally display the weakness, if any existed, in the evidence brought to support the allegations; they might equally bring counter-evidence, if any existed, to disprove them. As far therefore as the challenge had any effect, it was an effect contrary to the interests of justice.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this scene, as given by the historian of the Trial, is curious, and forms an important incident in the History of Mr. Hastings.

"Mr. Burke said, that he must submit to their Lordships' decision, but he must say, at the same time, that he had heard it with the deepest concern: for if ever there was a case in which the honour, the justice, and the character of a country were concerned, it was in that which related to the horrid cruelties and savage barbarities exercised by Deby Sing, under an authority derived from the British Government, upon the poor forlorn inhabitants of Dinagapore; cruelties and barbarities so frightfully and transcendently enormous and savage, that the bare mention of them had filled with horror every description of people in the country.

To meet the allegation of Mr. Hastings, that he took one present, because money was not in the

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“The impression that even the feeble representation which his slender abilities had been able to produce had made upon the hearts and feelings of all who had heard him, was not to be removed but by the evidence that should prove the whole a fabrication.—The horror which the detail of those cruelties had produced in the minds of all classes of people was indescribable; the most dignified ladies of England had shuddered, and some had fainted at the bare recital; and was no evidence now to be received to prove the existence of those acts of barbarity which had shocked the whole nation?

“Mr. Law said, it was not to be borne, that the Right Hon. Manager should thus proceed to argue in reprobation of their Lordships’ judgments solemnly given.

“Mr. Burke said, nothing could be further from his intention than to reprobate any decision coming from a Court for which he entertained the highest respect. But he was not a little surprised to find, that the learned Counsel should stand forth the champion for their Lordships’ honour;—they were themselves the best guardians of their own honour: and it never could be the intention of the Commons to sully, much less to call in question, the honour of the House of Peers. As their *co-ordinate* estate in the Legislature, the Commons were perhaps not less interested than their Lordships themselves in the preservation of the honour of that noble House; and therefore he never could think of arguing in *reprobation* of any of its decisions.

“But the truth was, that the decision upon which he was then speaking was not upon a question put by the Commons: the Lords had no doubt decided properly; but it was certainly upon their own question, and not upon that of the Commons. If the Commons had been suffered to draw up their question themselves, they would have worded it in a very different manner, and called for the judgment of the House upon a question very differently stated from that on which the decision had just been given.

“It was true that the cruelties charged in the article were not stated, *eo nomine*, to have been exercised by Deby Sing; but the article charged Mr. Hastings with having established a system which he knew *would* be, and in point of fact *had* actually been, attended with *cruelty* and *oppression*.—The article did not state by whom the acts of cruelty had been committed, but it stated cruelty in general; and of such cruelty, so charged, the managers had a right to give evidence.

“He observed, that their Lordships must perceive a difference in the case thus stated, from that which they had stated themselves, and on which they had decided. He begged, therefore, that they would consider seriously what effect this decision would have upon this part of the article and upon the general character of the country.



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treasury to pay his salary, accounts were produced which showed that it was six months in arrear in

“ If they were entirely to shut out all evidence of those acts of cruelty, what would the world say? what would be the opinion of mankind? It would astonish the surrounding nations, that the door should be shut upon the proof of cruelties, the bare recital of which had harrowed up the souls of all who had heard it. The character of the nation would suffer, the honour of their Lordships would be affected, if, when the Commons of England stood ready to prove the existence of barbarities that had disgraced the British name, and called for vengeance on the guilty heads of those who were in any degree instrumental in them, they should be stopped, and told that no evidence could be received in proof of those barbarities. A Noble Lord, deservedly high in the opinion of his Peers, had said, when he heard those savage cruelties detailed, that, compared with the *enormity* of them, all the articles of the impeachment weighed not a feather; that if the detail was founded in truth, no punishment could be too severe for whoever should be found to have had any part in exercising them.

“ The same Noble Lord, Mr. Burke observed, had said, that if the Hon. Manager did not make good this most horrid of all charges, he ought to pass for the most daring calumniator.

“ Upon that issue, said Mr. Burke, I am ready to put my character: suffer me to go into the proofs of those unparalleled barbarities; and if I do not establish them to the full conviction of this House and of all mankind, if I do not prove their immediate and direct relation to, and connexion with the system established by Mr. Hastings, then let me be branded as the boldest calumniator that ever dared to fix upon unspotted innocence the imputation of guilt.”

“ Earl Stanhope called Mr. Burke to order. His Lordship said, that the *time* of the House must not be wasted in arguments upon questions on which their Lordships had already decided.”

“ Mr. Burke said, that it was his object to save the *HONOUR* and the *CHARACTER* of their Lordships, and not their *TIME*: and it could not have entered his head, that whilst he was pursuing so great an object, he could be supposed to be wasting their *TIME*, which, though certainly precious, could not weigh a feather against their *HONOUR* and *CHARACTER*.

“ However, let that be as it might, he had done: he had endeavoured to rescue the character and justice of his country from obloquy; if those who had formerly provoked inquiry, if those who had said that the savage barbarities which he had detailed had no other existence than that which they derived from the malicious fertility of his imagination, if those who had said that he was bound to make good what he had charged, and that he would deserve the most opprobrious names if he did not afford Mr. Hastings an opportunity of doing away the impression which every part of the nation had received from the picture of the savage cruelties exercised by Deby Sing; if, he repeated, they now shrunk from the

August, 1782; that it was four months in arrear in BOOK VI  
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September of that year; that it continued between 1790.

inquiry for which they had before so loudly called, if they now called upon their Lordships to reject, and not listen to the proofs which they before had challenged him to bring, the fault was not with him; he had done his duty to his country, whose honour and justice had been outraged; to the House of Commons, who had sent him to their Lordships' bar to express their abhorrence of cruelties, and to point the vengeance of the law against those who had been instrumental in practising them; and he had done what he owed to himself, in offering to prove all that he had advanced on the subject, on pain of being branded, if he should fail in his proofs, as a bold and infamous calumniator.—‘ Upon the heads of others therefore (said he), and not upon those of the Commons of Great Britain, let the charge fall, that the justice of the country was not to have its victim. The Commons have shown their readiness to make good their charges.—But the defendant shrinks from the proof, and insists that your Lordships ought not to receive it.’

“ Mr. Law, with unexampled warmth, whether real, or assumed in consequence of instructions in his brief, we cannot pretend to say, replied to Mr. Burke. He said that the Right Hon. Manager felt bold, only because he knew the proof which he wanted to give *could* not be received; that, from the manner in which the charge was worded, their Lordships *could not*, if they *would*, admit them, without violating the clearest rules and principles of law. ‘ But (said he) let the Commons put the detail of those shocking cruelties into the shape of a charge which my client can meet, let them present them in that shape at your Lordships' bar, and then we will be ready to hear every proof that can be adduced. And if, when they have done that, the Gentleman for whom I am now speaking does not falsify every act of cruelty that the Honourable Managers shall attempt to prove upon him, MAY THE HAND OF THIS HOUSE AND THE HAND OF GOD LIGHT UPON HIM!’

“ After this ejaculation, delivered in a tone of voice not unlike that of the theatric hero, when he exclaims, ‘ Richard is hoarse with calling thee to battle!’—this part of the business ended.” History of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq., part iii. p. 54—56.

Beside what Mr. Burke had thus declared, Mr. Fox, in the speech in which he summed up the evidence on this article, said, “ The Counsel for the defendant had, upon this subject, invoked the judgment of their Lordships, and the vengeance of Almighty God, not on their own heads, but on the head of their client, if the enormities of Deby Sing, as stated by his Right Hon. Friend, should be proved and brought home to him. He knew not how the defendant might relish his part in this imprecation which the Counsel had made; but in answer to it, if the time should come when they were fairly permitted to come to the proof of those enormities, he would, in his turn, invoke the most rigorous justice of the

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four and five months in arrear till December; and that it was eight months in arrear on the following April, when it was completely paid up.

Noble Lords, and the full vengeance of Almighty God, not on the head of his Right Hon. Friend, but on his own, if he did not prove these enormities and bring them home to the defendant, in the way which his Right Hon. Friend had charged them upon him; and this he pledged himself to do, under an imprecation on himself, as solemn as the Counsel had invoked on their client." As these passages, and the passages from the introductory speech of Mr. Burke, have been presented to the reader, it is fair that he should also receive what Mr. Hastings said in his defence.

"I will not detain your Lordships by advertng, for any length, to the story told by the manager who opened the general charges relative to the horrid cruelties practised on the natives of Dhee Jumla by Deby Sing.—It will be sufficient to say, that the manager never ventured to introduce this story in the form of a charge, though pressed and urged to do so, in the strongest possible terms, both in and out of Parliament.—Mr. Paterson, on whose authority he relied for the truth of his assertions, and with whom, he said, he wished to go down to posterity, has had the generosity to write to my attorney in Calcutta, for my information, 'That he felt the sincerest concern to find his reports turned to my disadvantage, as I acted as might be expected from a man of humanity throughout all the transactions in which Deby Sing was concerned.'—Had the cruelties which the manager stated been really inflicted, it was not possible, as he very well knew at the time, to impute them, even by any kind of forced construction, to me.—My Lords, it is a fact that I was the first person to give Mr. Paterson an ill opinion of Deby Sing, whose conduct upon former occasions had left an unfavourable, and perhaps an unjust, impression upon my mind. In employing Deby Sing I certainly yielded up my opinion to Mr. Anderson and Mr. Shore, who had better opportunities of knowing him than I could have. In the course of the inquiry into his conduct he received neither favour nor countenance from me, nor from any Member of the Board. That inquiry was carried on principally when I was at Lucknow, and was *not* completed during my government, though it was commenced and continued with every possible solemnity, and with the sincerest desire, on my part, and on the part of my colleagues, to do strict and impartial justice. The result I have read in England; and it certainly appears that though the man was not entirely innocent, the extent of his guilt bore no sort of proportion to the magnitude of charges against him. In particular, it is proved that the most horrible of those *horrible* acts, so artfully detailed, and with such effect, in this place, *never were committed at all*.

"Here I leave the subject, convinced that every one of your Lordships must feel for the unparalleled injustice that was done to me by

The managers next proposed, that a letter of the Governor-General should be read, to prove that the plan which he himself had represented to the Court of Directors, as best, namely, to let the lands, especially the larger districts, to the ancient Zemindars, had been violated by himself, and violated by a preference given to persons not only of another description, but persons in the highest degree worthless and exceptionable. Mr. Law was again ready with his objections. The disconformity of the conduct of Mr. Hastings with his opinions was not in charge. On this occasion Mr. Burke made his celebrated declarations; First, That the efficiency of Impeachment was indispensable to give practical utility to the principles of the English constitution; the machinery of which without this particular spring would remain totally insufficient for the purposes of good government: Secondly, That the technical rules of pleading and evidence, set up by the lawyers, were, if sanctioned by the Lords, most completely sufficient to destroy the useful efficacy of impeachment. The Lords did sanction and confirm (Mr. Burke confessed and bewailed the fact) the technical rules of the lawyers. He was therefore bound by consistency to this important conclusion; That the English constitution remains but a delusive name; and affords no security for good government.<sup>1</sup>

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the introduction and propagation of *that atrocious calumny*." How far these allegations of a man in his own favour, who would not allow them to be submitted to proof, are entitled to weigh, is the question which remains.

<sup>1</sup> The words of Mr. Burke, as reported by the historian of the trial, are as follow: "At the revolution, the people had taken no other security for that preservation, and for the pure and impartial administration of justice,



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The Lords retired to their chamber to deliberate ; and, on their return, which was not till the succeeding day of the trial, announced, that it was not competent for the managers to produce the evidence proposed.

To show that the offices of Farmer of the revenue, and the Dewan, the latter of which was intended to be a check upon the former, were never united in one person, except in two of the instances in which Mr. Hastings received money, the following extract of a letter from Mr. Shore, President of the Committee of Revenue, to the Governor-General and Council, dated 2nd of November, 1784, was read : “ Raja Deby Sing was Farmer, Security, and the Dewan of Rungpore. The union of the two former offices in the same person requires no explanation, since the practice is very general, and is founded upon solid and obvious reasons. The investiture in the office of the Dewan, during the period in which he held the farm, is less common, but not without precedent ; for Raja Cullian Sing stood precisely in

than the responsibility of ministers and judges to the High Court of Parliament. An impeachment by the Commons was the mode of bringing them to justice, if the former should attempt any thing against the constitution, or the latter should corruptly lend themselves to measures calculated to set aside the government by law, or should attempt to pollute the source of public justice.

“ If in the pursuit of such criminals the Commons, who could have nothing in view but substantial justice, were to be stopped at every step by objections drawn from technical rules and forms of pleading, then would the greatest and most dangerous criminals escape the vengeance of offended justice ; parliamentary impeachments, which were the principal, if not the only security for the preservation of the constitution, would become nugatory and vain ; and the most corrupt ministers might, without check or control, pursue the most anti-constitutional career, unawed by responsibility, or an impeachment from which they could have nothing to fear.” History, ut supra, part iii. p. 58.

the same predicament with regard to the province of Behar.”

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The managers next adduced evidence, with respect to an offer made by the Vizir in the month of February, 1782, of a second present of ten lacs of rupees to Mr. Hastings. Mr. Hastings declined acceptance of the present, on his own account; and communicated the circumstance to the Council, who used endeavours to obtain the money for the Company.

Evidence was next adduced to prove that Mr. Hastings had remitted, through the East India Company, since his first elevation to the head of the government in Bengal, property in his own name to the amount of 238,757*l*.

Mr. Shore being examined whether Gunga Govind Sing was a fit person to be the Dewan, or principal executive officer of revenue, declared that, in his opinion, no native ought to have been employed in that situation. To the character of the natives, in general, he ascribed the highest degree of corruption and depravity.

Mr. Fox summed up the evidence, thus adduced on the sixth and on part of the seventh and fourteenth articles of impeachment, on the 7th and 9th of June, 1790, the sixty-eighth and sixty-ninth days of the trial. The Lords then adjourned to their chamber, and agreed to postpone the trial to the first Tuesday in the next session of parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Some incidents, which, during these proceedings,

<sup>1</sup> On this head of the proceedings, have been followed the printed Minutes of Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 1103—1301, and the Hist. of the Trial, *ut supra*, part iii.

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took place in the House of Commons, it is requisite briefly to mention. On the 11th of May, in conformity with a previous notice, Mr. Burke, after a speech in which he criticized severely the petitions of Mr. Hastings, who had bewailed the hardships of the trial, and complained of delays, though he himself, he affirmed, was the grand cause of delay, and appeared to have contrived the plan of making his escape by procrastination, moved two resolutions. First, that the House would authorize the managers to insist upon such alone of the articles as should appear to them most conducive in the present case to the satisfaction of justice: Secondly, that the House was bound to persevere till a judgment was obtained upon the articles of principal importance. The minister supported the first of the motions, but the other, as unnecessary, he thought the manager ought not to press. Mr. Fox laid the cause of delay upon the obstructions to the receipt of evidence, particularly the want of publicity in the deliberations upon the questions of evidence in the House of Lords; because every decision, unaccompanied with reasons, was confined to a solitary case; and all other cases were left as uncertain and undecided as before. Some days after these proceedings, appeared, in one of the newspapers, a letter, signed by Major Scott, containing a short review of the trial, and animadverting with great severity upon the managers; treating it as no better than a crime, and indeed a crime of the deepest dye, to have prosecuted so meritorious an individual as Mr. Hastings at all; but a still greater enormity not long ago to have closed all proceedings against him. Of this publication complaint was made in the

House of Commons. The author, as a member of the House, was heard in his defence. The letter was treated as a libel on the managers, and a violation of the privileges of the House. The minister admitted the truth of these allegations ; but urged, with great propriety, That the House had exceedingly relaxed its practice, in restraining the publication either of its proceedings, or censures bestowed upon them ; that the common practice of the House formed a sort of rule, a rule to which every man had a right to look, and which he had a right to expect should not be violated in his particular case : that under a law, formed by custom, or fallen partially into desuetude, no individual instance ought to be selected for punishment if it was not more heinous than those which were commonly overlooked ; and, on these principles, that the present offence, though it might require some punishment, required, at any rate, a very gentle application of that disagreeable remedy. The managers were more inclined for severity. Mr. Burke made an important declaration : “ That he was not afraid of the liberty of the press ; neither was he afraid of its licentiousness ; but he avowed that he was afraid of its venality.” He then made an extraordinary averment, that 20,000*l.* had been expended in the publication of what he called, “ Mr. Hastings’s libels.” It was finally agreed, that the offender should be reprimanded by the speaker in his place.

Before the time appointed by the House of Lords for resuming the business of the trial, the parliament was dissolved. This gave birth to a question, whether a new parliament could proceed with the

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impeachment; and whether a proceeding of that description did not abate or expire with the parliament which gave it birth. The new parliament assembled on the 25th of November, 1790; and on the 30th, the subject was started by Mr. Burke, who exhibited reasons for proceeding with the trial, but intimated his suspicion that a design was entertained in the House of Lords to make the incident of a new parliament a pretext for abating the impeachment. On the 9th of December, a motion was brought forward, that on that day se'ennight the House should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the state in which the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq. was left at the dissolution of the last parliament. In opposition to this motion it was proposed, that the House should determine a more limited question, whether or not it would go on with the impeachment. Mr. Pitt was of opinion, that it was not fit to wave a question respecting an important privilege of the House, when that privilege was called in question. The original motion was therefore carried. On the day appointed for the Committee, the motion that the Speaker do leave the chair was opposed by allegations of the excellence of the conduct of Mr. Hastings, and the hardships to which he had been exposed, by the length of the trial, and the asperity of the managers. Mr. Pitt said, the question to which these arguments applied was the question whether it was proper in the House to go on with the impeachment. He wished another question to be previously, and solemnly decided, whether it had a *right* to go on with it. Mr. Burke said, that gentlemen seemed afraid of a difference

with the House of Lords. For his part, " he did not court—fools only would court, such a contest. But they who feared to assert their rights, would lose their rights. They who gave up their right for fear of having it resisted, would by and by have no right left." The motion was carried after a long debate. On the 22nd, the business was resumed, on the question, whether the trial of Warren Hastings was pending or not. The debate lasted for two days. The minister, and by his side Mr. Dundas, joined with the managers in maintaining the uninterrupted existence of the trial. Almost all the lawyers in the House, Mr. Erskine among them, contended vehemently that the dissolution of parliament abated the impeachment. This brought forth some strictures upon the profession, which formed the most remarkable feature of the debate. Mr. Burke said, that " he had attentively listened to every thing that had been advanced for and against the question ; and he owned he was astonished to find, that the lawyers had not brought a single particle of instruction with them for the use of those that were laymen. One learned gentleman had given the solution, by confessing that he was not at *home* in that House. The same might be said of most of his brethren. They were birds of a different class, and only perched on that House, in their flight towards another. Here they rested their tender pinions, still fluttering to be gone, with coronets before their eyes. They were like the Irishman, who, because he was only a passenger in the ship, cared not how soon she foundered." Mr. Grant said, the great zeal for *Parliamentary Law*, and *Constitutional Law*, always forced into his

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mind the adage, *latet anguis in herba*. They were wide grasping phrases, admirably calculated to promote, without confessing, a design of acting agreeably to arbitrary will. Mr. Fox was very pointed in his strictures on the professors of the law. “If to their knowledge of the law,” he said, “the lawyers were to add some regard to the constitution, it would be no great harm. He saw the high necessity of impeachments, not so much to check ministers, as to check the courts of justice. Suppose our judges were like some of those in the reign of Charles the Second. Where was our remedy, if not in impeachment? If that great instrument of safety was made inefficient, we should have no law, no justice, not even a *scintilla* of liberty. He reprobated the gentlemen of the long robe for having, as it were, conspired to oppose the motion. When he saw a corps of professional people, a knot of lawyers, a band of men, all animated with *l’esprit du corps*, setting themselves against the liberty of the subject, and the best means of supporting the constitution, he should say it was worse than the Popish plot in Charles the Second’s time, if any Popish plot did then exist.” Mr. Burke said, “he wished the country to be governed by law, but not by lawyers.” The motion was finally carried by a great majority.

The business was not resumed till the 14th of February 1791, when it was moved by Mr. Burke, that the House should proceed with the impeachment. In a long speech he endeavoured to obviate the prejudices which were now generally disseminated, as if the measure was operating upon the defendant with cruelty and oppression. “It had

been argued," he said, " that the trial had lasted a long time, and that the very length of it was a sufficient reason why it should cease ; but if protraction was admitted as a substantial reason for putting an end to a penal investigation, he who committed the greatest crimes would be surest of an acquittal ; and mankind would be delivered over to the oppression of their governors ; provinces to their plunder, and treasuries to their disposal."—" False compassion aimed a stroke at every moral virtue." He affirmed that the managers were chargeable with none of the delay. Though the quantity of the matter was unexampled, a small number of days had been employed in hearing the speeches they made, or the evidence which they tendered. For all the rest any body in the world was responsible rather than they. He then displayed the great and numerous difficulties which had been thrown in the way of the prosecution : and asked if the House " had forgotten, there was such a thing as the *Indian interest* ; which had penetrated into every department of the constitution, and was felt from the Needles, at the Isle of Wight, to John o'Grot's House !" He then complained of the extraordinary obstructions raised " by certain professors of the law, whose confined and narrow mode of thinking, added to their prejudices, made them enemies to all impeachments, as an encroachment on the regular line of practice in the courts below." Yet, notwithstanding the importance of these considerations, that he might comply with the spirit of the times, he should propose, that the managers proceed no further than to one other article ; that on contracts, pensions, and allowances ;



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which, as Mr. Hastings had defended the acceptance of presents, by alleging the pecuniary wants of the Company, and as the proof of this article would show that where poverty was pretended, profusion had prevailed, was an article, necessary to complete the proof of the offences, which were charged under the previous head of accusation. After a long debate, in which nothing of particular moment occurred, the several motions for proceeding in the impeachment so limited and reduced, were put and carried.

When the intention of the Commons to proceed with the impeachment was announced to the Lords a committee was formed to search the journals for precedents. The question was at last debated on the 20th of May. The only circumstance of much importance, in the debate, was one of the arguments employed by the Lord Chancellor to prove that impeachments abated by the dissolution of parliament. They abated he said, because one of the parties to the prosecution, namely, the Commons, became extinct. If it were alleged that the whole people of England were the real prosecutors, as the acts of the Lower House of Parliament were the acts of the people, he had two things to reply. The first was that the acts of the House of Commons could not be regarded as the acts of the people of England because the House of Commons did not *actually* represent the people of England; it represented them no more than virtually. The next thing was, that their Lordships' House of Parliament knew nothing about the people, as an acting body in the state they knew only the House of Commons, the acts of which, he had shown, were not the acts of the people

The people, therefore, were not parties to an im-  
 peachment. Lord Loughborough attempted to  
 answer this argument; but, as he produced  
 nothing which refuted the assertion, that the House  
 of Commons did not represent the people of England,  
 did not, in any such sense represent them, as could  
 allow it with truth to be said that the acts of that  
 House were the acts of the people; so he said  
 nothing which bore with any force upon the point,  
 till he came to allege that the people had the power  
 of insurrection. "Let not their Lordships," he said,  
 "act incautiously with regard to the popular part of  
 the constitution! Let them look about them, and be  
 warned! Let them not deny that the people were  
*any thing*; lest they should compel them to think  
 that they were *every thing*."

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On the unfitness of the constitution to produce  
 good government, unless impeachment existed in a  
 state of real efficiency, Lord Loughborough followed  
 Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke. Without this, "it would  
 be impossible to get at a bad minister, let his misde-  
 meanours and crimes be ever so enormous: Our  
 much-boasted constitution would lose one of its best  
 securities; and ministerial *responsibility* would be-  
 come merely nominal." In other words, it would  
 have no existence; we should have, instead of it, an  
 impostrous pretence. Mr. Burke, however, and Mr.  
 Fox asserted; and no one who understands the facts  
 can honestly dispute; that the mischievous rules of  
 evidence and procedure set up by the lawyers, and  
 sanctioned by the Lords, make impeachment effec-  
 tual, not for the punishment of the guilty, but their  
 escape. That the constitution of England is inade-

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quate to the purposes of good government; as no improvement in that respect has since taken place; is, therefore, the recorded opinion of three at least of the most eminent men of the last generation. After a long debate, it was finally agreed, that the impeachment was depending; and that on the 23rd the House would resume proceedings in Westminster Hall.

The Lords having taken their places, and the usual preliminaries performed, Mr. St. John was heard to open the fourth article of the impeachment; that in which was charged the crime of creating influence, or of forming dependants, by the corrupt use of public money.

Under this head of the trial, the material incidents are few.

The topic of influence was of a more extensive application, than the question relating to Mr. Hastings, or than all the questions relating to India taken together. On this subject, to which the most important question respecting the actual state of the British constitution immediately belongs, Mr. St. John laid down the following doctrines: "That all the checks of the constitution, against the abuse of power, would be weak and inefficient, if rulers might erect prodigality and corruption into a system for the sake of *influence*: That public security was founded on public virtue, on morals, and on the love of liberty: That a system which tended to set public virtue to sale, to pluck up morals by the roots, and to extinguish the flame of liberty in the bosoms of men, could not be suffered to escape punishment, without imminent peril to the public weal." Whether

Mr. Hastings was guilty or not guilty of creating that influence, remained to be proved: That it tends more than almost any other crime to deprive the people of England of the benefits of good government, it is impossible not to perceive.

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As soon as the opening speech was concluded, Mr. Hastings rose. As the length of his address is moderate, and as it affords a specimen of the manner in which Mr. Hastings demeaned himself to the Lords, its insertion will be repaid by the instruction which it yields.

“ My Lords,

“ I shall take up but a very few minutes of your time ; but what I have to say, I hope, will be deemed of sufficient importance to justify me in requesting that you will give me so much attention. A charge of having wasted 584,000*l.* is easily made, where no means are allowed for answering it. It is not pleasant for me, from week to week, from month to month, from year to year, to hear myself accused of crimes, many of them of the most atrocious dye, and all represented in the most shocking colours, and to feel that I never shall be allowed to answer them. In my time of life—in the life of a man already approaching very near to its close, four years of which his reputation is to be traduced and branded to the world, is too much. I never expect to be allowed to come to my defence, nor to hear your Lordships’ judgment on my trial. I have long been convinced of it, nor has the late resolution of the House of Commons, which I expected to have heard announced to your Lordships here, afforded me the least glimpse of hope, that the termination of my



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trial is at all the nearer. My Lords, it is now four years complete since I first appeared at your Lordships' bar; nor is this all; I came to your bar with a mind sore from another inquisition, in another place, which commenced, if I may be allowed to date it from the impression of my mind, on the day I arrived in this capital, on my return to England after thirteen years' service. On that day was announced the determination of the House of Commons, for arraigning me for the whole of my conduct: I have been now accused for six years; I now approach very near (I do not know whether my recollection fails me) to sixty years of age, and can I waste my life in sitting here from time to time arraigned, not only arraigned, but tortured with invectives of the most virulent kind? I appeal to every man's feelings, whether I have not borne many things, that many even of your Lordships could not have borne, and with a patience that nothing but my own innocence could have enabled me to show. As the House of Commons have declared their resolution, that for the sake of speedy justice (I think that was the term) they had ordered their managers to close their proceedings on the article which has now been opened to your Lordships, and to abandon the rest, I now see a prospect which I never saw before, but which it is in your Lordships' power alone to realize, of closing this disagreeable situation, in which I have been so long placed; and however I may be charged with the error of imprudence, I am sure I shall not be deemed guilty of disrespect to your Lordships in the request which I make; that request is, that your Lordships

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will be pleased to grant me that justice which every man, in every country in the world, free or otherwise, has a right to; that where he is accused he may defend himself, and may have the judgment of the court on the accusations that are brought against him. I therefore do pray your Lordships, notwithstanding the time of the year (I feel the weight of that reflection on my mind), but I pray your Lordships to consider not the unimportance of the object before you, but the magnitude of the precedent which every man in this country may bring home to his own feelings, of a criminal trial suspended over his head for ever; for in the history of the jurisprudence of this country, I am told (and I have taken some pains to search, and, as far as my search has gone, it has been verified) there never yet was an instance of a criminal trial that lasted four months, except mine, nor even one month, excepting one instance, an instance drawn from a time and situation of this government, which I hope will be prevented from ever happening again. My Lords, the request I have to make to your Lordships is, that you will be pleased to continue the session of this court till the proceedings shall be closed, I shall be heard in my defence, and your Lordships shall have proceeded to judgment. My Lords, it is not an acquittal that I desire; that will rest with your Lordships, and with your own internal conviction. I desire a defence, and I desire a judgment, be that judgment what it will. My Lords, I have bowed, I have humbled myself before this court, and I have been reproached for it. I am not ashamed to bow before an authority to which I owe submission, and

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for which I feel respect that excites it as a willing oblation from me. I now again, with all humility, present myself a subject of your justice and humanity. I am not a man of apathy, nor are my powers of endurance equal to the tardy and indefinite operation of parliamentary justice. I feel it as a very cruel lot imposed on me, to be tried by one generation, and, if I live so long, to expect judgment from another; for, my Lords, are all the Lords present before whom I originally was tried? Are not many gone to that place to which we must all go? I am told that there is a difference of more than sixty in the identity of the judges before whom I now stand. My Lords, I pray you to free me from this prosecution, by continuing this trial till its close, and pronouncing a judgment during this session; if your Lordships can do it, I have a petition to that effect in my hand, which, if it is not irregular, I now wish to deliver to your Lordships."

There was exquisite adaptation, either with or without design, in the conduct of Mr. Hastings, to the circumstances in which he was placed. The tone of submission, not to say prostration, which he adopted towards the Court, was admirably suited to the feelings of those of whom it was composed. The pathetic complaints of hardship, of oppression, of delay, of obloquy, began when the tide of popular favour began to be turned successfully against the agents of the prosecution; and they increased in energy and frequency, in proportion as odium towards the managers, and favour towards himself, became the predominant feeling in the upper ranks of the community.

This odium, and this favour, are not the least remarkable among the circumstances which this impeachment holds up to our view. During the trial, what had the managers done to merit the one; what had Mr. Hastings done, to merit the other? <sup>1</sup> Convinced, for it would be absurd to suppose they were not convinced, that they had brought a great criminal to the judgment seat, they had persevered with great labour to establish the proof of his guilt. Mr. Hastings had suffered a great expense; and at that time, it could not be known that he had suffered any thing more than expense. The necessity of labour and

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<sup>1</sup> There were abundant reasons why the sentiments of the people should have undergone a change. The managers, after long declamatory harangues, which had "harrowed up the souls" of a tender-hearted public, had proved—nothing. It was impossible that the people should not feel some resentment at the fraud thus practised upon their sympathies. Then so many instances of undignified violence had been exhibited by Burke in particular, the prime mover of the whole—both in Parliament, and in Westminster Hall, that it was generally felt there was more of personal vindictiveness in his proceedings against Hastings, than a patriotic or philosophical vindication of the principles of good government. The undeniable hardship, inflicted upon Hastings by the state of anxiety in which he was so long kept, and the expense he was compelled to incur, were other claims upon the indulgence of the nation. It is argued in the text, that of these two the expense alone was certain; as if equal certainty does not attach to the anxiety. It was not a question of mere labour and attendance; guilty or innocent, anxiety is the necessary condition of every person accused of crime: the guilty man has much more cause to fear conviction than to hope for escape, and the innocent man has cause to apprehend that in the passions of his adversaries, the misconceptions of interested persons, and the fallibility of human judgment, his innocence may not be his safety. From anxiety, the prosecutors of Hastings were comparatively free—it mattered little to them what might be the result. Their expenses were paid by the nation. The contrast of their position, with that of Hastings, could not fail to strike the most unobservant, especially when it had been continued for a protracted period—and naturally awoke sentiments of compassion for one exposed to so unequal a contest. Sympathy with him, necessarily begot disfavour for his opponents, and time has justified popular feeling.—W.



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attendance was common to him with his accusers.  
1791. As for suspense, where a man is guilty, the feeling connected with it may be a feeling not of pain but of pleasure; a feeling of hope that he may escape. To a man who is sure to be condemned, delay may be a benefit. The innocent man alone is he to whom it is necessarily injurious: and the innocence of Mr. Hastings was not yet decreed.

Of the causes of the odium incurred by the managers, and the favour acquired by the defendant, I am unable to render a perfect account. There is much of secret history connected with it, which it is not possible to establish, on evidence which history can trust. This much may be said, for it rests on public grounds: The managers brought a great deal of rhetoric, with papers and witnesses, to the trial; and seemed unhappily to think that rhetoric, papers, and witnesses were enough: They brought not much knowledge of those grand pervading principles which constitute the moral and rational standard of all that ought to be law, and on which they might have grounded themselves steadfastly and immoveably in defiance of the lawyers: And they brought little dexterity; so that the lawyers were able to baffle, and insult, and triumph over them, at almost every turn. After the prosecution was rendered unpopular, the intemperance of the tone and language of Mr. Burke operated strongly as a cause of odium; yet it is remarkable, that when that same intemperance was speedily after carried to greater excess, and exerted in a favourite direction, that is, against the reformers in France, it became, with the very same class of persons, an object of the highest admiration

and love.<sup>1</sup> The favour with which the cause of Mr. Hastings was known to be viewed in the highest family in the kingdom, could not be without a powerful effect on a powerful class. The frequency with which decisions and speeches, favourable to him, were made in the House of Lords; the defence which he received from the great body of the lawyers; the conversation of a multitude of gentlemen from India, who mixed with every part of society;<sup>2</sup> the uncommon industry and skill with which a great number of persons, who openly professed themselves the agents or friends of Mr. Hastings, worked, through the press, and other channels, upon the public mind; and, not least, the disfavour which is borne to the exposure of the offences of men in high situations, in the bosom of that powerful class of society which furnishes the men by whom these situations are commonly filled; all these circumstances, united to others which are less known, succeeded, at last, in making it a kind of fashion, to take part with Mr. Hastings, and to rail against the accusers.

In the present speech of Mr. Hastings, and the petition which it echoed, it surely was, on his part, an extraordinary subject of complaint, that, between

<sup>1</sup> The intemperate vehemence of Burke does not constitute his claim in this instance to love or admiration; but his intemperance when he thought the whole frame of society in danger, was much more venial than when it aimed to crush an individual. Had, however, Burke's views of the French revolution been characterized by no prudent patriotism, no prophetic foresight, they would not have been entitled to admiration, merely as specimens of impetuous eloquence.—W.

<sup>2</sup> This is one of the strongest proofs that could have been adduced of Hastings's merits. Had he been the corrupt, base, cruel, tyrannical monster that Burke depicted him, "the conversation of a multitude of gentlemen from India," would have been of all things least likely to clear his reputation.—W.

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1791. the delivery of the accusations, and the delivery of his defence, a long period had intervened : When the managers had from the beginning most earnestly contended that, immediately, after each of the accusations, he should make his defence upon each ; and he himself had insisted, and victoriously insisted, that he should not.

Of the delay, one part was owing to the nature of the charges and the nature of the evidence ; the one comprehensive, the other voluminous. This was inseparable from the nature of the cause. The rest, a most disgraceful portion, was owing to the bad constitution of the tribunal, and its bad rules of procedure ; causes of which Mr. Hastings was very careful not to insinuate a complaint. The whole odium of the accusation fell, as it was intended to fall, upon the managers, to whom, unless guilty of delay, which was never alleged, in bringing forward the evidence, not a particle of blame under this head belonged.

When Mr. Hastings desired to represent the hardship as unparalleled in his native country of remaining under trial during four years ; he was very little informed of the dreadful imperfections of the law of that country, and of the time which any poor man, that is the far greater number of men, is liable to remain, not in the enjoyment of freedom and every comfort which wealth can bestow : but in the most loathsome dungeons, without bread sufficient to eat, or raiment to put on, before trial begins, and after acquittal is pronounced. In that last and most cruel state of human suffering, there was at that time no limit to the number of years, during which, without

guilt, or imputation of guilt, a man (as a debtor) might remain.<sup>1</sup>

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To prove that Mr. Hastings had created *influence*, to ensure to himself by the misapplication of the public money a corrupt support, five instances were adduced: a contract of opium, granted to Mr. Sullivan; an illegal traffic in opium, for the alleged purpose of remitting money of creatures and dependants; undue allowances granted to Sir Eyre Coote; a contract for bullocks; and two contracts for grain. The two cases to which the greatest suspicion attaches are the opium contract; and the money given to Sir Eyre Coote.

With regard to the contract, the facts are shortly these. Mr. Sullivan was the son of the Chairman of the Court of Directors: He was a very young man, with little experience in any of the affairs of India, and no experience in the business of opium at all: The Court of Directors ordained, that all contracts should be for one year only, and open to competition: The opium contract was given to Mr. Sullivan without competition, by private bargain, and not for one year only, but four: Mr. Sullivan possessed the office of Judge Advocate; he was further appointed Secretary to Mr. Hastings, and attended him on his journey to the Upper Provinces: He could not therefore attend to the business of the contract, and he sold it: He sold it to Mr. Benn for a sum of about 40,000*l.*: Mr. Benn sold it to Mr. Young for 60,000*l.*: And Mr. Young confessed that he made from it an ample profit. From these facts the managers in-

<sup>1</sup> The defective condition of the law in regard to others, was no alleviation of the hardship which Hastings himself suffered.—W.



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ferred, that the contract was given at an unfair price to Mr. Sullivan, for enabling the son of the Chairman to make a fortune, and Mr. Hastings to ensure the father's support. "It was melancholy," they said, "to see the first Officer of the Company at home, and their first Officer abroad, thus combining in a system of corruption, and sharing the plunder between them."

The facts adduced on the other side were ; that the rule of forming the opium contract for one year, and openly, had long been dispensed with, and for good reasons, with the consent of Mr. Francis himself; that a more favourable bargain was not granted to Mr. Sullivan than to his predecessor ; and that Mr. Benn and Mr. Young owed their profits to their own peculiar knowledge of the business.

The question however is not yet answered, why it was given to a man, who it was known could not keep it ; and who could desire it only for the purpose of selling it again with a profit ; when it might have been sold to the best purchaser at once.

In the case of Sir Eyre Coote, the following were the facts : "That 16,000*l.* per annum was the pay allowed him by the Company, and ordered to stand in lieu of all other emoluments: that it was of great importance to the Governor-General to obtain his support in the Council, of the votes of which he would then possess a majority: that shortly after his arrival, a proposition, introduced by himself, and supported by the Governor-General, was voted in the Council, for granting to him, over and above the pay to which he was restricted by the Court of Directors, a sum exceeding 18,000*l.* per annum,

under the name of expenses in the field: that the General began immediately to draw this allowance, though in a time of peace, under the pretence of visiting the stations of the army: that the burden was speedily shifted from the shoulders of the Company, to those of the Nabob Vizir, by the General's arrival to visit the stations of the army in Oude: that the face put upon the matter was, to charge the payment of the allowances upon the Vizir, only while the General was in the territory; but that in fact they never were taken off so long as the General lived: that the Court of Directors condemned these allowances: but this condemnation was disregarded, and the allowances paid as before.

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The facts operating in favour of Mr. Hastings were; that General Stibbert, when acting as Commander-in-chief only for a time, had, partly by the orders of the Court of Directors, partly by the liberality of the Governor-General in Council, received an allowance of about 12,000*l.* for his expenses in the field: that Sir Eyre Coote represented an allowance equal to that received by General Stibbert, as absolutely necessary to save him from loss, when subject to the expenses of the field: that, notwithstanding the treaty, expressly confining the demands of the English government upon the Vizir to the expense of one battalion of troops, he did in fact pay for more, because more were by his consent employed in his country, the whole expense of which (and the field allowance to the General when at those stations of the troops were stated as part of that expense) he was called upon to defray.

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Mr. Hastings further alleged, that this sum was paid with great cheerfulness by the Vizir, even after the General left the territory of Oude; that the General was soon after called to Madras to oppose Hyder Ali; that his death was evidently approaching; and that it would have been imprudent to make him throw up the service in disgust, by telling him that the Court of Directors condemned the allowance, when he alone could save the British interests in India from that destruction with which they were threatened by Hyder.

Upon the comparison of these facts, the following questions remain unanswered: why not postpone the allowance till the Directors were consulted? Why give the General 6,000*l.* per annum more than he asked? Why make the allowance to General Stibbert, whose pay was only 7500*l.* per annum, a rule for a man whose pay was 16,000*l.*, and who was expressly declared to have received that large amount in lieu of all other emoluments? It is further, in plain language to be declared (for this practice of governments cannot be too deeply stamped with infamy,) that it was hypocrisy, and hypocrisy in its most impudent garb, to hold up the consent of the Nabob, as a screen against condemnation and punishment: when it is amply proved that the Nabob had not a will of his own: but waited for the commands of the Governor-General, to know what, on any occasion that interested the Governor-General, he should *say* that he wished. When the Governor-General wished to lay upon the Vizir the expense of a greater portion of the Company's army, than was contracted for by treaty, what could he do?

He knew it was better for him to submit than to contest; and if so, it was evidently his interest to afford to the transaction any colour which the Governor-General might suggest, or which it was easy to see would best answer his purposes. Cheerfully paid by the Nabob! No doubt. We have seen the Nabob eager to make presents; presents of one sum, after another, of a hundred thousand pounds, to the great man on whom depended the favour he hoped, or the disfavour he dreaded; at the time when he was complaining that his family were unprovided with bread. At the very time when he is said to have cheerfully paid nearly two lacs of rupees per annum to Sir Eyre, he was writing to the Governor-General the most pathetic descriptions of the misery to which he was reduced by the exactions of the English government; and declaring that "the knife had now penetrated to the bone." But by what power was this eagerness to bribe the powerful servants of the Company produced? Could it be regarded, in any sense, as a voluntary act, the fruit of benevolence and friendship? Was it not extorted by what may truly be denominated the torture of his dependence; the terror of those evils which he contemplated in the displeasure of his masters? It is infamous to speak of presents from a man, in such a situation, as *free* gifts. No robbery is more truly coercion.

Again: the allegation that Sir Eyre Coote would have deserted his post, as a soldier, and abandoned his country in a moment of extreme exigency, upon a question of 18,000*l.* per annum; stamps with infamy, either the character of that General, if it



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— was true, and it is not without appearances to support it; or that of Mr. Hastings, if it was false.

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On the rest of the transactions, charged in this article as acts of delinquency, the explanations of Mr. Hastings left so few points for suspicion remaining, that, as the facts in themselves are not material to the history, the description of them would be of little advantage.

On the 30th of May, 1791, and the seventy-third day of the trial, Sir James St. Clair Erskine was heard to sum up the evidence upon the fourth article of impeachment. “Then the managers for the Commons informed the House, that, saving to themselves all their undoubted rights and privileges, the Commons were content to rest their charge here.” Mr. Hastings made an humble address to the court, and alluding to his last petition which yet lay upon the table unconsidered, he implored that, if the prayer of that petition was not complied with, he might be allowed to appear, at least, one day at their Lordships’ bar, before the end of the present session. The Lords adjourned, and sent a message to the Commons, from their own house, that they would sit again on the 2nd of June. The next day, in the House of Lords, a motion, grounded upon a letter of Mr. Hastings, requiring only fourteen days for the time of his defence, was made by one of the peers, for an address to the King that he would not prorogue the parliament, till the conclusion of the trial. The proposition of Mr. Hastings to confine his defence to any number of days, was treated by Lord Grenville as absurd. How could Mr. Hastings

know what questions would arise upon evidence, and how much time their Lordships might require to resolve them; business which had occupied the principal part of the time that had already been spent? How could he know what time the Commons might require for their evidence, and speeches in reply? How could he know what time their Lordships the Judges would require for deliberation on the evidence which they had heard? The motion was rejected.<sup>1</sup>

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On the 2nd of June, the seventy-fourth day of the trial, Mr. Hastings read a written paper, containing his defence. As far as the matter of it was any thing in answer to the facts which have been charged as criminal, or tends to the demonstration of innocence, it has either been already adduced, when the fact or the charge was exhibited; or will hereafter be stated when the evidence is brought forward on which the allegation was grounded. One or two incidents it is instructive to mention.

Mr. Hastings declared, in the beginning of his paper; that if his judges would only then come to a decision, he would wave all defence. He risked nothing by this proposition; to which he well knew that the Lords would not consent. But he gained a great deal by the skill with which his declaration insinuated the hardship of delay.

It is observable that most of the ill-favoured acts of Mr. Hastings's administration, the extermination of the Rohillas, the expulsion of Cheyte Sing, the seizure of the lands and treasures of the Begums, and the ac-

<sup>1</sup> On this article of charge, see printed Minutes of Evidence, ut supra, p. 1303—1458; History of Trial, ut supra, part iv. p. 64—80.

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ceptance of presents, were all for the acquisition of money. Though Mr. Hastings insisted, that all these acts were severally justifiable in themselves, without the plea of state necessity, yet state necessity, the urgent wants of the Company, are given, as the grand impelling motive which led to the adoption of every one of them. They are exhibited by Mr. Hastings, as acts which saved the Company, acts, without which, according to him, the Company must have perished.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of his defence, he rises to a most exulting strain :

“To the Commons of England, in whose name I am arraigned for *desolating the provinces of their dominion in India*, I dare to reply, that they are, and their representatives annually persist in telling them so, the most flourishing of all the States in India—It was I who made them so.

“The valour of others acquired, I enlarged, and gave shape and consistency to the dominion which you hold there; I preserved it; I sent forth its armies with an effectual, but economical hand through unknown and hostile regions, to the support of your other possessions; to the retrieval of one from degradation and dishonour: and of the other from utter loss and subjection. I maintained the wars which were your formation, or of that of

<sup>1</sup> He asserted, “The resources of India cannot, in time of war, meet the expenses of India.” He denied that loans could be obtained: “I could not borrow to the utmost extent of my wants, during the late war, and tax posterity to pay the interest of my loans. The resources to be obtained by loans (those excepted for which bills upon the Company were granted,) failed early in my administration, and will fail much earlier in Lord Cornwallis’s.”

others *not of mine*. I won one member<sup>1</sup> of the great Indian Confederacy from it by an act of seasonable restitution; with another<sup>2</sup> I maintained a secret intercourse, and converted him into a friend: a third<sup>3</sup> I drew off by diversion and negotiation, and employed him as the instrument of peace—When you cried out for peace, and your cries were heard by those who were the object of it, I resisted this, and every other species of counteraction, by rising in my demands; and accomplished a peace, and I *hope everlasting* one, with one great state;<sup>4</sup> and I at least afforded the efficient means by which a peace, if not so durable, more seasonable at least, was accomplished with another.<sup>5</sup>

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“I gave *you all*, and you have rewarded me with *confiscation, disgrace, and a life of impeachment.*”

The House having heard his address, adjourned to the chamber of parliament, where it was determined they should proceed with the impeachment on the first Tuesday in the next session of parliament.

On the 14th day of February, 1792, and the seventy-fifth day of the trial, the court was next assembled. Mr. Law, the leading counsel for Mr. Hastings, began to open the defence. The length of the trial, the toils of the Lords in sustaining the burden of judges, the sufferings of the prisoner under the evils of delay, of misrepresentation, of calumny, and insult, were now become favourite and successful topics, well remembered both by Mr. Hastings and

<sup>1</sup> The Nizam.

<sup>2</sup> Moodajee Bonsla.

<sup>3</sup> Madajee Sindia.

<sup>4</sup> The Mahrattas.

<sup>5</sup> Tippoo Sultan.



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his counsel. A mischievous prejudice was hatched ; that of all these evils, the prosecution itself was the cause ; as if crimes of the nature of those imputed to Mr. Hastings, were crimes of which it is easy to establish the proof ; as if the prosecution of such crimes, apt to be the most hurtful of all crimes, were an evil, not a good ; as if those by whom that service is powerfully and faithfully rendered were among the enemies, not the greatest benefactors of mankind ! Mr. Hastings, it may be said, committed no crimes. Be it so. Yet it will not be disputed that he committed acts which looked so much like crimes, that it was fit in the House of Commons to send them, as it did, to their trial ; it was fit in the managers to adduce such evidence as they believed would make known the fact ; to accompany that evidence with such observations as they thought best adapted to discover its application and force ; and to resist such attempts as they conceived were made to prevent the exhibition and accurate appreciation of evidence, and hence the disclosure and conviction of guilt. Whatever time was necessary for this, was legitimately and meritoriously bestowed. It has not been attempted to be proved, that the managers consumed one instant of time that was not employed in these necessary functions. The number of hours so consumed was not great. Of all the rest, the court and the defendant were the cause ; and upon the delay, which they themselves produced, they laboured to defame, or acted in such a manner as had the effect of defaming, the prosecution of all complicated offences ; in other words, of creating impunity for the whole class of great and powerful offenders.

Though blame, and even ridicule, and insult, had

been bestowed upon the managers, for the length of their speeches, Mr. Law consumed three whole days with the speech in which he made the general opening of the defence. After he had finished, Mr. Plomer commenced on the first article of impeachment, the charge relating to Benares; and with his speech he occupied five days. It was not till the 1st of May, and the eighty-third day of the trial, that the defensive evidence began to be adduced. The mass of evidence given in defence was still greater than that presented by the managers. Appendix included, it occupies nearly twice as many pages as the printed minutes. Of this mass very little was new, excepting some parole evidence, chiefly intended to prove that there was disaffection, and preparations for rebellion, on the part of Cheyte Sing, before the arrival of Mr. Hastings at Benares. That evidence completely fails. That Mr. Hastings believed in nothing like rebellion, is evident from his conduct. Besides; would the proper punishment for rebellion have been a fine of fifty lacs?<sup>1</sup>

In making objections to evidence, the managers were only less active than Mr. Law. One thing may be said against them; and one thing for them. It was inconsistent in them to follow a course, which they had made a ground of complaint against their opponents. But as their opponents had seized the

<sup>1</sup> This is unfairly put, Hastings only talked of levying this fine, if not imposed. No overt act of rebellion had been committed, although disaffection was known to exist; and certainly there was no more effectual mode of preventing it from becoming dangerous, from being manifested at all, than a fine which should cripple the resources of the disaffected party. The fine was proposed as the punishment of disaffection, not of rebellion, as a preventive of rebellion, and after all it was only proposed, not levied.—W.

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benefit of a particular instrument, it would have been to place themselves, by their own act, in a state of inequality and disadvantage, had they refused to defend themselves by the same weapons with which they were assailed. There was no instance of exclusion which falls not under some of the heads, on which reflections have already been adduced.

Mr. Dallas, of Counsel for the defendant, was then heard to sum up the evidence on this head of the defence; and occupied the greatest part of three days with his speech. As soon as he had finished, the House adjourned to the chamber of parliament; and agreed to proceed in the trial on the first Tuesday in the next session of parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Though parliament re-assembled on the 13th of December, 1792, the House of Lords did not resume proceedings in trial till the 15th day of February, 1793. This was the ninety-sixth day of the trial. Mr. Law opened the defence, on the charge relative to the Begums of Oude, in a speech two days long. He began "with," says the historian of the trial, "a very affecting introduction; in which he stated that the situation of his oppressed client was such as, he believed, no human being, in a civilized nation, had ever before experienced; and which, he hoped, for the honour of human nature, no person would ever again experience." The moral was; that the prosecution which produced so much oppression was a wicked thing; that the managers, who were the authors of it, were the oppressors; and that the defendant, who bore the oppression, no mat-

<sup>1</sup> See, for this head of the trial, Minutes of Evidence, ut supra, p. 1465—1822; History of the Trial, part v.

ter for the allegations of his oppressors, deserved benevolence and support, not condemnation and punishment. In this lamentation, therefore, of the lawyer, the force of a multitude of fallacies, which his auditors, he knew, were well prepared to imbibe, was involved; and a variety of unjust and mischievous ideas, though not expressed, were effectually conveyed.

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Of the evidence tendered, on the part of the defence, the result has already been fully adduced. During the delivery of it only one incident occurred, of which the importance would compensate description. On the third of the days allotted to the delivery and receipt of the evidence, on which day the managers had been minute and tedious in their cross examination, Mr. Hastings made another address to the Court. The benefit derived from his former attempts, and from the pathetic exordiums of the Counsel, encouraged repetition. "He said it was with pain, with anxiety, but with the utmost deference, that he claimed to be indulged in a most humble request that he had to make; which request was, that their Lordships would, in their great wisdom, put as speedy a termination to this severe and tedious trial, as the nature of the case would admit." His expense, and the loss of witnesses by delay, were the hardships of which, on this occasion, he principally complained. He took special care, however, to inform the Court, that though "it was known there had been great and notorious delays; in no moment of vexation or impatience, had he imputed those delays to their Lordships."<sup>1</sup> True,

<sup>1</sup> History of the Trial, ut supra, part vi. p. 42.



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indeed! That would have been a course, most inconsistent with his kind of wisdom. On the 25th of April, the evidence was closed; Mr. Plomer began to sum it up; and continued his speech on the 30th of April, and the 2nd and 6th of May, the next three days of the trial.<sup>1</sup>

On the 9th of May, which was the 111th day of the trial, Mr. Dallas began to open the defence on as much as had been insisted upon by the managers, of the sixth, seventh, and fourteenth articles of impeachment. His speech continued four days. On the second day of the speech, when the Lords returned to the chamber of parliament, another petition was presented to them from Mr. Hastings, urging again the hardship of his case, and presenting a most humble prayer for the termination of his trial during the present session of parliament. Not satisfied with this; as soon as Mr. Dallas had brought his opening speech to a close, Mr. Hastings made a short address to the Court, which he read from a paper. Describing his state of suspense as “become almost insupportable,” he stated his resolution to abridge the matter of his defence, both on the above articles, and also the fourth, relating to influence, in such a manner, as to be able to deliver it in three days, that the managers for the Commons might have time to conclude their reply during the present session. With respect to a declaration, in this address, that, for eminent services to his country, he had been rewarded with injustice and ingratitude, Mr. Burke said, it was for the Lords to consider the

<sup>1</sup> Minutes, ut supra, p. 1823—2090; History, ut supra, part vi. p. 38—55.

propriety of such a speech, as applied by a culprit at their bar to the Commons of Great Britain; and he entered a caveat against the proposal of the defendant to deprive himself of any thing due to his defence; since he might thus be cunningly providing for himself a plea, that, had he not omitted his evidence, the proof of his innocence would have been rendered complete.

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Of the evidence brought forward under those several heads, the only material point, which has not been already presented to view, is that relating to the remittances of the defendant. It appeared that 238,757*l.* had been remitted through the Company in the name of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Woodman, his attorney, swore, that the greater part of this was remitted for other persons; and that the sum remaining in his hands, as the property of Mr. Hastings, at the time of his return, was 72,463*l.*

A large mass of attestations of good behaviour, and of plauditory addresses from India, were presented. But these proved only one of two things; either that the prisoner deserved them; or that the authors of them were under an influence sufficient to produce them without his deservings. That the latter was the case, there can be no doubt; whatever the fact in regard to the former. Sir Elijah Impey said, in a letter from India produced to the House of Commons, "that addresses are procured in England through influence, in India through force." Viewing the matter more correctly, we may decide that there is a mixture of the force and the influence in both places. And Mr. Burke justly described the people of India, when he said; "The people themselves, on whose behalf

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the Commons of Great Britain take up this remedial and protecting prosecution, are naturally timid. Their spirits are broken by the arbitrary power usurped over them; and claimed by the delinquent, as his law. They are ready to flatter the power which they dread. They are apt to look for favour, by covering those vices in the predecessor, which they fear the successor may be disposed to imitate. They have reason to consider complaints, as means, not of redress, but of aggravation, to their sufferings. And when they shall ultimately hear, that the nature of the British laws and the rules of its tribunals are such, as by no care or study, either they or even the Commons of Great Britain, who take up their cause, can comprehend, but which, in effect and operation, leave them unprotected, and render those who oppress them secure in their spoils, they must think still worse of British justice, than of the arbitrary power of the Company's servants. They will be for ever, what for the greater part they have hitherto been, inclined to compromise with the corruption of the magistrates, as a screen against that violence from which the laws afford them no redress."<sup>1</sup>

When the evidence was closed, instead of sum-

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Committee, of the House of Commons (which Committee were the managers) appointed 5th March, 1794, to report on certain matters in the impeachment of Mr. Hastings.—M. There can be no doubt that Hastings was the most popular of all the Governors of Bengal with the natives of the country; his name is still held in fresher recollection and in higher esteem than that of any other. The addresses, although they might have been suggested by influential persons, expressed the honest sentiments of the people. The mention of force is absurd, and the influence, whatever it may have been, was strictly private. Lord Cornwallis was not a governor likely to exercise or permit any interference with native feeling or principle by authority.—W.

ming it up by means of his Counsel, Mr. Hastings himself addressed the Court. The object was fourfold; First, to make, under an appeal to Heaven, a solemn asseveration, of having in no instance intentionally sacrificed his public trust to his private interest; Secondly, a similar asseveration, that Mr. Woodman received all the remittances which during the period of his administration he had made to Europe, and that at no time had his whole property ever amounted to more than 100,000*l.*; Thirdly, to make a strong representation of the great necessities of the state, for the relief of which he had availed himself of the irregular supplies for which he was accused; Fourthly, to charge the managers with a design to retard the decision on the trial till another year, and to entreat the Lords to resist them.

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Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox thought it necessary to take notice of the great freedom with which the defendant was at last emboldened to speak of the managers for the Commons; to repel the charge of procrastination so confidently thrown upon them; and to challenge the proof that one single moment of unnecessary delay had been created by them.

The defence was finished on Tuesday the 28th of May, 1793. On the return of the Lords to the chamber of parliament, they agreed, after a long discussion, to adjourn further proceedings on the trial till Wednesday se'nnight. When this resolution was communicated to the Commons, Mr. Burke addressed himself to the House. He first contended, that, considering the mass of evidence which it was necessary to digest, the time was not sufficient to prepare the reply. He next animadverted, in a style of severity,



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upon the appeals, made by Mr. Hastings to the House of Lords, and calculated to bring odium upon the House of Commons. A line of conduct had been pursued, which brought affronts upon the managers, the servants of the House. He said, that the managers had been calumniated.

In this, he alluded to an incident of rather an extraordinary nature. On the 25th of May, when Mr. Burke was cross-examining Mr. Auriol, and pushing the witness with some severity, and at considerable length, the Archbishop of York, who had already signalized his impatience during the cross-examinations performed by Mr. Burke, and whose son, Mr. Markham, had been in high employments under Mr. Hastings in India, "started up," says the historian of the trial, "with much feeling; and said it was impossible for him silently to listen to the illiberal conduct of the manager; That he examined the witness, as if he were examining, not a gentleman, but a pick-pocket: That the illiberality and the inhumanity of the managers, in the course of this long trial, could not be exceeded by Marat and Robespierre, had the conduct of the trial been committed to them." Mr. Burke, with great dignity and great presence of mind, replied, "I have not heard one word of what has been spoken, and I shall act as if I had not." Upon reading the printed minutes of the evidence with due care, I perceive that Mr. Burke treated the witness as an unwilling witness, which he evidently was; as a witness, who, though incapable of perjury, was yet desirous of keeping back whatever was unfavourable to Mr. Hastings, and from whom information unfavourable

to Mr. Hastings, if he possessed it, must be extorted by that sort of coercion which it is of the nature and to the very purpose of cross-examination to apply. Of the tones employed by Mr. Burke, the mere reader of the minutes cannot judge; but of the questions there set down, there is not one which approaches to indecorum, or makes one undue insinuation.<sup>1</sup> It was the right reverend prelate, therefore, who betrayed an intemperance of mind, which as ill accorded with the justice of the case, as with the decencies of either his judicial or his sacerdotal character.

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Alluding to that outrage, Mr. Burke said, that an investigation into the conduct of the managers was indispensable; that to render investigation answerable to its end, the utmost possible publicity should be given; and that for this purpose he should move for a committee of the whole House, before which he undertook to prove, that the managers had neither protracted the trial by unnecessary delay, nor shortened it to the frustration of justice.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer preferred a select committee to inquire and report; as a committee of the whole House would retard the business of the country. In this proposal all parties finally acquiesced, and the committee was formed.

<sup>1</sup> This may be doubted: there is one question which insinuates that Mr. Auriol had falsely sworn to ignorance of a present or peshcush paid by the Raja; he had denied having heard of it. The question was repeated more than once; and at last it is thus put. "Then do you say, upon your oath, of any such peshcush privately paid from Dinagepore in 1779, 1780, or 1781, whether you have heard of any peshcush privately received by Mr. Hastings in those years?" It is easy to conceive this urged in an insulting manner.—W.

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A discussion then took place, on a report of the words of the Archbishop, which had been published in one of the prints of the day. But, information being communicated that the prelate had just sustained a severe calamity in the loss of his daughter, the subject was dropped. Mr. Burke, with characteristic propriety, recommended to the House to overlook the offence of the dignified speaker, the real offender; but to prosecute the poor publisher, for a libel: Nobody attended to his wretched suggestion.

The next day, May the 29th, when the Lords were informed by a message from the Commons, that more time was required to prepare for the reply, they agreed to proceed with the trial on Monday se'nnight.

In the House of Commons, on the 30th, the report from the Committee was brought up; and a motion was made that a further day be desired to make the reply. A debate ensued; the House divided; and the motion was carried by a majority of more than two to one.

Mr. Burke then moved, "That the managers be required to prepare and lay before the House the state of the proceedings in the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq.; to relate the circumstances attending it, and to give their opinion, and make observations on the same, in explanation of those circumstances."

This motion was opposed by the friends of Mr. Hastings. "Mr. Burke," says the historian of the impeachment, "called loudly upon the justice of the House, either to dismiss him from their service as a

manager of this impeachment, or allow him to defend himself from the aspersions which had been thrown upon his character. Mr. Dundas thought it would be prudent in the Right Honourable Manager to withdraw his motion; though, if he persisted in it, he would give him his vote. He agreed perfectly with him, that the managers had great cause of complaint. But he trusted it would not be so in future. The motion might, in its consequences, lead to a misunderstanding, that would be fatal to the impeachment. Mr. Wyndham thought the managers had been so ill-treated, that the House ought not to lose a moment in asserting its dignity and privileges. It had been said, no insults, perhaps, would be offered in future. He hoped there would not. But the managers might be treated in such a way, that they might feel themselves hurt, while yet the House could not interfere. Mr. Pitt, moved by the reasons urged by Mr. Dundas, proposed that the previous question be admitted by the Right Honourable Manager; but said, that he was, notwithstanding, so well convinced of the truth of what he had asserted, that he would vote with him, if he refused to withdraw his motion." On a division of the House, the motion was lost by a majority of four.

On Wednesday, the 5th of June, in his place in the House of Commons, Mr. Grey, having affirmed the impossibility of being ready on Monday to reply to a mass of evidence which was not yet printed, and the further impossibility, at so late a period of the session, of going through with the remaining business of the trial, without compromising the claims of justice, said,



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“ he should be ready in his place the next day, to move for a message to the Lords, to adjourn further proceedings in the trial till the next session of parliament, when the Commons would be ready to proceed day by day till final judgment should be given, if their Lordships thought fit.”

Mr. Wigley, one of the gentlemen of the long robe, who had signalized his zeal in favour of the defendant, “ opposed the motion,” says the historian of the trial, “ as prejudicial to the justice and character of the House ; and which, if passed, would carry with it such a marked wish for delay, as would render impeachments detestable.

Mr. Dundas, as he spoke with more courage, so spoke to the point more correctly than any other man who spoke upon this occasion. “ If he thought the motion could operate unjustly upon the defendant, he should be as ready,” he said, “ as any one to give it his negative ; but sending the managers unprepared to reply, would be neither more nor less than a complete loss of the time so misapplied. Much had been said of delay. But to whom was that delay imputable ? Not, in any degree, to that House, or to the managers ; against whom such insinuations were neither just, nor generous, from those gentlemen who had negatived a proposition, made by the managers on a former day, for stating the whole facts on the trial, to exculpate themselves from every shadow of foundation for such a charge. He also observed, that the cry against delay had been uniformly raised at the close of a session. Why it was not made at an early period, when propositions might have been brought forward to expedite the proceeding, he left

the House to form their own opinion. If, however, there was any delay in the trial, it lay, he cared not who heard him, or where his declaration might be repeated, at the door of the House of Lords."

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On a division, however, the motion was lost by a majority of 66 to 61. Mr. Burke immediately gave notice, that, in consequence of these extraordinary proceedings, he should next day submit a motion to the House, which he deemed absolutely necessary for their honour, dignity, and character. On that day, Friday, the 7th of June, Mr. Grey expressed his wish to the House, that they would accept of his resignation, as a manager. It was his duty to reply to the defence of Mr. Hastings, on the first article of the impeachment. But it was impossible for him to be ready on Monday. In this distress he applied to the House for instruction. After some conversation, a motion was made by Mr. Dundas, to apply once more to the Lords for delay. While this was debated, strangers were excluded. The motion was carried by a majority of 82 to 46.

On Monday, the 10th of June, a petition to the Lords was presented from Mr. Hastings, remonstrating against the application for delay. His language now waxed exceedingly strong. "He could not but regard the further adjournment required, as derogatory to those rights which belong to him, and as warranted by no grounds of reason or justice applicable to the case." He argued, that the time which had been allowed for preparation was quite sufficient; as the greater part of the evidence adduced in his defence had been long familiar to the managers. This allegation was true; but it is one thing to have

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been long familiar with a great mass of evidence ; and another thing to be able to speak upon it ; and to show accurately the force with which it applies to all the parts of a complicated question. It is remarkable that the zeal of Mr. Hastings, not perhaps unnatural, to accuse his prosecutors, should have made him forget that the world would see and feel this distinction. Not only was a very intense process of thought necessary to determine with precision what should be done with every portion of so vast an aggregate of evidence ; but the labour was immense to fix every portion, and that which was to be done with it, in the memory ;<sup>1</sup> a task which could not be performed till the very time arrived when the tongue was immediately to deliver what the memory contained.

Lord Stanhope, in his zeal for the defendant, moved the House to give notice to the Commons, that the Lords would proceed on the trial on Wednesday next. Lord Abingdon said, “to refuse the application of the Commons would bring a national censure on the House.” He asked, “Do your Lordships mean, by a side wind, or some other manœuvre, to get rid of this trial ?” Lord Grenville, then rising, proposed an amendment, that instead of “Wednesday next,” these words should be inserted, “the second Tuesday in the next session of parliament.” After some explanation and debate, the amendment was carried by a majority of 48 to 21.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> How is this consistent with the former argument in favour of the prompt decision on the ground that the evidence was then easily recollected.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes, ut supra, p. 2090—2323 ; History of Trial, ut supra, part vi. p. 55—78.

The proceedings on the trial were resumed by the House of Lords, on Thursday the 13th of February, 1794, the one hundred and eighteenth day of the trial. The counsel for the defendant having requested to take the evidence of Lord Cornwallis, who had just arrived from India; and the managers having given their assent, not as to a right, but an indulgence, the Lords adjourned the trial to Wednesday next. "The delay," says the historian of the trial, "was occasioned by complaisance to Lord Cornwallis, who, it was supposed, might want time to refresh his memory, with the perusal of official papers, before he appeared in the character of a witness, in the impeachment." This was an abundant allowance for refreshing the memory of a witness, compared with the time to which the Lords and the prisoner at their bar contended, at the conclusion of the preceding session, for restricting the managers in making ready for the reply. In consequence of the indisposition of the Noble Marquis, the trial was further postponed to the 24th, and then to the 25th of the same month; when it was announced on the part of the defendant, that, in consequence of the continued indisposition of Lord Cornwallis, he waived the benefit of his evidence. The managers expressed their readiness to permit his Lordship to be examined at any period during the remainder of the trial; and at the same time alluded to the arrival of another gentleman, Mr. Larkins, whose testimony, when it was not obtainable, Mr. Hastings had described as calculated to be of the utmost service to him, but, to their great surprise, showed no inclination to avail himself

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of it, now when it was at his command. Mr. Law said he disdained to accept for his client, as a boon, the power, which was his right, of adducing evidence at any period of his trial; that his client rested his defence upon the grounds already adduced, and was not accountable to any man for the motives which induced him to call or not to call any man as a witness. Mr. Law forgot, or wished his hearers to forget, that the question was not about *accountability*, but about *evidence*; whether by not calling Mr. Larkins, whose absence he had formerly deplored, he did not render the sincerity of that lamentation doubtful, and add to the circumstantial evidence against a cause, for the defence of which, so much artifice was employed: The proper business of Mr. Law would have been to show, if he could, that for such inferences, however natural, the fact of not calling now for the evidence of Mr. Larkins did not afford any ground.

The managers produced evidence to rebut the defence on the Benares charge. It had been stated, that if Mr. Hastings acted wrong in the demands which he made upon Cheyte Sing, Mr. Francis concurred with him. The managers proposed to call Mr. Francis, to show that he did not. The counsel for the defendant objected. They affirmed, that on the reply, the prosecutor was entitled to bring evidence for one purpose only; that of rebutting evidence adduced on the defence: If not for this purpose, it ought to have been given at first, to enable the defendant to meet it in his defence.—This was rather inconsistent with the doctrine of Mr. Law, when, alluding to the offer of the managers to permit the

examination of Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Larkins, he claimed for his client a right to bring any evidence at any period of the trial. The objection about meeting such evidence, on the defence, might be answered, by granting, which would be due, a power of meeting new matter of crimination, by new matter of defence. The objection is, that this would tend to delay; but so it would, if the same matter had, in the first instance, been added respectively to the matter of crimination and that of defence; and it would always be a question, to be left to the court, whether the importance of the evidence was enough to compensate for the inconvenience and delay; and whether any thing sinister was indicated by giving it after, rather than before, the defence. Mr. Burke made a speech, in disparagement of the lawyers' rules of evidence; which he said were very general, very abstract, might be learned by a parrot he had known, in one half hour, and repeated by it in five minutes; might be good for the courts below; but must not shackle parliament, which claimed a right to every thing, without exclusion, or exception, which was of use to throw light on the litigated point.

After a dispute, which lasted for the greater part of two days, the Commons were informed, that it was not competent for them to adduce the evidence proposed. Mr. Burke again complained bitterly of the want of publicity in the deliberations which led to the decisions, and the ignorance in which the managers were held of the reasons on which they were grounded. It was thus impossible they could know before-hand whether a piece of evidence, which presented itself to them as important, would, or

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would not, be admitted by the Lords. This refusal of reasons was one of the causes of that delay, of which so many complaints had been raised. Lord Radnor having interrupted him, as arguing against a decision of the House, Mr. Burke said, "What he asked from the House was *publicity* in its decisions on questions of law, and a communication of the grounds on which it formed those decisions. He had condescended to ask this as a *favour*, when he might have claimed it as a *right*." Mr. Law said, he would not waste a moment of their Lordships' time, in supporting a judgment of the House, which, being founded on a rule of law, wanted no other support. Mr. Burke replied, that "he had been accustomed to insolent observations from the counsel; who, to do them justice, were as prodigal of bold assertions as they were sparing of arguments." Before the Court adjourned for deliberation, Mr. Hastings again addressed them, enumerated the miseries of delay, prayed for expedition, and, in particular, entreated their Lordships not to adjourn, as usual, on account of the absence of the judges during the circuit.

One of the reasons adduced by Mr. Hastings for the dethronement or deprivation of Cheyte Sing was the bad police of his country; to prove which, the outrages complained of by Major Eaton were adduced. The managers stated that "they would now produce a letter of Major Eaton's, to show he did not consider the supposed irregularities worth inquiring into. The counsel for the defendant objected to the evidence. The House informed the managers, that the whole Benares narrative, and the papers annexed, having been given originally by the ma-

nagers for the Commons, the evidence tendered was not admissible." Be it so. But that does not hinder this from proving the existence of the letter, and the insignificance of the occurrences on which the plea of Mr. Hastings was erected.

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As the defendant had produced in evidence the vote of thanks offered to him by the Court of Directors on the 28th of June, 1785; to rebut this evidence, the managers offered to produce a paper printed for the information of the proprietors, by order of the Court of Directors in 1783. This was vehemently resisted, not only by the counsel for Mr. Hastings, but by himself in person, as an ill-considered and intemperate act of a Court of Directors, who were his political enemies. "It was, therefore, (he said,) a species of unparalleled cruelty to bring it forward to oppress a man who had already suffered so much, for no other reason which he could divine, than having at a time of great public danger, effectually served his country, and saved India. He relied upon their Lordships' humanity, honour, and justice, that they would not suffer this minute of the censure to be read; it being passed at a moment of intemperate heat and agitation, and utterly extinguished by a subsequent resolution.

"Mr. Burke rose as soon as Mr. Hastings had concluded, and contended that the paper was proper to be received, because it was an answer to a letter which the prisoner had dared to write to the Directors his Masters, and to print and publish in Calcutta.

"Mr. Hastings instantly rose, and said, 'My Lords, I affirm that the assertion which your Lord-



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ships have just heard from the Manager *is false*. I never did print or publish any letter in Calcutta that I wrote to the Court of Directors. I knew my duty better. That assertion is a libel; it is of a piece with every thing that I have heard uttered since the commencement of this trial, by that *authorized, licensed*,—(and after a long pause, he added, turning to Mr. Burke,) ‘*Manager!*’

“Mr. Burke continued to affirm that Mr. Hastings *had* printed and published the letter in Calcutta. Mr. Hastings loudly called out to him, it was not true; and the counsel said to Mr. Burke, *No! no!*”

The Lords adjourned, put the question to the judges, received their answer, and announced to the managers on a following day, “That it was not competent for the managers for the Commons to give in evidence the paper, read in the Court of Directors on the 4th of November, 1783, and then referred by them to the consideration of the Committee of the whole Court, and again read in the Court of Directors on the 19th November, 1783, and amended, and ordered by them to be published for the information of the proprietors—to rebut the evidence given by the defendant of the thanks of the Court of Directors, signified to him on the 28th June, 1785.” No decision is more curious than this. The same sort of evidence exactly, which the Lords allowed to be given *for* Mr. Hastings, they would not allow to be given *against* him; one proceeding of the Court of Directors, as well as another. It might have been said, that a prior decision of the same court was superseded by a posterior; but this

should have been said after both were submitted to consideration, because it might be so, or it might not, according to the circumstances of the case.

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On the 1st of March, the Lords not choosing to proceed without the assistance of the Judges, during their absence on the circuit, adjourned the court to the 7th of April. On the 6th of March, upon motion made in the House of Commons, by Mr. Burke, the managers were appointed a committee to inspect the journals of the House of Lords, and to examine into the mode of procedure that was adopted on the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq.; and on the 17th of the same month, it was ordered, on the motion of Mr. Burke, that the managers should lay before the House the circumstances which have retarded the progress of the said trial, with their observations thereon.

On the 9th of April, which was the second day of the proceedings after the adjournment for the circuit, Lord Cornwallis was examined on the part of the defendant. His evidence contributed little to establish any thing. If it tended to confirm the views, held up by any one of the parties, more than those by another, it was rather those of the accusers than those of the defendant. On the alleged right of the government to call upon the Zemindars in time of war, for aids, over and above their rents, he made one important declaration, that no such aid had been demanded in any part of India during his administration.<sup>1</sup>

As Mr. Hastings had declined, the managers

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing very important in this, it amounts to no more than that there had been no occasion to call upon them.—W.

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thought proper, to call for the evidence of Mr. Larkins. The first questions which they put were intended to elucidate the letter which Mr. Larkins, upon the application of Mr. Hastings, wrote to Mr. Devaynes, in explanation of the dates of a part of the presents which Mr. Hastings had received. The counsel for the defendant objected; contending that, in reply, evidence, though of a witness till that time in India, could not be admitted to new matter, or matter which had not been contested: but only to points which had been disputed, or evidence which had been attacked. Mr. Burke again disclaimed the authority of the lawyers; and said, “the defendant was placed by these arguments in the most contemptible point of view. He had been specifically charged with bribery, sharpening, swindling: From these charges, he had replied, that the testimony of Mr. Larkins, if he had it, would vindicate him: Mr. Larkins was now present: But the prisoner, instead of wishing to clear his fame, called for protection against the testimony to which he had appealed; and sought a shelter, not in his own innocence, but in a technical rule of evidence.” The Lords adjourned to deliberate, and when the court met on a future day, their Speaker announced, “Gentlemen, Managers for the Commons, and Gentlemen of Counsel for the Defendant, I am commanded by the House to inform you, that it is not competent for the managers for the Commons to examine the witness, in relation to a letter of the 5th of August, 1786, from the witness to William Devaynes, Esq. one of the Directors of the East India Company, produced as evidence in chief by the managers for

the Commons." Mr. Larkins was again called, and one of the first questions which were put was represented by the counsel for the defendant as falling under the same objection. But "so much, they said, had been uttered, about this testimony, and the motives of Mr. Hastings in resisting it, that any longer to forbear bringing these assertions to the test of proof, might perhaps seem to justify the insinuations which had been cast out against the defendant." Relying, therefore, on the justice and humanity of the House to prevent the protraction of the trial, on this or any other account, to another year, they gave their consent to the examination of Mr. Larkins, on the same terms as if he had been examined at the first stage of the trial. This day the Court received another of Mr. Hastings' addresses. Alluding to a report of an early prorogation of parliament, he conjured them to end his trial before the end of the session; affirming, "that human patience (meaning no disrespect to the Lords) could not sustain this eternal trial." Next day, also, time passing away in disputes about the admissibility of the questions which the managers tendered to the witness, Mr. Hastings rose, and said that, if the Lords would but sit to finish the trial during the present session, his counsel should make no objection to any questions that might be asked. He then made a pathetic statement, recounting the offers which he had made to wave his defence, the actual relinquishment of part of it, and his other sacrifices to expedite the trial, among which he stated his consent to the examination of Mr. Larkins. He ended by praying that the

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court would sit on the following day, and permit that examination to be closed.

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This was on the 16th of April. On the 17th Mr. Burke, in the House of Commons, brought up the report of the managers appointed to inquire into the causes of the delay in the trial of Mr. Hastings. An ample view of this important document is required. But it would interrupt too long the proceedings on the trial, and may be reserved till they are brought to a close.<sup>1</sup> The lawyers, whom it desperately offended, because it spoke out, respecting their system, a greater than usual portion of the truth, argued against the printing of it; as in this, however, Pitt and Dundas took part with the managers, the opposition of the lawyers failed.

The examination of Mr. Larkins was concluded on the 28th of April, having, together with the disputes to which it gave occasion, occupied the time of the court for rather more than three days. It had a tendency, but no more than a tendency, rather to clear than convict Mr. Hastings of any intention at any time to appropriate to himself any part of the presents, the receipt of which he afterwards disclosed; because the money, though entered in the Company's books as money of Mr. Hastings, was not entered as such in the accounts kept of his private property by Mr. Larkins. The only new fact of any importance was, that a balance of the presents, received by Gunga Govind Sing for Mr. Hastings, was never paid to Mr. Hastings; who stated, with some marks

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix at the end of this chapter.

of displeasure to Mr. Larkins, that Gunga Govind Sing pretended he had expended one lac of rupees, (10,000*l.*) during the absence of Mr. Hastings, in jewels, for a present to Mrs. Wheler, the wife of the member of council, upon whom, together with the Governor-General, the weight of administration at that time reposed.

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Of the money which Mr. Hastings had desired to borrow of the Raja Nobkissen, and which he said he had afterwards, upon the entreaty of the Raja, accepted as a present, it appeared that Nobkissen had afterwards demanded payment, when Mr. Hastings had met the demand by what the lawyers call *a set-off*, or counter claim upon the demandant. Nobkissen had then filed a bill of discovery against Mr. Hastings in Chancery. The answer of Mr. Hastings was, that, as an impeachment was depending, he declined giving any answer at all. The managers proposed to give these proceedings in evidence. The lawyers of counsel for Mr. Hastings repelled them as inadmissible. Mr. Burke was provoked to language scarcely temperate: "He was addressing," he said, "a body of nobles who would act like nobles; and not as *thieves in a night cellar*; he could not suspect them of *so foul a thing* as to reject matter so pregnant of evidence: the notions of the Judges were not binding on the Lords: And the trial of Lord Strafford afforded an example to which, in this respect, he trusted they would always conform." The Lords took the rest of the day to deliberate; and on their next return to the hall of judgment announced, "That it was not competent to the managers for the

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Commons to give in evidence the pleas put in by Warren Hastings, Esq., on the 14th of February and 25th of March, 1793, to the discovery prayed by a bill in Chancery, filed against him by Raja Nobkissen on the 27th of June, 1792, touching a sum of three lacs of rupees, or 34,000*l.* sterling money, mentioned in the sixth article of charge."

"As the counsel for the defendant had, on the Benares charge, the Begum charge, the charge of presents, and the charge of contracts, given evidence of the distresses of the country, as a justification, or excuse, of the irregular acts of extortion, oppression, bribery, and peculation, charged against the defendant in the articles of charge," the managers proposed to prove, that the cause of these distresses was the misconduct of Mr. Hastings, plunging the Company into a war with the Mahrattas, neither necessary nor just. To this evidence the counsel objected, and the Lords resolved that it was not admissible. Abundance of angry altercation took place both before and after the decision; and Mr. Burke, in the pursuit of his object, a pursuit always eager, now, in some degree, intemperate, exposed himself at last to the imputation of pushing his examinations too far, of putting frivolous, when his stock of important, questions was exhausted, and contending long for points, either of no importance, or points in which he might see that he would not succeed. Yet, in these aberrations of a mind, which had now, to a considerable degree, lost the command of itself, a very small portion of time; not six, possibly not so much as three days, in the whole of this protracted business, were

really misplaced by him, or fell to his share in distributing the blame of the unnecessary portion of delay.

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Of the extraordinary proposition, to offer the injustice of the Mahratta war to rebut certain allegations of the defendant, Mr. Burke was probably the injudicious author. This was to bring a fact, to prove another fact, when the evidentiary fact was much more difficult of proof than the principal one ; when the evidentiary fact was of such a nature, that it was either not susceptible of precise and conclusive proof ; or opened so wide a field of inquiry, that the service it would render in the cause was evidently not a compensation for the trouble, which, in the shape of delay, expense, and vexation, it could not fail to create. This constituted a sufficient ground for the decision which, in this instance, was pronounced by the Lords. Mr. Burke, however, was so pertinacious, as to desire to enter against it a deliberate protest, which he tendered, in a writing of considerable length, and wished to have it entered upon the minutes. But the Lords informed him it could not be received.

After adducing evidence to several other points, the Commons offered matter to rebut the certificates, which had been presented in favour of the character and administration of the defendant, from several parts of India. They proposed to show, that these certificates could not be voluntary, because they were contradicted by the circumstances to which the people were reduced : and if so, these certificates were additional proofs of the atrocity, not of the beneficence, of the English government in India.



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Among other places, a certificate had arrived even from Dinagepore. To throw light upon this certificate, the managers offered to read the official report of an eminent servant of the Company, upon the government of this province. This was the famous document relative to the cruelties of Deby Sing.<sup>1</sup> Its admission was again resisted on the part of the Defendant. Again the Lords decreed that it was not to be heard.

The evidence was closed on the 6th of May, which was the 129th day of the trial. The advocate for the defendant having confidently told the Lords, “that all the attempts which had been made in the present session to support the case of the prosecution had ended in producing an effect directly contrary; and that important conclusions, which could not have escaped their Lordships’ penetration, had resulted in favour of his client from the invaluable oral testimony lately given at their bar,” (alluding to the testimony of Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Larkins, which just as little established any thing in favour, as it did in crimination of Mr. Hastings): and having thus, with a well-timed artifice, assumed, without proof, and as standing in need of no proof, all that he wished to be believed; he added, that, in imitation of the former sacrifices to which, for the sake of lessening the delay, enormous, dreadful delay, the defendant had already submitted, he would make another sacrifice (which, if that was true which had just been asserted by the counsel, was no sacrifice at all), and wave his right to make

<sup>1</sup> To have received it in evidence now, after it had been proved erroneous, would have been preposterous.—W.

any observations on the evidence which had been offered in reply.

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The managers then proceeded to sum up the evidence in reply ; Mr. Grey, on the Benares charge, Mr. Sheridan on that of the Begums, Mr. Fox on the charge of presents, and Mr. Taylor on that of contracts. In this business seven days were consumed. Mr. Burke began the concluding speech on the 28th of May, and continued his oration nine days. After the third day, another petition was presented from Mr. Hastings to the House of Lords, which, as it is not very long, and not slightly impregnated with instruction, is here inserted.

“ That it is with the greatest reluctance and concern that your Petitioner feels himself obliged once more to address your Lordships on the subject of his long-depending trial.

“ Your Petitioner begs leave to lay before your Lordships his well-founded apprehensions, excited by the manner in which the general reply on the part of the managers is now evidently conducted, that such reply is meant to be extended beyond the probable limits of the present session of parliament.

“ Your Petitioner hopes he may be allowed to bring to your Lordships’ recollection, that the reply was, at the instance of the managers, adjourned over from the last year, under the assurance of an accelerated and early termination of it ; and that the whole of the present session, except a small interruption occasioned by the examination of the Marquis Cornwallis, has been employed by the honourable managers, notwithstanding that your Petitioner has, for the purpose of despatch, in addition to the sacrifices made

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for a similar purpose in the last year, waved his right to observe, by his counsel, on the new evidence ad-  
duced in reply.

“ Your Petitioner begs leave again to suggest to your Lordships the unexampled duration of his trial ; the indefinite period to which it may be still further protracted ; and the extreme vexation and injury to which he would be subjected, if the intention on the part of his prosecutors should be suffered to have effect.

“ He implores, therefore, of your Lordships’ humanity and justice, that such measures may be adopted on the part of your Lordships, as may assure to your Petitioner the speedy termination of this painful and unparalleled proceeding ; and further, if need should be, that your Lordships will graciously condescend, in such a manner as to the wisdom and dignity of your Lordships may seem meet, to become suitors to his Majesty’s goodness in his behalf, that the present session of parliament may be permitted to continue till the reply on the part of the honourable managers for the House of Commons shall be fully and finally closed.”

On the opening of the Court, on the first day after this petition to the House of Lords, Mr. Burke, says the historian of the trial, “ began, by complaining in very strong terms, both of the Court, and of Mr. Hastings ; of the latter for writing a most audacious libel, under the name of a petition ; and of the former for having recorded it in their Journals. What the House of Commons would do, in consequence of this insult, he could not tell, as he had not had an opportunity of consulting the House upon it : he should,

therefore, proceed as if no such libel had been written." BOOK VI  
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Mr. Burke concluded his speech on the 16th of June. On the 20th, in the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt rose to move, "That the thanks of the House should be given to the managers appointed by them to conduct the prosecution against Warren Hastings, Esquire, for their faithful management in the discharge of the trust reposed in them." The motion was seconded by Mr. Dundas. Mr. Pitt declared, that the magnitude and difficulty of the task which had been imposed upon the managers, and the ability and diligence with which it had been sustained, excited the strongest sentiments in their favour. Delay was the great source of complaint; but if the long intervals of the Court were excluded, and the number of hours were computed which had actually been bestowed upon the business of the trial, it would be found, compared with the quantity of matter essentially involved in the cause, by no means unreasonably great. "The next point," he said, "to be considered was; of this time, whether great or small, how much had been occupied by the managers; and how much by the defendant, as well in the several replies, as by the unceasing and unwearied objections, taken on his part, to almost every thing offered on the part of the prosecution. To prove this disposition of objecting to evidence, gentlemen had but to look to the report made, by their committee, on the causes of delay. They would there find it proved.—It was, in the next place, to be recollected, that their managers had to discuss questions which they could not relinquish without abandoning the privileges of the Commons.



BOOK VI — Upon all these grounds he would not allow that,  
 CHAP. 2. if any unnecessary delay existed, any portion of it  
 1794. was chargeable to the managers for that House."

Mr. Sumner, regretting the unusual necessity which made him vote against the minister, opposed the motion. He said, " he was happy to avow himself a very great admirer of Mr. Hastings ; that he looked up to him with every sentiment of regard and affection ;" professing at the same time, " that his objections to the present motion arose from circumstances, utterly independent of Mr. Hastings." He excepted to the time of the vote, which, though not contrary to precedent, would have something of the effect of a pre-judging of the cause. However, he at last confessed, that he should have little objection to the vote, if it regarded only the rest of the managers without including Mr. Burke. Against him, he ran forth into a long invective ; his anger appearing to be directed against the strong terms of disapprobation, which Mr. Burke had scattered with a lavish hand, not only on Mr. Hastings, but all other individuals whom he regarded as partners either in his crimes or their protection. Mr. Wigley, and others, concurred with him in his observations. Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Fox said, that many of the expressions, adduced by the Gentlemen as the grounds of their opposition, were not correct : that they disclaimed the separation which had been made between them and their distinguished leader ; and that it was affectation and the affectation of weakness, to pretend disgust at the natural language of a strong indignation, when calling for punishment on crimes which the managers believed to have been

committed, and to which, if they were committed, no language capable of describing them adequately could be found. Mr. Law, a servant of the Company, and brother of the Counsel for Mr. Hastings, made a speech against the *coarseness* of Mr. Burke, in such language as the following: "If any passage in his speech could be called sublime and beautiful; it was, at the best, but sublime and beautiful nonsense: At other times his expressions were so vulgar and illiberal, that the *lowest blackguard in a bear-garden* would have been ashamed to utter them." He was, indeed, surprised that a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) "should condescend to mix his character with that of the leading manager, whose follies and intemperance he had vainly endeavoured to correct. Whatever might be the abilities of the leading manager, he was totally unfit to conduct a public trial. His violence, his passion, and his obstinacy, were unconquerable. And as for his information," said Mr. Law, "I was really astonished, that a man who had been twenty-two years employed in Indian inquiries, should still be so very ignorant of India. His prejudices had totally warped his judgment."

Upon this latter point, the question was, whether it was Mr. Burke, or Mr. Law, who continued ignorant; and of which of the two it was that prejudices had perverted the judgment to the greatest extent. Mr. Law was very quietly making *himself* the standard of perfection; when, like so many of his brethren in India, he had hardly looked at a single object, except through the medium of prejudice; and had so little information about India,

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as, on the great objects, to be wrong in every opinion which he entertained.<sup>1</sup>

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The vote for the thanks of the House was carried by a majority of fifty to twenty-one. The Speaker, in addressing the managers, said; "That the subject to which their attention had been directed was intricate and extensive beyond example: That they had proved it was well suited to their industry and eloquence, the exertions of which had conferred honour, not on themselves only, but on that House, whose credit was intimately connected with their own." Mr. Pitt moved that the Speaker do print his speech.<sup>2</sup>

No further proceeding was had on the trial till the

<sup>1</sup> This attack upon Mr. Law for the part he took in the debate, and the just reprobation he pronounced upon the intemperate language which even the friends and admirers of Burke admit that he sometimes employed, is wholly unwarranted by his speech. There was nothing wrong in his opinions on the subject, and on what others he erred in consequence of his ignorance of India, it would be difficult to substantiate. He asserted that the charge recently repeated in the French convention, that the English were the authors of the famine that occurred in Bengal in 1770, was calumnious and untrue. That the atrocities of Deby Sing had been investigated by a Committee, and proved to be false, and that the original reporter disclaimed his own report as criminating Hastings. That Hastings was not a man of low, vulgar, and obscure origin, nor of base, mean, and sordid occupations. Few will accuse Mr. Law of either error or ignorance in these assertions. He may have erred in his estimate of Burke's motives and conduct, but it cannot in justice be said that therefore only, and his speech furnishes no other grounds, he looked at every object through the mist of prejudice, and was utterly wrong in every opinion he entertained regarding India. It is difficult to understand what part of Mr. Law's speech, the only occasion in which he comes before the reader, could have provoked such gratuitous and unqualified condemnation. Mr. Sumner was much more severe in his censure of Burke's proceedings and language. Why has he escaped? Report of the debate of the 20th June, 1794. History of Hastings's trial.—W.

<sup>2</sup> For the evidence, and incidents on the reply, see the printed Minutes, ut supra, p. 2479—2854; History of the Trial, ut supra, part vii.

next session of parliament. The 13th day of January, 1795, was the day on which the business was appointed to begin. On that day a committee of the Lords was formed, to inspect the journals, and to report on what they contained, respecting the mode of giving judgment on trials of high crimes and misdemeanours. The report was referred to a committee of the whole House, which began to deliberate on the 2nd of March. Though, at the beginning of the trial, it had been determined by the Lords, that they should not proceed article by article, but that all the articles should be lumped together, both in the prosecution and the defence; it was now represented, by Lord Thurlow, who had before this time resigned the woolsack to Lord Loughborough, not only that they must not take, for decision, the articles all in the lump; but that it would be too much for their Lordships to take them even one by one; that it would be necessary, as several of the articles contained several allegations, to break these articles into separate parts, and to deliberate and decide separately upon each. How severe a condemnation this pronounced upon the former decision, by which the whole evidence was demanded in a lump, not one of their Lordships remarked; but they all agreed in the present propriety of that expedient for distinctness which they had formerly renounced and prohibited.

The procedure adopted by their Lordships was, to decide upon each point three times; first in a committee of the whole House; next in the House itself; and a third time as judges in Westminster-hall. Twenty-three questions were formed, upon those

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articles of impeachment to which the Commons had tendered evidence, and one upon the rest. Upon most of the questions, a debate of considerable length ensued. Lord Thurlow was the strenuous advocate of Mr. Hastings, upon all points; and argued to show from the evidence that no criminal fact whatsoever was proved. Lord Loughborough, the Chancellor, took a different course, and argued to show that of the allegations to which the Commons had adduced their evidence, almost all were proved. It was not till the last day of March that the deliberations of the committee were closed, and their resolution upon each of the questions was pronounced. On all of them the vote passed in favour of Mr. Hastings. On the next day, when, agreeably to form, the resolutions were reported to the House, Lord Thurlow moved, that the resolutions reported be read one by one, and a question put upon each. The Lord Chancellor, and several other Lords, contended that this was a proceeding altogether nugatory, if not ludicrous; it was to vote the same questions, first on one day, and then on another, on no other account than a change of name; they were called the Committee the one day, the House the other; but no man was bound as a judge, by the decisions either of the Committee or the House; though assuredly embarrassment would be thrown in the way of their determinations as a tribunal, by a reiteration of votes on the same subject, given when they were not a tribunal. The motion of Lord Thurlow was, nevertheless, carried, by a majority of fourteen to six; and the resolutions one after another obtained a second assent.

The business was not resumed till the 7th of April, when the form was determined of the questions which were to be put to the Lords individually in Westminster-hall. Some discussion occurred, and the questions agreed upon differed considerably from those, on each of which the House had passed a couple of preparatory votes. They proceeded to judgment on the 23rd: when the questions were put and determined in the following mode:

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“1. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged by the Commons in the first article of charge?”

“George Lord Douglas (Earl of Morton in Scotland), how says your Lordship, Is Warren Hastings Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of the said charge?”

“Whereupon Lord Douglas stood up uncovered, and laying his right hand on his breast, pronounced—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“The Lord Chancellor then put the same question to all the Peers in robes, as follows:

“James Lord Fife, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“Charles Lord Somers, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“Francis Lord Rawdon (Earl of Moira in Ireland), how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Thomas Lord Walsingham, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“Edward Lord Thurlow, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“Martin Lord Hawke, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty upon my honour.

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“ Frederick Lord Boston, how says your Lordship?

—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ Edwin Lord Sandys, how says your Lordship?

—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ Henry Lord Middleton, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ Samuel Lord Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Horsley), how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ John Lord Bishop of Bangor (Dr. Warren), how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ Thomas Lord Viscount Sidney, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ George Lord Viscount Falmouth, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ Henry Earl of Caernarvon, how says your Lordship?—Guilty, upon my honour.

“ Joseph Earl of Dorchester, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ Algernon Earl of Beverley, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ Jacob Earl of Radnor, how says your Lordship?—Guilty, upon my honour.

“ William Earl Fitzwilliam, how says your Lordship?—Guilty, upon my honour.

“ George, Earl of Warwick, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ George William Earl of Coventry, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ John Earl of Suffolk, how says your Lordship?—Guilty, upon my honour.

“ George Marquis Townshend, how says your Lordship?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ Francis Duke of Bridgewater, how says your Grace ?—Not guilty, upon my honour. BOOK VI  
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“ Francis Duke of Leeds, how says your Grace ?  
—Not guilty, upon my honour. 1795.

“ Charles Duke of Norfolk, how says your Grace ?  
—Guilty, upon my honour.

“ David Earl of Mansfield, how says your Lordship ?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ William Lord Archbishop of York, how says your Grace ?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

“ Alexander Lord Loughborough, the Lord Chancellor, pronounced—Guilty, upon my honour.

“ Upon the remaining fifteen questions the Peers voted in the following manner :

“ 2. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged by the Commons in the second article of charge ?—Guilty, six.—Not Guilty, twenty-three.

“ 3. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to the said Warren Hastings having in the years 1772, 1773, and 1774, corruptly taken the several sums of money charged to have been taken by him in the said years, from the several persons in the said article particularly mentioned ?—Not guilty, twenty-six.

“ 4. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having, on or before the 26th of June, 1780, corruptly received and taken from Sadanund, the Buxey of the Raja Cheit Sing, the sum of



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two lacs of rupees, as a present or gift?—Guilty, four.  
—Not Guilty, twenty-three.

“ 5. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having, in October, 1780, taken and received from Kellaram, on behalf of himself and a certain person called Cullian Sing, a sum of money amounting to four lacs of rupees, in consideration of letting to them certain lands in the province of Bahar in perpetuity, contrary to his duty, and to the injury of the East India Company?—Guilty, three.  
—Not Guilty, twenty-three.

“ 6. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having, in the year 1781, received and taken as a present from Nundoolol, the sum of fifty-eight thousand rupees?—Guilty, three.  
—Not Guilty, twenty-three.

“ 7. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having, on or about the month of September, 1781, at Chunar, in the Province of Oude, contrary to his duty, taken and received as a present from the Vizir the sum of ten lacs of rupees?—Guilty three.—Not Guilty, twenty-three.

“ 8. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having first fraudulently solicited as a loan, and of his having afterwards corruptly and

illegally taken and retained as a present or gift, from Raja Nobkissen, a sum of money amounting to 34,000*l.* sterling; and of his having, without any allowance from the Directors, or any person authorized to grant such allowance, applied the same to his own use, under pretence of discharging certain expenses said to be incurred by the said Warren Hastings in his public capacity?—Guilty, five.—Not Guilty, twenty.

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“ 9. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having, in the year 1781, granted a contract for the provision of opium for four years, to Stephen Sullivan, Esq. without advertising for the same, and upon terms glaringly extravagant and wantonly profuse, for the purpose of creating an instant fortune to the said Stephen Sullivan?—Guilty, five.—Not Guilty, nineteen.

“ 10. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having borrowed money at a large interest, for the purpose of advancing the same to the contractor for opium, and engaging the East India Company in a smuggling adventure to China?—Not Guilty, twenty-five.

“ 11. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to the contract for bullocks granted to Charles Croftes, Esq.?—Guilty, three.—Not Guilty, twenty-three.

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“ 12. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having granted the provision of bullocks to Sir Charles Blunt by the mode of agency?—Guilty, three.—Not Guilty, twenty-three.

“ 13. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to the several allowances charged to have been made to Sir Eyre Coote, and directed to be paid by the Vizir for the use of the said Sir Eyre Coote?—Guilty, four.—Not guilty, twenty-two.

“ 14. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to the appointment of James Peter Auriol, Esq. to be agent for the purchase of supplies for the relief of the Presidency of Madras, and all the other Presidencies in India, with a commission of fifteen per cent.?—Guilty, four.—Not Guilty, twenty-two.

“ 15. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the Commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to the appointment of John Belli, Esq. to be agent for the supply of stores and provisions for the Garrison of Fort William in Bengal, with a commission of thirty per cent.?—Guilty, three.—Not Guilty, twenty-three.

“ 16. Is Warren Hastings, Esq. guilty, or not

guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanours, charged upon him by the residue of the impeachment of the Commons? —Guilty, two.—Not Guilty, twenty-five.”<sup>1</sup>

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On the 29th of May, at the desire of nine Proprietors, a General Court of the East India Company was held; at which two resolutions were passed, recommending that indemnification should be made by the Company to Mr. Hastings for the legal expenses incurred by him in making his defence; and that, in consideration of his important services, an annuity of 5000*l.* out of the territorial revenue should be granted to him and his representatives, during the term of the Company's exclusive trade. Both questions were determined by ballot, one on the 2nd, the other on the 3rd of June. These proceedings were communicated to the ministers on the 24th of June; by whom the questions were referred to the law officers of the crown. Legal doubts existed whether, under the legislative appropriation of the Company's revenues and profits, any fund existed from which the proposed allowances could be drawn. For a time the ministry showed no disposition to let the munificence of the Company obtain its effect. The application was not answered till the 13th

<sup>1</sup> In this concluding part of the business of the impeachment, has been followed a volume in quarto entitled “Debates of the House of Lords, on the Evidence delivered on the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esquire; Proceedings of the East India Company, in consequence of his Acquittal; and Testimonials of the British and Native Inhabitants of India, relative to his Character and Conduct whilst he was Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal.”—This was a volume compiled and distributed under Mr. Hastings' directions, and at his expense, but never published. The contents of it, however, are found almost verbatim in the History of the Trial, (part viii.) to which reference has been so frequently made.



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of January, 1796; and then the answer was unfavourable, with respect to both parts of the donation.

1796. The question, however, did not rest. A negotiation was carried on between the Court of Directors, and the Board of Control. Finally, on the 2nd of March, it was announced at a General Court, that the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors, had agreed in the propriety of granting to Mr. Hastings an annuity of 4000*l.* for twenty-eight years and a half, to commence from June 24th, 1785.<sup>1</sup> Nothing as yet was determined respecting a re-imbursement of his law expenses, but, in order to relieve him from his present embarrassments, 50,000*l.* was lent to him, by the Company, without interest, for eighteen years.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Debates of the House of Lords, &c., ut supra, p. 331—495.

<sup>2</sup> When 16,000*l.* of this loan had been repaid, the rest was remitted, and in 1814 his pension was continued for the remainder of his life. In 1813 W. Hastings was called upon to give evidence on matters affecting the renewal of the East India Company's Charter before the House of Commons; and upon his retiring, the members paid him the compliment of rising simultaneously from their seats; he was shortly afterwards elevated to the station of Privy Counsellor. In 1820 it was resolved by the Court of Proprietors that a statue of him should be placed in the Court Room; and about the same time a meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta voted the erection of a statue of him in that city. The speeches made upon this latter occasion by several distinguished servants of the Company are worthy of notice as ingenuous avowals of the dissipation of prejudices contracted in early life from a perusal of the speeches of Sheridan and Burke, by a more mature judgment, and a nearer acquaintance with the people of India. It was also remarkable that the Governor-General to whom application was necessarily made for the purpose of carrying the vote into effect, the Marquis of Hastings, had been one of his predecessor's judges. He not only expressed his ready concurrence in the proposed tribute, but stated that he had been most punctual in his attendance during the trial, that he had pronounced conscientiously a verdict of acquittal; and that all which he had learned since his arrival in India strongly supported the rectitude of the verdict which he had delivered in England. Asiatic Journal, March 1820.—W.

The observations that have been scattered through the preceding notes will have sufficiently expressed the views entertained by the writer of the administration of Warren Hastings; but as in attendance upon the text they have been spread over a considerable space in a detached, and not always methodical manner, a summary review of the measures by which that administration was characterized may not be without its use.

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In considering the occurrences which took place during the administration of W. Hastings, whether civil or military, the peculiarities of the position of the English in India should always be borne in mind. A great territory had been acquired by a rapid succession of unexpected and extraordinary events, and the servants of the Company were conquerors and kings, where but a very short time before they had been barely suffered to trade. At the date of Hastings's appointment to the station of Governor-General, scarcely ten years had elapsed since the expulsion of the last independent Nabob of Bengal, Kasim Ali Khan, and the assumption of the supremacy over the Bengal provinces by the Company. It was utterly impossible that in so brief an interval the information should have been acquired which was essential to the good government of a numerous population, of whose language, manners, opinions, and laws, their new rulers were ignorant, or that the resources and relations of the surrounding states, with some of which no intercourse had been opened, and with none of which had any intimate connexion been fully established, should have been thoroughly investigated, and accurately understood. In all the discussions which took place at home, these considerations seem to have been overlooked, and expectations were evidently entertained that the Indian governments should have been guided in their measures by an experience which it was impossible they could have gained, and by fixed principles which they had yet enjoyed no means of forming. The expectations were most unreasonable, and the manner in which their disappointment was resented was most unjust.

With the appointment of W. Hastings in 1772, ceased the attempt to administer the affairs of Bengal in concert with the Court of Moorshe-dabad, and under the mask of its nominal authority. The Company stood forth, as they expressed it, as Dewan. The change, as the text truly defines it, was enormous, it was an innovation which affected the tenure of all property, and completely altered the administration of justice. It was the duty of Hastings to carry this momentous revolution into effect, and he accomplished the task with intense labour and consummate ability.

W. Hastings brought with him to the arduous duties assigned to him qualifications which have always been rare in India, but which were then much less frequently found in the Company's servants than they have since been, knowledge of the language of the people, of their manners and institutions, and conversancy with the details of both native and British rule. No time, therefore, was lost in fitting himself for his duties. He at once took his place as President of two Committees, one for the investigation of the mode in which justice had been administered under

BOOK VI the Mohammedan government, and the other for the ascertainment of the  
 CHAP. 2. manner in which the revenues had been collected, and the amount which  
 1796. might be levied without oppressing the people. Full reports on both

subjects were prepared, and plans devised for adapting the conduct of affairs to the change in those by whom they were in future to be conducted. That the plans so devised, and which were avowedly experimental, should have been at once free from imperfection, was not within the scale of human wisdom. They required, and they received, during the whole period of the government of Hastings, constant and careful investigation, and they were subjected to frequent modifications. Many of their provisions, however, whether principal or subsidiary, have been ratified by time, and the institution of Provincial Courts and Courts of Appeal, or the Dewannee and Nizamut Adaulths, of provincial collectors, of the Salt Agency, the Presidency Treasury, and the Board of Revenue, which are still the principal instruments for carrying on the revenue and judicial functions of the government owe their origin to W. Hastings.

The inquiries and enactments which necessarily accompanied the reorganization of an extensive country in which all the old institutions had been abruptly overturned, might of themselves have been considered a sufficient demand upon the time and deliberations of the head of the government; but his measures were delayed, thwarted, and not unfrequently frustrated, by the systematic opposition which he experienced from his colleagues, and the insubordination which their example and encouragement spread amongst the service. Embarrassment also arose from other quarters. In the third year of his administration the Supreme Court commenced its operations, and was very soon engaged in a contest for authority with the Governor-General and his council. The contest lasted for some time, and seriously aggravated the difficulties which attended the introduction of the new system of judicature, as well as the anxieties and embarrassments of the government. The pretensions of the Court were firmly but respectfully resisted; they were moderated by the compromise which Hastings judiciously effected in placing the Chief Justice at the head of the native courts, and they were finally circumscribed by the interference of Parliament. However troublesome and vexatious the usurpations of the Court must have been, it is worthy of remark that no violence was permitted in the opposition of the government, and that no interruption occurred to the personal intimacy of the Judges and the Governor-General.

Nor was there any intemperance in the conduct of Hastings towards his colleagues, although their animosity assailed his private character as well as his public measures. They brought natives into the Council Room to charge him in his seat of office with gross corruption; they endeavoured to compel his resignation by force, and he was obliged to vindicate his reprobation of their proceedings by the exposure of his life in a duel. That opposition so inveterate and incessant must have grievously embittered his life, and enhanced the anxieties and labour of his high office, cannot admit of question, whilst it is singularly characteristic of the spirit of his adminis-

tration, that he inflexibly though calmly persisted in the prosecution of those public objects which he deemed wise and expedient, and ultimately triumphed over talented as well as virulent opposition.

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The public measures of W. Hastings were not only embarrassed by local instructions, but had to contend with formidable obstacles at home. His antagonists at the Council Board were the creatures of the minister, and were sure of his support. The same interest created a strong party against Hastings in the Direction, and more than one occasion showed that the ministry and the Directors were both eager to get rid of him. For a public man, in the service of England, to rely solely upon his public merit, would be indeed to lean upon a broken reed; he must meet party with party; he must make 'friends.' Hastings was not exempt from this necessity, and he was successful. Many of his friends were, no doubt, attached to him on account of his personal worth; and it was justly remarked that no man ever had more zealous friends than he had. Some persons possibly supported him on public grounds, but the large majorities that protected his interests in the Court of Proprietors, must have been influenced by other motives. The obligation of securing their support, as well as that of vindicating his measures to the Directors, in opposition to their sentiments, must have been a plentiful source of embarrassment, anxiety, and labour. The correspondence and the Minutes of Council which proceeded from the pen of Hastings are most voluminous. It is evident that he never meditated but on paper, and it is difficult to conceive a moment when his mind and his pen could have been at rest. Yet even the immense toils of his civil administration, and the public and private difficulties by which his whole path was beset, constituted but the minor events by which his government was characterized. The greater proportion of the period of his administration was a season of warfare, during which the very existence of the British power in India was at stake.

W. Hastings had scarcely assumed charge of his appointment, when he found himself engaged in the reduction of the military power of the Rohillas. The transaction did not originate with him, it was a legacy from his predecessors; and in continuing to take part in it, he acted, not as a principal, but as the confederate of the Nawab Vizir. That the government of Oude had justifiable grounds for seeking to annihilate the political existence of the Rohillas, is undeniable. They were dangerous neighbours, and had been hostile from the first aggrandizement of their leaders. There had always been a struggle for mastery between the principalities, and it was not possible that it should terminate without the subjugation of one or the other. Policy the most palpable, instigated the Vizir to accomplish their annihilation, not, as absurdly misrepresented, as a people, but as a power. Policy equally obvious urged the British government to fulfil the spirit of the stipulations into which they had entered with the Vizier, as the means of conciliating the only potentate in Hindustan able and disposed to form with them a counterpoise against the Mogul and the Mahrattas. Feeble as the Court of Delhi had become, its extreme



BOOK VI weakness was not suspected, and in the name of the king it still possessed  
 CHAP. 2. a formidable watchword which might have combined the strength of India  
 1796. against the English. The power of the Mahrattas was great, and was  
 imagined to be still greater. It was impossible that they should not look  
 with evil eyes upon the rich plains of Bengal and Behar, now defended  
 against their spoliations, and they claimed the districts of Corah and Alla-  
 habad on the part of the Mogul. They had, therefore, powerful induce-  
 ments to assail the English in addition to those of a more truly national  
 policy. Had the princes of India been capable of foresight or combination,  
 they would not have suffered the dominion which a handful of foreigners  
 had founded, to have grown into a fearful predominance. They were able  
 at this time to have crushed the infant empire, and it was but prudent to  
 anticipate that they would attempt it. It was known that a coalition of  
 the Mogul, the Mahrattas, and the Rohillas had been contemplated, and it  
 only wanted the accession of the Vizir to have rendered the situation of  
 the English more perilous than when they contended with Suraj ad Dowla  
 alone. It was, therefore, of infinite importance to preserve the friendship of  
 the Vizir, and to contribute to the improvement of his resources by the  
 cession made to him of Corah and Allahabad, and the assistance given to him  
 against irreconcilable enemies. It was taking a very narrow view of the  
 policy of Hastings, to ascribe his support of the Vizir to pecuniary con-  
 siderations alone. The payments made by him, however convenient to the  
 government, were but minor and subsidiary advantages. The main pur-  
 pose of Hastings was the friendship of Oude, and he succeeded in  
 preserving it. Events testified the wisdom of his policy. He was able to  
 apply the whole of his resources to meet the perils which presently came  
 fast upon the English from other quarters, because he was secure in the  
 direction of Oude: he was able to encounter and overcome enemies  
 the most formidable in Western India and the Dukhin, because, in con-  
 sequence of his relations with the Vizir, he had nothing to apprehend  
 from enemies in Hindustan.

The Rohilla campaign was scarcely at an end—the arrangements for  
 the conduct of civil affairs were yet incomplete—when the distractions of  
 the councils of Bengal commenced, and were speedily followed by the  
 announcement of hostilities between the Presidency of Bombay and the  
 much dreaded and really dangerous confederacy of the Mahrattas. These  
 hostilities were suspended for a time by the pacific intervention of the  
 government of Bengal, but they were renewed in 1778, with the approba-  
 tion of the Court of Directors, and the concurrence of the Supreme  
 Government. The support given by Hastings was decided, judicious, and  
 vigorous, and generally without the co-operation, or in despite of the  
 counteraction of his colleagues. By timely negotiations he deterred a  
 leading member of the Mahratta State, the Bhonsla Raja, qualified by his  
 position and power to have inflicted a deadly blow upon the resources of  
 Bengal, from taking any part in the contest, and by an operation of sin-  
 gular daring, considering the time and circumstances—that of sending an  
 army to the assistance of Bombay across the whole of central India, he not

only afforded aid of vital importance to the sister Presidency, but exhibited to the native states a proof of the spirit and resources of the government of Bengal, which struck them with salutary astonishment and apprehension.

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Early in the year 1779, that of the very first campaign, the British arms on the side of Bombay sustained a disgraceful discomfiture, and the safety of the troops was purchased by an ignominious pacification. The terms were not ratified by the Mahratta ministers, and an opportunity was afforded to Bombay to redeem its reputation. This was the only advantage that resulted from the renewal of hostilities. The Mahratta armies, notwithstanding the courage with which they were opposed, were not to be resisted; they overran the Konkan—cut off all the resources of the Bombay Presidency, and left it wholly dependent upon Bengal for means to defray not only its current expenditure, but the pay of the troops. There wanted but the co-operation of the Bhonsla and Sindhia to have expelled the English entirely from the coast of Malabar. The providence of Hastings had kept the former quiet, and his energy recalled the latter to the defence of his territories in Hindustan. The success of the armament despatched by Hastings against Malwa disposed Sindhia to peace, and by his intermediation also the war was brought to a close at a season when the pressure of other enemies added to the difficulty and danger of its continuance.

About the time when hostilities with the Mahrattas commenced, information reached India of a war with France. The coast of Coromandel necessarily became the scene of hostile movements. At first, the proceedings of the Madras Presidency were successful, but great exertions were made by France, and during the five years that the war continued, the French forces, both by land and sea, acquired many advantages, and were upon the eve of obtaining a formidable superiority on the coast, when peace between the parent countries was restored. It was not only by their own strength, however, that the French were dangerous: their hostility was rendered more alarming by the peril to which Madras was exposed from a still more implacable and powerful foe.

When war with the Mahrattas and the French was fairly on foot, the Madras Government, although unable to maintain, without assistance from Bengal, the contest with the latter, wantonly offered insult and injury to the Nizam and to Hyder Ali, the warlike sovereign of Mysore. The two princes were on the eve of an alliance with the Mahrattas and the French, when the Nizam was diverted from his purpose by the prudent interference of Hastings; and it was well that it was so, for although not of much account in himself, the Nizam, aided by a French corps, and acting simultaneously with Hyder would probably have effected the ruin of Madras. Even without his aid, Madras was saved with difficulty, and it was saved by Bengal. Hyder Ali broke into the Carnatic when no preparation had been made to resist him—formed an alliance with the French—cut to pieces one division of the army sent against him, and drove the other to the walls of Madras. The whole of the country was in his possession:—the Presidency, was utterly destitute of military stores, of money,

BOOK VI and even in want of food. It was preserved from destruction, and enabled  
 CHAP. 2. ultimately to effect a peace on advantageous terms with Tippoo, entirely  
 1796. by the prompt and extensive supplies which the energy of Hastings provided. The war ceased only the year before the term of his government expired.

Here then was a distant warfare maintained for several years with the two most powerful and warlike states of India—Hyder and the Mahrattas, and with a formidable European rival, entirely by the resources of Bengal. These, under the administration of Hastings, were large, but they were not illimitable, and they had demands of their own to answer. Such was the annual provision of the Company's investment, the main stay of their credit and disbursements in England, and amidst all the financial embarrassments of the Government of Bengal, this was never interrupted. As, however, the ordinary means at his command were not adequate to the emergencies of his situation, Hastings had recourse to those which were the principal topics of his subsequent impeachment. He demanded contributions of Cheit Sing, and countenanced the Nawab Vizir's resumption of that wealth from which alone he could discharge his debt to the Company and furnish the Government with that pecuniary aid which was urgently needed. It was preposterous to tax Hastings with either tyranny or avarice on these accounts. He had no aim in gathering treasures into the coffers of the Company, except pouring them forth again for the equipment of those armies and fleets upon which the safety of British India depended. He may be charged with rigour in the execution of his resolves, but those resolves were dictated by an imperious necessity, and there was no time for hesitation. To have admitted of any temporising would have been a weakness that might have entailed the loss of Bombay and Madras, if not the extinction of the British power in Bengal. It was the characteristic merit of Hastings to resolve calmly and act resolutely. He says of himself, with perfect truth, "it was ever my rule in all political transactions, however I might allow myself to hesitate in forming plans of action, to prosecute them, when they were formed, with a fixed and undeviating resolution, to their accomplishment."

These are the great features of the administration of Hastings. In the civil branch of his government he laid, amidst many obstructions from ignorance and animosity, the foundations of the judicial and revenue systems which have ever since prevailed, and in despite of equal embarrassments and opposition in the conduct of the military transactions in which he was involved, he rescued the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras from the most imminent peril, and placed the British power in India in a position beyond the reach of future danger from hostile aggression. Clive acquired an empire; its perpetuation is due to Hastings.

The limits of a note have been already too much transgressed to allow of any notice being taken of other less prominent, although by no means unimportant circumstances of the government of Hastings. It is not possible, however, to omit all mention of the beneficial encouragement and direction which he gave to the first attempts that were made by the English in

India to acquire an accurate knowledge of the people amongst whom they dwelt. Besides Committees appointed officially to institute investigations into the systems of revenue and law which had prevailed under the native governments, the servants of the Company were engaged, under his patronage, in deriving authentic information from native authorities. A code of Hindu law was compiled by the Pundits, and translated into English. The Hedaya or Mohammedan code was also translated, and the translation of the Ayin Akbari, the Institutes of Akber, was commenced under the patronage of Hastings. He also founded the Mohammedan College of Calcutta, expressly that competent expounders of Mohammedan law might be reared for the public service. Nor was his patronage restricted to the literature of Hindu or Mohammedan law. It was liberally granted to all literary undertakings. The Press was of his creation—the first types were cast, the first presses worked, by his authority and with his aid. The Bhagavat Gita was translated and printed—the translation of the Seir Mutakherin was commenced—the first grammar of the Bengali language was published. Names the most illustrious in the history of Indian Oriental literature, Halhed, Hamilton, Gladwin, Wilkins, Wilford, belong to this æra; and when Sir William Jones instituted the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he not only received the warm concurrence of Hastings, but found a body of Asiatic scholars ready to enlist under his banners, whom the patronage of the Governor-General had reared. Nor is the period of the government of Hastings less remarkable for talent in other departments, and many of the most distinguished of the Company's civil servants, Grant, Shore, Duncan, the two Colebrookes, Anderson, Harington, and others, of like reputation, were either his associates or his disciples.

Whether, therefore, we look to the origination of the systems which have prevailed in India since the days of Hastings, for the collection of the revenue or the distribution of justice—to the consolidation and durability of the political power of the Company, which he found feeble and tottering, and left impregnable—or to the liberal spirit of inquiry and zeal for the public service which he impressed indelibly upon the character of the Company's servants, it cannot be denied that his administration has infinite claims upon the gratitude of the Company, and if India be worth the having, upon the gratitude of Great Britain.

Were there then no imperfections, no errors, no faults, in the administration of Hastings? The answer to this is—he was a man. There were defects, no doubt, but there were no great crimes and misdemeanours to justify his impeachment. In his internal government there was profuse expenditure, and undue facilities were afforded to individuals to enrich themselves, by profitable contracts, at the public cost. Some of this, it may be admitted, arose out of the necessity which was imposed upon the Governor-General by the opposition he had to overcome both in India and in England, a necessity which he deeply lamented—of conciliating support—he did sometimes purchase 'friends' with the money of the state—his offence is not singular—and in his day, in particular, men were a very purchaseable commodity. He wanted them, and he bought them with the



BOOK VI funds at his disposal—payment of a less coarse description may now be  
 CHAP. 2. offered, but there is no reason to believe that the traffic has ceased. Some

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part of this profuse expenditure, however, may be also attributed to want of sufficient thrift, for it may be granted that Hastings was not, at all times, sufficiently careful of pecuniary outlay, whether it was on his own account or that of the state. The greatest portion of the extravagance however was unavoidable. In the utter want of organization, which the newness of all the public departments necessarily presented, there was no other mode of procuring supplies, except by the system of contracts. There were no officers in the employ of the Government who had either the time or the skill to conduct such duties themselves, and it was indispensable to have recourse to those who were stimulated to the attainment of the requisite qualifications by interested motives. The system survived Hastings long after the pleas by which it was vindicable, in his time, had lost their force, and it cannot in justice be made a ground of accusation against his government. As it affected his own conduct, although there was at times want of care and caution, there was no justifiable reason for charging him with being guilty of corruption. It was never attempted to be proved that he had, in any way, benefited by the advantageous contracts by which he secured opulence to others.

To the principles of his foreign policy no shadow of guilt can be attached. The safety and honour of British India were manifestly the motives of all his actions. Whether he was not at times less unrelenting than the occasion called for may admit of conjecture, but undoubtedly, the times were critical—great firmness was demanded—and its excess was a venial error, when its deficiency would have been an inexcusable crime.—W.

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## APPENDIX.

*“ Report from the Committee of the House of Commons appointed (viz. on the 5th of March 1794) to inspect the Lords’ Journals in relation to their Proceedings on the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. and to report what they find therein to the House; which Committee were the Managers appointed to make good the Articles of Impeachment against the said Warren Hastings, Esq. and who were afterwards (viz. on the*

*17th of March, 1794) instructed to report the several matters which have occurred since the Commencement of the said Prosecution, and which have, in their Opinion, contributed to the Duration thereof to the present Time, with their Observations thereupon."*

A SHORT account of the spirit of this document, BOOK VI  
CHAP. 2. and of the principal matters which it contains, is of high importance. It is a criticism not only upon this trial, but upon the law; a thing in this country, of great rarity, from a source of high authority. It would also be a thing of great utility, if it would show the people of the country, what they have been carefully disciplined not to believe, that no greater service can be rendered to the community than to expose the abuses of the law; without which the hope of its amendment is for ever excluded. The view is incomplete, and but superficial, which Mr. Burke, who was the author of the document, takes, even of that small portion of the mass of abuses, of which he had occasion to complain. He neither stretched his eye to the whole of the subject, nor did he carry its vision to the bottom. He was afraid. He was not a man to explore a new and dangerous path without associates. Edmund Burke lived upon applause—upon the applause of the men who were able to set a fashion; and the applause of such men was not to be hoped for by him, who should expose to the foundation the iniquities of the juridical system. In the case of public institutions, Mr. Burke had also worked himself into an artificial

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admiration of the bare fact of existence; especially ancient existence. Every thing was to be protected; not, because it was good, but, because it existed. Evil, to render itself an object of reverence in his eye, required only to be realized. Acutely sensible however to the spur of the occasion, he felt the abuses which crossed him in his path. These he has displayed with his usual felicity of language; and these it is of importance with respect to the imitative herd of mankind to have stamped with the seal of his reprobation.

I. Under the first head of the report, an analysis was given for the duration of the trial, and of the causes to which that duration was owing. At that time the trial had occupied, though six years, only 118 days. Of these it appeared that in speeches, opening, and summing up, the managers consumed nineteen days; that in speeches, opening, and summing up, and his own addresses, the defendant and his counsel had consumed twenty-two days. In documentary and oral evidence fifty-one days were employed by the managers; and twenty-three on the part of the defendant. But, as the managers brought forward the case, they were under the necessity of adducing almost all the documents which bore upon the facts, and to interrogate almost all the witnesses from whom, on either side, any information could be derived. A great part of this evidence the defendant, at the time of his defence, had only to apply. Lastly, and chiefly, the greater part of the long and harassing contentions about the admissibility of evidence, took place during the fifty-one days which

are set down to the account of the managers, but of which the greater part was consumed on account of the defendant.

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“ This last cause of the number of sitting-days,” said the report, “ your Committee considers as far more important than all the rest.

“ The questions upon the admissibility of evidence, the manner in which these questions were stated, and were decided; the modes of proceeding; the great uncertainty of the principle upon which evidence in that Court is to be admitted or rejected; all these appear to your Committee materially to affect the constitution of the House of Peers as a court of judicature, as well as its powers, and the purposes it was intended to answer in the state.

“ The conservation of all other parts of the law; the whole indeed of the rights and liberties of the subject, ultimately depends upon the preservation of the law of parliament in its original force and authority.

“ Your Committee had reason to entertain apprehensions, that certain proceedings in this trial may possibly limit and weaken the means of carrying on any future impeachment of the Commons.”

In the House of Commons, on the 11th of May, 1790, Mr. Burke affirmed, that the Lords sat on the trial in Westminster Hall not more than three hours a day on an average. Suppose in this statement some exaggeration; four hours is doubtless a large allowance. The number of hours, then, consumed in the trial, was 472. If the court had acted constantly, and ten hours a day (a well-constituted judicature, during the continuance of a trial, would



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not account ten hours an excess) the trial of Warren Hastings, which lasted eight years, and occupied 145 days, might with all the technical obstructions have been begun, carried through all its stages, and finished, in little more than sixty days, or about two calendar months. When the defendant, therefore, and his counsel, took advantage of the disgraceful catalogue of years, to cast odium upon the managers, they were the cause of injustice. It is worthy at the same time of being observed, that it was the length of the trial of which he affected so bitterly to complain, and the horrid expense with which law proceedings are in this country attended, which by converting suspicion, and, in many cases indignation, into pity, rendered the termination of the trial so favourable to Mr. Hastings; which, if his acquittal, from the lips of his judges, would at any time have been equally sure, rendered, most undoubtedly, his acquittal, at the great tribunal of public opinion, much more complete; and which was the sole cause of the gratuities with which he was afterwards treated.

II. The relation of the ordinary, the law judges, to the court of parliament, the committee remarked upon, as a thing of great importance to fix and to understand. They had found their interference peculiarly hostile to all those ends of justice which the technical rules of procedure are calculated to obstruct. It was, therefore, the committee declared, agreeable to them, to find, upon inquiry, that the judges were nothing but servants; “that they neither had, nor of right ought to have, a deliberative voice, either actually, or virtually, in the judgments

given in the High Court of Parliament;" and that their answers to questions are no further a guide to that court than it pleases to make them.

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III. The committee set forward a principle which, in the capacity of managers, they had frequently urged in Westminster Hall; that the Lords were not bound by the Roman law, or that of any of the inferior courts in Westminster Hall; but only by the law of parliament. That they were not bound by the Roman, or English technical law, it might be very wise to maintain. But where was that law of parliament of which the committee spoke? It had no existence, any where; it was a mere fiction; spoken of, indeed, but never seen. This is one of those important facts, its ignorance of which exposed the mind of Mr. Burke to much of the perplexity, confusion, and embarrassment, which it experienced upon this subject; and to much of the weakness and inconsistency, of which the lawyers were disposed to take a prompt and unsparing advantage. It was one of the grand foundations, too, of that imperfection of the House of Lords, as a criminal tribunal, whence those evils resulted, with complaints of which the nation was filled.

IV. The committee were not satisfied with showing, that the formalities in pleading, rigidly demanded in the ordinary courts of law, had been explicitly and solemnly determined to be unnecessary before the Lords; they were bold enough to proceed further in condemnation of the courts below, and to offer reasons for showing that some at least of the formalities of these courts were hostile, not conducive, to substantial justice.

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It is necessary, for example, in an indictment, that a certain day be assigned for the commission of the fact. Yet on the trial it is sufficient to prove that it happened on any other day. In this, the committee said, there was "something insnaring; the defendant having *notice* to answer for only one day, when the prosecutor has his choice of a number of days." They made also the following important remark, that the practice of the ordinary courts of law in England, is distinguished by "extreme rigour and exactness in the *formal* part of the proceeding, and extreme laxity in the *substantial* part:" That is to say, it is a practice well calculated for sacrificing the substance of justice, under the screen of attention to its forms.

But here also Mr. Burke found himself weak; and so did his opponents find him: because he knew not the ground upon which he stood. He was afraid to do more than carp, as detached instances, at one or two formalities, which he had found, in the case before him, might be employed for the obstruction of justice. And the lawyers overwhelmed him with assumptions to which it was the habit of his mind to submit. Had he seen far enough into the subject, to be able to denounce every thing merely technical in judicial procedure, every thing which falls not under the description of a simple and rational instrument of simple and rational inquiry, as a contrivance set up to impede the course of justice, and existing only for pernicious ends; the lawyers would have found that they had nothing beside their commonplace fallacies by which they could oppose him.

V. On the question of *publicity*, the managers

spoke with the greatest emphasis. They divided the subject into two parts; that relating to the publicity of the judges' opinions; and that relating to publicity in general.

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In taking the opinions of the judges in private, and defrauding the parties and the public of the benefit of their reasons, the committee complained, that the House of Lords had violated, at once, the obvious rules of natural justice, and the established law and usage of their own house. To show what was the law and usage of the High Court of Parliament a variety of precedents were adduced.

On the more general part of the question, it was the object of the committee to show, that the publicity of all the proceedings of the judges, and the statement of the reasons upon which all their determinations were founded, were so much the confirmed and undeviating practice in all other English courts of law, that "it seemed to be moulded in the essential frame and constitution of British judicature."

It was also their object to show, that this great principle was indispensably necessary, both for preserving the public liberties of the country, and for securing to the people the benefits of law.

"It was fortunate," they said, "for the constitution of this kingdom, that in the judicial proceedings in the case of Ship-money, the judges did not then venture to depart from the ancient course. They gave, and they argued, their judgment, in open court. Their reasons were publicly given; and the reasons assigned for their judgment took away all its authority."



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In regard to the benefits of law, they said; "To give judgment privately, is to put an end to Reports; and to put an end to Reports is to put an end to the law of England." This the committee made out, by showing, that in respect to law the people of England are in a most dreadful situation. For the greater part of that which they ought to possess in the state of precise and accurate law, they have nothing but notes, taken by any body, of what has been done, without any better kind of law, in this, and the other instance, in the several courts. It followed of course, that if you have no law, beside these notes, and yet destroy your notes, you destroy also the law. "Your Committee," said the report, "conceives, that the English jurisprudence has not any other sure foundation; nor consequently the lives and properties of the subject any secure hold; but in the maxims, rules, and principles, and juridical traditionary line of decisions, contained in the notes taken, and, from time to time, published, called Reports." After the word "published," the report says, "mostly under the sanction of the judges;" an expression that misleads, if it is understood to import any security taken by the judges, that they are correct: or even any knowledge the judges possess of what they are to contain.—Is not this a shocking account of a state of law yet existing in a civilized country? It is here also fit, to insert a protest which was entered in the Journals of the Lords, against the innovation of secret deliberation and despotical mandates—mandates purely despotical, because mere expressions of arbitrary will.

"DISSENTIENT. 1st. Because, by consulting the Judges out of court in the absence of the parties,

and with shut doors, we have deviated from the most approved, and almost uninterrupted, practice of above a century and a half, and established a precedent not only destructive of the justice due to the parties at our bar, but materially injurious to the rights of the community at large, who in cases of impeachments are more peculiarly interested that all proceedings of this High Court of Parliament should be open and exposed, like all other courts of justice, to public observation and comment, in order that no covert and private practices should defeat the great ends of public justice.

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“2ndly. Because, from private opinions of the Judges, upon private statements, which the parties have neither heard nor seen, grounds of a decision will be obtained, which must inevitably affect the cause at issue at our bar; this mode of proceeding seems to be a violation of the first principle of justice, inasmuch as we thereby force and confine the opinions of the Judges to our private statement; and through the medium of our subsequent decision we transfer the effect of those opinions to the parties who have been deprived of the right and advantage of being heard, by such private, though unintended, transmutation of the point at issue.

“3rdly. Because the prisoners who may hereafter have the misfortune to stand at our bar will be deprived of that consolation which the Lord High Steward Nottingham conveyed to the prisoner, Lord Cornwallis, viz. ‘That the Lords have that tender regard of a prisoner at the bar, that they will not suffer a case to be put in his absence, lest it should prejudice him by being wrong stated.’

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“ 4thly. Because unusual mystery and secrecy in our judicial proceedings must tend either to discredit the acquittal of the prisoner, or render the justice of his condemnation doubtful.

“(Signed)

PORCHESTER,

SUFFOLK AND BERKSHIRE,

LOUGHBOROUGH.”

VI. The committee next showed, by irresistible evidence, that the House of Lords, by the questions which they had transferred to the decision of the judges, had subverted the usage of parliament, violated some of the most important of the privileges of the Commons, betrayed and relinquished their own judicial trust, and broken down one of the strongest bulwarks of the constitution.

On all former occasions, the judges were consulted by the Lords, not on the individual circumstances of the individual cause ; but on some general question, within which the circumstances of the individual case might fall, and the application of which to those circumstances the Lords reserved to themselves.

“In the present trial,” says the report, “the judges appear to your Committee, not to have given their judgment on points of law, stated as such ; but to have, in effect, tried the cause, in the whole course of it, with one instance to the contrary.—The Lords have stated no question of general law ; no question on the construction of an act of parliament ; no question concerning the practice of the courts below. They put the whole gross case, and matter in ques-

tion, with all its circumstances, to the judges. They have *for the first time*, demanded of them what particular person, paper, or document, ought, or ought not, to be produced before them, by the managers for the Commons of Great Britain.

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So much for the innovation : Now for the consequences of it.

“ This mode strikes, as we apprehend, at the vital privileges of the House. For, with a single exception, the case being stated, the questions are raised directly, specifically, and by name, on these privileges ; that is, What evidence is it competent for the managers of the House of Commons to produce.— We conceive, that it was not proper, nor justified by a single precedent, to refer to the judges of the inferior courts any question, and still less for them to decide in their answer, of what is, or is not competent for the House of Commons, or for any committee acting under their authority, to do, or not to do, in any instance, or respect whatsoever. This new and unheard of course can have no other effect than to subject to the discretion of the judges the law of parliament and the privileges of the House of Commons, and in a great measure the judicial privileges of the Peers themselves; any intermeddling in which, on their part, we conceive to be a dangerous and unwarrantable assumption of power.”

Such were the effects upon the privileges of the Lords, and the Commons. Let us next observe what they were upon objects of much greater importance.

“ The operation of this method is, in substance, not only to make the judges masters of the whole



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medium, to transfer to them the ultimate judgment  
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“ These essential innovations tend, as your Committee conceives, to make an entire alteration in the constitution and in the purposes of the High Court of Parliament, and even to reverse the ancient relations between the Lords and the Judges.

“ It tends wholly to take away from the Commons the benefit of making good their case before the proper judges, and submits this high inquest to the inferior courts.

“ Your Committee sees no reason why, on the same principles and precedents, the Lords may not terminate their proceedings, in this and in all future trials, by sending the whole body of evidence taken before them, in the shape of a special verdict, to the Judges, and may not demand of them whether they ought, on the whole matter, to acquit or condemn the prisoner : Nor can we discover any cause that should hinder them from deciding on the accumulative body of the evidence, as hitherto they have done in its parts, and from dictating the existence or non-existence of a misdemeanour or other crime in the prisoner, as they think fit,—without any more reference to principle or precedent of law, than hitherto they have thought proper to apply in determining on the several parcels of this cause.

“ Your Committee apprehends that very serious inconveniences and mischiefs may hereafter arise from a practice in the House of Lords, of considering itself as unable to act without the judges of the inferior courts, of implicitly following their dictates, of adhering with a literal precision to the very

words of their responses, and putting them to decide on the competence of the managers for the Commons,—the competence of the evidence to be produced,—who are to be permitted to appear,—what questions are to be asked of witnesses, and indeed, parcel by parcel, of the whole of the gross case before them; as well as to determine upon the order, method, and process of every part of their proceedings. The judges of the inferior courts are by law rendered independent of the Crown. But this, instead of a benefit to the subject, would be a grievance, if no way was left of producing a responsibility. If the Lords cannot, or will not act without the Judges; and if (which God forbid!) the Commons should at any time find it hereafter necessary to impeach them before the Lords; this House would find the Lords disabled in their functions, fearful of giving any judgment on matter of law, or admitting any proof of fact without them; and having once assumed the rule of proceeding and practice below as their rule, they must at every instance resort, for their means of judging, to the authority of those whom they are appointed to judge.”

On the side of judicature, then, the people were left without a remedy. The Lords, by nullifying themselves, took away every legal check upon the iniquity of judges, because the judges could only be tried before the Lords, and to be tried before the Lords was to be tried by themselves.

For the departure from the ancient practice of framing a general question, within which the particular point in doubt was comprehended, to the new and extraordinary practice of sending the particular point itself to the judges, before whom the cause and

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its evidence was not brought, two possible causes are assignable. First ; Talent, and the exercise of talent, were necessary to the framing of general questions ; but talent was possibly scarce, and the labour of thought undoubtedly painful. Secondly ; General rules, framed to embrace the particular instances, decided as they were by the judges, would, in many cases, not have borne to be expressed ; their efficacy, in corrupting the administration of justice, would have been sufficiently visible, to excite the indignation of the world.

They would have been seen to be, what, by the committee, they were declared to be, “ of a tendency to shut up for ever all the avenues to justice ;” to operate as “ a means of concealment ;” “ to render the process of judicature, not the terror, but the protection, of all the fraud and violence arising from the abuse of power ;” and, united with “ private, unargued judicial opinions, to introduce, by degrees, the miserable servitude which exists where the law is uncertain or unknown.”

“ *A miserable servitude exists wherever the law is uncertain or unknown.*” Such was the opinion, solemnly pronounced, on a very important occasion, by the assemblage of great men by whom this trial of Warren Hastings was conducted. Does any man dispute its truth and importance ? After this acknowledgment, did the managers reflect how dreadfully uncertain law must be, in that country where it has nothing for its foundation, but the notes taken by casual individuals, of the incidents which happen in this and that individual case ? Did they reflect, to how dreadful a degree law must be unknown, in that country, in which it is so voluminous and

obsure, that the longest life of the most ingenious lawyer, according to the lawyers themselves, is not sufficient to learn completely even one of its parts? Is it necessary to add, how great a portion of this *miserable servitude* is, therefore, the curse and the disgrace of the country, among the legislators of which these managers themselves were found?

VII. The committee made a dissertation of considerable value upon the rules of evidence, or rather the rules for exclusion of evidence. Even here, however, the author of the report saw his way but obscurely. He perceived distinctly, that every one of the rules of exclusion, which had been brought to bear against himself, was mischievous, and opposed to the course of justice in that particular application of it. But he did not ascend to the principle of exclusion itself; and perceive that generically it was pregnant with nothing but mischief. The mind of Mr. Burke was not a generalizing mind. It rested upon individual cases; had little native propensity to ascend any higher; and seldom did so, unless when impelled by unusual circumstances.

The Committee begin with stating to the House of Commons, and to the world, a most important fact. They had been informed, before the trial began, that use would be made of the rules of evidence to obstruct them. That is to say, the knowledge existed, and was capable of being turned to practical account, that the laws of evidence were useful to protect a criminal; because it was not yet known whether Hastings was criminal or not criminal; but it was perfectly known, it seems, that, in either case, the laws of evidence would be effectual to obstruct his prosecutors. And, happily, the



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power of obstructing justice, which English law thus puts into the hands of her professors, received a memorable and flagrant illustration, on the trial of Warren Hastings.

The committee first observe, that if the rules for excluding evidence were of advantage in questions which related to men of our own country, and to private transactions they were altogether inapplicable, in questions, which related "to a people separated from Great Britain by a very great part of the globe, separated by manners, by principles of religion, and by inveterate habits as strong as nature itself, still more than by the circumstance of local distance;" and questions which related to men, "who in the perpetration and concealment of offences, have had the advantage of all the means and powers given to government for the detection and punishment of guilt, and for the protection of the people."

The author of the report lays down the principle of evidence, with more than his usual comprehensiveness, in the following words: "Your committee conceives, that the trial of a cause is not in the arguments or disputations of the prosecutors and the counsel, but in the *evidence*; and that to *refuse* evidence, is to refuse to hear the cause: Nothing, therefore, but the most clear and weighty reasons ought to preclude its production." Yet, after laying down this important proposition, the author seems to have known little of its value; for he makes hardly any use of it, but goes immediately to challenge his adversary, on the score of precedent and practice; though he had made the committee expressly declare, that where not "founded on the

immutable principles of substantial justice, no practice, in any court, high or low, is proper, or fit to be maintained."

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The committee proceeded to lay before the House and the world, the result of a careful research, which they professed to have made into the subject of *legal technicalities*, or "those supposed strict and inflexible rules of proceeding and of evidence, which appeared to them," as they affirmed, "destructive of all the means and ends of justice;" a declaration more firmly grounded than even they were aware; and of which their country has not yet been wise enough to profit.

They gave an account of the doctrine of evidence, as it had been manifested in the proceedings of the high court of parliament, as it existed in the civil or Roman, and as it existed in English law. The inference presented was, that on the trial of Mr. Hastings, the Lords, in the leading-strings of the judges, went beyond the law of parliament, beyond the civil, and beyond even the English law, in their rejections of evidence.

Reflecting upon the history of English law, which for a series of years had been relaxing the ceremonial of barbarous times, and always most rapidly in the hands of its most enlightened professors, the committee presented a most important historical and philosophical fact: That an overlaboured devotion to forms, at the expense of substance, is the bent of a rude age: and of a rude mind, in all ages.

The committee, having produced a number of the most remarkable instances they could find, in which the judges had violated the formalities of law in order to preserve the substance of justice, exhibited the

BOOK VI following brilliant eulogium on the courts of law :  
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1794. “ It is with great satisfaction your committee has found, that the reproach of *disgraceful subtleties*, of inferior rules of evidence which prevent the discovery of truth, of forms and modes of proceeding which stand in the way of that justice, the forwarding of which is the sole rational object of their invention, cannot fairly be imputed to the common law of England, or to the ordinary practice of the courts below.”

This was to draw a general rule from the induction of a small and insufficient number of particulars, agreeably to the mental habit of Edmund Burke. He had exhibited a certain number of instances, in which the formalities of law had been made to yield to the claims of justice. He might have exhibited a much greater number, in which the claims of justice had been made to yield to the formalities of law. Mr. Burke seems to have been perfectly ignorant of a great and pervading principle of English law, which may be called *the principle of duplicity*. On occasions, so numerous as to extend over a great part of the whole field of law, English judges are provided with *two* grounds, on which they may erect their decisions; two *opposite* grounds, by means of which they may, upon the same question, make choice of any one of two opposite decisions which they please; and still be in the right. They may follow the rule of rational justice, and the genuine merits of the case, without regard to the formalities of law: In that instance, they are clothed with the praise of liberality. They may adhere to the formalities, and disregard the substance of the case: In that instance they are decorated with the praise of a zeal for the

law, for that steadiness and fixity in the rules of law on which the usefulness of them mainly depends. BOOK VI  
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This power of deciding, either on one side or another, just as they please, is arbitrary power; and, as far as it extends, renders the Judges completely, and uncontrollably, despotic. They may do whatever they please. They may favour justice, if they have an inclination for justice. They may violate justice, if they have any end to serve by the violation. In the one case they are safe, on pretence of justice: in the other they are safe, on pretence of law. 1794.

VIII. After some general observations on the nature and importance of circumstantial evidence, the committee stated that the Lords had, on this occasion, pursued a course, not only unsupported by any practice of their predecessors, and in hostility with the practice of the Courts below; but a course which appeared to the committee "totally abhorrent from the genius of circumstantial evidence, and mischievously subversive of its use."

"As proof by circumstantial evidence rarely, if ever," says the report, "depends upon one fact only, but is collected from the number and accumulation of circumstances concurrent in one point; we do not find an instance until this trial of Warren Hastings, Esq., (which has produced many novelties) that attempts have been made by any court to call on the prosecutor for an account of the purpose for which he means to produce each particle of this circumstantial evidence, to take up the circumstances one by one, to prejudge the efficacy of each matter separately in proving the point; and thus to break to pieces and garble those facts, upon the



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multitude of which, their combination, and the relation of all their component parts to each other, and to the culprit, the whole force and virtue of this evidence depends. To do any thing which can destroy this collective effect, is to deny circumstantial evidence."

The following was another pertinent remark. "Your committee cannot but express their surprise at the particular period of the present trial when the attempts to which we have alluded first began to be made. We did not find any serious resistance on this head, till we came to make good our charges of secret crimes; crimes of a class and description, in the proof of which all Judges of all countries have found it necessary to relax almost all their rules of competency; such crimes as speculation, pecuniary frauds, extortion, and bribery."

IX. The committee complained that the Lords had made it a ground of exclusion, if a question was put on the cross-examination, not on the examination in chief; or if an article of evidence was tendered on the reply, not in the first stage of the prosecution. They entered into a long argument to show, that this conduct, as it was unfavourable to the discovery of truth and correct decision; so it was unsupported by any thing in the law or practice of the courts.

X. The committee, last of all, commented upon the defence set up for this rejection of evidence; that it corresponded with the practice of the Judges in trying offences under commissions of oyer and terminer. They made a distinction between common jurymen, bound to give their verdict at one sitting, and the peers of parliament, possessing all the time

for deliberation which the case might require. They allowed, with flagrant inconsistency, that exclusion might be very wise and good, when it was common jurymen who were to decide upon the case; contended that it was very noxious when the Lords of Parliament were to decide; as if common jurymen were capable of deciding accurately and justly upon the merits of a case, with evidence not complete; the Lords of Parliament were not capable! As if the way to prevent ignorance from deciding wrong was to withhold information! As if a man with imperfect eyes were expected to find his way best in the dark! Assuredly, if an ignorant man is called upon to make a decision, the way to obtain a correct one is not to deprive him of information on the subject, but to give him all the information in your power, and instruct him, as completely as you can, what degree of influence each article of information intrinsically possesses towards proving the matter in dispute.

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This unprecedented exposure of abuses in the law, and of the advantage made of those abuses, by the professors of the law, excited the highest indignation among those professors. Lord Thurlow, at the head of them in point of weight, and almost at the head of them also in impetuosity of temper, broke out, on an early occasion, with the flames which were kindled within his breast.

In a debate which took place in the House of Peers, on Thursday, May 22nd, on the bill for allowing government to take up and confine for a limited time persons suspected of treasonable or seditious practices, Lord Thurlow in his speech mentioned

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“ a pamphlet which his Lordship said was published by one Debrett, in Piccadilly, and which had that day been put into his hands, reflecting highly upon the Judges and many Members of that House: it was disgraceful and indecent; such as he thought never ought to pass *unpunished*. He considered that vilifying and *misrepresenting* the conduct of Judges and Magistrates, intrusted with the administration of justice and the laws of the country, *was a crime* of a very heinous nature, most destructive in its consequences, because it tended to lower them in the opinion of those who ought to feel a proper reverence and respect for their high and important stations; and when it was stated to the ignorant and wicked, that their Judges and Magistrates were ignorant and corrupt, it tended to lessen their respect for, and obedience to, the laws of their country, because they were taught to think ill of those who administered them.”<sup>1</sup>

We may here observe one of the most remarkable of the expedients of the lawyers. What they have laboured from an early date to create and establish in the minds of their countrymen is—a belief, that it

<sup>1</sup> Had the House of Lords prosecuted Debrett for a libel, they would only have followed the example set them by the House of Commons a few years before, in the course of this same trial. The charges found against Hastings were printed and sold. They were commented upon with considerable ability and some severity, by the Rev. Mr. Logan, one of the ministers of Leith, in Scotland. This review was published by a bookseller of the name of Stockdale, and upon the motion of the managers, an information was filed against him by the Attorney-General, for a libel on the Commons House of Parliament. The cause was heard in the Court of Kings' Bench in December, 1789. The occasion was rendered remarkable by the eloquence of Erskine, who defended Stockdale, and made a speech in his defence, which is considered as one of the most brilliant specimens of his oratory. Although only incidental to the subject, there are several passages in the speech which powerfully vindicate the conduct of Hastings.—See Erskine's speeches, vol. ii. 205.—W.

is criminal ever to express blame of them or their system. This endeavour has hardly been less diligent than it has been successful. The belief has grown into one of the most rooted principles in the minds of the more opulent classes of Englishmen. That it is one of the most pernicious prejudices is indisputable. For it is obvious, that it confers upon the lawyers, as far as it goes, a complete and absolute license to make the system of which they are the organs, and upon which all the happiness of society depends, as favourable to their own interests, at the expense of those of the community, as ever they please. It is, therefore, a belief artificially created by the lawyers, for the protection of their own abuses; and will never be allowed to retain a place in the mind of any enlightened and disinterested man. The grand remedy for the *defects* of government is, to let in upon them publicity and censure. There are no abuses in the exposure of which society is more interested than those of the law. There is no misconduct in the exposure of which it is more interested than that of the lawyers.

The first thing observable in the speech of this great lawyer is the *fiction*, under which he speaks of the report of a committee of the House of Commons. It was a *pamphlet* published by one Debrett. The regulations of parliament required, that notice should not be taken in one of the Houses, of any thing done in the other. The speech of the great lawyer, then, was a flagrant violation of that rule; for the whole purport of it was to arraign the *matter* of the writing, which was the production of the House of Commons, not the mere act of *publication*, in which

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alone Debrett was concerned. A rule that can be set aside by a fiction, that is, by a declaration more or less false, adapted to the purpose, is not a rule that is good for much, as it will never be in substance regarded when any one has a motive for breaking it.

The vindictive Judge here speaks of two things, *vilifying*, and *misrepresenting*. If he meant to say, that the report of the committee of the House of Commons had misrepresented any thing done by the Judges, of either of the two descriptions, concerned in the trial of Mr. Hastings; it is not true. He could not have mentioned a single fact which was not justly stated; nor a single censure, with respect to which, the fact against which it was pointed, and the reasons for which it was applied, were not both of them distinctly assigned. Nothing could be further from misrepresentation than this.

Further, the offended Judge speaks of *two* things, *vilifying*, and *misrepresenting*, as if they were one and the same thing; and thereby creates a deceitful and mischievous confusion. *Misrepresenting*, which is conveying a false conception of another man, is always bad. It may or it may not imply guilt, according to the state of the mind from which it issued. But all means should be employed both to prevent its existence, and to provide a remedy for its effects. *Vilification* is a very different thing; and is subject to very different laws. Vilification, as distinct from misrepresentation, is the conveying a true character of a bad man. The case is not easy to be conceived, in which that is not good for society. There can be no case, in which to publish the true character of a bad ruler is not good for society. There can be no case, in which to publish the true

character of a bad *Judge* is not pre-eminently beneficial to society.

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Observe the sleight of hand, with which the artificer endeavours to pass his counterfeit coin. *Vilification*, and *misrepresentation*, are both spoken of, as the same thing. Misrepresentation is unquestionably bad; and vilification being shuffled in, under the same cover, is spoken of as bad also. And then comes the doctrine, delightful to the lawyer, that to speak with censure of the dignitaries of the law, on any occasion, or in any shape, is the height of criminality; and that "to reflect," as they call it, upon the Judges, that is, to make just remarks upon ill-behaviour, "ought never to pass *unpunished*." It is very natural for Judges to preach punishment for all "reflection" upon Judges. But what is the consequence with respect to the unhappy community? To ensure to the Judges a power of gratifying and aggrandizing themselves at their expense; the power, in short, of making and keeping the law, an instrument, to any extent which they please, not of justice, but oppression.

Hear the plea of the lawyer, in behalf of his mischievous claim. To make known, says he, the offences of great men of the law would "diminish respect for, and obedience to the laws." That is say: When laws and the administration of them are made good, they will not be respected: When they are bad, if you only say nothing about their badness, and allow the lawyers to praise the badness as if it were goodness, you will then have perfect respect and obedience. Who but those who have rendered up their understandings to the will of the deceivers, can be-

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lieve this wretched misrepresentation of the human mind? It requires pains and trouble, cunningly and perseveringly applied, to make people in love with that which hurts them; leave them only to the operation of nature, and that which does them good will of itself engage their affections. If half the pains were taken to make the people see the excellence of good laws, that have been always taken to prevent them from seeing the wickedness of bad laws, an obedience such as the world has never yet beheld, and never can behold, till that righteous course is adopted, would be the consequence, ensured, with the certainty of the laws of nature.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> What Mr. Burke said upon the subject of this attack deserves attention; though his strictures fall greatly short of the mark, because his mind was deluded by the fallacy—of respect for bad Judges, and bad laws. On the day after the speech of Lord Thurlow was delivered in the House of Lords, he thus addressed the House of Commons:

“The license of the present times makes it very difficult to talk upon certain subjects in which Parliamentary Order is involved. It is difficult to speak of them with regularity, or to be silent with dignity or wisdom. All our proceedings have been constantly published, according to the discretion and ability of individuals, with impunity, almost ever since I came into Parliament. By prescription people had obtained something like a right to this abuse. I do not justify it. The abuse is now grown so inveterate, that to punish it without a previous notice would have an appearance of hardship, if not injustice. These publications are frequently erroneous as well as irregular, but not always so: what they give as Reports and Resolutions of this House, have sometimes been fairly given.

“It has not been uncommon to attack the proceedings of the House itself, under colour of attacking these irregular publications; and the House, notwithstanding this colourable plea, has, in some instances, proceeded to punish the persons who have thus insulted it. When a complaint is made of a piratical edition of a work, the author admits that it is his work that is thus piratically published; and whoever attacks the work itself in these unauthorized publications, does not attack it less than if he had attacked it in an edition authorized by the writer,

“I understand, that in a place which I greatly respect, and by a person for whom I have likewise great respect, a pamphlet published by a Mr. Debrett has been very heavily censured. That pamphlet, I hear (for I have not read it), purports to be a Report made by one of your committees to this House. It has been censured (as I am told) by the person and in

the place I have mentioned, in very harsh and very unqualified terms. It has been said, and so far very truly, that at all times, and particularly at this time, it is necessary for the preservation of order and the execution of the law, that the characters and reputation of the Judges of the Courts in Westminster Hall should be kept in the highest degree of respect and reverence; and that in this pamphlet, described by the name of a Libel, the characters and conduct of those Judges upon a late occasion had been aspersed, as arising from ignorance or corruption.

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"I think it impossible, combining all the circumstances, not to suppose that this speech does reflect upon a Report which, by an order of the committee on which I served, I had the honour of presenting to this House. For any thing improper in that report I am responsible, as well as the other members of the committee, to this House, and to this House only. The matters contained in it, and the observations upon them, are submitted to the wisdom of the House, that it may act upon both in the time and manner that to your judgment may seem most expedient, or that you may not act upon them at all, if you should think it most useful to the public good. Your committee has obeyed your orders; it has done its duty in making that Report. I am of opinion with the eminent person by whom that Report is censured, that it is necessary, at this time very particularly, to preserve the authority of the Judges. This, however, *does not depend upon us, but upon themselves*. It is necessary to preserve the dignity and respect of all the constitutional authorities. This, too, depends upon ourselves. It is necessary to preserve the respect due to the House of Lords: it is full as necessary to preserve the respect due to the House of Commons: upon which (whatever may be thought of us by some persons) *the weight and force of all other authorities within this kingdom essentially depend*. If the power of the House of Commons is degraded or enervated, no other can stand. We must be true to ourselves; we ought to animadvert upon any of our members who abuse the trust we place in them: we must support those who, without regard to consequences, perform their duty.

"For your committee of managers and for myself, I must say, that the Report was deliberately made, and does not, as I conceive, contain any very material error, or any undue or indecent reflection upon any person. It does not accuse the Judges of ignorance or corruption. Whatever it says, it does not say calumniously. This kind of language belongs to persons whose eloquence entitles them to a free use of epithets. The report states, that the Judges had given their opinions secretly, contrary to the almost uninterrupted tenor of Parliamentary usage on such occasions. It states that the opinions were given, not upon the *Law*, but upon the *Case*. It states that the mode of giving the opinions was *unprecedented, and contrary to the privileges of the House of Commons*. It states that the committee did not know *upon what rules and principles the Judges had decided upon those cases*, as they neither heard them, nor are they entered upon the Journals. It is very true, that we were and are extremely dissatisfied with those opinions, and the consequent determinations of the Lords; and we do not think such a mode of proceeding at all justified by the most numerous and the best precedents. None of these



BOOK VI sentiments are the committee, as I conceive (and I full as little as any of  
CHAP. 2. them), disposed to retract or to soften in the smallest degree.

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"The report speaks for itself. *Whenever an occasion shall be regularly given to maintain every thing of substance in that Paper, I shall be ready to meet the proudest name for ability, learning, or rank, that this kingdom contains, upon that subject.* Do I say this from any confidence in myself? Far from it! It is from my confidence in our cause, and in the ability, the learning, and the constitutional principles, which this House contains within itself, and which I hope it will ever contain; and in the assistance which it will not fail to afford to those who, with good intention, do their best to maintain the essential Privileges of the House, the ancient Law of Parliament, and the public Justice of the Kingdom." Hist. of Trial, part vii. p. 117, 118.

No reply or observation was made on the subject by any other member.—M.

It appears from Burke's correspondence with Dr. Laurence, that he at one time contemplated writing a History of the Trial, and that when he found his health and powers unequal to the task, he imposed it earnestly upon his friend. He retained to the last moments of his life a deep impression that his charges were just, and that his accusation of Hastings was the great glory of his life. Upon the subject of the acquittal of Hastings, he writes to Dr. Laurence—"Let not this cruel, daring, unexampled act of public corruption, guilt, and meanness, go down to posterity without its due animadversion. Let my endeavours to save the nation from that shame and guilt, be my monument, 'the only one I ever will have.' He was with some difficulty deterred from addressing a petition to the House of Commons, against the decision of the Lords, and was most indignant with the ministry for sanctioning the pension and the loan. At a subsequent period, in February, 1797, he exults over the loss of 44,000*l.* by Mrs. Hastings, in consequence of the failure of a Dutch house of business, and evidently concludes that this money had been invested in foreign securities, that it might be kept secret. It is, however, very nearly the sum accounted for as the accumulation of the marriage-settlement of Mrs. Hastings, in a letter from her husband to the Court in 1795. In the same letter he repeats his request, and takes a short review of his conduct, which is of exceeding interest, as a remarkable, although melancholy proof of the extraordinary manner in which virtuous feelings, uncontrolled by cautious judgment, and misdirected by imperfect knowledge, could mislead even so illustrious a man as Burke.

"The affair of Mrs. Hastings has something in it that might move a third Cato to a horse-laugh, though the means, I am afraid, by which she and her paramour have made that and all the sums which they have got by their own dishonesty, or lost by the dishonesty of others or the confusion of the times, [might cause] the laughing Democritus to weep as much as his opponent: but let whoever laugh or weep, nothing plaintive will let Mr. Pitt or Mr. Dundas blush for having rewarded the criminal whom they prosecuted, and sent me and nineteen members of Parliament to prosecute, for every mode of speculation and oppression, with a greater sum

of money than ever yet was paid to any one British subject, except the Duke of Marlbro', for the most acknowledged public services, and not to him if you take Blenheim, which was an expense and not a charge, out of the account. All this and ten times more will not hinder them from adding the Peerage, to make up the insufficiency of his pecuniary rewards. My illness, which came the more heavily and suddenly upon me by this flagitious act, whilst I was preparing a representation upon it, has hindered me, as you know, from doing justice to that act, to Mr. Hastings, to myself, to the House of Lords, to the House of Commons, and to the unhappy people of India, on that subject. It has made me leave the letters that I was writing to my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Dundas, as well as my petition to the House of Commons, unfinished. But you remember, likewise, that when I came hither at the beginning of last summer, I repeated to you that dying request which I now reiterate, That if at any time, without the danger of ruin to yourself, or over-distracting you from your professional and parliamentary duties, you can place in a short point of view, and support by the documents in print and writing which exist with me, or with Mr. Troward, or yourself, the general merits of this transaction, you will erect a cenotaph most grateful to my shade, and will clear my memory from that load, which the East India Company, King, Lords, and Commons, and in a manner the whole British Nation, (God forgive them !) have been pleased to lay as a monument upon my ashes. I am as conscious as any person can be of the little value of the good or evil opinion of mankind to the part of me that shall remain, but I believe it is of some moment not to leave the fame of an evil example, of the expenditure of fourteen years' labour, and of not less (taking the expense of the suit, and the costs paid to Mr. Hastings, and the parliamentary charges) than near 300,000*l*. This is a terrible example, and it is not acquittance at all to a public man, who, with all the means of undeceiving himself if he was wrong, has thus with such incredible pains both of himself and others, persevered in the persecution of innocence and merit. It is, I say, no excuse at all to urge in his apology, that he has had enthusiastic good intentions. In reality, you know that I am no enthusiast, but [according] to the powers that God has given me, a sober and reflecting man. I have not even the other very bad excuse, of acting from personal resentment, or from the sense of private injury—never having received any; nor can I plead ignorance, no man ever having taken more pains to be informed. Therefore *I say, Remember.*" Correspondence, &c.

It is certain, however, notwithstanding this denial of enthusiasm, that enthusiastic zeal was at the bottom of all Burke's proceedings in this remarkable inveteracy towards Hastings, and that, as observed by an equally distinguished orator, "his prejudices on this occasion warped his judgment." "When strongly interested," Lord Brougham continues, "Burke was apt to regard things in false colours and distorted shape. The fate of society for many years hung upon Hastings's impeachment; during that period, he exhausted as much vituperation upon the East Indians in this country, as he afterwards did on the Jacobins; and he was not more ready to quarrel with Mr. Fox on a difference of opinion about France, than he had been a year before to attack Mr. Erskine with every weapon

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BOOK VI of personal and professional abuse, upon a slighter difference about the  
 CHAP. 3. abating of the impeachment: nay, after the Hastings' question might have  
 been supposed forgotten, or merged in the more recent controversy on  
 1786. French affairs, he deliberately enumerates among the causes of alarm at  
 French principles, the prevalence of the East India interest in England; ranks 'Nabobs' with the diplomatic body all over Europe, as naturally and incurably Jacobin; and warns this country loudly and solemnly against suffering itself to be overthrown by a Bengal Junto." Statesmen of the Time of George 3rd., by Henry Lord Brougham, 163.—W.

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### CHAPTER III.

*Arrangement about troops and money with the Nabob of Oude.—The Guntoor Circar obtained from the Nizam, and a new arrangement made with that Prince.—Aspect which that arrangement bore to Tippoo Saib.—Dispute of Tippoo with The Raja of Travancore.—Tippoo attacks the lines of Travancore.—The English prepare for war.—Form an alliance with the Nizam, and with the Mahrattas.—Plan of the campaign.—General Meadows takes possession of Coimbetore, and establishes a chain of depôts to the bottom of the Guejelhutty Pass.—Tippoo descends by the Guejelhutty Pass.—And compels the English General to return for the Defence of the Carnatic.—End of the Campaign, and arrival of Lord Cornwallis at Madras.—Operations in Malabar.—A new arrangement with Mohammed Ali, respecting the revenues of the Carnatic.*

LORD CORNWALLIS took in his hand the reins of the Indian government in the month of September, 1786; and was guided by a pretty extensive code

of instructions, carried out from the joint manufacture of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. BOOK VI  
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Of the two grand divisions into which the measures of this Governor-General are distinguished; those which regarded the interior management of the empire, and those which regarded its external relations; the one constitutes a subject distinct from the other; and we shall consult utility, by reserving the attempts which he made to improve the state of the government, till after the narrative is presented of the transactions which took place between him and the neighbouring powers.

The state of the connexion with the Nabob of Oude was the object which first solicited the attention of Lord Cornwallis. The preceding Governor-General and Council had pledged themselves to Mr. Hastings for the support of that arrangement which was one of the last measures of his administration. But no sooner had Lord Cornwallis arrived in India, than the Nabob proposed to come even in person to Calcutta, and pressed in the most earnest manner for leave to send Hyder Beg Khan his minister. The object was to represent as insupportable the weight of the burden which was still imposed upon his country: and to entreat that the temporary brigade, now called the Futtighur brigade, should, agreeably to the contract which Mr. Hastings had formed, but which had never been observed, now be withdrawn.

To Lord Cornwallis, it appeared, however, by no means safe, to intrust the defence of the Nabob's dominions to the stipulated amount of the Company's troops, a single brigade at Cawnpore. In the minute which he recorded upon this occasion, he represented



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the discipline of the Nabob's own troops as too imperfect to be depended upon, even for the obedience of his subjects; who were retained in submission solely by their dread of the Company's arms: He described the character of the Nabob as a pure compound of negligence and profusion: And though, at that time, Oude was threatened with no particular danger; and the expense attending the continuance of the brigade at Futtyghur exceeded the sum which he was entitled to exact of the Nabob; he adhered to the resolution that the troops should not be removed.

In the pecuniary burden, however, he admitted some alteration. It appeared that, during the nine preceding years, the Nabob had paid to the Company, under different titles, at the rate of eighty-four lacs of rupees per annum; though by the treaty of 1775, he had bound himself to the annual payment of only 31,21,000, and by the treaty of 1781, to that of 34,20,000 rupees.

It was agreed that fifty lacs should be the annual payment of the Nabob; and that this should embrace every possible claim. The Governor-General declared that this was sufficient to indemnify the Company for all the expense which it was necessary for them to incur in consequence of their connexion with the Vizir. In other words, he declared that, for the nine preceding years, unjustifiable extortion, to the amount of thirty-four lacs per annum, had been practised on that dependent prince. The relation now established between the Nabob of Oude and the Honourable Company was described by the Governor-General in the following words: "We undertake the defence of his country: in return, he

agrees to defray the real expenses incurred by an engagement of so much value to himself: and the internal administration of his affairs is left to his exclusive management."<sup>1</sup>

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Among the instructions with which Lord Cornwallis was furnished for his government in India, he carried out with him explicit orders to demand from the Nizam the surrender of the circar of Guntoor. Bazalut Jung had died in 1782; but Nizam Ali retained possession of the circar; and the English had withheld the payment of the peshcush. Upon the arrival of Lord Cornwallis in India, he was deterred from obeying immediately the peremptory orders of his European masters, with regard to the surrender of Guntoor, on account of the advantage which it appeared that a dispute with the Nizam might lend to the ambition of Tippoo, and the apprehension which was entertained of a rupture with France. In the year 1788, however, the prospect of uninterrupted peace with France, the great addition to the English military strength expected in the course of the season, and the general position of the other powers in India, presented the appearance of as favourable an opportunity for making the demand, as any which was regarded as sufficiently probable to form a rational basis of action. Immediately after the return of Tippoo from the siege of Mangalore, and the conclusion of his treaty with the English in 1784, he set up against the Nizam a demand for Beejapore. About the same time a dispute arose between Tippoo and the Poona ministers, respecting a part of those acquisitions from the Mahratta ter-

<sup>1</sup> See Papers relating to the East Indies, printed by order of the House of Commons in 1806, No. 2. p. 1—14.

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ritory, which had been made by Hyder, during the Peshwaship of Ragoba. These circumstances, together with the jealousy, if not the fears, which the power and character of Tippoo inspired into these neighbouring chiefs, produced a connexion between them, in consequence of which a junction was formed between a Poona and Hyderabad army, in the beginning of the year 1786. The terms of reprobation in which Englishmen in India were accustomed to speak of the peace of 1784, led the Poona ministers, according to the opinion of Colonel Wilks, to expect that the English would take part in this confederacy against Mysore; and he is not well pleased with Lord Cornwallis, who lost no time in letting them know, that no project of an alliance, or any other measure of an aggressive nature, would be entertained by his nation. After a year of warring, attended by no considerable result, Tippoo and his enemies were both weary of the contest. A peace was concluded, on terms not very favourable to the Sultan, who was alarmed at the progressive accumulation of the instruments of war in the hands of the English; and desirous of an interval to settle his dominions on the coast of Malabar. In these circumstances, Lord Cornwallis was under no apprehension of a union between Tippoo and the Mahrattas: he thought it by no means probable, that, without the prospect of alliance with the French, he would provoke the dangers of an English war: and he concluded with some assurance that, with the support of Tippoo alone, the Nizam would not hazard the dangers of resistance. Still, though not probable, it was by no means impossible, that a connexion subsisted, or might in consequence of

this requisition be formed, between the Nizam and Tippoo; which, “no doubt,” said the Governor-General, “would bring on a war, calamitous to the Carnatic, and distressing to the Company’s affairs.” Yet if ever the claim upon the Guntoor circar was to be enforced, the time was now arrived; and with regard to the result, should war ensue, it was, in the opinion of this ruler, impossible that for one moment a doubt could be entertained.<sup>1</sup>

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The resolution being taken, the execution was skilfully planned. Captain Kennaway, a gentleman whose address was supposed well calculated to soften what might appear offensive in his commission, was sent to the court of the Nizam, instructed to employ conciliatory language, and to show the utmost liberality, in regard to every other point respecting which adjustment was required. No intimation was to be given to the Nizam of the proposed demand, till after the arrival of Captain Kennaway at his court. At the same time, instructions were sent to the Residents at the several durbars, of the Peshwa, Sindia, and the Raja of Berar, to give to these powers a full explanation of the proceeding, before intelligence of it could reach them from any other source. The government of Madras, under specious pretences, conveyed a body of troops to the neighbourhood of the circar; and held themselves in readiness to seize the territory before any other power could interpose, either with arms or remonstrance.

<sup>1</sup> Copy of a Letter from Earl Cornwallis to Sir Archibald Campbell, dated Calcutta, 30th of May, 1788. Ordered to be printed 1792. Wilks’s Hist. Sketches, ii. 535—559; iii. 36.



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Captain Kennaway was yet on his journey to Hyderabad, when the following letter from the Governor-General, dated 3rd of July, 1788, went after him by despatch: "Sir—I have this instant received advice from Sir Archibald Campbell, that the Raja of Cherika has actually committed hostilities on the Company's possessions at Tellicherry by order from Tippoo. Sir Archibald appears likewise to be decidedly of opinion, that Tippoo will immediately attack the Raja of Travancore. This may, however, I think, be doubtful. Unless this alarm should be blown over, previous to your arrival at Hyderabad, of which you cannot fail of having certain information, you will of course recollect that part of your instructions, and, instead of declaring the real object of your mission, confine yourself to the general expressions of friendship, and assurances of our earnest desire to cultivate a good understanding between the two governments."

The situation of the Nizam was such, that he regarded himself as having more to hope, and less to apprehend, from a connexion with the English, than with either of the other powers which bordered upon his dominions. Greatly inferior to either the Mahrattas or Tippoo, he was ever in dread of being swallowed up by the one or the other of these formidable neighbours, and was no doubt protected from that destiny by the assistance which, in case of an attack from the one, he was more than likely to receive from the other. An alliance with the English, though disagreeable to both, would not, he concluded, be sufficient, with pretensions irreconcilable as theirs, to unite them for his destruction;

while the effect of it would be to lessen his dependence upon both. Under the influence of those views ; possibly, too, attaching no great value to the possession of Guntoor, which, under the bad management of his renters, had yielded little revenue, the Nizam manifested an unexpected readiness to comply with the Company's demands ; and, without even waiting for a decision upon the other points which were to be adjusted between them, he surrendered the circar in September, 1788. The settlement of the arrears of the peshcush, which the Company had forborne to pay ; and the set-off which was constituted by the revenue of the Guntoor circar, from the time of the death of Bazalut Jung, occasioned some difficulty and delay. To remove these difficulties, but more with a view to prevail upon the Governor-General to form with him at least a defensive alliance, which would raise him above his fears from Tippoo and the Mahrattas, he sent his confidential minister to Calcutta. A few amicable conferences sufficed to produce an adjustment of the pecuniary claims. But with regard to the formation of new and more comprehensive ties between the two governments, the English ruler was restrained, by two powerful considerations. In the first place, they were forbidden by the act of parliament. And in the next place, they could not fail to excite the jealousy and displeasure of the Mahrattas, the friendship of whom he was desirous to cultivate.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "As his Highness's political situation with the Mahrattas has long approached almost to a state of dependence upon the Poonah government, we could make no alteration in the terms of our agreement with the

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The expedient, which suggested itself to the British Indian government, as happily calculated to answer all purposes, was, To profess the continued existence of the old treaty of 1768, in which both the Mysorean and Mahratta governments, as well as the English at home, had so long acquiesced; and to give to the clauses such an extent of meaning as would satisfy the inevitable demands of the Nizam. To the clause in that treaty, by which it was stipulated that English troops, to the amount of two battalions of sepoys, and six pieces of cannon, manned by Europeans, should be lent to the Nabob, were annexed the words, “ whenever the necessity of the Company’s affairs would permit.” It was now agreed that these words<sup>1</sup> should mean, Whenever the Nizam should think proper to apply for them; under one limitation, that they should not be employed against the Company’s allies, among whom were enumerated the Mahratta chiefs, the Nabobs of Oude and Arcot, and the Rajas of Travancore and Tanjore. Of the treaty of 1768, one memorable

Nizam, without its being construed by the Peshwa’s Ministers as an attempt to detach him from them.” Lett. Cornwallis to Secret Committee, 1st of November, 1789. We are informed by Colonel Wilks, that at the same time with this embassy to the English government, the Nizam sent one to Tippoo, to propose an alliance offensive and defensive; whether to supersede the agreement with the English, or as a further security, does not appear. Tippoo proposed the adjunct of a matrimonial connexion between the families; but this, not suiting the family pride of the Nizam, broke off the negotiation. Hist. Sketches, iii. 26, 36.

<sup>1</sup> The Governor-General imputes bad faith to those who inserted them as well as the clause relating to the grant of the Carnatic Balaghaut, and the consequent peshcush: “ The sixth and twelfth articles are couched in terms which do not manifest a very sincere intention in the framers of the treaty to perform them.” Minute of Governor-General, 10th of July, 1789.

article related to the transfer to the Company of the Carnatic Balaghaut; an article which, if the ancient treaty were binding, still continued in force. The propositions of the Nizam, that measures should now be taken for carrying this engagement into effect, the Governor-General was obliged to elude, by observing that the lapse of time by the alteration of circumstances, had not left that part of the agreement on the same foundation on which it originally stood; and that the English were bound in a treaty of peace with the prince whose territory it actually went to dismember; "but," said his Lordship, "should it hereafter happen that the Company should obtain possession of the country mentioned in these articles, with your Highness's assistance, they will strictly perform the stipulations in favour of your Highness and the Mahrattas."<sup>1</sup>

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"The desire of not offending," says Sir John Malcolm, "against the letter of the act of parliament, would appear on this occasion to have led to a trespass on its spirit. Two treaties had been concluded, subsequently to the treaty of 1768, between Hyder Ali Khan and the British government: And the latter state had concluded a treaty of peace with his son Tippoo Sultaun in 1784; by which it had fully recognised his right of sovereignty to the territories which he possessed. And assuredly under such circumstances, the revival with any modification of an offensive alliance (for such the treaty of 1768 undoubtedly was) could not but alarm that Prince."

Sir John Malcolm proceeds; "Nor was that alarm

<sup>1</sup> Letter, Cornwallis to the Nizam, 7th of July, 1789.



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likely to be dispelled, by that qualification in the engagement which provided that no immediate operation should be undertaken against his dominions, as the expression by which that qualification was followed, showed, that the eventual execution of those articles, which went to divest him of his territories, was not deemed an improbable, or at least an impossible occurrence, by the contracting powers. Another part of this engagement which appeared calculated to excite apprehension in the mind of Tippoo was, the stipulation which regarded the employment of the subsidiary force granted to the Nizam; which was made discretional, with the exception of not acting against some specified Prince and chiefs, among whom he was not included.”<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Malcolm wrote under the strongest impression of the hostile designs of Tippoo, and of the wisdom and virtue of Lord Cornwallis, yet he makes the following severe reflection, “that the liberal construction of the restrictions of the act of parliament had, upon this occasion, the effect of making the Governor-General pursue a course, which was, perhaps, not only questionable in point of faith; but which must have been more offensive to Tippoo Sultaun, and more calculated to produce a war with that Prince, than the avowed contract of a defensive

<sup>1</sup> Sir John says further, “that such ideas were entertained by Tippoo, from the moment he heard of the conclusion of this engagement, there cannot be a doubt. It would indeed appear by a letter from the Resident at Poonah, that the minister of that Court considered this engagement as *one of an offensive nature*, against Tippoo Sultaun.” *Sketch of Political India*.—M. The work here referred to was published in 1811. It was subsequently enlarged and printed in 1826, as the *Political History of India from 1784 to 1823*.—W.

engagement, framed for the express and legitimate purpose of limiting his inordinate ambition."<sup>1</sup>

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The Raja of Cherika was a petty prince on the Malabar coast, in whose territory was situated the Company's factory at Tellicherry. This prince, with his neighbours, had been subdued by Hyder Ali, and remained a tributary under Tippoo his son. A friendly connexion had long subsisted between the English and the Rajas of Cherika, whom the English were in the habit of accommodating with loans of money and military stores. In 1765, the debt had accumulated to a considerable sum; and the Raja assigned to the Company a territory called Rhandaterrah for security and payment. Among other transactions with the Raja, the English farmed of him, in 1761, the customs of the port of Tellicherry, for which they agreed to pay at the rate of 4200 rupees per annum. Since 1765, accounts had not been adjusted, but the Raja had received additional supplies both of money and stores. About the beginning of the year 1786, the Raja sent a body of men, drove away the English guard, consisting of a serjeant and eight or ten sepoys, and took possession of Rhandaterrah. The government of Bombay directed the chief and factors of Tellicherry to make out the Raja's account, whence it appeared that he was still to a large amount in debt to the Company; and to represent the outrage of which he had been guilty to his master

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Sketch, ut supra, p. 66—69. See the papers relative to this treaty, laid before parliament in 1792. To the same purpose, another enlightened Indian Soldier: "It is highly instructive to observe a statesman, justly extolled for moderate and pacific dispositions, thus indirectly violating a law, enacted for the enforcement of these virtues, by entering into a very intelligible offensive alliance." Wilks's Hist. Sketches, iii. 38.

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 CHAP. 3. Rhanderah, lest it should bring on a renewal of

1788. the war. The Raja, under frivolous pretences, evaded acknowledgment of the account; Tippoos returned for answer that he had commanded the district to be restored; the Raja disavowed the receipt of any such injunction; and produced a letter from Tippoos which merely commanded him to settle his accounts. The affair remained in suspense till 1788. Early in that year Tippoos descended the Ghauts, at the head of an army, for the ostensible purpose of taking cognizance of his dominions on the coast. Before his march from Calicut towards Palacatcherry on the 8th of May, he addressed a letter to the English chief at Tellicherry, stating it as the information of the Raja of Cherika, that he had paid his debt to the English, and was entitled to the restitution of his country: upon which the Sultan recommended a settlement of accounts. A letter was soon after received from the Raja, in which he stated the amount for twenty-seven years of rent due on the customs of the port, without making any mention of the much larger sums which the Company charged to his account; and he demanded the immediate payment of a lac of rupees. It was this which alarmed the Governor-General during the journey of his negotiator to Hyderabad; as the apprehension was, that the Raja was instigated by Tippoos; might proceed to hostilities; and involve the government in war.

The territory of the Raja of Travancore commences near the island of Vipeen, at the mouth of the Chinnamangalum river, about twenty miles to

the north of Cochin. From this point it extends to the southern extremity of India, bounded on the west by the sea, and on the east by the celebrated chain of mountains which terminate near the southern cape. The situation of this Prince made a connexion between him and the English of importance to both: He was placed at so great a distance, that he had little to apprehend from the encroachments of the Company: His country, which was only separated from their province of Tinivelly by the ridge of mountains, formed a barrier to the invasion of an enemy into that province, and through that province into the Carnatic itself: The support of the Company was necessary to preserve the Raja against the designs of such powerful and rapacious neighbours as Hyder Ali and his son: The productiveness of his dominions enabled him to contribute considerably to the military resources of the English: And, in the last war with Hyder, his co-operation had been sufficiently extensive, to entitle him to be inserted in the Treaty with Tippoo, under the character of an ally.

The descent of Tippoo, with an army, into the western country, filled the Raja with apprehensions. He was the only prey on that side of the Ghauts, opposite to the dominions of Tippoo, which remained undevoured; and the only obstruction to the extension of his dominions from the Mahratta frontier to Cape Comorin; an extension, attended with the highly-coveted advantage of placing him in contact with Tinivelly, the most distant, and most defenceless part of the English possessions in Coromandel. The occurrences which took place between Tippoo

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and the Raja of Cochin, added greatly to the terror and alarms of the King of Travancore.

There had been a period at which the Raja of Calicut, known by the name of the Zamorin, had endeavoured to subdue the Cochin Raja. At that time the Cochin Raja had received assistance from the Raja of Travancore. The Cochin Raja had continued to need support; and the predecessor of the reigning Prince had made over to his benefactor, the Raja of Travancore, under the title of compensation for expense, two small districts on the northern side of Travancore. Another motive may be supposed to have contributed to this territorial arrangement. Hyder Ali had at the time commenced his inroads on the coast of Malabar; and alarmed the Rajas for their safety. As a means of defence, the Raja of Travancore projected a great wall or barrier, on his northern frontier, to the formation of which the districts in question were of peculiar importance. Though part of the territory of the King of Cochin lay north of the projected line of defence, yet a considerable part, including his capital, was blended with Travancore on the opposite side, and would receive protection by it against the designs of Hyder, no less than the dominions of the Travancore Raja themselves. The works were constructed about twenty-five years previous to the period at which this narrative has arrived. They consisted of a ditch about sixteen feet broad and twenty deep, a strong bamboo hedge, a slight parapet, and good rampart, with bastions on rising grounds, which almost flanked one another. They commenced at the sea, on the island of Vipeen, and extended eastwards,

about thirty miles, to the Anamalaiah, or Elephant mountains, a part of the great Indian chain. On the north they were assailable only by regular approaches; but in the case of such an enemy as Tippoo, rather provoked attack, than afforded any permanent protection.

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Some time after the erection of the lines, Hyder, who was extending his conquests over the Malabar Rajas, carried his arms against the territory of the King of Cochin, at least the part which was without the wall of Travancore; and the King, rather than lose that part of his dominions, consented to become the tributary of Hyder.

The Raja of Cochin waited upon Tippoo, in 1778, at Palacatcherry, whither he had proceeded after leaving Calicut. Upon his return, this Raja reported the substance of his conference with Tippoo to the Raja of Travancore. Tippoo questioned him why his visit had not been earlier; when something useful might have been effected; but now the rainy season was at hand. Tippoo asked, if the delay had been occasioned by the Raja of Travancore. He told the Raja that he should demand back those districts of Cochin, which had been given to the Raja of Travancore, and that he might receive the aid of the Mysore troops to enforce the claim. It was doubtful to the Raja of Travancore whether the report of the King of Cochin was deceitful or true; but it indicated in either case the hostile designs of Tippoo.

The Raja made known his fears to the government of Madras, and requested a company of sepoys, with an English officer, as a demonstration to the

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Sultan of the assistance which he might expect to receive. Sir Archibald Campbell, who then presided over the Councils of Madras, not only complied with the Raja's demand, but desired his permission to canton some battalions of the Company's troops, along the strong grounds behind the wall. For this service, two battalions of sepoy, with their proportion of artillery, were soon after sent from Bombay.

The arrival of the rainy season prevented active operations during the remainder of the year 1783, but in the month of May of the following year, Tippoo again descended to the coast, and began with summoning the fort of Cranganore. This, and another place, named Jaycota<sup>1</sup>, belonged to the Dutch, and were maintained as a species of outwork to their grand settlement at Cochin. They were situated close upon the wall of Travancore, at its maritime extremity, and regarded by the Raja as of the utmost importance for the defence of the lines. He prepared himself to join with the Dutch in defending them; he represented to the English not only that Cranganore and Jaycota were the very key to his country, but that he was bound in a defensive treaty with the Dutch; he therefore made earnest application to the English government to grant him that assistance which the present exigency appeared to require.

Mr. Hollond, who was now placed at the head of the Madras government, happened to be very pacifically inclined. He informed the Raja, that, except

<sup>1</sup> Written Ayacottah, by Col. Wilks.

for the immediate protection of his own dominions, he could not receive assistance from the English; and enjoined him, in a particular manner, to abstain from every act which could raise the jealousy of Tippoo, or afford him a pretext for invading Travancore.

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Though Tippoo made several demonstrations, and went so far as to bring heavy guns from Palacatcherry, as if for the reduction of Cranganore, he retired before the middle of May, without commencing the attack; and placed his troops at Palacatcherry and Coimbetore. It was confidently expected, that he would return at the end of the monsoon; and that his first operations would be against the possessions of the Dutch. Were these in his hands, Travancore would be an easy conquest; and, in the opinion of the Company's Resident, it would even be difficult, if not impossible, for the English detachment to retreat.

In the mean time intelligence was received from the Commandant at Tellicherry, that, during the whole of the rains, that settlement had been environed by the troops of Tippoo, and shut up as in a state of rigorous blockade; that a chain of posts had been established surrounding the place, some of them so near, as to be within musket-shot of the lines; that his troops had strict orders, which they rigidly obeyed, to prevent the admission of every article of supply; that his boats were as vigilant for the same purpose by sea, as the troops were by land; and that the necessaries of life had, in consequence, risen to an exorbitant price.

The assurance, conveyed from the Company's



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governor at Madras, that the English would interfere in the defence of no territory but that which immediately belonged to the Raja himself, suggested to the Raja and the Dutch an expedient for realizing the condition on which was made to depend the assistance which they required. A negotiation, which was said to have been pending for two years, was concluded in the beginning of August, for rendering Cranganore and Jaycotah part of the dominions of the Raja; that is, by purchase from the Dutch. Of this transaction, however, the government of Madras disapproved; and they despatched a peremptory command to the Raja, that he should annul the contract, and restore the places to the Dutch.

Tippoo affirmed, that the Dutch had built the fort of Cranganore upon ground which belonged to his tributary and subject, the Raja of Cochin; that the Dutch had even paid rent for that ground, in the same manner as the ryots; and that the purchase and sale of it was the purchase and sale of a part of the kingdom of Mysore.

The Raja asserted the falsehood of the allegations of Tippoo; and remonstrated against the orders which he had received from Madras. The resident and he concurred in representing, and produced documents from the Dutch which proved; that Cochin was one of the early conquests of the Portuguese, and their capital in that part of India; that Cranganore and Jaycotah were their dependencies; that the Rajas of Cochin paid them tribute; that in the year 1654, the Dutch were at war with the Portuguese, and attacked their settlement of Cochin;

that they expelled the Portuguese entirely from that part of India, and seized their possessions; that they held no lands of the Raja of Cochin, whom they rather considered as dependent upon them; that the Raja of Cochin had not been a tributary of the Mysore chiefs for more than about twelve years; and considered himself as such for that territory only, for which he paid choute; the territory, namely, which was situated without the wall of Travancore.

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On the 23rd of September the Governor-General made answer to the representations which had been transmitted to him by the Governor in Council of Madras: That, without a hope of assistance from the French, which Tippoo at this time could not entertain, he would not, it was probable, desire to draw upon himself the resentment of the Company; that Tippoo was aware, and had indeed been expressly informed, of the certainty with which an attack upon the Travancore Raja, included in the late treaty as an ally of the English, would be followed by war; that the character at the same time of that violent Prince rendered calculation upon his conduct from the rules of prudence somewhat precarious; and that provision should be made, not only for securing the dominions of the Company and their allies, but for obtaining ample satisfaction, in case of any injury which they might be made to sustain. He, therefore, directed that the best mode of assembling the army, and of opposing resistance to an enemy, should be concerted with the commanding officer; that from the moment Tippoo should invade any part of the territory of the Raja of

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Travancore or Nabob of Arcot, he should be considered as in a state of war; that all payments to the private creditors of the Nabob of Arcot should in that case be suspended; and that even the advances for providing the Company's investment should be withheld. It was well for Lord Cornwallis, that he possessed an influence, which enabled him to take such a license with impunity. The creditors of the Nabob were, as appeared by important consequences, favourites with the Board of Control. And a rich investment, which filled the coffers of the India House, was the principal source of delight to the Court of Directors. A man of less authority would not have dared to offer disappointment to such commanding inclinations. And perhaps it required the brilliant success which crowned the operations of Lord Cornwallis to exempt even his audacity from disagreeable consequences. The efforts made by Mr. Hastings, to prevent a failure in the article of investments, produced the principal errors of his administration, and the great misfortunes of his life.

The Governor-General concluded his letter with the following words; "We sincerely hope and believe that the case will not happen: but should the Carnatic unfortunately be involved in war, you may, in addition to all the means that are in your own power to command, be assured that this government will make the utmost exertions to give you effectual assistance, and to terminate, as speedily as possible, a contest that cannot, even if attended with the utmost success, prove advantageous to our affairs in this country."

In the representation first transmitted to Bengal, regarding the transfer of Jaycotah and Cranganore, it appeared as if they did belong to the dependant of Tippoo, and had been alienated without his consent. In this view of the circumstances Lord Cornwallis condemned the transaction; and confirmed the injunction which had been given by the government of Madras. When it was affirmed, that neither Tippoo, nor his tributary, had any title to the territory, that it had for centuries been the independent possession of Europeans, and more than a hundred years ago had been taken in lawful war from the Portuguese by the Dutch, he thought proper to suspend his decision. He directed that a proposition should be transmitted to Tippoo for a mutual appointment of commissioners to try the point in dispute; and proposed to agree that if the ground was proved to belong to the Raja of Cochin, the transfer should be annulled; if it was proved to belong to the Dutch, the transaction should be confirmed.

Towards the end of October the army of Tippoo was known to be encamped in the neighbourhood of Palgaut; and the Raja was confirmed in his expectation of an attack. On the 14th of December Tippoo arrived at a place about twenty-five miles distant from the boundary of Travancore, and the ravages of his cavalry were carried within a mile of the wall. On the following day a vakeel, a sort of character in which the capacities of the messenger and negotiator were compounded, arrived from the camp of the Sultan, bearing a letter to the Raja. It contained the annunciation of Tippoo's demands; that, as the Raja had given protection within his dominions to

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certain Rajas, and other refractory subjects of the Mysore government, he should deliver them up, and in future abstain from similar offences; 2. That as the Dutch had sold to him that which was not theirs to sell, he should withdraw his troops from Cranganore; 3. That he should demolish that part of his lines which crossed the territory of Cochin, because it belonged to the kingdom of Mysore. The Raja replied; 1. That the Rajas of whose protection the Sultan complained had obtained an asylum in his country, because they were his relations, at the distance of many years; that no objection to their residence had ever been taken before; that to prove his amicable disposition, they should nevertheless be removed; and that no refractory subject of the Mysore government had ever, with his knowledge, been harboured in Travancore; 2. That the fort and territory which he had purchased from the Dutch belonged to the Dutch, and was in no respect the property of the dependant of Tippoo; 3. That the ground on which he had erected his lines was ceded to him in full sovereignty by the Raja of Cochin before that Raja became tributary to the sovereign of Mysore; and that the lines, existing at the time when he was included in the late treaty between the English and the Sultan, were sanctioned by the silence of that important deed.

On the 24th of December Tippoo encamped at not more than four miles, distance from the lines; began to erect batteries on the 25th; early in the morning of the 29th turned by surprise the right flank of the lines, where no passage was supposed to exist; and introduced a portion of his army within

the wall. Before he could reach the gate which he intended to open, and at which he expected to admit the rest of his army, his troops were thrown into confusion by some slight resistance, and fled in disorder, with a heavy slaughter, across the ditch. Tippoo himself was present at the attack, and, not without personal danger, made his escape.

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Intelligence of these events was received by the Supreme Government from Madras on the 26th of January; and on the morrow instructions were despatched to that Presidency. The Governor-General expressed his expectation that the Madras rulers had considered Tippoo as at war, from the first moment when they heard of the attack; that they had diligently executed the measures which he had formerly prescribed; and in particular, that all payments to the Nabob's creditors, and all disbursements on the score of investment, had immediately ceased. He added, that his intention was to employ all the resources which were within his reach "to exact a full reparation from Tippoo for this wanton and unprovoked violation of treaty;" that for this purpose endeavours should be employed to secure the assistance both of the Mahrattas and of the Nizam; that instructions should be despatched to the government of Bombay to attack his possessions on the coast of Malabar; and that in every part of India the army should be increased.

The instructions to the government of Madras were dated on the 27th of January; those to the Resident at the Court of the Nizam were dated on the 28th. The actual commencement of hostilities relieved Cornwallis from all restraint with regard

BOOK VI to new connexions; and it was now his part to  
CHAP. 3. solicit from the Nizam an alliance, which, a few  
 1790. months before, that Prince would have received as  
 the greatest of favours. The Resident was in-  
 structed to expose in the strongest colours the  
 faithless and rapacious character of Tippoo; to  
 raise in the minds of the Nizam and his ministers  
 as high a conception as possible of the advantages  
 of an intimate connexion with the English; to  
 promise him a full participation in the fruits  
 of victory, and a mutual guarantee of their re-  
 spective dominions, against the ambition and hatred  
 of Tippoo.

The chief difficulty in this negotiation arose from  
 the violent apprehensions of the Nizam with respect  
 to the Mahrattas. To such a degree was he im-  
 pressed with an opinion of the villany of that nation,  
 and of their determination to rob him of his domi-  
 nions, whenever an opportunity should occur, that  
 he desired the English Resident to inform him, if the  
 Peshwa should invade his kingdom, while his army  
 was absent, co-operating with the English, what  
 measures, in that case, the English government  
 would pursue: and he displayed intense reluctance  
 to spare any portion of his forces from his own  
 defence, without an article for the unlimited  
 guarantee of his country. But the Governor-  
 General, who was anxious for the alliance of the  
 Mahrattas, and reckoned them "the people whose  
 friendship was of far the greatest value,"<sup>1</sup> in the  
 contest with Tippoo, was careful not to give

<sup>1</sup> Lett. Gov. Gen. to the Secret Committee, 1st Nov. 1789.

umbrage to the Poonah rulers, by appearing to raise a barrier against their ambitious designs.

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The instructions to the Resident at Poonah were of the same description ; and dated the preceding day. The relation with the Mahrattas, from the conclusion of the treaty of Salbhye had been that of general amity ; which the Poonah government, with some eagerness and some address, had endeavoured to improve into an engagement for mutual protection against Tippoo. The restrictions however, imposed by act of parliament, had prevented the Governor-General from acceding to their desire ; and of that policy he now expressed his opinion. "Some considerable advantages," he said, "have no doubt been experienced by the system of neutrality which the legislature required of the governments in this country : But it has, at the same time, been attended with the unavoidable inconvenience of our being constantly exposed to the necessity of commencing a war, without having previously received the assistance of efficient allies." <sup>1</sup>

The offer of a defensive alliance against Tippoo was now made to the Mahrattas ; and they had the advantage of holding themselves up as the party who bestowed the favour, which, a twelvemonth before, they would have been well contented to appear as the party who received. The Indian desire, to make the most of every circumstance in a bargain, and to sell every favour at the highest price, made them higggle and wrangle for advan-

<sup>1</sup> Despatch to Mr. Malet, 28th Feb. 1790.



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1790. tages, and protract the negotiation to a considerable length.<sup>1</sup>

A treaty, however, with the Nizam, and another with the Mahrattas, of which the conditions were nearly the same, were signed, the former on the 4th day of July, the latter on the 1st of June. A triple league was formed, to punish Tippoo for the treachery, of which he was declared to have been guilty to all the contracting parties: The Nizam and Peshwa bound themselves to prosecute vigorously the war with a potent and well-appointed army: The Peshwa received the option of being joined, during the war, by an English force equal to that which served with the Nizam: And the parties jointly engaged, never to make peace, except with mutual consent; to make an equal partition of conquests; and to resist and punish by their combined forces any injury to any of them which Tippoo thereafter might accomplish or attempt.

It was declared by the Governor-General to both the parties with whom he was endeavouring to contract, that the objects were four, at which he should aim by the war: To exact from the enemy indemnification for the expense or loss imposed upon the Company by the war: To make him restore to the Nizam and Peshwa, if they should take part in the conflict, whatever he or his father might have taken

<sup>1</sup> Captain Grant gives a different representation. According to him Nana Furnawees no sooner heard of Tippoo's attack on the lines of Travancore, than he made specific proposals to the Governor-General through Mr. Malet, in name both of his own master and of Nizam Ali, which with a few modifications were accepted. Hist. Mahr. It is not likely that the Mahratta Government would have made any difficulty as to an alliance against Tippoo with whom they were in a state of war.—W.

from those powers; To wrest from him all that he possessed of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut: And, in consequence of the barbarity which he had exercised on the Nairs of Malabar, to set them free from his dominion.<sup>1</sup>

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The gratification of their resentment for the losses inflicted on them by Tippoo and his father; the removal of the terrors with which they were haunted by his ambition and power; the prospect of recovering what they had lost, and of elevating themselves upon his ruin, were powerful aids towards obtaining the alliance of the Nizam and Mahrattas.

While the mind of the Governor-General was thus intensely engaged in preparing the means of war upon the largest scale, a very different spirit prevailed at Madras; and, on the 8th of February, he despatched to that Presidency a letter of complaint and crimination. He charged the President and Council with neglect of duty, and disobedience of orders, in not having made the prescribed provision of draught cattle for the army; in not having suspended the business of the Company's investment;<sup>2</sup> and, after they had received an explicit declaration from the Governor-General in Council, of his determination to protect the Raja of Travancore in his purchase of Cranganore and Jaycotah if those places belonged not to the Raja of Cochin but the Dutch, in their having, in their correspondence with

<sup>1</sup> See the despatch to the Resident at Poonah, dated the 22nd of March.

<sup>2</sup> On the point of investment the Governor-General afterwards retracted his censure, as it was explained, that nothing more had been done than what was necessary to fulfil the contract with the Philippine Company.

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1790. Tippoo and even with the Raja of Travancore and the English Resident in his camp, withheld that declaration, and thereby “discouraged a faithful ally in the defence of his country against an enemy, who was within a few miles of his frontiers, and with the insolence and violence of whose character they had long been fully acquainted.”

To his early decision against the purchase of the two forts, Governor Hollond adhered: On the allegation of the Raja that Sir Archibald Campbell encouraged the purchase, he had replied;<sup>1</sup> “As you received early information of Governor Campbell’s departure, it was not acting a friendly part to prosecute negotiations of so much importance without communicating their commencement and progress to me, upon my advising you of my succession to the government:” Even after the right of the Dutch appeared to be decidedly proved, still he maintained that the bargain was an offence against Tippoo, not to be justified by the law of nations: because with equal propriety might the Dutch make sale to the French of Sadras and Pulicate, within a few miles of Fort St. George: And lastly, he denied that the importance of the places in question was an adequate compensation for the evils of war.

To these reasonings the Governor-General made the following reply: “In your letter, dated 3rd of January, you thought proper to lay down principles, as being, in your opinion, founded on the law of nations, respecting the Raja and the Dutch, which militate against the spirit of our orders, and which we

<sup>1</sup> In his letter of the 16th of November.

conceive it was not regularly within your province to discuss, as you are not responsible for the measure directed.”

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In as far as the government of Madras acted upon their own notions of justice or policy in disobedience to the express orders of those whose commands they had undertaken to obey, they were guilty of a most serious offence; but in laying their opinions and reasons before the governing authority, they practised a virtue, from which the governing authority might derive essential advantage, and merited no insolence of reply.

To their reasonings, at the same time, very strong objections applied, In the two cases, that of Cranganore and Jaycotah, and that of Pulicate and Sadras, the circumstance which constituted the material part of the question, that, on which its decision, if founded on rational principles, would depend, was perfectly reversed. Pulicate and Sadras could not be held by the French, without essentially impairing the security of Madras: Cranganore and Jaycotah were of no importance to the security of Tippoo: and were evidently desired by him, as a means of aggression against the Raja of Travancore. With regard to the value of the places in question, the value, as it had at an early period been, by the Governor-General in Council, declared to the government of Madras, “could not, however great, be opposed to the serious consequences of war; but a tame submission to insult or injury, he was equally convinced, would, in its effects, prove the most fatal policy.” This was the question, and the only question; not whether Cranganore and Jaycotah



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were a compensation for the consequences of war. Scarcely any single injury can ever approach to an equivalent for the expense, which is but a small part of the evils of war; and it is then only when there is a decided probability that the permission of one injury will draw on a second, and after the second, a third, and so on, that the advantages of war can be an equivalent for its evils, and recourse to it the dictate of wisdom. At the moment of action, this is often a question not easy to decide; because there is seldom a rule to guide, and the party who has power in his hand, is prone to over-rate the probabilities of that repetition of injury which forbearance may produce. Whether the forbearance of the English would, on the present occasion, have produced the repetition of injury, it is even now impossible with any assurance to pronounce. But the probabilities were so great, that either the decision of the Governor-General was right, or his error excusable.

After the repulse of Tippoo, on the 29th of December, from the rampart of Travancore, he disavowed the outrage; described it as the unauthorized act of his troops, who had been accidentally provoked to hostility by the people of the Raja; gave assurance that his affections were pacific, and that he had no intention to invade the ancient territories of Travancore; but he repeated his claims, on the score of protection afforded to his refractory subjects, the purchase of Cranganore and Jaycotah, and the erection of works upon the territory of his dependant, the Raja of Cochin.

The persuasion that peace might be preserved

with Tippoo, continued in the Madras government as long as Mr. Hollond remained at its head. On the 12th of February, having learned that General Meadows, who commanded the Bombay army, was appointed to succeed him, he transmitted by letter to the Governor-General his intention of departing immediately for Europe; and omitted not the opportunity of repeating his conviction, that Tippoo "had no intention to break with the Company, and would be disposed to enter into negotiation for the adjustment of the points in dispute."

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In a letter, dated on the 7th of February, in answer to the proposition respecting the examination by commissioners, Tippoo wrote, that since he had examined in person the foundation of the claims, there was nothing which remained for commissioners to perform; but if it were the wish of the English, they might send "one or two trusty persons to the presence, where, having arrived, they might settle the business;" that he wrote from regard to the ties of friendship which subsisted between him and the English, "otherwise the taking of the lines would not be a work of much difficulty or time."

To descend to the measure of sending commissioners to the presence of Tippoo, appeared to the Madras government to import a loss of dignity in the eyes of the Princes of Hindustan; and before intelligence of this proposition, the Governor-General had communicated his sentiments to General Meadows, in the following words: "Good policy, as well as a regard to our reputation in this country, requires, that we should not only exact severe reparation from Tippoo: but also, that we should take

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this opportunity to reduce the power of a Prince, who avows upon every occasion so rancorous an enmity to our nation.—At present we have every prospect of aid from the country powers, whilst he can expect no assistance from France. And if he is suffered to retain his present importance, and to insult and bully all his neighbours, until the French are again in a condition to support him, it would almost certainly leave the seeds of a future dangerous war.”<sup>1</sup> In the letter which made answer to that in which the proposal of Tippoo was transmitted to the Governor-General, a hope was expressed that the government of Madras had been exerting themselves to the utmost in the business of the war. They were told, that the attack on the lines of Travancore left no further room for deliberation; and that the Company’s government could not with honour commence a negotiation with Tippoo, till he offered reparation for such an outrage, much less send commissioners to his presence. Instructed to make no relaxation, while answering his letters, in the vigour of their military operations; they were ordered to inform him, that Cranganore and Jaycotah belonged incontestably to the Dutch; that, as the lines of the Raja were in his possession at the period of the late treaty, his right was thereby recognised; and that the violation of them could not be regarded as accidental, since it was ascertained that the Sultan was upon the spot, and conducted the attack in person.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter dated 8th March, 1790.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Gen. Medows, Governor in Council, dated 17th March, 1790. The papers laid before Parliament, relative to the commencement of this war, have furnished the materials of the preceding narrative.

On the 2nd of March, a skirmish happened, between the troops of the Sultan, and a party of the Raja's people sent to clear away a jungle which stood in front of the lines. On the 6th, Tippoo began to fire on the wall, and completed the erection of five batteries on the 10th. A considerable time was spent in making such an opening in the lines as appeared to him to make it expedient to venture the assault. At last, on the 7th of May, he advanced to the breach with his whole army; when the troops of the Raja were struck with apprehension, and fled in all directions. Having rendered himself master of the lines, he appeared immediately before Cranganore; of which he soon obtained possession. All the northern quarter of Travancore was now seized by the conqueror, who razed the lines, and spread desolation over the country. The necessity, however, of defending his own dominions soon recalled him from his prey. On the 24th of May, he hurried back to his capital, attended by a small body of troops.<sup>1</sup>

Though he had received a letter from General Medows, dated the 7th of April, declaring, that all his complaints against the Raja of Travancore were unfounded, that his first attack on the lines was a breach of the treaty, and together with his renewal

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Wilks says, "In plain fact he was unprepared for war." And yet the Colonel supposes, that "he had calculated on possessing every part of Travancore in December, 1789, when the option would have been in his hands of a sudden invasion of the southern provinces at once from Travancore, Dindigul, and Carour; and of being ready, by the time an English army could be assembled, to commence the war with the Caveri as his northern frontier towards Cotomandel." *Hist. Sketches*, iii. 65.



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of hostilities, left no room for deliberation, calling for action rather than words ; he wrote again, under date the 22nd of May, professing his desire of amity, lamenting the misunderstandings which had occasioned the assemblage of the respective armies, and offering to send a person of dignity to Madras, who might give and receive explanations on the subjects of dispute, and “remove the dust by which the upright mind of the General had been obscured.” To this, the following was the answer returned. “I received yours, and understand its contents. You are a great Prince, and, but for your cruelty to your prisoners, I should add an enlightened one. The English, equally incapable of offering an insult, as of submitting to one, have always looked upon war as declared, from the moment you attacked their ally, the King of Travancore. God does not always give the battle to the strong, nor the race to the swift, but generally success to those whose cause is just.—Upon that we depend.”

For conducting the operations of the campaign, it was planned ; that General Medows, with the principal part of the Carnatic army, should take possession of the Coimbatore country, and endeavour, through the Gujelhutty pass, to penetrate into the heart of Mysore ; that General Abercromby, with the army of Bombay, should reduce the territory of Tippoo on the coast of Malabar, and effect a junction with Medows if events should render it desirable : and that Colonel Kelly should remain, for the security of the Carnatic, with a small army before the passes which led most directly from Mysore.

From the plain of Trichinopoly, where the army had assembled, the General marched on the 15th of June. It was of great importance that Coimbetore, formerly a Rajaship of considerable extent and opulence, should be occupied; both as depriving Tippoo of one principal source of his supplies; and as affording resources to the English army for the remainder of the campaign. It was also necessary, for the subsequent operations against Mysore, that a chain of posts should be established from the Coromandel coast to the foot of the pass; and Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Caroor, Erroad, and Sattimungul, were the places of which, for that purpose, selection was made. Having entered the enemy's country, and taken possession of Caroor, the General halted for eighteen days, while he collected provisions and formed a magazine. From Caroor he marched to Daraporam, which he took without opposition, and made a depot. Leaving there a considerable garrison, and all his superfluous baggage, he pushed on to the city of Coimbetore, which he found evacuated.

No enemy had as yet appeared, except some bodies of irregular cavalry, who had made attempts to harass the march. On the day after the army arrived at Coimbetore, the presence was announced of one of Tippoo's ablest captains, with 3000 horse, at the distance of about forty miles. A detachment was sent with directions to surprise them, but returned with only a few prisoners. At the same time, another detachment was employed in the capture of Erroad, which yielded after a trifling resistance.

Dindigul, and Palacatcherry, though not in the

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adopted line of communication, were fortresses of too much importance to be left with safety in the enemy's hands. A strong detachment, under Colonel Stuart, proceeded to the attack of Dindigul. The garrison was summoned, with a declaration, that, if they surrendered, private property should be respected; if they persisted in a fruitless defence, they should be all put to the sword. The Governor returned the summons by the messenger who brought it: "Inform your commander," said he, verbally, "that I cannot account to my master for the surrender of such a fort as Dindigul: If, therefore, a second messenger comes with a similar errand, I will blow him back again to his comrades, from one of my guns." Batteries were erected; and after a heavy cannonade of two days, an assault was projected on the following night. The breach was imperfect, but ammunition expended. The troops advanced to the attack with their usual gallantry, and made great and persevering efforts to penetrate. The strength, however, of the fortification was still so great, and the defence so vigorously maintained, that they were compelled to retire. It was matter of surprise to the assailants, to behold at day-break the flag of surrender displayed on the breach. The garrison, afraid to abide the effects of another assault, had deserted their commander during the night. The same detachment proceeded to the fort of Palacatcherry, which yielded after a short and feeble resistance. And Colonel Floyd was sent against Sattimungul, which he surprised and took without bloodshed.

The first important section of the operations of the campaign was thus completed with happy ex-

pedition and ease. The line of communication was established ; an enemy's country was obtained for the supply of the troops ; and nothing remained but to ascend the Gujelhutty pass, and make Tippoo contend for his throne in the centre of his dominions.

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The army was at this time separated into three divisions of nearly equal strength ; one with General Medows, whose head quarters were at Coimbatore ; one with General Floyd, distant about sixty miles, at the advanced post of Sattimungul, near the bottom of the Gujelhutty pass ; and the other with Colonel Stuart at Palacatcherry, about thirty miles in the rear ; constituting between the advanced and ultimate positions of the army a distance of ninety miles.

On the 13th of September, in the morning, a reconnoitring party, sent from the camp of Colonel Floyd, toward the mouth of the pass, was encountered by a body of the enemy ; and after a little time the whole army of the Sultan commenced an attack upon the English detachment. The commander was able to choose a position which induced Tippoo to confine his operations to a distant cannonade ; which he continued, however, during the whole of the day, and with considerable execution. The descent of Tippoo, by the very pass through which the English meant to ascend, has been represented as a perfect surprise, according to the usual want of intelligence in the English camp. Colonel Wilks, however, affirms, that Floyd had early intelligence of the movements of the Sultan ; that he forwarded the intelligence to General Medows, with a suggestion,



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considering the dispersed situation of the army, of the propriety of falling back ; that his intelligence was not credited ; and that he had orders to remain.

A council of war having determined on retreat, the troops had crossed the river in basket boats, and were on the march next morning by eight o'clock, leaving the provisions collected in Sattimungul, and three pieces of cannon, behind. Tippoo found considerable difficulty in getting his army ready for pursuit, and marched at last with only a part of it. Two o'clock arrived before he could bring his infantry into action. He then meditated a decisive blow ; but met with great obstructions from the strong hedges with which the ground was enclosed ; and, being at last alarmed, by the report that General Medows was at hand, a report of which the English commander dexterously availed himself, he drew off, on the approach of night.

During the action, Colonel Floyd received a despatch, in which he was told that General Medows on the 14th would march for Velladi. This was not on the direct road from Coimbatore to Sattimungul, nor that in which Floyd was retreating, and from the place at which he had arrived, to Velladi, was twenty miles. The only chance, however, for saving the army, was, to force the junction. He began his march at two o'clock in the morning, and without seeing the enemy, reached Velladi at eight at night, when the troops had been without provisions, and literally fasting, for three days. The General had already passed ten miles in advance of Velladi. He was immediately apprized of the state of the detachment, and next morning retraced his

steps. The army then marched back to Coimbatore, where they were joined by the division of Colonel Stuart from Palacatcherry.

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The Sultan, disappointed in his expectation of cutting off the dispersed divisions of the English army in detail, now turned his operations against the chain of their depôts. This is described by Colonel Wilks as very imperfect. "Caroor," he says, "could scarcely be deemed a good depôt; Erroad was better qualified to contain than protect stores; and Sattimungul was ill adapted to either purpose." Erroad, from which, in contemplation of what happened, the greater part of the garrison had been withdrawn, capitulated as soon as the enemy appeared: After emptying the storehouses of Erroad, the Sultan marched in a line directly south, and was followed by the English army, which left Coimbatore on the 29th of September, and in six marches arrived at Erroad. On the day on which the English left Erroad, the Sultan proposed to encamp in a situation about sixteen miles distant, whence he could march, either upon a convoy that was advancing from Caroor, or upon Daraporam, or upon Coimbatore, according to the direction which the English might take. The English army came up; and he increased his distance by a nocturnal march. General Medows waited to protect his convoy from Caroor: and the Sultan marched towards Coimbatore. He knew that the field hospital, valuable stores, and the battering train, were left with a very feeble garrison; but after performing a march in that direction, his intelligence, which never failed him, announced the important fact, that Colonel Hartley had just ascended from

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the Malabar coast, and reinforced Coimbatore. One point of his plan yet remained; he marched rapidly toward the south; found Daraporam miserably provided for defence; carried his approaches to the ditch; and on the 8th of October entered the place by capitulation.

The English General, alarmed by the danger which had threatened the loss of Coimbatore, returned in haste to that grand dépôt; which he resolved to render as strong as circumstances would admit.

While he was employed in strengthening Coimbatore, an object of great importance engaged the attention of Tippoo. Colonel Kelly, the officer who commanded the corps of defence before the passes which led more immediately to the Carnatic from Mysore, died, and was succeeded by Colonel Maxwell, toward the end of September. On the 24th of October, in obedience to orders received from General Medows, this corps invaded Baramahl. Of this the Sultan was not long without intelligence. Leaving about one-fourth of his army to watch the motions of General Medows, he marched with the remainder in great haste toward Baramahl. On the 9th of November, several bodies of his light cavalry reached Colonel Maxwell's ground. On the 11th, the Colonel's cavalry, one regiment, allowed themselves, inveigled in pursuit in a defile, to be attacked by a great superiority of force, and were driven back with considerable loss. The Sultan appeared with his whole army on the 12th; and if he had not been baffled by the superior skill of Maxwell, who chose his ground, and made his dispositions, in such a

manner, as allowed not the Sultan an opportunity of attacking him, except with the greatest disadvantage, this movement of Tippoo would have been celebrated as a specimen of generalship, not easy to be matched.<sup>1</sup>

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After his operations for strengthening Coimbatore, General Medows put the army in motion, to look for the enemy in the direction of Errood; which he approached on the 2nd of November. A strong corps, sent out under Colonel Floyd, to force an extensive reconnoissance, at last ascertained that the Sultan's whole army had crossed the river several days before, and gone to the northward. The English army crossed, not without difficulty; and began to follow on the 10th. On the 14th they encamped at the southern extremity of the pass of Tapoor. Next day they cleared the pass; and on reaching the ground intended for their encampment on the northern face of the hills, discovered the flags and tents of an army, on the plain, at about six miles' distance, below. Nearly three weeks had elapsed since they had direct intelligence from Colonel Maxwell: they had performed an anxious and laborious march; they hailed with delight the sight of their comrades, and the prospect of a speedy conjunction; and three signal guns were fired to announce their approach. It was the Sultan, who had so completely eluded their observation, and whom they now had in their view.

During three days he had endeavoured, with all

<sup>1</sup> A detailed account of these operations is given in a letter from Colonel Munro, then serving with the division under Maxwell. Life, i. 102.—W.



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his art, to obtain an opportunity of attacking Colonel Maxwell; and had withdrawn, the preceding evening, with a supposition that General Medows would require another day to clear the pass. He immediately removed to a greater distance up the Palicode valley; and General Medows proceeded fifteen miles next morning in the direction of Caveripatam; where the important junction with Maxwell was effected on the following day.

After the disruption of their chain of posts, and the defeat of their original plan for invading Mysore, it was not easy for the Sultan to divine what scheme of hostilities the English would afterwards pursue. Concluding, however, that whither he should go, they would follow, he resolved upon carrying the war into their own country, and in such a manner, if possible, as would afford him the means of recovering the places he had lost. Both armies intended to double back by the pass of Tapoor. Both armies arrived at the head of the pass at the same time. Yet the Sultan, only sending back his baggage, and rear guard, contrived to pass through before the English without loss: and never halted till he was opposite the weak but important depôt of Trichinopoly. The English General reached the banks of the Cavery, opposite Caroore, on the 27th of November, and was talking of a plan for calling Tippoo from the Carnatic, by ascending the Caveripatam pass, taking post at the head of the Gujelhutty, opening that of Tambercherry, and preserving his communication with Coimbatore, Palacatcherry, and the other coast, on the execution of which plan he expected to enter by the 8th of December; when he was summoned

to the defence of Trichinopoly, by intelligence of what the Sultan had performed.

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The English General arrived at Trichinopoly on the 14th of December, where the swelling of the river had contributed to prevent the Sultan from effecting anything by surprise, and confined his mischief to the plunder of the island of Seringham. On the approach of the English army he proceeded with his usual devastations, latterly exchanged for contributions, northward, through the heart of Coromandel, and approached Tiagar. It was commanded by an officer, Captain Flint, who had already distinguished himself in the wars of the Carnatic and Mysore; and the efforts of Tippoo, who had no time for tedious operations, were defeated. He was more successful, however, at Trinomalee and Permacoil; from which he proceeded to the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, where he had some communication with the French governor, and engaged a French gentleman to go upon a mission for 6000 French troops to the King of France. The King of France, it is said, out of compunction, which he strongly expressed, for having aided the Americans in resisting the crown of England, declined compliance, and amused himself “with the shabby finery of Tippoo’s presents to himself and the Queen.”

The English army followed that of the Sultan as far as Trinomalee. Lord Cornwallis had arrived at Madras on the 12th of December, and directed General Medows to return to the Presidency. From Trinomalee, therefore, the army turned off to Arnee, where the guns and heavy stores were deposited under Colonel Musgrave, the second in

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command; and the remainder of the army reached the encampment at Vellout, eighteen miles from Madras, on the 27th of January.

On the Malabar side, Colonel Hartley was left, after the Madras troops were withdrawn, with one European regiment and two battalions of Sepoys. Happily the General left by Tippoo gave him the opportunity of a pitched battle on the 10th of December, and being routed escaped with the public treasure up the Tambercherry pass.

General Abercromby, the Governor of Bombay, had not been able to take the field till late in the season. He arrived at Tellicherry with a respectable force a few days preceding the battle of Hartley: and on the 14th, appeared before Cannanore, which after a very short resistance made an unconditional surrender. As the population was thoroughly disaffected to the government of Mysore, and none of the forts were strong, the task of the English army was little more than that of overrunning the country; and in the space of a few weeks every place which belonged to Tippoo in Malabar was subdued, and the whole province placed in possession of the English.<sup>1</sup>

During this campaign the Governor-General had been engaged in a transaction of considerable importance with the Nabob of Arcot. When Sir Archibald Campbell arrived at Madras, after the Carnatic revenues, which had been placed under British management by Lord Macartney, had been restored to the Nabob, one of the principal services

<sup>1</sup> For the facts of this campaign, Col. Wilks is undoubted authority; but for opinions, his partialities deserve to be watched.

which he was called upon to perform, was, that of effecting a new arrangement with the said master of those revenues. By the memorable arrangement of the Board of Control, the creditors of the Nabob were to receive annually twelve lacs of pagodas. The expense at which the President in Council estimated the peace establishment was twenty-one lacs. It was, therefore, his proposal, that the Nabob, the English Presidency, and the Raja of Tanjore, should each contribute to this expense, in exact proportion to the gross amount of their several and respective revenues. According to this principle, the contingent of the Nabob towards the peace establishment would have amounted to ten and a half lacs of pagodas. But upon a very pathetic remonstrance, setting forth his inability to sustain so vast a burden, the President was induced to admit an abatement of a lac and a half; and upon this agreement, of nine lacs to the state, and twelve to the creditors, an instrument, which they called a treaty, was signed on the 24th of February, 1787.

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Such was the distribution of the revenues appointed for the period of peace. In the period of war, it was agreed that the parties should contribute four-fifths of their respective revenues to the exigencies of the State; the Nabob, however, being allowed to deduct, in the first instance, jaghires to a considerable amount for the maintenance of his family.

For punctuality of payment, it was arranged, that the following securities should be taken. In case of failure or delay in the contribution for the season of peace, certain districts were named, the aumildars and collectors of which were to make their payments,



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not to the Nabob, but to receivers appointed by the Company. For securing payment of the four-fifths of the revenues which were to be received by the Company in the season of war, the government of Madras might appoint one or more inspectors of accounts to examine the receipts of the districts; and on failure of payment, they might appoint receivers to obtain the money from the aumildars, in the same manner for the whole country, as had been stipulated in the case of certain districts, on failure of the payment of the subsidy during peace.

Sir Archibald took to himself a high degree of credit for this arrangement. In his letter to the Court of Directors in which he announced the completion of it, a letter bearing date the very day on which the treaty was signed, he first announces the pecuniary terms, and thus proceeds: "The care I have taken in securing to the Company the punctual payment of the several sums agreed upon, will be sufficiently illustrated by the treaty itself, which I have the honour to enclose. It is therefore only necessary to observe, that this, as well as all the other objects, recommended to me by the Court of Directors, have been minutely attended to in this treaty. The power of the purse and sword is now completely secured to the Company; without lessening the consequence of the Nabob: and I pledge myself that these powers, so long as I have the honour to preside in this government, will be exerted with discretion, and to the utmost of my abilities, to secure the interests, and promote the honour and prosperity, of the India Company. If the articles of this treaty appear satisfactory to you; if they

produce, as I trust they will, solid and lasting advantages to the India Company, by the very respectable addition of five lacs of pagodas to their annual receipts, while the Nabob of the Carnatic is happy and pleased with the arrangement, I shall think my labours well bestowed, and feel that I am fully rewarded for all the fatigue and anxiety of mind I have undergone, preparatory to, and during the whole of this negotiation, which I can with truth say has greatly exceeded any description that I can possibly convey.”

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Hardly was Sir Archibald more pleased with himself, than he was with the Nabob. “ I should not,” he says, “ discharge my duty to the Honourable Company, were I not to recommend the present state of the Nabob’s finances to your most serious consideration. The voluntary grant of so large a proportion of his revenues to the public and private creditors of his Highness, does, in my opinion, infinite honour, and marks his real character. But it ought to be considered, that this grant was made at a time when he thought his proportion for the defence of the Carnatic would not exceed the sum of four lacs of pagodas annually. His contribution for this defence is now extended to nine lacs; and I can easily perceive, that although he has cheerfully agreed to pay for that purpose five lacs of pagodas more than he expected, yet it is from a conviction that such a contribution is indispensable for the general security; and that this venerable Prince would rather subject himself and family to the feelings of difficulty and distress, than be thought backward for a single moment, in contributing most

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liberally to any arrangement which might tend effectually to the defence and prosperity of the Carnatic. I have narrowly watched the Nabob's conduct and sentiments since my arrival in this country, and I am ready to declare, that I do not think it possible that any Prince or person on earth can be more sincerely attached to the prosperity of the Honourable Company than his Highness, or that any one has a higher claim to their favour and liberality."<sup>1</sup>

Of this arrangement in general, the Directors expressed great approbation. Injustice, however, they remarked, had been done to the Raja of Tanjore, and undue favour shown to the Nabob, in one particular: For as the Raja paid an annual tribute to the Nabob, and this had not been deducted from the estimate of the Raja's revenues, and added to that of the revenues of the Nabob, a burden of 50,000 pagodas annually, more than his due, had thus been laid upon the one; a burden of 50,000 pagodas which he ought to bear, had been thus removed from the other. With regard to the abatement which, on the score of inability, had been allowed to the Nabob, in the proportional payments, the Directors expressed a wish, that the indulgence had rather been shown by diminishing the payments exacted for the creditors than by reducing the annual subsidy. They directed, accordingly, that the payment of ten laes and a half on that account should still be required, together with the above-mentioned 50,000 pagodas which had been wrongfully charged to the Raja of Tanjore. The regular contingent of the Nabob was

<sup>1</sup> See a volume of papers, on this subject, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 16th of March, 1792.

therefore established at the sum of eleven lacs; but, in consideration of his poverty, something less would be accepted for a few years.

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Before the proposal for a new arrangement in conformity to these conditions of the Directors was communicated to the Nabob, his payments had, as usual, fallen in arrear; and in an answer to the importunities of Governor Hollond, he thus expressed himself: "The treaty that was entered into, in the government of Sir Archibald Campbell, I was induced to accede to, in the fullest hopes that I should obtain possession of Tanjore. I have exerted myself beyond my ability; and exercised every kind of hardship and oppression over the ryots, in collecting money to pay the Company; though in doing this I suffer all those pangs which a father feels when he is obliged to oppress and injure his own son. Such is the impoverished state of the country, that it is by no means equal to the burden; and I most sincerely and with great truth do declare, that I am necessitated to draw the very blood of my ryots to pay my present heavy instalment to the Company." He not only remonstrated with the utmost vehemence against the additional payments which the Directors commanded to be imposed upon him; but he earnestly prayed for relief, even from those which by the treaty with Sir Archibald Campbell he had engaged himself to sustain. Nor was it till a period subsequent to the arrival of General Medows, that his consent to the new burdens was obtained.<sup>1</sup>

While the Nabob was pressed on this important

<sup>1</sup> See a volume of papers, ut supra, p. 17, 19, and 50.



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subject, he had recourse to an expedient which succeeded so well when employed with Mr. Hastings.

1790. He lodged an accusation against the Governor of Madras: and sent a letter privately to the Governor-General through a subaltern in the Company's army. The grounds of the accusation the Governor-General directed to be examined by a Committee. In regard to the private letter and its bearer, he adopted a line of conduct differing widely from that which on a similar occasion had been pursued by Mr. Hastings. "If I had not," said he, in his answer to the Nabob "believed that the conduct of Lieutenant Cochrane proceeded only from inadvertency, I should have been highly displeased with him for presuming to undertake the delivery of a letter to me of such serious import from your Highness, without the knowledge or sanction of the Madras government; which I am sure, upon a little reflection, your Highness must agree with me, in thinking the only regular and proper channel of communication between us."<sup>1</sup>

When the war broke out, the demands of the English for money became more urgent; the backwardness of the Nabob in his payments continued the same. "After a most attentive consideration of the subject," say the president and Council of Madras, in their political letter dated the 16th of September, 1790, "we resolved to submit to the supreme government the correspondence which had taken place between our President and the Nabob; and to point out to his Lordship in Council the

<sup>1</sup> See a volume of papers, *ut supra*, p. 24.

impolicy of depending for our principal resources, at a time when the greatest exertions were necessary, and pecuniary supplies were of the utmost importance, upon the operations and management of the Nabob's government, of which the system was perhaps as defective and insufficient as any upon earth. And we did not hesitate to declare it as our unqualified opinion, that this government ought, during the war, to take the Nabob's country under their own management, as affording the only means by which the resources to be derived from it could be realized, and the fidelity and attachment of the polygars and tributaries secured, which is of the utmost importance to the successful operations of the war. In the event of his Lordship's agreeing with us in opinion, and instructing us to act in conformity, we submitted to him the necessity of our adopting the measure in so comprehensive a manner as to preclude any kind of interference on the part of the Nabob, while the country might be under our management; and stating that, if this were not done, the expected advantages could not be derived."

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Instead of nine lacs, which it had been found impossible to make the Nabob pay during peace, four-fifths of his whole revenues were payable to the Company during war. But, whereas Sir Archibald Campbell had boasted to the Directors, that the arrangements, which he had made, "secured the punctual payment of the sums agreed upon;" the President and Council of Madras affirmed that they were totally inadequate to the securing of payment; and pointing out, what was a strange defect in prac-

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tical policy, "It might," they say, "have been expected, that the securities for the performance of the war stipulations, which are of such importance, would have been made stronger than those which are provided in the event of failures on the part of his Highness in time of peace: But they are, in fact, less efficient; and the process prescribed for failures in time of war is so tedious and complicated, that it can scarce be said to deserve the name of any security or provision whatever." "As to the appointment," they said, "of inspectors of accounts, provided for in the treaty of Sir Archibald Campbell, we think they are so little calculated to have any good effect, that we are not disposed to put the Company to expense on this account; being convinced that, in this country, no power, excepting the one which governs, can obtain a true state of Cutcherry accounts."<sup>1</sup>

The Governor-General lost no time in expressing his full conviction of the necessity of assuming the government of the country; but recommended that the acquiescence of the Nabob should, if possible, be obtained. The most vehement opposition which it was within the power of the Nabob to make, the Nabob on this occasion displayed. "We cannot say," replied the Madras Council, "that the event has surprised us;—for, when it is considered, how many people, attached to the Durbar, are interested in the Nabob's retaining the management of his country in his hands, it will not be a matter of wonder that every effort should be made to prevent his again

<sup>1</sup> Lett. to Gov. Gen. 1st May, and 7th June, 1790. See a volume of papers, ut supra, p. 91 and 102.

ceding what in a former instance he had much difficulty in recovering.—We are convinced he will never make a voluntary assignment of his country.”<sup>1</sup>

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On the 21st of June, the Supreme Government, declaring their “perfect persuasion of the impossibility of obtaining in future the stipulated proportion of the Nabob’s revenues, through the medium of his own managers, which also precluded all hopes of being able, by those means, to recover the immense amount of his balance, authorized and directed the Governor and Council of Madras, to take effectual measures to put the Company into immediate possession of the management of his Highness’s revenues and country; in order that the total amount of the collections might be applied with fidelity and economy, in the proportions that had been already settled, to defray the exigencies of the war, and to support his Highness’s own family and dignity.” Tanjore was included in the same arrangement.<sup>2</sup>

The Letter of the Governor-General and Council was continued in the following words: “We sincerely lament, that your endeavours to prevail upon the Nabob, by argument and persuasion, to sacrifice his ideas and private feelings, respecting his own personal dignity and importance, to the real and substantial good of his subjects—and for that purpose to make a voluntary surrender<sup>3</sup> to the Company of the

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Presidency of Madras to the Gov. Gen. in Council, dated 7th June, 1790. Ibid. p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Gov. Gen. in Council, to the Gov. in Council of Fort St. George. Ibid. p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> “For the real and substantial good of his subjects make a voluntary surrender” of his sovereignty! The Governor-General and his Council could not be simple enough to expect it. Where would he have found



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management of his country, during the continuance of the present war, have proved so fruitless and ineffectual. We trust, however, that before long, his Highness will be fully sensible of the interested and criminal motives of the advisers, by whom he has been influenced to resist your solicitations; and that he will soon see, that, whilst his people will be treated with justice and humanity, a liberal fund will be secured for the maintenance of his own family and dignity, and that the remainder of the revenues will be secured from the hands of extortioners and usurers, and honourably applied to the defence and protection of his subjects and dominions.”<sup>1</sup>

In reporting upon these transactions to the Court of Directors, the Governor-General drew a picture of the government and circumstances of the Nabob, which is too material to this part of the history, not

a prince, in much more civilized countries, capable of that sacrifice?—“We trust that before long his Highness will be fully sensible of the interested and criminal motives of his advisers.” What prince is without such interested and criminal advisers? And what can be expected from the advisers of any prince—advisers who, as long as they have the wielding of his power, how destructive soever to the community, gain by its magnitude; would lose by its diminution?—“While his people will be treated with justice and humanity, a liberal fund will be secured for his own family and dignity.” If every prince, upon the securing of a liberal fund for his family and dignity, would consent to lose all that portion of his power which obstructs the exercise of humanity and justice to his people, what a different world should we speedily behold! That the doctrine, however, of Lord Cornwallis, so earnestly preached to this Indian prince, and recommended to his acceptance by more effectual means, when preaching would not suffice, was a doctrine which ought to be recommended to princes, few will dispute. But history provides for a just judgment upon Mohammed Ali, and his advisers; who certainly deserve no *peculiar* measure of disapprobation for preferring the existence to the annihilation of his power, notwithstanding the claims of humanity and justice, which I fully admit, with respect to his people.

<sup>1</sup> Letter, ut supra, *ibid.* p. 117.

to be inserted in its original shape. “ I was impelled,” says he, “ to the determination of assuming the revenues of the Carnatic, by the strongest considerations of humanity, justice, and public necessity. The flagrant failure, on the part of the Nabob, in the performance of the stipulations of the treaty with the Company, ought long ago to have awakened the government of Fort St. George to a sense of their public duty; and would, in strictness, at any time, have merited the serious interference of this government. But, at a dangerous juncture, when the resources of Bengal are totally inadequate alone to support the expense of the war into which we have been forced, by one of the most inveterate enemies of his Highness’s family, and of the British name, I could not for a moment hesitate in discharging what clearly appeared to me to be the duty of my station—by taking the only measures that could be effectual for securing the proportional assistance, to which we are entitled, from the funds of the Carnatic.—I must likewise observe, that, by executing this resolution, I have every reason to believe, that whilst we provide for the general safety, we, at the same time, greatly promote the interests of humanity. For, by the concurrent accounts that I have received from many quarters, I am perfectly convinced, that, from the Nabob’s being unacquainted with the details of business, and, either from an indifference to the distresses of his subjects, or from a total incapacity to superintend and control the conduct of his renters and managers, the most insatiable extortions, and cruel oppressions, are no where in India more openly and generally committed, with impunity,

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upon the mass of the miserable inhabitants, than by his Highness's officers in the internal management of his country. And it will, therefore, not only be felt as a relief, by the body of the people, to be put under the authority of the Company's servants; but we shall probably be able, by mild and just treatment, to conciliate, on this critical occasion, the attachment of the southern Polygars, who, from being harassed by the unreasonable exactions of the Nabob's renters, have almost always been ripe for disturbance and revolt. I trust, likewise, that, in addition to the other advantages that may be expected from the measure of taking the management of the Carnatic into your own hands, it may tend to break off a connexion between the Durbar and many of your servants—from which nothing but the most baneful effects can result, both to your own and his Highness's interests.—The relation between his Highness and the Company's government; the delusive schemes, into which he has at different times been drawn by the acts of intriguing and interested men, to seek for support in England, against regulations and orders, no less calculated for *his* real good, than for the advantage of the Company; and the ease which Europeans of all descriptions have found, by the vicinity of his residence to Madras, in carrying on an intercourse with him, in defiance of all your prohibitions, have thrown out temptations that have proved irresistible to several of your servants and other persons, not only recently, but during a long period of years, to engage in unjustifiable and usurious transactions with the Durbar. And I believe I may venture to assure you, that it is to these

causes, so highly injurious to the Company's interests, and so disgraceful to the national character,<sup>1</sup> that the present state of disorder and ruin, in his Highness's affairs, is principally to be attributed.—It will require much mature consideration to devise means that will be effectual to prevent a repetition of these evils; and, indeed, I must freely own, that I

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<sup>1</sup> *English virtue*—his Lordship is not restrained by the common cry, that an Englishman should never speak of *English virtue* except with praise, from pointing out where English *want of virtue* has been productive of undesirable effects. “I am sensible,” says he, “that many individuals, conceiving that they are actuated by the best of motives, will differ with me in the sentiments which I have taken the liberty to offer upon this subject, and I cannot be confident that they will meet with a favourable reception from the nation at large.—The Nabob's age, his long connexion with us, his rights to the possession of the country; and exaggerated accounts of his former services, may furnish topics for popular declamation, and may possibly engage the nation, upon mistaken ideas of humanity, to support a system of cruelty and oppression. But whilst I feel conscious that I am endeavouring to promote the happiness of mankind and the good of my country, I shall give very little weight to such considerations: And should conceive, that I had not performed the duty of the high and responsible office in which you did me the honour to place me, if I did not declare—That the present mixed government cannot prosper; even in the best hands in which your part of it can be placed: And that, unless some such plan as that which I have proposed, should be adopted, the inhabitants of the Carnatic must continue to be wretched; the Nabob must remain an indigent bankrupt; and his country an useless and expensive burden to the Company and to the nation.” Ibid. p. 58.—M.

Although it is no doubt true that the cause of the Nabob of Arcot was not unfrequently advocated from motives of self-interest, yet it is unjust to ascribe his defence in every case, to want of virtue in his defenders. Many persons of integrity were at all times ready to take part with him, in consideration of what they conscientiously believed to be his hereditary rights, and his attachment to the English. They were not well apprized of his real situation, and regarded the control which the Madras Government sought to maintain, as usurpation and insult. They believed also in his having considerable power, which he might exercise to the disadvantage of the British, and they therefore questioned the policy of exciting his displeasure. These considerations operated even with superior minds in his behalf, and procured him unpaid friends and partisans both in India and in England.—W.



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could not venture to propose any plan, on the success of which I could have a firm reliance, unless the Nabob could be induced, by a large annual revenue, to surrender the management of his country for a long term of years to the Company.”<sup>1</sup>

For the details of management, the same regulations were adopted which had been devised by Lord Macartney; and the highest testimony was now borne to the wisdom of the plan which he established, and which the Board of Control had overturned. General Medows, as early as the 31st of March, was not restrained from declaring, in his letter of that date to the Court of Directors, “His Highness, the Nabob, is so backward in his payments, and oppressive to his Polygars, whom at this time it is so necessary to have on our side, that I conceive it will be absolutely necessary, upon his first material delay of payment, to take the management of his country into your own hands; a measure, in spite of the opposition made to it, so advantageous to you, the country, and even his Highness himself, when so wisely projected, and ably executed, by Lord Macartney.”<sup>2</sup>

This important arrangement was followed by the complete approbation of the Directors,<sup>3</sup> who expressed themselves, even upon the first assignment, procured by Lord Macartney, in the following terms: “If the absolute necessity of recurring to the measure in question were not, in our opinion, to be completely justified upon its own merits, we might recall to our

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, dated 10th August, 1790. Ibid. p. 57, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> See the vol. of papers on the subject, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, on the 2nd of April, 1792, p. 5.

recollection the circumstances of a former period. At the commencement of the preceding war, the Nabob agreed to appropriate the whole of his revenues for its support, and the Company appointed superintendents, or receivers, to collect and receive all the rents, &c. from the Nabob's aumildars. But, whether it arose from the bad system of management in general, or from this double system in particular; or whether there was a predominant influence in the Nabob's Durbar, inimical to the interests of the Company—all of which were repeatedly suggested—the measure did not afford any relief to the Company's finances in the prosecution of the war. Nor, till the country was absolutely made over by a deed of assignment, in December, 1781, did the Company receive a thousand pagodas into their treasure.”<sup>1</sup>

Not in exact conformity with the character which had been given of him by Sir Archibald Campbell, the Nabob now practised all the arts which, in the case of Lord Macartney, had been employed to defeat the purposes of the assignment. This time, however, they were practised with inferior success, because they were not, as when employed against Lord Macartney, supported by the superior powers. Even in this case, the Nabob had the boldness to circulate instructions to his aumils, or revenue agents in the country, calculated to prevent co-operation with the English government. The remarks of the Directors upon these proceedings of his are necessary to be known. “ Having signified our approbation of the

<sup>1</sup> Court's Political Letter to Fort St. George, dated 6th May, 1791.

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determination of the Bengal government, authorizing you to assume the management of the Nabob's revenues during the continuance of the war, and which seems to have been carried into effect with as much delicacy towards the Nabob, as a circumstance so totally against his inclination would admit of; we are sorry to remark on the nature and tendency of the Nabob's orders to his aumildars. Surely his Highness must have forgot, for a moment, the nature of his connexion with the Company: and that he is entirely indebted to their support for the preservation of his country. If the Nabob's professions and actions had not been very much at variance, with what reason could Lieutenant Boisdun, commanding at Nellore, complain, that the Nabob's managers seemed rather the enemies of the detachment than their friends. We likewise have the mortification to find that his Highness's phousdar and aumildar, at Nellore, absolutely refused to submit to the Company's authority; a resistance, which, say the Board of Revenue, might be expected from the nature of the Nabob's circular orders. We find also that the collector at Trichinopoly was encountering many difficulties, in establishing the Company's authority in the different districts, from the opposition of an armed force; and that so very industrious have the Nabob's sons been in throwing obstacles in the way that not an account was to be found in any of the village Cutcheries, nor any public servant who could give the smallest information; and that they have been particularly active in disposing of all the grain in the country. We likewise observe, in the intelligence from Tanjore, that the Raja had been recentl

alienating several villages, and that the repairs of tanks and water-courses had been neglected, that the Company's collectors might not be able to produce much income. Such friends and allies can be looked upon as little better than open and declared enemies. And such a conduct on their part is an ill return for the protection that has been constantly afforded them by the British nation."<sup>1</sup>

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The opposition which the English encountered on the part of the people themselves, was naturally created by the course which the English pursued. They professed, that they were to retain the government of the country, only during the war. After one or two years, the business and the power would again be consigned to the Nabob; when those who during that interval had acted agreeably to his inclinations would be favoured; those who had conformed to the inclinations of the English would be oppressed. The English collections, therefore, continued far below the amount to which a permanent arrangement might have been expected to bring them.

Hypocrisy was the cause which produced the difficulties resulting to the English from their connexion with the Nabob. They desired to hold him up to the world, as an independent Prince, their ally, when it was necessary they should act as his lord and master. If they succeeded in persuading no other person that he was an independent Prince, they succeeded in persuading himself. And very naturally, on every occasion, he opposed the most strenuous re-

<sup>1</sup> Court's Political Letter to Fort St. George, dated 6th May, 1791.



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sistance to every scheme of theirs, which had the appearance of invading his authority. If the defence of the country rested with the English; and if they found that to govern it through the agency of the Nabob deprived them of its resources, and above all inflicted the most grievous oppression upon the inhabitants; results, the whole of which might have been easily foreseen, without waiting for the bitter fruits of a long experience; they ought from the beginning, if the real substance, not the false colours of the case, are taken for the ground of our decision, to have made the Nabob in appearance, what he had always been in reality, a pensioner of the Company. What may be said in defence of the Company is, that parliament scanned their actions with so much ignorance, as to make them often afraid to pursue their own views of utility, and rather take another course, which would save them from the hostile operation of vulgar prejudices.

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## CHAPTER IV.

*Cornwallis takes the Command.—Second Campaign begins.—Siege of Bangalore.—March to Seringapatam.—Operations of the Bombay Army.—Battle at Arikerabetween Cornwallis and Tippoo.—Army in Distress for Bullocks and Provisions.—Obliged to return.—Operations of the Mahratta Contingent.—Negotiations with Tippoo.—Debate in the House of Commons on the War with Tippoo.—Preparations for a third Campaign.—Reduction of the Fortresses which commanded the Passes into the Carnatic, and threatened the Communications.—Operations of the Nizam's Army, and of the Mahratta Contingent, in the interval between the first and second March upon Seringapatam.—Operations of the Bombay Army.—Operations of Tippoo.—March to Seringapatam.—Intrenched Camp of the Enemy stormed before Seringapatam.—Preparations for the Siege.—Negotiations.—Peace.—Subsequent Arrangements.*

WHEN the breach with Tippoo first appeared inevitable, the Governor-General formed the design of proceeding to the coast, and of taking upon himself the conduct of the war. He resigned that intention, upon learning that General Medows was appointed Governor of Fort St. George. But he resumed it, when the success of the first campaign fell short of

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his hopes; and on the 17th of November, wrote to the Court of Directors, that, notwithstanding the good conduct, both of the General and of the troops, yet, by the irruption of Tippoo into Coimbetore, by the loss of stores and magazines, and by the check given to Colonel Floyd, enough had been effected to impress unfavourably the country powers, and create a danger lest the Mahrattas and the Nizam should incline to a separate peace: That his purpose, therefore, was, to place himself at the head of the army, not with the overweening conceit that he would act more skilfully than General Medows, but from the supposition, that, holding the higher situation in the government, he could act with the greater weight, and at any rate convince the native powers, by his appearance in the field, of the serious determination with which the East India Company had engaged in the war.

The routes to the centre of Tippoo's dominions, that by one of the southern passes, and that by the line of Velore, Amboor, and Bangalore, presented a choice of difficulties: as the route by the southern passes, gave a line of operation, from Madras, the grand source of supply, both very long, and, owing to the weakness of several of the posts, very difficult to defend; and that in the direction of Velore, afforded little in the way of supply for the wants of the army, and demanded the preliminary operation of the siege of Bangalore, one of the strongest places in Mysore, distant ninety miles from Amboor, the nearest dépôt of the besieging army. The issue of the preceding campaign contributed probably to determine Lord Cornwallis in the choice of the latter.

Tippoo, summoned from his negotiations in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, by intelligence of the march of Lord Cornwallis toward Velore, on the 5th of February, ascended rapidly by the passes of Changama and Policode; and was ready to meet the English army in its attempt to penetrate by any of the usual and easiest of the passes. Contriving the appearances of a march toward Amboor, which completely imposed upon the Sultan, Lord Cornwallis turned suddenly to the north, and was at the head of the pass of Mooglee, before it was in the power of the enemy to offer any obstruction to his march. The English army began to move from the head of the pass on the 21st of February; and it was the 4th of March before the cavalry of the enemy appeared in considerable force. A mind like that of the Sultan was not very capable of entertaining more than one object at a time. All his military operations were suspended while he was preparing at Pondicherry the means of assistance from the French. When he was frustrated in his hopes of resisting the English in the pass, by their ascent at Mooglee, he was wholly engrossed by the thought of his Harem, left at Bangalore. Dispositions might have been made, to impede his enemy in front, and harass them in the rear, in every possible route. The Sultan, on the other hand, chose to go, in person, at the head of his army, to remove his women and valuables from Bangalore, a service which might have been performed by any of his officers with 500 men; and he allowed the English General to arrive within ten miles of his object, before he had occasion to fire a gun. An intended assault on the baggage on the morning of the 5th

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was frustrated by a skilful movement of the General : and in the evening the English took up their position before Bangalore, without any loss of stores and only five casualties, after a day's exertion of the whole army of Tippoo.

Next day, as the cavalry, commanded by Colonel Floyd, and a brigade of infantry, were performing in the afternoon an observation to the south-west of the fort, they unexpectedly approached the line of encampment, which the Sultan had marked out, and which his army, by a circuitous and undiscovered march, were just beginning to enter. A body of about 1000 horse, all who were not foraging, ordered to check the approach of the English, were the only part of the enemy yet seen by Colonel Floyd; and he moved against them with his cavalry, leaving the infantry in a swampy hollow, with orders there to wait his return. The retreat of Tippoo's horse discovered the rear of his infantry with baggage and guns; the temptation was great; the orders against an enterprise were forgotten; the flying enemy left their guns; the ground became irregular and strong; several charges had been made successfully on the right and the left, when Colonel Floyd advancing to dislodge the largest body of the enemy, received a musket ball, and fell. Though he was not mortally wounded, a retreat commenced; orders could not be distinctly communicated; great confusion ensued; but the infantry, which had been left under Major Gowdie, advanced with their guns to an eminence which commanded the line of retreat, and after allowing the cavalry to pass, opened a fire upon the enemy which soon cleared the field. The danger was over,

when Lord Cornwallis arrived with a division of the army to the support of the fugitives.<sup>1</sup>

The Pettah, a considerable town surrounded by a wall and a ditch, was assaulted on the 7th. "Two ladders," says Colonel Wilks, "would probably have saved many lives, but there was not one in camp; and after a long delay in making a practicable opening in the gate, which the troops bore with the greatest steadiness and patience, the place was at length carried." The Sultan, the very same day, made a powerful effort for its recovery. A part of his army endeavoured to gain the attention of the English by a feint to turn their right, while the main body, by a concealed movement, entered the Pettah. Cornwallis had understood the stratagem, and reinforced the Pettah. So long as the struggle was confined to firing, the superiority was on the side of the Sultan; but when the British troops had recourse to the bayonet, they pressed the enemy from one place to another, and after a contest of some duration, drove them out of the town, with a loss of upwards of two thousand men.<sup>2</sup> The siege had continued till the

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Wilks seems inclined to think that had not Floyd been wounded, the attack might have been successful. Munro thinks the check prevented more serious mischief. "Had he not been wounded," he writes, "he would probably have pushed so far on that he never could have extricated himself, for the enemy were strongly posted, and the flower of their cavalry, which was at some distance, was coming on, led by Tippoo." *Life*, 109.—W.

<sup>2</sup> "The casualties of the English on this day," (says Colonel Wilks, iii. 125) "amounted to 131, but no loss made so deep an impression as that of Lieutenant-Colonel Moorhouse" (he commanded the artillery) "who was killed at the gate. He had risen from the ranks. But nature herself had made him a gentleman. Uneducated, he had made himself a man of science. A career of uninterrupted distinction had commanded general respect; and his amiable character universal attachment. The regret of

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20th of March, the besiegers incessantly threatened by the whole of the enemy's force, the place not only not invested, but relieved at pleasure with fresh troops; when the Sultan, perceiving that operations were approaching to maturity for the assault, placed his guns, during a fog, on the 21st, in a situation of some strength, whence he could enfilade and destroy the whole of the trenches, and open sap. The English General struck his camp as soon as he perceived this alarming design, and endeavoured to deter the enemy by threatening a general attack. The guns were removed, but carried back in the evening. And this with other causes determined the English General to overlook all the impediments which yet remained to be removed, and to give the assault on that very night. The intention was concealed from his own army till the last moment; and only communicated to the senior officer of artillery, who employed the intermediate space in perfecting, as far as possible, the breach, and taking off the defences of all the works which commanded it. The ladders were nearly planted before the garrison took the alarm. However carefully the intention of assaulting had been concealed, it was not unknown to the Sultan, who, at night-fall, moved his whole army within a mile and a half of the Mysore gate, warned the garrison of the impending trial, and appointed two heavy corps to fall upon both flanks of the assailants; though such effectual precautions were employed to

his general, and the respect of his government, were testified by a monument erected at the public expense in the Church at Madras." This is a generous tribute to singular worth; and deserves remembrance on account of both parties.

protect them, as frustrated all his designs. The serious struggle had just begun in the breach, when a narrow circuitous way was discovered, which led a few men to the rampart.<sup>1</sup> They waited coolly till joined by a sufficient number of their comrades to enable them to charge with the bayonet. Till the Kelledar fell, the garrison maintained a vigorous resistance. The English, as they penetrated, proceeded by alternate companies to the right and left, every where overcoming a respectable opposition, till they met at the opposite gate. The fury which almost always animates soldiers in a storm, when their own safety depends upon the terror they inspire, led to a deplorable carnage. The enemy crowding to escape had choked up the gate; and the bodies of upwards of one thousand men were buried after the assault. The Sultan, when advertised of the attack, sent a large column to reinforce the garrison, which was approaching the Mysore gate, at the moment when the invaders had met above it from the right and the left. A few shots from the ramparts apprized them of the catastrophe; and the Sultan, who had shown great timidity during the siege, and availed himself very feebly of his means to annoy the besiegers, and waste their time, remained in a sort of torpid astonishment till the dawn, when he returned to his camp.

Nothing but the blunders of Tippoo appears to have prevented this enterprise from failing. And to the evil consequences of that failure, the limit is not

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<sup>1</sup> According to Munro, the men ascended the main rampart with very little opposition, for no considerable body of the enemy was formed near the breach. Life, 113.—W.



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easy to assign. “ The forage and grain found in the Pettah,” says Colonel Wilks, “ had long been consumed; the neighbouring villages had all been effectually destroyed; and the resource of digging for the roots of grass within the limits of the piquets had been so exhausted, that scarcely a fibre remained. The draught and carriage cattle were daily dying by hundreds at their piquets; and those intended for food scarcely furnished the unwholesome means of satisfying hunger. Grain, and every other necessary, including ammunition, were at the lowest ebb.”

Such were the circumstances of the British army. “ Of raising the siege,” says Colonel Wilks, “ the most favourable result would have been, the loss of the whole battering train; and a retreat upon the depôts of Coromandel, pressed by all the energy with which such an event could have inspired the Sultan’s army.”

On the 28th, Lord Cornwallis was able to move from Bangalore, and proceeded in a northern direction, “ the cattle reduced to skeletons, and scarcely able to move their own weight.” The intention of this movement was to effect a junction with the corps of cavalry destined for him by the Nizam, his ally. The English and the Sultan crossed each other on the march, when the Sultan declined a rencounter. The forts of Deonhully and Little Balipoor surrendered to Cornwallis without opposition as he passed; and he was joined by the polygars, who paid dearly afterwards to the Sultan for their fault. Intelligence again deserted the English army. After a march of about seventy miles, notwithstanding, in their situation, the unspeakable importance of time, they came

to a stand, not knowing what to do; and halted for five days. False information at last induced the General, in despair of meeting the Nizam's cavalry, to terminate his movement in that direction, and proceed southwards, to meet a convoy advancing by the pass of Amboor. After marching a day in this retrograde direction, he received fresh information, which induced him to trace back his steps; and in two days more he was met by his ally. The force of this ally was nominally 15,000, in reality, 10,000 well-mounted horsemen, who were expected to render good service, in performing the duties of light troops, and extending the command of the army over the resources of the country. The hope of any assistance from them, whatsoever, was almost immediately found to be perfectly groundless. "They soon," says Colonel Wilks, "showed themselves unequal to the protection of their own foragers on ordinary occasions; and, after the lapse of a few days from leaving Bangalore, they never stirred beyond the English piquets, consuming forage and grain, and augmenting distress of every kind, without the slightest return of even apparent utility."<sup>1</sup>

All the means procurable, for the siege of Seringapatam, were now prepared at Bangalore. By the beginning of May, the equipments of the army, except in the article of cattle, were reckoned complete; and beside the motives of economy, and other local advantages attending the termination of the war, Lord Cornwallis, we are informed, was stimulated by a consideration of the French revolution, to

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<sup>1</sup> Munro gives a similar account, "the whole of them," he observes, "would not face five hundred of the enemy's horse." Life 116.—Wf.

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a degree of precipitation, of which, in other circumstances, he might not have approved. The apprehensions and jealousy of the Sultan, and some discoveries at this time of treachery, fired him to various acts of cruelty. Before the departure of Lord Cornwallis from Bangalore, he had taken a strong position on the main road to his capital. To avoid this position, and also a road on which the forage had been carefully destroyed, the English General took the route of Caunkanhully; but the Sultan soon found the means of rendering this, also, a march through a desert.

On the 13th of May, the English army reached Arikera, about nine miles from Seringapatam; the failure of the cattle increasing every day, and the followers of the camp already in the greatest distress for grain, of which a quantity had been destroyed from want of ability to carry it on.

It had been planned that General Abercromby, with the Bombay army, should ascend the Ghauts from Malabar, and penetrate to the centre of the Sultan's dominions, in co-operation with the main army from the east. With infinite labour, that army had constructed roads, and carried a battering train, with a large supply of provisions and stores, over fifty miles of stupendous mountains; "every separate gun being hoisted over a succession of ascents by ropes and tackle." They had reached Poodicherrum by the first of March. But as Lord Cornwallis was not yet ready to advance, he transmitted instructions to that General to halt; and only after he returned to Bangalore, with the cavalry of the Nizam, sent him orders to advance to Peria-

patam, a place distant about three marches from Seringapatam.

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When the army, led by the Governor-General, arrived at Arikera, the river was already so full, as to render impracticable, or at any rate dangerous, his original plan of crossing at that place. Communication, however, was necessary with the army of Abercromby; and he resolved to march to the ford of Caniambaddy, eight miles above Seringapatam. The Sultan, in the mean time, not daring to leave his capital to strike a blow at the army descending from the west, and ashamed to let it be invested without a struggle, had mustered resolution for a battle. On the same day on which the English army arrived at Arikera, the enemy took up a strong position about six miles in their front. As the ground for the direct approach of the English army was unfavourable, being a narrow broken space between the river and a ridge of hills, the commander resolved, by a march, which he learned was practicable, to cross, during the night, the ridge of hills on the enemy's right, to turn his left flank before day-light, and gaining his rear, cut off the retreat of the main body of his army to Seringapatam. A dreadful storm disconcerted this well-planned enterprise; by rendering it impossible for the corps to find their way, and proceed in the dark. Lord Cornwallis, however, halting till dawn, resolved to persevere, as he could not repeat his stratagem, after the enemy was apprized; and expected some advantage, by forcing him to an action on other ground than that which he had deliberately chosen.



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“Tippoo Sultaun did not decline the meeting ; and the praise,” (says Colonel Wilks, who appears to have little pleasure in praising the Sultan, but great in imputing to him all the bad qualities which belong to the most despicable, as well as the most odious, of the human race) “cannot, in justice, be denied to him on this occasion, of seeing his ground, and executing his movements, with a degree of promptitude and judgment, which would have been creditable to any officer.” The loss of the English was chiefly sustained during the time necessary to form under the guns of the enemy. For after they were in a condition to advance, the troops of Tippoo did not long maintain their ground ; and were pursued till they found refuge under the works of Seringapatam.

So ill were the arrangements of the English taken for procuring intelligence, and so well those of Tippoo for intercepting it, that no information was possessed of General Abercromby, to open communication with whom, it was now resolved to march to Caniambaddy. In this march, lengthened by a circuit to twenty miles, three days were consumed ; exhibiting to the enemy, in the battering train, and almost every public cart in the army, dragged by the troops, “conclusive evidence,” says Colonel Wilks, “of the utter failure of all the equipments of the English army.” Not only were food and carriage wanting ; but fatigue, with the rains, which were now almost incessant, and defective unwholesome food, had filled the camp with disease, in which, in addition to other horrors, the small-pox raged with uncommon violence.

Such, in the mind of Lord Cornwallis, was the state of the faculties on which foresight depends, that, after he had brought the army to the extreme point of its line of operations, on the day after his arrival at Caniambaddy, when the official reports of the morning were presented to him, and not before, did he discover, that all this fatigue, all this misery, all this loss of lives, and all this enormous expense, were to no purpose; that he could not attempt a single operation, that he must destroy the whole of the battering train and heavy equipments, and lose no time in endeavouring, by retreat, to save, if it yet were possible, the army from destruction.

To General Abercromby, of whom as yet no intelligence was obtained, orders were written to return to Malabar. On the same day the appearance of considerable bodies of troops marching, as toward General Abercromby, from Seringapatam, so greatly alarmed the Governor-General, that he sent three brigades across the river, merely to attract the enemy's attention; though it was not improbable that the river would fill, and, precluding return, place them in a situation from which they could hardly expect to escape.

General Abercromby received, not without surprise, the orders to return. They were followed by a similar destruction of the heavy guns and equipments, as that which took place in the army of Cornwallis; except that a part of the guns were buried at the head of the pass. Almost all the cattle lost their lives, and the men their health, in performing back a long and unprovided march at a dreadful season. And the cost of this expedition, in

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men, in money, and in labour, was added to the loss  
occasioned by the fruitless march of the army from  
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On the 26th of May, the army commenced its melancholy return. Before the first six miles were accomplished, a party of horse unexpectedly rode in upon the baggage flank. They were taken for enemies; but proved to be Mahrattas, from whom was received the joyful intelligence of the near approach of two armies, led by two of the Poonah Chiefs, Hurry Punt, and Purseram Bhow.

The tardy arrival of the Mahrattas has been accused, as the cause of the disaster sustained by the British army, and of their disappointment in respect to the capture of Seringapatam. How far it was in the power of the General to have provided himself better with bullocks and provisions, we are without the means of accurate knowledge. That no dependence ought to have been placed upon the punctuality of the Mahrattas, it would be extraordinary indeed if there was not, at that time, sufficient experience in his camp to give him full information. Of the campaign of this portion of the confederate force a very brief account must suffice.

The detachment of the British troops, for whose service with the Mahrattas an agreement had been made in the recent treaty, left Bombay on the 20th of May, 1790; disembarked in the Jaigur river; ascended the Ghauts by the Ambah pass; and joined the army of Purseram Bhow, consisting of about 20,000 horse, and 10,000 foot, near the town of Coompta, about fifty miles from the pass, on the 26th of June. They proceeded without resistance till they arrived

at Darwar, one of the great barriers of Tippoo's northern frontier, situated some miles south of the river Malpurba, and from Goa eastward about seventy miles. The Mahrattas took ground before the place on the 18th of September; and it was not till the 3rd of April, after a wretched siege of twenty-nine weeks, that it surrendered upon capitulation. The Mahrattas, when battering in breach, aim at no particular spot, but fire at random all over the wall. "From their method of proceeding," says Lieutenant Moore, who was an indignant witness of so much loss of time, "we are convinced they would not, with twenty guns against the present garrison, approach and breach Darwar in seven years. A gun is loaded, and the whole of the people in the battery sit down, talk, and smoke for half an hour, when it is fired, and if it knocks up a great dust, it is thought sufficient; it is reloaded, and the parties resume their smoking and conversation. During two hours in the middle of the day, generally from one to three, a gun is seldom fired on either side, that time being, as it would appear, by mutual consent set apart for meals. In the night the fire from guns is slackened, but musquetry is increased on both sides, and shells are sparingly thrown into the fort with tolerable precision."

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The same intelligent officer makes the following remarks. "March the 1st.—Our line is more sickly than it has hitherto been; many officers are ill: and among them our Colonel; whose situation is peculiarly cruel, being the only Company's officer, commanding in the field, set down before a fort of this importance, without a single requisite for reducing it, and subject to the delays, and irksome



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frivolity, of our tardy allies.—Too much confidence seems to have been placed in their promises of supplies: and it should be a caution, how, again, the success and credit of the British arms is suffered to depend upon the punctuality of a country power.—If any can be at all trusted, it certainly is the Mah-rattas: but, even with them it seems a matter of little moment to what extent their promises are made. And although, at the time, they may have no intention of breaking them, it is to be understood that failure is no discredit: nor must punctuality be expected any further than their own views are forwarded by observing it.”

“March the 13th.—We were this morning,” continues Mr. Moore, “much surprised to hear of the death of our much respected Colonel; for none but the medical gentlemen had any idea of its being so near. Actuated by the ardour of a soldier, his enterprising spirit could not brook the procrastination to which he was obliged to submit: and, losing, with the unsuccessful attempt of the 7th of February, all expectation of an honourable conquest of the fort, he had from that time been on the decline. No event could have been more acute to his detachment, for with them he was universally beloved; nor could the Bombay army, of which he was at the head, have sustained a severer loss.”<sup>1</sup> Colonel Frederick, such was the name of this meritorious officer, was succeeded by Major Sartorius, in the command of the detachment; and by Captain Little, when that

<sup>1</sup> Moore's Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment, p. 30, 32.

officer returned to Bombay, after the surrender of Darwar.

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The original garrison was estimated at 10,000 men; but from the numbers which were sent away after the Pettah was taken, and the desertions and casualties during the siege, it was at last reduced to 3000. To have placed Darwar in blockade, nothing less than an army would have sufficed; and the capture was necessary to secure the Mahratta communications. Had it fallen earlier, the Mahratta army would have been employed in ravaging Tippoo's dominions, and cutting off supplies from the country to the north.

The Bhow's army, after leaving Darwar, proceeded by easy marches to the Toombudra, and had subdued the little resistance opposed to them at all the forts which protected the possessions of Tippoo north of that river, early in May. Lord Cornwallis had written to Poona that he expected to be joined by this chief at Seringapatam: and as soon as the Bhow obtained intelligence of the arrival of the English at Seringapatam, he proceeded towards them with all the expedition in his power. And as he approached, he was joined by Hurry Punt, who had advanced by a more easterly route through Gooty, Raidroog, and Sera, recovering, in that direction, the conquests made upon the Mahrattas by Hyder and his son; and on the 28th of May, the interview between them and the British commander took place. At this period the army of the Bhow was estimated at 20,000, that of Hurry Punt at 12,000, horse and foot.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the statement of Major Dirom, who was Deputy Adjutant-

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But the Mahrattas, now when they had arrived, were unable to keep the field, or at least persuaded Lord Cornwallis that they were unable, unless they received from the English pecuniary support. He agreed to advance to them a loan of twelve lacs of rupees; and, in order to obtain the money, had recourse to one of those bold expedients which would have proved the ruin of any of his less protected predecessors. From his camp, near Ootradroog, on the 21st of June, he wrote to the Governor and Council of Madras, to take the treasure out of the China ships, and, coining it into rupees, to send it to him with the utmost possible despatch.<sup>1</sup>

Tippoo announced to his own people the battle on the 15th as a victory, the effect of which had been to make the English destroy their battering train, and force them to retreat, and on the 26th, he ordered a salute to be fired from the fort. In the mean time, certain communications had taken place between him and Lord Cornwallis on the subject of peace. So early as the 18th of February a letter from the Sultan, dated the 13th, was received at Muglee, proposing to send or receive an ambassador. Lord Cornwallis replied on the 23rd, that as the infraction of the treaty was on the part of the Sultan, it was necessary to know whether he was prepared to make reparation. On the 3rd of March an answer arrived, in which the Sultan endeavoured to show, that the conduct of

General of his Majesty's forces in India, and with the army at the time. Lieutenant Moore thinks that the army of the Bhow is thus considerably under-rated.

<sup>1</sup> Papers (No. 4) ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 16th February, 1792.

the Raja of Travancore justified the attack upon his lines; at the same time disclaiming all idea of insult to the British government; and expressing a wish for negotiation. To this he received no reply. On the 27th of March the Sultan despatched another letter, offering directly to send an ambassador. Lord Cornwallis declined receiving an ambassador, on the ground of his not as yet having with him any persons qualified to treat on the part of his allies; but if the Sultan would send his propositions in writing, he would transmit them to those allies, and return an answer. On the 17th of May, when Lord Cornwallis released the wounded prisoners after the action of Arikera, Tippoo renewed the proposal of negotiation. Lord Cornwallis, having persons now with him, on the part of the Mahrattas and the Nizam, answered, on the 19th, that if the Sultan would state his propositions in writing, commissioners might be chosen to meet; and that he would consent to a cessation of hostilities, if it were the Sultan's desire. On the 24th, when Lord Cornwallis was at Caniambaddy, had destroyed his battering train, and sent three brigades across the river, Tippoo answered. He took no notice of the proposition for a cessation of hostilities, and only urged anew the propriety of mutually appointing confidential persons to discuss. Lord Cornwallis now departed from the point of written propositions, on which he had hitherto insisted, as an indispensable preliminary, and proposed that the allies should send deputies to Bangalore. On the 27th, when this letter was not yet answered, and the army, now joined by the Mahrattas,

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was advancing in view of Seringapatam, a present of fruit was sent to Lord Cornwallis, accompanied by a letter from the Sultan's secretary to the Persian interpreter. This was regarded as a contrivance to sow jealousy between the English and their allies: and the present was returned.<sup>1</sup> On the 29th Tippoo replied; and after some prolix and vague explanations, recommended that Lord Cornwallis should return to the frontier, and then act as his last letter proposed.

With the Mahratta army, provisions and draught cattle arrived; though these allies, knowing well the situation of the English army, would part with nothing at a moderate price. The loss, however, of the battering train, the return of General Abercromby, and the state of the season, forbidding the siege of Seringapatam; the combined army, having resolved upon falling back to Bangalore, proceeded on the 6th of June, in a northern direction, to Naugmungul, and thence eastward to the river Madoor, which they crossed on the 19th of the same month. While encamped on the eastern bank of this river, a detachment of the English army went forward to summon and threaten Hoolydroog; a hill fort, six miles east from the pass of the river, too strong to have been

<sup>1</sup> The passion with which soldiers are averted from peace is a phenomenon awfully interesting. The arrival of these presents indicated a good understanding; which, if it existed, might be supposed to exist, on grounds deemed more favourable to the nation than war. "It will be difficult," says Colonel Wilks, "for the reader to conceive the intense delight with which on the ensuing morning the whole army beheld the loads of fruit untouched, and the camel unaccepted, returning to Seringapatam." The fact is, that the English in India, at that time, had been worked up into a mixture of fury and rage against Tippoo, more resembling the passion of savages against their enemy, in fact more resembling his passion towards them, than the feelings with which a civilized nation regards the worst of its foes.

taken, had the courage of the garrison allowed them to defend it; but they dreaded resistance to European soldiers, and agreed to surrender, upon condition of security to themselves and their private property. A provision was found in it of sheep, cattle, and grain; a seasonable relief to the army: and the fort was destroyed, as neither the English nor the Mahrattas thought it worth retaining. The fortresses of Ootradroog, and Savendroog, were likewise summoned during the march; but without effect; and in present circumstances, it was not expedient to attempt their reduction.

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The combined army arrived in the neighbourhood of Bangalore early in July; and were exhilarated by several articles of agreeable intelligence.

To supply the demand of the army for draught bullocks and rice, the following were the plans which, upon the discovery of that deficiency which occasioned the retreat, were adopted. The trade of corn in India is carried on in a mode peculiar to that country. The merchants in corn are a particular caste denoted by the term Brinjarries. They traverse the country, conveying the grain, often from the greatest distances, in large bodies which resemble the march of an army. They encamp with regularity, never lodging in houses; are strongly armed; and ready to fight no contemptible battle in their own defence. The practice comes down from a remote antiquity; and marks that unsettled and barbarous state of society, when merchants are obliged to depend upon themselves for the means of their defence. The experienced utility of their services has procured them considerable privileges. They are regarded as

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neutral in all wars; they enjoy a right of transit through all countries; and the armies, which spare nothing else, act under a species of obligation, seldom violated, of respecting the property of the Brinjarries. One of the officers of the Company, Captain Alexander Read, well acquainted with the language and customs of the natives, suggested to the Commander-in-Chief the expedient of availing himself of the extensive resources of the Brinjarries. It was resolved, in consequence, that encouragement should be held out to them, to resort with their cargoes to the English camp. Captain Read was employed to circulate intelligence; and before the arrival of the army he had collected more than ten thousand bullock-loads of grain.

For the supply of bullocks, nearly forty thousand of which had been lost in the last campaign, Lord Cornwallis, beside the contractors, employed agents to purchase them on the part of the government, and directed the same to be done at Madras. As a relief to the exigencies of this department, he also made an agreement with the officers, to carry and provide their own tents for a monthly allowance, during the remainder of the war, and a similar arrangement with the officers commanding battalions of sepoys, for the tents of their corps, and the carriage of their ammunition and stores. Upon the arrival of the army at Bangalore, it was found that success had attended those exertions; and that 100 elephants from Bengal had arrived at Vellore.

The army had the further satisfaction of learning that Gunjcotah, which had been for some time besieged by the Nizam's troops, including the British

detachment, had surrendered on the 12th of June ; and had given a valuable country to that ally.

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The intelligence also from Europe was exhilarating, to an army keen for the continuance of the war. On the 22nd of December, 1790, Mr. Hipposly, in the House of Commons, had called in question the justice and policy of the war : had affirmed that the Raja of Travancore was the aggressor, by his lines on the Cochin territory, and his purchase from the Dutch ; that the Mahrattas were the people from whom in India the greatest danger impended over the interests of England, and that the Mysore sovereign was valuable as a balancing power ; that the resources and genius of Tippoo rendered a war against him an undertaking of no common difficulty and hazard ; and that the finances of the Company, feeble and exhausted as they were acknowledged to be, could ill endure the burden of an expensive war. Mr. Francis and Mr. Fox repeated and enforced the same considerations.

On the 28th of February, Mr. Hipposly renewed the discussion, when the alliance concluded with the Nizam and Mahrattas afforded a new topic. He complained that, in those treaties, though made ostensibly on account of the attack on Travancore, the Raja was not mentioned. The cause however of the Raja was included in that of the English ; and the interposition of such a people as the Mahrattas and the Nizam, in any shape, between the English and their allies, was incapable on almost any occasion of conducing to good, far from incapable on many occasions of conducing to evil.



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1791. Mr. Fox assailed the alliance in a tone of vehement reprobation. He denounced it a plundering confederacy for the purpose of extirpating a lawful Prince. He said, that when the progress of civilization had rendered men ashamed of offensive alliances in Europe, we had signalized our virtue by renewing them in India. He described the family compact of the House of Bourbon, as the last of those odious leagues which had disgraced the policy of civilized Europe. As soon as a better order of things in France arose, it dissolved, he said, that wretched engagement, and put an end, he hoped for ever, to those expedients of wicked governments in a barbarous age.

In reply to these accusations, circumstances were presented to show ; that the war in the first place was defensive ; in the next place necessary to deter an insatiable enemy from perpetual encroachments ; and lastly politic, as affording every prospect of a favourable termination. And on the 22nd of March, Mr. Dundas moved three resolutions, which passed without a division, declaring that Tippoo had broken the treaty by his attack on the lines of Travancore, and that Lord Cornwallis deserved approbation, as well for his determination to prosecute the war, as for the treaties he had formed with the Nizam and Mahrattas. The favour manifested to the war in England, was by no means confined to empty praise. The Company resolved to send out 500,000*l.* in specie : an augmentation was voted to the establishment of the King's regiments in India : Another detachment of the royal artillery was destined for the same purpose ; The Company exerted them-

selves to send out recruits: And all these reinforcements and supplies, the General was given to understand he might receive by the ships of the season.

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It was necessary for the facility of subsistence, and certain preparatory operations, that the allied armies should separate during the inactive season. The Bhow, with the detachment of Captain Little, shaped his course toward Sera. The greater part of the Nizam's horse went to join the rest of the Nizam's army. Hurry Punt, with the English, remained at Bangalore. Tippoo, it was supposed, would not dare to make an advance against any of these detached armies, for fear of being intercepted in his retreat.

The Policade pass afforded the easiest communication with the Carnatic; and one of the most commodious issues for the sudden incursions of the enemy. It was commanded by several forts, of which Oosoor and Rayacottah were the chief. With four heavy iron guns, which had not been carried to Seringapatam, and four iron twelve-pounders, which had been kept for field service, when the heavier guns were destroyed, the army on the 15th of July began to move towards Oosoor. Tippoo had lately made exertions to improve the defences of this important place; fortunately they were not so far advanced as to render it tenable in the opinion of its defenders; and upon the approach of the English they made a precipitate retreat. From Oosoor, left with a strong garrison, a brigade of the army under Major Gowdie, proceeded against Rayacottah; which consisted of two forts, one at the bottom, the other at the top of a stupendous rock. They carried

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the first by assault ; and, pursuing the fugitives, got possession of two walls, which formed a rampart between the higher and lower fort. The place, if well defended, was too strong by nature to be reduced ; and Major Gowdie had instructions to return, if it was not surrendered upon the first attack. As the lodgement, however, which he had effected on the hill, covered the troops from the fire of the upper fort ; and he believed the enemy intimidated, he begged permission to persevere. The daring conduct of the assailants, with aid from the main army, soon produced the desired effect upon the mind of the Kelledar ; and, on condition of security to private property, and leave to reside with his family in the Carnatic, he surrendered this “ lofty and spacious fort, so strong and complete, in all respects, that it ought to have yielded only to famine and a tedious blockade.”<sup>1</sup> The rest of the forts by which the pass was defended, either obeyed the summons, or made a feeble resistance. The convoy which had reached Amboor, on its way from Madras, received directions to proceed by the newly-opened route, and the army remained in the neighbourhood of Oossoor to cover its march. One hundred elephants, all loaded with treasure, marching two a-breast, with the British standard displayed ; 6000 bullocks with rice, 100 carts, with arrack, and several hundreds of coolies, with other supplies, entered the camp on the 10th of August ; a convoy to which nothing similar had ever joined a British army on Indian ground.

While the army remained at Oossoor, a vakeel,

<sup>1</sup> The words of Major Dirom.

commissioned to treat with all the allies conjointly, was sent by Tippoo. Lord Cornwallis consented, it seems, to receive him, “at the warm instances of Hurry Punt;” little expecting that Tippoo would yet submit to the terms he was disposed to require, but desirous of avoiding every appearance, which might be thought to indicate a disinclination to peace. Upon a point of form, the ambassador being commissioned to treat only with principals, and Lord Cornwallis declining to treat with an agent, and upon the surmise that the object of Tippoo was intrigue, and the consumption of time, the messenger was sent back to his master without being permitted to enter the camp.<sup>1</sup>

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Between Bangalore and Goorumconda lay some hill-forts, which interrupted the communication with the Nizam’s army, and rendered it difficult to receive supplies from the country to the north. The brigade of Major Gowdie was again in requisition. The only fortress which made any considerable resistance was Nundydroog, before which the Major arrived on the 22nd of September, with a force, consisting of one regiment of Europeans, six battalions of sepoys, six battering guns, and four mortars. The fort was

<sup>1</sup> On this occasion, as well as on that of the overture on the 27th of May, Major Dirom is careful to mention the joy which pervaded the army when the overture was rejected.—It is another, among the many proofs of a most remarkable fact, that whole masses of men are capable of desiring the death of thousands of their fellow-creatures, at once, simply for their own profit. Had the negotiation proceeded and been productive of peace, it might have been supposed, by an army which had confidence in Lord Cornwallis, that the peace, which he deliberately approved, was better for their country than war. *Better for their country.*—Yes. But not better for them, because it precluded the acquisition of plunder, promotion, and glory.



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situated on the summit of a mountain, about one thousand seven hundred feet in height, of which three-fourths of the circumference was absolutely inaccessible, and the only part which could be ascended was guarded by two excellent walls, and by an outwork which covered the gate-way and yielded a flank fire. A road was cut, and the guns dragged with infinite difficulty to the top of an adjacent hill; but there, after a battery was erected, the guns were found to be too distant even to take off the defences of the fort. No alternative remained, but either to work up the face of the principal hill, or lose the advantage of the impression struck on the minds of the enemy's garrisons, who believed that no strength, either of nature or of art, was sufficient to protect them against an English attack. The exertions demanded were excessive. Without the strength and sagacity of the elephants, the steepness of the ascent would have rendered it impossible to carry up the guns. Fortunately the shot of the fort, from a height so nearly perpendicular, seldom took effect; but the men were severely galled by the ginjall, a species of wall pieces, which threw with precision, to a great distance, a ball of considerable size.

Batteries were erected after a labour of fourteen days; and in a short time two breaches were effected, one on the re-entering angle of the out-work, the other in the curtain of the outer wall; while the inner wall, at the distance of eighty yards, could not be reached by the shot. The Governor still refused to surrender, and the British commander made an offer, which it is pleasing to record, to send out the women, and other persons not bearing arms, that

they might not suffer in the storm. The breaches being reported practicable to the Commander-in-Chief, he detached the flank companies of the 36th and 71st regiments to lead the assault; and General Meadows, who, though superseded in the chief command, had seconded every operation of the war with an ardour and fidelity which did him the highest honour, offered to conduct the perilous enterprise. It was determined to storm the breaches, to attempt the inner wall by escalade, and, if this should fail, to make a lodgement behind a cavalier between the walls, and thence proceed by regular attack. A trench which had been dug within a hundred yards of the wall was formed into an advanced parallel, and the flank companies were lodged in it before day-break. At midnight, the orders were given, when the men moved out from the right and left of the parallel, and rushed to the assault.<sup>1</sup>

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The fort was instantly illuminated with blue lights; a heavy fire was opened; and large stones were rolled down the hill. The fire was ill-directed; but the stones rushing down the precipice were exceedingly formidable, and had considerable effect. Both the breaches were quickly mounted; and the storming party penetrated with such rapidity, that time was not allowed for barricading completely the gate of the inner wall, and, after some difficulty, it was fortunately opened. The meritorious exertions of Captain Robertson, who led the grenadier com-

<sup>1</sup> When the hour was approaching, some person said, in the hearing of the troops, that a mine was reported to be near the breach. General Meadows, anticipating the effect upon their minds, cried aloud, "If there be a mine, it is a mine of gold."

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panies to the breach in the curtain, prevented the carnage which so often attends the capture of places by assault; and of the whole garrison, about forty only were killed and wounded. The storming party had two men killed and twenty-eight wounded, the latter chiefly by the stones descending the hill.

By this time the ships of the season had brought out the expected reinforcements, money and military stores, with 300 troops from St. Helena, who coming a shorter voyage, and seasoned to a warm climate, arrived in perfect health: The powers of the several Presidencies had been strained to the utmost to make provision for the war: The preparations were upon a great scale; and now in a high state of perfection. From Nundydroog the army moved toward the passes, for the protection of the convoys proceeding from Madras; while a detachment, commanded by Col. Maxwell, was sent to clear the Baramahal valley, in which, and the adjoining districts, a party of the enemy were effecting depredations.

The principal protection of this predatory party was Penagra, a strong mud fort at the south end of the valley. By forced marches the detachment arrived before it on the 31st of October. A flag of truce, sent to summon, was invited to advance, by signs from the wall, and then repeatedly fired upon. The wall was scaled; and the enemy hung out the flag for quarter in the middle of the assault. It was too late: the troops had closed with them; and out of 300 men who composed the garrison, 150 were slain. Of the captors, seven alone were slightly wounded.

The detachment returned, and encamped within a few miles of Kistnaghery. This was another of those stupendous rocks, or rather insulated mountains, which form the strong-holds of India, and one which yielded to few of them in natural strength. Although it was not supposed that the reduction of the upper fort was an undertaking to which the detachment was equal, it was of importance, in order, as much as possible, to cut off whatever afforded cover to the predatory incursions of the enemy, to destroy the Pettah, and the works at the bottom of the hill. They were attacked under cover of the night; and the troops escalading the walls, got possession of them without much resistance. The ardour of the assailants made them conceive the hope of entering the upper fort with the fugitives. They rushed up with such rapidity, that, notwithstanding the length and steepness of the ascent, the enemy had barely time to shut the gate; a standard of the regulars was taken on the very steps of the gateway; and had the ladders been up at this critical moment, it is probable that the walls would have been escaladed. The enemy had time to begin their operation of rolling down enormous stones, which, descending in vast quantities crushed, at once, the ladders and the men. During two hours the strongest exertions were made to get the ladders up the small part of the road which was most exposed to the stones. But a clear moonlight discovered every motion; and, when most of the ladders were broken, and the troops had severely suffered, Colonel Maxwell was compelled to put an end to the attempt. After this, having reduced several petty forts, he rejoined the army.

Between Bangalore and Seringapatam, lies a tract



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of hills, thickly covered with wood, extending from the vicinity of Bangalore to the river Madoor. This difficult country, which of itself formed a strong barrier to the capital of Mysore, was studded with forts, of which some, particularly Savendroog, was of extraordinary strength. It offered such advantages to the enemy, for interrupting the communication with Bangalore, when the army should advance to Seringapatam, that the Brinjarries, who engaged for large quantities of grain at Bangalore, would not undertake to supply it beyond Savendroog, if that fortress remained in the enemy's hands. Lord Cornwallis was now provided with his battering train; and resolved, while delayed by the Mahrattas, and waiting for the last of the convoys, to make an effort to gain possession of this important, but formidable post.

It is a vast mountain of rock, computed to rise above half a mile in perpendicular height, from a base of eight or ten miles in circumference, surrounded by a close forest, or jungle, several miles in depth, having its natural impenetrability heightened by thickets of planted bamboos. A narrow path, cut through the jungle, in a winding direction, and defended by barriers, served as the only approach to the fort: The natural strength of the mountain had been increased by enormous walls and barriers, which defended every accessible point: And to these advantages was added the division of the mountain, by a great chasm, into two parts at the top, on each of which was erected a citadel; the one affording a secure retreat, though the other were taken; and by that means doubling the labour of reduction.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, employed during the

first Campaign in reducing Dindegul and Palacat-cherry, was destined to command at the siege of Savendroog. On the 10th of December, he encamped within three miles of that side of the rock from which it was proposed to carry on the attack ; while the Commander-in-Chief made that disposition of the rest of the army, which seemed best adapted to cover the besiegers, and secure the convoy.

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The first labour was immense, that of cutting a way through the powerful jungle, and transporting heavy guns over the rocks and hills which intervened.

The closeness of the surrounding hills and woods had rendered this fortress as remarkable for its noxious atmosphere as its strength. Its name signified literally the rock of death. And the Sultan congratulated his army upon the siege ; at which one half, he said, of the English army would be destroyed by sickness, the other by the sword. The confidence of the garrison in the strength of the place had this good effect, that it made them regard the approach of the besiegers as of little importance ; and they were allowed to erect their batteries without any further opposition than the fire of the fort.

Within three days after the opening of the batteries the breach was practicable. The jungle was now of advantage ; for growing close up to the very wall, the troops were able to scramble up unseen, by the crevices and rugged parts of the rock, and made a lodgement within twenty yards of the breach. The 21st of December was the day chosen for the assault ; and Lord Cornwallis and General Medows arrived to witness the terrible scene. The grenadiers of the

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52nd, and flank companies of the 76th regiment, led by Captain Gage, were to gain the eastern summit; Captain Monson, with the light company of the 52nd, was to scour the works on the western; the flank companies of the 71st, under Captains Lindsay and Robertson, were to engage whatever works or parties might be found in the chasm between; the 52nd and 72nd regiments to follow the flank companies; and parties, under Colonel Baird and Major Petrie, were to proceed round the mountain, for the purpose of attracting the attention of the enemy, and preventing escape.

At an hour before noon, on a signal of two guns from the batteries, the flank companies advanced to the breach, and mounted, while the band of the 52nd regiment played *Britons strike home*. The enemy, who had descended for the defence of the breach, when they beheld the Europeans advancing, were seized with a panic; and Captain Gage had little difficulty in carrying the eastern top: The danger was, lest the flying enemy should gain the western summit, which, from the steepness of the approach, and the strength of the works, might require a repetition of the siege. To provide for this contingency, Captain Monson had directions, if he thought advancing imprudent, to effect a lodgement in some part of the hill from which the operations might be carried on. Fortunately the enemy impeded one another in the steep and narrow path up which they crowded to the citadel, while some shot, which opportunely fell among them from the batteries, increased their confusion. Captain Monson, with the light company of the 52nd regiment, and a serjeant and twelve gre-

nadiers of the 71st, pressed after the fugitives, and so critical was the moment, that the serjeant of the 71st regiment shot, at a distance, the man who was closing the first of the gates. All the other barriers the English entered along with the enemy, about 100 of whom were killed on the western hill, and several fell down the precipices endeavouring to escape. The prisoners taken were few. The garrison, they said, had consisted of 1500 men, but a great part of them had deserted during the siege. Of the English, only one private soldier was slightly wounded.

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On the 23rd of December, Colonel Stuart was again detached against Ootradroog. This was another fortress of the same description, about twelve miles from Savendroog. It had been summoned when the army retreated the preceding year from Seringapatam. But the Kelledar replied, "I have eaten Tippoo's salt for twenty years, and will not give up my post, till you first take Seringapatam." He was still so determined in his resistance, that he would admit of no communication, and fired on the flag. Next morning the lower fort was carried by escalade; when the Governor requested a parley. While this was taking place, the assailants imagined they saw the garrison moving, and treacherously pointing their guns; upon which they rushed to the assault. Some of the gateways they broke, others they escalated. Though many parts of the road were so narrow and steep, that a few resolute men might have defended themselves against any attack, so great was the alarm of the enemy, that they fled wherever they saw a single European above the walls. At the last gate only, they fired a few shot,



BOOK VI by which two soldiers were wounded. Masters of  
CHAP. 4. the summit, the assailants fell upon the garrison, of  
1791. whom many, to avoid the bayonets, precipitated  
themselves from the rock. The Kelledar, with  
some others, was taken prisoner. He reported that  
his garrison, on the arrival of the detachment, had  
mutinied; and that 400 had deserted during the  
night.

After the success of these hazardous enterprises, none of the inferior places had courage to resist; and the line of communication for the ultimate operations of the war was now rendered secure. The last great convoy from Madras, of which the fall of the rains, and the state of the roads, had rendered the progress very slow, arrived, on the 2nd of January, at Bangalore. The Brinjarries had 50,000 bullocks, conducting grain to the army, even from the enemy's country itself, in quantities which no exertions of the public service could have matched. From the state of public credit, and the money sent out from England, Lord Cornwallis had, what in no former war the Indian rulers had ever enjoyed, an overflowing treasury. At the same time it was ascertained that the treasury of the enemy was in a far different situation; for several of his principal Brinjarries brought their grain to the British camp, complaining that Tippoo was unable to pay them, and could give them nothing but ineffectual orders upon the collectors of his revenues.

Such were the proceedings of the army under Lord Cornwallis, during the season in which the main operations of the war were suspended. A short account is required of what, during the same

time, was performed, by the other divisions of the confederate force.

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By the army of the Nizam, only two objects had been effected during the war; the reduction of Gunjicottah, and that of Kopaul. Not one even of these places could have been taken without the British detachment; and the reduction of the latter might be regarded as more a consequence of the fall of Bangalore than of the operations of the siege. This army had been employed, since the month of August, in the attack of Goorumconda; but, depending on the Nizam's artillery, were not able to breach the lower fort, till the guns which had been employed at Nundydroog, and a supply of ammunition, were sent from Bangalore. With British guns, the British artillery-men completed a breach in two days; and prepared for the assault. As the small party of artillery-men were the only Europeans present, they gallantly offered, after breaching the place, to quit their guns, and lead the assault. The reduction of the lower fort had not long been effected, when a large reinforcement arrived from Hyderabad, under the Nizam's second son. The upper fort being regarded as too strong for assault, a body of troops was left to establish a blockade; while the main army, by concert with Lord Cornwallis, moved into the neighbourhood of Colar, to cover the convoy, which was proceeding from Madras with the last of the ammunition and stores for the siege of Seringapatam. This movement escaped not the attention of Tippoo; Hyder Saib, his eldest son, appeared suddenly before Goorumconda, with a flying party; and took the lower fort, with the whole of the de-

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achment left for the blockade. This immediately recalled the main army, and exposed the convoy, which had ascended the Ghauts, and arrived at Ven-cataghery, to a danger which would have been great, had the detachment with Hyder Saib been sufficiently strong. But he satisfied himself with throwing succour into Goorumconda; and carrying with him the families of some principal people, he returned to Seringapatam.

Purseram Bhow passed Serah, which had surrendered to Hurry Punt, on his march to the southward; and arrived, without any memorable event, in the neighbourhood of Chittledroog, early in September. This was the capital of a considerable Raja, whose dominions Hyder added to his own about the year 1776. It was one of the strongest hill-forts in India, and said to be garrisoned by upwards of 10,000 men. The Bhow, who had no idea of gaining it by force, thought he might succeed by treachery, and endeavoured to seduce the commander, but in vain.

The Bhow seemed to have hardly any other object than to procure repose and refreshment to his army in the neighbourhood of Chittledroog, till after the beginning of December, when forage began to fail. A fertile country was intersected by the Toom and the Budra, which, by their junction, form the river, the name of which is also composed by the union of theirs. It was defended, however, by several forts. Hooly Honore, one of the most important of them, situated at the conflux of the rivers, Captain Little, with his detachment, undertook to reduce. He took up his ground on the

19th of December; effected a breach the following day; and carried the place by storm in the night. After this, the smaller forts surrendered without opposition; and only Simoga remained.

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Tippoo, at a preceding period of the season, had sent one of his generals, with a considerable army, to keep open his communication with the rich provinces of Bednore and Mangalore, almost the only part of his dominions which was not either in the possession of his enemies, or had sustained the ravages of the war. This officer had taken post near Simoga. But on the approach of the Mah-rattas, he left his intrenchments, for a position in the woods, some miles to the westward, from which he purposed to act upon them during the siege.

It was of great importance to begin by dislodging this enemy. But all the difficulties and hazard of the attempt were by no means understood. His position was one of the strongest which the choice of circumstances could have given. His right was completely defended by the river Toom: his left by hills covered with jungle, which approached within a mile of the river; his rear was secured by an impenetrable jungle; and a deep ravine, having a jungle beyond it, protected his front. "The open space," says Lieutenant Moore, "on which the enemy had pitched their camp, was not more than six hundred yards wide; and was, upon the whole, naturally, the strongest place we ever saw; nor can we form an idea of one more disadvantageous to an assault. Had their situation been accurately known, no one, but an officer who had the most unlimited confidence in his troops, could, in prudence, have hazarded an attack."



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Of course the enterprise fell to the English. In such a position the Mahratta cavalry were unable to act; and a corps of infantry who had advanced into the jungle, when directed to a position where possibly they might have been of some use, declared they had no ammunition. Not only were the Mahrattas useless; "so far as we observed," says Lieutenant Moore, "they were no trifling impediment."

Leaving, by the Bhow's desire, four guns with nine companies, to guard the camp, Captain Little, with the remainder of his detachment, less than 750 bayonets, and two guns, proceeded to the attack. About one o'clock they entered the jungle, tolerably open at first, but extremely thick as they approached the enemy; who opened upon them a heavy discharge of guns, musquetry, and rockets. Both officers of the 8th grenadiers fell; and Captain Little had some difficulty in supporting the Sepoys under their loss. The action continued doubtful a considerable time; for as only small and broken parties could pass the ravine, which was very deep, the English could not come to the decision of the bayonet. After the repulse of several parties, some of whom had penetrated into the camp, Captain Little rallied the grenadiers, and, putting himself at their head, carried the posts on the enemy's right, when the rest of the line pressed onwards, and, in a short time, cleared the field. The English pursued, and captured the whole of the guns, ten in number; and during that time the Mahrattas plundered the camp with their usual skill. The amount of the enemy was not exactly ascertained. By the account of the prisoners it exceeded 10,000 men. This is allowed to have been one of the most spirited and brilliant actions of the war. The men

were under arms, and actively employed, without refreshment, for six and thirty hours. Though it was dark, when they returned to the camp, the Bhow sent to inform Captain Little that he was coming to embrace him. The Captain excused himself on account of his fatigue and the lateness of the hour; but was not prevented, says Lieutenant Moore, from visiting his wounded officers. The Bhow was at head quarters by sun-rise the next morning, complimenting the detachment in the most flattering terms.

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The siege of Simoga was now undertaken without fear of interruption. A battery of five guns was ready to open on the 2nd of January, and by noon the next day had effected a breach nearly practicable; when the garrison, on condition of security to private property, offered to surrender. It may be remarked that they required the guarantee of the English detachment. Such is the depravity of Hindu morals, that it is no affront, either to a nation or an individual, to be charged with the want of faith; and the Bhow totally overlooked the opprobrium which the enemy scrupled not to cast upon him and his nation. The place was capable of a good defence; but the garrison were dispirited by the defeat of the protecting army, and the greater part of them had deserted.

The valuable country which the Bhow had thus conquered, and which he regarded as an accession to his own personal dominions, so raised his ambition, that he aspired to the conquest, or at any rate the plunder of Bednore. After remaining inactive in the neighbourhood of Simoga till the middle of January,

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he arrived by a few marches, through a country in great part covered with jungle, at Futteh Pet, one of the great barriers of the province of Bednore; and passing this fortress, without any serious attempt upon it, he sent forward a detachment, which began on the 28th to cannonade Bednore. It was recalled, however, the following day; when the army, to its great surprise, received orders to retreat. To stop the progress of the Mahrattas, Tippoo had detached an army, under one of his best generals, who had already advanced as far as Simoga and taken it. The Bhow was by no means desirous of meeting an equal enemy in a close country, in which cavalry could not advantageously act. He crossed the Toom near Simoga on the 10th of February, and the Budra the next day near Binkapoor: he obtained the fort of Adjampoor by capitulation on the 12th: and he joined the allies on the 10th of March, before Seringapatam.

Recovered in health, reinforced, and equipped, the Bombay army, under General Abercromby, left their cantonments in the neighbourhood of Tellicherry; assembled at Cannanore on the 23rd of November; and on the 5th of December began their march for the Poodicherrum Ghaut. Vast labour was necessary to repair the road, which the torrents of the monsoon had destroyed. Three weeks, of constant exertion, barely sufficed to bring up the heavy guns; but on the 18th of January, the whole of the artillery, amounting to eighty-six carriages, of which eighteen were heavy, with the usual proportion of ammunition, and forty days' rice for the men, was at the top of the pass. Lord Cornwallis had de-

pended upon the army of Purseram Bhow, with the three battalions of British Sepoys, under Captain Little, to cross the Cavery, and join Abercromby; for the purpose of enabling him to bring on his heavy artillery, to march without dread of Tippoo, and to complete the investment on the southern side of Seringapatam. Disappointed in this expectation, by the avaricious expedition of the Mahrattas to Bednore, he sent his orders to General Abercromby to place his artillery in a secure post at the top of the Ghauts, and hold his corps in readiness to move at the shortest notice, lightly equipped. Abercromby had already performed his first march from the top of the Ghauts, on the 22nd of January, when these orders arrived; he had, therefore, to send back the heavy part of his guns, and encamped at the bottom of the Seedaseer Ghaut, to wait for future instructions.

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During the proceedings of the confederate armies, the operations of Tippoo were but feeble; and betrayed the inferiority of his means. Toward the end of June, he sent a detachment, as well to attack Coimbatore, as to raise contributions and collect supplies in the province. Lieutenant Chalmers had been left in the command of the place; with a company of topasses, and a battalion of Travancore Sepoys, commanded by a French officer, named Migot de la Combe, in the service of the Raja. The heavy guns, ammunition, and stores, had been removed from Coimbatore, as a place not sufficient to stand a siege, and placed in the fort of Palgaut, or Palacatcherry, where Major Cuppage, who was now the commanding officer in the province, established his



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head-quarters. As it was convenient to retain Coim-betore for the fiscal business of the province, a few bad guns, not worth removing, and a small quantity of ammunition, were left in it ; with directions to the commandant to fall back to Palacatcherry, if a powerful enemy should appear. The party who were now sent against Coimbetore appeared not to Lieutenant Chalmers sufficiently formidable to remove him from his post. After a siege, however, of some duration, a breach was made, and on the 11th of July the enemy attempted to storm. It was with great difficulty that order was preserved among the Travancore troops ; but the zeal of their French commander ably seconded the exertions of the Lieutenant, and the enemy were repulsed with great slaughter. Major Cuppage, who advanced with expedition from Palacatcherry, completed their discomfiture, taking the two guns with which they had breached the fort, and pursuing them till they crossed the Bowani.

At the time of this transaction the Sultan with his army had made a movement towards the north ; with the intention, as was at first supposed, of proceeding against Purseram Bhow in the province of Chittledroog. This alarmed Cornwallis so much, that he thought it necessary to make a few marches in the same direction, for the purpose of recalling the hostile army. But Tippoo, having covered a large convoy which he expected from Bednore ; having routed, by a detachment, a corps of the army of Purseram Bhow, left by that chief, on his route to Sera, for the purpose of masking Mudgerry ; and having terrified into flight the garrison thrown by

the Mahrattas at the same time into Great Balipoor, returned to the neighbourhood of his capital. As soon as there, he despatched Kummer ud Deen Khan, his second in command, into Coimbetore. Beside the army which this General led into Coimbetore; a light party, chiefly horse, proceeded with him till after he descended the Gujelhutty pass, and then crossing the Cavery, proceeded through the Tapoor pass; and with great secrecy and despatch conducted a new Kelledar, with a reinforcement, to Kistnagherry; the only place of importance which Tippoo now possessed, between Bangalore and the Carnatic. This service performed, they remained to ravage the country; and threatened interruption to the British convoys.

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The Khan arrived before Coimbetore, towards the end of October, with a force, of which the estimate, at 500 regular cavalry, 8000 regular infantry, and fourteen pieces of cannon with a body of irregulars, both horse and foot, is probably overcharged. Lieutenant Chalmers, reinforced by the two heavy guns which were taken from the enemy's routed detachment, and Lieutenant Nash, with a company of regular sepoy from Palacatcherry, expected to hold the place till relieved by Major Cuppage. The want of ammunition was the chief defect, supplies of which the Major repeatedly sent by Sepoys, who contrived to enter during the night. On the 22nd of October Cuppage marched from Palacatcherry with three battalions of Sepoys, six field-pieces, and two Travancore battalions without guns. The enemy determined, with their superiority of number, to anticipate his approach; and met him at the

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distance of about six miles from Coimbatore. The Khan appeared to decline engaging; but made a dexterous movement to the right of the English detachment, and placed them in such a position that it was necessary for the commander either to force his way to Coimbatore, leaving the Khan behind him, and the road open to Palacatcherry, or to fall back for the security of that more important post, and leave Coimbatore to its fate. Thus outgeneraled, the British officer, considering, that if the enemy got possession of the strong and narrow defile which led to Palacatcherry, it might be no easy task to return; considering also that a large convoy from Madras, of bullocks for the use of the Bombay army, was now on its way, and might be taken by the enemy if they got between him and the pass; and not thinking himself sufficiently strong to spare a detachment to take possession of the defile, when, allowing the enemy to pass, and following them close into the defile, he might have taken them between two fires, made up his mind to retreat. On seeing the English begin to recede, the enemy rapidly advanced to the attack; showers of rockets attempted to break the detachment; and the cavalry approached with boldness to the charge. They were received by the flank companies of the rear guard, and several times repulsed; when the Khan, unable to prevent the march of the column, proclaimed a victory and returned to Coimbatore. The ammunition of the place was nearly expended; a breach was made; and all hope of relief had expired. Lieutenant Chalmers capitulated on the 2nd of November, on condition that private property should

be secured, and the garrison sent to Palacatcherry, on their parole. The capitulation was violated. The garrison were detained as prisoners, till Tippoo was consulted; and he ordered them to Serin-gapatam.

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It is worthy of mention that, about the middle of January, notwithstanding the powerful armies with which the Carnatic was defended, and the enemy pressed in the very centre of his dominions, a party of horse suddenly appeared in the neighbourhood of Madras; and made some trifling depredations, but ventured not to remain beyond the space of a day. Madras was thrown into the most violent alarm; and the gentlemen of the settlement furnished horses to mount a party of troopers, who with another of infantry were sent to the Mount.

Tippoo, at this time, renewed his offer to send vakeels for the settlement of disputes; but his messengers were immediately sent back, with an answer that no embassy would be admitted, so long as the prisoners taken at Coimbatore were retained in breach of the capitulation.

In the beginning of January the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Ootradroog, and only waited for the arrival of the heavy cannon, and the junction of the Hyderabad army, to set forward on the grand design.<sup>1</sup> The Hyderabad army had

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Wilks accuses the Mahrattas, rather than the Nizam, of causing delay. "The demonstrations of Tippoo Sultaun," he says, "to the northward had induced his Lordship to request, that Purseram Bhaw should advance simultaneously on the direct road from Sera, as well to prevent a detachment to Goorumeonda, which actually occurred, as to form a column on his right to unite at the proper time with General Abercromby: but the general purposes of the war were of secondary consi-



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not yet taken Goorumconda, and was obliged to leave the place with a party behind to retain the pettah and continue the blockade. On the 25th of January, when the Hyderabad army was approaching the British camp, the Governor-General went out to receive, in pomp, the Prince who was placed at its head.

As the great men of the East would hurt their dignity, if they did not exceed the time of their appointment by several hours, the British commander spent a tedious day in attendance, and only met with his Prince, as the evening approached.

Hoolydroog, ten miles in advance, had been re-occupied by the enemy; and as it was inaccessible to assault, and had been repaired with great diligence, it might have been expected, though small, to make a serious defence. But when the Kelledar was summoned by Colonel Maxwell, and was told, that the attack would instantly commence, he was so dismayed as to surrender without resistance.

Before the march, the eastern chiefs were invited to an imposing spectacle, that of the British army in battle array; at which they gazed with childish, more than rational curiosity.<sup>1</sup>

deration in all the movements of this chief: he had a political illness which produced an embarrassing correspondence, and it was the necessity of delay arising from this circumstance which induced Lord Cornwallis to occupy the time intended for advance in the siege of Savendroog, which he had determined to leave in his rear from the great improbability of being able to reduce it; and thus in the actual result the delay was useful." *Historical Sketches*, iii. p. 212.

<sup>1</sup> This is probably a specimen of our author's besetting prejudice. It does not appear that he has any grounds for imputing childishness to the "Eastern" chiefs, except their being "Eastern." The only intimation of

On the first of February the combined forces began to advance from Hoolydroog. The English army, as usual, moved off at break of day. A change, of sufficient importance to require a description, had been introduced into the order of the march. In former wars, and at the beginning of the present, the army advanced in one column, with the battering train in the rear; which was apt to fall behind so far that sometimes it reached not the ground of encampment before the following day. It was next tried in the centre of the column; but in that case it separated the wings, and produced still greater delay. The succeeding experiment was, to march with it in front: an improvement; as it had the first of the road, and being parked on the leading flank, got earlier off the ground, and without interruption from the line. As the train however became enlarged, it occupied so great an extent of road as to draw out the line of march to a very inconvenient length; and the plan was then adopted of marching with it, on one road, and the troops and light guns on another road, on its flank. The success of this experiment suggested an additional improvement. After wheel-carriages became very numerous, and prolonged to an inconvenient length the line of the march, a third road was taken by vehicles of that description on the

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the kind that is found, occurs in Major Dirom, who observes, that there was a striking contrast "between the good sense of our generals on horse-back, and the absurd state of the 'chiefs' looking down from their elephants." 'The only candid interpretation of which is, that the back of a horse is a more appropriate place for a general, than the back of an elephant; an opinion natural enough in an English officer, and possibly rational enough, but implying no want of rational interest in the display of military power, which was witnessed by the native princes from their howdahs.—W.

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other flank of the train. The English army, according to this arrangement was seen in three columns; 1. The battering guns, tumbrils, and heavy carriages, on the great road, in the centre; 2. The line of infantry and field-pieces, parallel to the first, at the distance of about one hundred yards, on the right flank, which was nearest to the enemy; and 3. On the left of the battering train, all the lighter part of the store-carts, with the baggage conveyances, and the followers of the camp. The line of march was, in this manner, shortened to one-third of the space to which a single column would have drawn it out; and every part of the moving body was much nearer protection.<sup>1</sup>

The armies of the allies followed, at their usual hour, and in their usual confusion.

The last day's march, on the 5th of February, over the barren heights which lie to the north-east of Seringapatam, afforded the allies a view of the Mysorean capital, and the enemy encamped under its walls. They took up their ground, across the valley of Milgotah, at the distance of about six miles from the Sultan; a body of whose horse had hovered about the army from nearly the beginning of the march; but with little power of giving annoyance.

Separated from the chain of hills which the army had immediately crossed, there stood, at a little

<sup>1</sup> It had also been found an improvement of the greatest importance, to harness the bullocks to the heavy guns four a-breast, instead of two: carrying back the chain by which they drew, to the axle of the gun instead of that of the limber. In the first campaign, a few eighteen pounders created the greatest difficulty and delay. At this time, the battering train moved with a facility not much less than that of the rest of the army.

distance on the plain, a cluster of high rocks called the French rocks, with a large adjoining tank, or reservoir of water. The space between these rocks, and the hills, was occupied by the line of the British, fronting the Sultan; the hills affording protection on the left, and the French rocks affording not only protection on the right, but covering from the view of the enemy a part of the line which extended behind them. The reserve encamped about a mile in the rear, facing outwards, with the stores and baggage in the interval between. The armies of the Hyderabad Prince and the Mahrattas, were somewhat further in the rear, the one on the right, the other on the left of the British reserve.

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After his arrival before Seringapatam, Lord Cornwallis wrote immediately to General Abercromby, to march, and occupy as strong a position as he could find on the south side of a particular ford, which had been described as one of the best on the river, at a distance of nearly forty miles from the Sultan's capital. It was the intention of the English commander to employ the troops of the Nizam, along with the English battalions attached to it, in the service originally destined for Purseram Bhow, namely, that of forming a junction with General Abercromby, and completing the investment of Seringapatam: and the minister of the Nizam, who, under the nominal authority of the Prince, possessed in reality the whole command of the army, showed a real desire to second the wishes of Lord Cornwallis: on taking cognizance, however, of the state of this part of the confederate force, the Commander-in-Chief discovered, that the Hyderabad minister was so little qualified for the business he was sent to perform,



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that he could not, if removed from the English markets, and the northern communication, provide, even for a few days, supplies to his troops. Greatly displeased with Purseram Bhow, whose army was well qualified to have yielded assistance, either in completing the investment of the capital, or making head against the corps with which Tippoo might endeavour to interrupt the supplies of the besiegers, Lord Cornwallis wrote letters as well to Poonah to complain of his conduct, as to himself to accelerate his approach. As the armies of the Nizam and Hurry Punt could not act on detached service, they remained completely useless and unemployed.

Seringapatam is situated on an island, formed by two branches of the Cavery, which, after separating to a distance of a mile and a half, again unite, about four miles below the place of their separation. Around Seringapatam ran the usual hedge, called the bound hedge, composed of the bamboos, and other strong and prickly shrubs of the country, forming a rampart of considerable strength. On the northern side, that on which the confederate army had taken up their ground, an oblong space of about three miles in length, and from half a mile to a mile in breadth, was enclosed between the hedge and the river. In this enclosure Tippoo was encamped. It contained the most commanding ground on that side of the fort; and was further guarded in front by a large tank or canal; by rice-fields which it watered; and by the windings of a river called the Lockany, which crossed the line of the British camp, and intersected the intermediate valley by three streams, of which one fell into the Cavery, near the eastern point of the island. To the

natural strength of this position was added the assistance of six large redoubts erected on commanding ground; of which one, called the Mosque redoubt, situated at the western extremity, on an eminence somewhat advanced beyond the line of the rest, and in the corner of the bound hedge which was here carried out to surround it, was a post of great strength, and covered the left of the encampment. The mountainous range which protected the left of the British line, extended close to the river at the eastern end of the island; and by a hill called the Carrighaut, the fortifications of which had been lately improved, together with the branch of the Lockany which entered the Cavery at its base, afforded strong protection to the right of the Sultan's encampment.

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In the western angle of the island was situated the strong fortress of Seringapatam. The eastern part was fortified towards the river by redoubts and batteries, connected by a strong intrenchment with a deep ditch. The fort and island therefore constituted a second line which supported the defences of the first; and afforded a secure retreat, as from the outworks to the body of a place. Heavy cannon in the redoubts, and the field train disposed to the best advantage, to the amount of 100 pieces of artillery, defended the first line; and at least three times that number were employed in the fort and island. The Sultan's army was supposed, at a low estimation, to amount to 5000 cavalry, and from forty to fifty thousand infantry. He commanded the centre and right of his line in person, and had his tent pitched near the most easterly of the six redoubts, which

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Tippoo, having abandoned the design of keeping the field against so powerful a combination of foes, had directed his attention to the fortification of this position, and the improvement of his defences in the island and fort. His plan of defence was founded on the hope of being able to protract the siege, till the want of supplies in a country already exhausted, or at any rate the recurrence of the monsoon, should compel his enemies to retreat. He was probably the more confirmed in the anticipation of this result, because it was the same expedient by which his father had baffled the potent combination by which he was attacked in 1767.

The British troops had just been dismissed from the parade, at six o'clock on the evening of the 6th, when they were directed to fall in again with their arms and ammunition.

Every thing was in its proper place at half an hour after eight o'clock, when the order was given to march. The evening was calm and serene; the moon shone bright; and the troops advanced in silence. The security of the northern supplies, and the difficulty of crossing the river with all the stores and heavy artillery, pointed out the necessity of dislodging the enemy. But his position, every where protected by the guns of the fort, or the batteries of the island, was so strong, that in an open attack in daylight, the event was doubtful, the loss of a great number of the best soldiers of the army unavoidable. The night was therefore chosen, and an early night for the greater certainty of surprise. As guns could

be of little service in the dark, and the state of the ground made it difficult to convey them, it was resolved that none should be employed.

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The army was formed into three columns: The right column composed of two European, and five native battalions, under the command of General Medows: The centre column, of three European, and five native battalions, led by the Commander-in-Chief: And the left, of one battalion of European, with three of native troops, under the command of Colonel Maxwell.

According to the plan of attack, the centre column, under the Commander-in-Chief, was to penetrate the centre of the enemy's camp, while the columns on the right and the left were to take possession of the posts which defended the enemy's flanks: And the front divisions of all the three columns, after carrying what was immediately opposed to them, were to cross with the fugitives, and endeavour to get possession of the batteries on the island. So early an attack, before the junction of the Bombay army, and during the darkness of the night, was probably unexpected by Tippoo. The allies, to whom the plan of the attack was not communicated, till after the columns had marched, were in the greatest consternation. To attack with a handful of infantry, and without cannon, the whole of Tippoo's army in a fortified camp under the walls of his capital, appeared to them an extraordinary attempt. And their surprise was increased, when told that Lord Cornwallis in person commanded the division which was to penetrate the centre of the enemy's camp, and had gone



BOOK VI to fight, as they expressed it, like a private  
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When the columns were on the march, the camp was struck, and the baggage packed; the corps of artillery, and the quarter and rear guards of the line, stood to their guns and arms; while the reserve, consisting of the cavalry and the 7th brigade, were drawn up in front of the camp, to act as occasion might require, or to pass a night of the keenest anxiety.

Between ten and eleven o'clock the centre column touched upon the enemy's grand guard, who were escorting a party of rocket-men for the annoyance, during the night, of the English camp. The horsemen galloped back to the line; but the men with the rockets remained, and endeavoured by discharging them to harass the march. At the time when the rocketing began, the left division were ascending the Carighaut hill, which soon became illumined with the discharge of musquetry. The centre column (the men, as soon as discovered, lengthening the step, though silence was not broken by a single voice, and in one minute moving at double the former pace) gained the hedge, and entered the enemy's lines, about fifteen minutes after the return of the horsemen had communicated to the enemy the alarm. The right division, which had a more difficult march, and was misguided to a point more distant than was intended, entered the bound hedge about half-past eleven, when the discharge of cannon and musquetry showed that the rest of the troops had every where closed with the enemy.

Of the centre column, 3700 firelocks, the front corps had for its primary object to pass into the island with the fugitives: the corps in the centre was first to clear the right of the camp, and next, if possible, to gain the island; while that in the rear was to form a reserve under Lord Cornwallis, in a position where he might support the other two, and wait the co-operation of the columns on his right and left. The head of the column penetrated the hedge, under a heavy but ill-directed fire, both of cannon and musquetry; and as it advanced, the enemy gave way. The leading companies, the Captains of which had been instructed to charge themselves, each particularly with the men of his own command, and, in getting to the fort, to regard the celerity more than the solidity of their movement, pushed their way directly to the river. Amid the entanglements of the rice-fields, and the darkness and hurry of the night, the front companies separated into two bodies. The party which first reached the ford, crossed without opposition under the very walls of the fort. Captain Lindsay pushed into the sortie in hopes of entering the gate with the fugitives; but it had been shut immediately before, and the bridge drawn up. The second party reached the same ford about five minutes after the first had gained the opposite side. The passage was now more difficult, for the ford was choked up by the crowds of the enemy pressing into the island. No resistance was, however, attempted, and though some guns were discharged from the fort, they were not directed to the ford. The first party marched across the island, and took post near the southern side. Colonel Knox, who commanded the second,

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proceeded towards the eastern angle of the island, near which there was a pettah, or town, called Shaher Ganjam, with lines and batteries towards the river commanding the eastern ford. The pettah was hardly carried, when a firing began from the batteries on the river. It indicated that the troops on the left had penetrated the enemy's camp, and, it might be, were forcing their way into the island. The Colonel despatched the greater part of his corps to take these batteries in reverse. As soon as the men came down upon them in the rear, where they were open, the enemy, who could not judge of their numbers, and trembled at the bayonet in European hands, abandoned the works and dispersed.

Beside these two parties, a third, consisting chiefly of the seven battalion companies of the fifty-second regiment under Captain Hunter, came to the river soon after the party of Colonel Knox, but at a place about half-way between the two fords, where they crossed, and took post in what was called the Raja's garden. Ignorant that any other troops had passed into the island, Captain Hunter resolved to remain in the garden till a greater force should arrive, or circumstances recommend an enterprise. He soon, however, perceived that his post, being exposed to the guns of the fort, would not be tenable at break of day; and endeavoured, but in vain, to send intelligence of his situation to Lord Cornwallis. After he had been two hours in the garden, a part of the enemy brought two field-pieces to the opposite bank; when he plunged into the river to cross and attack them before the guns were unlimbered for action; succeeded, though not without loss from a heavy fire

both of musquetry and cannon; passed through the enemy's camp without opposition; and joined Lord Cornwallis at a critical moment.

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Such were the operations of the front division of the centre column; and such was the first part of the operations on the island.

One of the native regiments of the first division lost its commander in passing the hedge, and fell into some disorder in taking ground to the right. The centre division hastened to its support, and thence proceeded to the left, to attack the right wing of the enemy. On approaching the Sultan's redoubt, a large body of horse opposed themselves. Major Dalrymple formed the seventy-first regiment, and gave orders to fire one round, to load and shoulder. On the clearing up of the smoke, the horse were seen at a distance scattered over the field. The corps proceeded to attack the Sultan's redoubt; but on mounting the walls, and entering the embrasures, found it abandoned. Leaving two companies of the seventy-first regiment, a detachment of artillery, and fifty sepoy for its defence, they advanced and completed the defeat of the enemy's right, which had been turned by the column of Maxwell.

The rear division Lord Cornwallis formed near the Sultan's redoubt, and waited, in anxious expectation, for the column of General Medows from the right. About two hours before day-light, he was joined by Captain Hunter, after his return from the island. The men had scarcely time to replace their cartridges, which had been damaged in the river, when a large body of troops, part of Tippoo's centre and left, who had recovered from the early panic of the



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night, made a disposition, and advanced with a considerable degree of order and resolution. The party, animated by the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, returned with coolness the fire of the enemy, and charged them with the bayonet on their approach. They returned several times, however, with great bravery, to the attack, and were not finally repulsed till the day was about to break. Cornwallis then ordered his men to retire towards the Carighaut Hill, that they might not be exposed to the fire of the fort, or surrounded by the enemy at day-light; and was met by General Medows, hastening to support him.<sup>1</sup>

It was the intention of the Commander-in-Chief, that the column of the right, 3300 firelocks, under General Medows, should penetrate the line about half a mile east from the mosque redoubt, which was not intended to be attacked, as it was understood to be very strong, stood at a considerable distance from the enemy's front, and would no doubt be evacuated, if the rout of the army was completed. By a mistake of the guides,<sup>2</sup> the column was led to a point further west than that which was intended, and at no considerable distance from the formidable redoubt. On approaching the hedge, one battalion of the front division was desired to make a circuit to the right,

<sup>1</sup> The Commander-in-Chief paid a heart-felt compliment to the spirit and fidelity of General Medows. When the enemy began to attack him, "If General Medows," said he, "be above ground, this will bring him." The harmony of these leaders is one of the finest features of the campaign: the zeal with which Medows strove to perform the duties of the second, after being deprived of the honours of the first command; and the pleasure which Cornwallis displayed in proclaiming the merit of General Medows, and the importance of the services which he received from him.

<sup>2</sup> By an ambiguity of the orders, says Colonel Wilks, iii. 220.

to call the attention of the enemy, while the column penetrated, and having done so, left two battalions as a reserve, just within the hedge. Colonel Nesbit, who led the column, the station of the General being in the centre, agreeably to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, finding no opposition, nor any camp, the extremity of which was at a considerable distance to the east, and perceiving one of the posts protecting the enemy's left which it was the business of the column to subdue, wheeled his division to the right, and ascended the hill of the redoubt. No opposition was made till the leading division crossed the canal, and was approaching the redoubt, when they were received by a heavy discharge of musquetry and grape. Part of the column rushed forward, gave the enemy their fire, and drove them from the covert way. But the inner works were strongly manned; many of the ladders were missing; and several ineffectual attempts were made to pass the ditch, before a path was fortunately discovered which led from the end of the mosque into the redoubt. The redoubt was carried after a severe conflict, in which its commandant, and nearly four hundred of the enemy, lost their lives; with eleven officers, and about eighty men, killed and wounded on the part of the assailants. Tippoo's European corps, commanded by Mon. Vigie, had been stationed in the angle of the hedge in front of the redoubt; but their attention was attracted by the party making the circuit without the hedge, till finding themselves surrounded, they broke, and made their escape.

Leaving a force sufficient for the defence of the post, General Medows commanded the troops to be again

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formed in their original order ; and was impatient to proceed to the real point of attack. Several other redoubts remained on the left of the enemy's position ; but he held it more adviseable to leave them behind, than waste additional time. Before he was in a condition to march, the firing had ceased in every part of the line ; and finding it very difficult, from swamps and ravines, to march within the hedge, he proceeded to the outside, and marched along its front to the Carighaut Hill : where he had not long remained, when his attention was fixed by the firing of the attack upon the Commander-in-Chief.

The object of the left column of the British army, 1700 firelocks, was, to clear the Carighaut Hill, to join in the attack upon the right of the enemy's encampment, and make their way into the island. The attack on the hill was so well conducted, and the surprise of the enemy so complete, that this post, strong as it was both by nature and art, made but a feeble resistance ; the walls were instantly scaled ; and the loss was inconsiderable. In descending, however, towards the camp, the column had to sustain the fire of the right of Tippoo's line ; and were galled by a party who enjoyed the shelter of a water-course at the bottom of the hill. They bore down every obstacle, and proceeded through the camp, till met by the centre division of the Commander-in-Chief. To pass into the island was the next exploit. A party plunged into the river opposite to the batteries, which, opening upon them, had called the attention of Colonel Knox, and they crossed with considerable difficulty, as the water was deep. Their cartridges were rendered useless ; and they must

have trusted to their bayonets to clear the batteries and lines, had not the enemy, at that critical period, been dislodged by Colonel Knox. The rest of the column moved higher up the river, in search of a better ford, and joined a part of the centre column, which was crossing, under the command of Colonel Stuart. These corps united at the eastern end of the island; and, towards morning, were joined by the party which first had entered the island, and taken post on the southern side. The separate position of this corps, as well as that of the corps under Captain Hunter, in the Raja's garden, had not been without their advantage; as they had distracted the enemy's attention, and checked him from reinforcing his positions on the river, or making a speedy effort to dislodge the assailants before they could establish themselves in force upon the island.

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Such were the operations of the night. The Sultan had just finished his evening's repast, when the alarm was given. He mounted; and before he had time to receive intelligence of the nature and quality of the attack, not only perceived, by the mass of the fugitives, that the centre of his camp was entered, but discovered, by the light of the moon, an extended column passing through his camp, and pointing directly to the main ford. As this threatened his retreat, he went off with great celerity, and, having barely time to cross before the English, took his station on the part of the fort best calculated for the view, and there continued, issuing his commands, till the morning. In the retreat a great number of his troops deserted. One corps, 10,000 strong, con-



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sisting of the persons whom he had forcibly removed from Coorg, wholly disappeared, having escaped to their native woods: and a number of Europeans, in his service, from which he gave no allowance to depart, seized this opportunity of making their escape.

The day broke only to vary the features of the conflict. The most easterly of the six redoubts, the Sultan's; and the most westerly, the mosque redoubt, were taken; but the intervening four were in possession of the enemy. The scattered parties collected themselves. And the guns of the fort, which, during the night, had been kept silent by order of the Sultan, lest they should persuade the troops in camp that the fort was attacked, and make them imitate the example of the deserters, were opened as soon as daylight fully appeared, and fired upon the assailants wherever they could be reached.

The eastern fork of the two branches of the river which surround the island, Tippoo had occupied with a palace and gardens. The English took up a strong position in front of the gardens, completely across the island, where they commanded the ford to the Carighaut Hill, and occupied the lines and batteries by which it was guarded. A little after day-light a body of the enemy's infantry approached, under cover of old houses and walls. Their fire was but feebly returned; because the ammunition of the English troops had been nearly expended during the night, or damaged in the river. The Commander-in-Chief, who had taken his station upon the Carighaut Hill, whence every operation

could be seen, immediately detached several corps to support them; and, upon the arrival of this reinforcement, the enemy withdrew: Colonel Maxwell, thinking that his services, no longer necessary in the island, might elsewhere be useful, left the troops to the command of Colonel Stuart, and joined Cornwallis on the hill.

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In the mean time the enemy were assembling from every quarter for an attack on the Sultan's redoubt, which it was deemed expedient to recover, before the serious attempt was made to dislodge the English from the island. This redoubt was nearly of the same size and construction with that which had been stormed by General Medows at the left of the enemy's position; it stood, however, within reach of the guns of the fort; and the gorge was left open to the fort and island, to keep it untenable by an enemy. The corps which had been left in it amounted to about 100 Europeans, and fifty Sepoys, with their officers. And as the army was kept at a distance by the cannon of the island, the fate of the post was left to the constancy of its defenders.

An attempt was made to shut up the gorge, by some broken litters, and the carriage of a gun. This was no sooner perceived by the fort, than it opened three guns on the gorge, and two field-pieces were advanced to certain rocks, which stood at a little distance from the redoubt, and sheltered the enemy. The slender barrier was soon destroyed, and the works considerably impaired, when the enemy advanced to the assault. They were repulsed with slaughter, and retired to their station behind the rocks. Considerable loss, however, was sustained in

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the redoubt. The commanding officer fell; and as the day was extremely sultry, the wounded men were dying for want of water, of which not a drop remained in the place. Great apprehensions, for a time, prevailed, of the failure of ammunition, with which the party had been scantily supplied. But happily, two of the bullocks that carried spare ammunition for the regiments, were found astray in the ditch. Scarcely had the men filled their cartridge-boxes, when a body of cavalry, at least two thousand strong, were seen advancing to the redoubt; of whom three or four hundred dismounted just without musket-shot of the redoubt, and, drawing their sabres, rushed toward the gorge. The fire of the defenders was ready, given coolly, and brought down so many, that the rest fell into confusion, and retired. The lapse of an hour brought forward another attack. The troops which now advanced, supposed to be the remains of Lally's brigade, were headed by Europeans; and the English prepared themselves for a more dreadful contest than any which they had yet sustained. They were disappointed; for this party had advanced but a little way from the rocks, when, a few of them falling, they hesitated, got into disorder, and went off.

This was the last of the enemy's attempts. The redoubt was a scene of carnage. Two officers, and nineteen privates, lay dead upon the ground: three officers, and twenty-two privates, grievously wounded, were perishing for assistance; and the rest were nearly exhausted with want and fatigue. About four in the afternoon, the fire from the rocks began to slacken, and the enemy withdrew.

The battle every where seemed now to be given up. The enemy, however, was only preparing for his attack on the troops in the island. A considerable force advanced, about five o'clock, which was without much difficulty repulsed. But the English received information, that a desperate attempt would be made to drive them from the island during the night. They made their dispositions for defence; and the troops lay upon their arms in anxious expectation of the assault; but the morning dawned without an alarm.

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In the preceding evening, Lord Cornwallis issued, in the shape of general orders, a flattering compliment to the army; and seldom has a tribute of applause been more richly deserved. The plan of the attack has the character of good sense upon the face of it, and is stamped with the approbation of military men, while it is evident to all, that the conduct of the army in its execution, whether intellect or bravery be considered, was such as it would not be easy to surpass. The only point of failure regarded, as usual, the article of intelligence. The localities of the quarter against which General Meadows was directed, were ill understood; and hence arose his defect of success.

The total of killed, wounded, and missing, according to the returns of the British army, was 535. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 4000 slain; but the desertions were the principal cause of his diminution of force. His troops were withdrawn from the redoubts on the north side of the river, during the night of the 7th; and on the morning of the 8th, the remains of his army were collected,



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the infantry within the works of the fort, the cavalry and baggage on the south side of the river towards Mysore.

Arrangements were now made and executed for besieging the fort. Three European regiments, seven battalions of sepoys, a captain's command of artillery, were established in the island; and occupied the position taken originally by Colonel Stuart, in front of the Sultan's gardens. While the fort occupied the western extremity of the island, and with its works comprehended the space of a mile, the Sultan's new palace and gardens covered a similar extent at the eastern extremity. Previous to the war, the space between these gardens and the fort, was occupied by the houses and streets of the most flourishing capital at that time in the dominions of any native prince in India. With the exception of the pettah, or suburb, already mentioned, which constituted the eastern extremity of the town, the rest had all been destroyed, to make room for the batteries of the island, and to form an esplanade to the fort. The gardens in which the Sultan delighted, laid out in shady walks of large cypress trees, and enriched with all the vegetable treasures of the East, were cut to pieces, and destroyed, to furnish materials for the siege; while the gorgeous palace adjoining, was converted into an hospital for the sick.

On the evening of the 8th, Tippoo sent for Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, whom he had retained in contempt of the capitulation of Coimbatore. They found him sitting under the fly of a small tent on the south glacis of the fort, very plainly dressed, and

with a small number of attendants. He gave them presents, and charged them with letters to Lord Cornwallis, on the subject of peace, which he gave them assurance he had never ceased to desire. Contrary to the usual custom of Tippoo, their confinement had not been cruel.

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At day-break on the 10th, the cavalry of Tippoo, who had crossed the river about six miles below the island, got round undiscovered to the rear of the left wing of the English camp, and advancing between the position of the English, and that of the Hyderabad army, were taken by the English piquets and rear guards for a part of the confederate troops. On passing the park of artillery, they asked some of the camp followers for the *Burra Saib* or commander; who, supposing they meant the officer of artillery, pointed to his tent. They galloped towards it immediately, drawing their sabres; but receiving the fire of a party of sepoy draughts and recruits who turned out with great alacrity, they dispersed, and recrossing the hills, disappeared. The incident produced alarm in the British camp, as a blow struck at the life of the Commander-in Chief, whose popularity was deservedly great.

Unable to accomplish his design of strengthening General Abercromby by the junction of the Mahratta or Hyderabad armies, Lord Cornwallis directed him to cross the river, and join the main army, on the northern side. He began his march on the 8th, sending back his sick to the hospitals at Poodicherrum, and leaving a detachment, strongly posted at the Seidaseer Ghaut. On the 11th, he crossed the Cavery at Eratore. A party of the enemy's horse,

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breaking in upon the baggage, as it was crossing a small river on the 13th, captured a part of it, and continued to infest the march for the remainder of the day. A still larger body appeared in front on the 14th, when the army was halted and formed for action: The supposed enemy was a strong detachment which Lord Cornwallis had sent to protect this army in its approach. On the 16th, without further interruption, it gave to the force before Seringapatam, an accession, fit for duty, of 2000 Europeans, and double that number of native troops.

To this junction Tippoo intended a more serious opposition. He detached the whole of his cavalry on the evening of the 13th; but they sustained a rencounter with the protecting detachment, and were afraid to proceed.

The fort of Seringapatam is of a triangular shape, to correspond with the ground on which it stands; two sides, and those the longest, being in this manner, defended by a deep and broad river, and only one, that towards the island, without a natural obstacle to oppose an attack. This, of course, was the side which had received the strongest fortifications. This was covered with strong outworks, and two broad and massy ramparts, one a considerable distance within the other, having flank defences, a deep ditch, draw-bridges, and every advantage of modern fortification. Upon a computation of all obstructions, it was resolved, notwithstanding the river, to carry on the English attack on the northern side.

About eight o'clock, on the evening of the 18th, a detachment, consisting of one European regiment and one battalion of sepoy, crossed the south branch

of the river from the island, and making a circuit of several miles, over rice-fields, and broken ground, approached the enemy's camp before midnight. The commanding officer halted, about a mile from the camp, sending forward the party destined for the attack. They entered the camp undiscovered; killed about a hundred troopers, and as many horses, with the bayonet, before the alarm became general; then fired several volleys to keep up the consternation, without losing a single man, without a man's having broken his rank to plunder, and without bringing in so much as a horse. The fort was immediately, on all sides, a blaze of light, as if expecting a general assault; but was afraid of firing, which might hurt its enemies less than its friends.

On the same evening, as soon as dark, the party which was destined to open the trenches marched to the chosen spot; and, before day-light, formed a nullah, which was situated within eight hundred yards of the fort, into a large parallel, having its left flank covered by a redoubt which they constructed, its right defended by a ravine. When Tippoo found that one of the most interesting operations of the siege had been performed without opposition, while his attention was successfully drawn off to another quarter, he opened every gun which could bear upon the works; sent parties of infantry across the river, to harass the troops in flank, and interrupt their proceedings; and attempted, but in vain, to cut off the stream of water which supplied the camp. On the 19th, the Bombay army, under General Abercromby, crossed the river; and though Tippoo went out to

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oppose them, at the head of his infantry, successfully invested the south side of the fort, and prepared to carry on the enfilade.

During the 19th, 20th, and 21st, traverses were finished, to connect the first parallel with a large redoubt in the rear; and on the night of the 21st, the line was marked out for the second parallel, two hundred yards in advance; from which, as the ground was favourable, no doubt was entertained that the fort could be breached.

Though no relaxation was admitted in the operations of the siege, Lord Cornwallis, after the release of the prisoners taken at Coimbatore, had listened to the Sultan's application for peace. Tents were pitched for the conferences; which began on the 15th, and were continued on the 16th, 19th, and 21st. With much difficulty could the aspiring mind of the Sultan reconcile itself to the severity of the terms which were demanded. On the 22nd, a severe conflict was sustained by a party of the Bombay army, endeavouring to gain possession of a grove within reach of the guns of the fort. The second parallel was completed on the 23rd; and a very advantageous position obtained for the breaching batteries. A fire of fifty pieces of heavy ordnance might have been directed against the place by the 1st of March: furnaces were prepared for heating shot: the combustible materials of the houses, with which the fort was crowded, could hardly fail, in a few hours, of setting it in flames: at any rate the fire of the breaching batteries was sure of success: the spirit of the army was elevated to the

highest pitch: and General Medows, whose gallantry was always on the alert, had determined to lead in the storm.

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The councils of the British army went forward, as wisdom directs, to every contingency; and, even anticipating the case, that a brave and able prince, who had declared his resolution to perish in the breach, and was surrounded by a band of followers, who, like himself, had every thing at stake, might, with the assistance of the rugged channel of a deep and rapid river, be able to defend his principal fortress against an assault, had made arrangements for completing the enterprise by the irresistible operations of a blockade. The army of Purseram Bhow, with Captain Little's detachment, a force sufficient to complete the investment, was now daily expected: Major Cuppage, from the Coimbatore country, with a brigade of 400 Europeans, and three battalions of Sepoys, had ascended the Gujelhutty pass; and without difficulty would take the forts of Ardinelly and Mysore as he advanced: Large supplies collected in the southern countries were ready to ascend the Gujelhutty pass: General Abercromby had perfected a line of communication with the Malabar coast, whence supplies were constantly arriving; Arrangements were made for providing the Mahratta and Hyderabad armies from their own countries: and the Brinjarries maintained such abundance in the camp of Cornwallis, as had not been known since the commencement of the war.

On the morning of the 24th, orders were received by the troops in the trenches, to forbear working, and desist from hostilities. "The soldiers," says Major

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Dirom, "dejected to a degree not to be described, could with difficulty be restrained from continuing their work." The troops of Tippoo fired, both with cannon and musquetry, upon the British troops, for some time after they had ceased; a barbarous bravado, intended to show, that he was the last to resign the contest, and effected peace by the vigour of his defence. The general orders which were issued on the English side concluded with the following passage, not less honourable to the presiding councils, than the most brilliant operations of the war. "Lord Cornwallis thinks it almost unnecessary to desire the army to advert, that moderation in success, is no less expected from brave men, than gallantry in action; and he trusts, that the officers and soldiers in his army will not only be incapable of committing violence, in any intercourse that may happen between them and Tippoo's troops, but that they will even abstain from making use of any kind of insulting expression, towards an enemy now subdued and humbled."

Of the preliminary treaty which Tippoo was constrained to accept, the substantial conditions were, That he should cede one-half of his territories to the allies; pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees; and give up two of his three eldest sons, as hostages for the due execution of the treaty. Lord Cornwallis, though it required no little patience and discretion to manage his allies, had gained over them so great an ascendancy, by a condescending attention to their forms and prejudices, by the dazzling superiority of his power, and by firmness of decision in matters of importance, that they disturbed not the negotiation by urging any points of their own; and professing the

fullest confidence in his discretion, declared their willingness, either to go on with the war, or conclude a peace, and to agree to any terms which should meet with his approbation.

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The eldest of Tippoo's sons was about twenty years of age; and had at last taken a considerable share in the war. Of the next two, who were destined to become the hostages, one was about ten, the other eight. The uneasiness which parting with them produced in the Seraglio, occasioned a delay which Cornwallis was too generous to resent: To satisfy the mind of the Sultan, he sent him information by his vakeels, that he would in person wait upon the Princes, as soon as they arrived at their tents, and beside their own attendants, would appoint a careful officer, with a battalion of Sepoys for their guard. Tippoo answered with like courtesy; "That he could by no means consent that his Lordship should have the trouble of waiting first upon his sons; that, having the most perfect reliance on the honour of Lord Cornwallis, it was his own particular desire and request, that he would allow them to be brought at once to his own tent, and delivered into his hands."

On the 26th, about noon, the Princes left the fort. It appeared to be manned for the occasion, and was crowded with people to see them depart. The Sultan himself was on the rampart above the gateway, the fort saluting as the princes went out.

On approaching the English camp, they were received by a salute of twenty-one guns from the park. At their own tents, they were met by Captain Kennaway, the English negotiator, with the vakeels of the Nizam and Mahrattas, and by them conducted



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to the Commander-in-Chief. They were each mounted on an elephant, richly caparisoned, and seated in a silver houdah. They were attended by their father's vakeels on elephants. The procession was led by several camel hircarrahs, and seven standard-bearers, carrying small green flags, followed by 100 pikemen with spears inlaid with silver. Their guard of 200 of their father's Sepoys, and a party of horse, brought up their rear. As they drew near to head-quarters, the battalion of Sepoys intended for their English guard, formed an avenue to conduct them.

Lord Cornwallis, attended by his staff, and some of the principal officers of his army, received them as they dismounted from their elephants, at the door of his great tent; embraced them; led them in by the hand; and seated them, one on each side of himself; when he was thus addressed by the head vakeel: "These children were this morning the sons of the Sultan, my master; They now must look up to your Lordship as a father!" His Lordship assured, with earnestness, both the vakeels and the princes, that they should not feel the loss of a father's care. The faces of the children brightened up, and every spectator was moved. At this interview Lord Cornwallis presented each of them with a gold watch, which appeared to give them great satisfaction. Bred up, as usual with the children of the East, to imitate the reserve and politeness of age, and educated with infinite care, all were astonished to behold the propriety of their deportment. The next day Lord Cornwallis paid them a visit at their tents. They came out to receive him; when he embraced

them, and led them as before, one in each hand into the tent. They were now more at their ease, and spoke with animation and grace. Each of the princes presented his Lordship with a fine Persian sword; and he made them a present of some elegant fire-arms in return. "There was," says Major Dirom, "a degree of state, order, and magnificence, in every thing, much superior to what we had seen amongst our allies. The guard of Sepoys, drawn up without, were clothed in uniform; and not only regularly and well armed, but, compared to the rabble of infantry in the service of the other native powers, appeared well-disciplined, and in high order." On the morning of the 28th, a royal salute was fired from the fort; which was said to announce the satisfaction of the Sultan at the reception given to his sons.

Considerable difficulties occurred in adjusting the terms of the definitive treaty. During the delay, it was observed, that repairs were actively carried on within the fort; and Lord Cornwallis remonstrated. The Sultan with a disdainful submission replied; "His Lordship was misinformed; but for his satisfaction, if he desired it, he would throw down one of the bastions, to let him see into the fort."

The condition which regarded the Raja of Coorg was the principal cause of delay. Of the great chain of the western mountains, this country occupied the eastern part of the range which extended from the Tambercherry pass on the south, to the confines of the Bednore country on the north. Periapatam was in former times the capital. But after the growth of the Mysore power, the Rajas had lived at

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Mercara, a place more protected by the mountains, about twenty miles north from the Poodicherrum pass.

The Coorgs are considered as related to the Nairs, that singular caste, of high pretensions to rank, on the coast of Malabar. Their country, placed at a medium elevation, between the sultry plains, and the tempestuous tops of the mountains, enjoyed a temperate and delightful climate, with a fertile soil. Hyder laboured for its subjugation in vain, till a dispute about the succession arose between two brothers. Upon usurping the government of the country, Hyder confined the royal family in the fort of Cuddoor, on the eastern frontier of Bednore. Tippoo removed them to Periapatam, on the eastern side of the woods of Coorg. A son of the Raja, then dead, made his escape from Periapatam in 1788.<sup>1</sup>

The discontented and inflexible spirit of the Coorgs, and the cruelty with which they had been treated, had rendered the country a scene of devastation and bloodshed. Upon the appearance among them of their native Prince, they renounced with enthusiasm their obedience to the Sultan; and

<sup>1</sup> The story is told somewhat differently by Colonel Wilks and by Major Dirom. Major Dirom says, that the interference of Hyder between the brothers being admitted, he destroyed the family of the elder brother, carried that of the younger to Seringapatam, and took possession of the country. In the year 1785, the son of that brother made his escape. He had been a prisoner in Seringapatam from his infancy. It was part of the policy or piety of Tippoo, to make converts to his religion; and that by force as well as persuasion. The occasion was not omitted in the case of the young Raja. He was subjected to the painful rite of the Mussulman religion, and enrolled among the *Ciêlas*, or corps of slaves; of whom he had, though strictly guarded, the nominal command of a battalion, at the time of his escape.

defeated a detachment of his army descending with a convoy to the western coast. Before the commencement of the war between the English and Tippoo, the Raja had repaired to Tellicherry, to form, if possible, a connexion with the English, of whose sentiments with regard to the Sultan he was sufficiently apprized. A regard to the existing treaty made him unable to obtain their consent, at that time, to the engagements which he was desirous of contracting. But no sooner had the war broken out, than he offered his services; and, though his country was miserably drained both of men and resources, he was able, by his intelligence and activity, to aid materially the operations of the Bombay army. The circumstances in which he had been placed by misfortunes had broken many of the fetters which bind the understandings of his countrymen; and he manifested an enlargement of mind seldom witnessed among those matchless slaves of prejudice. Not only had trials invigorated his faculties, but he displayed a generosity, and a heroism, worthy of a more civilized state of society.

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Lord Cornwallis included his country by name, in the territory which Tippoo was called upon to resign. The proposal, it seems, excited his astonishment and rage. He had destined the Raja, no doubt, for a conspicuous example of the direful consequences of renouncing his allegiance: The territory of the Raja commanded the best approach to his capital from the sea: And he complained, not without reason, that to demand a territory which approached to his very capital, and was not contiguous to the country of any of the allies, was a real



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infringement of the preliminary articles.<sup>1</sup> Lord Cornwallis, having enjoyed the advantages of the Raja's rebellion, was determined not to leave him at the mercy of his foe. The vakeels of the Sultan returned to the English camp with a declaration that their master refused to see them, or to deliberate on the point. Lord Cornwallis ordered preparations for resuming the siege. The guns were sent back to the island and the redoubts; and the working parties resumed their labours. The army of Purseram Bhow, having at last joined Cornwallis, was sent across the Cavery, to assist General Abercromby in completing the investment of the fort; and exceeded the intentions of the British commander, by plundering the country. The princes were informed of the necessity which had arrived of removing them to the Carnatic. Their guard was disarmed, and treated as prisoners of war. The Princes were actually, next morning, on the march to Bangalore, not a little affected with the change of their situation; when Lord Cornwallis, at the urgent request of the vakeels, agreed to suspend, for one day, the execution of his orders. The submission of the Sultan was intimated. And on the 19th of March, the hostage Princes performed the ceremony of delivering the definitive treaty to Lord Cornwallis and the allies.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words of the article were, "One half of the dominions of which Tippoo Sultan was possessed before the war, to be ceded to the allies, from the countries adjacent, according to their situation."

<sup>2</sup> When Tippoo sent out the vakeels with the documents finally prepared, he charged them with a remonstrance on the subject of the outrage which had been committed by Purseram Bhow; and with a request that he might be recalled, with his 20,000 horse, across the river, and

The revenues of Tippoo's dominions, according to the admitted schedule, were two crores and thirty-seven lacs of rupees. One-half of this, divided equally among the three allies, afforded to each an accession of territory, worth thirty-nine and a half lacs of rupees, approaching to half a million sterling, per annum. The boundary of the Mahrattas was again extended to the river Toombuddra. The share allotted to the Nizam reached from the Kistna beyond the river Penna, and included the forts of Gunjecotah and Cudapa. The British share was obtained in three portions, the first, on the western frontier of the Carnatic, including the Baramahal and the Lower Ghauts; the second a district surrounding Dindegul; the last, the dominions tributary to the Sultan, on the coast of Malabar.<sup>1</sup>

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made to answer for his conduct; or, "which would be a still greater favour," added the Sultan, "that Lord Cornwallis would be pleased to permit me to go out and chastise him myself." When the eldest of the Princes delivered the treaty, we are told, that a manly acquiescence appeared in the manner of performing the delivery to Lord Cornwallis; that an air of compulsion and dislike was observed to accompany the ceremony when repeated towards the vakeels of the allies; and that some expressions, not distinctly heard, which the boy took for words of disrespect or dissatisfaction, falling from one of the vakeels, he asked "at what he muttered;" adding, "You may well be silent; your masters have reason to be pleased." Dirom's Narrative, p. 246.

<sup>1</sup> For the history of this war, the principal materials, as yet accessible, are the papers laid before parliament; the official statements in the Gazette; Dirom's Narrative, which, beside a very minute account of the last campaign, contains a retrospect of the previous operations of the war; Mackenzie's Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultaun; the instructive volumes of Wilks; Moore's Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment; and the contemporary historians. Particular references for notorious facts were deemed unnecessary, and would have been troublesome by their number. Of the view of Indian politics which was taken in England at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of Cornwallis, an instructive judgment may be drawn from the following passage in the Annual Register (1792, chap. x. last paragraph). "The advantages

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As some recompense for the virtues and exertions of the troops, the Commander-in-Chief took upon him to order them a donative equal to six months' batta, out of the money exacted from Tippoo; and he and General Medows resigned their shares both in this and the prize-money. For the satisfaction of the army, and to obviate the jealousies and inconveniencies which had been formerly experienced, Lord Cornwallis, at the commencement of the war, agreed, that the plunder taken from the enemy should form one general fund; and that prize-agents to take care of it should be appointed by the army themselves. The officers of the King's army nominated two delegates; those of the Company's Madras army, two; and those of the Bengal battalions, one. A committee was also chosen of seven officers, whose business it was to inspect the accounts of the agents, and make reports upon them to the army. The effects of this arrangement, as might be expected, were admirable. But the democratical complexion of an elective and

which have accrued to the Company from this treaty, amply appear to counterbalance the enormous expense of the war. By the acquisitions in the neighbourhood of the Carnatic, and the consequent possession of the several passes from Mysore, a considerable augmentation of revenue, and a greater protection from hostile incursions, have been obtained in a very important quarter; whilst on the Malabar coast, where we owned but little before, a portion of rich territory has been allotted to us, which, exclusive of its own commercial consequence, by being attached to the Presidency of Bombay, will at once tend to increase the security of that Presidency, and enhance its value. The wise moderation of these counsels, which directed only a partial division of the conquered countries, cannot be too much praised. For had not a sufficient extent of territory been left to Tippoo Sultan, to make him respectable, and still in some degree formidable to his neighbours, the balance of power in India might have been again materially affected, the future adjustment of which would have led to new wars. The treaty was a return, as far as circumstances would admit, to our old and true policy."

deliberative body formed in the army, would, at a short distance afterwards, have made the very proposal be regarded with alarm and abhorrence.

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It is so common for nations to ascribe the most odious qualities to every party whom they dread, that the excess to which this low passion is carried in England would be less wonderful, did not the superior attainments of the nation render it far less excusable in them, than it is in a people less favourably situated. Several remarkable instances stand in our history, of a sort of epidemical frenzy in abusing our enemies. The frenzy, too, appears to have corresponded pretty exactly in violence with the degree of terror, which each of those foes, in their several times and places, happened to inspire. Louis the Fourteenth, Tippoo Sultan, and Napoleon Bonaparte may be adduced as conspicuous examples. As in regard to Louis in his day, and Napoleon in his; so among our countrymen, either in India, or in England, scarcely was Tippoo ever spoken of but under the description of a hideous monster; disfigured by almost every vice which renders human nature, in the exercise of power, an object of dread and abhorrence. Even Major Rennell, who is not an example of a man easily hurried away by the prejudices of his countrymen, had already described him as "cruel to an extreme degree;" and though possessed of talents, held in such utter detestation by his own subjects, that it was improbable his reign would be long."<sup>1</sup> And Lieutenant Moore informs us, that "many highly respectable persons, impressed with the same sentiments, doubted not, at

<sup>1</sup> Rennell's Memoir, Introd. p. cxxxix.



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the commencement of the late war, but the defection of his whole army would be the immediate consequence of the approach of the confederate forces.”<sup>1</sup>

The fact, however, was, that when the English advanced into the dominions of Tippoo, they discovered such indications of good government as altogether surprised them; a country highly cultivated, and abounding in population; in short, a prosperity far surpassing that which any other part of India exhibited, not excepting the British dominions themselves. And for the sentiments with which he was regarded, some information may be derived from the conduct they inspired. The fidelity with which his people adhered to him under the most trying reverses of fortune, would have done honour to the most wise and beneficent prince. Not an instance of treachery occurred amongst his commanders during the whole course of the war. His troops, with the exception of the men who had been cruelly dragged from the conquered countries, though disheartened by a constant succession of disasters, fought with constancy to the last. The people of the ceded countries yielded as to inevitable fate; but no sooner did an opportunity occur, than they replaced themselves with eagerness under the government of Tippoo.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Moore's Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment, p. 197. That officer, having a mind above the ordinary standard, thus describes the defamatory *mania* of his countrymen. "Of late years, our language has been ransacked for terms in which well-disposed persons were desirous to express their detestation of his name and character; vocabularies of vile epithets have been exhausted; and doubtless many have lamented that the English language is not copious enough to furnish terms of obloquy sufficiently expressive of the ignominy wherewith they in justice deem his memory deserves to be branded. Ibid. p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> The following passages from the two intelligent officers to whom we

As the English over-rated the vices of Tippoo ; so they greatly over-rated his power and consequence, as an enemy. It was found, after all, that his whole revenues amounted but to two and a-half millions sterling ; and instead of the mighty treasures which he and his father were supposed to have accumulated, and which, from the number of troops they had always kept up, and the expensive wars in which

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are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of this war, are so honourable to the writers, and instructive to their countrymen, that the insertion of them cannot be declined. "When a person," says Lieutenant Moore, "travelling through a strange country, finds it well cultivated, populous with industrious inhabitants, cities newly founded, commerce extending, towns increasing, and every thing flourishing, so as to indicate happiness, he will naturally conclude it to be under a form of government congenial to the minds of the people. This is a picture of Tippoo's country ; and this is our conclusion respecting its government. It has fallen to our lot to tarry some time in Tippoo's dominions, and to travel through them as much, if not more than any other officer in the field, during the war ; and we have reason to suppose his subjects to be as happy as those of any other sovereign : For we do not recollect to have heard of any complaints or murmurings among them ; although, had causes existed, no time would have been more favourable for their utterance, because the enemies of Tippoo were in power, and would have been gratified by any aspersion of his character. The inhabitants of the conquered countries submitted with apparent resignation to the direction of their conquerors, but by no means as if relieved from an oppressive yoke in their former government ; on the contrary, no sooner did an opportunity offer, than they scouted their new masters, and gladly returned to their loyalty again." Moore's Narrative, p. 201. "Whether from the operation of the system established by Hyder, from the principles which Tippoo has adopted for his own conduct, or from his dominions having suffered little by invasion for many years, or from the effect of these several causes united, his country was found every where full of inhabitants, and apparently cultivated to the utmost extent of which the soil was capable ; while the discipline and fidelity of his troops in the field, until their last overthrow, were testimonies equally strong, of the excellent regulations which existed in his army. His government, though strict and arbitrary, was the despotism of a politic and able sovereign, who nourishes, not oppresses, the subjects who are to be the means of his future aggrandizement : and his cruelties were, in general, inflicted only on those whom he considered as his enemies." Dirom's Narrative, p. 249.

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they had been almost constantly engaged, it was impossible they should have accumulated; the expense of only two campaigns was found to have so completely exhausted his finances, that he was unable to pay the grain-merchants for the most essential of all articles, when they conveyed it to his camp.

But Tippoo was a braggart, and talked so loftily of his own power, and with so much contempt of the power of the English, that he both hurt their pride, and awakened their apprehensions. The little delicacy which he displayed in construing in his own favour whatever points the treaty left without definition, was no more than what is practised regularly by every Indian Prince, and every other Prince, where he sees no danger of being made to suffer for his encroachments. But the little regard he paid to the anger of the English, and the indifference with which he provoked them, arose from two causes: the hope of assistance from the French, which, had the government of the Bourbons remained undisturbed, he was sure of receiving; and his incapability of estimating the change in regard to the English which had recently taken place. Only a few years before, he had seen his father reduce them to the very brink of destruction; and no change, which to his eye was visible, had added to their power. Their dominions had received no extension; and the Carnatic, which was all that he saw of their dominions, was in a state of rapid deterioration, while his own were in a state of gradual improvement. It was impossible for Tippoo to understand that his father had to contend with only the East India Company, feeble from a defective treasury, and timid, from the jealousy with which they were

watched at home, and from the want of protection which they were sure to experience : That the ministry had now transferred the government of India to themselves : That it was their own ruler into whose hands they had put the reins ; and who, if he acted agreeably to them, was sure of their protection : That it was not, in reality, the East India Company with which he had now to contend ; but the English government and the East India Company combined, the resources of both of which were clubbed to provide for the war. Not only were the whole revenues of the East India Company devoted to that purpose, and their credit in India stretched to an extent, of which they would have trembled to think, without the firm assurance of ministerial support, and which, without that support, would more than probably have accomplished their ruin ; but the ministers gave them parliamentary authority and ministerial countenance, to raise, that is to say, the ministers raised for them, repeated sums in England to a very large amount.

In drawing the balance of profit and loss, upon the speculation which they had in this manner closed, the only advantage which the English could imagine they had gained, was the chance of having rendered Tippoo more pacific, and less dangerous in case of a future war. That there was no other advantage, will appear from a very simple reflection. They had indeed a new territory. But in overbalance of that, it is to be considered that they had expended a sum of money in the war, the interest of which would have exceeded the net revenues of the country which they gained. Their income, therefore, would have

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been greater had they never entered into the war. Then, as to the question in what degree it lessened either the chance or mischievousness of future wars, experience seemed to show that if Tippoo was not exasperated into a more eager propensity for war, he was not more humbled into a tame desire of peace; and the conduct of the government speedily showed, that if he had ceased to be equally dangerous, he was far from ceasing to be equally dreaded. That the Company had added by conquest to their territories in violation of the declared sense and enactments of parliament, and were nevertheless applauded by parliament and the nation, the world beheld, and have not yet forgotten.<sup>1</sup>

The weakness of the Nizam, and his need of resting upon the English for support against the Mahrattas, when no longer checked by the dread of

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Malcolm, whose loyalty offends not commonly on the score of weakness, seems to regard it as one of the principal advantages of the war, that it displayed Lord Cornwallis's contempt for the act of parliament. "The policy" (says that writer, *Sketch of the Political History of India*, p. 94) "of Lord Cornwallis was neither directed to obtain a delay of hostilities, nor limited to the object of repelling the immediate danger, with which the state, over whose councils he presided was threatened." That is to say, it was not confined to the express object to which he was limited by act of parliament. "When fully satisfied, of the designs of Tippoo, he hastened to attack him; he saw the great advantages which were likely to result from early offensive operations; and the moment he resolved on war, he contemplated (as appears from the whole tenour of his correspondence previous to the commencement of hostilities) the increase of the Company's territories in the quarters of the Carnatic and Malabar, as a desirable object of policy." The grand object, indeed, of Sir John's intelligent work, is to point out the impolicy of the restricting act of parliament; to demonstrate that the most eminent of the Indian governors, Mr. Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Wellesley, have treated it with uninterrupted contempt; and received applause for every successful violation of it.

Tippoo, made that chief desirous of maintaining the fortunate and useful connexion he had formed.

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Between the English and Mahrattas jealousies quickly arose. The Mahrattas saw with regret the shield of the British power held up between them and the Nizam, whom they had long destined for their prey.

While the armies were before Seringapatam, and the Sultan was yet unsubdued, Mahdajee Sindiah marched towards Poonah with an army; and not only alarmed Nana Furnavese who governed in the name of the Peshwa, and whose authority Sindiah wished to usurp; but was regarded with suspicion by the English themselves.

When the English, before the war, were bidding so high for alliances against Tippoo, Sindiah, too, offered his services to sale; but asked an exorbitant price. He required that two battalions of the British troops should join his army as an auxiliary force, in the same manner as the armies of the Nizam and Peshwa; that the English government should engage to protect his dominions in the upper provinces during his absence; and should become bound to assist him in the reduction of the Rajpoot Princes, who resisted the extension of his conquests. To involve themselves in war in the distant provinces of Hindustan, for the aggrandizement of Sindiah, whose power was already an object of alarm, by no means accorded with the policy of the English; and the alliance of Sindiah was not obtained.

Upon the conclusion of the peace with Tippoo, a proposition was made to the British commander, by

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Hurry Punt; that the service of the British troops with the army of the Peshwa should be rendered permanent, in the same manner as that of the corps which was attached to the army of the Nizam. It was the opinion of Lord Cornwallis, that this subsidiary force, though asked under the pretext that it would only be employed in enabling the Peshwa to reduce to obedience any of his refractory dependants, was really desired as a weapon against Mahdajee Sindiah, whose power endangered the authority of the minister at Poonah. But though Lord Cornwallis could not fail to be sensible of the extraordinary increase of the power of Sindiah, who had established the dominion given him, by the policy of Mr. Hastings, over the Mogul provinces, and employed in his own favour the remaining authority of his imperial captive, while he had formed a large and formidable corps of regular infantry under European officers mostly French, and erected foundries and arsenals, in short had made the most formidable accumulation of all the instruments of war, belonging to any Prince in India; he regarded all attempts to check the career of Sindiah, as either imprudent, or contrary to the act of parliament, and unlikely to obtain the concurrence of the ruling powers at home. He therefore refused to accede to the wishes of the Poonah minister; though he directed the British Resident at the Court of Sindiah, to make a spirited remonstrance, when intelligence arrived in July that the claims of the Emperor to his tribute from Bengal began to be renewed.

According to the terms on which the receipt and

disbursement of the Carnatic revenues had been assumed by the English, they were now to be restored, when the war was at an end. As soon as Lord Cornwallis led back the army from Seringapatam to Madras, he entered upon the discussion of a new arrangement, which, as usual, was somewhat affectedly, if not ludicrously, denominated a treaty. Of the former agreement both parties complained; the Nabob, that its pecuniary conditions were heavier than the country was able to bear; the English, that the securities it provided for the payments of the Nabob, were inadequate to their end. The treaty, therefore, which was made with Sir Archibald Campbell, and the obligation of the Nabob, respecting the annual payments to his private creditors, were annulled: and it was declared, that the agreement which was now concluded with Lord Cornwallis, provided for the objects of both.

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According to the terms of this new arrangement, the contribution of the Nabob towards the peace establishment was fixed at nine lacs of pagodas, per annum; the payment to his creditors was reduced from twelve to six lacs, 21,105 pagodas; and for the expenses of war, he was to contribute, as by the last agreement, four-fifths of his revenues.

As security for these payments, it was agreed, That during war, the Company should assume entirely the receipt and disbursement of the Nabob's revenues, which he should recover upon the restoration of peace: And that, if any failure of payment occurred during peace, the Company should enter upon the receipt of the revenues of certain specified



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districts, from which the Nabob's officers should, in that event, be withdrawn. The Polygars of Madura and Tinivelly, whose power enabled them to resist the feeble government of the Nabob, and, in a great measure, to prevent the collection of his revenue, were transferred to the management of the English.

It appears from the despatches of Lord Cornwallis, that he set a great value upon this arrangement; and fondly believed it was calculated to answer all the ends which it was the object of himself and his countrymen to secure. The complaints of which he had heard, were chiefly complaints respecting the securities for the payments of the Nabob. The securities which he had taken had the appearance of being complete; and he saw not far beyond first appearances. The observation is just, "that though this engagement simplified in some points, and greatly ameliorated in others, the engagement which Sir Archibald Campbell had contracted; it corrected none of its radical defects."<sup>1</sup> Management during a limited and precarious period excluded that minute knowledge on which alone could be founded an assessment, just either to the Company or the inhabitants; ensured the bad offices of all descriptions of the people, who had an interest in courting the government which they were again to obey; and totally prevented the introduction of a new management, in place of that cruel and oppressive system which, under the government of the Nabob, desolated the country.

Of the transactions of Lord Cornwallis with

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Malcolm, *ut supra*, p. 114.

foreign powers, one yet remains of sufficient importance to require a separate statement. In 1793, the change of government in France precipitated the people of England into a war with that country. It followed, as a matter of course, that in India the possessions of the French should be attacked. The interests of the French in India had now, for a great while, languished under poverty and neglect. The progressive embarrassments of the government at home, and the progressive intensity with which the eyes of the nation were turned upon that government, left the Indian establishments in a state of weakness, ill fitted to resist the weight of the English power, when the bonds of peace were broken asunder. The forces of Madras were sent against Pondicherry, with Major-General Sir John Brathwaite at their head. And Lord Cornwallis hastened from Bengal, to obtain the honour of extirpating the republicans. The difficulty, however, was so very small, that the enterprise was accomplished before he arrived; and the whole of the French settlements in India were added to the English possessions.

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## CHAPTER V.

*Lord Cornwallis's Financial and Judicial Reforms.*

BOOK VI THE measures taken during the administration of this  
CHAP. 5. Viceroy, for altering the internal government of the  
 1787. British dominions in India, are not less memorable  
 than his transactions with foreign states.

In the eye of the new government of India, consisting more ostensibly of the Directors, more really of the King's ministers, revenue naturally constituted the first object. In the code of instructions, with which, upon his departure for his government, Lord Cornwallis was provided, occasion was taken to censure the financial administration of his predecessors, and to prescribe a new arrangement. The frequent changes, the substitution of farmers and temporary agents for the permanent Zemindars, the failure of all attempts to enhance the revenue, and the exclusion of the collectors from a share in forming assessments of their respective districts, were mentioned with disapprobation. Complaint was made of the heavy arrears outstanding on the settlement of the last four years; and the country was represented as exhausted and impoverished. Such is the opinion which it was, by the King's ministers and Court of Directors, held fit to express,

of the merits of the British government, in India, at the date of this document, in April, 1786. For the purpose of improvement, they directed, that the settlement should be made with the Zemindars. Knowledge sufficient for an assessment, they presumed was already acquired. They prescribed the period of ten years, as the limit to which the settlement should be confined, in the first instance. But they declared their intention to render it permanent, provided, on experience, it should merit their approbation. They further commanded, that the collectors of the revenue should be vested with the powers of judicature and police; by having conveyed to them the principal authority in the Dewannee Adauluts, with the power of magistrates in apprehending offenders against the public peace. And, in making this provision for the administration of justice, they declared, that they were not actuated by "abstract theories—drawn," they said, "from other countries, or applicable to a different state of things, but a consideration of the subsisting manners and usages of the people."

Upon his arrival in India, Lord Cornwallis found, that his masters in England were egregiously mistaken, when they imagined that there was sufficient knowledge, already treasured up, for the business of settling the revenue. The very nature of the land-tenure was not understood. The rights of the different orders of people, who cultivated the soil, and divided its produce, formed a complicated mystery. All that was known, with any certainty, was the amount of revenue which had been annually collected. But whether the country could pay more, or

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the exactions were already heavier than it could bear, no man had any satisfactory grounds to affirm.

1787. In this situation Lord Cornwallis determined to suspend his obedience to the orders of Whitehall and Leadenhall-street; to content himself, in the mean time, with annual settlements, by the local agency of the district collectors, and the superintendence of the Committee, now decorated with the title of Board, of Revenue; to circulate interrogatories, and collect information from every accessible source.<sup>1</sup>

The directions of the government at home, with regard to the administration of justice, were treated with greater respect; the Governor-General saw nothing here to dissuade prompt obedience. In 1787, regulations were promulgated; and the collectors were vested with the triple power of revenue agents, of judges, and of police magistrates. It is good to hear the reasons which the compound of statesmen and Directors, now formed into an instrument of government for India, produced for this device of theirs. They prescribed it, they said, on account of its "tendency to simplicity, energy, justice, and economy."

By Mr. Shore,<sup>2</sup> on whom the Governor-General chiefly relied for information, it was remarked; in that document, in which he exhibited the result of his observation and inquiries; That the constitution of the English government in India was ill adapted for promoting improvement, and the situation of the

<sup>1</sup> The fate of Mr. Francis, and of Mr. Francis's ideas, formed a contrast. He himself had been treated by the powers which were, with any thing rather than respect. But his plan of finance was adopted with blind enthusiasm, with a sort of mechanical and irresistible impulse.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir John Shore, and finally Lord Teignmouth.

Company's servants ill calculated for the acquisition of knowledge and legislative talent. The individuals of whom the government was composed, were in such a state of fluctuation, that no separate portion of them had time to conceive and mature any important ideas of reform. In the next place he remarked, that the servants of the Company were so much engrossed with official forms and the details of business, as to be in a great measure debarred from the acquisition even of local knowledge. Still further; he asserted, that the knowledge which they acquired was not appropriate knowledge, such as lays the foundation for political wisdom: it was a mere knowledge of practice; that is to say, a knowledge of a certain number of facts which are obvious, with ignorance of the numerous facts which lie more remote, and ignorance of the numerous connexions which subsist both among the facts which may happen to be familiar, and those of the far wider circle which is wholly unknown.<sup>1</sup> From knowledge of this sort no

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<sup>1</sup> The words are worth transcribing. They meet some obstinate prejudices, and some pernicious ideas. "If we consider the form of the British government in India, we shall find it ill calculated for the speedy introduction of improvement. The members, composing it, are in a constant state of fluctuation; and the period of their residence often expires, before experience can be acquired, or reduced to practice.—Official forms necessarily occupy a large portion of time, and the constant pressure of business leaves little leisure for study and reflection, without which no knowledge of the principles and detail of the revenues of this country can be obtained.—True information is also procured with difficulty; because it is too often derived from mere practice, instead of being deduced from fixed principles.—Every man who has long been employed in the management of the revenues of Bengal, will, if candid, allow, that his opinion on many important points has been often varied, and that the information of one year has been rendered dubious by the experience of another. Still, in all cases, decision is necessary. And hence, precedents, formed on partial circumstances, and perhaps, on erroneous principles, become

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plan of improvement, no combination of expedients, to make the future better than the past, can ever be rationally expected.

It is necessary to remark, that Mr. Shore, aware of that succession of blunders, which constituted the succession of attempts to improve the mode of governing India, claims indulgence for so many errors, on account of the time required to obtain a knowledge of Asiatic manners and finance. This apology may delude, unless distinction is made between the errors which arose from the want of local knowledge, and those which arose from general ignorance. Those which arose from the want of local knowledge, as far as more time was absolutely necessary for its acquisition, are not to be blamed. Those which arose from general ignorance are, in every instance, the proper objects of reprobation; because provision should always have been made for giving to the government of India the benefit of men capable of applying the best ideas of their age to the arrangement of its important affairs.<sup>1</sup>

established rules of conduct. For a prudent man, when doubtful, will be happy to avail himself of the authority of example. The multiplication of records, which ought to be a great advantage, is, in fact, an inconvenience of extensive magnitude; for in them only the experience of others can be traced, and reference requires much time and labour." Mr. Shore's Minute on the Bengal revenues, paragraph 2nd, in the Appendix, Fifth Report of Committee on India Affairs, 1810, p. 169. If the multiplication of documents is troublesome to the Company's servants, what must it be to the historian, whose field is so much wider? It is worth remarking, that the Committee in 1810 not only inserted the whole of the Minute, in the Appendix to the Report above quoted, but laid so much stress upon this particular passage, as to incorporate it with the Report. p. 11.

<sup>1</sup> The chief source of difficulty is here overlooked. It is that of combining local with general knowledge. If the Company's servants go young to India, they cannot carry with them much general financial information; if they go to India advanced in life, they will never acquire

On the 2nd of August, 1789, Lord Cornwallis BOOK VI  
CHAP. 5. informed the government at home, that he had at 1789. last matured his plan of revenue, and was preparing to carry it into immediate execution. He took that occasion to describe the state in which the country would be found at the time when his law would begin to operate; and announced the improvements which he expected it would introduce.

“I am sorry,” these are his words, “to be obliged to say that agriculture and internal commerce have, for many years, been gradually declining; and that, at present, excepting the class of shroffs and banyans, who reside almost entirely in great towns, the inhabitants of these provinces were advancing hastily to a general state of poverty and wretchedness.

“In this description I must even include almost every Zemindar in the Company’s territories; which, though it may have been partly occasioned by their own indolence and extravagance, I am afraid must also be, in a great measure, attributed to the defects of our former system of management.”

The beneficial effects which he expected to flow from the plan, were summed up in these compre-

local and practical knowledge. It is, therefore, impossible to unite the two to any effective extent under the present system, but it is certainly better for the country that practical skill should be acquired by experience, than that theorists and experimentalists should be intrusted with the management of the revenues of India. It is only necessary to allow time and opportunity for the acquirement of experience, and that the evils adverted to in Mr. Shore’s Minute, should be guarded against as much as possible. Changes of appointment should not be needlessly frequent, and residence in India should be encouraged as long as service is effective; fluctuation should not be incessant; period of residence should not be cut short before experience has been acquired and applied to practice.—W.



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hensive terms, “Wealth and happiness to the intelligent and industrious part of the individuals of the country.” And, independent, added his Lordship, of all other considerations, “I can assure you that it will be of the utmost importance, for promoting the solid interests of the Company, that the principal landholders and traders, in the interior parts of the country, should be restored to such circumstances, as to enable them to support their families with decency, and to give a liberal education to their children, according to the customs of their respective castes and religions ; that a regular gradation of ranks may be supported, which is no where more necessary than in this country, for preserving order in civil society.”<sup>1</sup>

Every where, and apparently at all times, in India, the revenue of government had been almost wholly derived from the annual produce of the land. It had been originally extracted in that rude and simple mode which accorded with the character of a rude and ignorant people. The annual produce of the land was divided into shares between the cultivator and the government : originally shares in kind, and so to the last in many parts of India ; though latterly, government took the money equivalent, in

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, 2nd August, 1789; printed by H. of C. 8th March, 1790. The following document contains a similar affirmation, respecting the failure of former regulations. “By the rules established in 1772, all *nuzzers* or *salamies* (free gifts) which had been usually presented (to the Company’s servants) on the first interview (with the natives), as marks of subjection and respect, were required to be totally discontinued, the revenue officers were forbidden to hold farms, &c.—This regulation, as far as related to the unavowed emoluments of the Company’s servants, does not appear to have been effectual.” Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 11.

those provinces which had long enjoyed the benefit of a Mogul administration. The shares varied according as the land was recently or anciently brought under culture, and according to the pressure sustained by the state. Two fifths to the cultivator, and three to the government, have been assumed as the average proportions for land under full cultivation.<sup>1</sup>

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Every year to ascertain the produce of every field, and collect from it the share which belonged to the government, was a very laborious and complicated process; and some variety occurred in the modes in which the operation was performed. In the petty Hindu governments, it would appear, that the agents of the prince transacted immediately with the husbandmen, called ryots, either man by man, or village by village.

The establishment of villages (a vicinity, or parish,<sup>2</sup> would, perhaps, be the more appropriate title) is a peculiarity in India, of which, having been already explained, it is only necessary here to excite the recollection. Each vicinity, call it village, or call it parish, constituted a little community; which had a species of government within itself.<sup>3</sup> Of the

<sup>1</sup> By the Committee on Indian affairs in 1810, Fifth Report, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Παροικια.

<sup>3</sup> Detailed descriptions of the constitution of the village communities, as they exist in the South and West of India, are to be found in different authorities. Wilks, South of India, i. 117. Briggs on the Land Tax of India. Duff's History of the Mahrattas, i. 31. Sykes on Land Tenures in the Dekkan. Colonel Briggs has ascertained also, that vestiges more or less complete of the same system, are to be found in Bengal and Hindustan. In the Upper Provinces the system of village property was found entire when they came into the British possession, and the Revenue settlements have recognised the principle. E. India Records, Revenue,

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villagers, one was headman, distinguished in different places by different appellations; another was employed to keep and register the accounts of the community. Each community had also its Brahmens, as well for the service of the gods, as for the education of the children. It was provided, too, with the various species of handicrafts, and labourers, required by the habits of the people. The land of the village was sometimes divided into lots, and was regarded as individual property; but sometimes it belonged to the community as a whole; and a separate partition of it was made every year by the villagers among themselves, each ryot receiving for the culti-

i. 415. Much valuable light has been also thrown upon the system as it exists at Azingerh, on the borders of Onde. Report on Azingerh by Mr. Thomason. J. As. Soc. Bengal. 1840. They had suffered great disorganization in Malwa, but speedily resumed their form when tranquillity was secured. Malcolm's Central India, ii. 22. The author remarks—"We may, after the scenes which they (the village institutions) have survived in Central India, presume them to be indestructible, unless the hand of power be actually exerted to put an end to an establishment which has for ages formed the basis of all Indian governments." Ibid. ii. 4. It is evident that the existence and rights of village communities or townships were not known or suspected at the time of Lord Cornwallis's regulations, and although it is true that they had suffered much injury in Bengal, yet there were indications of their existence, and it is remarkable that the undoubted industry and talent which was engaged in the investigation of the state of landed property amongst the natives of India, should have missed so curious a peculiarity. It is a proof of the extreme difficulty which then prevailed of procuring accurate information; and our inquirers in fact were unable to avail themselves of the sources best entitled to reliance. They could not discourse with the people—they did not live amongst them—they derived such information as they, with prodigious labour and most commendable exertions, were able to collect, through the medium of the Persian language, and the functionaries of the Mohammedan Government. It is, also, however, an exemplification of our liability to overlook that which is unfamiliar to our own preconceptions, and different from all to which we have been accustomed. We suspect not the existence of that, for the appreciation of which we have no standard ready.—W.

vation of the year, such a portion as appeared to correspond with his capital or means. In this, as in other transactions, the headman was the great regulator; but rather, it should seem, from the habitual deference which was paid to him, than any power which he had to enforce his decrees. When the revenue agents of the government transacted village by village, without descending to the annual assessment of each individual ryot, they levied a particular sum upon each particular village, and left the villagers to settle the individual quotas among themselves.

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When the Mogul government extended itself so enormously as to comprehend the greater part of the vast Indian continent, the greatness of its transactions, and the rudeness of its mind, naturally rendered it impatient of details; and modes were invented of transacting the business of revenue more in the gross. The revenue agents were rendered stationary, in the districts where they collected, and became responsible to the government for the revenue, receiving payment, by a per centage, or share of what they collected. Under the Indian governments, Moslem or Hindu, every thing which was enjoyed, whether office or possession, had a tendency to become hereditary. There was a great convenience in preserving, in each district, the same grand agent of revenue, and after himself, his son or successor; because each was better acquainted with the people and resources of the district, than, generally speaking, any other man could be expected to be. In this manner, the situation of those agents became in fact hereditary; and the government of



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the Moguls, which was, though occasionally violent, in many respects considerate and humane, seldom allowed itself to displace those officers, without some heavy ground of displeasure; even when it sometimes superseded them in the business of collection, it generally made them an allowance, to preserve their families from want or degradation. Before the period of the English acquisitions, the Persian appellative of Zemindar<sup>1</sup> had been generally appropriated to them, in the northern regions of India.

Being responsible to government for the revenue, they were allowed the exercise of all the powers

<sup>1</sup> The term means literally land-holder; the nature of the office has been unnecessarily perplexed by the use of the term sometimes in its literal, sometimes in its conventional sense, or by an actual combination of functions. Under the native village system several villages were formed into a district, and besides the headman of each village, there was a headman of the district. He was probably at first nominated by the villagers, and was one of their own body, being a proprietor of a share of the common land. Subsequently he may have been nominated by the Government, on whose behalf he collected its dues, receiving as an equivalent, a per centage upon the collections. But besides this fee, and whether he had land of his own or not, he received from the villagers subsistence allowance in the form of a grant of land. Now as the office, as the text remarks, very commonly became hereditary, the Nan-kar, or subsistence-land, became a hereditary succession, and this either with or without a proprietary estate derivable from a share in the township, invested the headman of a district with the character of a land-holder, independently of, and not inconsistently with, his office of collector of revenue. He was, therefore, not merely an officer of the Government. He was at the same time the representative of the people, and in that capacity a holder of certain land. It was consequently possible to deprive him of his government office, as was done repeatedly in the time of Hastings, without destroying his character of Zemindar. He was still the head of the district on behalf of the people, and enjoyed his own land, or that attached to his popular office, although he had no longer any thing to do with the collection of the revenue. At the same time his continuance in his Zemindari did not constitute him proprietor of the soil beyond his subsistence-land, or such share or shares as might have come down to him from an original member of the township. Briggs on the Land Tax. Malcolm's Central India, ii. 9.—W.

which, in the rude government of the Moguls, were accounted necessary for realizing it. The common method in India of enforcing payment of any debt, was the use of coercion in the hand of the creditor. For revenue debts government was not likely to pursue more lenient methods. A military force was the instrument allowed; and the Zemindars, in the common style of Oriental pride, retained about them as many troops as they could possibly find the means of maintaining. Under Eastern despotisms the different powers of government were seldom communicated asunder. To the power of collecting the revenue by a military force, was added the power of administering justice. All civil disputes appear to have been regarded in India as falling naturally under the cognizance of the agents of revenue. And, in fact, the whole business of judicature and police, with the sole exception of inflicting the highest class of punishments, devolved upon Zemindars, each within the district over which he was placed.<sup>1</sup>

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“We generally,” says an intelligent servant of the Company, speaking of himself and his brethren, “see Indian affairs, with English eyes; and carry European notions into Indian practice.”<sup>2</sup> To this

<sup>1</sup> This statement is not quite correct. As head of the district, the Zemindar in common with the headmen of the villages, was responsible for the police, and maintained a civil force to preserve peace, protect property, and collect the revenues; but he was never officially armed with judicial or military authority. The expounder of the law was the Pundit or Maulavi, or Cazi. The military commander was the Foudjar. Some of the more considerable Zemindars took advantage of the distracted state of the empire to raise troops, and assume the attitude of military chiefs, but this was no part of their proper functions.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thackeray, in his Report on the comparative Advantages and Dis-

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source may evidently be traced a considerable proportion of the blunders of our countrymen in the government of India. For how long a period, and as yet hardly closed, did they resolve upon finding a feudal system in India? With this turn of mind, it was to be expected, that they would, if possible, find a set of land-holders, gentry, and nobles, to correspond with those in England. The Zemindar had some of the attributes which belong to a land-owner: he collected the rents of a particular district, he governed the cultivators of that district, lived in comparative splendour, and his son succeeded him when he died. The Zemindars, therefore, it was inferred without delay, were the proprietors of the soil, the landed nobility and gentry of India.<sup>1</sup> It

advantages of the Ryotwar and Zemindary settlements, dated 4th August, 1807; Fifth Report, *ut supra*, App. 31. p. 990.

<sup>1</sup> It can scarcely be said with justice, that this inference was drawn without delay. The subject had received repeated attention. A Letter from the Committee of Revenue, of March 1786, cited in Harington's Analysis, iii. 252, observes, that "the discussion of the rights of the Zemindar has employed *for years past* the first talents both in India and Europe." The most rash and uncompromising advocate of the doctrine was Francis, and he maintained the proprietary rights of the Zemindars with equal pertinacity in his place in Parliament. Sixth Report, Appendix, p. 915, 937. Hastings never admitted it, and in opposition to Francis's opinions, a committee was appointed by Hastings to investigate the nature of landed tenures in Bengal. The report of this committee, submitted in 1778, authorizes no inference in favour of the proprietary rights of the Zemindars. "Almost all the lands, it is said, are held under some person who collects the rents, pays a revenue, and stands between the Government and the immediate tenant of the soil, whether the land be considered as belonging to Government, or the property of the person under whom it is held, or of him by whom it is occupied and cultivated, it is still subject to some superior who possesses rights and claims over it, the extent of which we presume not to examine. But whatever these rights may be, the land itself is liable to the Government revenue, and whoever possesses it, holds it on this special condition." Harington's Analysis. Revenue, ii. 62. For a summary sketch of the discussions in

was not considered that the Zemindars, though they collected the rents, did not keep them; but paid them all away, with a small deduction, to the government. It was not considered that if they governed the ryots, and in many respects exercised over them despotic power, they did not govern them as tenants of theirs, holding their lands either at will or by contract under them. The possession of the ryot was an hereditary possession; from which it was unlawful for the Zemindar to displace him: For every farthing which the Zemindar drew from the ryot he was bound to account: And it was only by fraud, if, out of all that he collected, he retained an *ana* more than the small proportion which, as pay for collection, he was permitted to receive. Three parties shared in the produce of the soil. That party to any useful purpose most properly deserves the name of proprietor, to whom the principal share of the produce for ever belongs. To him who derives the smallest share of the produce the title of owner least of all belongs.<sup>1</sup> In India to the sovereign the profit of the land may be said to have wholly belonged. The ryot obtained a mere subsistence, not more than the necessary wages of his labour. The Zemindar enjoyed allowances to the amount of about ten per cent. upon the revenue which he collected, not more than a compensation for his services. To the government

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Bengal, in which Mr. Grant, Sir J. Shore, Mr. Law, and a writer under the signature of Agricola, were the principal disputants, see *British India Analyzed*, ii. 410.—W.

<sup>1</sup> This is even the language of English law. "By a grant of the profits of the land," say the English lawyers, "the whole land itself doth pass. For what is the land but the profits thereof?"



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belonged more than one-half of the gross produce of the soil.

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The English were actuated not only by an enlightened, but a very generous policy, when they resolved to create, in favour of individuals, a permanent property in the soil, as conducive at once to the increase of its produce, and the happiness of the people. They were under the influence of prejudices in the mode of carrying their design into execution. Full of the aristocratical ideas of modern Europe, the aristocratical person now at the head of the government, avowed his intention of establishing an aristocracy, upon the European model; and he was well aware that the union, at home, of statesmen and Directors, whom he obeyed, was under the influence of similar propensities.

In agreement with the orders from home, the resolution was, to form a settlement with the Zemindars for the revenues of their several districts; to limit the settlement in the first instance, to a term of ten years; but to render it permanent, if sanctioned by the authorities in England; and to recognise the Zemindars as hereditary proprietors of the soil, upon payment, as a land-tax, not to be enhanced, of the sum at present assessed.

To such a degree were the English, up to that hour, unacquainted with the country, that the most instructed among them differed prodigiously in estimating the revenue which Bengal was competent to yield. Some were of opinion that the existing rate of assessment was heavier than the people could bear. Others conceived that it was far below the

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amount to which it might, with propriety, be raised. The government, after all its inquiries, had no better foundation on which to place the magnificent structure it intended to raise, than the amount of the actual collections of preceding years; upon the average or medium of a few of which the assessment, destined for perpetuity, was now arranged. The authorities at home dissuaded, or rather forbade, an actual measurement and valuation of the country; and made a remark which, in itself, does them credit, whatever may be thought of its application to the occasion on which it was produced: that an assessment below what the country could bear, was no detriment, in the long run, to the government itself, because the riches of the people were the riches of the state.

It was easy for the government to assume that the Zemindars were proprietors of the soil under the Mogul sceptre; and it was easy to declare that they should be so in future. But it was not easy to reconcile these proceedings with the rights of other classes of the people. Under the Mogul system, there were various descriptions of persons, as *Talookdars*, *Chowdries*, *Munduls*, *Mokuddims*,<sup>1</sup> who, as well as the Zemindars, had hereditary claims upon the produce of the soil; and it was not the intention of government to sacrifice to any class of its subjects the interests of any other. But the interests of the ryots, which were of many times the importance of

<sup>1</sup> The three last were different designations of the same functionary—head-men of villages or districts. The Taluk-dar was a holder of land by different tenures—as grants from Government, from a Zemindar, by purchase, inheritance, &c., but usually paying his land-tax to Government direct.—W.

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the interests of all the other classes taken together, whether the mass of individual happiness, or the power of the state, be regarded as the end, were by far the most difficult to bring into a state of concordance with the rights which were thus to be conferred upon the Zemindars.

The possessions of the ryots, either individually, or by villages, were hereditary possessions. So long as they continued to pay to government the due proportion of the produce, they could not lawfully be dispossessed. They not only transmitted their possessions by descent; but had the power of alienation, and could either sell them, or give them away.<sup>1</sup> At

<sup>1</sup> This statement is too comprehensive, and is therefore inexact; and it is of importance to correct the misuse of the term, as it leads to practical errors. The ryot, as synonymous with the actual cultivator, is not necessarily the proprietor of the soil. Proprietary right depends upon an individual being a member of the family or corporation by which at some indefinite period the village lands were held in common. In all parts of India these persons are found in various relations to the soil. They may cultivate their own share or shares, in which case alone they combine the characters of proprietor and ryot. They may have let their land, and in that case they may have let it to a ryot inhabiting the same village, or to one inhabiting another village. They may have actually sold their land; in which case they cannot of course be considered as proprietors; but they still are to be regarded as members of the village community, and in that capacity, as having a voice in the settlement of the revenue to be paid to the state, the purchasers of their lands having no such corporate authority. For it is clear, that the qualification of being a member of the village proprietary, a member of the commons house of the community, is not dependent upon the land, but upon descent. The legislators of the commune are hereditary, and they cannot transfer, by sale or appointment, their privileges, which birth alone confers. They are the heirs of the first occupants and settlers in their character of rulers—not of cultivators; and this principle of organization chiefly illustrates the history of these establishments. They have originated in conquest, or it may be termed colonization, but it has been the forcible colonization of an occupied country, thinly occupied perhaps, rudely cultivated no doubt, but there have been inhabitants who in some instances may have been destroyed, but who in others were reduced to a state of serfage. The immigrants, more civilized and more powerful, have partitioned the lands amongst distinct families or fraternities, who have

an early period of the Mogul history, a minute survey had been made of the land; upon that survey an assessment had been founded, which had long been regarded as the standard of what every field was to pay; even when new imposts, during the progressive difficulties and corruption of the Mogul administration, were superadded, the Zemindars were bound to give written schedules, called *pottahs*, to the ryots, specifying the particulars of the assessment upon each individual; and these documents were registered in the government accounts, and intended for the protection of the ryot against the extortion of the collector.

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The means which, under the Mogul sceptre, were provided for the security of the ryots, were very inadequate to their end. The Zemindars were enabled to exercise universal oppression. Under the eye of a humane and vigilant governor, they were occasionally restrained, by the terror of summary punishment, from the excesses of exaction. But, in general, they took from the ryots every thing beyond what was

held certain districts in common as proprietors and rulers. The members of the families have subdivided the lands, but not the sovereignty. As they multiplied, the lands were still more divided, or were disposed of to meet the wants of the occupants; but the authority over the whole could not be communicated to persons of other birth and other castes, and the hereditary right depending on birth was indefeasible, although after a long period the possession of such right might be the only record of community of origin. Now, although it is no doubt true that the principle of village organization is very ancient, yet it is not necessary that all the instances should pretend to high antiquity. The contrary is known to be the case, and both Colonel Sykes and Mr. Thomason specify instances, where within the last two or three centuries the village municipality has either been exterminated or become extinct, and lands and powers have passed to other associations. The organization, has, however, been preserved, and is now intelligible. See Briggs, Sykes, Thomason, also Malcolm's Malwa, and Elphinstone's Report on Poona.—W.



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necessary to preserve them in existence; and every now and then desolated whole districts by the weight of their oppressions. This was contrary to the laws under which the Zemindar was appointed to act. But to whom was the ignorant, the timid, the credulous, the indigent ryot, to apply for redress? His fears, and very often his experience, taught him, that to suffer in patience was the prudent course. The exactions of the Zemindars were covered with so many ingenious contrivances, that they puzzled the wits of the simple cultivator, and often eluded the eye of the government itself.

If the aristocracy was provided for, it appears to have been thought, as by English aristocrats it is apt to be thought, that every thing else would provide for itself. The rules by which the payments of the ryots were determined varied in various places; and so intricate did they appear to the Anglo-Indian government, that no little trouble would be necessary to make an assessment in detail. The ryots were, therefore, handed over to the Zemindars in gross. The Zemindars were empowered to make with their ryots any settlements which they chose, under a mere general recommendation to be guided by the custom of the place. One security alone was thought of for the ryot. Upon the terms on which the Zemindar agreed to fix his payment, he was to give him a *pottah*; and according to the terms of that *pottah*, his possession or estate was to be equally permanent with that of the Zemindar.

When the principles of the decennial settlement were finally resolved, and proclamation of the mea-

sure was about to be made, a question arose, BOOK VI  
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the intention to make the assessment and its rules unalterable, in case the authorities in England should approve. Mr. Shore, though he was among the leading patrons of the Zemindary system, opposed such an intimation, as fraught with imprudence. The Zemindars, he affirmed, were a set of people, whose minds would be as powerfully governed by a decennial, as a perpetual term. He insisted upon the deficiency of the information under which the matter had been arranged. He allowed that enormous abuses existed in the mode of dealing of the Zemindars toward the ryots; abuses which no sufficient expedients had been employed to correct. And he desired that a door might be left open for the introduction of such improvements as the experience of ten years might suggest.

The advantages which the imagination of the Governor-General had painted, as likely to result from the permanence of the settlement, had made so deep an impression on his mind, that he opposed the arguments of Mr. Shore; persisted in his purpose of proclaiming the design; and declared his resolution to use all his influence with the Court of Directors, that they should not wait for the lapse of ten years, but make the settlement perpetual without any loss of time. The circumstance, from which he most vehemently argued, was, the improvement which certainty of enjoyment, he affirmed, would effect, and which certainty of enjoyment alone could be expected to effect, in the cultivation of the country. "I may safely," said he, "assert that one-third of

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the Company's territory in Hindestan, is now a jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts. Will a ten years' lease induce any proprietor to clear away that jungle, and encourage the ryots to come and cultivate his lands? when, at the end of that lease, he must either submit to be taxed, *ad libitum*, for his newly acquired lands, or lose all hopes of deriving any benefit for his labour.—I must own, that it is clear to my mind, that a much more advantageous tenure will be necessary, to incite the inhabitants of this country to make those exertions which can alone effect any substantial improvement.”<sup>1</sup>

The authorities which constituted the Indian government made it their profession, and their boast, that they were not directed by “abstract theories, drawn from other countries, and applicable to a different state of things;”<sup>2</sup> and the fact was, that almost every step which they took was the result of an “abstract theory,” commonly drawn from something in their own country, and either misdrawn or misapplied. The abstract theory now acted upon by the Governor-General; namely, that the highest improvements in the cultivation of the land can be expected from none but the proprietors of the land; was just only in one, and that a restricted, point of view. But though it were proprietors alone that had sufficient motives for the highest efforts in cultivation, the Governor-General, and his ministerial and directorial masters, who concurred with him, ought to have reflected, that there are sorts of proprietors;

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General's Minute, 18th Sept. 1789, Fifth Report, *ut supra*, p. 472.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 469.

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and that it is not from every sort, that any improvement whatsoever, or any attempt towards improvement, is to be expected. They might have reflected, for how many centuries the soil of Poland has been private property, or the soil of Russia, and how little, in those countries, of any thing like improvement, has yet taken place. They might have recollected, that the nobles even of France, where knowledge was so far advanced, had for many centuries before the revolution enjoyed the property of the soil of France; and that the agriculture of France still continued in the most deplorable condition.<sup>1</sup> There are three sets of circumstances, whose operation, where it is felt, prevents the improvement of the soil at the hands of its proprietors: first, ignorance; secondly, possessions too large; and thirdly, too much power over the immediate cultivators. The last is by far the most important circumstance; because men, with very few exceptions, as education and government have hitherto moulded their minds, are more forcibly drawn by the love of absolute power, than by that of money, and have a greater pleasure in the prostrate subjection of their tenants than the increase of their rents. When our countrymen draw theories from England, it would be good if they understood England. It is not because in England we have a landed aristocracy, that our agriculture has improved, but because the laws of England afford to the cultivator protection against his lord. It is the immediate cultivators who have increased so wonderfully the produce of the

<sup>1</sup> See a good book, *Travels in France* by Arthur Young, Esq., *passim*.



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land in England, not only without assistance from the proprietors, but often in spite of them. The proprietors of the land in England even to this hour, exhibit one of the strongest proofs which can be adduced, of the ascendancy which is exercised by the love of domination over the love of improvement and of wealth. No principle is more thoroughly established, and indeed more universally admitted, than that the grant of leases, and leases of a long duration, to the immediate cultivators of the soil, are essential to all spirited and large improvement. But the proprietors of the soil in England complain, that leases render their tenantry too independent of them; and the greater proportion of the land of England is cultivated on tenure at will. If the gentlemen of England will sacrifice improvement to the petty portion of arbitrary power which the laws of England allow them to exercise over tenants at will; what must we not expect from the Zemindars of Hindustan, with minds nurtured to habits of oppression, when it is referred to themselves whether they shall, or shall not, have power over the miserable ryots, to whom the law is too imperfect to yield any protection? It is the interest of permanent governments to promote the prosperity of their people, because the prosperity of the people is the prosperity of government. But the prosperity of the people depends entirely upon their freedom. What governments, on this account, have ever promoted freedom? The propensity of the Zemindars was to regard themselves as petty sovereigns.

The effect of *ignorance*, with respect to improvement, is too obvious to require illustration. But it

may be remarked, that it operates with peculiar efficacy in augmenting the force of the most powerful of the causes by which the proprietors of land are made to prevent improvement. The love of domination has always the greatest sway in the most ignorant state of the human mind.

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The effect of *large possessions* in preventing those efforts and sacrifices, on which improvement depends, deserved of the Indian legislators profound consideration. It cannot escape the feeblest powers of reflection, that the man, who already enjoys a vast accumulation of wealth, must regard, with comparative indifference, small acquisitions; and that the prospect of increasing his great revenue, by slowly adding the painful results of improvement, cannot operate very powerfully upon his mind. It is the man of small possessions who feels most sensibly the benefit of petty accessions; and is stimulated the most powerfully to use the means of procuring them. It is on the immediate cultivator, when the benefit of his improvements is allowed to devolve in full upon himself, that the motives to improvement operate with the greatest effect. That benefit, however, cannot devolve upon him in full, unless he is the proprietor as well as the cultivator of his fields; and hence, in part, the backwardness of agriculture in some of the most civilized portions of the globe.

There was an opportunity in India, to which the history of the world presents not a parallel. Next, after the sovereign, the immediate cultivators had, by far, the greatest portion of interest in the soil: For the rights (such as they were) of the Zemindars, a complete compensation might have easily been made:

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The generous resolution was adopted of sacrificing to the improvement of the country, the proprietary rights of the sovereign: The motives to improvement which property gives, and of which the power was so justly appreciated, might have been bestowed upon those upon whom they would have operated with a force incomparably greater than that with which they could operate upon any other class of men; they might have been bestowed upon those from whom alone, in every country, the principal improvements in agriculture must be derived, the immediate cultivators of the soil: And a measure, worthy to be ranked among the noblest that ever were taken for the improvement of any country, might have helped to compensate the people of India, for the miseries of that misgovernment which they had so long endured.—But the legislators were English aristocrats; and aristocratical prejudices prevailed.<sup>1</sup>

Instructions for the settlement were issued in Bengal towards the end of 1789, and for the province

<sup>1</sup> This imputation, which has repeatedly occurred in the foregoing pages, is wholly unsupported by any thing but the author's anti-aristocratic opinions. The settlement was not made with the Zemindars with any purpose of creating an aristocracy, but in the honest, though in some respects a mistaken belief, that the Zemindars were the proprietors of the soil. What says the Fifth Report—"The first point proposed in the interrogatories circulated by Government, was intended to determine the person with whom the settlement should be made, *and here no difficulty occurred*, for whatever might be the difference of opinion amongst those who were officially consulted on the theoretical question of proprietary right in the soil, *a general concurrence prevailed* in favour of the settlement being made with the Zemindars." Lord Cornwallis, therefore, listened not to his aristocratical prejudices, but to the general concurrence of the opinions of those who were best likely to be accurately informed on the subject—the servants of the Company. It would have argued extreme folly and presumption, had he set any private opinion of his own in opposition to their presumable knowledge and experience.—W.

of Bahar in the following year. A complete code of regulations was promulgated for the new system in November, 1791. And the land revenue realized in that year from Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, together with Benares, amounted to 3,02,54,563, sicca rupees, or 3,509,530*l*. It was not, however, before the year 1793, that the decennial settlement was executed in every district; and that the completion of the measure was announced. So perfectly did the ideas of the government at home correspond with the ideas of the Governor-General, that in the early part of that very year, and before the plan was fully carried into execution, authority arrived in India for bestowing upon it the intended permanence by immediate proclamation.

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Besides the land revenue, some other duties were levied in India, which were all generally included under the denomination of *Sayer*; and consisted, chiefly, of certain tolls upon the entry or transit of goods, by land or water.<sup>1</sup> These duties, also, the Zemindars, in their capacity of collectors of the revenue, had formerly had in charge. To the Anglo-Indian government, however, it appeared, that the management of the *Sayer* duties but ill accorded with the

<sup>1</sup> The most general division of the sources of revenue in the Mogul system of finance, is that of *mál* and *sayer*, the former term which literally signifies wealth or treasure, is used to denote the *permanent revenue* arising from land or other tenements and funds of a fixed durable nature; the second title, which imports fluctuation and change, comprehending the *variable revenue* of every description, from customs on exports and imports, internal duties on the transportation and sale of grain and all kinds of merchandise, professional taxes, and other imposts upon persons and property. The proportion of the *sayer* to the whole revenue was found, when the collection was separated in 1789-90, to be not more than 4 per cent. Harington's Analysis, ii. 61. Note.—W.



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character of a great landed aristocracy, now imparted, or supposed to be imparted, to the Zemindars. Invention was taxed for the discovery of another plan, by which these duties might be collected. Upon inquiry it appeared, that the difficulties of the business would be very great. The value, too, of the Sayer duties had never yet been very considerable. It was certainly the easiest, and was finally determined to be the best expedient, to abolish them. The tax on spirituous liquors, from moral rather than fiscal motives, was alone reserved.

The taxes of Bengal were thus included, with hardly any exception, in one grand impost, that upon the land. The government, however, added to its income, by the resource of monopoly. There are but two articles of luxury, of which there is any considerable consumption in India; salt, and opium. Under the native governments, the monopoly of salt had usually been sold. It has been already stated in what manner the servants of the company endeavoured, at an early period of its territorial history, to appropriate the benefits of this monopoly; and at what period the Company itself thought proper to become the monopolist. From the period of the assumption of the monopoly till the year 1780, it had been usual to dispose of the manufactories in farm, on leases of five years. In that year Mr. Hastings abolished the system of farming, and placed the manufacture of salt in the hands of government. Servants of the Company were appointed to conduct the business, in the capacity of agents: and the price was annually fixed by the Governor-General in Council. With this arrangement Lord Cornwallis

no further interfered than by an alteration in the mode of sale, and some rules to protect the workmen. Instead of fixing a price, the commodity was to be sold in small lots by public auction. And as cruelties were practised upon the salt-makers, in confining them to the salt-works, while they were subject to fraud on the part of the natives employed as subordinate agents, certain measures were taken for the prevention of those evils.<sup>1</sup> The salt monopoly produced, at the commencement of the present administration, the sum of 40,00,500 sicca rupees, or 464,060*l*. It had been gradually worked up to the rate of 1,360,180*l*, the sum which it produced on the average of three years preceding 1810.<sup>2</sup> How much of this arose from increased consumption; how much from the severity of augmented price, will appear hereafter.

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The monopoly of opium, like that of salt, the Mogul government uniformly sold. In this branch of business, the Company's government did not depart from the practice of its predecessors. The contract was disposed of by private bargain and special favour till the year 1785; when it was exposed to public competition, and consigned to the

<sup>1</sup> A practice prevailed, unauthorized by legislation, but sanctioned by prescription, of compelling certain families in the salt districts to engage in the manufacture at lower terms than those granted to free labourers. This practice was abolished by a Regulation of the Government in 1788: the first clause of which enacts—"That it be a fixed principle in the conduct of the business of the manufacture of salt, that in future no compulsion, on any plea whatever, shall be used to make manufacturers work, except in consequence of a previous engagement, but that their services shall be entirely voluntary."—W.

<sup>2</sup> This is somewhat indistinctly stated. The net average amount of the salt sales for the three years following the adoption of Hastings's agency system in 1780, was 464,060*l*., from 1783 to 1786, the three preceding the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, it was 522,450*l*. In 1836-7, the gross amount was Rupees 1,40,66,119, or about 1,400,000*l*.

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highest bidder. Regulations were at the same time made for protecting the ryots from the compulsion, which it had been usual to exercise upon them, to cultivate this article at the contractor's price. It was the interest of government, when government became the monopolist, to pay to the ryot, as grower, the lowest possible price. To effect this object, a rate was declared, at which the ryot was compelled to furnish the commodity. Lord Cornwallis complained, that the regulations which had been formed to mitigate the effects of this oppressive system, were by no means adequate to their end; and he added, or substituted, others, of which the beneficial effects were not much superior. One peculiarity it is useful to remark. When the East India Company became the sovereign, it was not only the seller of the monopoly, but it was the principal buyer, too, from its own contractor. As the government fixed the price, at which the contractor was to pay for the opium to the grower; so it fixed the price, at which the contractor was to sell it to the Company. The price at which the Company bound the contractor to furnish it with opium, was less than the price at which it bound him to pay for it to the grower. "Though the result," say the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1810, "will sufficiently demonstrate the erroneous tendency of these contracts, yet the mistakes committed in them were not discovered soon."<sup>1</sup> They were not seen by Lord Cornwallis.<sup>2</sup> He continued the system.

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> It would be more remarkable if they had not been seen by the contractor. There is some fallacy in the Committee's view of the transaction.—W.

Beside the changes in the financial, Lord Cornwallis meditated important changes in the judicial department of government. For that part of the judicial business which regards the civil, as distinct from the penal branch of law, the rulers in England, free, as they boasted, from the influence of "abstract theories,"<sup>1</sup> made, by their orders of 1786, a combination of the business of judicature with the business of finance: a mixture of the character of a tax-gatherer with that of the judge. In each district, the same man was collector of the revenue, judge of the Dewannee Adaulut, and moreover head of the police. Of two such offices as those of collector and judge, lodged in the same hands, it was notorious that the one had a very strong tendency to produce a sacrifice of the duties of the other. As a security against that great and glaring evil, the rulers of 1786 prescribed, that the proceedings of the collectors in their financial department, and in their judicial and magisterial departments, should be kept separate and distinct. Upon experience, Lord Cornwallis did not think that this grand expedient was altogether adequate to the end which it was contrived and provided to secure. In a minute, dated the 11th of February, 1793,<sup>2</sup> he stated, that, under this system, the protection of the natives depended solely upon the character of the individual who was sent to govern them. Where the collector was a man of humanity and jus-

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<sup>1</sup> It may be remarked with pleasure, as a sign of progressive improvement, that the Select Committee in 1810, have twice, in their Fifth Report, held forth this boast about abstract theories, as an object of contempt.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix No. 9 (A) to Second Report of Select Committee, 1810.



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tice, the people, as under the worst government on earth, would no doubt be protected. But as often as it should happen that the collector was a man of another character, the people were exposed to the greatest injustice. If the collector was oppressive, he himself was his own judge. If he decided iniquitously, where lay the appeal? To another class of revenue officers, whose feelings could not be regarded as impartial; to the Board of Revenue, as Sudder Dewannee Adaulut; a tribunal at such a distance that few indeed of the natives could endure the expense of an appeal. It was therefore resolved that the financial and judicial functions should be disjoined; and the following reasons for that important measure were published to the country: "That while the collectors of the revenue preside in the courts of Mhal Adaulut as judges, and an appeal lies from their decisions to the Board of Revenue, and from the decrees of that Board to the Governor-General in Council in the revenue department; the proprietors can never consider the privileges which have been conferred upon them as secure; That exclusive of the objections arising to these courts, from their irregular, summary, and often *ex parte* proceedings, and from the collectors being obliged to suspend the exercise of their judicial functions whenever they interfere with their financial duties; it is obvious that, if the regulations for assessing and collecting the public revenue are infringed, the revenue officers themselves must be the aggressors; and that individuals who have been aggrieved by them in one capacity can never hope to obtain redress from them in another: That their financial occupations equally disqualify them from administer-

ing the laws between the proprietors of land and their tenants : That other security must, therefore, be given to landed property, and to the rights attached to it, before the desired improvements in agriculture can be expected to be effected.”<sup>1</sup>

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With a view to improve upon this plan of administering justice, Lord Cornwallis devised and established the following scheme. In each district, that is, in the language of the country, each Zillah, and in each of the considerable towns or cities, a Zillah, or city, court, was established. One of the Company's servants, higher in rank than the collector, was the judge. To this judge was appointed a registrar, and one or more assistants from among the junior servants of the Company. Each court was provided with a native, duly qualified to expound the Hindu or Mohammedan law, in cases which turned upon any of these several codes. And all descriptions of persons within the local administration of the tribunal, except British subjects amenable to the Supreme Court, were rendered subject to its jurisdiction.

To obviate the danger of arrears in decision, from the arrival of too many causes to decide, the judge was authorized to refer to his registrar, under an appeal to himself, all suits in which the litigated property was not of considerable amount. The jurisdiction of the registrar was extended at first to 200 rupees, and afterwards even to sums of a higher amount. For determining, in suits regarding personal property, from the value of 50 rupees downwards, native commissioners were appointed ; and of these tribunals

<sup>1</sup> Preamble to Regulation II. of 1793.

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several, at convenient distances, were established in every Zillah. They were allowed no salary or establishment, but received as remuneration a fee of one *ana* per *rupee*, or a commission of somewhat more than six per cent, upon all sums litigated before them. They acted the part of arbitrators; and their mode of procedure was summary, that of simple rational inquiry, not distorted into a labyrinth, by technical forms. From their decision an appeal might be carried to the Zillah Court. And upon these appeals, as well as those from the jurisdiction of the registrar, the decision of the Zillah Court was final, excepting in one set of cases; namely, those regarding the species of property called in English law *real* property, and of those cases in only that part in which the decision of the inferior court was reversed.

Such was the establishment for primary jurisdiction, or decision in the first instance in the civil department of judicature. A new provision was also devised for the second and ultimate decision, in case of appeal. The Board of Revenue, or the Governor-General in Council, had previously exercised the powers of appellate jurisdiction. But to prevent the inconvenience of their having too much to do, it had been provided (as if unjust decisions on small sums could never happen), that no appeal should be made to them, unless the property in dispute amounted to the value of 1000 sicca rupees. By experience it was found, that among the indigent natives very few suits arose for sums so large as 1000 rupees. From that security for justice, therefore, which is constituted by the power of appeal, the natives were, in point of fact, almost wholly excluded: and, indeed, had the limits

of appeal been enlarged, the expense of repairing to Calcutta would in most cases have rendered the exclusion equally complete.

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Regarding this as an evil, Lord Cornwallis established four tribunals of appeal: one in the vicinity of Calcutta, one at the city of Patna, one at Dacca, and a fourth at Moorshedabad. They were constituted in the following manner. Three judges, chosen from the civil department of the Company's service, and distinguished by the appellations of first, second, and third; a registrar, with one or more assistants from the junior branch of the European servants; and three expounders of the native law, a Cauzee, a Mooftee, and a Pundit, formed the establishment of each court. The privilege of appeal was still confined to sums of a given though reduced amount; and by subsequent regulations a more humane and rational policy was adopted, an appeal being allowed from every primary decision of the Zillah Courts. Even the appellate jurisdiction of the Zillah Courts might be reviewed by this superior Court of appeal, commonly known by the name of the Provincial Court, in those cases in which it saw occasion to interpose. It was also, in the exercise of its appellate jurisdiction, empowered to take fresh evidence; or, for the sake of receiving fresh evidence, to send back the cause to the original court.

Another and higher, a third stage of jurisdiction, was erected. A tribunal, entitled the Court of Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, was still set up at Calcutta. It was composed of the Governor-General, and the members of the council, assisted by the Cauzy ul Cauzaut, or head cauzy, two moofties, two pundits,



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a registrar and assistants. They received appeals from the Provincial Courts, or courts of primary appeal; at first for sums of 1000 rupees. At this amount, however, appeals were numerous: decision on so many was laborious to the Governor-General and Council. The number of appeals was, at any rate, no proof of the want of need for the privilege of appeal. What was the remedy? To raise the sum on which appeal was admitted: that is, to deny the privilege to the poorest class.<sup>1</sup> By act 21 Geo. III. c. 70, sect. 21, an appeal lay to the King in Council for all sums exceeding 50,000 rupees.

Among the other prejudices of those who at this time legislated in India with so much of good intention for the people of Hindustan, were the prejudices which owe their birth to the interests, and hence to the instructions of lawyers. Of these it is one of the most remarkable, and the most mischievous, that to render judicial proceedings intricate by the multiplication of technical forms, by the rigid exaction of a great number of nice, obscure, pedantic, and puzzling rites and ceremonies, tends to further the ends of

<sup>1</sup> It may appear to be ludicrous; but as a far better expedient than this, I should very seriously recommend the determination of the matter by lot. Suppose the Court can find time to decide upon twenty appeals in a month, and that sixty arrive. By cutting off the forty in which the amount of property is least, you make it visible to the inferior judge in what cases he may commit iniquity, free from that check which the prospect of appeal imposes. Reject the forty by lot, and as the inferior judge can never know, on which of his decisions the review of the Superior Court will attach, the check is, with some degree at least of efficiency, spread over the whole of his decisions. At any rate the suitors are treated impartially, and the interest of those with the small lots of property is not sacrificed, as, according to all systems of law, that ever yet have had any existence, it has been very generally sacrificed, to the interest of those with the large.

justice. This unhappy instrument of justice was not forgotten in the present reforms. For courts of law, provided for a people, among whom justice had always been distributed in the method of simple and rational inquiry, was prescribed a course of procedure, loaded with minute formalities; rendered unintelligible, tedious, and expensive, by technical devices. Of the intricacy and obscurity thus intentionally created, one effect was immediately seen; that the candidates for justice could no longer plead their own causes; that no one could undertake to present a cause to the mind of the judge according to the nicety of the prescribed and intricate forms, unless he belonged to a class of men who made it their trade to remember and observe them. The necessity of an establishment of hired advocates; in Indian phrase *vakeels*, a word of very general application, meaning almost any man who is employed on any occasion to speak and act for another; was therefore acknowledged. A system of rules was prescribed for the formation and government of a body of native pleaders; to whom pay was provided by a small retaining fee, and a per centage on the amount of the litigated property. From this, one inconvenience immediately flowed; an inconvenience from which the establishment of mercenary pleaders has never yet been freed, but which by this regulation was carried up to its greatest height, and there made secure from descent; that the class of causes which is infinitely the most important of all, could not fail to be treated with comparative neglect, and to sustain a proportionate failure of justice.

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In one important particular, common sense and pure intention guided the present ruler into the good path, wherein his successors, alas! had not the wisdom to follow him. When the Company abolished the *choute*, or exaction for the judge of twenty-five per cent. upon the value of the litigated property, they established in lieu of it what was called an institution fee, or a sum to be paid upon the commencement of a suit. Any obstruction to the demand for justice, Lord Cornwallis treated as an evil; and appears to have had some perception more or less clear, of the important truth, that where there is not *cheap justice*, in the great majority of cases there is no justice. He abolished the impost upon the commencement of a suit; prohibited all fees of court; and restricted the expense of justice to the remuneration of the pleader, and the necessary conveyance and maintenance of witnesses. With regard to the judges, he emphatically insisted upon their being paid entirely and exclusively by salary, "without receiving any kind of perquisite whatever:"<sup>1</sup> And he who understands the injuries which justice has sustained and yet continues to sustain, for the benefit of judges' fees, will appreciate the gratitude which for this determination, if for nothing else, he deserves from mankind.

Such was the provision made by Lord Cornwallis for the civil department of judicature: he was not less deeply impressed with the necessity of substantial reforms in the penal.

<sup>1</sup> See his address to the Court of Directors, dated the 2nd of August, 1789, printed by order of the House of Commons, 8th of March, 1790.

In his address to the Court of Directors, under date the 17th of November, 1790, he said; “Your possessions in this country cannot be said to be well governed, nor the lives and property of your subjects to be secure, until the shocking abuses, and the wretched administration of justice in the foudjarry department can be corrected. Anxious as I have been, to supply a speedy remedy to evils, so disgraceful to government, so ruinous to commerce, and indeed destructive to all civil society, it has still appeared to me to be so important as to make it necessary for me to act with great circumspection. But I am so strongly incited by motives of humanity, as well as of regard to the public interest, to establish, as early as possible, an improved system for the administration of criminal justice, that I shall use every exertion in my power to effect it, before my embarkation for Madras.”<sup>1</sup>

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When the opinions, which Lord Cornwallis expressed of the different departments of the Indian government, at the time when he undertook his

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 16th May, 1791. He had, in a preceding letter, dated the 2nd of August, 1789, expressed himself in similar language. “The system for the administration of criminal justice has long attracted my serious attention, and is, in my opinion, in a most exceptionable state. I feel myself called upon, by the principles of humanity, and a regard for the honour and interest of the Company, not to leave this government, without endeavouring to take measures to prevent, in future, on one hand, the cruel punishments of mutilation, which are frequently inflicted by the Mohammedan law, and on the other, to restrain the spirit of corruption which so generally prevails in native courts, and by which wealthy offenders are generally enabled to purchase impunity for the most atrocious crimes. . . . I conceive that all regulations for the reform of that department would be nugatory, whilst the execution of them depends upon any native whatever.” Ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 8th March, 1790.



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reforms, are brought together, it would not be easy to draw a stronger picture of a people suffering by the vices of government. The administration of justice through all its departments, in a state the most pernicious and depraved; the public revenue levied upon principles incompatible with the existence of private property; the people sunk in poverty and wretchedness; more than one-third of the country a desert, and the rest hastening to desolation: Such is the picture on the one hand. Pictures of an unexampled state of prosperity were, nevertheless, held forth, at this very moment, by speeches in parliament,<sup>1</sup> to the parliament, and the nation; and the flattering pictures, as they were the pictures of the minister, governed the belief of parliament, and through parliament that of the nation, wherein, to most persons indeed, the facts constituting the real state of the case were wholly unknown.

For criminal judicature or jail delivery, four tribunals were erected. For judges on these

<sup>1</sup> See The Parliamentary History, for the speeches on Indian affairs of the ministers in general, more especially those of Mr. Henry Dundas, the President of the Board of Control.—M. It may be doubted if the light in which Lord Cornwallis's picture is here represented is entirely correct. It does not appear that he considered the administration of justice most pernicious and depraved in all the departments. Although he speaks strongly of the abuses in *one* department, that of the police, the reforms in the administration of civil law were matters rather convenient than urgent. It does not appear that private property was, in any degree, endangered by the mode in which the revenues were collected; and although there were many tracts of waste land, there is no reason to believe that the whole was hastening to desolation. That there were many defects in the constitution of the government, was no doubt true—it is true at the present day; but it is equally certain that the country was in a state of progressive improvement, and that the statements made in Parliament were not wholly without foundation—the revenue was permanently augmented, and the commerce was greatly enlarged.—W.

tribunals, the judges of appeal in the four provincial courts were appointed, with the same auxiliaries, in the shape of registrar, assistants, and native officers, as were appointed for them in the civil courts of appeal. The business of penal judicature was to be performed by circuit. The jail deliveries at the four principal cities, the seats of the provincial courts, were to be held every month; those in the district of Calcutta four times, and those in the remaining Zillahs of the country twice in the year. According to the plan of Lord Cornwallis, the judges of each of the four courts of appeal formed two courts for the circuit: one, consisting of the first judge, accompanied by the registrar and Mooftee; and one consisting of the two remaining judges, attended by the second assistant and the Cauzee.

While the judges of appeal were, in this manner, employed, the courts of appeal were unavoidably shut. The inconvenience of this was soon very heavily felt. In 1794, it was ordained, that one of the judges should remain to execute the business of the civil court; while the other two proceeded to hold the penal courts by circuit. By an unhappy rule, however, of the civil court, requiring that two judges should be present for decision upon appeals, little relief was obtained by this measure. It was, therefore, in 1797, directed that two of the judges should remain for the business of the civil appeal court, and that only one should be spared for the business of the penal circuit.

Beside the courts of circuit, the utility was still recognised of a superior criminal tribunal at the

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seat of government, As in the case of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, it was composed of the Governor-General and the Members of the Supreme Council, assisted by the head Cauzee and two Mooftees. Nizamut Adaulut, in the language of the country, was the name, by which this high criminal court was distinguished.

In the performance of the great penal branch of the judicial duties, the judges of circuit, periodically, repair to the places which are the seats of the Zillah courts, and remain till they have gone through the calendar; in other words have investigated every charge which is contained in the list of charges presented to them, upon their arrival. The accusation, with its evidence; the defence with its evidence, or the confession of the prisoner when he happens to confess, are heard before the judge, and recorded in writing. The Cauzee, or Mooftee, who has witnessed the proceedings, is then required to write at the bottom of the record the sentence which is required by the Moslem law, and to attest it with his signature and seal. With this decision it is optional in the judge to concur or to disagree. If he disagree, the case is referred to the Nizamut Adaulut; and in all cases inferring the higher degrees of punishment, the sentence of the itinerant court is not executed, till confirmed by that presiding tribunal. A copy of the record, with every material paper delivered into court, is transmitted with all convenient despatch to the Nizamut Adaulut, accompanied by a letter stating the opinion of the judge on the evidence adduced.

The judges are required, on their return from the

circuit, to make a report, containing an account of every thing which has appeared to them to be worthy of the notice of government, in the perfections or imperfections of the law; in the condition of the jails; in the management of the prisoners; and even in the moral and physical condition of the people. It is always a favourable sign of a government to provide for its own information respecting the error of its own proceedings, and the means of carrying on to perfection what is yet mingled with defect. To require periodical reports from the judges, for the purpose of making known the evils which remained without a remedy, is a measure deserving no common tribute of applause. Were a similar operation carried over the whole field of government, and made sufficiently faithful and searching, the melioration of governments, and with it the happiness of the human race, would proceed with an accelerated pace. One consideration, however, which it is of great importance to hold constantly in view, has been well suggested on this very occasion by the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to report on the affairs of India in 1810. "It is hardly," they say, "to be supposed that public servants, in such a case, would lean to the unfavourable side; or, without sufficient foundation, transmit accounts which would prove disagreeable to the governed to receive. A communication of this nature might be rather suspected of painting things in colours pleasing to the government, with the view of bringing the writer into favourable notice."<sup>1</sup> It is a matter of experi-

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<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 65.



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ence, that this propensity, in general, is uncommonly strong. A wise government therefore would always take, with very considerable allowance, the flattering picture presented in the reports it might receive; but in the language of the same Committee, "Would regard them as worthy of particular consideration, as often as defects are stated to exist, and evils are represented to prevail."<sup>1</sup> How opposite the ordinary conduct of governments, how effectual the measures which they take to hear no accounts but flattering ones, to discountenance and deter the suggestion of defects, the world is too old to need to be informed.

Such was the apparatus provided by Lord Cornwallis for the administration of law. A correspondent consideration ought to have been, what was the law which through this machinery was to be administered.

When rights are considered as already established, the object of a body of law is to define and secure them. Among the people of India rights to a great extent were already established; and there were two systems of law which respected them. It was an important question to what degree those systems were calculated to answer the purposes of law; that is, to mark out, by clear, precise, and unambiguous definitions, what were rights, and what the violations of them. It was a very lame and defective provision for the distribution of justice, to appoint a number of persons for the administration of law, if there was no law, or no tolerably good law, for them to administer. The standards of

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 65.

Hindu and Moslem law, by which, respectively, the rights of the Hindu and Mohammedan population were to be governed, were their sacred books: the Shasters and the Khoran. These were just about as well calculated for defining the rights of the people of England.<sup>1</sup> There was, by consequence, in India, nothing which in reality deserved the name of law. Its place was supplied by the opinions of the Pundits and Cauzees, which were liable to all the fluctuations, which diversity of thoughts, and the operation of interest, were calculated to produce. Every thing was vague, every thing uncertain, and, by consequence, every thing arbitrary. The few points which could be regarded as in any degree determinate and fixed, covered a very small portion of the field of law. In all the rest, the judges and interpreters were at liberty to do what they pleased; that is, to gratify their own interests and passions, at the expense of the candidates for justice, to as great a degree, as the ignorance or negligence of the ruling power would permit. With the law, in such a condition as this, it is evident, that any thing like a tolerable administration of justice was altogether impossible. The first thing, therefore, first in point both of order and importance, was, to have prepared a set of exact definitions comprehending rights, and those viola-

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<sup>1</sup> The errors of our author upon these subjects have been already pointed out. The standards of Hindu and Mohammedan law are, in a very restricted acceptation, their sacred books. The word Shaster is of very wide and vague signification, and, as here employed, has no meaning at all. The social institutions of the Hindus are based upon the Vedas, but their laws are laid down in a variety of works written upon the subject. In like manner the standards of Mohammedan law are numerous and comprehensive, and are very slightly dependent upon the Koran.—W.

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tions of them which it is the business of law to prohibit; in other words, it was proper to have drawn up a clear and unambiguous digest of law, in both its departments; the prohibitive or penal, as well as the creative or civil. The thought of rendering this great service to justice and to human nature, seems never to have visited the mind of the Governor-General and his advisers. To this day, it has hardly visited the mind of any Indian ruler; though to provide an expensive machinery of judges and courts without a body of law, is in point of reason as great an absurdity, as to provide an expensive apparatus of cooks and kitchen utensils, without any victuals to cook. Is it a wonder, that the administration of justice in India should still be a disgrace to a government conducted by a civilized people? <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The justice of this accusation may be reasonably questioned, and although like every thing human, the administration of the law in India may be imperfect, yet that it is not so disgracefully defective as is here intimated is proved by the general prevalence of order and tranquillity in the Company's territories, by the low ratio of crime, and by the universal feeling of security to both life and property, which prevails amongst the people. That the government should have opened its legislative career with definitions and a digest, is to expect that a man should become an adept in a science before he has mastered its rudiments. The lesson was to be learned: to have waited until it was learned, without taking any steps to acquire it, was a sure way never to learn it at all. To legislate without knowledge may be an innocent amusement for a philosopher, but it is a dangerous practice for a government. Experience must be gained, even at the cost of imperfection and error in the process of making the acquisition, before the circumstances and relations indispensable to accurate definitions and unambiguous digests can be known or provided for. It may be doubted, even in the present day, if India is ripe for a code of laws, although the attempt has been instituted—a code stands still—society does not; and the condition of British India has been, for the best part of a century, and will be, for a still longer period, in perpetual motion.—W.

The irrational notion appears to have established itself in the minds of most Englishmen, that courts, or tribunals, are also law; and that when you have established tribunals, you have not merely provided an instrument for the administration of law, if any law exists; but have provided law itself. Nothing, it must be owned, was ever better calculated for generating so absurd an opinion, than the state of the law in England, and the efforts of English lawyers, whose interests it eminently promotes. In England, extraordinary as it may sound, the courts have been at once tribunals, and law. In England, as in India, the courts were originally set up without law. What they did was to make law for themselves. In that deplorable condition the business of law in England remains. The greater part of the rights of Englishmen depend upon nothing better than unwritten, undefined law, generally denominated common law; that is, any thing which the judges choose to call law, under no other restrictions than certain notions, to a great degree arbitrary, of what has been done by other judges before them. Englishmen in general have no conception of the extent to which they lie under a despotic power in the hands of the judges; and how deeply it concerns them to see that despotic power taken away.

It is remarkable, notwithstanding this, that Lord Cornwallis has expressed very strongly, both by words and example, the great utility, or rather absolute necessity, if the ends of justice are the ends in view, that every law should be fixed, by written, permanent expressions; and, what is more, that it



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should be accompanied by the reasons upon which it is grounded. In the preamble to one of his enactments, he said; “It is essential to the future prosperity of the British in Bengal, That all regulations which may be passed by government, affecting, in any respect, the rights, persons, or property of their subjects, should be formed into a regular code; and printed, with translations in the country languages: That the grounds on which each regulation may be enacted, should be prefixed to it: And that the courts of justice should be bound to regulate their decisions by the rules and ordinances which those regulations may contain.” If all this is of so much importance, in the case of regulations for only the modes of administering law; what must it not be for the matter of law itself? And what is to be thought of the state of legislation in India, and in Great Britain, the people of both of which are still deprived of such an advantage, “essential to their prosperity?”—“A code of regulations,” continues the preamble, “framed upon the above principles, would enable individuals to render themselves acquainted with the laws, and the mode of obtaining speedy redress against every infringement of them: The courts of justice would be able to apply the regulations, according to their true intent: Future administrations would have the means of judging how far the regulations had been productive of the desired effect, and, when necessary, of altering them, as experience might direct: And the causes of future prosperity or decline would always be traceable in the code to their source.”<sup>1</sup> The gra-

<sup>1</sup> Preamble to Regulations xli. of 1793.

titude of mankind is due to a government, which, thus solemnly, promulgated to the world the beneficent creed ; That it is only by a code, that is, laws existing in a given form of words, that the people can know the laws, or receive protection from them : That it is only by means of a code, that courts of justice will apply the laws according to their true intent : That the defects of all ordinances of law ought to be experimentally traced ; and corrected whensoever known : And that the causes of the decline or prosperity of nations may always be found, as at their source, in the state of the laws. Opinions more important to the interests of human beings never issued from human lips.

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By the reforms of Lord Cornwallis, however, almost wholly confined to the instruments of judicature, no alterations were made in the state of the law, except that the mutilations, and some other cruelties in the native modes of punishing were abolished, and certain modes, very liable to abuse, of enforcing payment of debt, were forbidden ; no coercion for the recovery of debt, even in the case of the revenue, being allowed, except through the medium of the courts of law.

Beside the dispensation of justice, in deciding upon rights, and in punishing wrongs, the protection of society requires that provision, as effectual as possible, should be made, for preventing evil ; for checking crimes, in the act of commission ; and for ensuring the persons of offenders for justice. The system of operations and powers, destined for the performance of these services, goes, in the languages of modern Europe, by the inappropriate name of police.

The native system of police, the powers of which,

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in arbitrary exercise, were confided to the Zemindars with their armed followers, in the country; and to a set of officers, called Cutwals, with armed followers, in cities; was abolished. From both these sets of officers all powers were taken away. Instead of the previous expedients, the judges of the Zillah courts were vested, in quality of magistrates, with powers of apprehending and examining all offenders. On slight offences, importing a trivial punishment, they might pass and execute sentence: in other cases, it was their business to secure the supposed delinquent for trial in the court of circuit, and that, either by committing, or holding him to bail, as the gravity of the case might seem to require. Each Zillah was divided into districts of ten coss, or twenty miles square; and in each of these districts the judge was to establish a darogah, or constable, with a train of armed men, selected by himself. The darogah was empowered to apprehend on a written charge, and to take security, in the case of a bailable offence, for appearance before the magistrate. The cities of Dacca, Patna, and Moorshedabad were divided into wards, each of which was guarded by a darogah and his party, all under the ultimate superintendence of the magistrate, but subject immediately to the management of a head darogah of the city, who received the old name of Cutwal, and to whom the regulation of the market was consigned.

The magistrate was commanded to present to the Nizamut Adaulut, a report, at the end of every month, embracing the following particulars: 1. Persons apprehended, with name, date of charge, order for punishment, commitment for trial, release; 2.

Casualties in regard to prisoners, by death, and removals: 3. Sentences in the court of circuit: 4. Trials under reference to the Nizamut Adaulut: 5. Sentences received from the Nizamut Adaulut: Every six months he was to transmit to the same authority a report of all convicts under confinement: And by a subsequent regulation, he was every year to present two additional reports; one, of all criminal cases depending before him; and another, of the material circumstances of all the robberies and higher crimes, committed during the course of the preceding year, within the Zillah to which he belonged.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER VI.

### *Result of Lord Cornwallis's Financial and Judicial Reforms.*

OF the regulations, constituting this great revolution in the government of the Indian people, the natural consequences were, within a few years, pretty fully developed in practice; and the present is perhaps the occasion on which the instructive picture of them can with most advantage be presented to view.

<sup>1</sup> As authorities for the account of these institutions, see the Code of Regulations, published in 1793, and the Fifth Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs in 1810.



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The trespass upon chronological order, in the case of events which scarcely fall into the ordinary channel of narration, will be amply compensated by the advantage of surveying, in immediate sequence, institutions and their results.

According to the order in which the institutions were considered, the consequences of the new system of finance come first to be described. Its more immediate object was, to establish a landed aristocracy in the persons of the Zemindars. That project, whatever character may be thought to belong to it, has completely failed.

In default of payment of their taxes on the part of the Zemindars, the security reserved for government was, to put up to sale as much of the land as would suffice to discharge the arrears. The important question, of judicature with a multitude of technical forms, or judicature without a multitude of technical forms, was curiously illustrated on this occasion. The government had established courts of law, and appointed for them a numerous list of forms through which it required much time to pass. In their own case, however, it would, they perceived, be highly desirable to obtain speedy justice. To obtain speedy justice, they saw, it would be absolutely necessary to be exempted from technical forms. To what expedient then had they recourse? To the abolition of technical forms? No, indeed! They made a particular exception of their own case. They enacted that in all suits for rent or revenue, the courts should proceed by summary process; nay, further, that in such suits the proceedings should be exempted from those fees and expenses to which other candidates for

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justice were appointed to submit. By a high and conspicuous act, more expressive than words, they declared that one thing was conducive, or rather essential, to justice. They established, by their legislative authority, the very reverse. On what conceivable principle, was speedy and unexpensive justice good for the government, and not good for the people? From which of its imaginary evils was it exempt in the case of the government, and not equally so in the case of the people.

With how much inaccuracy and ignorance the measure had been taken of the moral, intellectual, and political state of the Zemindars, when it was supposed that, by rendering them proprietors of the land, under a fixed but heavy land-tax, provision was made for their prosperity, for the improvement of the country, and the happiness of the great body of the people, experience early evinced.

The selling of the lands immediately began; and proceeded with a rapid pace. In the year 1796, the land advertised for sale comprehended a rent-roll of 28,70,061 sicca rupees;<sup>1</sup> which, according to the total assessment, was nearly one-tenth of the whole of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in a single year.<sup>2</sup> By the progress of this operation, the whole class of the ancient Zemindars, instead of being erected into an aristocracy, was speedily destroyed. In 1802, Sir Henry Strachey, in his answer to a list of interrogatories which had been circulated to the judges, asserted that "an almost universal destruction" had overtaken the Zemindars; and that if any survived,

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, *ut supra*, p. 56.<sup>2</sup> Vide sum total, *supra*, p. 493.

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they were, “according to the notions of the Company’s servants, reduced to the same condition, and placed at an equal distance from their masters, as their lowest ryots.”<sup>1</sup>

A cause which accelerated, but by no means produced, the ruin of the Zemindars (for the incompatibility of their characters with the situation in which they were placed, led infallibly to the same result), was the delay which they experienced in obtaining payment from the ryots. The government had given to themselves the benefit of summary process with regard to the Zemindars. But they left the Zemindars to the tedious progress through all the technical forms of the courts in extracting payment from the ryots. Under the observance of many tedious forms the decisions of the courts were so slow, that in the space of two years the accumulation of undecided causes threatened to arrest the course of justice. In one district alone, that of Burdwan, the suits pending before the judge exceeded thirty thousand; and it appeared by computation upon the established pace of the court, that no candidate for justice could expect to obtain a decision during the ordinary period of his life.

The collector of Burdwan stated the matter correctly, in reporting to government the following complaint of the Raja; who “submits it,” he says, “to your consideration, whether or no it can be possible for him to discharge his engagements to government, with that punctuality which the regulations require, unless he be armed with powers, as prompt to

<sup>1</sup> Answer to Interrogatories, parag. 7, in the Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 537.

enforce payment from his renters, as government had been pleased to authorize the use of, in regard to its claims on him: and he seems to think it must have proceeded from an oversight, rather than from any just and avowed principle, that there should have been established two modes of judicial process, under the same government; the one, summary, and efficient, for the satisfaction of its own claims; the other, tardy, and uncertain, in regard to the satisfaction of the claims due to its subjects; more especially in a case like the present, where ability to discharge the one demand necessarily depends on the other demand being previously realized.”<sup>1</sup>

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The effects of this system upon the minds, as well as upon the condition of the Zemindars, cannot be doubtful. In answer to an inquiry of government in 1802, the collector of Midnapore said; “All the Zemindars with whom I have ever had any communication in this, and in other districts, have but one sentiment, respecting the rules at present in force for the collection of the public revenue. They all say, that such a harsh and oppressive system was never before resorted to in this country; that the custom of imprisoning landholders for arrears of revenue, was, in comparison, mild and indulgent to them: that, though it was no doubt the intention of government to confer an important benefit on them by abolishing this custom, it has been found, by melancholy experience, that the system of sales and attachments, which has been substituted for it, has,

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue, dated 9th January, 1794; Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 59, and App. No. 8.



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in the course of a very few years, reduced most of the great Zemindars in Bengal to distress and beggary; and produced a greater change in the landed property of Bengal, than has, perhaps, ever happened in the same space of time, in any age or country, by the mere effect of internal regulations."<sup>1</sup>

"The great men formerly," says Sir Henry Strachey, "were the Mussulman rulers, whose places we have taken, and the Hindu Zemindars. These two classes are now ruined and destroyed."<sup>2</sup>

We have thus seen the effects of the new system upon the Zemindars. Let us next endeavour to trace its effects upon a much more important class of men, the ryots. Unfortunately, for this more interesting part of the inquiry, we have much more scanty materials. In the documents which have been exhibited, the situation of the ryots is in a great measure overlooked. And it is from incidental circumstances, and collateral confessions, that we are enabled to form a judgment of their condition. This result itself is, perhaps, a ground for a pretty decisive inference; for if the situation of the ryots had been prosperous, we should have had it celebrated, in the loftiest terms, as a decisive proof, which surely it would have been, of the wisdom and virtues of our Indian government.

When it was urged upon Lord Cornwallis, by Mr. Shore, and others, that the ryots were left in a great measure at the mercy of the Zemindars, who had always been oppressors, he replied, that the perma-

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Answer to Interrogatories, 30th Jan. 1802, *Ibid.* p. 536.

nency of the landed property would cure all those defects ; because, "where the landlord has a permanent property in the soil, it will be worth his while to encourage his tenants, who hold his farm in lease, to improve that property." It has already been shown how inapplicable this reasoning was to the case which it regarded. It now appears that the permanency, from which Lord Cornwallis so fondly expected beneficial results, had no existence ; that the plan which he had established for giving permanency to the property of the Zemindars, had rendered it less permanent than under any former system ; had in fact destroyed it. The ryots, left without any efficient legal protection, were intrusted to the operation of certain motives, which were expected to arise out of the idea of permanent property ; and, practically, that permanence had no existence. The ryots were, by consequence, left altogether without protection.

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"Fifty means," says a very intelligent and experienced servant of the Company, "might be mentioned, in which the ryots are liable to oppression by the Zemindars, even when pottahs have been given. The Zemindars will make collusive engagements, and get ryots to do so. Bajeh Kherch, and village expenditure, will go on, at a terrible rate, as it does in the Circars ; and where I have no doubt but there are farmers, and under farmers, and securities, and all the confusion that arises from them ; that pottahs are not given, and that village charges are assessed on the ryot as formerly." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thackeray's Memoir, April, 1806, Fifth Report, p. 914.

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It is wonderful that neither Lord Cornwallis, nor his advisers, nor his masters, either in the East India House or the Treasury, saw, that between one part of his regulations and the effects which he expected from another, there was an irreconcilable contradiction. He required, that fixed, unalterable pottahs should be given to the ryots; that is, that they should pay a rent which could never be increased, and occupy a possession from which, paying that rent, they could never be displaced. Is it not evident, that in these circumstances, the Zemindars had no interest whatsoever in the improvement of the soil? It is evident, as Mr. Thackeray has well remarked, that in a situation of this description, it may be "the Zemindar's interest not to assist, but ruin the ryot; that he may eject him from his right of occupancy, and put in some one else, on a raised rent; which will often be his interest, as the country thrives, and labour gets cheap."<sup>1</sup>

It is by the judges remarked, that numerous suits are instituted by the ryots for alleged extortions. The Zemindar lets his district in farm to one great middleman, and he to under farmers, to whose exactions upon the ryots it appears that there is really no restriction. In one of the reports, in answer to the queries of 1802, we are informed, that "the interchange of engagements between the parties, with few exceptions, extends no further than the Zemindar's farmer, who is here called the sudder (or head) farmer, and to those among whom he subdivides his farm in portions. An engagement between the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thackeray's Memoir, April, 1806, Fifth Report, p. 917.

latter and the cultivator, or heads of a village, is scarcely known, except the general one, to receive and pay, agreeable to past and preceding years; and for ascertaining this, the accounts of the farm are no guide. The Zemindar himself, seeing that no confidence is to be placed in the accounts rendered him of the rent-roll of the farm, from the practice which has so long prevailed of fabrications and false accounts, never attempts to call for them at the end of the lease; and, instead of applying a corrective to the evil, increases it, by farming out the lands literally by auction; and the same mode is adopted in almost every subdivision of the farm.”<sup>1</sup> This is the security which is afforded to the cultivators, by the boasted permanency of the property of the Zemindars. That any prosperity can accrue to this class of the people, or encouragement to agriculture, from such an order of things, is not likely to be alleged.

The relation established by Cornwallis between the ryot and the Zemindar, was remarkable. The Zemindar had it in his power to pillage the ryot; but the ryot had it in his power to distress the Zemindar. He might force him to have recourse to law for procuring payment of his rent; and the delay and expense of the courts were sufficient to accomplish his ruin. It is the habit of the people of India to pay nothing until they are compelled. A knowledge that they might always ward off the day of payment to a considerable distance, by waiting for prosecution, was a sufficient motive to a great proportion of the ryots to pursue that unhappy course,

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<sup>1</sup> Answer of Mr. Thompson, Judge and Magistrate of Burdwan, Fifth Report, p. 544.



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which, in the long run, was not less ruinous to themselves than to the Zemindars.

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The following picture of these two great classes of the population, is presented by a high authority. "By us all is silently changed. The ryot, and the Zemindar, and the gomastah, are by the levelling power of the Regulations, very much reduced to an equality. The protecting, but often oppressive, and tyrannical power of the Zemindar, and the servitude of the ryot are at an end. All the lower classes,—the poorest, I fear, often in vain—now look to the Regulations only, for preserving them against extortion and rapacity. The operation of our system has gradually loosened that intimate connexion between the ryots and the Zemindars which subsisted heretofore. The ryots were once the vassals of their Zemindar. Their dependence on the Zemindar, and their attachment to him, have ceased. They are now often at open variance with him; and, though they cannot contend with him on equal terms, they not unfrequently engage in law-suits with him, and set him at defiance. The Zemindar, formerly, like his ancestors, resided on his estate. He was regarded as the chief and the father of his tenants, from whom all expected protection, but against whose oppressions there was no redress. At present the estates are often possessed by Calcutta purchasers, who never see them; and whose agents have little intercourse with the tenants, except to collect the rents."<sup>1</sup>

"The ryots," says the same excellent magistrate,

<sup>1</sup> Report by Sir H. Strachey, in 1802; Fifth Report, p. 564.

“are not, in my opinion, well protected by the revenue laws; nor can they often obtain effectual redress by prosecuting, particularly for exaction and dispossession.” And these are the very injuries to which they are most exposed. The reason Sir Henry immediately subjoins. “The delay and expense attending a law-suit are intolerable, in cases where the suitor complains, which almost invariably happens, that he has been deprived of all his property. The cancelling of leases, after the sale of an estate for arrears, must frequently operate with extreme harshness and cruelty to the under tenants.”<sup>1</sup>

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The Indian Government, in their observations addressed to the court of Directors, “appeared,” say the Select Committee of the House of Commons, “unwilling to admit that the evils and grievances complained of, arose from any defects in the public regulations. The very grounds of the complaints, the government observed, namely those whereby the tenantry were enabled to withhold payment of their rents, evinced that the great body of the people, employed in the cultivation of the land, experienced ample protection from the laws, and were no longer subject to arbitrary exactions.”<sup>2</sup> That the great body of the people enjoyed protection, because they could force the Zemindars to go to law for their rent, is an inference which it would be very unwise to trust; which appears to be, as there is no wonder that it should be found to be, contrary to the fact.

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Strachey's Answer to Interrogatories, Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 528.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 55.

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But suppose the fact had been otherwise ; and that the ryots received protection ; was it no evil, upon the principle of the Regulations, that the Zemindars were ruined ? Yet so it is, that the organ of government in India found this ruin, when it happened, a good thing ; affording, they said, the satisfactory reflection, that the great estates were divided into small ones ; and that, by change of proprietors, the land was transferred to better managers.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the review of the conduct of the government, in thus praising, one after another, the results of the new system, whatever they might be, those originally expected from that system, or the very reverse ; the same Committee of the House of Commons, though commonly very reserved in their censorial essays, observe, “ It was thus, in explaining to the authorities at home the effects and tendency of the new system, that the government in India generally found something to commend. When the operation of the regulations proved adverse to their expectations, in one respect, in another, something had occurred to console them for the disappointment.”<sup>2</sup> In fact, they only pursued the grand highway, the beaten common track, of misrepresentation ; a track in which the instruments of government, as far as concerns their own operations and the apparatus to which they have attached their interests, can seldom be without a motive to tread. The evil effects, which cannot be concealed, are represented as trivial. All those, which are not calculated to force themselves upon the public attention, are care-

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 57.

fully covered from view. Every effect, which is either good, or absurdly supposed to be so, is exaggerated and extolled. And many good effects, which it is in reality of a nature to obstruct rather than produce, are ascribed, by some through ignorance, by others from fraud, to the object, whatever it is, which it is the wish to applaud.

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The unhappy reluctance of the Indian rulers, to see any imperfection in the scheme of government which they had devised, was, however, at last, overcome. A Regulation, or law, was promulgated in 1799, the preamble of which acknowledged, "that the powers allowed the landholders for enforcing payment of their rents, had, in some cases, been found insufficient; that the frequent and excessive sales of land, within the current year, had been productive of ill consequences, as well towards the land proprietors and under tenants, as in their effects on the public interest, in the fixed assessment of the land-revenue; that the Zemindars were understood to have made purchases of their own lands in fictitious names, or in the names of their dependants, the object of which was to procure, by fraudulent means, a reduction of the rate of assessment."<sup>1</sup> For remedy of the evils, now at last acknowledged, it was enacted, that the Zemindars should have the use of summary process, with the power of attachment and sale, in realizing their rents. The reflections of Sir Henry Strachey, upon this reform of the new law, eminently merit the attention of both the philanthropist and the statesman. "In passing," says this

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 61.



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highly-respectable witness, “ the seventh regulation, 1799, it was, I believe, the design of government (a very reasonable and liberal design in my opinion) to enable the Zemindars to collect their just demands of rent, with punctuality, and without expense. And I think it would have been just and considerate at the same time, to have facilitated to the ryots the means of obtaining redress against extortioners. But the fact is—the ruin of one Zemindar being more conspicuous at the Sudder than that of 10,000 ryots, his interests naturally attract the attention of the legislature first; and as, in the proposal of any plan connected with finance, it is required to set out with the maxim, that the sudder jumma can on no pretence be lowered, there remains no other resource for helping the Zemindars, than the restoration of part of the power they possessed of old to plunder their tenants. Exaction of revenue is now, I presume, and, perhaps, always was, the most prevailing crime throughout the country. It is probably an evil necessarily attending the civil state of the ryots. I think it rather unfortunate than otherwise, that it should be less shocking to humanity than some foudarry crimes. I know not how it is that extortioners appear to us in any other light than that of the worst and most pernicious species of robbers. It will be found, I believe, that the condition of husbandmen in eastern countries, is incompatible with security, and that sort of independence which enables men to maintain themselves against oppression and violence. The public revenues, which are in reality the rent of land, are, throughout the East, collected by a system of extortion, violence, and barbarity of every kind.”

After alluding to the attempts, not without a partial success, which had been made by the Company's government, for the redress of that great class of evils, Sir Henry goes on to say, "The frequency, however, of the attachments and sales, under the Regulation of 1799, would alone serve to prove, that the revenues are not collected without extreme misery to the ryot." Two circumstances will be sufficient to show the unlimited oppression to which the ryots stand exposed. The first is, that the Zemindars are empowered to distrain, previous to a legal judgment, "without adducing," to use the language of Sir Henry, "any evidence of their claim before they proceed to enforce it, and acting as judges in their own cause." The second circumstance is, that "the ryots are almost totally deprived of the power of seeking redress, by the expense of the courts of law."<sup>1</sup> Knowing this, can any one be surprised, when Sir Henry Strachey declares, "The laws regarding attachments are greatly abused, and are productive of extreme oppression."

Some diminution in the outstanding balances, and some improvement in the sales of the estates of Zemindars, having become a subject of boast; it is to the regulation, which authorized the above-stated oppressions, that "this effect," says Sir Henry Strachey, "is chiefly to be ascribed. Yet," he adds, "as if the mode in which the rents are levied, and the condition of the ryots, were matters not necessary to be noticed, it is frequently pronounced at once, as a position admitting of no doubt, that these favourable sales afford a substantial proof of the lightness

<sup>1</sup> See, below, under the head of Justice, p. 540, 541.

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The important subject of judicature, or the effects of the regulations contrived for the dispensation of justice, next call for our attention.

The Committee of the House of Commons remark,

<sup>1</sup> Nothing is more remarkable than the propensity of all sorts of persons connected with the Indian government, to infer from any thing, or every thing, “the flourishing state of the country.” Here is one instance of the curious premises from which the inference is apt to be drawn. The man who explores, with any degree of attention, the documents of Indian history, will be at no loss for others. Another is adduced by Sir Henry Strachey, on the same occasion, and its insufficiency pointed out. “To those who are tolerably well acquainted with the internal state of the country, it is known,” says he, “that the population, unless checked by some great calamity, constantly increases very fast. Increasing cultivation necessarily follows population. The want of courts of justice, of a regular system of police, prevents not the prosperity of the provinces subject to the Mahrattas. Where no battles are fought, where the ryots remain unmolested by military exactions, where the Zemindar or his agent are seldom changed, the lands of the Mahrattas, in the neighbourhood of this district (Midnapore) are in a high state of cultivation, and the population is equal, frequently superior to ours. From the circumstance of increasing population alone, we cannot, as many pretend, draw an inference of very high prosperity and good government.” In fact, where marriage at the earliest marriageable age is a religious duty of the strongest obligation, and to die without having a son, the greatest of misfortunes, nothing but extreme misery can prevent the rapid increase of population; and when a vast quantity of good land still remains to be cultivated, nothing can be the cause of such misery but bad government. “To imagine,” continues the same enlightened observer, “that the population has increased, solely in consequence of our system of internal administration, appears to me most erroneous. Under the native government, the population had reached its utmost height, or very near it. Thirty years ago, nearly half the people were swept away, by the greatest famine recorded in history. Ever since that period, except in 1790, when a partial famine happened, the numbers have been gradually increasing. I do not know that the increase has been more rapid, during the last ten years, than during the twenty preceding; although most of the abuses of the native governments, and many new abuses of our government, prevailed throughout the greater part of the last-mentioned period. Supposing the country to enjoy peace, I cannot easily conceive internal mismanagement so excessive, as to stop the increase of population.” See for these, and the quotations in the text, Answer to Interrogatories in 1802, Fifth Report, *ut supra*, p. 530—532.

that so inadequate was the provision for judicature to a population of 27,000,000,<sup>1</sup> when the collectors alone were the judges, that the people, among themselves, must have settled the greater number of their disputes, "by modes peculiar to their tribes or castes, or by reference to their *gooroos*, or spiritual guides;" that it was the object, on the other hand, of Lord Cornwallis, to afford the means of a regular judicial decision, in every case, to every inhabitant of the country, "without any impediment from the distance the complainant would have to travel for redress;" an object so essential undoubtedly to goodness of government, that it is the principal end of its institution.

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It soon appeared, however, that the provision made for this important business was ill adapted to its end. The tedious forms through which the judges had to travel, permitted them to decide so small a number of causes in a given portion of time; and the delay and uncertainty which attended a technical and intricate mode of procedure, afforded

<sup>1</sup> The Committee complain that they still remain in the dark respecting this important article of knowledge; and that the estimates formed by the best informed of the Company's servants, betrayed, by their discrepancy, ignorance so profound of the field of inquiry. The first estimate, upon the acquisition of the Dewannee, made the population of the three provinces, Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, 10,000,000. By Sir William Jones it was computed to be 24,000,000. Mr. Colebrooke made it 30,000,000. The Committee take the medium between the conjectures of Jones and Colebrooke, and call it 27,000,000. Report, *ut supra*, p. 62.—M. The Committee allude to the returns called for by Lord Wellesley, in 1801, although they attach no credit to the results. From a comparison with other inquiries, since made, they appear to have erred chiefly in being under-rated. The population of Bengal and Bahar, according to Hamilton, is above thirty-six millions, and that of Benares three millions. The population of Orissa is estimated by Stirling at 1,296,000 exclusive of the hill tribes, whose numbers could not be ascertained.—W.



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so much encouragement to dishonest litigation, that the pace of decision fell prodigiously behind that of the multiplication of suits; and the path of justice might, in some places, be regarded as completely blocked up.

A more melancholy exhibition of the weakness of the human mind, arising from the wretched nurture which it still receives, cannot easily be discovered or conceived, than that which appears in the proceeding we are next to relate.

To obviate the disproportion which was found to exist between the number of judicial decisions and the occasions for them, two rational expedients presented themselves. One was to disencumber the Courts of every operation not essential to the ends of justice; by which means they might have been enabled to get through with a much greater number of causes. If, even by the most expeditious mode of procedure, the Courts were unable to decide as many causes as were brought to them, the case was plain; the number of courts was too small for the business of the country, and, wheresoever necessary, ought to have been increased.

This was not the course pursued by the Anglo-Indian government. No. To ease the pressure upon the Courts, they enacted, that every man who applied for justice should be punished; literally punished; as if the application for justice were a crime; in hopes that many persons, if they were punished on account of their applying for justice, would cease to apply. Government enacted, that every applicant for justice should be fined; that is, should be compelled to pay a sum of money upon

the institution of a suit; and various other sums during the progress of it, by the imposition of taxes upon the proceedings: all for the declared purpose, the sole purpose, of driving people away from the Courts. Such was the scheme for the better administration of justice which was devised by British legislators in the year 1795; such the scheme, the existence of which they still approve; and finally, such is the scheme which obtained the applause of a Select Committee of the British House of Commons in the year 1810.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing is more easy than to lessen the business of the Courts of law: to diminish it to any proposed extent; to produce its annihilation. What are the means? The most obvious in the world; denial of justice. Decree that no person whatsoever who is less than six feet high, shall be admitted to sue in a court of justice; and you will reduce the business to a very manageable quantity: decree that no man who is less than eight; and you reduce it to nothing. A man's stature is surely as good a test to judge by, whether he has received an injury, as his purse.

The delusion is so gross, which in this case produces its effects upon the minds of the deluded, that the contemplator is astonished at finding men who are subject to its influence still occupying, and that almost exclusively, the seats of power.

Of the two parties to a suit it is not of absolute necessity that either should be dishonest: because the case may have in it such obscurity as to require the decision of a judge. But these cases are, or at

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 63.

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any rate, if there was a good code of laws, would be, very rare. In by far the greater proportion of cases, when law-suits are numerous, one of the parties is intentionally dishonest, and wishes to keep or to gain some unjust advantage.

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When legislators, therefore, propose to drive people from the Courts of Justice by expense, they must of necessity imagine that it is the dishonest parties only whom the expense will deter; for it would be dreadful to make laws to prevent the honest from receiving a legal protection. But is it easy for the wit of man to frame a proposition stamped with stronger characters of ignorance or corruption than this? That to render access to justice difficult is the way to lessen the number of crimes. What is the greatest encouragement to injustice? Is it not every thing which tends to prevent immediate redress. What is the greatest discouragement to injustice? Every thing which tends to ensure immediate redress. But tedious and expensive forms of law, of which uncertainty is a consequence, have the greatest tendency to prevent immediate redress. They are, therefore, a great encouragement, not a hindrance to injustice.

Let us contemplate the motives which actuate the two parties to a civil suit, the just, and the unjust. The unjust man is actuated by the desire, wrongfully to retain, or wrongfully to obtain, possession of an article of property. The just party is actuated by the desire, rightfully to obtain, or rightfully to retain, the same possession. What is the evil, the hazard of which the unjust man incurs? The costs of suit. What is the good the chance of which he obtains?

The whole of the property forming the subject of dispute. It is evident, that a very slender chance in the latter case may outvalue all that is risked in the former. It is evident, that, considering the great propensity of mankind, particularly of the dishonest part, to over-value their own chances of good fortune, the risk of the costs will in many instances be run, where the chance of success is exceedingly small. In the case of sums of any considerable amount, the advantage of retaining the property, even during the long period which under an intricate form of procedure is required to arrive at the execution of a decree, may be more than a compensation for all the expense which it is necessary to incur.

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Even in those cases in which the expense bears a great proportion to the value of the matter in dispute; those cases in which the value of the property is moderate; what are the motives by which the honest and dishonest litigant are liable to be impelled? On the side of injustice there is, first, the certain advantage of delay, and there is, secondly, the chance of success. On the side of justice there is only the chance of success.

Suppose then chances of success to be equal; the motives to incur the expense of a law-suit would in that case be always greatest on the side of the dishonest litigant; none, therefore, but the injured is in that case liable to be deterred from law-suits by fines upon the application for justice.

As it is evident that, in proportion to the chance which injustice has for success in the Courts of Justice, the greater is the motive which the unjust man has not to be deterred, and the just man has to



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be deterred by the expense ; so it is also evident that this is not all : it is evident, that the motive of the unjust litigant is not proportioned to the real chance which he has for a decision favourable to his injustice ; but that it rises to the pitch of his own exaggerated estimate of his chance of success. Now, in all systems of procedure, which by technical forms render the judicial business complex, intricate, full of subtleties and snares, the chance of success to injustice, in a vast proportion of cases, is very great. This chance, most assuredly, is the producing cause of a great proportion of lawsuits. This, together with the advantages of delay, derived from the same system of forms, is, where the corruption of the judge is not contemplated, accountable for all suits at law, except that comparatively small number, in which the right of the honest man is really a matter of obscurity and doubt. In all cases, therefore, in which the unjust man estimates this chance at more than the expense of a suit, it is not the man who injures, but the man who is injured, whom the fine upon justice operates to deter. In all such cases the fine upon the application for justice has no other effect than to compel the honest man to submit to iniquity ; no other effect than that of affording a province to injustice, in which it may range at will.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In India the actual state of the facts is asserted, upon the experience of Sir Henry Strachey, one of the most respectable of the Indian judges, and an honour to the judicial character, to be this ; That “ out of 100 suits, perhaps in five at the utmost,” the plaint of the prosecutor is unfounded. In ninety-five then, out of every 100 cases, the plaintiff has a right to a decision. In all that vast proportion of cases, with the small exception of those in which the point of justice may be doubtful, the

In all cases then, in which this expedient does not deter the unjust litigant, it is mischievous beyond expression. The cases in which it can deter the unjust litigant must always be few; because it is evident, that the motive, under the present state of the law, is very great to unjust litigation, and that the counter motive, arising from a certain addition to the expenses of suit, is in comparison small. If it be considered, that all litigation is caused by the motive to injustice, unless in the comparatively small number of cases in which the point of right is really doubtful, it must be regarded as a motive very powerful, since it governs the conduct of so great a number of men. If it be considered that the only force employed, by the new expedient of the Indian government, to counteract this motive, is a certain difference of expense, it will not be regarded as possessing much efficacy to deter from litigation the man who expects from it an unjust advantage.

Thus stands the case with regard to the class of suitors who can endure the oppression of a law-suit, rendered expensive by legislative design. There is, however, a different class of persons; a class of persons including the whole population, with the deduction of a small proportion; and how stands the case with regard to them? They are utterly unable to defray the expense of a law-suit, rendered costly and oppressive by legislative design. They are, by consequence, excluded from the Courts of Justice. A barrier, altogether insurmountable, is set up between

defendant is an injurer; and every thing which has a tendency to prevent the law-suit, has a tendency to defraud the innocent, reward the guilty. Answer to Interrogatories, Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 526.

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them and the services of the judge. Except in the cases affecting the public peace, and calling for public prosecution, justice is denied them: They are placed out of the protection of law. In this, the most large, and, by its largeness, the most interesting and important, of all the portions of the demand for justice, the man who intends injustice clearly sees, that he may perpetrate his purpose in absolute safety. The poor man is debarred from even the application for redress. It must be confessed, then, that in this large department of the field of justice, law-suits are prevented by expense; effectually prevented, by rendering plunder and oppression, without remedy, the lot of the innocent, and holding out the premium of perfect impunity to injustice.

A provision, indeed, was made for persons suing in the character of poor. But to how little effect that provision exists any where, no words are necessary to make known.

A mode of procedure, inartificial, expeditious, and cheap, before native commissioners, provided for suits on account of small sums, though much more useful, was extremely inadequate to the extent of the demand.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The expense and delay," says Sir Henry Strachey, "to which ryots are subject in prosecuting their suits are, to my knowledge, excessive. For the truth of this, I would refer to the records of any Registrar in Bengal. The duty of deciding revenue causes, for a small amount, under the operation of the present regulations, has fallen chiefly on the Registrars. The rights of the inferior ryots are seldom discussed in the superior courts. The welfare of those from whom all revenue, and even subsistence, must be derived—who are the poorest, the weakest, and most numerous—is a matter of importance; and not unworthy of the notice of government. I have therefore thought it my duty to dwell on this subject with some minuteness. It must, I am sure, constantly happen, that a ryot gives up his prosecution in despair, on finding his

The expedient, for proportioning the number of law-suits to the powers of the courts of justice, by

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power of continuing it beyond his power to sustain!—Exaction of revenue is peculiarly difficult of proof. Either no engagements exist, and no accounts can be found; or they are extremely defective and perplexing. It is not the original fee, on the institution of the suit; but the subsequent charges, on exhibits, and on witnesses, that appear to me intolerable. I have often seen a suitor, when stripped of his last rupee, and called upon for the fee on a document, produce in court a silver ring or other trinket, and beg that it might be received as a pledge; and after all, perhaps, he was cast for want of money to bring proof.” On the subject of delay, this Judge observes; “The cultivators are unable to support themselves at the Sudder, during a procedure of two or three months. They cannot return to their houses without submitting to their oppressor. They must have speedy justice, or none.”

The pretended relief afforded by the power of suing in *formâ pauperis*, he shows, is more burdensome than paying the fees. The number too of the persons who sue in this form suggests important reflections. “Half the complainants, in the Dewanny Adaulut of this Zillah, appear as paupers, although these find much difficulty in complying with the regulation intended for the relief of paupers. No man can be admitted to prosecute as a pauper, till he brings two witnesses to attest his poverty, and two securities for his personal appearance; and no one can well do this without, at least, maintaining himself and them, during their absence from home. But the expense of such maintenance must exceed that of the fees and stamp-paper.”

On the pretext of checking litigiousness by expense; he asserts, that there are *no litigious plaintiffs*, or at most very few, and that law-suits are almost always produced by the dishonesty of the defendant. Checking litigiousness, then, by expense, is merely fining a plaintiff for seeking justice; compelling the honest man to remain a prey to the cheat. In some few prosecutions, the dishonest intention is on the side of the plaintiff, when false demands are supported by false evidence. But he asserts, that the proportion of false and frivolous demands, both taken together, amount not to five in a hundred of those which are just and substantial. Contrary to the usual prejudice, he affirms, “The complaints of these people are seldom or never litigious, brought forward merely from the quarrelsome disposition of the prosecutor.”

If suits, he said, were prevented, by increasing the expense, all that could be inferred was, that few could afford to pay: “but a man is disabled from sustaining expense, in proportion as he is poor, and not in proportion as he is litigious.”

The notions of this Indian Judge, on the subject of judicature, were very different from those of the governing men in India and in England. “It is my opinion,” said he, “that the nearer we approach to the rule



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rendering justice more oppressive than injustice ; irrational as it was in principle, and atrocious in practice, failed in another respect. It produced not the effect for which it was intended. In spite of all the exertions which could be made, and in spite of repeated augmentations of law expenses, the number of causes remaining undecided, in 1801, was so great as to excite the attention of the Court of Directors ; who pointed it out to their government in India, as an evil calling loudly for redress. In 1803, on “ the almost incredible number of causes undecided,” they

of granting to all speedy justice, without any expense whatever, the nearer we shall, in our judicial system, approach perfection. It will not, I imagine, be denied, that it is desirable, the least tedious, and least expensive mode of obtaining redress, should be open, where an injury has really been suffered. When a poor man has been oppressed, he should be freed from trouble and expense, and assisted and encouraged, as far as possible, in prosecuting his complaint. He is not, in such a situation, a fair object for taxation. It does not become the ruling power to add to his misfortune by levying impositions upon him. It is clear that a ryot, from whom undue rent has been exacted, must feel the charge of stamp and fees to be a severe aggravation of his distress.” What is the consequence? That which must of necessity follow—that which might be expected to call forth all the attention of Englishmen—but which to this late period appears to have called forth none: “ That the ryots, though now more independent (not from oppression) are much worse protected from distress than heretofore ” For these quotations from Sir Henry Strachey, see the Fifth Report, *ut supra*, p. 525 to 532.

Sir Henry Strachey is not the only one of the Judges in India from whom a British parliament and British rulers, both in London and Calcutta, might receive important lessons. The report from the Judges of the Court of Circuit and Appeal at Moorshedabad, consisting of Mr. Colebrooke, Mr. Pattle, and Mr. Rocke, in 1802, says, “ The increased expense of law-suits has never been found to check litigiousness. On the contrary, it has been generally observed, that litigiousness is encouraged thereby, in the hope that the certainty of the expense, added to the uncertainty of the result, might deter parties from defending even just rights. On comparing the half-yearly reports of the several adauluts in this division, it does not appear that the number of suits, filed since the establishment of the fees and stamp duties, differs much from the number filed, in a similar period, previous thereto.” Fifth Report, p. 519.

remark, that, "to judge by analogy of the courts in Europe, they would be induced to think so great an arrear could scarcely ever come to a hearing. In the year 1802, the government resolved on instituting, where necessary, the office of an assistant Judge; on extending the jurisdiction of the native commissioners; and on allowing a more expeditious mode of procedure in sums of a small amount. "Subsequent reports," say the Select Committee of the House of Commons, "are not calculated to show that the difficulty of keeping down the number of cases, depending on the file, has at all diminished; or that the means resorted to for that purpose, have been as successful as was expected." And they quote a despatch, of a date so late as March, 1812, in which the Directors express themselves in the following extraordinary terms. "We should be very sorry, that, from the accumulation of such arrears, there should ever be room to raise a question, whether it were better to leave the natives to their own arbitrary and precipitate tribunals, than to harass their feelings and injure their property, by an endless procrastination of their suits, under the pretence of more deliberate justice."<sup>1</sup>

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Of the extent to which they are harassed, and the evils which so defective a system of judicature produces, some conception may be attained by the following quotation from a report of one of the Judges of circuit. "The commitments for breaches of the peace, arising from boundary disputes, and other contests concerning landed property, are ascribed to the

<sup>1</sup> See for the above quotations, the Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 63, 64.

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great, though unavoidable arrear, of untried causes pending in some of the courts: since by necessarily protracting, for years, the decision of suits, it frequently drove the suitors to despair; and induced them to run the risk of taking justice into their own hands, by seizing the object in dispute, rather than to await the tardy issue of a process, which threatened to exceed the probable duration of their own lives."<sup>1</sup>

The Court of Directors appear, in that despatch of theirs which has been recently quoted, to imagine, that the choice lies exclusively between the present institution, of which the evils are so enormous, and the arbitrary and precipitate system of the natives. A slight degree of reflection, exempt from the shackles tied upon their minds by custom and authority, would point out to them another course, infinitely preferable to both. Let them give to the people distinct definitions of their rights in an accurate code, and give them courts of justice, which will decide not precipitately, but carefully; free, however, from technical impediments, and therefore quickly: and they will both enable their courts to investigate a greater number of causes; and will exceedingly reduce the number of suits.

It is the admirable effect of an excellent administration of justice, that it prevents the very intention to commit injury, by making it certain to every one that injustice will be disappointed of its aim. Who would go into court for a decision, aware that his cause was bad, if he knew that its merits would be accurately explored, and justice immediately

<sup>1</sup> See for the above quotations, the Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 65.

awarded? In this case the minutest portion of benefit could not be expected from iniquitous litigation. Iniquitous litigation, therefore, would cease. And after the deduction of suits instituted or provoked for purposes of injustice, very few in comparison would remain. But the case is altogether different, when a man knows that it will be months, or perhaps years, before his injustice will come in turn for investigation; that even then, it is only ceremonies that are to be performed, for a considerable space of time, while the merits of the question remain unexplored; that the law is unwritten, arbitrary and obscure; that the procedure is exceedingly difficult to follow without mistakes; and that on these mistakes, totally regardless of the merits of the question, the decision may finally depend. The advantages of injustice, in a state of things like this, are so very numerous, and the encouragement to unjust litigation so very great, that the multiplication of suits may be regarded as a natural and unavoidable result.

No proposition, derived from political experience, may be relied on more confidently than this. That the multiplication of law-suits is a proof of the bad administration of justice: that a perfect administration of justice would almost annihilate litigation: and that the attempt to reduce it by any other means, such as that of expense, is to hold out encouragement to plunderers, and to deny protection of law to the honest and just.

When any great public duty is to be performed, and the number of performers is found to be too small for the demand, the most obvious of all expedients is to increase the number. With regard to

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this expedient for enabling the government in India to do justice between its subjects, the Committee of the House of Commons made an extraordinary declaration in the year 1812. "An augmentation of the number of European Judges, adequate to the purpose required, would be attended with an augmentation of charge, which the state of the finances is not calculated to bear; and the same objection occurs to the appointment of assistant Judges."<sup>1</sup> Never, since man had the use of language, was a more terrible condemnation of any government pronounced. Of all the duties of government, that of maintaining justice among the people is the foremost. This, in fact, is the *end* for which it exists. Here is said to be a government, which raises upon the people a revenue so vast, that, by avowed intention, it is literally all that they can bear; that is, oppressive to the highest pitch which oppression can reach without desolating the country; And all this revenue is squandered away, till not a sufficiency remains to hire Judges for the distribution of justice!<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> The evil arises, in a great measure, out of the anomalous constitution of the government. Foreign judges can neither be so numerous or so cheap as native judges. Unfortunately the latter are not equally effective—they may become so, and it is undoubtedly the duty of the government to promote their efficiency, and thus remedy the great want, the disproportion between the Courts of Justice and the population. The measure has been adopted, of late years, of employing natives in the administration of the civil law to a much greater extent, and on a more liberal scale than formerly. The result has been beneficial, although to what extent is not yet determined. Even before the policy was formally introduced, some steps towards its fulfilment had been made, particularly at Madras; and some of the consequences are thus described by a competent authority. "The experience acquired at Madras, where native agency has been largely resorted to for more than twelve years in judicial duties, does not

What is made of all this money? To what preferable purpose is it applied? High matter, in large quantity, would be contained in a proper answer to these questions.

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Having surveyed the effects which practice and experience have made visible, to those that least enjoy the powers of reflection, of the Regulations made for decision upon the civil rights of the people of India; we come, in order, to the effects which have been produced by the Regulations made for the suppression of crimes, including both penal judicature and police.

In two ways, a system of legislative provisions for the suppression of delinquency may be defective. The burdens which it imposes, in the way of expense, and in the way of infliction, may be too heavy. It may not answer its end; instead of completely repressing offences, allowing them continually to increase.

In regard to burdens, under the reforms which we are now contemplating expense was increased. The inflictions, according to the ideas of Englishmen, were mitigated; but the banishments, substituted to the mutilations, seem to be regarded with still greater horror by the natives than the mutilations themselves. It is unnecessary to dwell upon this topic. The most important point for contemplation is, the diminution or increase of the security

justify the apprehension that natives are liable to prove corrupt judges. During that period they have decided, on an average, upwards of 60,000 suits in the year, to the general and growing satisfaction both of the people and of their official superiors. Minute of D. Hill, Esq. on Judicial and Revenue Administration. March, 1830. App. to the Report of the Select Committee. August, 1832, p. 179.—W.

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of the people by the increase or diminution of crimes.  
In this respect, too, the effects of the English Regulations have been deplorable.

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Of all the crimes by which the private members of the same community infest one another, robbery, in the idea of which are included plunder and murder, is the most deeply fraught with mischief, both by the evil brought upon the immediate victims; and by the alarming sense of insecurity which the prevalence of that crime strikes into the mind of almost every individual in the community. This, the highest of all crimes, assumes an aspect peculiarly terrible in India; where the robbers (in the language of the country *decoits*) form themselves into confederacies, and perform their crimes with a combination of forces which it is not easy to resist. This class of offences did not diminish under the English government, and its legislative provisions. It increased; to a degree, highly disgraceful to the legislation of a civilized people. It increased under the English government, not only to a degree, of which there seems to have been no example under the native governments of India, but to a degree surpassing what was ever witnessed in any country in which law and government could with any degree of propriety be said to exist.

The testimony of the judges, and other officers of the Company's government, shall be adduced, as much as possible, in their own words. "The crime of decoity" (that is robbery by gangs), says Sir Henry Strachey, in his report as judge of circuit in the district of Calcutta in the year 1802, "has, I believe, increased greatly, since the British adminis-

tration of justice. The number of convicts confined at the six stations of this division (independent of Zillah twenty-four pergunahs) is about 4000. Of them probably nine-tenths are decoits. Besides these, some hundreds have of late years been transported. The number of persons convicted of decoity, however great it may appear, is certainly small, in proportion to those who are guilty of the crime. At Midnapore, I find, by the reports of the police darogas, that, in the year 1802, a period of peace and tranquillity, they sent intelligence of no less than ninety-three robberies, most of them, as usual, committed by large gangs. With respect to fifty-one of these robberies, not a man was taken; and for the remaining forty-two very few, frequently only one or two in each gang. It must not be supposed that decoity prevails in the district of Midnapore to a greater extent than in other districts of this division; on the contrary, I think there is less, except perhaps in Beerbhoom. In Burdwan there is certainly three or four times as much.”<sup>1</sup>

The judge of circuit in the Rajeshahye division in 1808, in a letter to the Registrar to the Nizamut Adaulut, says, “It is with much diffidence I address the Nizamut Adaulut on the present occasion; for I have to propose measures, the nature of which they are, I know, generally averse to. I do not wait till the end of the circuit, when, in the course of official routine, I should have to make a report to the court; because the evil which I complain of is great, and increasing; and every instant of delay serves

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<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 559.



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only to furnish new victims to the atrocities which are daily committed.—That decoity is very prevalent in Rajeshahye has been often stated. But if its vast extent were known: if the scenes of horror, the murders, the burnings, the excessive cruelties, which are continually perpetrated here, were properly represented to government, I am confident that some measures would be adopted, to remedy the evil. Certainly there is not an individual, belonging to the government, who does not anxiously wish to save the people from robbery and massacre. Yet the situation of the people is not sufficiently attended to. It cannot be denied, that, in point of fact, there is no protection for persons or property. Such is the state of things which prevails in most of the Zillahs in Bengal. But in this it is much worse than in any other I have seen. I am fully persuaded, that no civilized country ever had so bad a police, as that which Rajeshahye has at present.”<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Dowdeswell, the secretary to government, in a report which he drew up, in 1809, “On the general state of the police of Bengal,” says; “Were I to enumerate only a thousandth part of the atrocities of the decoits, and of the consequent sufferings of the people; and were I to soften that recital in every mode which language would permit, I should still despair of obtaining credit, solely on my own authority, for the accuracy of the narrative.” He goes on to state, that, “Robbery, rape, and even murder itself, are not the worst figures, in this horrid and disgusting picture. An expedient of

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 586.

common occurrence with the decoits, merely to induce a confession of property, supposed to be concealed, is, to burn the proprietor with straw or torches, until he discloses the property, or perishes in the flames. And when they are actuated by a spirit of revenge against individuals, worse cruelties, if worse can be, are perpetrated by those remorseless criminals. If the information obtained is not extremely erroneous, the offender, hereafter noticed, himself committed fifteen murders in nineteen days: And volumes might be filled with the atrocities of the decoits, every line of which would make the blood run cold with horror.”<sup>1</sup>

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Mr. Dowdeswell inserts an abstract of three trials which had been recently adjudged in the court of Nizamut Adaulut. It is highly proper that one should appear as a specimen. The prisoners, nine in number, were charged with being the principal actors in a gang of robbers, who on the night of the 27th August, 1808, perpetrated the enormities which the prosecutor related, as follows: “That about twelve o’clock on the night on which the robbery and murders took place, he was sleeping in a house at a short distance from that of his father, and being awoken by the noise of robbers, went out, and saw that a party of about fifty decoits had attacked his father’s house; that, from fear, he concealed himself in a plantain garden, within fifty yards of the spot, from whence he saw the robbers drag out from the house his father and mother; and, after binding their hands and feet, apply lighted straw and torches

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 603.

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to their bodies, demanding of them, at the same time, to point out where their money was concealed; that the unfortunate people assured them, they had none; but that the robbers, proving inexorable, went into the house and brought from it a quantity of hemp, which they twisted round the body of Loharam, and, after pouring on it ghee, or clarified butter, to render it more inflammable, set fire to it:—That they then procured a quilt from the house, which they also moistened with ghee and rolled round the body of Loharam:—That the prisoners Balka Sirdar, Nubboo Sirdar, and Kunkye Cupally, at the direction of the prisoner Bulram Sirdar, threw the prosecutor's father on the ground, and keeping him down, with a bamboo which they held over his breast, set fire to the quilt:—That at this time the cries of the unfortunate man were most shocking, the robbers continually calling on him to tell where his money was, and he assuring them that he had none, and imploring them to take his cows, or any thing they might find in his house:—That the robbers, however, still proceeded to further cruelty, having procured some mustard-seed, and torn up the flesh of Loharam's breast, by drawing a large bamboo several times across it, pounded the mustard-seed on the sores, with a view to make the torment more excruciating:—That, at the same time, the mother of the prosecutor was tortured nearly in the same manner, by the robbers tying hemp round her body, and setting fire to it, and dragging her about from place to place, by the hair of her head, calling on her all the while, to tell them where her husband's money was concealed; and also calling out

on the prosecutor by name, to come and witness the state of his father and mother:—That these cruelties, together with the plunder of the house of Loharam and other ones adjacent, continued until between three and four o'clock in the morning, at which time the robbers departed; and that the prosecutor, on going up to his father and mother, found them most dreadfully mangled, but still alive; that his father expired about noon, and his mother, not till the following morning. The prisoners whom the prosecutor swore to have recognised, at the murder of his parents, in addition to Bulram Sirdar, Balka Sirdar, Nubboo Sirdar, and Kunkye Cupally, before mentioned, were;—Dacooa Sirdar, Shookoor Peada, Mudary Peada, Kallichurn Ghose, and Nubboo Sirdar; and he also specified Casinauth Bagdy, and Gudda Barooge.”

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“Several witnesses on the part of the prosecution (inhabitants of the village) confirmed the circumstances related by the prosecutor.

“The court in consequence, sentenced the prisoners convicted, nine in number, to suffer death.”<sup>1</sup>

The other two cases are of a similar character. One of them relates to the robbery of an English gentleman whose house was plundered, who was himself loaded with indignity, and some of his servants murdered. “An accurate judgment,” says the secretary of the Indian government, “of the nature of the evils in question, may be formed from the foregoing documents.”

Of the extent of the mischief, this gentleman,

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 606.



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however, informs us, that the government had no very accurate knowledge. We are left to judge of it, by the general declarations we receive respecting its prevalency, and respecting the state of alarm in which the people are universally held. From one declaration, to which there is no dissent, we may draw an estimate, beyond which no imaginable evil can easily be found. "To the people of India there is no protection, either of persons or of property."

It is impossible to suppose that the worst of all crimes should grow up to a height of unexampled atrocity, singly, and by itself. That state of things which affords encouragement to one species of delinquency, is pretty sure to afford encouragement to other species of delinquency. The case of India confirms the general experience. Beside decoity, which involves a combination of the most dreadful crimes, "burglaries, effected by breaking through the walls of houses; murder from various motives; robberies attended with murder and manslaughter; perjury, and subornation of perjury, practised for the most atrocious purposes; are," say the Select Committee, "not unfrequent in many parts of the country; but the Bengal provinces appear to be, more than any other, characterized by them."<sup>1</sup>

Sir Henry Strachey says, "Since the year 1793, crimes of all kinds are increased; and I think most crimes are still increasing. The present increase of crimes may, perhaps, be doubtful; but no one, I think, can deny, that immediately after 1793,

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 66.

during five or six years, it was most manifest and rapid; and that no considerable diminution has taken place.”<sup>1</sup>

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The Judge of circuit in the Bareilly division, in 1805, warns the government against supposing that the lists transmitted from the courts exhibit an accurate view of the state of delinquency; because the cases are extremely numerous which are never brought before the magistrates, from the negligence or connivance of the police officers, and the aversion of the people to draw upon themselves the burden of a prosecution. Hence it happens that the less aggravated cases of robbery, with those of theft and fraud, “are frequently perpetrated, and no records of them remain.” Hence the cases of homicide, which least admit of concealment, occupy the largest space in the criminal calendar. “The number of persons,” continues the Judge, “convicted of wilful murder is certainly great.—The murder of children, for the sake of their ornaments, is, I am sorry to say, common. So much so, that I submit whether it might not be advisable to strike at the root of the evil, by taking away, if possible, the temptation to commit the act: I mean, adopting measures to prevent children from wearing gold and silver ornaments. For my own part, being convinced that, under the existing laws, we have no other means of putting an end to the frequent perpetration of this crime, I could wish to see the practice of adorning children with valuable trinkets, altogether prohibited.” He adds, “A want of tenderness and

<sup>1</sup> Answer to Interrogatories, Fifth Report, p. 533.

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In Sir Henry Strachey’s paper of answers to interrogatories, from which we have derived so much important information, he says, “Perjury has increased greatly; and is increasing.”<sup>2</sup> In the report of the circuit Judge of the Patna division in 1802, it is stated, that “of the murders charged (at his late jail delivery) only a few, and of the robberies no more than one, really happened. The rest are merely fictitious crimes, brought forward to harass an opposing litigant, or revenge a quarrel. The criminal court is the weapon of revenge, to which the natives of this province resort, on all occasions. Men of the first rank in society feel no compunction at mutually accusing each other of the most heinous offences, and supporting the prosecution with the most barefaced perjuries. Nor does the detection of their falsehood create a blush.”<sup>3</sup>

Such a prevalence of the higher crimes implies a complete dissolution of morals. To this also, if it could remain doubtful, the same weight of testimonial evidence is applied. Sir Henry Strachey says, “The people are probably somewhat more licentious than formerly. Chicanery, subornation, fraud, and perjury, are certainly more common. Drunkenness, prostitution, indecorum, profligacy of manners, must increase, under a system, which, although it professes to administer the Mohammedan law, does not punish those immoralities.”

In having lessened the quantity of direct oppres-

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 565, 566.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 544.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 68.

sion which superiors exercised, as a sort of right, over inferiors, consisted, in the opinion of this judge, the whole of the benefit introduced by the English laws. And this, again, he thought, was counterbalanced by the loss of that protection which the superior was accustomed to yield to his dependants: and by exposure to the still more dreadful scourge of decoits, and other depredators and destroyers.<sup>1</sup>

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The Judge and magistrate of Burdwan, in his answer to interrogatories in 1802, says, I am sorry that of the moral character of the inhabitants, I cannot report favourably; or give it, as my opinion, that the British system has tended to improve either the Mohammedan or Hindu moral character. Certain it is, that much profligacy, vice, and depravity, are to be found amongst the higher class: and the crimes, committed by the lower, will, I think, be found more prevailing, and in greater number, than under the Mohammedan jurisprudence.”<sup>2</sup>

The magistrates of the twenty-four pergunnahs, on the same occasion, say, “We are sorry that we cannot make any favourable report respecting the moral character of the inhabitants of the districts subject to our jurisdiction. The lower classes are in general profligate, and depraved. The moral duties are little attended to by the higher ones. The system, introduced by the British government, for the administration of the law, and for the conduct of the internal administration of the country, does not, therefore, appear to have improved the moral cha-

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 546.



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Of this hideous state of society, the causes are now to be explored. That the root was laid in the corruptive operation of the despotism to which in all ages the people had been subject, admits of no dispute, and stands in need of no explanation. The important inquiry to which we are summoned is; why the British regulations, intended for the abatement of delinquency, had been so unfortunate as to increase rather than diminish it.

That penal law in the hands of the English has failed so completely of answering its end, is to be ascribed in a great degree to the infirmities and vices of the law itself. The qualities wherein consist the virtues of a system of law appear to have been little understood in time past by British legislators. Clearness, certainty, promptitude, cheapness, with penalties nicely adapted to the circumstances of each species of delinquency; these are the qualities on which the efficacy of a system of penal law depends; and in all these, without one exception, the penal law set up by the English in India is defective to a degree that never was surpassed, and very rarely has been equalled. Its failure, therefore, and the misery of the people who must depend upon it for protection, are not a subject for surprise.

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 551.

It is a sort of a mixture of the Mohammedan and English systems, and so contrived as to combine the principal vices of both. With the exception of a change in certain modes of punishment, revolting to English minds, the Mohammedan code, which in penal matters had been exclusively followed by the Mogul government, was still retained. It was the characteristic of the Mohammedan law, as it is of the law of all rude nations, to be unwritten. The standard was the Koran, in which nothing beyond a few vague precepts could be found. To this were added the commentaries of the doctors, of which some had attained the rank of authorities. The vagueness of the commentaries corresponded with the vagueness of the original; and no distinct legislative definition existed. On every occasion, therefore, requiring a decision, the expounder of the law was called upon, for what? Not to point out a passage of the code exclusively containing the appropriate point of law. No such passage existed. What he did, or pretended to do, was, from a general view of what had been taught or decided by preceding doctors, to frame an inference for the particular case of the moment. His business was, not simply to declare, but to make the law, to make a separate law for an individual case, every time that a decision was required; to make it, and under no other restriction than that of some obligation to make the result bear some resemblance to former practice. In a law existing in this barbarous state, in which there was so little of any thing fixed or certain, a wide field was commonly assigned to the arbitrary will of the judge. All uncertainties in the law operate to the

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encouragement of crime ; because the criminal interprets them, and with an estimate far beyond their value, in his own favour.

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With a law of this description to administer, a procedure resembling that of the regular halls or rather closets of judicature in England was adopted for its administration. The English form of practice, or course of procedure, consists of so many operations and ceremonies, to which, however frivolous, or obstructive to the course of justice, the most minute obedience is rigidly enacted, that the administration of English law abounds with delay, is loaded with expense, and paralyzed by uncertainty. From only one of the vices of the Mohammedan system, the corruption of the judges, were the people of India now delivered ; but they were visited with another, which appears to be to them a much more dreadful calamity, a complicated, tedious, expensive course of procedure, which to a great degree annihilates all the advantages of law.

The evidence we have on this important subject, is the testimony of those of the Company's servants on whom the business of judicature devolves : some of whom, if we may judge by those of their reports which the public have been permitted to peruse, are to a singular degree qualified for that important trust.

In answer to the following interrogatory ; “ Are you of opinion that the Mohammedan criminal law, with the alterations of that law made by the British government, is administered with too much lenity, or too much severity ; and what do you suppose to be the consequences produced by the operation of the

spirit, in which the criminal law is in your opinion administered ;" " We are of opinion," said the judges of circuit of the Moorshedabad division in 1802, " that, from the discretionary mode in which the Mohammedan criminal law, with the alterations of that law made by the British government, is administered, the administration of it admits both of too much lenity, and too much severity ; at any rate of too much uncertainty. An offence, which to one law officer may appear sufficiently punished by a month's imprisonment, shall from another law officer incur a sentence of three or more years. Even in the heinous crime of gang-robbery, our records will show sometimes a sentence of fourteen years' transportation, and sometimes a sentence of two years' confinement. The consequences which we suppose to be produced by the operation of this spirit in which the criminal law is in our opinion administered, are contempt of the law itself, and encouragement to offenders."<sup>1</sup>

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By Sir Henry Strachey, in his report in the same year as judge and Magistrate of Midnapore, it is said, " I may here take the liberty to mention a few circumstances which have fallen under my observation, as operating to obstruct the conviction of delinquents under the present system. I think the delay which occurs between the apprehension and the trial is too great. The accused have time and opportunity to fabricate a defence ; and very little money will procure false witnesses to support it. The extreme length and intricacy of trials render the full and complete investigation of every case impossible."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 521.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 531.



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The magistrates of the twenty-four pergunnahts, in 1802, reported; "The delay attending the administration of criminal justice, and the length of time that elapses before criminal prosecutions are brought to a conclusion, is one of the causes to which the frequent commission of crimes in general, and that of decoity in particular, may, we think, be in a great measure attributed. The trouble, loss of time, and expense, that attends a criminal prosecution on the present system, is in our opinion a serious evil, and not only induces many who have been robbed to put up with the loss they sustain, rather than apply to the police officers for redress, but prevents numbers from coming forward with informations that would be highly beneficial to the community, and would, we have no doubt, in numberless instances be preferred, were the administration of justice more prompt and speedy than at present. The consequence of delay is, that numbers of criminals of the most daring description, against whom, when committed for trial, there is the most full and complete evidence, escape, and are again let loose on society;" owing to the death, removal, loss of memory, or mendacity of the witnesses; a mendacity often purchased, often the fruit of intimidation.<sup>1</sup>

"I am by no means sure," says the Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit, the enlightened Sir Henry Strachey, in 1803, "of the necessity or propriety of increasing the severity of punishment. Before I can form a judgment of the efficacy of such remedies, I must be certain that the punishment reaches the

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 552, 551.

offenders ; at present the punishment does not reach them ; they elude conviction ; they elude apprehension. We cannot say that men become decoits, because the punishments are too lenient ; they become so, because their chance of escaping altogether is so good.”<sup>1</sup>

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The report, in 1805, of the Judge of circuit in the Bareilly division says, “Attendance on the court, whether as a prosecutor, or witness, is generally regarded as a heavy misfortune ; to avoid which, many leave their homes, and submit to infinite inconvenience and vexation ; and many more, I presume, pay handsomely to the Nazir or his people, for permission to keep out of the way. Hence crimes are perpetrated, and no records remain of them.—The delay, and expense, of prosecuting, are intolerable to the lower orders.”<sup>2</sup>

A system of law, marked by so many infirmities, may, in a country like England, where crimes are easily suppressed, and where the sentiments and manners of the people accomplish more than the law, afford an appearance of efficacy, and get the credit of much of that order which it does not produce ; but in a country like India, where crimes are difficult to repress, and where the law receives little aid from the sentiments and manners of the people, a far more perfect system is required.

A system of law, which would really afford the

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 561. Sir Henry continues, “A robber even in Bengal is, I presume, a man of courage and enterprise ; who, though he roughly estimates the risk he is to run by continuing his depredations on the public, is rather apt to under-rate that risk—small as in reality it is.”

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 565, 567.

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benefits of law to the Indian people, would confer upon them unspeakable benefits. It is perhaps the only great political blessing which they are as yet capable of receiving. But the arbitrary will of a master, which though it often cuts down the innocent with the guilty, yet prohibits all crimes but his own, is preferable to a mere mockery of law, which lays the innocent man at the mercy of every depredator.

Of the prevalence of crime in India, the first of the causes, therefore, is found, in the vices and defects of the law. The second may be traced to those of the police; by the imperfections of which, because more superficial, and obvious to ordinary eyes, the attention of the Company's servants, and of the Committee of the House of Commons, appears to have been more peculiarly engaged. The main purpose of a system of police, is to serve as an instrument to the courts of justice; providing that no offence shall be committed without the prompt subjection of the offender to the course of law. The English system appears to fail in accomplishing this important end, by two defects. In the first place, the instruments are too feeble. In the next place, they are ill adapted to the end.

"The establishment of an efficient police," say the Select Committee of the House of Commons, "though an object of the first importance, appears to be a part of the new internal arrangements, in which the endeavours of the supreme government have been the least successful. With respect to the darogahs, or head police officers, who under the new system have taken the place of the Tannahdars, it is

observed of them, that they are not less corrupt than the Tannahdars, their predecessors ; and that themselves, and the inferior officers acting under them, with as much inclination to do evil, have less ability to do good, than the Zemindary servants, employed before them. The darogah, placed in a division of the country, comprehending four hundred square miles, is, with fifteen or twenty armed men, found to be incompetent to the protection of the inhabitants.”<sup>1</sup>

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If the agents of police are greatly too few, the obvious remedy is to add to their number. The answer to this exhortation, however, is unhappily the same as that for the multiplication of the courts of justice. The finances of the Company will not endure the expense. In other words, the revenue of the country, instead of being applied to its only legitimate end, the protection of the people, is disposed of in a different way.

Not only are the agents of police defective in point of number, but adequate means are not employed to make them discharge the duties of their office. So far is this from being done, that the darogahs, and their people, add to the very evils which they are intended to suppress. By the Judge of Midnapore, in 1802, we are told, “The darogahs, I believe it is generally confessed, do not perform the duty that was expected. They are clearly either unable, or unwilling. Their insufficiency consists, I think, in a general neglect of duty, in petty rogueries, in a want of respecta-

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 71.



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bility, in being destitute of that energy and activity, and that delicate sensibility to character, which ought to characterize a police officer. In the duties of his office, a darogah is hardly occupied half an hour a day : and he often becomes negligent, indolent, and, in the end, corrupt. His dishonesty consists in taking bribes from poor people who have petty foudarry suits, in conniving at the absconding of persons summoned through him, in harrassing ryots with threats, or pretended complaints, creating vexatious delays in settling disputes, or preventing their being settled, and chiefly in deceiving the poor and ignorant, with whom he has to deal. The avowed allowances of a police darogah are not sufficiently liberal to render the office worthy the acceptance of men who are fit to perform the duty.”<sup>1</sup>

The secretary of government says ; “ The darogahs of police seldom, if ever, possess any previous instruction as to the nature and extent of their duties, nor any habits of life calculated to enable them to perform those duties with effect. A brahmin, a sirdar, a moonshy, or even a menial servant, is, each in his turn, a candidate for this situation, of their fitness for which it is easy to judge. Their agency, even in furnishing information, a duty which requires no particular exertions or capacity is, totally ineffectual. Happy, however, would it be, if the defects already noticed were the greatest to be found in the character of the police darogahs. The vices, which render them a pest to the country, are,

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 538.

their avarice, and addiction to every species of extortion.”<sup>1</sup>

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The description of the following scene of iniquity, in which the police agents are the principal actors, is necessary to convey a just idea of the state of this branch of the government. The Judge of circuit, in the Calcutta division, in 1810, in a paper addressed to the Judge and magistrate of the Zillah, says, “The practice, so nefarious and so prevalent, of extorting and fabricating confessions, requires your most serious attention. I remarked, with much concern, that, in every case of decoity brought before me, the proof rested on a written confession, given in evidence at the trial; and regret to add, that all those confessions bear the marks of fabrication. In one of these cases (No. 7 of your calendar), a prisoner, who was perfectly innocent, confirmed, before the magistrate, under the influence of improper means previously made use of towards him, a confession before a police darogah, which was proved on the trial to be false: and which had, in fact, been extorted by intimidation and violence. An erroneous idea prevails, that a confession is the strongest proof of guilt. This false notion, perhaps, first gave rise to the custom of fabricating them; and the practice appears to have increased, till it has become general and systematic. It would be endless entering into a detail of the different modes in which confessions are fabricated and proved. The usual course appears to be first, to apprehend as many people as caprice may dictate, and then to select from the number those individuals who are to con-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dowdeswell's Report on the Police of Bengal, in 1819, *ibid*, p. 611, 612.

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fess, and determine on the purport of their confessions. The preliminaries being thus arranged the victims are made over to the subordinate agents or instruments of police, to be dealt with according to circumstances; and the rest are discharged. It sometimes happens that they meet with a man whom they are able to deceive, by assurances of immediate pardon, and false promises of future favour and indulgence. In such case, he is usually told, that by signing a paper, prepared by the buckshee for that purpose, or repeating before witnesses what he is instructed to say, he will not only escape hanging, or, at least, perpetual imprisonment, but become one of the chosen of the police, and make his fortune as a goyendah; that all he has to do, is to pretend that he was concerned in the decoity, and say, that the gang was composed of particular individuals who are named to him, and leave the rest to the darogah. In short, the alternative is offered him, either of making a friend or an enemy of the police; either of suffering ignominious death through their power, or of raising himself to a post of honourable ambition and profit by their favour. When these means fail, they have recourse to compulsion. In this event the prisoners are taken out singly, at night; and subjected to every species of maltreatment, till they consent to subscribe before witnesses, to the contents of a confession, drawn up for their signature by the buckshee; or to learn it by heart, and repeat it in their presence. When the prisoner is thus prepared, if there appears no danger of his retracting before morning, he is left at peace for a few hours; but if any apprehension of that sort is entertained, a burkundaaz is sent for three or four

people of the village, to witness the confession instantly, and they are roused from their sleep at all hours of the night for that purpose. It is to be observed, however, that the sending for impartial witnesses does not often occur, except when the darogah has not sufficient weight or talent to keep his place, and at the same time set appearances at defiance. A darogah who is sure of his post, will, with the utmost impudence, send in a confession witnessed only by a few pykes, or other police dependants, who were, perhaps, the very instruments by whose means it was extorted." The fabrication of evidence in general, and the subornation of perjury for that purpose, is declared by the same indubitable authority to have become "a prevailing practice with the agents of police."<sup>1</sup>

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When such are the deeds of the very men by whom the crimes of others are to be suppressed, it is easy to judge of the sort of protection which the British government has succeeded in providing for the people of India.

The Secretary, Mr. Dowdeswell, complains, that powers, far too great, are intrusted in the hands of those men. They have not only the executive powers of a constable and sheriff's officer, but those united to them of a justice of the peace: they have the power of receiving charges and information without limit; the power of receiving them on oath, or dispensing with the oath, a power of great moment, considering the prejudices of the natives with regard to an oath; the power of proceeding by summons or

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 595, 596.



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arrest, at discretion; the power of referring or not referring the determination to the magistrate; of fixing the amount of bail; of making, or, if they please, causing to be made, a local inquiry upon the recent commission of any robbery or violent offence; and, finally, of apprehending and sending to the magistrates all persons under the vague denomination of "vagrants and suspected persons:" "powers," adds Mr. Dowdeswell, "which never have been confided to any subordinate peace-officers in England: and which, indeed, would not be tolerated for a moment in that country: powers, the interposition of which, by the hands of the Indian darogahs, are attended with intolerable vexations."<sup>1</sup>

The means, employed for accomplishing the ends of a police, have, therefore, been ignorantly devised. "It is now," say the Committee of the House of Commons, "unequivocally acknowledged on the proceedings of government, *that the existing system of police has entirely failed in its object.*"<sup>2</sup> The Judge of Circuit, in the Rajeshahye division, in 1808, with indignation says: "The present wretched, mechanical, inefficient system of police, is a mere mockery."<sup>3</sup>

The extraordinary imperfection of the system of police, I rank as the second of the causes of the great

<sup>1</sup> Report on the Police of Bengal, Fifth Report, p. 611, 612.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth Report, p. 73. This expression, if authority can give it force, deserves peculiar attention. It was first employed by Mr. Lumsden, a member of the Supreme Government, recorded on the 13th of June, 1808; it was quoted, as authority, confirming the declaration of his own opinion, by Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell, in his Report in 1809, on the Police of Bengal; and lastly it is quoted, as expressing the result of their own inquiries, by the Committee of the House of Commons.

<sup>3</sup> Fifth Report, p. 586.

prevalence of crime, and the insecurity of persons and property in Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

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The next of these causes is an infirmity which adheres to governments in general, to many of them in a greater degree than the Anglo-Indian government: the obstinate determination to believe that every thing which they do is excellent; and, of course, that every institution which they set up must of necessity accomplish its end. This most pernicious propensity appears to have long completely blinded the Indian government to the deplorable imperfections attaching upon, and characterizing, every

<sup>1</sup> It should rather have been the first. The commission of crime was encouraged rather by the impunity by which it was attended before trial than after it. The culprit was not apprehended, or if apprehended, evidence could not be brought against him to secure his conviction. No code of law, however, can ensure the depositions of witnesses—this is a matter of police.—Whatever may be the theoretical perfection of a penal code, the police must be effective, to protect witnesses against the vindictive resentment of a culprit, and his confederates, or guilt can never be proved. It was to this latter defect that those who were guilty of gang-robbery looked for impunity, much more than to any want of enactments to punish the guilt which had been established by adequate testimony. The state of the police was, undoubtedly, very bad at the time referred to in the text, but even then, active European superintendence could and did communicate to it efficiency. Gang-robbery was suppressed very shortly afterwards by the energy and intelligence of one or two individual magistrates. Instances of it have no doubt occurred since, but they have been comparatively rare, and attended with less atrocious circumstances. The organization of the Police is still defective—the principal officers are ill paid, the numbers of the establishment are ill-proportioned to the immense tracts of country over which it is spread. The evils resulting from these circumstances are admitted, and attempts are now in course of progress to construct a system of greater efficiency. The wisdom and necessity of the determination cannot be denied, although it is not so easy as it might be thought, to discover the means by which it is to be carried into practice. In the mean time, it may be asserted, notwithstanding all the dark colouring of the Fifth Report, that public order and private security are maintained in India in a very extraordinary manner, and that few countries in Europe so little require the constant interposition of the Police.—W.

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department of that institution of government which was set up by the regulations of 1793. The imperfections of even the system of police, those which were the most obvious to ordinary eyes, they not only continued determined not to see; but, such was the pernicious influence of their authority, that individuals were deterred either from allowing themselves to believe, or, at any rate, from the important duty of making known, the vices of the system. "What," says the Judge of the Circuit, in the Benares division, in 1808, after a long display of the evils to which those horrid vices were giving birth, "may be thought of the weight of the preceding reasoning, I know not. A very few years back, I should have been afraid, in advancing the arguments which I have offered, of exposing myself to the imputation of singularity. I have now the satisfaction to find that some of my conclusions, at least, are sanctioned by the highest authority. The preamble to Regulation Twelfth, of 1807, declares, that the police establishments in the provinces, those establishments on which we have relied for sixteen years, are inefficient."<sup>1</sup> The Committee of the House of Commons, with some indignation, remark, that, "though the letters from the Bengal government, down to April, 1806, represent the commission of crimes, particularly perjury, to be increasing rather than the contrary, there is nothing said to excite any particular apprehension for the security of person and property enjoyed by the natives under the British government, or to create any doubt in regard to the new system

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 577, 578.

of police having secured to the natives the benefits which were intended for them by its introduction.”<sup>1</sup>

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Another cause, a natural consequence of the former, is, the temptation under which the servants of the state are placed, to represent in a flattering light the proceedings of government; to keep back, or explain away, the disagreeable consequences; to exaggerate those that are pleasant; and, very often, to suppose and describe such as never exist. Governments are thus deceived, and remain in ignorance of what above all things it imports them to know; the extent to which the institutions of government fall short of accomplishing the ends for the sake of which they exist. What is stated by Mr. Dowdeswell is worthy of particular attention, and indelible remembrance; That this unhappy propensity, which is a power of such extensive and such pernicious operation in all governments, is the foremost among the causes of the disgraceful state of Anglo-India. “The *principal* cause,” says the Secretary, in his instructive report on the police of Bengal, “why the measures, hitherto adopted for the protection of the people against robbery by open violence, have been ineffectual, is, the very imperfect information which government, and the principal authorities under government, possessed, respecting the actual state of the police.—The defect here noticed,” he continues, “may arise, either from the very imperfect information which the local magistrates themselves possess respecting the state of the police, or from an ill-judged, but not an unnatural, solicitude, to represent

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 73.



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the districts in the most favourable state possible.”<sup>1</sup>

It is also in the highest degree worthy of being pointed out to general attention, that the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1810 to inquire into the affairs of India, have selected this prevailing vice in almost all governments, as the object of their particular reprobation. “Your Committee,” they tell the House, “must here express their opinion of the dangerous tendency of indulgence in the disposition alluded to; of representing districts, or things, to be in a more favourable state than they really are: As this may lead; first, to a postponement of the communication of unpleasant circumstances; next, to the suppression of information; and, finally, to the misrepresentation of facts.”<sup>2</sup> Of one thing, however, we may remain assured, as of a law of nature, that so long as the wisdom and virtue of governments are in too low a state to recognise the indication of defects as the most useful information which it is possible for them to receive; the dependants of government, who hence find it their interest to report what is agreeable, will be sure to mislead. A sufficient antidote would exist, in a free press, under the unsparing operation of which governments would remain ignorant of none of their defects. Solid objections may indeed be started to the institution as yet of a free press in India, though objections of much less weight than is generally imagined. But the existence of a free press, in any state of society, or under any circumstances, it is the constant, strenuous, and wicked

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 607.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 73.

endeavour of almost all governments, utterly to prevent.

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The parliamentary committee carry their investigation to the highest source; they accuse the Indian government, itself, of acting under the influence of this destructive vice; and, in its representations to the authorities at home, of describing things in India as in a far better situation than they really are. From general knowledge, the experienced mind would easily infer the existence of this deceptive propensity, and its operation, to a great extent. It is necessary to have studied particularly the documents of our Indian history, to know with what unusual strength it operates in the breast of almost every man who has been connected with the government of India; in a word, to have any conception to what an extent the British people have been deluded, and continue to be deluded, with flattering accounts of what is described as "their empire in India." In the whole correspondence of the Bengal government with the Court of Directors, down to April, 1806, the Committee remark, that not a syllable is found expressive of any failure in the system of police, though from the year 1801, "the reports of the circuit judges, at the conclusion of each session, evinced the prevalence of gang-robbery, not only in a degree sufficient to attract the notice of the government, but to call forth its endeavours to suppress it."<sup>1</sup>

Another cause of the disorders of India, a cause, too, of which it is highly important to convey a just

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 73, 74.

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idea, is the overweening estimate which our countrymen are prone to make, not only of their own political contrivances in India, but of the institutions of their own country in the mass. Under the influence of a vulgar infirmity, That *Self* must be excellent, and every thing which affects the pride of *Self* must have surpassing excellence, English institutions, and English practices, have been generally set up as a standard, by conformity or disconformity with which, the excellence or defect of every thing in the world was to be determined. With moderate taxes, under a government which protects from foreign violence, the only thing necessary for the happiness and the rapid improvement of the people of India, is a good administration of justice. But to this great object the circumstances of the people, and the moral habits left in their minds by superstition and despotism, oppose a formidable resistance. To afford in any tolerable degree the protection of law to the people of India, is a far more difficult process than it is in England; and for its accomplishment, a far more perfect system of legal and judicial provisions, than what is witnessed in England, is indispensably required. Of this the rulers in India have not attained the slightest conception; and hence the many ill-contrived measures to which they have had recourse.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not so difficult to afford to the people of India effective protection as it is to the people of England or other European countries, as the former are of a less turbulent character, and have an almost servile respect for official authority. It is, however, quite true, that it is a great mistake to attempt to afford it in the same way: to set aside all local usages and practices, and to remodel the police of India after the approved receipts of the Home Office. The adaptation of local means to local ends should be

Of part of the difficulties under which the administration of justice labours in India, some conception may be formed, from the description which has already been given of the agents of police. The state of the people is such, that trustworthy instruments cannot be found. In a more favourable state of the human mind, that large portion of the field of action which it is impossible to reach with the terrors of law, is protected by the sentiments of the people themselves: they distribute towards individuals their favour and abhorrence, in proportion as those individuals observe or violate the general rules on the observance of which the happiness of society depends; and of so much importance to every man are the sentiments with which he is regarded by those among whom he lives, that without some share of their good opinion, life itself becomes a burden. In India there is no moral character. Sympathy and antipathy are distributed by religious, not by moral judgment. If a man is of a certain caste, and has committed no transgression of those ceremonies by which religious defilement or degradation is incurred, he experiences little change in the sentiments of his countrymen, on account of moral purity or pollution. In employing the natives of India, the government can, therefore, never reckon upon good conduct, except when it has made provision for the immediate detection and punishment of the offender.

The proneness of the natives to mendacity and perjury, renders the evidence of judicial facts in India so weak and doubtful, as extremely to increase the diffi-

carefully considered, if the latter are to be attained in India as well as in other countries.—W.



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culties of judication. The intelligent Judge of Circuit, in the Rajeshahye division, in 1808, thus describes the state of evidence in the Indian courts. “ Every day’s experience, and reflection on the nature of our courts, and the minds and manners of the natives, serve to increase my doubts, about our capacity to discover truth among them. It appears to me, that there is a very great deal of perjury, of many different shades, in our judicial proceedings: and that many common rules of evidence would here be inapplicable and absurd. Even the honest men, as well as the rogues, are perjured. The most simple, and the most cunning, alike, make assertions that are incredible, or that are certainly false. If the prosecutor, in cases of decoity, was always to be disbelieved because there was perjury, scarce a decoit would be convicted. By cross-examination, you may draw an honest witness into as many absurdities and contradictions as you please.<sup>1</sup> It is not easy to detect the persons who come forward as eye-witnesses, in cases of decoity. Their story is all true—but one point; the identity of the persons whom they accuse: and how can you discover whether this is true or false? Some witnesses are loquacious, some taciturn; some frigid, some over zealous; some willing, some unwilling; some bold, some timid, some scrupulous: some come to give false evidence, in favour of a friend, or master; some to ruin an enemy; and the signs of the different modes that disguise truth are so very equivocal, and often so

<sup>1</sup> This is not restricted to India, although it may happen more frequently than in England, through the greater timidity and simplicity of the witnesses. Such prevarication is not to be confounded with wilful falsehood—W.

unintelligible, that nothing can be depended on. There is not one witness in a dozen on whom you can rely for a purely true story. It has very often happened, that a story, which, by attending only to the plain direct course of things, I believed to be true, has, by examining into matters apparently connected in a very distant degree with the case, turned out to be entirely false. I am afraid that the evidence of witnesses in our courts is, for the most part, an instrument in the hands of men: and not an independent, untouched source of truth.”<sup>1</sup>

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“ In the course of trials,” says Sir Henry Strachey, “ the guilty very often, according to the best of my observation, escape conviction. Sometimes, an atrocious robbery or murder is sworn to, and in all appearance clearly established by the evidence on the part of the prosecutors; but when we come to the defence, an *alibi* is set up; and though we are inclined to disbelieve it, if two or three witnesses swear consistently to such *alibi*, and elude every attempt to catch them in prevarication or contradiction, we are thrown

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 589.—M. Very much that has been mistaken for falsehood and perjury by English judges, has been little else than their own ignorance—they have not understood the character of the natives with whom they have had to deal—have made no allowance for the circumstances of their situation, and although not wholly unacquainted with the language, have not understood it sufficiently to appreciate its phraseology. The impatience too, which is commonly characteristic of the juvenile Indian judge, is very unfavourable to the eliciting of truth from a native witness. See, upon this subject, the remarks of Sir H. Strachey, quoted in a subsequent page. There is also another source of exaggeration, if not of error, in these opinions of the Indian Judges, which has not been sufficiently adverted to: their whole experience is confined to India: they have no standard of comparison: could they preside at the Old Bailey for a sessions, they would probably discover, that very much of that which they deprecate, is not peculiarly Indian, but characterises fraud and crime in all times and in all countries.—W.

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into doubt, and the prisoners escape. Very frequently the witnesses on the part of the prosecution swear to facts in themselves utterly incredible, for the purpose of fully convicting the accused: when, if they had simply stated what they saw and knew, their testimony would have been sufficient.”<sup>1</sup>

In another place he declares; “A rich man can seldom be convicted of a crime at a gaol-delivery. If committed on the strongest positive testimony before the magistrate, he without difficulty brings twenty witnesses on his trial to swear an *alibi*, or any thing else, that may suit his case; or he can bribe the prosecutor, or his material witnesses. He has besides a very good chance of escaping by the mere contradictions of the witnesses against him, particularly if what they have to depose to is long or intricate, or happened at a distant period; or was seen and heard by many witnesses of different descriptions and characters; or if many facts, names, and dates, are to be recollected. No falsehood is too extravagant or audacious to be advanced before the Court of Circuit. No case, at least no rich man’s case, is desperate for a defence, supported by counter-evidence; and if once doubts are raised, no matter of what kind, the object of the accused is gained, and he is secure. Perjury is extremely common, and though it occurs much more frequently on the part of the accused than of the prosecutor, yet I have known several instances of conspiracies and false complaints supported by perjury. The judge who has once had experience of a case of this kind is soon plunged into doubt and perplexity, continually awake to the possibility of the wit-

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 561.

nesses against the accused being forsworn: and as he of course leans to the favourable side, the consequence must be, that the guilty frequently escape.”<sup>1</sup>

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Whenever you fail to a certain extent in assuring protection to the innocent, and punishment to the guilty, the criminal is enabled to employ the great instruments of government, punishment and reward, in his own defence. Such is the *military* strength of the British government in Bengal, that it could exterminate all the inhabitants with the utmost ease; such at the same time is its *civil* weakness, that it is unable to save the community from running into that extreme disorder, where the villain is more powerful to intimidate than the government to protect. The judge of circuit of the Rajeshahye division in 1808, says: “The decoits know much better than we how to preserve their power. They have with great success established a respect for their order, by speedy, certain, and severe punishments, and by judicious arrangements for removing obstacles, and for facilitating the execution of their plans. There are two grand points for the decoits to effect; first, to prevent apprehension; second, to prevent conviction. For the first, they bribe the Zemindary and police officers. For the second, they torture and murder the informers, prosecutors, and witnesses, who appear against them. The progress of this system is dreadful: the decoits become every thing; and the police, and the criminal judicature, nothing.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 534.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth Report. p. 587. “On my way through the northern parts of this Zillah,” he continues, “I had some conversation with a Zemindar, and a police darogah, who have distinguished themselves by their exer-



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“This we know,” says the same enlightened Judge in another passage, “that a sirdar decoit has generally the means of saving himself from conviction ; and that, although all the world say that he is a notorious robber and murderer, not an individual can be found who will give evidence against him. This is a dreadful state of things : and so it must remain, till confidence is restored to the people by removing their well-grounded fears, by extirpating the sirdars, and giving a real efficiency and vigour to the police.”<sup>1</sup>

“The terror of decoits among the ryots,” says Sir Henry Strachey, “is excessive. Persons who have families and property deem it extremely rash and dangerous to prosecute, or to appear as witnesses against men of such desperate character as the decoits of this country. Indeed it is with the utmost difficulty that they can be prevailed upon to come forward, even in cases where they have received personal injury, and where they have not to speak to the persons of the prisoners, but merely to identify the property found in their possession.”<sup>2</sup>

Such is the nature, such the extent, and such the causes of the evil. The remedies surely constitute an important object of inquiry. The government attempted to oppose the torrent by changes in the rules of police, and by adding to the severity of punishment. Under these expedients, enormities

tions to apprehend decoits ; they told me that it was impossible to get any information about the great decoits ; that the houses of all the principal inhabitants were open to them : yet that nobody dared mention their names, for fear of being murdered.” Ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 591.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 661, 554, 534.

continued to increase till 1807, when a more efficacious remedy was thought to be required. The Zemindars, who formerly exercised a power almost despotic over the districts consigned to their care, and who maintained a large establishment of armed men, with a commission for the suppression of crimes, were enabled, as often as they had activity and good will, to suppress by arbitrary execution all violent offences but their own. One robber in a district was better than a multitude. But Lord Cornwallis, impressed with the evidence of the abominable use made of this power by the Zemindars, in exercising oppression on the people submitted to their jurisdiction, resolved to deprive them of all exercise of any of the powers of government; and laid it down as a rule, that the union of the functions of revenue with those of police or judicature, was a fundamental error, from which nothing but misgovernment could ensue. Notwithstanding this, the rulers of 1807, with that sort of empirical impulse, by which the vulgar tribe of rulers are usually conducted, took up the notion, that if the Zemindars had once preserved the country from decoits, the Zemindars truly might do so again. In spite of the grand rule of Lord Cornwallis, the Zemindars, farmers of land, and others of the principal inhabitants, received the title of aumeens of police, and were vested with the same authority as the darogahs for the apprehension of offenders, but without the judicial powers intrusted to the darogah in the case of petty offences and disputes.

Not only was this expedient for the suppression of crimes attended with no good effects; it was attended

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with so many of a contrary description, that in 1810 it was abolished. Other expedients in the mean time had been invented and tried. In 1808, a superintendent of police was appointed; whose labours were expected to have the effect of concentrating information, and giving unity and combination to the efforts of the magistrates in the separate districts. A regular establishment was also organized of police spies called *goyendas*, with a species of superintendents called *girdawars*, who had in some degree been employed from 1792. The office of the *goyendas* was to point out the robbers: that of the *girdawars* to apprehend them.<sup>1</sup>

So imperfectly were those means adapted to the end in view, that in a despatch of the Governor-General, under date the 29th of May, 1810, the extent of the mischief is thus described: "The evidence lately adduced, exclusive of a multiplicity of other proofs, establishes beyond a question, the commission of robberies, murder, and the most atrocious deliberate cruelties: in a word, an aggregate of the most atrocious crimes. Nor let it be supposed, that these offences were of rare occurrence; or confined to particular districts. They were committed, with few exceptions, and with slight modifications of atrocity, in every part of Bengal."<sup>2</sup>

The inconvenience which attended the employment of *goyendas* was of the same nature with that which attended the employment of *darogahs*: instead of protectors, they themselves became the

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 72.

plunderers and murderers of the people. Sir Henry Strachey informs us, that "the people are harassed by the vexatious visits and outrages, and the plunder of goyendas and girdawars; who constantly, when supported by the least colour of authority from the magistrate, intimidate, extort, suborn, and rob, under pretence of bringing offenders to justice."<sup>1</sup>

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The head-money which was granted for the conviction of decoits pointed out a ready way to the darogahs and goyendas, in confederacy, for acquiring riches, by fabricating evidence against as many innocent persons as they chose. A member of the government, in 1810, in a minute in which he advocated the employment of goyendas, made the following admission: "That abuses have been practised by goyendas or informers, but still more by girdwars, or those intrusted with power to apprehend, is unquestionable. Seeking a livelihood, by the profession in which they had engaged, but not able always to procure it, by the slow means of the detection of crimes and proof of guilt, they have, no doubt, resorted, but too often, to various modes of extortion; sometimes from persons of suspected character; and, at other times, from the honest part of the community, under threats of accusation: and have occasionally proceeded to prefer groundless charges, and even to support them by false evidence: and instances have actually occurred, where there has been too much reason to believe, that the goyenda himself devised the robbery, of which he convicted the unhappy wretches, reduced by his arts

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 561.



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to a participation in the crime." To such a height had the enormity of convicting innocent persons, for the sake of the head-money, proceeded, that in 1810, the necessity was felt of destroying the temptation, by putting the reward offered for the conviction of offenders on a new foundation. And the Committee of the House of Commons thus report; "The bad practises, used by goyendas, your Committee find noticed strongly in the answer to the interrogatories circulated in 1801. There must consequently have been a wide field for the goyendas to move in, from their first appearance in 1792, until the period referred to, in 1810, when the modification of the reward or head-money considerably narrowed the ground on which they had been accustomed to practise their atrocities. The proceedings of the courts of justice, and the reports of the judges of circuit, furnish a strong confirmation of what has been stated with respect to the unprincipled practices of that description of people; and of the evils resulting from a combination between them, and the darogahs, or head police officers, for the purpose of sharing with them the head-money for decoits." <sup>1</sup>

To the villainy of the police agents is attached a considerable danger, lest, being employed by the magistrates, and necessary to their functions, the magistrates should contract a reluctance to believe in their guilt. It is in evidence, that the reality of this evil is but too frequently experienced. The Judge of circuit, reporting on the state of the twenty-

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 75.

four pergunnahs in 1810, says: "Several petitions were presented to me in the course of the session. Those of the greatest public importance complain of the rapacity, oppression, and gross and daring acts of illegal violence and rapine committed by goyendas; and strong disinclination evinced on the part of the magistrate to redress grievances of that description."<sup>1</sup>

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To remedy the defects of the provision made by Lord Cornwallis, for the administration of penal justice, such were the supplemental measures employed till 1810, and such their effects. It is proper also to consider what proposals were made of other means for the attainment of the same end.

One thing recommended was, to re-invest the Zemindars with powers of police; and among the interrogatories circulated by government in 1801, the opinion of the judges was asked, on "the expediency of granting to Zemindars, farmers, and other persons of character, commissions empowering them to act as justices of the peace." Among the most intelligent of the Company's servants, one opinion, on this subject, seems alone to exist. "I am persuaded," says the magistrate of Burdwan, "that to vest the Zemindars and farmers of this district with the powers proposed, would not only prove nugatory for the objects intended, but be highly detrimental to the country, and destructive of the peace of the inhabitants. Few of the Zemindars and farmers, of any respectability, reside on their estates and farms. Allow them to exercise a power equal to the pur-

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 597.

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poses, and to vest with it by delegation, their agents or under farmers, the worst and most mischievous consequences are to be apprehended from their abuse of it.”<sup>1</sup> On the same occasion, the magistrates of the twenty-four pergunnahs say, “From the general character of the Zemindars, farmers, and other inhabitants of the districts, we do not think that it would be advisable to vest any of them with the powers of justices of the peace. On the contrary, we are of opinion, that such a measure, so far from being in any way beneficial to the police of the district, would be a source of great oppression to the lower class of the inhabitants, and of innumerable complaints to the magistrate.”<sup>2</sup>

They add, “We have reason to believe, though it is difficult to establish proof against them, that the Zemindars, not only, in many instances, encourage and harbour decoits, but frequently partake of the property plundered by them. The *chokedars* and *pykes* employed by them, are concerned in almost every decoity committed in the districts subject to our jurisdiction.”<sup>3</sup>

To the same purport, the Judge of circuit in the Rajeshahye division says, in 1808: “My informants attributed the success of the decoits to the same cause that every body else does; namely, the protection given them by the Zemindars and police officers, and other people of power and influence in the country. Every thing I see, and hear, and read on this subject, serves to convince me of the truth of this statement.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 549.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 555.<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 554.<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 587.

Sir Henry Strachey, as usual, reasons with much intelligence upon this subject. "It is extremely difficult," he says, in his reply to the same interrogatory, "I may, I believe, say it is not possible to arrange an effectual plan of association and co-operation, among the higher orders, for purposes of police, or for any other purpose. We have few large towns; no societies exercising or capable of exercising municipal authority.—There are no gentlemen, in whose honour and probity, in whose spirit and activity, government can repose confidence—There exists not, between the common people and the rulers, a middle order, who feel a common interest in the prosperity of the state; who love their countrymen, who respect their rulers, or are by them respected; who either could, or, if they could, would, even in a case of the greatest exigency, exert themselves heartily and effectually, each in his own sphere, for the public good. Such a set of men in the society is here unknown. Government is unable to direct, or in any way to make use of, the power of the individuals composing the community. Hence our extreme ignorance of all that passes; our complete inability to detect and apprehend offenders; to explain to the public what we wish should be known; and persuade them what should be done. Hence the long continuance of enormous abuses without its being possible for government, or for the magistrate, to prevent or to discover them."<sup>1</sup>

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"It should," he says in another place, "be the

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, *ut supra*, p. 537.



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study of government, in my opinion, to form, if possible, a body of gentry, such as exists in other countries; an intermediate order, between the governors and the governed, to whom the one might look down, and the other might look up. At present, no such order exists. Most of the men who once possessed rank and wealth, are gone to ruin. The men of property who do exist are, for the most part, such as have lately risen. That the magistrate can maintain the peace over a million or more of persons, without the help of a considerable number whose interest or sense of duty should induce them to assist him, is plainly impossible.”<sup>1</sup>

The Judge of circuit in the Benares division, in 1808, descants with great warmth upon the same topic; the extreme difficulty of maintaining order in any country, without the assistance of a superior class of inhabitants incorporated with the people, and possessing that influence which superior property and education confer, over others deprived of those advantages. “In maintaining this opinion I may,” says he, “unless I greatly deceive myself, appeal to the general practice of almost all nations, originating, doubtless, in circumstances and feelings common to all mankind. The natural mode of managing men is to employ the agency of those, whom, from the relation in which they stand to them, they regard with respect and confidence. Accordingly, all governments seem to have made the authority of these native leaders the basis of their police: and any hired police establishment which they maintain are

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 561

not intended to supersede the native police, but to superintend, watch, and aid its efforts. To take an example with which we are all familiar. In our own country we all know what services the society contributes to its own protection. We know how much vigour is conferred on its police, by the support which it receives from native gentry, from respectable landholders, from the corporations in towns, and from substantial persons of the middle class in the villages. We can form some conception of the mischief which would ensue, if that support should be withdrawn, and an attempt made to compensate it by positive laws and artificial institutions."

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Such is the extreme difficulty of distributing justice to a people without the aid of the people themselves! Such, at the same time, is the utter impracticability, under the present education, circumstances, and character, of the people of India, of deriving from them the aid which is required! Without a tolerable administration of justice, however, which the people of India are so far from enjoying, every man will acknowledge, that all attempts to improve either their circumstances or their character, must be attended with disappointment. What then is the inference? Are the government and the people to go on, for ever, in their present deplorable situation; the people suffering all the evils of a state of anarchy; the government struggling with eagerness to help them, but in vain?

If it were possible for the English government to learn wisdom by experience; which governments rarely do; it might here, at last, see, with regret,

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some of the effects of that illiberal, cowardly, and short-sighted policy, under which it has taken the most solicitous precautions to prevent the settlement of Englishmen in India; trembling, forsooth, lest Englishmen, if allowed to settle in India, should detest and cast off its yoke! <sup>1</sup> The most experienced persons in the government of India describe, what to them appears the difficulty, almost or altogether insuperable, of affording protection either to person or property in that country, without the assistance of persons of the requisite moral and intellectual qualifications, rooted in the country, and distributed over it in every part. They unite in declaring that there is no class in India who possess these qualifications; that the powers necessary for an efficient police cannot be intrusted to the Zemindars, without ensuring all the evils of a gross and barbarous despotism. And they speak with admiration of the assistance rendered to government by the gentlemen distributed in every part of England. Is it possible to avoid seeing; and seeing, not to acknowledge, the inestimable service which might have been derived, in this great exigency, from a body of English gentlemen, who, if they had been encouraged to settle, as owners of land, and as manufacturers and merchants, would at this time have been distributed in great numbers in India? Not only would they have possessed the requisite moral and intellectual quali-

<sup>1</sup> It is wonderful to see how the English government, every now and then, voluntarily places itself in the station of a government existing in opposition to the people; a government which hates, because it dreads the people, and is hated by them in its turn. Its deportment with regard to the residence of Englishmen in India speaks these unfavourable sentiments with a force which language could not easily possess.

fications, a thing of inestimable value; but they would have possessed other advantages of the highest importance.<sup>1</sup>

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The representation of Lord Teignmouth is lamentably true, That the civil servants of the Company, enclosed in government offices from the time of their arrival in India, have neither leisure nor opportunity to become acquainted with the people; and that the periods of their residence, from their being in a state of perpetual change, come to an end, before they are able to acquire either local knowledge or experience.<sup>2</sup> Among the circumstances to which the best of the Company's servants ascribe their deplorable inability to afford protection to the people, their own ignorance of the local manners, character, and circumstances, occupy a conspicuous rank. In an enumeration of the causes which concur to prevent the due administration of justice, Sir Henry Strachey says; "Another impediment, though of a very different nature from those I have mentioned, and much more difficult to remove, is to me too palpable to be overlooked: I mean, that arising from Europeans, in our situation, being necessarily ill qualified in many points, to perform the duties

<sup>1</sup> Upon no subject relating to India have more erroneous impressions been entertained, than that of allowing Europeans to hold lands in India. The permission has been now granted them for several years, and where is the numerous body of respectable English landholders, who, according to the view taken in the text, are to render inestimable services to the Government in preserving the peace of the country? Scarcely any have availed themselves of the permission, and the Government must seek for aid in the management of the criminal and civil justice of the country from that quarter alone from which it is naturally to be expected—the people themselves—under active and enlightened European official superintendence.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Shore's Minute, Fifth Report, p. 169.



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required of us, as judges and magistrates. Nothing is more common, even after a minute and laborious examination of evidence on both sides, than for the judge to be left in utter doubt respecting the points at issue. This proceeds chiefly from our very imperfect connexion with the natives, and our scanty knowledge, after all our study, of their manners, customs, and languages. The judge of circuit, and his assistant, are strangers, and quite unacquainted with the character of the persons examined, and the credit due to them; and always on that account less competent to discover truth among volumes of contradictory evidence.”<sup>1</sup> On another occasion he asks, “What judge can distinguish the exact truth, among the numerous inconsistencies of the natives he examines? How often do those inconsistencies proceed from causes, very different from those suspected by us? How often from simplicity, fear, embarrassment in the witness? How often from our own ignorance and impatience? We cannot study the genius of the people, in its own sphere of action. We know little of their domestic life; their knowledge, conversation, amusements, their trades and castes, or any of those national and individual characteristics, which are essential to a complete knowledge of them. Every day affords us examples of something new and surprising: and we have no principle to guide us in the investigation of facts, except an extreme diffidence of our opinion; a consciousness of inability to judge of what is probable or improbable.” He adds, “The evil I complain of is extensive, and, I fear, irreparable.

<sup>1</sup> Answer to Interrogatories, Fifth Report, p. 534.

The difficulty we experience in discerning truth and falsehood among the natives may be ascribed, I think, chiefly to our want of connexion and intercourse with them; to the peculiarity of their manners and habits;—their excessive ignorance of our characters—and our almost equal ignorance of theirs.”<sup>1</sup>

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It is impossible to reflect upon the situation of English gentlemen, settled in the country, as proprietors of land, and as manufacturers, without perceiving how advantageously they would be situated for acquiring that knowledge of the natives, in which the Company's servants are proved to be so defective; and for giving that aid in the administration of justice, without which a good administration is not to be attained. Such men would be forced into an intimate intercourse with the natives, whence, under the necessity of employing them, and of transacting and conversing with them in almost all the relations of life, an intimate knowledge would arise. They would have a local influence of great efficacy. They would be useful, beyond all calculation, in maintaining order in a wide circle around them, among a people in such a state of society as that at present found in Bengal.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Answers to Interrogatories, Fifth Report, p. 562.

<sup>2</sup> As an additional proof, if any additional proof were wanting, of the benefit which might be derived from the multiplication of English settlers; it may be mentioned, as a matter of present experience, that the Englishmen, the most thoroughly conversant with the language and manners of the people, are generally those who have been tolerated, as private adventurers, in some line of industry in the country. A conspicuous example lately appeared. A gentleman of the name of Blaequiere, not in the service of the Company, but who had lived in India in the pursuit of private objects, was found so much better qualified than any of the servants of the Company, by his knowledge of the language and manners of the country,

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Though in most of their reports, the Judges regard a remedy as hopeless; yet there is one recommendation in which a considerable number of them concur. As trials are delayed, and crimes escape punishment, by a deficiency in the number of tribunals, the periodical visits of the judges of circuit being inadequate to the demand for justice, it is proposed, that the magistrates in the Zillahs should be vested with the powers of penal judication. To this recommendation, however, several weighty objections apply. In the first place, the civil judicature in the Zillahs is already a duty far too heavy for the judges to discharge; and the arrear of causes produces a delay, which approaches to a denial, of justice. If in the hands of those judges the business of penal judicature were to be added to that of civil judicature, the number of them ought to be doubled; and that, we are told, the finances of the Company will not allow. Besides, according to the routine of the Company's service, the judges in the Zillahs are generally too little advanced in years and experience, to be intrusted with the powers of life and death, or any powers approach-

and had actually rendered so much service as a magistrate of Calcutta, that he was vested with extensive powers over several districts. After the private traders in India, the officers of the sepoy, from their intercourse with their men, are the best acquainted with the natives; and would very often form the best judges and magistrates. Lord Cornwallis, not finding a man among the civil servants of the Company at Madras, tolerably acquainted with the language and manners of the country, appointed sepoy officers to be collectors and managers in the newly-acquired districts; and the great success of the experiment proved the wisdom of the choice. The services which were rendered by such officers as Read and Munro, in establishing order in extensive countries, show to what practical excellence the government of India might be carried, if Englishmen, incorporated with the natives as landlords and manufacturers, were intrusted with the powers of police.

ing to that importance, under so many chances of error as accompany judicature in India.

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As the number of darogahs and their establishments would be far too small to prevent the disorders of the country, even if they were faithful to their trust, some of the judges propose, that their numbers should be increased, and their salaries augmented. To this, too, the objection of the government would be, that the finances cannot admit the expense. A more legitimate objection is, that by increasing the number of darogahs they would only increase the number of privileged plunderers : and that it is one of the most imbecile of vulgar prejudices to suppose, that large salaries make honest men.<sup>1</sup> So long as things were so miserably organized, that gain, unbalanced by danger, would accrue to the darogahs, by violating their duties, they might be expected to violate them, if their salaries were as large as those of the Governor-General.

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Some of the Company's servants, among others Mr. Dowdeswell, argue strongly for the employment of spies and informers. Their abstract, general arguments, to show that informers are useful auxiliaries to justice, are good and conclusive. Make justice certain, immediate, unexpensive, at the tribunals, and every act which spies and informers can perform, will be an act of utility. But if, in India, your securities for justice are so wretched, that by employing spies, you only create a new class of robbers, and let loose upon the people an order of men

<sup>1</sup> This is a notion, the fallacy of which has been previously demonstrated. Adequate allowances diminish chances of temptation, and render character of too much value to be slightly hazarded.—W.



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who carry on their depredations with the arms of government, you increase instead of diminishing the disorders of the country.

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Contemplating this accumulation of difficulties, the Company's servants in general appear to regard the case with a kind of despair; or at least to contemplate the evil as rooted so deeply in the moral character of the people, that it cannot be removed, unless by the slow improvements which it may be possible for education to effect.

After the recommendation of some of the above expedients, of the efficacy of which his hopes were but too sanguine, Mr. Dowdeswell said; "I am at the same time sensible that a great deal more must be done in order to eradicate the seeds of the crimes most injurious to the peace and happiness of society. The real source of evil lies in the corrupt morals of the people. Under these circumstances, the best laws can only have a partial operation. If we would apply a lasting remedy to the evil, we must adopt means of instruction for the different classes of the community."<sup>1</sup>

In answer to the interrogatory, "Do any measures occur to you, the adoption of which would, in your opinion, contribute progressively to the improvement of the moral character of the inhabitants of the division;" the judges of Moorshedabad replied; "The moral character of a nation can be improved by education only. All instruction is unattainable to the labouring poor: whose own necessities require the assistance of the children, as soon as their tender

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 617.

limbs are capable of the smallest labour. With the middle class of tradesmen, artificers and shopkeepers, education ends at ten years of age, and never reaches further than reading, writing (a scarcely legible hand) on a plantain leaf, and the simplest rules of arithmetic. We are not prepared to suggest any measures, the adoption of which would, in our opinion, contribute progressively to the improvement of a people thus circumstanced.”<sup>1</sup> In reply to the interrogatory which respected the effect produced by the operation of the English government on the moral character of the natives, the same judges observe; “The general moral character of the inhabitants of our division seems, in our opinion, much the same as we have always known the moral character of the natives in general. Ignorance; and its concomitant, gross superstition; an implicit faith in the efficacy of prayers, charms, and magic: selfishness, low cunning, litigiousness, avarice, revenge, disregard to truth, and indolence, are the principal features to be traced. It does not strike us, that the system established by the British government, for the administration of the laws, and the conduct of the internal administration of the country, can have any influence on the moral character of the inhabitants in general, either by way of improvement, or otherwise.”<sup>2</sup>

On this, as on other occasions, Sir Henry Strachey evinces superior powers of reflection, and penetrates farthest below the surface. “To attempt,” says he, “any material improvement or alteration in the

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 524.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 520. See to the same purpose the answer of the Judge and Magistrates of Burdwan, p. 550.

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moral character of the natives, by the intervention of legislative measures, I look upon as vain. They no longer consider the laws as a part of their religion. I do not even see that, with us, law and morality have much connexion. It is the province of the magistrate to quell disorders and preserve peace ; but as to good morals, I am not aware, that, either by precept or example, we are capable of producing any effect whatever. The vices and the crimes of the people proceed from their poverty and ignorance. And I do not conceive they are likely to grow much richer or wiser, while the present state of things exists.—This assertion, however, that the vices and crimes of the people proceed from their poverty and ignorance, I would wish to be understood with limitations. Where considerable numbers are collected and associate together,—especially if there happens to be much inequality of rank and fortune,—the morals of the people are worst : The same may be observed respecting such persons as have occasion to attend our cutcherries ; they get into bad habits. It is not always, therefore, that the people are the worst where they are the poorest and most ignorant ; nevertheless, the assertion is, in my opinion, generally speaking, true. It is certain that where labour is amply rewarded, where all can easily get employment, and where the poor are provided for, the people lead industrious and virtuous lives ; and it will be observed that in remote parts, where debauchery and dissipation are little known, very few, except from necessity, resort to depredation on the public. Most, but not all, decoits begin their evil practices from necessity. A ryot, finding some difficulty to

subsist, either from his imprudence or ill fortune ; a peon, or other servant, losing his place, and unable to procure another ; a cooly, finding no employment : Such persons, of whom in this populous country there are always many thousands, often take to stealing ; are corrupted by vicious companions ; drink spirits ; and are gradually led on, from impunity and habits of idleness, to become decoits, and depend on robbery alone for subsistence.”<sup>1</sup> This is an important passage, which will afford evidence for some interesting conclusions in a subsequent page.

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We have now seen the extent and dreadful nature of the evil ; the inefficacy of the remedies which have been applied ; and the sort of despair entertained by the functionaries of government that better can be found. That there is no impossibility, however, in establishing a good administration of justice, even in such a state of things as exists in India, we may infer without much danger of mistake, or even of contradiction.<sup>2</sup> If much of the

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 539.

<sup>2</sup> That there was no impossibility, nor even much difficulty in applying remedies to the evil, even when at its greatest height, has been proved by incontestable authority, the records of the Government, which show that the remedies were at hand when there was industry and skill to employ them. Amongst the districts most notorious for decoity, prior to 1820, had been that of Burdwan. In that year Mr. W. B. Bayley was appointed magistrate. In the following year, the Circuit Judge reported that gang-robbery had become nearly extinct in the district, and a regular system had been introduced, which promised fair to secure the co-operation of all parts of the community in the detection and apprehension of offenders. Upon being desired to explain the means by which such a change had been so rapidly effected, Mr. Bayley reported, the principal of them to have been—the co-operation of the village watchmen, secured by rewarding them for activity, punishing them for neglect, protecting them against encroachments upon their Chakerani lands—small apportionments of rent-free land, by which their services were retained, and inducing the headmen of the villages to subscribe more liberally for the support of the Chowkedars. The Munduls, who, were the principal fixed residents of



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difficulty has arisen from the dominion of English prejudices, and especially that deep-rooted prejudice, that English law is the standard of perfection to which every thing should be fitted, considerable progress towards improvement will be made, as soon as we have emancipated ourselves from those prejudices.

In the first place, as the law, according to what we have already seen, is in a state in which it is to a great degree incapable of performing the offices of law, and must remain almost wholly impotent, in a situation in which the deficiencies of law are not supplied by manners, let the law be reformed, and put into that state in which alone it is adapted to answer the ends for which it is intended. Let the laws, whatever they may, for the security of existing rights, or the attainment of future advantages, be determined to be, receive what alone can bestow upon them a fixed, or real existence; let them all be expressed in a written form of words; words, as precise and accurate as it is possible to make them, and let them be published in a book. This is what is understood by a code; without such a code there can be no good administration of justice: in such a state of things as that in India, there can, without

each village, and who, as Mr. Bayley states, were vested by long usage with considerable local authority and immunities, and the Chowkeedars under them, were the chief classes upon whom he deemed it requisite to call for particular assistance, both in furnishing information and active aid in the improvement of the police." Judicial letter to Bengal 9th Nov. 1814. Papers relating to Police, from 1810 to 1819, printed for the House of Commons. The circumstances of Burdwan warrant the inference that it was not so much the character of the people, or the inadequacy of the law, as the inefficiency of the magistracy, which led to the prevalence of decoity at particular times in the lower provinces of Bengal. It was comparatively rare in the upper provinces, and was not as might be supposed from the remarks in the text, universal in the Company's territories.—W.

it, be no such administration of justice as consists with any tolerable degree of human happiness or national prosperity. In providing this most important instrument of justice, no further difficulty will be found, than the application of the due measure of virtue and intelligence; not to be looked for in the classes, whose interests the vices of the law promote. Sir William Jones, and others, recognised the demand for a code of Indian law; but unhappily thought of no better expedient than that of employing some of the natives themselves; as if one of the most difficult tasks to which the human mind can be applied, a work to which the highest measure of European intelligence is not more than equal, could be expected to be tolerably performed by the unenlightened and perverted intellects of a few Indian pundits.<sup>1</sup> With no sanction of reason could any thing better be expected than that which was in reality produced; a disorderly compilation of loose, vague, stupid, or unintelligible quotations and maxims, selected arbitrarily from books of law, books of devotion, and books of poetry; attended with a commentary, which only adds to the mass of absurdity and darkness: a farrago, by which nothing is defined, nothing established; and from which, in the distribution of justice, no assistance beyond the materials of a gross inference, can for any purpose be derived. To apply the authority of religion, or any other authority than that of the government, to the establishment of law, is now unnecessary; because the great and multiplied

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<sup>1</sup> The Pundits were employed, not to compile a new code, but to digest what laws prevailed amongst the Hindus, and it cannot be denied that it was wise to ascertain what the people had, before supplying them with what they might not be found to require.—W.

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changes which the English have made in all the interior regulations of society, have already destroyed in the minds of the natives the association between the ideas of religion and the ideas of law.<sup>1</sup> But, at any time, for combining the authority of religion with that of law, nothing more was required, than what might still be advisable; namely, to associate the most celebrated of the pundits. For digesting the law into an accurate code, such men would be altogether unqualified; but they might lend their peculiar and local knowledge to him to whom the task is assigned; and they might easily and effectually annex the authority of religion to his definitions, by subjoining quotations from their sacred books, and declaring the words of the code to be the true interpretation of them. The law of the natives, and the minds of its interpreters, are equally pliant. The words, to which any appeal can be made as the words of the law, are so vague, and so variable, than they can be accommodated to any meaning. And such is the eagerness of the pundits to raise themselves in the esteem of their masters, that they show the greatest desire to extract from the loose language of their sacred books, whatever opinions they conceive to bear the greatest resemblance to theirs.<sup>2</sup> It would require but little management to obtain the cordial co-opera-

<sup>1</sup> This is an affirmation not warranted by the fact, as far as it regards a belief in the sanctity of those laws which are supposed to be based upon the Vedas or the Koran.—W.

<sup>2</sup> There is no proof of such a disposition, and its existence to the extent here intimated may be confidently denied. At the same time, it is, no doubt true, that the co-operation of Moulavis and Pundits is essential to the formation of an unexceptionable code, although in the attempt now in progress towards the codification of Indian law, native assistance has been dispensed with by the 'wisdom' of the British legislature.—W.

tion of the doctors, both Moslem and Hindu, in covering the whole field of law with accurate definitions and provisions ; giving security to all existing rights, and the most beneficial order to those which were yet to accrue.

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For the distribution of justice, there is required not only an accurate expression of what is to be observed and obeyed as law ; but an adequate judicial establishment ; or, an appointment of judges, and other ministers of justice, sufficient on every occasion, which calls for a decision, to declare what the law is, and to carry it into effect, with the smallest possible burden, in the way either of delay, vexation, or expense.

For this important purpose, it is evidently necessary, that the number of tribunals should bear a due proportion to the business which they are called upon to perform ; and that, whenever the causes which offer themselves for decision exceed the number of those which it is possible for the existing tribunals to decide, addition should be made to the number of them, till they are sufficient for the prompt investigation of every case on which the judicial decision is required. From no government, surely, ought this language to be heard ; that it does indeed see the necessity of a greater number of tribunals, in the inability of the existing number to investigate the suits of the people ; but that it has something else to do with the money which it takes from the people, than to expend it in perfecting the administration of justice.

Nor is it enough, that the tribunals be sufficient in number to perform without delay the judicial business of the country ; they ought to be sufficiently



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near each other, to enable every suitor to have recourse to them without that obstruction to justice which arises from the necessity of any considerable journey to perform. Of the value of this attribute of a judicial establishment no illustration is required.<sup>1</sup>

Another important condition to the excellence of a judicial establishment is, that in its mode of conducting the judicial business, all forms, all ceremonies, which create delay, trouble, and expense, or any one of them, without any corresponding advantage, should be carefully and completely retrenched; and nothing whatsoever left, but those plain and rational operations, which are recognised by all the world as useful, and alone useful, in the investigation of a matter of fact. It will remove the necessity of a longer explanation to observe, That the mode of procedure, which is called summary, and followed in the small debt courts in England, is an example of the mode of procedure which is divested of ceremonies, and retains only such plain and simple operations as form the ordinary steps of a rational inquiry: That the mode of procedure, on the other hand, which is called regular, and followed in the superior courts, is an example of the mode of procedure which is loaded with superstitious ceremonies and observances; and complicated by a multitude of operations, altogether different from the recognised steps of a rational inquiry. The consequence of this load of superstitious ob-

<sup>1</sup> What is here observed on the properties desirable in a judicial establishment, are only such general deductions from the science of legislation, as can find a proper place in a critical history. The analysis of the whole subject is seen in great perfection, in a work entitled, "Draught of a new Plan for the Organization of the judicial Establishment in France," by Jeremy Bentham, Esq.

servances, and this multiplicity of operations, is, not to lead with more certainty to the discovery of truth, but with less certainty : while the people are driven from the courts of justice by the terror of delay, trouble, and expense ; and every species of injustice flourishes under the prospect of impunity and success. In the summary mode of procedure, in its perfect shape, is included every operation conducive to the elucidation of truth ; every thing which is necessary for securing and bringing forward the evidence, and for presenting it to the mind of the judge, in its greatest possible plenitude, and most perfect possible shape. To add to these operations a multitude of others, which have no tendency whatsoever to improve the state in which the evidence is presented to the mind of the judge, can have no tendency to aid the discovery of truth. It must have a sure tendency to give it obstruction, in ways too numerous here to recount. Among the bitter fruits of a complicated mode of procedure ; the loss of evidence, by the death, removal, and feeble memories of witnesses ; and the successful efforts made by the guilty to intimidate or corrupt them ; are enumerated, by the Indian judges, as evils, with which their experience had made them minutely acquainted. Were there nothing more than the complexity, which a multitude of nice and puzzling operations produces, it would be hurtful to the discovery of truth, by diverting and confusing the mind of the judge. But when those multiplied niceties and observances are superstitiously elevated as they uniformly are, into matters of chief and primary importance ; when the mind of the judge is more

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vigilant to observe whether every one of the words and actions which enter into a multitude of frivolous ceremonies has been exactly observed, than to elicit every particle of evidence, and assign to it the proper station in his mind, it is impossible to estimate the injury which is done to the discovery of truth, and thence to the interests of justice, by a technical mode of procedure. Even by the servants of the Company, who have remarked with so much intelligence the shocking state of justice in India, I observe that “precipitate” is the epithet applied to the summary, or rational mode of procedure; “deliberate,” that applied to the regular or ceremonious. It is a proof of the defects of their education, when such an illusion could pass upon minds of so much strength. That which is done with thought, is that which is done deliberately. That which is done without thought, is that which is done precipitately. It is of no consequence how long a thing remains undone, provided thought all the while is never applied to it. During the delay which takes place by the performance of the superstitious ceremonies of regular procedure, is it supposed by any body that the judge turns a thought to the merits of the cause? Deliberation is performed by the non-existence of thought, according to the theory of those who account delay and deliberation the same thing. The judge deliberates upon the question, at least to any valuable purpose, only during the time when he is receiving and digesting the evidence; for, as to the law, if it were all clearly expressed and written in a book, there never could be any considerable doubt. If any point was found to be really doubtful, the case should either be

suspended, or decided provisionally, till the determination of the legislature, removing the doubtfulness, should be applied for, and received. But with regard to evidence, and the light which it yields, the only article of real importance in the pursuit of truth, the judge is far more favourably situated, in the summary mode of procedure, than in the regular; because, in the summary mode, it is the light of evidence to the collecting and presenting of which, in its most complete and trust-worthy state, the force of every operation is directed. In the regular mode, so far is this from being the primary object, that a great proportion of the ceremonies have the unavoidable effect of compelling the evidence to be presented, in not the best possible, but a very inferior, state. With regard even to *time* for deliberation, the situation of the judge, under tardy, is worse than that of the judge under expeditious procedure. Of the greater proportion of causes the evidence may all be received and thoroughly understood in a very limited space of time. But causes do every now and then occur, in the case of which time is required, not only to receive, but complete the evidence; as when, by the hearing of one article of the evidence, other articles are indicated which time is required to produce. As often as occasions of this description occur, the rational mode of inquiry directs, that the judge should allow himself that portion of time, whatever it is, which is suited to the exigence of the case. Under the regular mode of procedure, the judge is tied down to fixed times and seasons; and must decide upon the evidence which he has

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been able to hear, whether it is complete and well digested, or the contrary. The nature of regular or superstitious procedure, therefore, is to produce the opposite evils of delay and precipitation. The nature of rational procedure is to shun both evils; to retrench every moment of the time and labour expended in the performance of useless ceremonies; to ensure in the fullest measure all the time which is necessary for the most perfect reception and understanding of the evidence.

It is probable that the words “summary,” and “regular,” impose upon persons who give to the subject only a precipitate glance. They are very ill chosen; that is to say, they very inaccurately describe the objects which they are employed to denote. Summary has very frequently the same import, as the term abridged. Now an abridged mode of procedure naturally means a mode of procedure in which some of the steps are left out; and if all the steps were useful, such a mode of procedure would be undoubtedly precipitate. But if no steps are left out, except those which are useless and pernicious; and all those which are of any use are much more carefully and much more perfectly performed, the summary mode of procedure is in reality the least precipitate; and also the most regular, if the exact adjustment of means to their ends, be the standard of regularity. Better names would be; the superstitious, instead of the regular, mode of procedure; and the rational, instead of the summary.

Thus far the way for the government of India is clear. For the performance of what is thus shown

to be necessary, all that is wanting is the will. If BOOK VI  
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this were done, let us then consider how much would  
be gained. The mass of causes, that mass which, in 1793.  
India, smites, by its magnitude, the administration  
of justice with impotence, divides itself into two  
classes: First, that of the causes which derive  
themselves from the vices of the law: Secondly, that  
of those which derive themselves from the vices of  
the people. There are few other; there can be but  
few other. How great the proportion of those which  
are derived from the vices of the law, the com-  
plaints of the judges and other functionaries in India  
abundantly disclose. We learn that the great body  
of the people are excluded from the courts of law by  
means of the expense; that oppression reigns, be-  
cause the people are unable to sue for redress; that  
universal encouragement is given to one man to  
withhold from another what is his due, by the  
certainty of delay, and the two chances, first of not  
being prosecuted, and secondly of baffling the  
plaintiff by the uncertainties of the law. We also  
learn that a wide field of impunity is ensured to  
every species of crime, the most atrocious not ex-  
cepted: first, because the people, upon whom the  
expense and trouble, arising out of the dilatory and  
costly proceedings of the courts, impose a burden  
greater than they are able to bear, fly from the duty of  
appearing as witnesses or prosecutors against delin-  
quents; secondly, because delay produces the fre-  
quent destruction of evidence; and, together with  
the uncertainties of an unwritten law, and the  
complicated ceremonies of a superstitious mode of  
procedure, affords the greatest chance of escape.

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From the whole then of these evils; to which is in a great measure to be ascribed the destructive anarchy which exists under the government of India; from the whole, I say, of that part of the mass of litigation which grows out of the vices of the law, and all the evils with which both are attended, the reform of the law, that is, an accurate code, an adequate judicial establishment, and a rational mode of procedure, would effect a complete deliverance.

No litigation would then remain, to prevent the effectual administration of justice, but that which would arise from the vices, intellectual or moral, of the people. The number of difficulties being greatly diminished, the power of coping with them would be greatly increased. It is also an important consideration, how much the vices of the people depend upon the vices of the laws, and how necessarily the vices of the people diminish, as the virtues of the laws are increased. Of this no man will doubt; that the most effectual step which can be taken by any government to diminish the vices of the people is, to take away from the laws every imperfection by which the vices, to impart to them every perfection by which the virtues, of the people may receive encouragement. On a former occasion we have heard Lord Cornwallis declare, that the *prosperity* or *decline* of any people may always be referred to the laws, as their source.<sup>1</sup> To the same copious fountain of all that is good, or all that is evil, with still greater certainty may their *vices* and *virtues* be traced.

The vices among the people of India which tend

<sup>1</sup> Vide *supra*, p. 473.

most to enfeeble the arm of justice, are two; their proneness to perjury; and their perfidy as agents of police: the one rendering it extremely difficult to convict offenders upon satisfactory evidence; the other shielding them from detection and apprehension. One would think it was not an effort beyond the reach of the human mind to find remedies of considerable efficacy for those diseases.

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First in regard to perjury; the powers with which government, in this, as in other cases, is capable of acting upon the human mind, are three; the power of instruction; the power of reward; and the power of punishment.

On the subject of perjury it appears, that the people stand peculiarly in need of instruction. Under the native systems, legal or religious, particularly the Hindu, perjury was treated as a very trifling and venial offence. The most effectual measures should be adopted to make them clearly comprehend, that there is no crime, upon which the present government looks with more abhorrence; and that there is no quality which will be employed as a more certain mark to distinguish the objects of its favour and disfavour. Effectual modes of communicating this knowledge would not be difficult to find. It is observable, that wherever governments are in earnest about the communication of any article of knowledge to the people, they seldom remain destitute of means. They are seldom baffled, we see, in communicating a complete knowledge of what they wish to be done by the people, how complicated soever it may be, in making payment of taxes. It would be easy in India, for example, to



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print upon the receipt of taxes, or any other paper of general distribution, a short and clear description of the crime of perjury ; with a notification, in the most impressive terms possible, of the deep abhorrence in which it is held by the government, and the severe punishment, both direct and indirect, to which it is exposed. To secure attention to this or any other article of information, many expedients might be found ; rendering it, for example, necessary to answer certain questions, before any one could be admitted to perform certain acts. Where the manners of the people suffer any important condition to be placed before the permission to contract a marriage, it might be rendered conducive to many good effects.

In regard to the application of rewards and punishments, the channel in which the conceptions of the Reformer should run, is all that can here be easily shown. In the first place it is obvious, that every man whose veracity in a court of justice appears without suspicion, should be treated by the court with peculiar respect, and pointed out as an object of honour and esteem. He might be asked, if he had any favour to request, or any service to point out, which the court could render him, to testify its opinion of his virtue : he might be furnished with some honorary badge of distinction ; and might even receive a ticket which should point him out as an object of favour to all the instruments of government, and to all those who wished to make the government their friend.

The punishments which have been applied to this offence appear, by the complaints of the Indian

judges, not to have been skilfully chosen, and to have been attended with little advantage. To prevent a crime of which the mischievous effects are so great, one would be willing to go to the expense of considerable severity, provided it were well adapted to the end. We are informed that severity of punishment has greatly diminished the prevalence of perjury before the Supreme Court; but the information is too general to enable us to ascertain the value of the fact. One circumstance there is which renders severity of punishment peculiarly inapplicable to this crime; and that is, the uncertainty of proof. In the greater number of cases, perjury is rather strongly suspected than clearly proved; and a judge, whose humanity is considerable, will not execute a terrible punishment, where he is not perfectly assured of guilt. The consequence is, that in the great majority of cases, the perjurer, for want of certain evidence, escapes, and the crime receives encouragement. On the other hand, if the punishment were mild, and the evil not incapable of reparation in case of mistake, a strong suspicion would suffice for the inference of guilt, and few delinquents would be suffered to escape. There is another consideration, of the highest possible importance; that perjury is not an offence which in every instance implies the same degree of guilt. In different instances, it implies all possible varieties of guilt, and very often, among the people of India, no guilt at all. Such, in many of them, is their imbecility of mind; so faint are the traces of their memory; so vivid the creations of their imaginations; so little are they accustomed to regard truth in their daily prac-

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tice; so much are they accustomed to mingle fiction with reality in all they think, and all they say; and so inaccurate is their language, that they cannot tell a true story, even when they are without any inducement to deceive.<sup>1</sup> Again, perjury is always committed as an instrument in the service of some other crime; and bears the character of guilt, in a low or a high degree, according to the nature of the crime for the sake of which it is perpetrated. It may be committed in exculpation of one's self, or of a near relation or friend; and for a slight or an atrocious offence; it may be committed for the accomplishment of a petty fraud; or it may be committed for the deliberate purpose of taking away the life of an innocent person. It is evident, that in these cases, there is the greatest possible difference in point of guilt; and the feelings of our nature revolt at the thought of inflicting the same punishment upon all. In the case of this, as of other accessory crimes, common good sense, not to speak of legislative wisdom, directs that it should be punished in some proportion to the principal crime;—the crime the benefit of which was the motive to the transgression.

<sup>1</sup> The following is a case so analogous as to afford some instruction. "He that goes into the Highlands with a mind naturally acquiescent, and a credulity eager for wonders, may come back with an opinion very different from mine; for the inhabitants, knowing the ignorance of all strangers in their language and antiquities, perhaps are not very scrupulous adherents to truth: yet, I do not say that they deliberately speak studied falsehood, or have a settled purpose to deceive. They have inquired and considered little, and do not always feel their own ignorance. They are not much accustomed to be interrogated by others; and seem never to have thought upon interrogating themselves; so that if they do not know what they tell to be true, they likewise do not distinctly perceive it to be false.—Mr. Boswell was very diligent in his inquiries; and the

In tracing the truth, through the mazes of Indian evidence, there is required in the judge, not only much acuteness and sagacity, but great acquaintance with the habits and manners of the people; that he may be able to interpret the innumerable indications which are given by peculiar modes of expression and deportment. The grammatical construction of the sounds which pass through the lips of a witness, is often the least part of the instruction which a penetrating judge derives from him. Even in the native country of the Judge, experience gained from long practice in the modes of thinking, acting, and speaking, of the principal class of depredators, is found to give him important advantages in extracting the evidence of guilt. The extraordinary disadvantages, under which Englishmen, totally unacquainted with the manners of the Indians, lie, when they begin to seek their way through the labyrinth of Indian testimony, can be easily conceived. This ignorance is, accordingly, singled out, by some of the most intelligent of the Company's servants, as a source, and one of the principal sources, of the wretched administration of justice. The civil servants of the Company, who ascend to the office of Judge in routine of service, have, in general, no opportunity of obtaining any considerable acquaintance with the modes of thinking of the natives, and the evidence which their peculiarities import.

Another consideration, which ought to be impressed upon the minds of those who have it in their power to

result of his investigation was, that the answer to the second question was commonly such as nullified the answer to the first." Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides.

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amend the legislation of India, is ; That well to perform the service of a judge, skilfully to extract, and wisely to estimate every article of a complicated mass of evidence, not only peculiar experience, and that acuteness and dexterity, which are acquired by habitual practice, are of the greatest importance, but also an enlightened acquaintance with those general principles regarding law and the administration of justice, which have their foundation in the general laws of human society, and which ought to run through and form the ground-work of the laws of all nations. In a situation where the body of law is complete, and well adapted to its ends, the absolute necessity is not so great for this species of knowledge in the judge, because he has rules for his guidance in every thing. He has few rules for his guidance in India, where every judge must, in a great measure, be the rule to himself. Here, it is evident, he has the greatest possible occasion for the guidance of those general principles, which an enlightened education alone can give. The youth who is destined to the great and delicate duties of a judge, in India, cannot be too carefully disciplined in that philosophy which gives the best insight into the principles of human nature ; which most completely teaches the ends which the administration of justice has it in view to accomplish, and the means which are best adapted to the ends. This sort of education is of importance not only for imparting a knowledge, to the youths who become judges, of what ought to be done ; but for imparting to them a love for the ends of justice ; and thus creating a grand set of motives for ensuring the performance of what ought to be done. If those on

whom the legislation for India depends are in earnest for the establishment of a good administration of justice, a good education for judges is one of the first reforms they will undertake. This reform, too, will be without difficulty ; because all that is wanting is a good choice of means. The cost would not be exorbitant. Here also is another of the occasions which so frequently occur, of remarking the bitter effects of that wretched policy, by which the settlement of Englishmen in our Indian dominions has been opposed. Had all parts of India been stocked, as under a system of freedom would have been the case, with Englishmen, settled in the various occupations of agriculture, manufactures, and trade, there would have been in the country a sufficient number of English gentlemen, thoroughly conversant with the manners and character of the natives : many of them born and bred among them ; gentlemen, to whom it would have added dignity, to be vested with the powers of judicature ; and who would have been well pleased to discharge its duties for a moderate reward.

By these, or expedients such as these, it will probably be allowed, that the difficulties, arising from the prevalence of perjury in India, might, to a great degree, be overcome. It is next to be inquired, what is capable of being done for the improvement of the police ; that is, for the best organization of the powers necessary to detect and apprehend offenders, and to guard the people against the mischief they pursue.

Although, in a situation where the moral sanction operates with so little effect as in India, where the intellects of the people are too weak to distribute

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their love and esteem, their hatred and contempt, with operative energy, upon the acts, respectively, by which society is benefitted, or injured, the difficulty of ensuring a tolerable discharge of the duties of the men employed as agents of police is greatly enhanced; yet, in every situation, agents will violate their duties, if it is their interest to do so; and if in India it is made their interest not to violate them, we may count, with tolerable certainty, upon their being performed. We see the end, then, for which the means remain to be provided. On the subject of those means, a few general suggestions are all that can here find an appropriate place. Much both of local and of appropriate knowledge is required for details.

One observation there is, of which it is of importance that the weight should be felt. Were the business before the tribunals well performed, by removing the imperfections of law and judicature, the difficulties of police would be greatly reduced. As every offender will be pretty sure to suffer, who was actually detected and apprehended, the number of crimes would be so far diminished, and the agents of police more afraid to transgress. If the people were not punished for giving information, by a load of expense and trouble, they would afford means of great value for detecting and apprehending the authors of crime. Their apathy might be overcome by appropriate instruction, and by gentle applications of both punishment and reward. Protection, indeed, would be required against the vengeance of the decoits; and this should be one of the first objects of government. No exertion of its powers can be too great, to pursue

immediately, and incessantly, the gang by which any enormity has been committed in revenge for information. It should be seen and felt, by the whole community, that government will never rest, till it has seized the men by whom a crime, in so high a degree injurious to society, has been perpetrated, and till it has inflicted upon them the punishment which the repression of so dreadful an enormity requires. As one great end would be, to interest and rouse the people, might they not be called forth, in such a pursuit, in the mode of a *posse comitatus*? One expedient will naturally suggest itself to every body. The army could not be more usefully, nor more honourably employed, than in protecting the people who maintain them, from internal, as well as external, foes. All that would be necessary would be to distribute the men with their officers according to a skilful organization, combining their operations, in the smallest parties, with their operations in a body. The organization of people called *gens-d'armes* in France, would afford the instruction of an example. The concurrence of their will might be ensured by reward, as well in other shapes, as in that of honour, which would be so justly their due. Against the abuse of their powers, a well-ordered plan, and certainty of punishment, might afford a pretty effectual security. Objections will be drawn from the danger, to the morals and discipline of the soldiers; but the same securities which preserved them from the abuse of their powers, would also preserve them from the loss of their virtue. A more serious difficulty would be, to supply their place when called away by the demands of war.

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The best remedy to this, as to many other difficulties which baffle, and, without it, will long continue to baffle, the powers of the Indian government, would be found among the admirable effects of colonization. If Englishmen were mixed in considerable numbers among the natives, it would be easy to find a sufficient number of men, whose intellectual and moral qualities would fit them for guiding the native agents in the functions of police; and through whom it would be possible to prevent the abuse of the powers of those agents by ensuring its detection and punishment. The parent which begets the crimes of the darogahs, as of the decoits, is their knowledge of the inability of government to punish them.

When the business of detection and conviction is accomplished, punishment remains. On this subject a few observations are still to be made. As crimes have multiplied, increasing severity of punishment has been tried, and the multiplication of crimes has not been diminished. Beside the general experience and arguments which prove the inefficacy of severe punishments for the repression of crime, peculiar reasons apply to the case of India. Under the infirmities which diminish the evidentiary force of almost all Indian testimony, the cases are comparatively few in which the guilty can receive conviction on very satisfactory evidence. The feelings of no humane judge will permit him to inflict a cruel punishment, such as death, or any thing approaching to death, when the evidence is not complete. His only alternative is, to acquit; the consequence is, that in a great proportion of cases, the guilty escape: and crime receives that effectual encouragement, which

uncertainty of punishment always affords.<sup>1</sup> For such a combination of circumstances as that which

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<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 588, 589, where we find the following excellent remarks, addressed, by E. Strachey, Esq., one of the Moorshedabad Judges, to the Court of Nizamut Adaulut, under date 19th August, 1808.

“ I must again entreat the attention of the Court to some suggestions with respect to the police, and to the operation of the more immediate causes of decoity; and to a consideration of the reasons, why the sanction of the criminal law is become inefficient in the way of example, and can no longer deter from the commission of crimes, or affect any criminals except those who, in justice, are not deserving of severe punishment.

“ I consider it as out of the question, to improve the moral and religious principle of the people, by direct positive institutions. We are too ignorant of the natives to attempt any thing so artificial without imminent risk. We do not understand the operation of such institutions on their minds, or their tendency, with respect to the frame of the society. As for the criminal law, I believe the impolicy and inefficacy, even the mischief of very severe punishments, is generally acknowledged, as well as the injustice of inflicting punishment, where other remedies might have been used with equal effect. With respect to increasing the severity of the criminal laws, we have before our eyes an admirable example. In 1803, and again in 1805, this principle was expected to prove a remedy for decoity. It has been tried, and it has utterly failed. As it is impossible to conceive a case more directly in point, or a more full, simple, convincing proof of the insufficiency of the means to the end; I trust no increase in the severity of the criminal law will ever be again resorted to.

“ As punishments are more severe, stricter proof of the crime is required; and consequently a proportionally greater number of criminals escape conviction. Besides, the terror of the severe punishment makes the criminal more careful to guard against being taken; and as it has no tendency to increase the activity of the police, but the contrary, the number of offenders apprehended will, of course, be less than before. The decoits now guard against the danger of apprehension and conviction, by corruption and terror. They would give more bribes, and commit more murders, if they thought more precaution necessary; and the consequence would be, that the difficulties of apprehending and convicting decoits would increase, and people who had been robbed and tortured would still be compelled to perjure themselves that they might not be murdered.

“ And with respect to the administration of the laws, are not the judges now intrusted with as much power as is proper? And if the law was made more severe, would it not be necessary to extend their power still further! And are we all fit persons to be intrusted with discretionary power to inflict punishments which are by many considered to be worse than death?

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India presents to the hand of the legislator, the rational course of expedients would undoubtedly be, to apply that lenity of punishment with which alone it is found that certainty can be combined; to prescribe no punishment which, upon strong presumption of guilt, the mind of a man would revolt provisionally to apply; to make use of no punishment the evil of which cannot be repaired, if the innocence of the prisoner should afterwards appear; and then to prescribe unsparing conviction as often as the balance of probability inclines to the side of guilt.

That admirable instrument for the application of all sorts of reparable punishments, and not only of reparable punishments, but what is infinitely better, of reformative punishments, punishments under the operation of which the restoration to society of hardly any offender would be an object of despair: the Panopticon penitentiary house, invented and described by Mr. Bentham, an organ of justice so well adapted to the exigencies of every community, would, with extraordinary advantage, apply itself to the extraordinary circumstances of Bengal. For individuals, under every species of guilt, and every legal degree of suspicion, an appropriate place would be found in one of these important hospitals for the mind; and society would no longer be exposed to danger from any individual to whom probable evidence of a mischievous character attached.<sup>1</sup>

“Persons who are intrusted with such powers ought to be appointed from no other consideration whatever, but that of the fitness of the man for the place. But I would ask, whether all our appointments have ever been so filled? And whether it is probable, from the nature of our service, that they ever will be? We may all be judges, learned and unlearned.”

<sup>1</sup> The want of this important instrument of judicature is felt, though not

Under the existing system the penal contrivances appear to be no better adapted to their end than those which we have already contemplated. In the report from Moorshedabad, in 1803, "The number of crimes," say the judges, "committed annually in the division under our jurisdiction, appears to have increased since the year 1793. The causes to which we ascribe the increase, are; the want of a preventive police; and the inefficacy of imprisonment, as a punishment, for either reformation, or example. We do not perceive any effects from the regulation, which declares persons convicted of the crime of perjury, liable to be marked on the forehead. In the course of our judicial duties, we still meet with the same barefaced disregard of truth, which always characterized the natives of India. The punishment of transportation, introduced by the British government, falls chiefly on decoits. And yet the crime of decoity has not decreased, in the division under our authority. To judge, therefore, of its operation by this result, it would follow,—that the punishment is of no effect; and the terror of it must daily diminish.<sup>1</sup>

A government which would render honesty and

distinctly understood, by some of the Company's judges. The answer to the interrogatories, in 1802, from the magistrates of the twenty-four pergunahs, says; "A number of the convicts at this station are employed in repairing some of the public roads in the vicinity of Calcutta, &c. The number of guards requisite to superintend and watch the convicts, thus employed, prevents our keeping so many of them to work, as we could wish, and as the preservation of their health seems to require. The construction of a house of correction, in the vicinity of the jail, where all the convicts who are capable of work might be kept to constant labour, would remedy the evil, and appears to us to be a preferable mode." Fifth Report, *ut supra*, p. 553.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 521, 524.



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justice prevalent among its subjects must itself be honest and just. Sir Henry Strachey, who looked upon the evils of India with eyes more enlightened than ordinary, complains, that "no provision is made for the return of those convicts to their country, who are transported beyond seas for a limited time, although it is well known, that hardly any native possesses the means of procuring a passage for himself."<sup>1</sup> What is this, but, under the false pretence of a sentence of a limited number of years, to pronounce, in all cases of transportation, a sentence for life? Is it possible that a class of delinquents who know themselves exposed to become the victims of this injustice should not be hardened to greater ferocity, and on account of the wrongs which they are liable to receive, regard with less remorse the wrongs which they commit? Is it possible, that the most impressive of all examples, the example of the government, should fail of its effect in imbuing the minds of the people with a reverence or contempt of justice?

There is another remedy for the evils of that delinquency which, to so dreadful a degree, prevails in India; a remedy which some of the agents of the Company's government have wisely and virtuously brought to view, and which from every consideration both of humanity and policy deserves the most profound regard. We have already learned from Sir Henry Strachey, that the vices of the people arise from their poverty and ignorance; and especially their poverty; because he expressly affirms, that

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 558.

“where labour is amply rewarded, where all can easily get employment, and where the poor are provided for, the people lead industrious and virtuous lives.”<sup>1</sup> He frequently recurs to this important topic. On another occasion he says, “In a year of plenty, like the present, when few are in want of food or employment, decoity will certainly less prevail, than in a year of scarcity.”<sup>2</sup> The connexion between poverty and crime is one of the laws of society on which, to a peculiar degree, the attention of the legislator ought to be fixed. None of the links in the moral constitution of our nature is more indissoluble; on none do a greater number of important consequences depend. That a perpetual struggle with the miseries of poverty and want operates with baneful effect upon the moral character, no man who has observed the laws of human nature will dispute. When a man has nothing to lose, and every thing to gain, by disregarding the laws of society, by what power is he to be restrained? As soon as death by hunger stares him in the face; with regard to him, the law is deprived of its power; for what is the evil with which it meets him, to the evil from which he runs? Another thing ought to be well remembered, That extreme misery, and above all things the miseries of poverty, diminish the value of life; and that the man to whom life is

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<sup>1</sup> Vide *supra*, p. 339, 340.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth Report, p. 559. In another place he says, “Great population, and poverty, produce misery and crimes; particularly in a country where there is no public, and consequently, no certain and regular, provision for the poor: Where there are, I may almost say, more poor than in any country: And where the *ability*, and disposition, of private individuals to support them, are continually diminishing.” *Ibid.* p. 533.

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a burden is but little affected with the prospect of losing it. Whoever has had an opportunity of witnessing, with any habits and powers of observation, the deaths of the poor and the rich, must have been struck with one extraordinary distinction: In most cases the rich part from life with great reluctance; the poor, except just in the morning of hope, with a kind of satisfaction, a sort of pleasurable anticipation of the rest of the grave; an expression among those of them at least who have entered the vale of years, than which there is none more common, none to which the feelings are more truly attuned. It is also a matter of general experience, that the man whose thoughts are perpetually harassed with the torment of immediate, or the dread of future want, loses the powers of benevolent sympathy with his fellow-creatures; loses the virtuous feelings of a desire for their pleasures and an aversion to their pains; rather hates their pleasures, as rendering the sense of his own misery more pungent; desires their pains, as rendering the sense of that misery the less. This is the account which all the wisest interpreters of nature have rendered of that cruel and ferocious character, which uniformly accompanies the hardships of the savage life. The man who sets little value on his own life is not likely to be much affected at the thought of taking away the life of another. The man who rather desires the pains than the pleasures of others, is not likely to deny himself any gratification; on account of the sufferings to others of which his pleasure may be the cause. Another result of immediate suffering is, that it produces an extraordinary greediness of

immediate gratification ; a violent propensity to any sensual indulgence which is within the reach.

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This is a result, which deserves the greatest attention ; and which is a recognised, experienced principle of human nature. The animal nature of man, when it is under suffering, impels him, with a force which is almost irresistible, to afford himself some compensation in the way of animal pleasure ; any pleasure whatsoever, rather than none ; that which he can most easily command ; that which most completely takes from him awhile the grating recollection of his own wretchedness. It is a rule, accordingly, that the poorest people are the most intemperate ; the least capable of denying themselves any pleasure, however hurtful, which they are able to command ; hence their passion for intoxicating liquors ; and hence, because still more wretched, the still more furious passion of the savage for those pernicious drugs. Nor is this all. The great restraining power, the happy influence which keeps the greatest part of mankind within the bounds of virtue, is the love of esteem, and the dread of contempt ; the passionate desire, which is natural to man, for the favourable regards, the dread and horror with which he contemplates the unfavourable regards of his fellow-creatures. The favourable regards, however, of mankind can only be obtained, by pursuing a line of conduct which is useful to mankind ; their unfavourable regards can be avoided, only by abstaining from every line of conduct which is hurtful to them. But it deserves to be considered with very great attention, that it is only in a state of some ease and comfort, that this salutary feeling exists in any consider-



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able strength. And the wretchedness of poverty is attended with this evil consequence, that it excludes those favourable regards of mankind, the desire of which constitutes the strongest motive to virtue. It plunges a man into that state of contempt into which misconduct would have placed him: and out of which no virtues which he can practise are sufficient to raise him. The favourable or unfavourable regards of mankind, therefore, operate with little effect to restrain him from any course of action to which he is impelled. What, then, upon the whole of this induction, is the general result? That, in a state of extreme poverty, the motives which usually restrain from transgression; respect for the laws, dread of the laws, desire of the esteem and affection, dread of the contempt and abhorrence of mankind, sympathy with the pains and pleasures of our fellow-creatures, lose their influence upon the human mind, while many of the appetites which prompt to wickedness acquire additional strength.

If, therefore, the government of India would lessen the tendency to crime, which is manifested among its subjects to so extraordinary a degree, it must lessen the poverty which prevails among them to so extraordinary a degree.

If the state of crime be, as it undoubtedly is, a sort of criterion of the state of property, the people of India have been falling, since the year 1793, into deeper poverty and wretchedness. Knowing, then, what we thus know, of the progress of delinquency in India, what are we led to think of the unintermitting concert of praises, sung from year to year,

upon the Indian government, and upon the increasing happiness of the Indian people, of which that government is the cause?

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The mode of increasing the riches of the body of the people is a discovery no less easy than sure. Take little from them in the way of taxes; prevent them from injuring one another; and make no absurd laws, to restrain them in the harmless disposal of their property and labour. Light taxes and good laws; nothing more is wanting for national and individual prosperity all over the globe. In India, where there is yet uncultivated a prodigious quantity of good land, the inference will suggest a doubt to no instructed mind. In more fully peopled countries, the effect has never yet been seen of good laws in keeping the pace of population back to the pace of food. The laws of human nature, clearly read, no less ensure the one result than they do the other.

The government of Bengal lost an opportunity, than which a finer was never enjoyed, of accelerating the acquisition of riches, and hence the growth of virtue, and decline of vice, in the great body of the people; when it declared the Zemindars, and not the ryots, the proprietors of the soil; when it sought by coercive and artificial means to create that vast inequality of fortunes, of which the corruption of the great body of the people is the never-failing result.

It is actually singled out, by the most intelligent of the Company's servants, among the causes of the prevalence of crime in India, as one, the operation of which is very particularly and distinctly felt. "Where considerable numbers," says Sir Henry Strachey, "are collected and associate together, espe-

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cially if there happens to be much inequality of rank and fortune, the morals of the people are worst, though, compared to the inhabitants of other parts of the same country, they may be said to be neither indigent nor uninformed.”<sup>1</sup> That nothing should be done to prevent inequality of fortune, the good of society, because the encouragement of production, requires. Laws for the purpose of creating and preserving a forced, unnatural inequality, are the result of a desire of making slaves of the many to make lords of the few. The original laws of India follow in this important respect the dictates of nature. By permitting a man to dispose of his property as he pleases during his life, and leave it to any person, or any number of persons, after his death; and by dividing it equally among his children, or his relatives of equal proximity, if no disposition of it is made by himself, they favour that freedom of disposal, that perfection of ownership, that circulation and distribution of property, by which the benefits derived from property are in greatest perfection attained.

The temper and practice of the courts of justice are enumerated among the causes of the prevalence of crime; the courts of justice are represented as so immoral, that they infuse a deeper stain of depravity into the Indian character; and corrupt, beyond their usual pitch of wickedness, the natives who approach them. An imputation, more expressive of the interior depravity of courts of justice, cannot easily be conceived. That the tribunals ought to be the guardians of morals, not the corrupters, is a general

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 539.

maxim ; the guardians, both by the doctrines which they teach, and the example they afford. That any tribunal, however, which guides unhappy suitors through a maze of wretched ceremonies and forms should be other than a den of chicane, that is, of fraud ; and the chief of all seminaries of the fraudulent arts, is not very possible. That such are the courts of justice in India, and above all the Supreme Court, the court of English law, is indubitably proved. Sir Henry Strachey, after stating, that where inequality of rank and fortune prevails, there “ the morals of the people are worst,” adds, “ the same may be observed, respecting such persons as have occasion to attend our cutcherries.”<sup>1</sup> In another place, he says, “ I beg leave here to offer it as my opinion, that little morality is learnt in any court of justice. In Calcutta, I have reason to believe the morals of the people are worse by means of the system established by us. Nor do I attribute this solely to the size, population, and indiscriminate society of the capital, but in part to the Supreme Court. I scarcely ever knew a native connected with the Supreme Court, whose morals and manners were not contaminated by that connexion.”<sup>2</sup> Enumerating the causes, which, under the English government, have operated to change the character of the natives, “ the circumstance,” he says, “ of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and the intercourse between the Natives and the lowest officers of that court, may be considered as one of the causes of that nature. But, I ask, whether the morals of the people are in any respect improved by these

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<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 539.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 539.



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causes? Whether they have not learned all the low arts of chicanery, imposture, and litigiousness, peculiar to an English court of justice;—without a particle of plain-dealing, firmness, independence of spirit, or useful knowledge of any kind?"<sup>1</sup>

It has been alleged above, that most of the Indian judges point to education, as the only power from the operation of which a favourable change can be expected in the moral character of the people; on this subject, however, if Sir Henry Strachey is excepted, their views are superficial. The most efficient part of education is that which is derived from the tone and temper of the society; and the tone and temper of the society depend altogether upon the laws and the government. Again; ignorance is the natural concomitant of poverty; a people wretchedly poor, are always wretchedly ignorant. But poverty is the effect of bad laws, and bad government; and is never a characteristic of any people who are governed well. It is necessary, therefore, before education can operate to any great result, that the poverty of the people should be redressed; that their laws and government should operate beneficently. The education of the poor is not extended beyond the use of written, in addition to that of spoken language. Now this, considered nakedly by itself, and without regard to the exercise made of it, cannot be regarded as of any great value. In Europe, where books are so happily diffused, the faculty of written language, imparted to any people, must of necessity prove to them a source of new and

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 527.

useful ideas. But in India, of what sort are the books to which alone it can introduce them? The tales about their gods, from which they can derive nothing but corruption. In fact, the natives of India, and other parts of Asia, are very generally taught the use of written language;<sup>1</sup> and have been so from time immemorial; yet continue the ignorant and vicious people, of whose depravity we have so many proofs. No; if the government would make the faculty of reading useful to the people of India, it must take measures for giving them useful books. There is one effectual measure for this purpose; and there never was, and never will be another; and that is the freedom of the press. Among the other admirable effects of a free press, one is, that it makes it the *interest* of government that the people should receive the highest possible instruction; compels the government to exert itself to the utmost in giving them instruction; to the end, that the people may not be in danger of being misled by misrepresentation; and that the government may be assured of their attachment, whenever it deserves it. The Indian government, however, if a conclusion from its past may be drawn to its future conduct, will not choose a free press for the first of its ameliorating agents. Considering the mental state of the people of India, it is possible that among them, at the present moment, the unrestrained use of the press might be attended with inconveniences of a serious nature, and such as would surpass the evils it would remove. There is no people, however, among whom it may not be introduced by degrees. The people of India,

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<sup>1</sup> See Malcolm's History of Persia, and Elphinstone's Caubul.

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it is certain, ought to receive, as one of the indispensable instruments of improvement, as much of it as they can bear; and this would soon prepare them, if properly encouraged, for the receipt of more, and hence, by rapid steps, for the enjoyment of it, in all its fulness, and all its efficiency. The government of India is told, indeed, by one of its own servants, from whose recorded instructions it might learn much, that something far beyond the power of mere schooling, a power which in India cannot be strong, is required to work any beneficial change in the character of the people committed to its charge. "The vices and the crimes of the people," says Sir Henry Strachey, "proceed from their poverty and ignorance; and I do not conceive they are likely to grow much richer or wiser, *while the present state of things exists*."<sup>1</sup> By the present state of things he undoubtedly means, the present state of the laws, and the government; on which every thing else depends. What he declares, therefore, is, that under the present state of the laws and the government, the improvement, either of the circumstances, or of the morals of the people is utterly hopeless; and that a fundamental change must take place in these, the primary sources of good and evil, before any change can take place in the streams they send forth. Next to the direct operation of ameliorated laws upon the intellectual and moral character of the natives, would be that diffusion of Englishmen in the society, by means of colonization, from which we have already seen that so many important consequences would flow.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 71.<sup>2</sup> Beside the official documents, which I have quoted as I went on, there

After the voyage of Lord Cornwallis to Madras, in 1793, he did not return to Bengal; but sailed for

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is information of infinite importance, on the state of delinquency in India, on its causes, and on its remedies, in the work of a young Indian judge, lost to the world too soon, the work formerly quoted, on the "Political State of India," by Alexander F. Tytler, Esq.—M. There is, no doubt, much that is commendable in these projected reformatations; but, as is the case in all closet legislation, difficulties are disregarded—the relative importance of objects is miscalculated, and the efficacy of favourite remedies ludicrously overrated. That the laws should be comprehensive and precise, that tribunals should be in proportion to the wants of the people, and that justice should be administered without avoidable delay, are truisms which no person will dispute. But to enact a code of laws prematurely for a society, which, like that of British India, is in a course of constant and fundamental change, must leave very much to be done, very much to be undone. To multiply inefficient tribunals would be to multiply the chances of wrong, and justice administered without form or deliberation will often turn out to be injustice. The prevalence of perjury is exaggerated as has been before shown, and it may be doubted if sentences explanatory of its criminality on the back of a tax-gatherer's receipt will be more efficacious in suppressing it, than the stanzas to the same effect which are to be found even in Menu, or that a ticket granted as a certificate of veracious testimony by a court of justice would be very highly prized. That the judge should be qualified to interpret evidence by the innumerable indications which are given by peculiar modes of expression and deportment is, no doubt, highly desirable, and that he should be carefully disciplined in a knowledge of human nature and of the principles and practice of jurisprudence, is undoubtedly of equal importance, but a complete course of forensic education in England would delay the season of exhibiting its benefits in India until the faculty of adaptation to climate and circumstances had passed away, and time and inclination would be wanting to acquire that intimate acquaintance with the people which it is admitted is equally essential to the formation of a perfect judge. That persons thus doubly qualified will be abundant and cheap in India, now that some half dozen indigo-planters, and sugar-growers rear their produce on their own lands, would scarcely be anticipated by our author, were he able to observe the effects of this universal panacea for all the defects of Anglo-Indian government. The conversion of the whole army into a military police, is a project not very likely to meet the concurrence of military men, and those who know how the troops in India are disposed of, will laugh outright at the notion of distributing the men with their officers all over the country, according to a skilful organization, which should combine their operations in the smallest parties with their operations in a body. It may be also doubted, if the government will be in a hurry to organize the whole of the population as gens-d'armes. And here, again, an importance is



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England in the month of August. To complete the view of his administration, the financial situation in which he left the Company is all that remains to be described.

In the year ending April 1793, the whole of the receipts of the Company in India amounted to 8,225,628*l.*; and the whole of the expenses amounted to, 7,007,050*l.*; the difference is 1,218,578*l.*; the profit or, gain, which accrued to the Company upon the transactions of that year. In the receipts were

attached to the admirable effects of 'colonization,' which it is safe prophecy to foretell, will never be realized, for colonization never will—never can, take place. With regard to the proposed mode of punishing crime, we much doubt the expedience of a Panopticon Penitentiary in Bengal, although it be the invention of Mr. Bentham. The conclusion of the inefficacy of the existing means of preventing or punishing guilt drawn from the assertion of the judges of Moorshedabad, that decoits had not decreased in the district under their jurisdiction in 1803, shows how dangerous it is to draw conclusions in a hurry, as the crime of decoity has, since 1803, infinitely decreased in the division of Moorshedabad. The remarks which are made upon the relation of poverty and crime are unquestionably perfectly just and sound, but it may be doubted, if it is quite so easy as it is assumed to be, to enrich the body of the people. If the discovery be as palpable as is represented, it is marvellous that the old established governments of Europe have not found it out, and it is scarcely fair to the newly and anomalously-constituted government of India to expect that it should set the example. At the same time the novelty and peculiarity of our condition are favourable to progressive improvement, and in nothing is the text more to be reprehended than in the impression it tends to produce, that that which was the 'present state of things' in 1808, was never to receive amelioration. The view which is taken of it is an extreme exaggeration of its defects, but it is the spirit of the British Indian Government to be perpetually reforming. The reforms are not always judicious—and they are often mischievous by being precipitate—by being premature—time is not allowed to consolidate one project, before, on account of some unessential imperfections which would correct themselves, it is swept away by an equally short-lived successor. Still, however, the tendency is praiseworthy and beneficial—and many changes have been made, and many more are in progress, which are much more likely than colonization to ameliorate the condition of the native population. It is only necessary not to be impatient—nor to force on exotic reforms out of season, if we would wish them to take root and live.—W.

included the subsidies from Indian Princes, and collections from the ceded and conquered countries, to the amount of 1,911,492*l.*; and in the expenses were included the interest of debts in India, and the money supplied to Bencoolen and the other distant settlements, amounting to 702,443*l.* The debts in India were 7,971,665*l.* The debts in England, exclusive of the capital stock, were 10,983,518*l.* To the capital stock, another million had been added in 1789, which, subscribed at 174 per cent., yielded 1,740,000*l.* The capital stock, on which was now paid a dividend of ten and a half per cent., amounted to 5,000,000.<sup>1</sup> The financial results of this administration, when compared with the financial results of that of Mr. Hastings,<sup>2</sup> exhibit a decrease of the net surplus, but to compensate for this, the extinction of a small portion of debt. The financial state of the Company, as it appeared on the face of the accounts, is thus a little better in one respect, but worse in another; and the point of deterioration more material, doubtless, than that of improvement. As the government of India was, however, now the government of the ministry, it was the interest of the ministry to praise it. In this particular, they were, accordingly, by no means wanting to themselves. The influence of the ministry in parliament has been almost always sufficient to make the praises bestowed by the ministry be accepted in parliament as principles of belief; and the influence of ministry and par-

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<sup>1</sup> See the accounts of the E. I. C. for 1793, presented to parliament in 1794. See also the Third and Fourth Reports of the Select Committee on India affairs, in 1810, with the accounts in the Appendixes.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *supra*, ii. 675.

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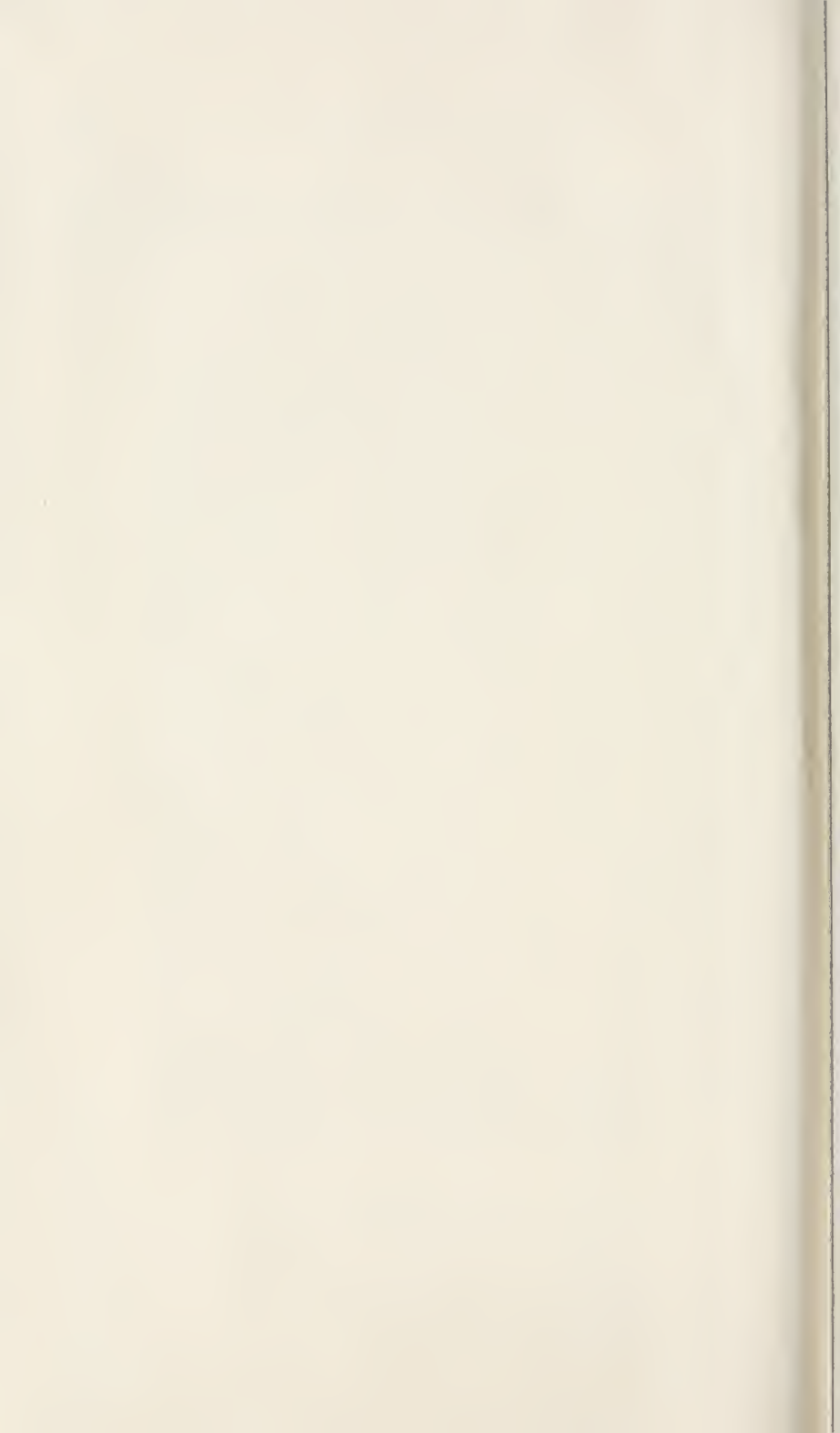
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liament was combined, to give them an ascendancy over the belief of the nation at large. Mr. Dundas, no ordinary master in the oblique arts of ruling the minds of men, represented these financial results, as an object not only of rejoicing and triumph, but even of astonishment. He endeavoured to persuade, and succeeded in persuading, the parliament and the nation, that India had fairly begun to be, what India would continue to be, a vast source of wealth to the nation, affording a surplus revenue, sufficient to enrich the East India Company, and contribute largely toward the maintenance of the British government itself. Such were the strains which year after year were sung in the ears of the nation; and dictated the legislative proceedings. In fact, however, the favourable symptoms, inferior as they were to those exhibited in 1786, lasted for only a year or two. In 1797, a permanent deficit began, and the rapid accumulation of debt exceeded all former example. The joy, indeed, which was expressed upon the financial prospects of India, wherever it was real and not pretended, was founded from the beginning upon ignorance. Large sums had been obtained from new-made conquests, and the charge to be incurred for their government was not yet ascertained. As soon as that charge had time to swell to its natural, that is, its utmost limits, the disbursements of the Indian government outran its receipts.

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THE HISTORY OF  
BRITISH INDIA.

BY JAMES MILL, ESQ.

FIFTH EDITION WITH NOTES AND CONTINUATION,

BY HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS, BOSTON AND CALCUTTA,  
AND OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY; OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND THE  
IMPERIAL ACADEMIES OF VIENNA AND ST. PETERSBURGH; OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES  
OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC., ETC.; AND HODEN PROFESSOR OF  
SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOLUME VI.

LONDON:

JAMES MADDEN, 8, LEADENHALL STREET;

PIPER, STEPHENSON AND SPENCE,

PATERNOSTER ROW.

M.DCCC.LVIII.



LONDON  
PRINTED BY WERTHEIMER AND CO.,  
CIRCUS PLACE, FINSBURY CIRCUS.

23571

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# HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

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## BOOK VI.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION FOR  
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, IN 1784, TO THE TERMINA-  
TION OF THE WAR WITH THE MAHRATTAS, IN 1805.

(continued.)

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Proceedings in Parliament relative to the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1793.—Sir John Shore succeeds Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General.—Relations of the English Government to the Nizam and the Mahrattas.—Death of Mhadajee Sindiah.—War between the Nizam and Mahrattas.—Guarantee of the Treaty of Alliance.—Death of the Peshwa, and its Effects.—Treaty fulfilled by Tippoo, and the Hostages Restored.—State of Oude.—Death of the Nabob of Oude, and Succession of his Son.—The young Nabob dethroned by the English on a charge of Spuriousness, and Sadut Ali made Nabob.—Affairs at Madras.—Death of Mohammed Ali.—Lord Hobart endeavours to obtain the Transfer of part of the Nabob's Country.—Dispute between Lord Hobart and the Supreme Board.—Capture of the Dutch Settlements.*

IN 1793, the termination of the period assigned to the exclusive privileges of the Company so nearly approached, that the question of renewing the charter, and of confirming or changing the present system of govern-

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BOOK VI. ment, could no longer be deferred. People had now so  
 CHAP. VII. generally acquired the habit of lifting their eyes to the  
 1793. management of national affairs ; and equal treatment to  
 all so forcibly recommended itself as the best rule of government, that the commercial and manufacturing population were impelled to make an effort, more than usually strong for the freedom of the Eastern trade. The principal places of manufacture and commerce in the kingdom ; Liverpool, Glasgow, Paisley, Manchester, Norwich, Exeter : exhibited combinations of the merchants and manufacturers, who passed the strongest resolutions ; importuned the ministers ; petitioned the legislature ; and desired to have an opportunity of proving how much the real policy of commerce was violated, and the wealth of the country kept down, by the monopoly of so large a field of trade as that unhappily consigned to the East India Company.

The Indian government was so organized, as now very well to answer ministerial purposes ; it was therefore the study of ministers to preserve things as they were. The Board of Control and the Court of Directors cast, with some skill, the parts which they had respectively to perform. A committee of Directors was appointed, whose business it was to draw up reports upon the subject of the Eastern trade, and to answer the arguments of those by whom the freedom of that trade was advocated or claimed. Three such reports were exhibited. They were in the first instance referred to the Committee of the Privy Council relating to trade and plantations ; and in the proper stage of the business were submitted to the House of Commons.

On the 25th of February, Mr. Dundas, in the House of Commons, made a display of the pecuniary state of the Company. Fortunately for the designs which were in agitation, the accounts of receipt and disbursement presented, just at that moment, a balance of a large amount, on the favourable side.<sup>1</sup> Of this circumstance, the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Tucker observes, " If I were called upon to point out the period when the Company's finances abroad were in the most prosperous state, I should probably fix on the year 1792-3, for we then possessed an annual surplus sufficient to liquidate the territorial debt in little more than three years. The territorial charge incurred in England was inconsiderable ; our possessions were more compact and manageable, and more productive with reference to their

possible advantage was taken. Every thing which could be effected by the confident assertions, so potent in persuasion, of men of influence and power, was done, to captivate the general mind with a prospect of Indian prosperity ; to generate a belief that a great fountain, whence a perennial stream of wealth would flow upon the British nation, was, by the wisdom of its rulers, secured to them in India. Estimates were formed, with all the airs of accuracy, or rather of moderation, by which it was made to appear, that the surplus, exhibited by the account of the year immediately passed, would, in future years, rather increase than diminish. And with profound solemnity an appropriation, as if for perpetuity, was proposed, of a large superabounding sum, which would, it was said, be annually received from India. The eyes of men were successfully dazzled : and when Mr. Dundas called out to them, "Will you stop the tide of so much prosperity for untried theories ?" those who knew but little either about the theory or the practice of the case, that is, the greater number, were easily made to believe, that there was a great certainty of securing what they were told was the actual influx of wealth, if they persevered in the present course ; a great danger of losing it, if they allowed themselves to be drawn, by delusive prospects, into another.

The friend of Mr. Dundas, and, as well from intellect, as from office, the advocate of his schemes, Mr. Bruce, the historiographer of the Company, says, "Upon no occasion, perhaps, have men's minds been less prepared for a decision, on a subject of such magnitude and importance."<sup>1</sup>

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extent ; and the produce and manufactures of India being in great demand in the west, our remittances could be effected on advantageous terms in commodities produced by the labour of an industrious population." Review of the Financial Situation of the East India Company, in 1824, by Henry St. George Tucker, p. 29. The surplus revenue of 1792-3 was 1,858,000*l.*, exclusive of a further sum of 200,000*l.* received from Tippoo. In 1793-4 it was 1,119,000*l.*, and in 1794-5 it was 1,182,000*l.* In the following year it declined to 800,000*l.*, and in 1796-7 to 240,000*l.* In 1797-8 there was a deficit which continued to prevail for several years. *Ibid.* p. 13. The expectations suggested by the surplus of 1792-3 were therefore precipitately entertained, although, as has been sufficiently proved by subsequent events, the revenues of India, when carefully administered, have been always more than adequate to the expenses of the government in time of peace.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Report on the Negotiation between the Honourable East India Company and the Public, respecting the renewal of the Company's exclusive Privilege of Trade, for Twenty Years, from March, 1794. By John Bruce, Esq. M.P., F.R.S., Historiographer to the Honourable East India Company, p. 13.

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BOOK VI. It is, indeed, true, that the people were deplorably ignorant  
 CHAP. VII. of the history and management of their East India  
 1793. affairs ; and it was, on this account, the more easy to make  
 them throw themselves, with blind confidence, upon the  
 assertions of men, whose knowledge was presumed from  
 their situation and pretensions.

An annual surplus of 1,239,241*l.* from the revenues and  
 Commerce of India, after paying the Company's Indian  
 charges of every description, was assumed. Of this mag-  
 nificent sum, the following distribution was to be made.  
 In the first place, as most due, it was proposed, that  
 500,000*l.* should be annually appropriated to liquidate the  
 debt of the Company contracted in India. But in the  
 next place, it was patriotically determined, that 500,000*l.*  
 should be annually given to the nation, as a tribute from  
 its Indian dominion. With regard to the remainder of the  
 grand surplus, it was represented, by the Indian minister,  
 as no more than equitable, that the meritorious proprietors  
 of East India stock should not be forgotten. He recom-  
 mended an increase of dividend from eight to ten per cent.  
 By this, 10,000*l.* more of the annual surplus would be  
 absorbed. A circumstance, which might have excited  
 suspicion, but which appears to have been perfectly guilt-  
 less of any such disagreeable effect, was this ; that, amid  
 all these promises of wealth, the Company was in want of  
 pecuniary assistance ; and was to receive immediate au-  
 thority for raising what was equivalent to a loan of  
 2,000,000*l.* It was not indeed to be called a loan. The  
*name* of a loan, associated with the idea of poverty, was at  
 this time to be avoided. The Company were to be em-  
 powered to add 1,000,000*l.* to their capital stock, which,  
 being subscribed, on the faith of a dividend of ten per  
 cent., at 200 per cent., produced to the Company's trea-  
 sury a sum of 2,000,000*l.* By this, it was said, the Com-  
 pany's bond debt in England would be reduced 1,500,000*l.*  
 The dividend upon this new capital would exhaust  
 100,000*l.* more of the surplus revenue. Of the appropria-  
 tion of the remainder, which, to show accuracy, and  
 because even small sums are of great importance, was  
 carried to the last degree of minuteness, it would here,  
 however, be out of place to render any account.

After some affectation of discord between the Board of

Control and the Court of Directors, Mr. Dundas having BOOK VI.  
pretended in parliament to believe it possible that the CHAP. VII.  
Company might decline to petition for the renewal of their  
charter on the terms which the minister desired to impose,  
the petition of the Company was presented to the House  
of Commons, and taken into consideration on the 23rd of  
April.

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It was, to some of the opposing members, a source of complaint, when a measure, on which interests of so much importance depended, and about which so profound an ignorance prevailed, was to be considered and determined, that a committee, to collect and to communicate information, had not, as on former occasions, preceded the decision, for which a call upon the legislature was now about to be made. Such a committee, by which ministerial purposes were most likely at the present moment to be thwarted than served, the ministers represented as altogether unnecessary; because, there was no material circumstance, they asserted, relating to India, about which there was not sufficient information, in the valuable and numerous documents, which they had communicated to the House.

The speech of Mr. Dundas displayed and recommended the projected plan. In all the great and leading particulars, the scheme which had been introduced by Mr. Pitt's bill of 1784, and better adapted to ministerial or national purposes by the amendments or declarations of succeeding acts, remained without alteration.

The powers of the Board of Control, and of the Court of Directors, were established on the same footing, on which they had been placed by the declaratory act of 1788. The powers of the Governor-General and his Council, of whom was composed the supreme organ of government in India, with the powers of the Governors and Councils at the subordinate presidencies, remained as they had been established by the act of 1784, and the amending act of 1786. The monopoly of the Eastern trade was still secured to the Company. The appropriations recommended by Mr. Dundas, of a supposed surplus of revenue, were dressed in the formalities of law. The increase of dividend, and the increase of capital, were authorized. And the lease of the exclusive privileges was renewed for a term of twenty years.



BOOK VI. Only two alterations were introduced, of sufficient importance to require statement and explanation.

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When the bill of Mr. Pitt entered the lists against that of Mr. Fox, the ground of patronage was the field of contention. On this it was, that, as the demerit of the one was to suffer defeat, the merit of the other was to be crowned with victory. On the part, therefore, of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and their party, was required, either the reality, or in place of the reality, the affectation, of a sort of horror at the enormity of increasing ministerial influence. To evade objections from this source, objections which they themselves had raised to such a height of importance, it was arranged, on the introduction of the plan, that no salary should be annexed to the duties of the Board of Control. These duties were to be executed by Members of His Majesty's Privy Council, who had good emoluments, on some other score, and so little to do for them, as to be very well paid for discharging the duties of the Board of Control into the bargain. This make-shift, unless it be contemplated in the light of a trick, to amuse the spectators till their attention relaxed, when paid functionaries of the usual sort might be quietly introduced, is a species of burlesque on legislation. To attach to one office a salary whose magnitude is out of all proportion to the duties; next to create another office, with ample duties but no salary; and then to jumble both sets of duties however heterogeneous, into one set of hands, exhibits a singular contrast with the rule of securing every service by its own appropriate reward; and paying no more for any service, than the performance of the service strictly demands. The time was now come, when the same aversion to patronage was not necessary to be displayed. It was therefore enacted, that a salary, to be paid by the Company, should be annexed to the office of certain of the Commissioners of the India Board; and that, in the appointment of those Commissioners, the circle of the Privy Council should no longer be the boundary of His Majesty's choice.

The second alteration regarded the Indian trade. As an expedient, for softening the opposition of the commercial bodies, it was devised, that the Company should afford annually not less than 3,000 tons of shipping, in which

private individuals might on their own account traffic with India, subject to the restriction of not exporting military stores, or importing piece goods, and subject also to the restriction of lodging imports in the Company's warehouses, and disposing of them at the Company's sales.

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In adducing motives for the approbation of these measures, Mr. Dundas was successful and unsuccessful : unsuccessful in offering any reasons which can now satisfy an enlightened inquirer, but completely successful in offering reasons which satisfied the bulk of his auditory. He began with what he knew to be a favourite topic for a British Parliament—the wisdom of contempt for theory. On this occasion, however, theory was treated by him with unusual lenity ; for though Mr. Dundas affirmed that the theories to which he was opposed did not hold true in the case for which he had to provide ; he was not very unwilling to allow that they held good in all other cases. The propositions, which Mr. Dundas here vilified by the name of theories, were two : the first, that the business of government, and the business of commerce, cannot, with advantage to the governed, be lodged in the same hands ; the second, that freedom is the life of commerce, and restraint and monopoly its bane. What argument did Mr. Dundas produce to show that these propositions did not hold true in the case of India ? India, said he, has hitherto been governed in contempt of them : *ergo*, they do not hold true in the case of India. Mr. Dundas, it is true, asserted also, that India had been governed *well* ; but “governed well,” in this case, means simply *governed*, and nothing more ; “governed,” somehow or other. As to the *quality* of the government, besides that it was the gratuitous and interested assumption, therefore worth nothing, of Mr. Dundas, what is the standard of comparison ? India had been governed well, as compared with what ? As compared with the highest state of advantage in which human nature is capable of being placed ? This is what Mr. Dundas himself would not have ventured, even in his boldest moments of affirmation, to state. As compared with the ancient Mogul government ? Was that the meaning of Mr. Dundas ? A mighty boast ! That the pride of British legislation should produce something not quite so



BOOK VI. bad as the despotism of barbarians. And this, even at  
 CHAP. VII. that time, was a matter of doubt. It is, now, something  
 1793. more. If this, however, was the meaning, the logic of the  
 ministers and of parliament, the one inventing, the other  
 assenting, stood as follows: "India, in the hands of a  
 civilized people, has been governed, not quite so badly,  
 say the ministers, quite as badly, say other persons, as  
 when it was under the despotism of barbarians. *Therefore*,  
 it is true, that the union of commerce with government,  
 and the monopoly of trade, are good things in India."  
 This is a logic by which a man may be helped to a great  
 variety of convenient conclusions. With Mr. Dundas, the  
 Grand Vizir of Constantinople might say: The empire of  
 the Sublime Porte is "governed well;" *ergo*, janissaries,  
 and the bow-string, are excellent in the empire of the  
 Sublime Porte. The above reasoning Mr. Dundas corro-  
 borated by an established parliamentary axiom, which he  
 often found of unspeakable utility, that *all change in mat-  
 ters of government is bad*. Allow this, and it followed,  
 with undeniable certainty, that all change in the govern-  
 ment of India was bad. On the other hand, if the abso-  
 lute and universal truth of that celebrated axiom should  
 be susceptible of dispute, all the oratory which Mr. Dundas  
 expended on the topic of change in general, falls, unsup-  
 ported to the ground.

The particular change which his opponents contem-  
 plated, the removal of the government of India from the  
 hands of a commercial corporation, would, he said, produce  
 the following effects; it would retard the payment of the  
 Company's debts; it would check the growing commerce  
 between the two countries; and it would endanger the alle-  
 giance of India. He asked, if it would be wise to incur so  
 much danger for a theory? With regard to the first two  
 of these bare, unsupported assumptions, which ought to  
 have passed for nothing, experience has provided the  
 answer. The government has remained as Mr. Dundas  
 desired, and the Company, so far from paying its debts,  
 has enormously increased them; it has remained as Mr.  
 Dundas desired, and the commerce, instead of increasing,  
 has dwindled to a trifle. That in a well-ordered attempt  
 to improve the mode of governing the people of India,  
 there was any thing to weaken their allegiance, is so evi-

dently untrue, that it is wonderful there should be a legislative assembly, in a civilized country, in which it could be asserted without derision and disgrace. BOOK VI.  
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"All this danger," said the Indian minister, "to be incurred for a theory?" First, Mr. Dundas's eagerness to escape from theory has not avoided the danger, but realized a great part of it. Secondly, when he treats the word *theory*; when all that class of politicians, to which he belonged, treat the word theory, with so much contempt, what is it they mean? *Thought*: all application of the thinking powers to the business of government, they call theory; every thing, in short, except mechanical trudging in a beaten track. In the present case, thought, applying the results of experience to the circumstances of India, endeavoured to foresee what mode of government would be attended with the happiest effects; but if ever thought, in consequence of this operation, recommends any thing different in government from that which actually exists, it is, by Mr. Dundas and his fellows, to receive the name of theory, and to be exploded. "All the good which now exists, will you sacrifice it to a theory?" When thought has accurately weighed the value of that which exists, and accurately weighed the value of that which may be got by a change; and, after all that is good and evil on both sides is maturely considered, pronounces deliberately that the second value is greater than the first; what is meant by asking, whether it is wise to sacrifice so much good to a theory? Is it not asking us whether it is wise to sacrifice the less good to the greater? In such cases the answer is, that it is wise, to sacrifice so much good to theory. It is only an abuse of language to express the facts in such inappropriate terms.

Mr. Dundas said, that no two persons agreed, in the substitutes which were proposed for the present plan. This, too, however ridiculous, is a standing argument against improvement. Yet it is not the question, whether few or many schemes are proposed; but whether any of them is good. It would be a strange maxim of government, that, where a great end is in view, and men have different opinions about the means, in that case all power of choice should be extinguished, and things must remain as they are. How numerous soever the opinions, it is



BOOK VI. still the business of wisdom to inquire what is best ; and  
 CHAP. VII. take the most effectual measures for carrying it into happy  
 1793. execution. It is worthy of particular regard, that almost  
 all the general arguments of those who oppose the improvement of political institutions, may thus be traced up to one assumption ; viz. That the original condition of human beings, the brutal savage state, ought never to have been altered ; and that all those men who have laboured to make human nature what it is, ought to be condemned as wicked.

Among his other arguments, or more properly speaking his assertions, Mr. Dundas affirmed, that the surplus revenue in India could not be carried to England, which he affectedly called *realizing*, but by the Company's trade. There is nothing, it appears from experience, too absurd to pass for an argument in a aristocratical assembly. That neither money nor goods could be conveyed from India to England, except by the East India Company, was a proposition which it required no ordinary share of credulity to digest. Experience, moreover, has proved, what a knowledge of the theory of man would have foretold, that there would be no surplus revenue to bring.

Mr. Dundas made use of other assertions. He asserted, that free trade would produce colonization ; and that colonization would produce the loss of India. Unhappily, it it is almost impossible to establish any considerable number of Europeans in India ; because the natives subsist upon so little, that the wages of labour are too low to enable Europeans to live. If it were possible, nothing would be of so much advantage, both to the people of India, and to the people of England.

As a weight to counterbalance the arguments of those who pleaded for the separation of the commerce from the government of India, and for the dissolution of the Company, Mr. Dundas delivered it as his old, and, after much time and experience, his present and confirmed opinion, that, if the patronage of India were added to the other sources of the influence of the crown, it would be sufficient to ensure to the crown a majority in both houses of parliament, and would destroy the substance of the constitution, through the medium of its forms. The patronage of India was trasferred to the crown. It was the express

purpose of the declaratory act of 1788, to place the government of India fully and completely in the hands of the ministers. Is the patronage of the Admiralty Board, the patronage of the Commander-in-Chief, or that of the Lord Chancellor, less ministerial patronage, because it is by these functionaries it is dispensed? Was it possible to give to ministers the unlimited power over the government of India, and not to give the benefit of the patronage along with it?

The two great crimes of which the government in India had been accused were; pillage of the natives, and wars of conquest. The present bill, Mr. Dundas asserted, would cure these evils. How? It had two expedients for that purpose: the land-tax was now fixed; and the Governor-General was responsible to parliament.

For annexing salaries to the Board of Control, and enabling his Majesty to make any body a Commissioner, little trouble in search of a reason seems to have been thought necessary. Without a salary, and without a choice of other persons than members of the Privy-Council, no body, said Mr. Dundas, could be got who would keep the office so long, or attend to its business so much, as to be capable of taking a useful part in its management. Nine years before, was this incapable of being foreseen? But foresight is theory. When the Commissioners of Control were first appointed, there were persons who had so much salary, and so little to do for it, that they would be very well paid for both services; viz., those of the India Board, and those attached to the salary, added together. After an additional salary was got for the India Commissioners, what was done with the surplus salary of those who had too much for the services which it was intended to pay? Was any of it taken away? No. Why? To this last question, no answer is required.

By allowing 3000 tons, for private trade, in the Company's ships, Mr. Dundas took credit for having done something considerable in favour of the manufacturers and merchants. The source of advantage in private trade would be found in the more expeditious and economical methods to which private interests would give birth. By subjecting the private trader to the delays and expenses

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BOOK VI. of the Company, Mr. Dundas cut off the possibility of advantage; and the merchants declined to occupy the unprofitable channel which he had opened.

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In every one of the particular objects which this bill pretended to have in view; the enlargement of British commerce, the extinction of debt, and the prevention of conquest; its failure, on experience, has proved to be complete.

It encountered very little opposition till its third reading in the lower house. On that occasion it was furiously assaulted by Mr. Fox. The House of Commons, he observed, had, in the year 1780, proclaimed their solemn opinion, that, "the influence of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." In defiance of this alarming declaration, in violation of the solemn protestations with which the nation were amused, upon the first introduction of the present system of Indian government, a new lot of influence was avowedly created. This was little. The mighty mass of evil existed in the influence which was warehoused for ministerial use with the Court of Directors. This was the most dangerous patronage at the disposal of the Crown. Why? because it was irresponsible. "Is it," said Mr. Fox, "to be placed in the hands of those who really have the power over it? No! it is to be given to their agents and dependants; whose responsibility, from the nature of their situation, it is absurd to speak of.—It has been asserted," he cried "that the patronage of India consists in the appointment of a few writers. If there is a man in this House! if there is a man in this country! if there is one man in the British territory in India! who can believe this assertion, I wish him joy of his credulity! I ask any man, who is not insane,—in whom, if this bill shall pass into a law, will the whole of the patronage of India be invested? Will not the Company and their Directors be the mere tools of the minister? Who appointed Lord Cornwallis? Who Sir John Shore? The clear effect of the measure is to give to the minister all the power, and screen him from all responsibility."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Pitt answered: by complaining that his opponent had deferred to the last stage the statement of his objec-

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Debates, 24th May, 1793.

tions; and by endeavouring to show, that the appointment of writers to India, who begin as clerks, and rise by seniority to places of importance, could not greatly increase the influence of ministers, even if their power over Directors were as complete as the argument of the opposition supposed. This, however, was not to deny, that ministers possessed all the influence created by the patronage of India; a fact which, at this time, Mr. Pitt did not affect to dispute: it was only to assert, that this influence, when it was got, was of inconsiderable importance. This was to contradict his own arguments against the bill of Mr. Fox; and to recant every assertion by which he had successfully covered it with odium. It was also to contradict the principal argument by which Mr. Dundas had defended the propriety of continuing the government of India in the hands of a commercial company. But it did not subvert the truth, that a mass of wealth equivalent to all the lucrative offices in India, ready to be employed by the Crown, in purchasing the co-operation of those who were appointed to check it, would contribute largely to convert the checking into a confederate body; and to establish a fatal union of King and parliament upon the ruin of the people.

The views of the parties who demanded, on this occasion, a change in the management of Indian affairs, are too nearly the same with the views, which have already been discussed, of preceding parties, to require any particular examination. The merchants petitioned chiefly for freedom of trade. On what grounds of reason, has been, as far as compatible with the nature of the present undertaking, already disclosed. The political change which most of the complaining parties appeared to contemplate, was the transfer of the details of government from the Court of Directors to his Majesty's ministers. On what ground, it appears to me, that the transfer of power which has already been made from the Court of Directors to his Majesty's ministers is not an improvement, and, by parity of reason, that any further transfer would not be an improvement, has been seen in my explanation of the nature of the instrument for the good government of India, which was provided by Mr. Pitt, in the Board of Control.

To communicate the whole of the impression, made



BOOK VI. upon a mind, which has taken a survey of the government  
CHAP. VII. of India, by the East India Company, more completely  
1793. through the whole field of its action, than was ever taken  
before, and which has not spared to bring forward into the  
same light the unfavourable and the favourable points, it  
may be necessary to state, and this I conceive to be the  
most convenient occasion for stating, That, in regard to  
*intention*, I know no government, either in past or present  
times, that can be placed equally high with that of the  
East India Company; That I can hardly point out an  
occasion on which the schemes they have adopted, and  
even the particular measures they pursued, were not by  
themselves considered as conducive to the welfare of the  
people whom they governed; That I know no government  
which has on all occasions shown so much of a disposition  
to make sacrifices of its own interests to the interests of  
the people whom it governed, and which has, in fact, made  
so many and such important sacrifices: That, if the East  
India Company have been so little successful in ameliorat-  
ing the practical operation of their government, it has  
been owing chiefly to the disadvantage of their situation,  
distant a voyage of several months from the scene of action,  
and to that imperfect knowledge which was common to  
them with almost all their countrymen: But that they  
have never erred so much, as when, distrusting their own  
knowledge, they have followed the directions of men whom  
they unhappily thought wiser than themselves, viz. practi-  
cal Statesmen, and Lawyers; And that, lastly, in the  
highly important point of the servants, or subordinate  
agents of government, there is nothing in the world to be  
compared with the East India Company, whose servants,  
as a body, have not only exhibited a portion of talent  
which forms a contrast with that of the ill-chosen instru-  
ments of other governments: but have, except in some  
remarkable instances, as that of the loan transactions  
with the Nabob of Arcot, maintained a virtue, which,  
under the temptations of their situation, is worthy of the  
highest applause.

For the immediate successor of Lord Cornwallis, choice  
was made of Mr. Shore, a civil servant of the Company,  
whose knowledge of the revenue system of India was held  
in peculiar esteem. Pacific habits, and skill in revenue,

were possibly regarded as means abundantly necessary for realizing those pecuniary promises, which had been so loudly and confidently made to both the parliament and the people of England.

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About the same time that Mr. Shore, dignified for his new station with the title of Sir John Shore, succeeded to the substantial power of the government of Bengal, its nominal sovereign, the Nabob Mubarek ud Dowla, died, after a life of thirty-seven years, and a reign of twenty-three. He left twelve sons and thirteen daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest son Uzeez ud Dowla, who was solemnly proclaimed at Calcutta on the 28th of September.

The first important circumstance which solicited the attention of the new Governor-General, was the appearance of an approaching rupture between two of the late confederates; the Nizam, and the Mahrattas. The views, upon one another, of these two states, had undergone no permanent alteration from the union to which the desire of sharing in the spoils of Tippoo had given a temporary existence. Intervening circumstances had nearly matured into act their inimical designs.

The treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the English, the Nizam, and Mahrattas, included a mutual guarantee against the common object of their hatred and apprehensions, the sovereign of Mysore. This guarantee Lord Cornwallis appears to have thought of great importance for English security. It follows, that he must have expected greater benefit from the co-operation of the Nizam and Mahrattas, in case of an attack, than mischief from entanglement in the wars to which the turbulent politics of these native states would certainly give occasion. The mode in which the contracting parties were to act, in accomplishing the objects of the guarantee, was left, in the treaty concluded previously to the war, to be settled by subsequent regulation. So much had the Governor-General this affair of the guarantee at heart, that he endeavoured, as soon after the war as possible, to secure it by an express treaty devoted to that particular object. It was, however, to be an extraordinary treaty; for Lord Cornwallis, not being altogether without foresight of the evils likely to abound from an obligation to take a



BOOK VI. part in the wars which the Nizam and Mahrattas might  
 CHAP. VII. kindle, was for inserting an article, by which the allies  
 1793. were not to assist one another, except, just when they  
 pleased; or, as he chose to express it, "until they were  
 convinced that the party requiring assistance had justice  
 on his side, and all measures of conciliation had proved  
 fruitless."<sup>1</sup>

A draught of a treaty, to this effect, was transmitted to the courts of Hyderabad and Poonah. The Nizam, though fully sensible that the English alone stood between him and destruction, was yet encouraged to the hope of drawing his profit out of the eagerness for this treaty which the Governor-General displayed. A dispute had already sprung up between him and Tippoo Sultan. The Nabob of Kernoul was the dependant of the Nizam. On that chief Tippoo was urging claims which the Nizam contested. When solicited on the subject of the treaty, the Nizam demanded, as the price of his consent, the support of the English in the affair with Tippoo. This behaviour, the English, who knew their advantages, treated as a crime; and expressed so much of anger, that the Nizam was eager to redeem his offence by unlimited complaisance.

As the power of the Mahrattas was different, so was their temper. The Poonah Councils were still governed by Nana Furnavese, who now despairing of assistance from the English to support him against the designs of Sindia, opposed to the importunities of the Governor-General on the subject of his treaty, evasion and delay. At last the Mahratta minister produced a sketch of a treaty of guarantee to which he expressed his willingness to accede, but involving terms, the acceptance of which, it is probable, he did not expect. Among these was an engagement for realizing the claims of chout upon the the dominions of Tippoo.

The Mahrattas were jealous of the enlarged, and growing power of the English. They were impatient to reap the spoils of the feeble Nizam; an acquisition, to which they

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Governor-General to the Resident at Poonah, dated 7th August, 1792. Colonel Wilkes says, on this occasion, "The policy of his Mahratta allies was in direct and systematic opposition to every thing explicit and definite in its connexion with other powers." In this way, it might be supposed, that this was a clause exactly to suit them.

regarded the connexion of that prince with the English as the only obstruction. Sindia, whose power had been so greatly increased, now exerted a decisive influence on the Mahratta councils, and entertained designs of future grandeur with which the ascendancy, or rather the existence, of the English in India was altogether incompatible. He was not solicitous to disguise his hatred of the connexion between them and the Nizam ; or the satisfaction with which he regarded the power of Tippoo, as a counterpoise to the still more formidable power of the English.

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After a negotiation of more than a year, the accession of the Mahrattas to the union so fondly projected by Lord Cornwallis, was regarded as hopeless. The Nizam, who saw in their aversion to the proposed engagements, a design of holding themselves at liberty to fall upon him, was kindled to an ardent pursuit of the guarantee ; and urged upon the English government the propriety of concluding the treaty singly with him ; as it could be no reason, because a third party swerved from its engagements, that the other two should abandon theirs.<sup>1</sup> It entered, however, into the policy of Sir John Shore, to avoid whatever could excite the jealousy of the Mahrattas: the English government, accordingly, declared its satisfaction with the verbal acquiescence of the Nizam ; and on the part of the Mahrattas, with a promise, incidentally given, that they would act agreeably to existing treaties.

The Nizam became at last so much impressed with the prospect of the dangers around him, that on the 1st of January, 1794, Sir John Kennaway, the English Resident at Hyderabad, described him to the Governor-General, as prepared to form, with the English, engagements, which would render them masters of his country for ever ; and urged the wisdom of not allowing so favourable an opportunity to escape.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Malcolm thinks this good reasoning, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> See his despatch to the Governor-General, dated Hyderabad, 1st Jan. 1794. The words of Sir John Malcolm, reporting and applauding this advice, are worthy of insertion. "In this [the despatch in question] the Resident states his conviction, that the circumstances in which the court of Hyderabad was then placed, and the character of those by whom it was ruled, were such, as gave us an opportunity, which it was wise and politic to use, to establish an influence and power in its councils, which would enable us to command its future exertions, and benefit from its resources under any events that could occur." *Sketch, &c.*, p. 144. The opinion of two such distinguished functionaries of the Company, so thoroughly conversant in the politics of India,



BOOK VI. The course into which the Mahrattas had been guided  
 CHAP. VII. by impulse of the circumstances in which they were  
 1794. placed, very highly favoured the extension of the dominion, by gradual encroachments upon their slothful and improvident governments of India. Enabled from the nature of their country, and their state of society, to exercise with advantage a continual war of depredation against the surrounding states, they were often bribed to forbearance, by those who could find no other security against their ravages. The terms of this agreement came at last to be fixed, at a fourth part of the revenues of the country which they consented to spare. This was an opening, at which the stronger party generally found the means of introducing whatever was required for the final subjugation of the country. The fourth part of the revenues was always a disputed sum; and as the Mahrattas endeavoured to make it appear to be greater than it really was, the government of the country endeavoured to make it less. Nothing is ever paid by an Indian government, so long as it can help it; least of all, an odious tribute. The Mahratta chout therefore was seldom paid, except by the terror of a Mahratta army; and by consequence it was almost always in arrear. Under the pretension of security against imposition and delay in the receipt of the chout, the Mahrattas as often as possible insisted upon sending their own officers into the country to collect it. This gave them a power of interference in every measure of the government, and the support of a body of partisans, who, exercising the powers of Indian tax-gatherers, were masters of the property, and to a great degree of the person of every man subject to their exactions.

The dominions of the Nizam had long sustained the Mahratta chout; and previous to the connexion which was formed between the Hyderabad government and Lord Cornwallis, the Mahrattas exercised so great an authority in his country, that the minister of the Nizam was more attentive to the wishes of the Mahrattas than the com-

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respecting the real import of those engagements, by which the native Princes accepted the Company's troops as the instrument of their defence, is more instructive as throwing light upon the hypocrisy of preceding, than the plain dealing of subsequent times.

mands of his master. During the necessity of exertion against Tippoo, and the union formed for his subjugation, the Mahrattas had yielded to a temporary relaxation of their influence over the country of the Nizam. But they now intended to resume it with improvements; and a long arrear of chout afforded the pretext for interference.

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The English government offered its mediation. The ready acceptance of the Nizam was not a matter of doubt. The Mahrattas employed evasion; and as soon as they were convinced that the interposition of the Governor-General would certainly not be with arms, they treated his mediating propositions with frigid indifference.

A circumstance, calculated to alarm the English government, occurred. Tippoo Sultan had an army in the field, and either intended, or under terror was suspected of intending, a confederacy with the Mahrattas for the subjugation of the Nizam. The question was, what course it now behoved the English government to pursue.

By the treaty of alliance, the Nizam, it might be urged, was entitled to the assistance of the English against Tippoo; and so little were they released from their engagements, by the infidelity of the Mahrattas, that they were rather bound to compel them to fulfil the conditions of a treaty, of which the parties were implied guarantees. Besides, the Nizam had declared, that his accession to the alliance against Tippoo was founded, not upon any confidence which he could place in Mahratta, but on that alone which he reposed in English faith: receiving him into the alliance upon this declaration was a virtual pledge, that the protection to which he looked from the English, was not to depend upon that security which he expressly rejected: to make it depend upon that security was, therefore, a breach of engagement. At the time when the Nizam, confiding in the security of English protection, took part with the English, the value attached to his alliance was such, that it would have been purchased with eagerness at the expense of an engagement offensive and defensive with himself. Would the Nizam, being attacked by Tippoo, have been entitled to assistance from the English, if defended by the Mahrattas? And was his title less, when about to be attacked by Tippoo, with the Mahrattas conjoined? Such a disappointment in hopes, on which he



BOOK VI. had staked the very existence of his throne, could not do  
 CHAP. VII. less than ensure to the English the enmity of the Nizam.

1794.

Nor could the English abandon him, without the appearance at once of weakness and infidelity; without descending from that high station in which they now over-awed the princes of India, as well by the terror of their arms, as the purity of their faith.

Considerations presented themselves of an opposite tendency. If the co-operation of all the parties in a treaty were necessary to the attainment of its end, and the defection of any one of them rendered the attainment of the end no longer possible, the defection of one dissolved, of course, the obligation of all. Again, the treaty of alliance between the English, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, bound the parties not to assist the enemies of one another. In the case, therefore, of a war between any two of the parties, the third could not interfere. In such a case, the neutrality of the third party was that which the terms of the treaty expressly required. If the friendship of the Nizam would be lost, if the opinion which prevailed of English power, and of the tenacity of English engagements, should endure a slight and temporary diminution, war was beyond comparison a greater evil. It was impossible for any body to suppose that a war against Tippoo and the Mahrattas would be easily sustained. And as the revenue of the Company was confessedly unequal to the expenditure of war, a protracted contest was to be regarded as pregnant with ruin. Even the destruction of the Nizam could not be considered as adding to the dangers of the English; since, after subverting that power, the Mahrattas and Tippoo were much more likely to make war upon one another, than to combine their arms for an attack upon the British state. Finally, by the act of parliament the Company's servants were clearly prohibited from interfering in the quarrels of the native princes, and from taking up arms against them, unless to oppose an actual invasion of the British provinces.

By these considerations, the mind of the Governor-General was determined; and he purposed to leave the Nizam to his fate. That such a determination was contrary to the expectations upon which the Nizam was induced to enter into the alliance, expectations which for

that purpose he was encouraged to entertain, there seems no reason to doubt. The difficulties of the Governor-General, and the disappointment of the Nizam, were created by the looseness of the treaty. Two obvious cases, the authors of that treaty had not been able to foresee ; First, if one of the three contracting parties were attacked by Tippoo, and one of the two who in that case were bound to assist should decline ; Secondly, if one of the three were attacked, and one of the two, who ought to assist, instead of assisting, should join the aggressor. There was nothing in the treaty which determined what was to be done by the third party in either of those cases.

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If Tippoo had attacked the English, and the Mahrattas had either not assisted, or joined in the attack, it may be strongly suspected that the English, in that case, would not have held the Nizam released from his engagement.

The opinion has also been urged, and it is not without probability, that, by declaring themselves bound to protect the Nizam, the English would not have involved themselves in the calamities of war, but would have prevented hostilities by the terror of their interference.<sup>1</sup>

When once the English have thoroughly imbibed the dread of an enemy, Tippoo, or any other ; that dread, after the cause of it is weakened, or, peradventure, wholly removed, continues for a long time to warp their policy. In the opinion of the Governor-General, great danger still impended over the Company by the existence of Tippoo. The Nizam he regarded as too weak ; the Mahrattas alone as sufficiently powerful to yield a counterpoise to that detested sovereign : his policy, therefore, was to retain, at some cost, the friendship of the Mahrattas ; and for this purpose not to grudge the sacrifice of the Nizam.

He was relieved from a portion of his difficulties by the assurance that, if Tippoo had entertained the project of an attack upon the Nizam, it was now laid aside. In the dispute between the Nizam and Mahrattas, the treaty, he thought, created, certainly, no obligation to interfere.

In the opinion of Sir John Malcolm, an obligation existed, which cannot fail to be considered as a little extraordinary. He *seems* to say, for it is seldom that a rhetorical

<sup>1</sup> This opinion is given with confidence by Sir John Malcolm.



BOOK VI. writer is entirely free from ambiguity, that the native  
 CHAP. VII. powers, by joining the English in any war in which they  
 1794. were engaged, established a right, which nothing but their  
 own misconduct could ever forfeit, to their friendship, and  
 to protection against any power to whom by that conduct  
 they might have given offence.<sup>1</sup> He adduces Lord Corn-  
 wallis as a party to this speculation ; who, "in his letter,  
 under date the 28th of February, 1790, to the Resident at  
 Poonah, declared, that the Mahratta state, by acting against  
 Tippoo in concert with the British government, became  
 entitled, in reason and equity, to a defensive alliance  
 against that prince, even though no previous engagement  
 existed." If this proposition means anything real, and if  
 assistance in war creates an obligation to assistance in  
 return, except an obligation of which the party obliged is  
 alone to judge ; in other words, an obligation binding him  
 only when agreeable, that is, no obligation at all : the re-  
 ceipt of assistance in war is a snare, which carries ruin in  
 its consequences, and ought for ever to be shunned.<sup>2</sup> One

<sup>1</sup> Sketch, &c., p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> This is a conclusion not necessarily resulting from the premises. Undoubt-  
 edly assistance in war against a common enemy constitutes in equity and reason  
 a claim to assistance on a like occasion. It is possible that there may be  
 counteracting claims by which the obligation may be overruled, but the impos-  
 sibility of fulfilling an obligation is no argument against its reasonableness or  
 justice. In the view here taken of this transaction, the most material points  
 are omitted. The grounds which the Nizam had to look to the British Govern-  
 ment for protection, and the policy of affording it to him. The letter of the  
 treaty was not violated by withholding aid from the Nizam against the Mah-  
 rattas singly and conjointly with Tippoo, but unquestionably the spirit was  
 departed from. It was formed to maintain the integrity of the Hyderabad  
 state against the aggression of a more powerful neighbour, and it mattered not  
 whence the danger came ; the Nizam equally required protection and had been  
 led to expect it. The Mahrattas neither needed nor asked for protection. After  
 the war was over the same expectation was kept alive by the negotiations set  
 on foot by Lord Cornwallis for a continuation of a guarantee treaty with the  
 Nizam and the Mahrattas. The Nizam had also some reason to expect favour  
 from the English, as a return for his cession of Guntoor and adjustment of the  
 arrears of Peshcush. It was also politic to provide for his protection. There  
 was nothing to fear from him, whilst his position and resources were calculated  
 to be of eminent advantage to the English in any future collision with Tippoo  
 and the Mahrattas, of whose hostile feelings and more formidable power there  
 could be no uncertainty. On the other hand, there seem to have been diffi-  
 culties in the way of affording him protection, which are not noticed in the  
 text, and which were not alluded to by the Governor-General. Captain Duff  
 observes, that whatever might have been the apparent advantage of the Gover-  
 nor-General's interference, if it had enabled Nizam Ally to effect his evasive  
 purpose, it must have been recorded as an injustice to the Mahrattas." Mahr.  
 Hist. iii. 109. The demands of the Mahrattas for the Chout, during a series of  
 years, were not altogether unfounded. It appears also, that they were not  
 only met with evasion but with insult and defiance ; and that the court of  
 Hyderabad provoked the contest. In such a state of things the interference of  
 the British authority must have been confined to mediation, and would prob-  
 ably have been of little effect. It does not seem however to have been very

little consequence, in the present instance, it would appear that Sir John Malcolm overlooked. The Nizam and Mahrattas were about to go to war. The English had received assistance from both of them : the English were therefore bound to lend assistance to both of them :—that is, to send one body of English troops to fight against another.

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1795.

Before hostilities commenced between the Subahdar and the Mahrattas, Mahdajee Sindiah died. The power of this chief, and his ascendancy in the Mahratta confederacy, had lately been so great, that his death was expected to produce considerable changes ; and the Resident at Poonah thought it probable that the opportunity might be so improved, as to effect an adjustment between the Nizam and Mahrattas. The Governor-General, however, would not risk offence to the Poonah government, by any sort of interference more forcible than words ; and the successor of Mahdajee Sindiah, his nephew Doulut Rao, soon assembled his army from the remotest parts of his dominions, and obtained an ascendancy at once in the Poonah councils, and in the confederacy which was forming against the dominions of the Nizam.

The Nizam was the party in danger, but the first in the field. He advanced to Beder, if not with a view to actual aggression, at least with a view to interfere in the internal affairs of the Mahratta government, a considerable time before the movement of the Mahratta armies. Early in March, 1795, the advanced corps of the Mahratta army, under the command of Doulut Rao Sindiah, approached ; and the Nizam advanced from Beder to meet him. A general action took place. Both armies were thrown into some confusion, and neither obtained any considerable advantage. But the women of the Nizam were frightened ; and under their influence he retreated from the scene of action during the night. He sought protection in the small fort of Kurdla, where the Mahrattas had the advantage of terminating the war without another blow. The fort is completely surrounded by hills, except at one particular spot. The Mahrattas took possession of this out-

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strenuously attempted, and the selfish motives which alone were urged for the desertion of the Nizam, were not creditable to the character of the government for generosity or justice.—W.



BOOK VI. let, by which they completely shut up the Nizam, and cut  
 CHAP. VII. him off from supplies. After remaining some weeks in  
 1795. this miserable situation, he found himself at the mercy of  
 his enemy, and concluded a peace on such terms as they  
 were pleased to dictate. The particulars of the treaty  
 were not fully made known ; but, beside establishing all  
 their former claims, the Mahrattas compelled him to cede  
 to them a country of thirty-five lacs' revenue, including  
 the celebrated fort of Doulutabad ; to pay three crores of  
 rupees, one-third immediately, the rest by instalments of  
 twenty lacs per annum ; and to give up, as a hostage for  
 the performance of these conditions, his minister Azeem  
 ul Omrah, whose abilities had for some time been the  
 great support of his throne ; who was the zealous friend  
 of the English connexion ; and a firm opponent of the  
 Mahrattas.<sup>1</sup>

No part of the conduct of the English had more offended  
 the Nizam, than the refusal to permit his two battalions  
 of British troops to accompany him to the war. As the  
 Mahrattas were the great source from which he apprehended  
 danger, an expensive force, which could not be employed  
 against the Mahrattas, was a loss, rather than advantage.  
 He, therefore, shortly after his return to Hyderabad, intimated  
 his desire to dispense with the service of the English battalions ;  
 and they marched to the territories of the Company.

The Subahdar of the Deccan had never, from the time  
 of Bussy, been without French officers in his service. In  
 the confederate war against Tippoo, he had two battalions  
 of regular infantry, officered by Frenchmen, and commanded  
 by a gentleman of the name of Raymond, who began his  
 military career in India, at an early age, in the disastrous  
 campaigns of Lally. At first his establishment amounted to  
 no more than three hundred men ; and he hired their arms  
 from a merchant of his own country, at the rate of eight annas<sup>2</sup>  
 a month. By his services and address, he rapidly increased  
 the favour and liberalities of

<sup>1</sup> The dispersion of the Nizam's army was the result of a panic which occurred in the course of the night, and it was then that Nizam Ali took refuge within the fort of Kurdla. In this he was shut up, not some weeks, but two days, when he was compelled to submit to the conditions specified in the text. Mahr. Hist. 3, 113.—W.

<sup>2</sup> 1s. 3d.

the Subahdar ; of which he availed himself for the augmentation and equipment of his corps. It had received great accessions both to its numbers and appointments, since the peace of Seringapatam ; and the English Resident reported, probably with great exaggeration, that twenty-three battalions of this description, with twelve field-pieces, accompanied the Nizam in his campaign against the Mahrattas.

After the return of that Prince to his capital, he ordered new levies of this corps ; and assigned a portion of territory for its regular payment. The expostulations of the British Resident, and his intimations that so much encouragement of the French portended serious changes in his relations with the English, were but little regarded.

A part of this corps was sent to occupy the districts of Kurpah, and Cummum. These districts lay upon the frontier of the Company's possessions ; and the Governor-General took the alarm. "The measure itself," he remarked,<sup>1</sup> "had a suspicious not to say criminal appearance ;" and he directed "the strongest representations to be made, to induce the Nizam to recall the detachment of Monsieur Raymond." In case of refusal, the resident was even instructed to threaten him with the march of a body of English troops to his frontier. The apprehensions of the English government were increased by some French officers, prisoners at Madras, who were detected in a project of escape, and suspected of a design to join M. Raymond.

Whether the Nizam could have been led on to risk the displeasure of the English, or whether the knowledge of his defenceless condition would soon have brought him back to court their support, sufficient time was not afforded to try. On the 28th of June, his eldest son Ali Jah fled from the capital, and placed himself in open rebellion ; when his fears were so vehemently excited, that he applied himself with the utmost eagerness to recover the friendship of the English. He agreed to the recall of Raymond's corps from the district of Kurpah ; and warmly solicited the return of the subsidiary force. The battalions were ordered to join him with the greatest possible expedition ;

<sup>1</sup> In his Minute, 15th June, 1795.



BOOK VI. but before they were able to arrive, an action had taken  
 CHAP. VII. place, in which Ali Jah was made prisoner. He did not  
 1795. long survive his captivity.<sup>1</sup> The Nizam, however, enjoyed  
 but a few months' tranquillity, when another member of  
 his family revolted, at the head of a large body of troops.  
 In quelling this rebellion, and recovering the fort of  
 Rachore, which the insurgents had occupied, the English  
 battalions had an opportunity of rendering conspicuous  
 service.

The Nizam, though brought again to a sufficient sense  
 of his dependance upon the English, could not help re-  
 flecting that from them he had nothing to expect in seek-  
 ing the means of his defence against that insatiate neigh-  
 bour, whom nothing less than his ruin would content ;  
 nor could he forbear turning with particular favour to that  
 body of his troops, on whom, in contending with the Mah-  
 rattas, his principal dependance must rest. The value of  
 M. Raymond's corps had risen in his estimation by the  
 activity which it had displayed in the reduction of Ali  
 Jah. Its numbers and appointments were increased ;  
 additional lands for its support were assigned to its com-  
 mander ; and arsenals and foundries were established for  
 its equipment. The abilities of M. Raymond qualified him  
 to improve the favourable sentiments of his prince ; the  
 discipline and equipment of his corps were carried to the  
 highest perfection, of which his circumstances would ad-  
 mit ; and his connexions with the principal officers of the  
 government were industriously cultivated and enlarged.  
 He was not anxious to avoid those little displays, by which  
 the fears and hatred of the English were most likely to be  
 inflamed. The colours of the French republic were borne  
 by his battalions ; and the cap of liberty was engraved on  
 their buttons. While a detachment of this corps was sta-  
 tioned on the frontier of the Company's territories, a par-  
 tial mutiny was raised in a battalion of Madras sepoys.  
 It was ascribed, of course, to the intrigues of the abomi-  
 nable French officers. Whether this was, or was not the  
 fact ; two native commissioned officers, with a number of  
 men, went over to the French.

<sup>1</sup> According to Capt. Grant, Ali Jah, unable to face his father, put an end  
 to his existence by poison before he reached the capital. Mahr. Hist. 3, 119.—  
 W.

It was by no means without jealousy and apprehension, that the English government beheld the progress of a French interest in the councils of the Nizam. That Prince declared his readiness to dismiss the rival corps, provided the English subsidiary force was so increased, and its service so regulated, as to render it available for his defence. This, however, the desire of standing fair with the Mahrattas dissuaded, and a succedaneum was devised. It was thought expedient to encourage the entrance of English adventurers into the service of the Nizam, who might form a rival corps to counterbalance the French. But the English were less qualified than the French for this species of adventure; there was no man to be found whose abilities and address could balance those of M. Raymond; and this project totally failed.

An event, in the meantime, occurred, which materially affected the politics of this part of India. On the 27th of October, 1795, happened the death of the young Peshwa, Madhoo Row;<sup>1</sup> and introduced the most serious divisions among the Mahratta chiefs. Nanah Furnavese desired to place upon the vacant throne an infant whom he could use as a tool. Bajee Rao, undoubted heir, the son of Ragoba, was supported by the influence of Sindiah. In these circumstances, Nanah Furnavese was anxious to strengthen himself by the alliance of the Nizam. He released Azeem ul Omrah, opened a negotiation with that minister on behalf of his master; and concluded a treaty, by which all the cessions extorted at Kurdla were resigned. In the meantime, Sindiah hastened to Poonah, with an army which his rival was unable to oppose; and Bajee Row was placed upon the musnud of Poonah. The treaty with the minister of the Nizam was, of course, annulled; but a new one was concluded, by which the Nizam was required to make good only one-fourth of the cessions and payments which had been fixed by the convention of Kurdla.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Madhoo Row, the Peishwa, although in his twenty-first year, was kept by Nana Furnavese, in a state of rigid control which preyed upon his spirits, so that a fixed melancholy seized on his mind, and on the morning of the 20th October, 1795, he deliberately threw himself from a terrace in the palace, by which he was so much hurt that he died of the injuries he received, two days afterwards. Mahr. Hist. 3, 126.—W.

<sup>2</sup> These transactions are very differently related by Capt. Grant. The minister of the Nizam was released, not by Nana Furnavese, but by Parashram

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## CHAP. VII.

1795.

The intercourse with Tippoo, during the administration of Sir John Shore, was bounded by the execution of the treaty of Seringapatam. When the sons of Tippoo were restored,<sup>1</sup> the officer who conducted them was empowered to make overtures towards a more amicable connection, provided a favourable disposition appeared on the part of the Sultan. But the pride of that Prince was too much wounded to consort with friendship; and on this occasion, the tyrant, as the English called him, disdained to practise hypocrisy. He received the officer with frigid civility.

Though Lord Cornwallis, upon taking the reins of the Company's government, had agreed with the Nabob of Oude, that the government of his country should be divided into two parts, of which the one, namely the business of defence, and all transactions with foreign states, should belong to the Company, and the other, namely, the internal administration, including the collection of the revenue, the coercion of the people, and the distribution of justice, should, without interference or control, belong to himself; the English rulers had, nevertheless, observed the extraordinary vices of his government with great solicitude, as leading necessarily to that desolation of the country, with which the payment of the Company's subsidy would soon be incompatible. On the visit of Lord Cornwallis to Lucknow, in the first year of his administration, "I cannot," he said, "express how much I was concerned, during my short residence at the capital of the Vizir, and my progress through his dominions, to be witness of the disordered state of his finances and government, and of the desolated

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Bhao the minister of Poonah, with Sindiah's concurrence, the payment of whose troops by a sum of money to be paid by the Nizam, was the main inducement to the liberation of his minister. In the subsequent intrigues by which Bajee Rao was made Peishwa, in opposition to Parashram Bhao, the Nizam took part with Nanah Furnavese, in consequence of which the treaty of Mhar was formed. By this the Nizam engaged to aid Nana Furnavese with a considerable force, and in return, the Mahratta relinquished the territory ceded by the treaty of Kurda, the bills which had been granted for the money payments then extorted, and acknowledged the claims of the Nizam to certain districts near Delhi. All contested points were mutually abandoned, and the Mahratta claims were to be settled, in future, annually. The Chouth of the Subah of Beder being considered the private property of the Peishwa, Nana confined himself to a promise of recommending that it should be given up when Bajee Rao was restored to his authority. Mahr. Hist. 3, 142. Note.—W.

<sup>1</sup> 29th March, 1794.



appearance of the country.”<sup>1</sup> The Directors, with an extraordinary candour, declared, that the vices of the native government were not the only cause of this desolation ; that for a great part of it the vices of their own administration were justly accountable. “Under a system,” they say, “defective in almost every part of it, and the abuses which arose out of that system, the present unfortunate state of the country may, in our opinion, be fairly attributed to a combination of causes. Among these is a claim which is now very wisely relinquished, of right of pre-emptions, and of exemptions from duties, in the province of Oude ; made, and exercised, by contractors employed in providing the investment ; and which in the opinion of Lord Cornwallis, has essentially contributed to its ruin. The immense drain of specie from that country of late years, amounting, from September, 1783, to February, 1794, to the enormous sum of two crores and thirty-nine lacs of rupees, exclusive of what may have been sent down to Calcutta to answer the bills drawn for the payment of the troops, and on private account, stands foremost in our opinion, among the causes that have operated so much to its prejudice.”<sup>2</sup> Though the Directors saw but imperfectly the mode in which connexion with their government had been ruinous to Oude, they had the merit of tracing in a general way, the relation between cause and effect.<sup>3</sup>

In the year 1792, died Hyder Beg Khan, the minister. As the Nabob was a cipher in the hands of his minister, and the minister was a mere instrument in the hands of the Company, this was an event which deeply interested the Company's government. The Nabob appointed a person of the name of Hossein Reza Khan, who had enjoyed the principal share of his confidence even in the time of the deceased minister, to execute provisionally the duties of the vacant office. As this person, however, was

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Cornwallis, dated, “On the Ganges, 16th Nov. 1787 ;” Papers relating to India, printed by the House of Commons in 1806, No 2. p. 4. In the same letter his Lordship says, the Nabob, “urged, as apologies—that whilst he was not certain of the extent of our demands upon him, he had no real interest in being economical in his expences ; and that while we interfered in the internal management of his affairs, his own authority, and that of his ministers, were despised by his own subjects.”

<sup>2</sup> Political Letter to the Gov.-Gen. 8th April, 1789 ; printed papers, ut supra, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The mystery is explained in a subsequent page.



BOOK VI. but little acquainted with the business of revenue, Raja  
 CHAP. VII. Tickait Roy, to whom that business was confided under  
 1795. Hyder Beg, was placed at the head of the financial department. The final election remained till the pleasure of the Governor-General should be known; who satisfied of the inclination of both the men to rely upon the English government, and not acquainted with any persons who were better qualified, signified his approbation of the choice of the Nabob; and, on condition of their good behaviour, gave to the new ministers assurance of his support. The influence of the new ministers was still less able than that of their predecessors to limit either the expenses of the Vizir, or the ruinous exactions upon the people which those expenses, the English subsidy, and the extortions of the tax-gatherers imposed. In the month of January, 1793, Lord Cornwallis thought it necessary to write to the Vizir a solemn letter of expostulation and advice. "On my return," said he, "from the war in the Deccan, I had the mortification to find that, after a period of five years, the evils which prevailed at the beginning of that time had increased; that your finances had fallen into a worse state by an enormous accumulated debt; that the same oppressions continue to be exercised by rapacious and overgrown aumils towards the ryots; and that not only the subjects and merchants of your own dominions, but those residing under the Company's protection suffered many exactions contrary to the commercial treaty from the custom-house officers from Zemindars, Aumils, and others."

The Governor-General then proceeded to pen advices, which, though they were lost upon a sensual and profligate prince, will not be lost upon the people of England. "As in a state," said he, "the evils that are practised, by the lower class of men, are to be attributed to the example held out to them by their superiors, and to their connivance, or to their weak government; so am I obliged to represent, that all the oppressions and extortions committed by the Aumils on the peasantry, take their source in the connivance and irregularities of the administration of Lucknow."

His meaning, as he himself explains it, is, That an expensive government is, by the very nature of things, an

unjust and oppressive government; and that expense, BOOK VI.  
when it proceeds to a certain pitch, is the cause, not of CHAP. VII.  
misery alone, but of ruin and desolation. "Though the  
Company's subsidy," said he, "is at present paid up with  
regularity, yet I cannot risk my reputation, nor neglect  
my duty, by remaining a silent spectator of evils which  
will, in the end, and perhaps that end is not very remote,  
render abortive even your Excellency's earnest desire that  
the subsidy should be punctually paid. Thus, I recom-  
mend economy in your own household disbursements, as  
the first measure, whence all other corrections are to take  
place.—I do not neglect the dignity of your station: nor  
am I actuated by views for the Company's subsidy only.  
Your dignity does not flow from a splendid retinue; and  
unnecessary establishment of household servants, ele-  
phants, sumptuous ceremonies, and other circumstances of  
similar nature: But from a just and wise administration  
of your government and finances."<sup>1</sup>

1795.

Just before the departure of Lord Cornwallis the new  
ministers repaired to Calcutta; in order more fully to  
explain the deplorable state in which the government and  
population of the country were placed, and to pray for  
counsel and support in conducting the affairs of a prodigal  
government and an impoverished people. The Governor-  
General, before leaving India, addressed to the Vizir an-  
other letter, of great length, from Madras. In this he  
repeats, that the effects of an expensive government are  
two, First, the oppression and misery of the people; and  
secondly, the fall of the government itself. "It is well  
known," says he; "not only throughout Hindustan, but  
to all Europe, that the revenues of your Excellency's do-  
minions are diminished beyond all conjecture.—Does not  
this consideration alarm your Excellency?—Can any thing  
but ruin result from such circumstances? Are not these  
facts a decisive proof of tyranny, extortion, and mis-  
management, in the Aumils? And, what must be the  
situation of the ryots who are placed under such people?—  
But your Excellency knows, that the prayers of the op-  
pressed are attended to by the Almighty; and often  
call down his vengeance upon their oppressors.—History

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Vizir, dated 29th Jan. 1793; printed  
papers ut supra, p. 11—13.

BOOK VI. confirms the observation, by exhibiting innumerable  
 CHAP. VII. examples of monarchies overturned, and families effaced  
 1795. from the earth, by a violation of justice in the sovereign,  
 or neglect in him to enforce its laws."

He continues; "The evils flowing from this source would have been less felt, if, in proportion as the revenues declined, a diminution of expenses had taken place. But profusion, in fact, was the cause of the first evil; and the continuance of it increased its magnitude."

He adds, "All the world concurs in encomiums upon the dignity and splendour which adorned the court of your illustrious father; but his splendour did not arise from the gaudiness of equipage, from frivolous dissipation, or from profuse expenditure. He well knew, that the best ornament of sovereignty is justice: that due economy is the source of order and dignity: that the true splendour of a court is derived from equity and wisdom."

"If," says he, "the information which I have received of the state of the country be true, the disorders exceed all bounds, and all description. The consequence is, that the revenues are collected, without system, by force of arms; that the Aumils (revenue agents) are left to plunder uncontrouled; and the ryots have no security from oppression, nor means of redress for injustice exercised upon them."<sup>1</sup>

In May, 1794, Sir John Shore, in his letter to the Resident at Lucknow, said; "It has long been my anxious wish, no less than that of my predecessor, the Marquis Cornwallis, to prevail upon the Nabob Vizir to arrange the internal administration of his country, and establish it upon principles calculated to promote the happiness of his subjects and the permanency of his own authority. I cannot, therefore, observe, without regret, that his excellency does not appear to have adopted any measures for this purpose, in consequence of the letter addressed to him by Marquis Cornwallis from Madras, and which I delivered to his ministers in Calcutta, with the most serious recommendation to them to use their utmost exertions in giving effect to the advice and recommendations of his Lordship."<sup>2</sup>

Fyzoollah Khan, the Rohilla chief, to whom the district

<sup>1</sup> Printed papers, ut supra, p. 16, 17, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 14.



of Rampore had been preserved, at the time when the rest of his nation were exterminated from the country to which they had given their name, died, at an advanced age, in 1794, leaving the country over which he had ruled, in a high state of cultivation and prosperity. The succession went to Mohammed Ali, his eldest son, who was duly confirmed by the Vizir, and acknowledged by the principal Rohilla chiefs. His younger brother Gholaum Mohammed, an ambitious man, contrived in a little time to get him into his power; when he put him to death; and sent a large present to the Vizir, with a promise of augmented tribute, if he were confirmed in the government of Rampore. Though the murdered prince left a son, in a state of nonage, the Vizir was by no means disinclined to the proposition of Gholaum Mohammed.<sup>1</sup> It was, however, a proceeding of too much importance to be concluded without the permission of the British government; and that was refused. The British troops, under Sir Robert Abercromby, joined by such forces as the Vizir could afford, were ordered to march against the usurper, and treat him as a rebel. It was the purpose of the Governor-General, to wrest the country entirely from the family of Fyzoollah Khan, notwithstanding the rights of the son of Mohammed Ali, guaranteed by the British government;<sup>2</sup> and notwithstanding the rights of the people of the Country happy under the frugal government of the Rohilla chief, menaced with misery and ruin under the exactions of the Vizir, to which, with a full knowledge of the circumstances, the British ruler was about to condemn them. The rapidity of Sir Robert Abercromby anticipated the arrival of the instructions which were forwarded to this effect. A battle was fought at Bitowrah, in which, after making a partial impression upon the British line, the Rohillas were defeated. Negotiation followed, and an

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. VII.

1795

<sup>1</sup> It may be doubted if there is sufficient authority for this insinuation. According to Mustajab Khan, Mohammed Ali was not put to death until after the Vizir's interference in his favour. "A letter having been received from the Nawab Vizir, requiring Gholam Mohammed to send his brother to Lucknow without delay, and threatening vengeance if the order were not obeyed, the conspirators decided on putting Mohammed Ali to death, and accordingly Ahmed Khan shot him while he slept." It was then asserted that he had destroyed himself, but the story was not credited, and Asoph ud Dowlah, with his forces, attended by Mr. Cherry, immediately marched from Lucknow. *Life of Hafez Rehmet Khan*, 134.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Political History of India*, p. 195.



BOOK VI. arrangement was made. The treasures of the late prince,  
 CHAP. VII. Fyzoollah Khan, were given up to the Vizir. And a  
 1795. jaghire of ten lacs of revenue, under the express guarantee  
 of the English government, was granted to Ahmed Ali,  
 the son of Mohammed Ali.<sup>1</sup>

The retrograde movement was uninterrupted in the Nabob's affairs. "The exigences of his government," as we are informed by the Directors, "were supplied by loans, on terms increasing in proportion to the sums demanded, and the discharge of one debt was effected, not from the revenue, but by contracting another of an increasing interest." The ministers Hussein Reza Khan, and Raja Tickait Roy, had become odious to him, by opposing obstructions to his will: and he accused them of the embarrassments which had grown upon him during their administration. His desire was to make Raja Jeeo Loll his minister; who had been one of his intimates for several years, and professed absolute subserviency. The aversion of the English government to this minion was not unknown. The Nabob therefore was advised to assume the appearance of acting as his own minister; while the business and power, in reality, passed into the hands of Jeeo Loll.

The English troops, employed in the country of the Vizir, were always on the increase. Instead of the single brigade, which Hastings had pronounced sufficient, even the two brigades, for which Lord Cornwallis had made provision, in the subsidy of fifty lacs, were now exceeded. In their dispatch of the 22nd of April, 1796, the Directors commanded the two regiments of native cavalry, serving under the Presidency of Bengal, to be augmented to four; and, "in order to relieve the Company from a considerable part of the expense, they directed that every possible effort should be made to induce the Vizir to disband his own useless cavalry, and to apply a part of the sums expended in their support to defraying a part of the charges which the Company incurred by the proposed augmentation."<sup>2</sup> With this proposition, the Vizir, at first, would by no means comply. And in March, 1797,

<sup>1</sup> Collection of Treaties and Engagements with the Native Princes and States of Asia, &c. printed for the East India Company in 1812, p. 150—161.

<sup>2</sup> Printed Papers, ut supra, p. 28.

the Governor-General paid a visit to Lucknow, for the BOOK VI.  
 “two avowed objects,” as he himself expressed it, “of CHAP. VII  
 inducing the Vizir to establish a reform in his administration, and to pay part of the new cavalry establishment, which he had already peremptorily refused. The influence of the British ruler was not entirely without success; an agreement was obtained from the wretched Vizir to add to his former subsidy the expense of one European and one native regiment of English cavalry, provided the annual amount should not exceed five and a half lacs of rupees; and Tuffuzel Hussein Khan, a man in whose probity and talents the Governor-General placed great reliance, was appointed minister.<sup>1</sup>

1797.

Only a few months elapsed, when, after a short illness, the Vizir expired. The eldest of his brothers was Saadut Ali, who, in fear of intrigues, had been compelled to reside on a pension at Benares. To the succession of Mirza Ali, the eldest son of Asoph ud Dowla, Saadut Ali offered objections, asserting that neither he, nor any other of the reputed children of the late Vizir, was really his offspring; and he urged his own pretensions to the vacant throne. The arbiter in this great dispute was the Governor-General. The acknowledgement of the late Vizir who had treated Mirza Ali as his son and successor; the undoubted principle of the Moslem law, which renders that acknowledgment a valid title; the acquiescence of the Begums, the wife and mother of Asoph ud Dowla; the concurrence of the capital; and the danger of admitting reports on the filiation of princes to decide the question of their succession, swayed the mind of the Governor-General; and Mirza Ali, commonly known by the name of Vizir Ali, was placed on the musnud, and recognized by the English government as Nabob of Oude.

The young sovereign had not long enjoyed his power and dignity, when complaints were received by the Governor-General, both respecting his title, and respecting his conduct. The situation of affairs appeared to require the presence of the English ruler; and he began his journey to Lucknow. Upon his arrival, he found a scene of intrigue of extraordinary activity, and extraordinary complication. The elder Begum, having interfered with the

<sup>1</sup> Printed Papers, ut supra, p. 28.

BOOK VI. conduct of the Nabob, had been urged to return to Fyzabad ; and animosity succeeded to friendship. Almas Ali Khan, who had been an object of distrust to the British government for many years, and forced to keep aloof from public affairs, had so successfully employed his leisure, in carrying on the business of renter, that a great proportion of the country was now placed in his hands : and he was the most powerful individual in the state. Upon her quarrel with the Nabob, the Begum had resigned herself to the councils of this man ; who advised an apparent reconciliation with the Nabob. "On my arrival at Lucknow," says the Governor-General, "the confederacy between the Nabob and Begum appeared indissoluble, and it was the opinion of the minister that they could not be disunited. The principal adviser of the Begum was Almas, either directly, or through (her principal eunuch) Jewahur Ali Khan. And Hossein Reza Khan, and Tickait Roy, ranged under their banners. With the Nabob, his father-in-law, Sherf Ali Khan, was supposed to have the most influence. The object of all parties was to oppose the English influence."

1797.

Presently the views of the actors began to disclose themselves. And a malady which attacked the Nabob, the measles, or small-pox, shortly after the arrival of the Governor-General, afforded a favourable opportunity for intrigue.—"I confess," says the Governor-General, "without reserve, that I never was involved in a scene of more perplexity and profligacy."

"On the 29th of December," (I still use the language of the Governor-General's report,) "Almas, who had most sedulously studied appearances, waited on the minister, and entered into conferences with him which lasted several days. He began with strong complaints of the conduct of Vizir Ali, whom he designated by a most opprobrious term. He spoke of him as spurious and profligate ; as a man who would ruin the country by his vices and profusion. He mentioned the earnest wish of the Begum and himself, that he should be deposed, and some one of the sons of Suja ud Dowla, be placed on the musnud, excluding all the sons of Asoph ud Dowla, as spurious." The same representations were successively repeated to the Governor-General, and to the Governor-General in com-



pany with the Commander-in-Chief. Mirza Jungly, a brother of the late Nabob, younger than Saadut Ali, was the person whom the Begum and Almas combined in recommending. And "a large pecuniary sacrifice," says the Governor-General, "was promised, as a compensation for my acquiescence."—"Almas," he continues, "acts in the name of the Begum; and while he pretends to disavow, on her part, all wish to interfere in the administration, his propositions to me were directly calculated to place it in her power."

Great industry and skill had been employed in prepossessing the mind of the Governor-General with the most unfavourable opinion of the young Nabob, as a man between whose character and the interests of the English an irreconcilable contrariety was placed. He was represented as extremely profuse in his expenditure, and therefore, likely to absorb the funds from which annual payments to the English might proceed; as of a violent, ungovernable will, and therefore unlikely to be obedient to the English; and finally, as altogether averse to the English, and likely to use his utmost endeavours to free himself from their yoke.

The belief of these representations, communicated to the Governor-General, appears to have decided the question. It prepared his mind for annexing weight to any evidence which might be preferred of the spuriousness of the man whom he wished not to reign. It was no objection to the legitimacy of the Nabob, that he was not the son of the Begum, who had no child; that he was the son of a female, menially employed in the zenana. He was acknowledged by Asoph ud Dowla as his son, and, according to the laws of the Moslems, that was enough. Tehseen Ali Khan, however, a confidential eunuch of the late Vizir, told the following story: that the mother of Vizir Ali had a husband of her own rank; was never confined to the zenana, but quitted it daily, as is customary with menials of the same description, and went to her husband's house; that Vizir Ali was not the son of the Nabob, but purchased of his mother for 500 rupees after his birth; that it was customary for the Nabob, having no progeny, to purchase women who were pregnant, and bring up their children as his own; and that this was the origin of



BOOK VI. all the children who were now regarded as the offspring of  
 CHAP. VII. Asoph ud Dowla.<sup>1</sup>

1797.

In this statement, the only point of real importance was, whether Asoph ud Dowla was, or thought that he was, the father of the child produced by the mother of Vizir Ali. Tehseen Ali Khan said, that he was not, and did not know of her pregnancy till after the birth of the child. And upon this story, told privately to the Governor-General by Tehseen, who complained of having been treated with injustice by the Nabob, and who might have been suborned by his enemies; told without confrontation with the public, without confrontation with the Nabob, without cross examination, without counter evidence, without hearing anything the party affected might have to adduce in his behalf, without pushing the inquiry by examination of other persons to whom the secrets of the zenana might be known, and corroborated only by what he was told was the public opinion, did the Governor-General declare, that a man whom he had acknowledged as Nabob of Oude, and who succeeded to the throne with the apparent concurrence of all ranks, except the single voice of Saadut Ali, was not the son of the late Vizir, and ought to be displaced from the throne.

It is impossible to read the account of this transaction, drawn up by the Governor-General, and not to be impressed with a conviction of his sincerity, and his desire to do justice. But it is easy also to perceive how much his understanding was bewildered; and impossible not to confess that he decided against the unfortunate Nabob the great question of a kingdom, upon evidence upon which a court of English law would not have decided against him a question of a few pounds.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Minute of Sir John Shore, detailing the measures which led to the deposition of Vizir Ali, &c., printed papers, ut supra, No. 1. p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The tale of Tehseen, said the Governor-General, concurred with public opinion. But what knew the Governor-General about the public opinion of Oude, except what he was told? And what was he told, except by a few individuals who surrounded him; and who concurred, for their own purposes, in wishing Vizir Ali to be deposed? The utmost that can be said for the tale of Tehseen is, that it is not in itself incredible, or, perhaps, improbable. But that was not the question. The only question was, whether there was or was not evidence to establish the allegations. Undoubtedly his private conversation with the Governor-General, aided by what a few individuals told the Governor-General about public opinion—was not evidence sufficient to vest allegations with the character of facts.—M.

The corroborative evidence was not what the Governor-General was told by

When the resolution of deposing Vizir Ali was taken, the choice of a successor was easily made. Saadut Ali was the eldest surviving son of Suja-ad-dowla ; and would not, as Mirza Jungly, become a tool in the hands of the Begum and Almas. When the treaty proposed by the Governor-General was communicated to Saadut Ali, it was not the time to dispute about terms. He gave his consent to every particular. He then proceeded to Cawnpore ; from which he was escorted by a large body of European troops to Lucknow. The military force of the country was almost wholly English. The Nabob was, therefore, completely helpless ; and Saadut Ali was proclaimed, without opposition, on the 21st of January, 1798.

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CHAP. VII.

1797.

The terms, to which he had at first assented, were somewhat modified after he came to the throne. It was finally established, that the annual subsidy should be raised to seventy-six lacs of rupees, and that the fort of Allahabad should be made over to the English. It was also arranged that the regular amount of the English forces stationed in Oude should be 10,000 men, including all descriptions ; that, if at any time the amount should exceed 13,000 men, the expense of all the troops above that number should be defrayed by the Nabob ; if it should fall below 8000 a proportional reduction should be made. The Nabob further agreed, to pay twelve lacs of rupees to the English, as compensation money, for the expense of placing him on the musnud ; and not, without their consent, to hold communication with any foreign state, to employ no Europeans in his service, or to permit any to settle in his dominions. Finally he agreed to allow a lac and a half of rupees as an annual pension to the deposed Vizir Ali, who was removed to Benares ; and to afford a suitable maintenance to the rest of the reputed children of his brother the deceased Nabob.”<sup>1</sup>

The transaction had one attractive feature ; that of gain

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disinterested persons to be the public opinion only, but it was their own belief and conviction. Various individuals were consulted, of whom many were impartial witnesses, and they concurred in the opinion of the public, the accuracy of which is never questioned in India. There is no doubt that Vizir Ali was not the son of Asoph-ad-dowla, and his maintenance on the throne would have been the perpetuation of an act of great injustice to Sadat Ali. See Minute of Governor General, printed in the 1st Vol. of the Asiatic Register.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Printed Papers, ut supra, p. 19—22.—Collection of Treaties, ut supra, p. 177.



BOOK VI to the Company : and it received the most cordial appro-  
 CHAP. VII. bation of the powers, ministerial and directorial, at home.

1798.

The political letter to Bengal, dated 15th May, 1799, after a full commentary upon the proceedings, thus declares : "Having taken this general view of the subject, with a minute attention, however, to all the papers and proceedings, we are, upon the whole, decidedly of opinion, that the late Governor-General, Lord Teignmouth, in a most arduous situation, and under circumstances of such delicacy and embarrassment, conducted himself with great temper, impartiality, ability, and firmness ; and that he finished a long course of faithful services by planning and carrying into execution an arrangement, which not only redounds highly to his own honour, but which will also operate to the reciprocal advantage of the Company, and the Nabob Vizir."<sup>1</sup>

On the 1st of August, 1792, Sir Charles Oakely succeeded General Medows, as Governor of Fort St. George, and President of the Council at Madras. Sir Charles remained in the government till the 7th of September, 1794, when Lord Hobart was placed at the head of the Carnatic Presidency. On the 13th of October, 1795, died, at the age of seventy-eight, the Nabob Mohammed Ali, Wala Jah ; and was succeeded by Omdut ul Omrah, his eldest son. From the date of the treaty, framed by Lord Cornwallis in 1792, the payments of the Nabob, being in the years of peace, had, through the agency of the money-lenders, been regular. But the country, made over to the cruel exactions of this description of men, had rapidly declined. The continued operation of the same causes threatened to extinguish the resources of the government ; and, though no attempt had been made to ameliorate the state of affairs during the life of Mohammed Ali, the succession of Omdut ul Omrah appeared to Lord Hobart to present a favourable opportunity for introducing those reforms of which the necessity had become so urgent.

On the 24th of the same month in which the Nabob died, the President deemed it expedient to place on record, by a Minute in Council, a description of the ruinous course into which affairs had proceeded, under the arrangement

<sup>1</sup> Printed Papers, ut supra, p. 31.

of 1792. The source of the evil was laid in "the usurious loans, which," says he, "it has long been the practice, principally among the European gentlemen of the Presidency, to make to the Durbar for mortgages upon the different provinces of the Carnatic." Some of the principal houses of business at Madras, said the Governor, or even some of the Company's servants, enter into an agreement with the Nabob for the payment of the sums which may have become due to the Company's treasury. They receive a mortgage upon a portion of the territory. To render this availing, they stipulate for the appointment of the manager of the territory. It is also requisite to establish an understanding with the military commanding officer of the district. And, then, the chain of power is complete. Then, the unhappy ryots are delivered over to the uncontrolled operations of men who have an interest in nothing but exacting the greatest sums in the shortest time, of men, "hardened by practice, and with consciences lulled to rest by the delusive opiate of interest upon interest."<sup>1</sup>

It is not in the way of direct exaction alone, that the mischief was accomplished. "Another endeavour," says the President, "of those engaged in a concern of this nature is to enhance the price of grain by artificial means, lest the ordinary price of that article, the sole subsistence of the natives, should fail to answer the large advance of money, and the exorbitant advantage expected upon it, by the soukars," or subordinate money-lenders, to whose ruinous assistance the ryots were compelled to have recourse. "The means of effecting this purpose," continues the magistrate, "is easy; for the necessitous condition of the ryots compels them to dispose of their grain as soon as it comes into their possession, in order to satisfy the urgent demands upon them which I have already described: the purchasers of this grain monopolize it, until the demand advances the price. If, towards the expiration of the season, any part of the grain should yet remain on hand, the expedient is, to divide the whole quantity, in whatever condition it may be, among the inhabitants: and the people are compelled (in general

<sup>1</sup> Papers relating to the Affairs of the Carnatic, No. 2; printed by order of the House of Commons, in 1803.



BOOK VI. the manufacturers) to take it at a valuation considerably  
 CHAP. VII. above the market price."

1795.

Such was the general course of oppression. The modes were infinite. "The subject," says the indignant Governor, "is exhaustless."<sup>1</sup>

"After this exposition, no comment," he cries, "can be required, to show that this species of government, if it deserves the name of government, contains the most grievous oppression of the people, the certain impoverishment of the country, and, consequently, the inevitable decay of revenue."

A fact is here very forcibly urged upon our attention, of which it is important to find the true explanation. Under their dependence upon the English government, it has been seen, that the people of Oude and the Carnatic two of the noblest portions of India, were, by misgovernment, plunged into a state of wretchedness, with which no other part of India, hardly any part of the earth, had anything to compare. In what manner did the dependence of the native states upon the English tend to produce those horrid effects? The difficulty of the answer is not very great. The oppressions of the native governments were limited by their weakness. When they received the use of English strength, their oppressions were limited by nothing, but the physical powers of the people to exist under oppression. So ill has the science of government been hitherto understood, that under all the governments which ever yet existed, except perhaps one or two, there is no regular and effective restraint upon bad government, except from the dread of the insurrection and rebellion of the people. In the governments of Asia, this produces no inconsiderable effects; as the frequent revolutions and changes of dynasty abundantly demon-

<sup>1</sup> "I should hesitate," he says, "to advance, if I was not supported by the authority of public record, that during a late scarcity of grain in the southern provinces, the *Manager* had the hardness to write a public complaint to the Company's collector, against the Polygars, for selling grain to the inhabitants.—Nor was the evil removed, without the interposition of this government, who by sending vessels loaded with grain, induced the monopolizers, from regard to their own interests, to restore their usual supplies to the market." He adds, "As the means of cultivation decrease, the price of grain is enhanced;—and it is a notorious, but inhuman maxim of eastern finances, [*Query, how much it differs from the principle of an English corn law*]—that a time of scarcity is more productive to the Sirkar than a time of plenty, owing to the price at which the diminished quantity is sold." Papers, ut supra.

strate. When misery had produced disaffection, and disaffection had increased to a certain height, there was generally some popular leader who offered himself to the nation as an instrument of revenge, and cast the unworthy possessor from his throne. The progress, in general, was rapid and easy. When oppression produced a decline of revenue, the evident instability of the government deterred lenders; money became wanting to pay the troops; the troops first clamoured and then mutinied; the voice of the nation joined that of the army; a revolution took place; and commonly, for two or three generations, the new family governed comparatively well. Among the small sovereignties of India, misgovernment produced weakness, and weakness invited conquest. The misgovernment, for example, of the Carnatic and Oude, would infallibly have produced the conquest, of the one by Tippoo, and of the other by the Mahrattas: and as a prince was commonly strong, only because he governed well, to be conquered was among the happiest results which the people knew. Till, indeed, governments attain that high pitch of excellence, at which they really perform, in the best manner, and at the cheapest rate, the services of government to the people, all changes are, in general, for the good of the people. It is the stability of governments, which, before this state of excellence, human nature has to dread. Now, it is evident that when the uncontrollable force of a British army is lent to an Indian prince, his subjects are immediately placed without the pale of hope. The Prince is completely set above the only fears, which, in his situation, could operate as a restraint upon his disposition to oppress; that of insurrection, and that of being conquered. The source of almost all oppression, in Asiatic and European governments alike, is the rage of extorting more and more of their earnings from the people. This passion, instead of being abated by the connexion with the English, is prodigiously inflamed: when the tributary prince is carried to all the excesses of taxation, not only by his own rapacity, but the necessity of supplying the enormous demands of his European masters; and when his soldiers, as well as people, are kept in abject and hopeless subjection by the terror of European arms.

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1795.

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BOOK VI. The progress of this oppression produced in the English  
 CHAP. VII. any determinate resolution of reform, only when the visible  
 1795. desolation of the country presented the prospect of a rapidly approaching moment, at which the English subsidy could no longer be found. We have seen what anticipations of this disastrous period the English rulers had already expressed with regard to Oude. The danger was still more imminent in the case of the Carnatic. "I cannot," says Lord Hobart, "but look with extreme anxiety to the nature of the security, provided by the treaty of 1792, for those resources on which the British interests on the coast of Coromandel materially depend. I cannot but see that the present system of collecting the revenues of the Carnatic manifestly invalidates that security : and that, whenever a failure may happen in the payment of his Highness's kists, we shall in vain have recourse to it for the recovery of the defalcation."

A palliative, if not a remedy, suggested itself, in the prohibition of loans to the Nabob by Europeans ; because, "though the dealings of Soukars (native money-lenders) in the collection of revenue, were not of recent establishment, yet the terms of loans had never been carried to so usurious an extent as since the practice had been introduced among Europeans."

This, however, the Governor declared to be ineffectual. "The prohibitory orders hitherto published, have," he says, "all failed of their object. Because the evasion of them is easy to Europeans, through the agency of their native servant ; and because the enormous profits which arise from those usurious loans, hold out an irresistible temptation to adventurers. To prohibit the intercourse of Europeans at the Durbar is ineffectual. Other channels of communication are open ; and the superintendent of a usurious loan at Palamcotah conveys his demands to the ears of the Nabob with no less certainty than he who lives in the precincts of Chepauk. As long, therefore, as his Highness shall be so regardless of his true interests, as to deliver up his provinces, and his people, to public depredation, so long will there be found men, who, in the pursuit of extravagant advantages, will overleap the bounds of discretion and moral obligation."

In these circumstances, what is to be done ? "So des-

perate a malady," said the President, "requires a remedy that shall reach its source. And I have no hesitation in stating my opinion, that there is no mode of eradicating the disease, but by removing the original cause; and placing those districts, which are pledged for the security of his kists, beyond the reach of his Highness's management;" in other words, assuming the collection of the revenue, and the whole of the internal government. And even this was a partial remedy; for though it might alleviate the distress of those particular districts, it left the remainder of the country to all the deplorable consequences of the misgovernment of the Nabob.

The Governor describes, in a style instructive for other occasions, the tissue of interests by which radical reform was opposed. "The disposition:" says he, "which his Highness has already evinced to oppose such an arrangement, leaves me no doubt of the real cause. It is not possible to calculate the extent and variety of interests which are involved in this one pursuit. And, though they are subdivided in every direction of the Carnatic, yet at the call of danger they all rally round a common centre. The great houses of business, who are the principal money-lenders at the Durbar, borrow from individuals, who, though not absolutely engaged in the loan itself, are partakers of the speculation in a remote degree, and feel, with no less sensibility than their principals, the approach of danger. *Similarity of interest makes a common cause*; and the great body of interest which is condensed upon this principle, is uniformly exerted to support his Highness in an inflexible resistance against a melioration of system, and to oppose a reformation which I consider essential to the national welfare."<sup>1</sup> This representation is the more worthy of regard, as it is applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to every government under the sun, in which there is need of reform.

On the day following the date of the Minute from which these particulars have been taken, the Governor of Fort St. George addressed a letter to the Governor-General in Council, in which he represents, that, in consequence of several communications which he had with Mr. Dundas, and with Lord Cornwallis, before leaving England, respect-

<sup>1</sup> See the Minute of Lord Hobart, printed papers, ut supra, p. 99—104.



BOOK VI. ing the necessity of a change in that state of things  
 CHAP. VII. which was established by the treaty of 1792, he had  
 1795. opened a negotiation for that purpose with Omdut ul  
 Omrah ; and that he had not communicated his intention  
 to the Supreme Government, or waited for its concurrence,  
 on account of the intrigues of those who, from personal  
 interest, endeavoured to prevent the accomplishment of  
 his object.

The first of the points which the Governor endeavoured  
 to gain, was the transfer of the collections, including all  
 the powers of internal government, in the districts pledged  
 for the subsidy. The benefits would be ; to the Nabob,  
 the saving of the exorbitant interest which the usurers  
 received ; to the people, deliverance from extortion ; to  
 the Company, security against the desolation of the coun-  
 try. The second point regarded the Southern Polygars.  
 The right of collecting the tribute from the country of  
 the Polygars had been yielded to the Company by the  
 treaty of 1792, but the nominal right of sovereignty  
 reserved to the Nabob. This proved a source of obstruc-  
 tion to the right ordering of the country ; and the Gover-  
 nor was desirous of seeing it resigned. In the third  
 place, he endeavoured to obtain the cession of the forts  
 in the Carnatic, which, according to an expression in the  
 treaty of Cornwallis, were to be garrisoned by the troops  
 of the Company.

To obtain the consent of the Nabob, Lord Hobart  
 offered to relinquish certain claims, to the amount of  
 thirty lacs of pagodas, or more. The influence of those  
 who had opposite interests prevailed. "It has been with  
 the deepest regret," said the Governor, "that I have found  
 the Nabob unmoved by my entreaties and remonstrances  
 upon this subject : not that he has been insensible to the  
 justice and expediency of what I have proposed ; but, as he  
 has candidly confessed at several interviews with me, that  
 he has not the resolution to comply ; informing me that  
 his native ministers and European advisers, so perplexed,  
 plagued, and intimidated him, that he could not venture  
 upon the measure, notwithstanding his conviction that he  
 ought to do so."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> President's Minute in Council, 24th November, 1795 ; Printed Papers, ut  
 supra, p. 104. Lord Hobart felt what reformers are sure to experience,

The Members of the Supreme Government carried their expectations even further than the President of the Council of Madras ; for no sooner was the decease of the preceding Nabob known, than they sent to that Governor their instructions, dated the 28th of October, 1795, to endeavour to obtain the consent of Omdut ul Omrah to the cession of all his territories.

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Upon the failure of his endeavours to obtain the concurrence of the Nabob, Lord Hobart intimated his intention, to assume the district of Tinivelly, for the liquidation of the debt termed the cavalry loan ; and to insist upon possession of the Carnatic forts. To this the Supreme Government objected, as an indirect mode of compelling the Nabob. They argued, that the treaty, in which that loan was not mentioned, gave no right to any assumption of territory for its liquidation ; and, although the treaty did say absolutely, and without any specification either of time or circumstances, that "all the forts in the Carnatic were to be garrisoned with the troops of the Company ;" as some case had not occurred which was specified in one of the negotiating letters of Lord Cornwallis, the Supreme Government contended that even this measure it was not lawful to enforce.

Lord Hobart was of opinion, that the Nabob had himself infringed the treaty, and thereby liberated the Company from its engagements, by granting assignments, which the treaty prohibited, upon the districts mortgaged for security of his annual payments : that self-preservation, threatened by the rapid desolation of the country, and the loss of resources which it implied, justified the Company in such interference as the necessity of the case required : and, above all, that the people of the Carnatic, to whom, beside the claims of humanity, it would be

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wherever the interests opposed to reform continue to exist : "I am aware," said he, "of the numerous enemies who will start up against me, for the part I have taken. But I have a shield in the consciousness of an honest execution of my duty, which blunts their arrows, and which will ultimately render all their efforts impotent and unavailable.—I have forborne to bring forward the names of individuals, not because I am not able to do so, but because the subject is above personal considerations.—Let those who have amassed wealth, by such means, enjoy it as well as they can. Let it be my pride to have paid this tribute to suffering humanity, by deterring others from the commission of similar enormities." Ibid. The enemies of reform in India, and the enemies of reform in England, are of one and the same *caste*.

BOOK VI. infamous to suppose, that the Company had not, by  
 CHAP. VII. sharing the fruits of their labour, contracted sacred obligations, ought not to be sacrificed in millions, to any obligations, to any one man, which it was possible to contract.

1795.

On this subject, the Supreme Government declared "that their principles were fairly at issue with those of the Governor of Fort St. George," and appealed to the authorities at home. That jealousy, which was so apt to arise between the heads of the two Presidencies, especially when the head of the Supreme was inferior in rank to the head of the subordinate government, appears on this occasion to have imbibited the opposition of the Governor-General. In the address from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors,<sup>1</sup> commenting upon the arguments of the Governor of Fort St. George, it is said; "On the language of declamation or intemperance we shall never animadvert, unless it becomes necessary to the support of the authority of the Supreme Government; leaving it, on this, as on former occasions, to the observation and notice of your Honourable Court." On this expression Lord Hobart remarked; "If I am not to defend my conduct, when attacked—attacked in terms, not indeed of intemperance and declamation, but of cool, deliberate censure and severity, impeaching my character, as a public servant, in a manner not possible to be misunderstood, I am placed in a situation wholly incompatible with a due regard to my own reputation."

As for the principles stated by the Supreme Government as in opposition to his, he remarked that they could only be useful, in as far as they afforded "rules sufficiently definite to refer to, when exigencies called for specific measures of government; but that principles, professedly admitting of deviation, fluctuating with circumstances, neither alluded to, nor enumerated, but to be estimated, as they arise, by the existing government—the propriety, or impropriety of that estimation to depend, not upon precedent, analogy, or any written law, but upon the subsequent opinion of the world—can never be productive of those beneficial effects, avowedly sought for by the Supreme Board."<sup>1</sup> In this instance, the Governor of

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Hobart to the Court of Directors; printed papers, ut supra, p. 87—93.



Fort St George saw clearly, and justly exposed, the futility of those loose and indefinite expressions of obligation, which are so fondly and frequently made use of by the half-informed persons at the heads of governments; expressions which are so effectual in misleading their understandings; but, at the same time, so fortunately adapted to enlarge the sphere of their arbitrary power.

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Though, by the compound opposition of the Supreme Government, and of the powerful class of individuals whose profit depended upon the misgovernment of the country, no reform could be introduced, the war, which the progress of the French revolution brought on with the Dutch, provided for the Governor a sort of triumph, to which the enemies of reform, that is, of mankind, have seldom any objection. In 1795, an armament was fitted out at Madras, which, aided by a squadron of his Majesty's fleet under Admiral Ranier, completely reduced the settlements of the Dutch, on Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, and Amboyna, without any incident of sufficient importance to require a particular description. Their possessions on the Peninsula were likewise subdued; Cochin, after a great resistance. And their grand settlement at the Cape of Good Hope fell into the hands of the English, the same year. In 1797, preparation was made for expeditions against Mauritius, and the Spanish settlement of Manilla. The first division of the armament against Manilla had actually sailed to Penang, the port of rendezvous; when the accounts received of the treaty of Campo Formio, and the suspicions excited of Tippoo and the Mahrattas, frightened the government, after incurring the expense, into a renunciation of both enterprises.

In the beginning of the year 1798, Sir John Shore, who had been raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned the government of India, and sailed for England. Lord Clive, who was appointed to succeed Lord Hobart in December, 1797, arrived at Madras on the 21st of August, 1798.



## BOOK VI.

## CHAP. VIII.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1798.

*Lord Mornington Governor-General.—Agents of Tippoo at the Isle of France.—Governor-General resolves on immediate War.—Import of the Circumstances.—Opinions in India.—Nizam Ali receives more English Troops and dismisses the French.—Unfruitful Negotiations at Poonah.—Progression of Governor-General's Demands.—War begins.—Plan of the Campaign.—March of the Army.—Siege of Seringapatam.—Alarming Situation of the British Army in regard to Food.—Seringapatam taken, and the Sultan killed.—Division and Settlement of the conquered Country.*

WHEN the play of private interest is not instructive, either by the inferences which may be drawn from it, or by the consequences to which it leads, it escapes the curiosity of the historian, whose views are directed by utility alone. Whatever share ministerial intrigues may have had, in the fluctuations of council, which attended the choice of a new Governor-General, it is sufficient for us to relate, that after Lord Hobart was appointed, on the 23rd of October, 1793, to be Governor at Madras, he was nominated, on the 24th of December, in the same year, to succeed the Marquis Cornwallis, as Governor-General of India. That, enjoying honourable and affluent prospects at home, and at that time filling an office of high dignity and trust, Lord Hobart would not have left his country for less than the assurance of the highest place in India, was well understood. Ministerial volition, of course, was the origin of both the one appointment and the other. The administration, however, of Sir John Shore, who succeeded to the place of Governor-General, as senior member of the council, immediately upon the resignation of Lord Cornwallis, was not interrupted till the month of March, in the year 1797; when Lord Cornwallis was nominated a second time to fill the offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. The appointment was announced to the different Presidencies in India; and a measure so extraordinary, seemed to declare that there was something extraordinary in the cause of it. Extraordinary as it was, it remained without effect. In the

month of October of the same year, it was notified to the different Presidencies, that the Earl of Mornington was appointed to be Governor-General, in lieu of Marquis Cornwallis. He was appointed, it was said, "under circumstances, and for reasons, of a peculiar nature." The Directors added, that "various circumstances had induced the Marquis to resign his appointments."<sup>1</sup> Such were the mysterious terms to which the actors thought fit to confine themselves.

The Earl of Mornington had recently distinguished himself by a brilliant speech in the House of Lords against Jacobinism, which recommended him to the ministry, as a personage both of good principles, and of good abilities. The breach of faith to Lord Hobart it was proposed to compensate, viz. by money; and that out of the Company's purse. A proposition was brought forward for bestowing upon him a pension of 1500*l.* per annum, and this, after being once rejected in the General Court, was, nevertheless, by the due application of influence, finally confirmed. The Directors, when pushed for their reasons, hinted, that the attempt of Lord Hobart to transfer to the Company the civil, as well as the military, government of the Carnatic, was, in some way, which they said it was delicate to explain, the cause which rendered it inexpedient that he should continue longer in India. "That attempt," they observed, "whether owing to the ardour of Lord Hobart, or some other cause, unfortunately failed. This failure involved his Lordship in an altercation with the Supreme Government; upon which the Court of Directors thought it right to support their Governor-General, and to recall Lord Hobart."<sup>2</sup>

Lord Mornington arrived at Calcutta on the 17th of May, 1798, carrying out with him a mind more than usually inflamed with the ministerial passions then burning in England; and in a state peculiarly apt to be seized both with dread and with hatred of any power that was French. He had possessed but little time for acquainting

<sup>1</sup> Public Letter to Fort St. George, 18th Oct. 1797. Papers relating to the Carnatic, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 10th August, 1803, i, 244.

<sup>2</sup> Speech of the Chairman in the General Court, 6th Feb. 1798. See the Report of the Debate, in the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. i.



BOOK VI. himself with the complicated affairs of India,<sup>1</sup> when all his  
 CHAP. VIII. attention was attracted to a particular point. On the 8th  
 1798. of June, about three weeks after his arrival, a paper was  
 received at Calcutta, which purported to be a proclamation  
 issued by the Governor at the Isle of France. The  
 paper imported, that two ambassadors had arrived from  
 Tippoo Sultan, with letters addressed to the constituted  
 authorities of the island, and despatches to be forwarded  
 to the government of France; that the object of the embassy  
 was, to propose an alliance offensive and defensive  
 with the French; and to request a supply of troops for  
 the purpose of a war against the English; a war, which,  
 with an earnest desire to expel the said English from  
 India, the Sultan was ready to commence, as soon as the  
 French should arrive to assist him. The proclamation  
 then invited the citizens to offer their services, on the  
 liberal terms which the ambassadors of the Sultan were  
 ready to offer.

This paper, which the Governor-General calls truly an  
 "extraordinary publication," he was at first inclined to  
 regard as a forgery; because, if a scheme, of the nature  
 here described, were really entertained, it was so much  
 the interest both of Tippoo and the French, to conceal,  
 and an act of such contemptible folly to divulge it, that  
 such a total want of all capacity for business was scarcely  
 credible, on the part either of a man intrusted with  
 the government of the Isle of France, or of men whom  
 Tippoo would choose for a delicate and important commission.

The Governor-General, nevertheless, received so violent  
 an impulse from the paper, that he despatched a copy of  
 it, even on the following day, to General Harris, the Com-  
 mander-in-Chief, on the coast of Coromandel, at that time  
 occupying, temporarily, the station of Governor of Fort

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mornington had been one of the commissioners for the affairs of India since 1795, and was not new to them upon his appointment. On his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope in February, 1798, he found the despatches from the India governments on their way to England, which afforded him full information on the state of affairs in India. He had also an opportunity of communicating personally with Major Kirkpatrick, late Resident at Hyderabad. The period allowed him therefore for becoming acquainted with the objects to which his attention as Governor-General was likely to be directed, was not restricted to a few weeks after his arrival. See Despatches from the Marquess Wellesley, vol. i. Letter from the Cape,—W.

St. George. His doubts respecting the authenticity of the document were declared ; but General Harris was com-  
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On the 18th of June a letter was received, written by the Earl of Macartney at the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of conveying to the Indian government intelligence, that such a proclamation had, in fact, been issued at the Isle of France. And about the same time several persons arrived at Calcutta, who had been present on the island, when the incident occurred. "A strict examination" of those, whom the Governor-General calls "the most respectable of those persons," was performed. If their information was to be relied upon, it appeared that toward the close of the month of January, 1798, two persons arrived at the Isle of France, by a ship from Mangalore ; that they were received with great demonstrations of respect, treated as ambassadors from Tippoo, and, during their stay on the island, entertained at the public expense ; that, without any previous rumour or notion on the island that aid was about to be given to that prince, or a war about to commence between him and the English, the proclamation in question, two days after their arrival, was fixed up, and circulated ; that the persons, thus treated as ambassadors, were so far from disowning the publication, that they ostentatiously held the same language, saw it publicly distributed by their agents at the place of their residence, and made promises in the name of the Sultan, according to its terms ; and that on the 7th of March they embarked on board the French frigate *La Preneuse*, accompanied by the men on whom the inducements held out by them had prevailed, to the amount of about two hundred including some officers.<sup>1</sup> From other sources the Go-

<sup>1</sup> This is the account which is given in the Governor-General's Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 20th March, 1799. In his minute, in the secret department, 12th of August, 1798, the following is the account. "The ambassadors aided and assisted in the levy of 150 officers and privates, for the service of Tippoo, under the terms, and for the purposes, stated in the proclamation. Few of the officers are of any experience, and the privates are the refuse of the democratic rabble of the island. Some of them are volunteers ; others were taken from the prisons, and compelled to embark. Several of them are Caffres, and people of half caste. With such of these troops as were volunteers, the ambassadors entered into several stipulations and engagements, in the name of Tippoo." In Tippoo's own letter to the French Directory, under date the 30th of August, 1798, he says he received only sixty soldiers.



BOOK VI. vernor-General was informed, that the French frigate  
 CHAP. VIII. arrived at Mangalore on the 26th of April ; that both the  
 1798. Frenchmen and the persons by whom they had been  
 brought, were received with great marks of satisfaction by  
 the Sultan, and that the principal part of the Frenchmen  
 were admitted into his service.

That the Governor-General should have regarded these incidents as tokens of the hostile mind of Tippoo, was natural. The only material question relates to the nature of the impression on the mind of a wise man, which that inference was calculated to produce. That the mind of Tippoo, in regard to the English, was full of hatred, and the spirit of revenge, it needed no new incident to disclose, or to confirm. In fact, the peace of Seringapatam was concluded with him, under a perfect conviction that his mind was breathing all the rage of disappointed ambition and humiliated pride ; and if the hostility of his sentiments had constituted a reason for war, in the opinion of the persons in India and Europe, who at that time composed the compound government of India, that peace would never have been made, as it was made, abroad ; nor applauded, as it was applauded, at home. The basis on which the wisdom of that agreement rested, was the supposed soundness of the conclusion, that the power of Tippoo, far from able to resist the British when entire, was so little formidable when diminished to one half, that the hostility of his sentiments, however intense, and however certainly known, was a matter unworthy of particular regard, on the part of a people who declared all increase of territory unfavourable to their interests, and who, in the opposition of interest between Tippoo and the Mah-rattas, could not fail to behold a security against the most formidable of the enemies whom India could raise up.

The impression made upon the mind of the Governor-General, by the incidents of which the above is the account, appears to have been strong and agitating in the highest degree. "Under all these circumstances, an immediate attack," says he, "upon Tippoo Sultan, for the purpose of frustrating the execution of his unprovoked and unwarrantable projects of ambition and revenge, appeared to me to be demanded by the soundest maxims.

both of justice and policy.—Such was the tenor of my opinions as early as the 20th of June, 1798 ;” that is, only two days after any authentic information of the facts had been received. “I therefore,” continues he, “recorded my decided judgment, that it was necessary to assemble the armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar without delay, and I issued my final orders for this purpose on that day. I have no hesitation in declaring, that my original intention was — if circumstances would have admitted — to have attacked the Sultan instantly, and on both sides of his dominions, for the purpose of defeating his hostile preparations, and of anticipating their declared object. I was concerned, however, to learn, from persons most conversant in military details at Fort St. George, that the dispersed state of the army on the coast of Coromandel, and certain radical defects in its establishment would render the assembling a force equal to offensive movements against Tippoo, a much more tedious and difficult operation than I had apprehended.”<sup>1</sup>

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Either the Governor-General condemned the policy of the treaty which was concluded by Lord Cornwallis, and highly applauded by the ministers, by the parliament, and by the people of England ; or, such was the change in circumstances, that the enmity of Tippoo, which was neither formidable, nor offered any reasonable prospect of being formidable, in 1792, had become intensely formidable in 1798 ; or, lastly, the mind of the Governor-General was in a state of inflammation, and decided upon suggestions totally different from a cool and accurate contemplation of the circumstances of the case.

No where, in his official correspondence, as he lays down the reasons of his conduct, does he state any disapprobation of the treaty of Seringapatam. It seems, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Mornington to the Court of Directors, dated 20th March 1799. Papers presented to the House of Commons relating to the late War in the East Indies with Tippoo Sultaun ; ordered to be printed 26th Sept., 1799. “The necessarily dispersed state of the troops,” (says Col. Beatson, View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Tippoo Sultaun, i. 15,) “would have been of less importance but for those radical defects, which have in a certain degree at all times existed. These *proceed from a system of economy*, which precludes the expense of establishing depôts of grain in different parts of our possessions, and of maintaining a fixed establishment of draught and carriage cattle ; without which no portion of the Madras army, however amply it might have been supplied with every other requisite for field operations, was in a condition to act with promptitude and effect.”



BOOK VI. a proper conclusion, that no disapprobation of it existed  
CHAP. VIII. in his mind.

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Whether, in the circumstances of Tippoo or the English, there was any thing at that time, which rendered the inimical mind of Tippoo more alarming, than at the date of the peace, is the next point of rational inquiry. The English, unless we are to suppose that the government which they had established in India was too bad to admit of progression, must have advanced in all the elements of political power. They had enjoyed uninterrupted peace; they had taken possession, almost unresisted, of both the French and Dutch settlements in India; time had been given to improve their experience, and their institutions, and to reap the greatest possible fruit from the extensive districts which the partition of one half of Tippoo's former territories had added to their dominions. On the side of Tippoo no change could possibly have taken place, except by the exertions which he might have made to improve his revenues, and his army—revenues completely exhausted, and an army conquered and reduced—out of the resources of a country desolated in every quarter, by the ravages of war; and reduced to one half of that extent, over which the English had found it so easy to prevail.

It would be ridiculous, and at the same time the deepest imputation upon the English government, to suppose, that, intrinsically, the power of the English had not risen upon that of Tippoo, and rendered its preponderance still greater, during the interval of only six years which had elapsed since the pacification of Seringapatam. If then any danger to the English now accrued from Tippoo greater than the danger of 1792, it must be sought for in causes exterior to the condition and resources of the countries appertaining to each. The connexion with allies was the only circumstance from without, by which the power of either government was affected.

With respect to the English, it was, indeed, alleged that their allies, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, yielded a prospect rather of danger than of aid. This, however, was a circumstance which presented consequences of two different sorts. If the want of allies increased the causes of their dread of Tippoo, it rendered them less able to fight

with him, and therefore increased the motives to peace. BOOK VI.  
 If they were perfectly able to fight with him, notwithstanding the want of allies, this very circumstance proved, CHAP. VIII.  
 that they had nothing to apprehend from remaining at peace. If it was alleged that they were able to fight now, but should not be able, after the lapse of some time, it implied that Tippoo's government was better than theirs, and would more readily increase his resources. 1798.

Besides ; it was not true, that the English were, to a considerable, if to any degree, less sure of auxiliary operations, than at the commencement, or any moment since the commencement of the peace. The Mahrattas, it was supposed, would stand aloof even if the Company were attacked. But in the first place, it was to be remembered, that as the Mahrattas dreaded nothing more than the increase of Tippoo's power, the natural conclusion was, that, if they saw the Company in any danger, they would be too strongly impressed with a sense of interest not to offer effectual assistance, and if at present they showed indifference to the dispute, or rather a jealousy of the English, the reason was, because they saw the English not likely, by suffering at the hand of Tippoo, to make Tippoo formidably strong, but much more likely, by crushing Tippoo, to raise their own power to a great and formidable height. It was also true, that at the moment when Lord Cornwallis concluded the treaty, a knowledge of the case was all that was necessary to convince any man, that hardly any dependence could, even then, be placed on assistance from the Mahrattas, in the event of a subsequent dispute ; and, in fact, every circumstance, to which a hope of the co-operation of that people against the aggressions of Tippoo could be attached in 1792, existed in equal force at the present hour, and was as likely to produce the desired effect.

The only source of jealousy which regarded the Nizam the second of the English allies, was the corps of sepoy commanded by Frenchmen. In the state of mind by which the Governor-General, and Englishmen of his intellectual and moral caste, were at that time distinguished, the very existence of a Frenchman was a cause of alarm : and a military corps, under the direction of Frenchmen,



BOOK VI. assumed the dreadful aspect of a most enormous evil. It  
 CHAP. VIII. was, at the same time, however, a circumstance perfectly  
 1798. known, that this evil, whatever it was, it depended upon  
 the English themselves, by an act totally free from difficulty, completely to remove. The Nizam had already proposed to Sir John Shore the dismissal of the French officers in his service, and the abolition of the corps, provided the English troops in his pay were so increased, and their services so extended, as to enable them to defend him against the aggressions of the Mahrattas. The English themselves, indeed, were eager to hold forth, that the French officers, by the avidity with which they absorbed the powers of the state, had become odious to the Nizam, who was now alarmed at their daring encroachments, and eager for their destruction. In point of fact, it was found, that, as soon as the Governor-General proposed to agree to the conditions upon which the Nizam had already offered to dismiss the French, his assent was obtained, and this cause, if such it is to be deemed, of seeking the destruction of Tippoo, was speedily taken away. The truth is, that the English were, in the first place, stronger, intrinsically ; and, in the next place, not weaker, on any rational ground of computation, in respect of allies, in the year 1798, than in the year 1792. If there was anything real, therefore, in the ground of alarm, it is not in the circumstances of the English, but in those of Tippoo, that it is to be found.

The revenue which it was possible for the very limited territory of the Sultan to yield, and the moderate army which that revenue could maintain, it is miserable to contemplate as having been a subject of alarm, to a people, possessing the resources of the English, and so many degrees advanced beyond their opponents in the art and science of war. Of course, it is in circumstances extrinsic to his dominions, if in any, that Tippoo can be regarded as having been formidable to the English, or as laying them under any obligation, beyond that which existed in 1792, to adopt extraordinary measures of self-defence. But of such circumstances one only can be named ; and that is, his union with the French. To clear up, therefore, every difficulty in this question of policy, it only remains to inquire how much of danger was implied in

the connexion which he had formed with that formidable people. BOOK VI.

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Tippoo was by no means without a connexion with the French at the date of the treaty of Seringapatam. A French corps had formed a distinguished part of his army from the moment he ascended the throne. When that treaty was concluded, a war was impending between the English and the French ; and no man could have a doubt that Tippoo would gladly join the enemies of those whom he regarded as his inveterate foes, should those enemies think of carrying their arms to that distant part of the globe. With all these circumstances fully before him, Lord Cornwallis thought it wise, to make peace. Had any new circumstance occurred, to make it wise in Lord Wellesley to come to the determination, which he says he had formed on the 20th of June, 1798, of attacking Tippoo immediately, if he had found it possible to assemble the troops? Two men had appeared at the Isle of France, and a proclamation had been issued by the Governor. From this, as far as then was known, only one of three inferences could rationally be drawn. Either that it set forth a number of falsehoods, for the purpose of precipitating the English into an Indian war. Or that it was the act of a madman making public a communication which it was so much the interest of both parties to keep in the profoundest secrecy. Or, which was by far the most probable supposition, that it was nothing but an act of boasting, bragging, folly, with something of very small importance for its foundation. Nothing was more likely than that Tippoo, seeing the increase which had taken place in the French corps in the service of other native powers, both in that of the Nizam, and that of the principal Mahratta power, was very desirous of increasing his own ; and might have sent agents to the Isle of France for the purpose of engaging both officers and men. It is well known, how much of boasting, and of exaggeration, enters into the verbal intercourse of the East ; it is well known, also, that Tippoo carried this weakness to excess, and might be regarded as a braggart even among orientals. It is still further known, that on nothing was he fonder of bragging, than his power in relation to the English, and the vengeance which, if provoked by them, he should one



BOOK VI. day inflict. It was, therefore, not incredible, it was highly  
 CHAP. VIII. probable, that with a view to obtain a more favourable  
 1798. reception to his application for leave to enlist soldiers in  
 the Isle of France, his agents were instructed to talk very  
 high, to boast of his enmity to the English, and even his  
 power, if well supported by the French, to expel them  
 from India. Vapour of this kind was a thing too common  
 in India to excite any particular regard. But it was not  
 surprising, if it produced on the French Governor a very  
 different effect. It was very well known, at the period  
 when the Governor-General was called upon to deliberate  
 or to decide without deliberation, upon the question of  
 peace and war, that a high degree of excitability had, by  
 the events of their revolution, been conveyed to the minds  
 of Frenchmen; and they were almost as much disposed  
 to the language of vanity and ostentation as the orientals  
 themselves: and the only rational conclusion was, that  
 the Governor, evidently a very ignorant and foolish man  
 had been eager to adopt any occasion, however insignifi-  
 cant, of indulging his propensity for boasting, exaggeration  
 and display; that the loose, hyperbolical talk of Indians  
 had been held forth as the momentous language of a  
 solemn negotiation; and that two agents for recruiting  
 soldiers had been transformed into ambassadors, for the  
 purpose of contracting an alliance, offensive and defen-  
 sive, between the Sultan of Mysore, and the Republic of  
 France.

But, even should we go so far as to allow the wisdom of  
 supposing that Tippoo had made an overture of the most  
 serious kind for an alliance offensive and defensive against  
 the English, an important question is still to be asked.  
 Did this, in the smallest degree, alter the circumstances of  
 the English in regard to Tippoo? Was their danger, in  
 any respect, increased? Would they have been perfectly  
 safe to remain at peace, had not this overture been made?  
 If so, in what respect did this overture increase the proba-  
 bility of evil? It may be affirmed, without any dread of  
 refutation, that it produced no effect of that description  
 whatsoever. In reality, the incident disclosed nothing  
 with regard to the mind of Tippoo, which was not per-  
 fectly known, believed, and acted upon before; namely,  
 his eager desire to do mischief to the English, and to

unite with any power that would embark in the same design, more especially with the French, whose power and hatred appeared to offer so great a resource. In fact, the incident made a disclosure, which might have been regarded as agreeable; that the connexion between Tippoo and the French was so trifling, and their mode of intercourse so very childish and absurd. It might have been expected, and it ought to have been beforehand supposed, that a perfect and regular channel of communication was opened between them and that their conjoint means of annoying the English had been well digested, and perfectly understood.

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But, if this incident disclosed nothing with regard to the minds of Tippoo and the French, except that they were less capable of doing mischief to the English, than might before have been reasonably expected, it can hardly be supposed, that an overture so loose, indefinite, full of negligence and mismanagement, could add any thing to the motives of the French for carrying hostilities to India, if their circumstances admitted so costly an experiment. And, lastly, if this overture intrinsically altered nothing, either in regard to the dangers of the English, or their knowledge of that danger, except by showing that it was less than they might have supposed, was there any thing (for that is the last hypothesis) in the state and condition of the French nation, at that particular time, which rendered it more likely they should now send an army to India, than at any period since the conclusion of the treaty of Seringapatam? During the two days between the 18th and the 20th of June, 1798, in which contracted space the Governor-General made up his mind, upon the strength of the incident in question, to attack the sovereign of Mysore instantly; it may be affirmed, that he had no rational ground for supposing it more likely that the French would then make war upon India, than it had been at any period since the war between them and England began. It evidently follows, that there was no reason for destroying Tippoo, at this particular moment, which had not existed at every moment since the commencement of the negotiation for peace.

Still, the character of the policy which was pursued by the Governor-General remains to be determined, by the



BOOK VI. solution, not of the question whether more reason, than at  
 CHAP. VIII. any preceding period, existed for the destruction of the  
 .1798. Sultan, but of the question, whether then sufficient reason  
 existed as well as, if such where the coincidence, at any  
 antecedent time. More obscurity rests upon this determi-  
 nation. If it be true, that the Governor-General ought to  
 have been guided by the act of parliament, made and pro-  
 vided for the express regulation of his conduct, the answer  
 is not doubtful. By that act, all augmentation of territory,  
 and every act of war against an Indian prince, except for  
 self-defence, in the case of actual hostilities, was declared  
 to be contrary to the interest, and injurious to the honour  
 of the British nation. It will be impossible to show, that  
 the war into which the Governor-General was so eager to  
 plunge, was a war of self-defence, except by such arguments  
 as will show that no war which has a prospect of adding  
 to the securities of a nation can ever be a war of a different  
 sort. If it was proper in the Governor-General to treat  
 the act of parliament with contempt; as the parliament  
 itself soon after declared that it was, by thanking and ap-  
 plauding him for his flagrant violation of that act; and if  
 the only question was, whether or not the British interests  
 were to be promoted, or the contrary, by the ruin of this  
 dreaded foe, the inquiry is more complicated. What was  
 to be gained was abundantly obvious; it was the saving of  
 the expense, which the maintenance of a force, sufficient  
 to guard against any chance of evil from his malignity,  
 would have required. This expense, if the war by good  
 fortune had not been so very short, would not perhaps  
 have equalled the interest of the money expended by the  
 war. Had this been the fact, more would have been  
 lost, it is evident, than gained, by the destruction of  
 Tippoo; for as to the mere increase of dominion, indepen-  
 dent of security, that, in the shape of a good, was not less  
 violently renounced by Lord Mornington, than by the par-  
 liament, and by the nation at large. It was on this  
 foundation, or otherwise it will be difficult to find one, on  
 which, after conquering the dominions of Tippoo, instead  
 of keeping the whole for the benefit of his country, he  
 gave to others an important part, and even urged upon the  
 the Mahrattas a portion which they refused. With regard  
 to what was lost to the British interests by the destruc-

tion of Tippoo (for even the power of Tippoo was an evil not without its good), it is much less easy to form any thing like a determinate opinion. While Tippoo existed, the Mahrattas might be confidently expected to be much more subservient to the English, on whom alone they depended for assistance against this their greatly dreaded foe, than they were likely to be after his destruction, when every source of apprehension was taken away. What amount of evil might be involved in thus relieving the Mahrattas from all dependence upon the English, cannot of course, be exactly defined. The English were able to chastise them when they thought chastisement requisite. A case might even be supposed, in which Tippoo instead of being an opponent, might have been a confederate of the Mahrattas against the English. This supposition, however, is obviously confined to one case, that in which the English, renouncing their pacific policy, should bring the Mahrattas into a greater dread of unprovoked evil from the English, than they lay under in regard to Tippoo. As affairs were actually situated, the effects of their emancipation from the dread of Tippoo soon began to appear; and the Governor-General found himself under the supposed necessity of checking their audacity by a war.

That the contemplation of the facts, made on other occasions, an impression, correspondent to the inferences which have here been drawn: made such an impression, at the time, on the minds of the most instructed men in India, there is a remarkable document to show. On the 24th of July, 1798, a meeting was held of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, on the subject of the voluntary contributions in support of the war against the French, contributions promoted with great zeal by all expectants and dependants on government, in every part of the British dominions. To this meeting great importance was attached; and all the persons highest in their consequence, and warmest in their aspirings, were forward, by the exhibition of their persons, and of their fervour, not to omit so easy an opportunity of establishing a new title of merit in the eyes of their superiors. In this splendid and numerous assembly, the Advocate-General, Mr. Burroughs, made the introductory address, at great length, and with

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BOOK VI. the best of his eloquence. He introduced in it the following observations, which constitute an article of evidence, of some weight, in determining the questions which arise out of the circumstances of that important era. "Every man," he said, "at all acquainted with our situation, must know that in India we never before were so powerful and so unassailable, as at the present moment. We have an army infinitely stronger, in number and discipline, than we ever had before in India. We are without an enemy who can venture to attack us; and he would assert, that there was not a single native who would now even wish to attack us, unless, indeed, our old enemy Tippoo might have such a wish.<sup>1</sup>

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But that prince had received such a lesson in the last

<sup>1</sup> If any doubts could have been entertained of the implacable hostility of Tippoo, and his purposes to assail the English, whenever what he regarded a favourable moment should occur, they were dissipated by the mission to the Mauritius, and the proclamation of the French Governor, which however absurd and premature, was authentic evidence of the Sultan's feelings and designs. It would have been strange policy to have waited for the accomplishment of the latter; to have repeated the imbecility of the Madras government in the war with Hyder, and suffered Tippoo to devastate the Carnatic before a force could be organized to oppose him. Perpetual preparation for actual hostilities is a more expensive and anxious state than that of warfare. Active operations once commenced must have a termination. Arming against their probability is indefinite. It is argued in the text, that hostilities were inexpedient because Tippoo was weak. Was the British government then to wait till he should be strong; till the negotiations which he was publicly carrying on with France should have brought him the effective co-operation of the organized army of Raymond, or succours from France. The former would have been easy — the latter more practicable than the politicians of Calcutta imagined. The same chances that landed a large army in Egypt at this very period, in spite of the superiority and vigilance of our fleets, might have operated in sending to the Sultan a body of officers and men, by whose aid his resources would have been made powerfully to contribute to the annoyance and perils of our Indian empire. The co-operation of France, to an extent far beyond a handful of soldiers from the Isle of France, was held out to the Sultan, and formed part of the plan which led to the invasion of Egypt. A letter from Buonaparte to Tippoo, was well calculated to encourage him and to alarm the Government of India. There was also ground for apprehension in the threatening attitude of Zemaun Shah on the north-west of India; and, although the event was not a reasonable subject of doubt, yet hostilities were unavoidable, and they were prudently as well as boldly anticipated by the promptitude and determination of the Governor-General. The line of conduct which he adopted concurred entirely with that enjoined by the authorities in England, as soon as the information of Tippoo's proceedings reached them. A letter from the Secret Committee, of the 18th June, 1798, instructs the Governor-General, that if he should judge that Tippoo's designs are such as the French proclamation represents, and that he is making preparations to act hostilely, it will be advisable not to wait for such an attack, but to take the most immediate and decisive measures to carry the war into the enemy's country. The circumstances described in the text prevented the previous fulfilment of their instructions, but there can be no doubt that when hostilities are, as they were in this instance, sooner or later unavoidable, sound policy, as well as common sense, prescribes that no time shall be granted to an enemy to render himself formidable. See the Wellesley Despatches, vol. i. p. 63, 83, 91, 295. App. 636.—W.

Mysore war, as must deter him from any such enterprise again, even if he could have the aid of France in doing so. Any aid from Europe it was impossible he could have, considering the total want of ships in France, on which troops could be transmitted; and we know besides, that the English fleets maintained the entire dominion of the seas, and that our enemies were every day lamenting their inability to send one sail in safety from any of their ports, as they were all blocked up by the British navy. The French islands in India had thrown off all connexion with France, and instead of taking any part against us, must now look to us as friends, to protect them from any attempts which might be made on them by France.”<sup>1</sup>

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Compelled reluctantly to abandon the design of immediately invading Mysore, the Governor-General, nevertheless, renewed his orders for assembling the army with the smallest possible delay. In the policy of this measure, the Madras council by no means concurred. Besides the length of time necessary for assembling the army, the expense, they said, would be so enormous; and so much danger would be unavoidably created of provoking hostilities with Tippoo, by vast preparations importing the design of war; that they could not think themselves justified, without a strong representation, in obeying the orders which they had received.<sup>2</sup> “Not discouraged,” says the Governor-General, “by these suggestions and representations, I insisted on the immediate execution of my orders.”<sup>3</sup>

During the interval which was required for assembling the army, the Governor-General found employment in negotiating with Nizam Ali the dismissal of the French officers, and the dissolution of their corps. His minister, to whom the business of the state was almost wholly committed, was a partisan of the English, and well disposed

<sup>1</sup> See a Report of the business of this meeting: Asiatic Annual Register, vol. i. Chronicle, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> A review of the late War in Mysore, in a Letter from an officer in India. Published by M. Wood, Esq. M. P. Colonel, and late Chief Engineer, Bengal, p. 10. The Governor-General's Letter, *ut supra*, parag. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Colonel Beatson says (Views of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Tippoo, i. 4). “The apprehensions entertained from the designs of Tippoo Sultan were certainly, at that period, considerably increased by the bold and decided measures of preparation and defence, which the Marquis Wellesley judged proper to adopt, a very few weeks after he had taken charge of the supreme government of India.”



BOOK VI. for the annihilation of the French party ; as soon as the  
CHAP. VIII. British government would consent to replace them by a  
1798. force adequate to the service which the French performed in the protection of the country. The Nizam was not altogether blind to the dangers of placing himself in a state of helpless dependance upon a superior power : but, totally unequal as he knew that he was to the defence of himself against the Mahrattas, against the Sultan, or against the English, it was easy for the minister to convince him that he was safer in the hands of the English than of either of the other two. From the attainment of what he regarded as an object of unspeakable importance, the dissolution of a French corps in the service of the Nizam, Lord Mornington was far from allowing himself to be restrained by any dread of offending the Mahrattas ; the motive by which the mind of his predecessor had been swayed. His instructions were issued to the acting Resident at Hyderabad, on the 8th of July, to open a negotiation with the Nizam : and, on the 1st of September, a treaty was concluded, by which four battalions of British troops were added to the former two, and the British government was pledged for the protection of the Nizam against any unjust demands of the Mahrattas. The Nizam, on his part, engaged to disband the French corps in his service ; to deliver over its officers to the British government, whenever the whole of the British force should arrive in his capital ; and to raise the subsidy, which he paid for the maintenance of the British troops, from 57,713, to 2,01,425 rupees per month.

Though the force which the French officers commanded consisted, after all the alarm which it occasioned, of less than 14,000 men, it was necessary to take precautions against the chance of their resistance. Pending the negotiation, the additional troops destined for the service of the Nizam were collected in that part of the Company's territory which touched upon his frontier ; and, on the 10th of October, joined the two former battalions at Hyderabad. Fortunately for the schemes of the Governor-General, Raymond, whose talents and great influence might have been formidably exerted for the preservation of his power, had died a few months before ; and a struggle for ascendancy had introduced great animosity and dis-

union into the corps. Not only the Nizam, but even the minister himself, wavered, however, and drew back, when the enterprise came to the verge of execution. In so little respect was this greatly dreaded corps really held by the British officer, who commanded the six subsidiary battalions, that he did not hesitate to take a decisive step. He declared his determination, unless the Nizam came to the immediate resolution of fulfilling his engagements, to make an attack on the French camp with his own forces, and proclaim the want of faith in the Nizam's government as the cause of all the consequences which might ensue. A proclamation was soon after sent to the French camp, announcing the discharge of the officers, and declaring it treason in the soldiers to obey them. The soldiers were already in a state approaching to mutiny. The disorders now proceeded to greater violence; and the officers were imprisoned by their men. In this helpless situation, the camp, which at the time did not contain above 11,000 men, the rest of the corps being on a distant detachment, was surrounded by the whole of the British battalions, and a strong body of the Nizam's horse. The men, upon a promise of their pay, and continuance of service, laid down their arms; and the arrest of the officers was accomplished without difficulty or danger. Notwithstanding the unfriendly passions which Frenchmen at this moment excited in the breast of the Governor-General, he was careful to ensure to the individuals who had fallen into his power, that generosity of treatment which a gallant mind is ever prompted to bestow. Their property, together with such arrears as were due to them by the Nizam, were secured to their use; they were conveyed to Calcutta, under every indulgence compatible with the security of their persons; and on their arrival in England, the Governor-General provided that they should not be treated as prisoners of war, but transported to their country without detention.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter of the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, dated 21st Nov. 1798. Printed papers, ut supra, p. 6. Malcolm's Sketch, p. 236—244. Beatson tells us (i. 50) that the secret was well kept; that the cause of sending the detachment from Guntoor to Hyderabad was not made known to the government of Madras; and that the intelligence of the annihilation of the French corps came by surprise upon the English of Calcutta and Madras. He tells us also, that their minds were in such a state as to regard the transaction as a perfect master-piece of policy.—M.

The secret was well kept, but it is not correct to say that it was not commu-



BOOK VI. The chances of good or evil from the Mahrattas, also, forced  
 CHAP. VIII. themselves upon the attention of the British government;

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and negotiations were carried on at Poonah, at the same time with those, which, at Hyderabad, were conducted to an issue deemed so exceedingly favourable. The negotiations, however, attempted with the Mahrattas, produced not equal results. The substance of the treaty negotiated at Hyderabad was communicated to the Peshwa, both before and after its conclusion. "And at both periods," says the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, "he expressed his entire approbation of the nature and tendency of the new engagements, as well in their operation upon the interests of the Mahratta empire, as upon those of the Nizam."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Sir John Malcolm says, "The measures taken at Hyderabad were regularly communicated to the Peshwa; but that prince, either influenced by his weak councillors, or acting under the control of Dowlut Rao Sindiah, obstinately continued to withhold his formal consent to any acknowledgment of the right of the British government to arbitrate in his disputes with the court of Hyderabad."<sup>2</sup> Of course, it may be said, the Governor-General knew best. It may also, however, with equal certainty be said, that he had the greatest temptation to lay on a colour; that if none except agreeable consequences were supposed to flow from his measures, the favour of his employers would be enhanced; that from this species of art, which had been amply practised by his predecessors, Lord Mornington must have been a man far superior to his predecessors to stand always exempt; and that of those expedients for a colour, the two letters which have just been quoted appear to present us with instances. In the first place, when mention is made of the time which would be required for assem-

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nicated to the Government of Madras, of which General Harris was temporarily the head. The intention was made known to him by a despatch in the secret department in July. Wellesley Despatches, i. 132. Nor is it true, that it was not known to any but the Government, for Munro, in a letter dated Sept. 1798, says, "The Nizam has, either of himself, or by the interference of the supreme government, conceived the design of breaking them (Raymond's force) altogether, or, at least, of disbanding all the corps that are suspected of being under French influence. A strong detachment has been formed at Guntoor to march in case of necessity to Hyderabad. The sooner they move, the better; for no time ought to be lost in destroying this party, so hostile to our interests in the Deccan. Life i. 202.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Letter, ut supra, parag. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Malcolm's Sketch, p. 244.

bling the army of the Carnatic, no mention whatsoever is made of the disapprobation expressed by the Madras council. In the next place, when the execution is described of the measures taken for the destruction of the French corps in the service of the Nizam, the reluctance exhibited by the Nizam, when the crisis arrived, is not only covered with silence, but with a language which implies uninterrupted alacrity and zeal. Beside the difficulty, in such a situation as that of Sir John Malcolm, of remaining long ignorant of such a general and important fact, the consequences also tally with his representation; for all the efforts of the Governor-General to draw the Mahrattas into an intimate connexion with him, totally failed. And again; as Sindiah, not the Peshwa, was at this time predominant over the Mahratta councils, the assent of the Peshwa had little value; and if presented to people ignorant of the state of the facts, as equivalent to that of the Mahratta power, was only calculated to produce deception. It seems to be affirmed, from private information, by Colonel Wilks, that both Sindiah and the Peshwa, under alarm at the symptoms of ambition which at this moment distinguished the movements of the British power, were actuated by favourable dispositions towards the sovereign of Mysore; but Sindiah was afraid to take a positive step, on account of his dominions in the North, which the English had an army ready to invade; and the Peshwa beside the imminent danger to which the hostility of the English would expose him, had no liberty to act but as Sindiah directed. The Governor-General, accordingly, when at last he found that assistance from the Mahrattas was not to be obtained, encouraged by the probability that he would receive no opposition, resolved to proceed in his warlike operations without them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Sketches, iii. 361—366.—M. We have now before us the whole of the instructions addressed by Lord Mornington to Col. Palmer, the Resident at Poonah, and are able to see how much of the statements on which the reflections in the text are founded, are accurate. The former are incorrect, the latter consequently, are inapplicable. The reduction of the French brigade was communicated to the court of Poonah only when it had actually taken place. Despatches, i. 112. The consent of the Peshwa to the measure was never asked, and could not therefore be withheld. What was proposed and not acceded to was, the establishment of a subsidiary force at Poonah. Beside the jealousy awakened by this proposition, the Peshwa was alarmed at the apparent intention of the British Government to compel the restoration of Nana Farnaveze to his ministerial functions. Despatches, i. 118, 123, 252, &c. Although he shortly afterwards became reconciled to him. So Capt. Grant observes



BOOK VI. On the 18th of June, the Secret Committee of the Court  
 CHAP. VIII. of Directors wrote from England to the Governor-General  
 1798. in Council, that they had just received from his Majesty's  
 ministers information of a large armament which had  
 sailed from Toulon on the 19th of the preceding month;  
 and that amid the various conjectures respecting its des-  
 tination, it was not conceived impossible that India might  
 be the object of attack, by way of the Red Sea, or its  
 coast, after conquest of Egypt; "or even," the Directors  
 add, "by the Black Sea, or by Bussora. His Majesty's  
 ministers," they continue, "have therefore informed us  
 that immediate measures will be taken for a considerable  
 augmentation of the European force in the East Indies:  
 you may expect that not less than 4000 seasoned and  
 disciplined troops, and perhaps a larger number, may be  
 sent to the Company's settlements with all possible expe-  
 dition, part of which will, we trust, reach India not many  
 months after the receipt of this despatch." <sup>1</sup>

It was not before the 18th of October, that the Governor-General first received authentic intelligence of the expedition from Toulon, and the invasion of Egypt; when his preparations against Tippoo were approaching maturity. The constituted authorities in England, under impression of the danger which the invasion of India by so great an army would produce, gave directions to the Governor-General, to make war upon Tippoo, if he appeared to be actually accumulating the means of seconding invasion by the French. They seem not to have regarded the proclamation at the Mauritius as satisfactory evidence of any such design; of which they express themselves in the following words: "We are unable to judge, whether this proclamation be in reality what its import declares to be; or intended merely as a feint, with a view to embroil us

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"The sudden desire now evinced by the English to grant him a subsidiary force, (which he had before applied for in vain); their frequent recommendations to reinstate Nana Furnavese in the ministry, and to remove Sindiah from Poonah, led Bajee Rao, whose views and information were bounded by narrow limits, to suppose that the whole was a scheme of the detested Nana, the object most dreaded, and therefore uppermost in his mind. Mahr. Hist. iii. 169. And, although he ultimately was bribed by Tippoo, and persuaded by Sindiah to withhold his assistance, yet at this time he pledged himself faithfully to execute the conditions of subsisting engagements, and, on the prospect of a war with Tippoo, promised to afford him his aid. Ibid. 173.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Printed Papers, ut supra, No. 1.

with Tippoo." And they marked out unambiguous preparations for war, as the circumstances by which the judgment of their subordinates in India ought to be determined. "It is highly improbable," they say, "that Tippoo should have entered into any league with the French, without some apparent preparation, on his part, of a hostile nature, in furtherance of their designs. If such shall have been the case, it would be neither prudent nor politic to wait for actual hostilities on his part." Preparation for war, in the only sense which can here be applied, is such an augmentation, or such a disposition, of the instruments of war, as, to some considerable degree, is both unusual, and increases the danger of the suspecting state. That any such augmentation or disposition of the instruments of war had taken place on the part of Tippoo, no evidence was ever produced; while evidence to the contrary appears in abundance.<sup>1</sup> Even with the permission which the alarm of the French expedition extorted from the Directors, they thought proper to enjoin that in resorting to hostilities, "the utmost discretion" should be used; "that we may not," they say, "be involved in a war in India, without the most inevitable necessity."—That inevitable necessity existed, or any necessity at all, will not easily, after the first impartial exposition of the facts, be again alleged. The war might be advantageous, or it might be not advantageous. But the word must be used in an extraordinary sense, if it ever be denominated necessary.

<sup>1</sup> "It was supposed," (says Colonel Beatson, p. 57) "that Tippoo Sultan's army had suffered essentially, both in numbers and discipline, since the last war: his finances were in disorder: his councils were perplexed by discordant opinions; and his spirits dejected and broken by the disappointment of his hopes of French assistance; by the retreat of Zemaun Shah; by the failure of his intrigues at the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad; and by the unexampled vigour, alacrity, and extent of our military preparations." "Tippoo Sultan's field army" (he says p. 204) "was estimated at 47,470 fighting men."—M.

Col. Beatson argues only upon "supposition," but, notwithstanding the assertion of the text, there is specific evidence that the forces of Tippoo had been augmented, and were in such a position as rendered them capable of being directed at once to military aggression. The Sultan's whole force amounted to between 70 and 80,000 men; of these, about 30,000 were in Seringapatam, and its immediate environs; the whole were in a state of activity and efficiency, provided with guns, and baggage, and carriage cattle. Tippoo was, no doubt, induced to hesitate, by his disappointment as to the succour he expected from the French, but his intrigues at Poonah did not fail, and this was some consolation. See Abstract of the present State of Tippoo Sultan, by Capt. Malcolm, Wellesley Despatches, Appen. 651; also a paper of intelligence from Lord Clive, p. 361.—W.



BOOK VI. On the last day of October, that is, in less than a  
 CHAP. VIII. fortnight after he was informed of the invasion of Egypt,

1798.

the Governor-General received intelligence of the destruction of the French fleet by Sir Horatio Nelson, at the mouth of the Nile. Notwithstanding this decisive event; "I did not," he says, "relax any part of the naval or military preparations which had been commenced under my orders;—being still uncertain of the fate of the French army in Egypt, and ignorant whether an additional force might not have been intended to co-operate with it in India, by the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope."<sup>1</sup> The chance of the invasion of India, from either quarter, will not at the present moment be regarded as having been very great. It will not come up to the description of what constituted an "inevitable necessity" for going to war with Tippoo.

"The immaturity, however," says Sir John Malcolm, "of the Sultan's plans, formed, in Lord Wellesley's opinion, the strongest reason for an immediate attack upon his possessions: but the delay, which was likely to occur in assembling the army on the coast of Coromandel, which had been reduced to a very low establishment, and was in a very divided and unequipped state, obliged him to alter it; and he made no communication whatever to Tippoo Suldaun on the subject of his proceedings, till the military preparations, both at Madras and Bombay, were complete; and the alliance with the Nizam had not merely been restored, but rendered so efficient, as to secure the full application of the resources of that Prince in aid of the common cause."<sup>2</sup>

During all the time of these remarkable proceedings, it is singular that Tippoo was either without the means, or without the inclination, of making any considerable addition to his habitual state of equipment for war, and, with and appearance of insensibility to all that surrounded him, forbore even to remonstrate against the accumulation which was going forward of the instruments of his destruction.<sup>3</sup> When the beginning of November arrived, the

<sup>1</sup> Printed papers, ut supra, No. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Malcolm's Sketch, p.254.

<sup>3</sup> The inertness of Tippoo, as has been shown in the last note, is an unfounded assertion. He was actively strengthening himself, both in his military arrangements, and by negotiation with the Mahrattas. The preparations

Governor-General thought the opportunity was now BOOK VI.  
favourable to exhibit his complaints. On the 8th of CHAP. VIII.  
that month, he addressed a letter to the Sultan, in which  
the expressions were conciliatory, rather than hostile, but  
in which he informs him of the connexion which he was  
aware had been formed between him and the French,  
“Whom you know,” says he, “to be the inveterate ene-  
mies of the Company, and to be now engaged in an unjust  
war with the British nation.” He then gives him a lecture  
on French principles; which will be appealed to hereafter  
as a monument of the times. “It appears not,” he adds,  
“either necessary or proper, that I should any longer con-  
ceal from you the surprise and concern with which I per-  
ceived you disposed to involve yourself in all the ruinous  
consequences of a connexion, which threatens, not only to  
subvert the foundations of friendship between you and  
the Company, but to introduce, into the heart of your  
kingdom, the principles of anarchy and confusion; to  
shake your own authority; and to destroy the religion  
which you revere.” On the disposition of the Company  
to preserve inviolate the obligations imposed by the rela-  
tion of amity and peace, the Governor-General cited the  
remarkable instance which had recently occurred; of a  
district of country to which, though possessed by the  
Company, the Sultan laid claim, and of which, his right  
having been ascertained by arbiters mutually chosen,  
restitution had been made. As the result of these pre-  
mises, the Governor-General proposed to send to him a  
British officer, whom he already knew, to communicate to  
him, on the part of the English, and of the Peshwa and  
Nizam, their allies, the plan which, in their opinion, was  
calculated “to remove all existing distrust and suspicion,  
and to establish peace and good understanding on the most  
durable foundations.”<sup>1</sup>

Of the terms which, at different periods, the Governor-General was disposed to allow Tippoo Sultaun, he himself has given a very instructive history, in his letter to the

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against him, confined to the re-organization of the Madras army, were not of a nature to inspire any particular alarm, or to call for remonstrance; they were entirely defensive.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Mornington to Tippoo Sultan, printed papers, ut supra, p. 24.—M. Despatches i. 326.—W.



BOOK IV. Court of Directors, under date the 3rd of August, 1799.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP. VIII. What was the extent of his views in relation to the attack which he was so eager to make, immediately after he first received intelligence of the foolish proclamation at the Isle of France, he has no where disclosed.<sup>2</sup> When he found the execution of this design impossible, and how much time it would require to put the army in a condition for action, he would, he says, have been "contented with any adjustment which offered a reasonable prospect of detaching Tippoo from his connexion with the French;" and that, "in the arrangement which then occurred to him, his views were limited to the establishment of permanent residents, on the part of the Company, and of the allies, at Seringapatam, to the dismissal of all the French then in the Sultaun's service, and to the perpetual exclusion of the French from his armies and dominions."

Before preferring these demands, he first, however, deemed it politic to place the armies in a posture for action; and to take measures for lessening the chances of evil, as well as improving the chances of good, at the hands of the Nizam and the Mahrattas. The month of November had thus arrived before he was ready to make his first communication. But, at that time the French had invaded Egypt, which appeared to increase the dangers of the English dominion in India; on the other hand, the military preparations of the English were advancing to maturity on a great scale, the French party at Hyderabad was destroyed, the resources of the Nizam's country were, by the late arrangement, placed at the disposal of the Company's servants, and the English now had power to enforce whatever demands they might think proper to advance. The Governor-General, therefore, resolved not to content himself with the terms which, without having communicated them, he would have

<sup>1</sup> See the papers relating to East India Affairs, printed by order of the House of Commons in the year 1800.

<sup>2</sup> Non-acquaintance with documents is not equivalent to non-existence. Lord Mornington's views, in his proposed plan of immediate attack, were detailed by him to the authorities in England. His main object was to compel Tippoo to cede his territories in Malabar, so as to cut off his communication with the sea-coast and the French; to exact from him indemnification for the expenses of the armament, and to insist upon his receiving an English Resident at his capital. Letter to Dundas. Despatches, i. 82. To these terms he still adhered when the prospect of hostilities became more imminent, as is noticed in the text, and it is justly admitted that they were not extravagant.—W.

thought sufficient for all necessary purposes before. If, however, the real ground of the war was not the love of conquest, which was so fervently disclaimed, but the chance of danger from the power of Tippoo, as was the grand pretence, the new degree of security which had accrued to the Company was a reason, not for war, but peace. The additional chance of invasion, by the presence in Egypt of the French, presented, as far as it went, a demand for additional security. But that chance was to be weighed, and its value ascertained. Except to an eye surrounded by the mists of ignorance or passion, which saw its object hideously enlarged, it could not appear to be great. Besides, as the British government would not long remain without a grand effort to expel the enemy from Egypt, the Company might have quietly rested on its guard, without incurring the mischievous expenditure, not to speak of any more of the detestable consequences of actual war, at least for a little time, till they understood what was the result of the measures adopted against the invaders of Egypt, and whether a few months would not set India free from any danger on account of the French. However, the terms, beyond which the Governor-General did not think as yet of proceeding, were not extravagant. Besides the conditions first meditated, he meant to demand the cession of Canara, a maritime province on the western coast, which appeared to facilitate the communication of Tippoo with the French; but to allow him an equivalent in some other quarter distant from the coast. This, then, in the opinion of the Governor-General, who now felt himself in a condition to enforce any demand, and whose apprehension from French invasion, and the rooted enmity of Tippoo, was then at its height, was all the security, as against Tippoo, which the British interests really required. If nothing followed to create occasion for more security, every addition which was made to the sacrifices exacted of the hated foe, was made either in the spirit of revenge; or from the love of conquest; for no other solution remains.

The Governor-General professes, and with all the marks of sincerity, his expectation to have been, that Tippoo, overawed by the discomfiture of the French fleet in Egypt, by the ascendancy of the English at Hyderabad,

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. VIII.  
1799.



BOOK VI. the strength of the English army, and an English fleet on  
 CHAP. VIII. the coast of Malabar, would accede to the terms which he  
 1787. meant to propose, and that the calamities of war might still be avoided. For the purpose of accelerating measures, whether of a pacific or hostile description, he thought it expedient to be near the scene, and in a letter dated the 10th of December, acquainted the Sultan with his intention of repairing shortly to Madras. He arrived on the 31st of the same month, and found waiting for him an answer from Tippoo.

In the letter of the Sultan, the expressions were not less pacific than those of the Governor-General. He declares the highest satisfaction at the naval victory gained on the coast of Egypt by the English over the French; the former of whom he describes as possessing almost every virtue, the latter every vice. The charge which had been urged by the Governor-General, of soliciting a hostile connexion with the French, he endeavours to answer thus; "In this Sircar (state) there is a mercantile tribe, who employ themselves in trading by sea and land. Their agents purchased a two-masted vessel, and having loaded her with rice, departed with a view to traffic. It happened that she went to the Mauritius, from whence forty persons, French, and of a dark colour, of whom ten or twelve were artificers, and the rest servants, came here in search of employment. Such as chose to take service were entertained, and the remainder departed beyond the confines of this Sircar: and the French, who are full of vice and deceit, have perhaps taken advantage of the departure of the ship to put about reports with the view to ruffle the minds of both Sircars." He then made protestation of his earnest desire to preserve and to strengthen the bands of peace between himself and the Company; described his own occupations as all in the highest degree pacific; and added, "In this case, the allusion to war in your friendly letter, and the following passage, namely, *that prudence required that both the Company and their allies should adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence*, have given me the greatest surprise." As the proposition of sending to him a deputy, and opening a negotiation, appeared to imply, that new sacrifices were to be exacted of him, he appealed to the existing treaty,

as affording the proper and adequate adjustment of the rights and interests of the contracting parties ; and said, "I cannot imagine that means more effectual than these can be adopted, for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony, promoting the security of states, or the welfare and advantage of all parties."<sup>1</sup> This letter the Governor-General regarded as marked by prevarication and falsehood, in respect to his intercourse with the French ; and by criminal evasion, in regard to the moderate and amicable proposition for opening a negotiation. He replied, accordingly, by a letter, dated the 9th of January, 1799, in which he described the embassy to the Isle of France ; and explicitly declared, that the new engagements into which he affirmed that Tippoo had thus entered with the enemies of the allies, required a new arrangement for their security. He recommended that only one day should be taken to reply to this letter ; intimating that dangerous consequences might result from a greater delay.<sup>2</sup> That time might not be wanting for the campaign before the commencement of the rains, was the motive which impelled the Governor-General to hasten ; and, beside the established practice, and inveterate habits of Oriental courts, the same circumstance afforded a strong motive to the Sultan to make use of every expedient for delay.

The end of January approached, and an answer from the Sultan had not yet arrived. This was interpreted contempt and obstinacy. It is even assigned as proof of more determined enmity than was previously supposed. The army was now irresistible. "On these grounds," says the Governor-General, "towards the close of the month of January, 1799, my intention was to have required from Tippoo Suldaun, in addition to the terms already stated, the payment of a considerable sum of money, as an indemnification for the expense to which his hostile and treacherous conduct had subjected the allies."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed papers, ut supra, No. 8, inclosure, No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. No. 5.—M. Despatches, i. 394. It is essential to remark, that the only topic on which an immediate reply is insisted on is Tippoo's consent to receive the English envoy.—W.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, dated 3rd August, 1799, ut supra.—M. On the 16th of January a letter was addressed by Lord Mornington to Tippoo Sultan, forwarding to him one from the Emperor of Turkey, "warning the Sultan against a connexion with the French,



BOOK VI. Before the 3rd of February, Lord Mornington received  
 CHAP. VIII. intelligence that Tippoo had had prepared two native  
 1799: vakeels, who, together with one of the French officers who  
 had lately arrived from the Isle of France, were waiting  
 at Tranquebar, to embark on a mission to the Executive  
 Directory of France. This cannot be regarded as a very  
 extraordinary proceeding in a prince who knew that a vast  
 army had been levied against him before any complaint  
 had been preferred, or so much as an explanation asked,  
 of his conduct; and might by himself have been repre-  
 sented, with surely not less plausibility than, by the Eng-  
 lish, their preparations for attack, as a proceeding purely  
 defensive, and imperiously called for by the dangers with  
 which he was conspicuously threatened.<sup>1</sup> At this time,  
 however, the Governor-General determined to suspend all  
 negotiation, until the united forces of the Company and  
 their allies should, to use his own expressions, "have made  
 such an impression on the territories of Mysore, as might  
 give full effect to our just representations."<sup>2</sup>

On the 3rd of February, his Lordship despatched his  
 commands to General Harris, to enter the territory of  
 Mysore, with the army which had been assembled at  
 Velore, and to General Stuart to co-operate with the Bom-  
 bay army from Malabar; while at the same time he gave  
 intimation to the allied courts, and the British admiral  
 on the coast, that he now considered the Company as at  
 war with Tippoo Sultan.

Another addition was now made to the severity of the  
 terms. From this time nothing less was to be exacted of  
 the Sultan, than a cession of his maritime provinces in  
 perpetuity to the English; an equal territory on their

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and exhorting him to renounce all intercourse with them," offering also the  
 mediation of the Porte in case of any disagreement between Tippoo and the  
 English. Lord Mornington again urged upon Tippoo the reception of an am-  
 bassador "who will be empowered to conclude the definite arrangement of all  
 differences" between the Sultan and the allies. The condition of an answer  
 therefore "in one day," had not been insisted on. In fact, the proposition to  
 send an ambassador had been thrice repeated, and as no answer had arrived by  
 the 3rd of February, the objects of the Sultan could not be misunderstood. It  
 was expressly in anticipation of this policy, and with a view to defeat it, that  
 the Governor-General directed the first movements to be made. Despatches,  
 i. 426.—W.

<sup>1</sup> It was at any rate a proof that he sought to repel those dangers by force;  
 not avert them by conciliation.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Letter, 20th March, 1799, ut supra.

respective frontiers to each of the allies, amounting to about BOOK VI.  
 the fourth part of his dominions, and a crore and a half CHAP. VIII.  
 of rupees. But, in the second place, if any decisive ad-  
 vantage should be obtained in the field, or the war should  
 be advanced to the opening of the batteries upon Seringa-  
 patam, the General was not to content himself with  
 less than the cession of one whole half of the territories  
 of which the Sultan was in possession at the commence-  
 ment of the war, the relinquishment of all claim to any  
 of the places on the frontiers of the Company and their  
 allies, about which there was any dispute, and the pay-  
 ment of two crores of sicca rupees. The dismissal of  
 all Europeans belonging to any country at war with the  
 English, the renunciation of all connexion with the French,  
 an engagement never to retain any individual of that  
 nation in his service, or even to permit him to reside  
 within his dominions, to receive at his court a permanent  
 ambassador from each of the allies, to keep with each of  
 them an ambassador of his own, and to give up certain  
 forts and hostages as security for the execution of the  
 treaty: these were articles common to this, with the  
 former catalogue of terms.<sup>1</sup> 1799.

On the 13th of February, the Governor-General received  
 a letter from Tippoo, in which, after acknowledging the  
 receipt of his letters, he desires, as he is going upon a  
 hunting excursion, in which he frequently indulged, that  
 he would send the deputy (about whom his friendly pen  
 had repeatedly written), slightly attended. This consent,  
 which was sufficiently cold and ungracious, the Governor-  
 General describes, as reluctant and insidious; and he  
 answered it by referring him to General Harris, to whom  
 all his communications were now to be addressed. This  
 answer was even transmitted through that General, who  
 had orders to forward it to the Sultan on the same day on  
 which the army should pass the frontier.

The army, now assembled at Velore, exceeded 20,000  
 men, whereof 2635 were cavalry, and 4381 Europeans: it  
 was joined, before the commencement of its march, by  
 the whole of the British detachment serving with the  
 Nizam, 6500 strong, by almost an equal number of the

<sup>1</sup> Inclosures A. and B. of the Gov.-Gen.'s Letter to the Commander-in-  
 Chief, dated 22nd January, 1799.—M. See also Despatches, i. 454.—W.



BOOK VI. Nizam's infantry, including a portion of Sepoys lately  
 CHAP. VIII. commanded by the French, but now by British officers,  
 1799. and a large body of cavalry ; "an army," than which, says  
 the Governor-General, one "more completely appointed,  
 more amply and liberally supplied in every department,  
 or more perfect in its discipline, and in the acknowledged  
 experience, ability, and zeal of its officers, never took the  
 field in India." The army of the western coast, equal in  
 excellence, assembled at Cananore, under General Stuart,  
 amounted to 6420 fighting men, of whom 1617 were  
 Europeans : and a force, described as considerable, but of  
 which the amount is not specified, under Colonels Read  
 and Brown, were to join or co-operate with the Com-  
 mander-in-Chief from the southern districts of the Car-  
 natic and Mysore. All this was directed against the  
 chieftain of Mysore, who, six years before, was stripped of  
 one half of his dominions ; and left in possession of a  
 territory yielding a revenue of little more than a crore of  
 rupees, or one million sterling ; while the revenue of the  
 Anglo-Indian government alone, without speaking of that  
 of its ally, exceeded nine millions. What a mass of talent  
 the petty prince of a petty country must have been sup-  
 posed to possess !<sup>1</sup>

The army of Bombay, under the command of General  
 Stuart, marched from Cananore on the 21st of February ;  
 it arrived at the head of the Poodicherrum Ghaut on the  
 25th of the same month ; and took post at Seedapore and  
 Seedasere, on the 2nd of March, where it both protected  
 the large supplies which had been collected in the district  
 of Coorg, and could readily communicate with the main  
 army as it approached to Seringapatam. General Harris  
 entered the Mysore territory on the 5th of March, and  
 commenced his operations by the reduction of several  
 forts upon the frontier ; of which none made any con-  
 siderable resistance ; and some made no resistance at all.

At the time when the British General passed the

<sup>1</sup> "The victories of the Marquis Cornwallis (says Col. Beatson, i. 47) had greatly facilitated any future plan of operation against the power of Tippoo Sultaun. By diminishing *his* resources, and increasing *our own*, they had produced a twofold effect. And the extension of our frontier, by the addition of the Barramaul and Salem districts, and a thorough knowledge of the defences of Seringapatam, and of the routes leading to that city, were considered at that moment as inestimable advantages."

eastern frontier of Mysore, Tippoo was supposed to be encamped in the vicinity of Madoor, and was expected to move in the direction of Bangalore, for the purpose of opposing the progress of the army. Having succeeded in raising this expectation, he left his camp near Senapatam, on the 28th of February, taking with him the principal part of his army; and on the morning of the 5th of March, a large encampment was observed by General Stuart, forming between him and Periapatam, a town about seven miles distant from Seedasere. On the morning of the 6th, little intelligence was yet obtained of the amount of the enemy, or the meaning of their appearance; and General Hartley, the second in command, went forward to reconnoitre. From his hill of observation, at day-break, he perceived the whole of the hostile force in motion; the country, however, was covered with jungle; the atmosphere was hazy, and it was impossible to judge correctly either of their numbers or object. Between the hours of nine and ten, the enemy had penetrated with so much secrecy and expedition through the jungle, that they attacked the front and rear of the British advanced position at almost the same instant.

The nature of the country had induced General Stuart to place the army in several divisions. Three native battalions, under Colonel Montresor, were posted at Seedasere, to which another battalion was added, after the appearance of the enemy on the 5th: the main body of the army, with the park and provisions, remained at Seedapore and Ahmootenar, the first eight miles, the latter twelve, in rear of the advanced position. General Hartley remained to aid in repelling the attack. The best position of which the circumstances admitted, was assumed; and this body of Sepoys, though completely surrounded, and contending not only with a great disparity of numbers, but other unfavourable circumstances, defended themselves with such determined gallantry, that the Sultan's troops were unable to break them. The General hastened forward with the rest of the army, excepting the fourth corps, which, being posted at some distance in the rear, was intercepted by a column of the enemy, and unable to join. It was not till half-past two, however, that he arrived in sight of the division of the enemy which had penetrated to the rear. It

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. VIII.  
1799.



BOOK VI. withstood and answered a brisk fire of musquetry, for  
 CHAP. VIII. about half an hour; but then fled with precipitation  
 1799. through the jungles, to join the rest of the army to which it belonged. The General now advanced to join Montresor and his brave companions. The men had for more than six hours been engaged with a superior enemy; were spent with fatigue; and their ammunition was almost exhausted. The advance of the troops with the General was the signal for the enemy to intermit the attack, which till this time they had upheld in front; and at twenty minutes past three they were retiring in all directions. General Stuart, apprehending a return of the enemy, which might place them in his rear, and perhaps in possession of the great magazine of rice collected by the Coorg Raja,<sup>1</sup> deemed it of more importance to concentrate his army at Seedapore, than to maintain the position of Seedasere, which was chiefly useful, as the only spot from which the signals, concerted between the two armies, could be observed. The killed, wounded, and missing, according to the regimental returns, in the British army, were only 143. The loss of the enemy was no doubt considerable. Tippoo remained in his camp at Periapatam till the 11th, desiring, but afraid, to strike a second blow; and arrived at Seringapatam on the 14th, whence he hastened to meet the army approaching from the east.

So little, in truth, did the Governor-General respect the power of the Sultan, that the plan upon which he determined implied a confidence in the inability of that prince to offer almost any obstruction to the army which was sent to destroy him. It was planned, that it should not wait to reduce any of the intermediate forts between the frontier and the capital of the Sultan, or to form a clear line of communication, but march directly upon Seringapatam, and by a single blow terminate the contest.

The Governor-General, amid the talents for command which he possessed in a very unusual degree, displayed two qualities of primary importance: he has seldom been surpassed in the skill with which he made choice of his instruments: and having made choice of his instruments,

<sup>1</sup> The Raja accompanied General Stuart, and was present with him in the battle; which he described with vast admiration, in a letter to the Governor-General, quoted by Col. Wilks.

he communicated to them, with full and unsparing hands, BOOK VI.  
 the powers which were necessary for the end they were CHAP. VIII.  
 employed to accomplish. General Harris was not only in-  
 vested with unrestricted military powers, but was au-  
 thorized to exert all the civil authority which would have  
 belonged to the Governor-General himself, in his situation.  
 His instructions embraced the two sets of terms, to which,  
 in two events, the Governor-General determined, upon the  
 march of the army, to elevate his demands. And he was  
 further provided with a political and diplomatic commis-  
 sion. This was composed of the Honourable Colonel  
 Wellesley, Lieutenant-Colonel Close, Lieutenant-Colonel  
 Agnew, and Captain Macaulay as their secretary. The  
 commission was not entitled to act, except in obedience to  
 the orders of the General.<sup>1</sup>

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The army was not ready to make its first united move-  
 ment on the enemy's ground before the 9th of March;  
 within one day of the time which the Commander, in his  
 orders to General Stuart, had described, as the latest  
 moment at which he could with safety arrive at Seringa-  
 patam. The British army was overloaded with equip-  
 ments : it carried an enormous train of battering cannon for  
 the siege of Seringapatam ; it required a prodigious mass of  
 vehicles for the provisions and stores of a campaign to be car-  
 ried on without an open line of communication ; to all this  
 was added the cumbrous baggage of the Nizam's army, a host  
 of brinjaries, and the innumerable followers of the camp.  
 No sufficient measures were prepared for the orderly move-  
 ment of this vast, unwieldy machine. Colonel Wilks alleges  
 that such measures were impossible. If so ; either this was  
 one of the most rash and hazardous expeditions that ever  
 was undertaken ; or the British leaders must have counted  
 upon a wonderful inferiority, either of means or of under-  
 standing, on the part of their foe. Assuredly, had an  
 enemy, with any thing like an adequate force, employed  
 himself with any considerable degree of activity and skill,  
 in making war upon the movement of this disorderly  
 mass, which it was by no means possible to cover with the  
 troops, it is hardly probable that he would not have re-  
 tardated it till the commencement of the rains ; and so

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of the objects of the commission. See Letter to General Harris, 22nd Feb. 1799. Despatches, i. 442.—W.



BOOK VI. harassed the infantry, and worn out the cavalry, that a  
 CHAP. VIII. great portion of the baggage, stores, and ammunition  
 1799. would have fallen into his hands. The great thing to be  
 dreaded, in marching at once to Seringapatam, without  
 regard to the communication behind, was famine. This  
 evil was all but incurred; and nearly the whole of the  
 draught and carriage bullocks died, though the arrival of  
 the army was probably not retarded a single day by the  
 efforts of the enemy.

So great was the confusion, even on the first day's  
 march, that the army halted on the 11th, to see if a remedy  
 could in any degree be applied. It moved on the 12th, but  
 with so little improvement, that it halted again on the 13th.

From Bangalore, within sight of which, now dismantled,  
 the army encamped on the 14th, there were three roads  
 by which it could march upon Seringapatam. The ex-  
 pectation of the enemy was, that the British would occupy  
 and repair Bangalore, form a line of communication in the  
 same manner as before, and advance by the middle and  
 shortest of the roads.

The confusion of the march was so great, that the Bri-  
 tish army halted a third time on the 15th; and destroyed  
 as much of the mass of stores as it was supposed that by  
 any possibility the exigencies of the service would allow.  
 On the 18th, it again halted a fourth day; and "the loss  
 of powder, shot, and other military stores, had already  
 been so considerable, as to excite some degree of alarm, at  
 this early period of the campaign."<sup>1</sup>

Of the roads leading to Seringapatam, the Southern, by  
 Kaunkanhully, was that selected for the advance of the  
 British army; and so well had the design been disguised,  
 that while the forage on the expected route had been com-  
 pletely destroyed, it was still preserved upon this. No  
 memorable incident occurred from the time when the  
 army entered the Kaunkanhully route on the 16th, till it  
 reached the tanks at Achel, between Kaunkanhully and  
 Sultanpet. These tanks were of so much importance, that  
 "the destruction of them," says Colonel Wilks, "in 1791,  
 had compelled Lord Cornwallis to make the longer march,  
 the injurious effects of which, on his exhausted cattle,

<sup>1</sup> These are the words of two distinguished officers of the same army; Beat-  
 son, p. 65, and Wilks, iii. 407.

were sensibly and severely felt during the remainder of BOOK VI. the campaign." Of a similar destruction, that intelligent officer adds, "the consequences on this occasion would have been still more injurious than those experienced in 1791." It was by the merest accident, that this fatal event was prevented. A detachment sent forward on the night of the 21st, arrived not till the breaches were made in the embankment, and were just in time to save the total loss of the waters.

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When the Sultan, after his return from the attack upon General Stuart, left his capital to meet the advancing army, he made his first movement on the middle road, but being soon made acquainted with its true direction, he deviated by his right to Malvilly, and encamped on the 18th, at the Madoor river, where he was joined by the two corps of his army, which had been left during his absence to hang upon the British line. "The southern road," says Colonel Wilks, "from this river, to the point where General Harris first entered it, presented numerous situations where the advance of the British army might have been obstructed, and at least materially delayed, by steady troops, without any risk of disaster to themselves." What is more remarkable, Tippoo, as we are told by the same high authority, "after examining and occupying the finest imaginable position for opposing the passage of the river in front, and placing beyond it a strong corps to operate at the same time on his enemy's right flank, from very advantageous ground, with an open rear and a secure retreat from both positions, abandoned the intention of giving battle on this ground;" and determined to fight on ground, about two miles from Malvilly, which, among other advantages gratuitously bestowed on his enemy, gave them, during the intended action, the most convenient cover for their unwieldy impediments."

The slow movement of the English brought them to the Madoor river on the 24th, where they learned the particulars of the march which had been made by the Sultan upon General Stuart; and on the evening of the 27th, on approaching the intended ground of encampment to the westward of Malvilly they espied the army of the Sultan, at a few miles' distance, drawn up on a height. As the first grand object of the General was, to carry his equip-



BOOK VI. ments safe to the walls of Seringapatam, he determined  
 CHAP. VIII. neither to seek nor avoid an action. The advanced piquets,  
 1799. however, being attacked by the enemy, and more troops  
 being sent to their aid, a general action came on. The  
 British army under General Harris formed the right wing;  
 the Nizam's army with the 33rd regiment, under Colonel  
 Wellesley, formed the left. On the right wing, which had  
 deployed into line, and begun to advance, an opening  
 between two brigades, produced by the ground, tempted  
 the Sultan. He advanced in person with a body of cavalry,  
 till in the very act to charge. The effort was against the  
 Europeans; coolly directed; and executed with so much  
 spirit, that many of the horsemen fell on the bayonets.  
 But it produced not so much as a momentary disorder in  
 the ranks; and the line advancing in such a manner as to  
 outflank the enemy's left, his guns were soon after with-  
 drawn from the heights. The cushoons of the Sultan  
 faced Colonel Wellesley with some steadiness, till within  
 sixty yards, when, the 33rd regiment quickening step, they  
 gave way; and Colonel Floyd, seizing the critical moment,  
 charged them with his cavalry, and destroyed them to a  
 man. The efficient state of the Sultan's equipments, and  
 the deplorable state of the British, admitted not an idea  
 of pursuit. The loss of the English was sixty-nine men,  
 that of the Sultan, more than a thousand.

Immediately after this injudicious affair, the Sultan  
 marched, with a design to place himself on the rear of Ge-  
 neral Harris, during the remainder of his march to  
 Seringapatam. But he expected him to advance on the  
 same road which had been taken by Lord Cornwallis in  
 1791. As it was anticipated that the forage on this road  
 would be completely destroyed, the project had for some  
 time been contemplated of crossing the Caverry at Sosilla,  
 about fifteen miles east of Seringapatam, if the ford, upon  
 examination, should appear to be practicable. The success  
 was complete, and the battering train, with the last of the  
 army, was over on the 30th, while the enemy was at a  
 distance, looking for them in a different direction. This  
 last disappointment struck a damp to the heart of the  
 Sultan. Having received the whole of his principal officers,  
 "We have arrived," said he, "at our last stage; what is  
 your determination?" "To die along with you," was the

unanimous reply.<sup>1</sup> It was the opinion of this meeting of Tippoo and his friends, that General Harris would not make his attack on the southern side of the fort, but would cross over into the island. The determination was, to meet him on his route, and find either victory or death. The Sultan and his friends took a most affecting leave, as if for the last time in this world, and all were bathed in tears. It was easy for the Sultan, whose equipments were in order, to anticipate the approach of the English. He crossed at the ford of Arakerry, and took up the intended position near the village of Chendgâl. It was not, however, the intention of the English General to cross into the island; and when, instead of pointing to the fords, he made a circuit to the left, to avoid some inconvenient marching, and reach the ground occupied by General Abercromby in 1792, the Sultan, whose dispositions were not calculated for such a movement, ventured not to make opposition; and the English army took up its ground for the siege of the capital, on the 5th day of April, exactly one month after it passed the enemy's frontier; having advanced at the rate of not seven miles a day on enemy's ground, and not five miles a day from the commencement of its march.

A new line of intrenchments had been constructed on this side of the fort, which, reaching from the Dowlut Baug to the Periapatam bridge, and within six or seven hundred yards of the walls, avoided the fault of the redoubts in 1792, distant too far to be supported by the guns of the fort. Between these works and the river, the infantry of Tippoo was now encamped. To save the British camp from annoyance, and advance some posts, an attack was ordered the same evening under Colonels Wellesley and Shaw, on the part of the enemy, occupying a water-course in front. It failed, not without loss.<sup>2</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> Wilks, iii. 414.

<sup>2</sup> This affair, of no great importance at the time, had risen into some interest by circumstances said to have been connected with it, and the celebrity of the first-named of the officers employed. As stated by Col. Gurwood, it was thus: "Both divisions marched a little after sunset. The darkness of the night was very unfavourable to their advance. Col. Shawe seized a ruined village within forty yards of the aqueduct. Colonel Wellesley, advancing at the same time with one wing of the 33rd regiment to attack the Tope, was, upon entering it, assailed on every side by a hot fire of musquetry and rockets. This circumstance, joined to the extreme darkness of the night, the badness of the ground, and the uncertainty of the enemy's position, were inducements to confine the operations to the object of causing a diversion to Col. Shaw's attack, and to postpone any further attempt until a more favourable opportunity should occur. Dispatches of the Duke of Wellington, i. 23. General Har-



BOOK VI. next morning a force was sent, which the party of the  
 CHAP. VIII. enemy could not resist; and strong advanced posts were  
 1799. established within 1800 yards of the fort, with their left  
 on the river, and their right on Sultanpet.

On the 6th, General Floyd, with four regiments of cavalry, and the greater part of the left wing of the army, marched for the purpose of bringing on General Stuart; a proceeding, which the cavalry and part of the infantry of the Sultan marched at the same time to impede. The junction was made on the 14th; the active and well-conducted exertions of the Sultan's cavalry having produced no other effect than the necessity of a little more caution, and a little more time. And on the next day the Bombay army, having crossed the river to the north, occupied a ground in continuation of the line of General Harris, with a view particularly to the enfilade both of the face to be attacked, and the exterior trenches.

On the 9th, Tippoo, who had not before made any answer to the letter of the Governor-General, forwarded to him when the army crossed his frontier, sent to General Harris a letter, of which the following is a translation:

“The Governor-General, Lord Mornington, Bahauder, sent me a letter, copy of which is enclosed: you will understand it. I have adhered firmly to treaties: what then is the meaning of the advance of the English armies, and the occurrence of hostilities? Inform me.—What need I say more?”

The British commander replied in the following terms:

“10th April, 1799.

“Your letter, enclosing copies of the Governor-General's letter, has been received. For the advance of the English and allied armies, and for the actual hostilities, I refer you to the several letters of the Governor-

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ris's account, from his private diary, runs thus: 6th April.—Remained under great anxiety until near twelve at night, from the fear our troops had fired on each other. Near twelve, Col. Wellesley came to my tent, in a good deal of agitation, to say that he had not carried the Tope. It proved that the 33rd, with which he attacked, got into confusion, and could not be formed, which was a great pity, as it must be particularly unpleasant to him. Life of Lord Harris, i. 295. On the following day the attack upon the Tope was renewed, under the command of Col. Wellesley, and the post was carried in less than twenty minutes. Ibid. 297.—W.

General, which are sufficiently explanatory on the subject.”

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On the 16th was made an alarming discovery. The General, in his letter to Lord Mornington, dated the 18th, says : “On measuring the bags, to ascertain what rice they really contained, they were found so much diminished by loss or fraud, that eighteen days’ provision, *for the fighting men, at half allowance*, is all that remains in camp. Our supplies must, therefore, arrive before the 6th of May, to save us from extreme distress.”<sup>1</sup>

On the 17th, operations of considerable importance, less difficult because simultaneous, were accomplished on both sides of the river. The enemy were dislodged from a ground commanding that which was intended for the approaches and batteries of General Stuart ; the troops were established under a good cover within 1000 yards of the western angle of the fort ; and while the enemy’s attention was engaged with these operations, the bed of a water-course was seized on the southern side, which formed a parallel at an equal distance from the fort.

The state of the grain constituted now an object of the greatest solicitude, and every thing was to be done for the purpose of hastening the arrival of the two corps, which were expected to bring a supply from Coimbatore and Baramahl. To conduct them, General Floyd marched on the 19th toward the Caveriporam pass, with the whole of the regular cavalry, the whole of Nizam Ali’s cavalry, and and a brigade of infantry, followed by all the brinjaries, and all the superfluous followers of the camp.

The 20th produced several events. A battery opened from the northern bank on the enfilade of the southwestern face, and of the enemy’s intrenchment on the southern side of the river. The enemy were dislodged

<sup>1</sup> In the Diary of General Harris the circumstances are thus recorded. “16th. I am sorry to add, that this day, on measuring our rice, to ascertain the exact quantity in store, we discovered, that, from loss or fraud, the bags were so extremely deficient, that only eighteen days’ rice, at half allowance, is in camp for the fighting men. Unless Col. Reade’s supplies arrive before the 6th of May, the army will be without provision. There is plenty in the Coorg country, but we have no means to convey or escort it hither ; but I hope to be in Seringapatam before the end of the month. Life of Lord Harris, 315. The alarm of the General seems, however, to have been unnecessary. According to Munro, there was no want of grain in the camp, although the public stock was low. “The public grain of the army would only have lasted till the 7th, but a quantity sufficient to last fifteen days longer, was discovered in the possession of dealers who had brought it on for sale. Life of Munro, i. 212.



BOOK VI. from a position 400 yards in advance of their general in-  
 CHAP. VIII. trenchments ; and a parallel was established on the spot  
 1799. within 780 yards of the fort. In the evening, the following letter from the Sultan was received in camp :

“In the letter of Lord Mornington, it is written, that the clearing up of matters at issue is proper, and that therefore you, having been empowered for the purpose, will appoint such persons as you judge proper for conducting a conference, and renewing the business of a treaty. You are the well-wisher of both Sircars. In this matter what is your pleasure ? Inform me, that a conference may take place.”

On the 22nd, General Harris replied by a letter, stating, that security, not conquest, was the object of the English government, to whose pacific propositions he complained that Tippoo had hitherto refused to listen ; and transmitted the draught of a preliminary treaty, drawn up according to the second and severest set of terms contained in the Governor-General's instructions.

In the situation to which affairs were now reduced, the annexation of the following severities was deemed advisable. That four of the Sultan's sons, and four of his generals, to be named by the British commander, should be given up as hostages. That acceptance of these conditions should be transmitted under his hand and seal within twenty-four hours ; and the hostages, and one crore of rupees, be delivered in forty-eight. And that if these pledges were not given, the British commander would hold himself at liberty to extend his demands for security, even to the possession of the fort of Seringapatam, till the conclusion of a definitive treaty.

It was the instruction of the Governor-General, that the set of terms now put in the shape of a treaty should be sent just before the opening of the batteries upon the fort of Seringapatam. But the advanced period of the season, and the failure of provisions, when nothing but possession of the fort could, in the opinion of General Harris, justify him in the delaying the siege for an instant, made him deem it hazardous to be the leader in an overture toward peace. The sentiments to which the Governor-General was brought by the progress of events are thus described in his own words. “Towards the end of April, fresh circum-

stances arose, which disposed me to think, that if the course of the war should favour the attempt, it would be prudent and justifiable entirely to overthrow to power of Tippoo. Accordingly, on the 23rd of April, I signified to Lieutenant-General Harris my wish, that the power and resources of Tippoo Sultan should be reduced to the lowest state, and even utterly destroyed, if the events of the war should furnish the opportunity." <sup>1</sup>

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On the night of the 24th, the approaches to the fort were advanced 250 yards. On the 25th, a battery of four guns was erected to destroy the defences of some works which bore on the assailants; and it opened with considerable effect on the morning of the 26th. The enemy's guns were now almost wholly silenced. On the evening of the same day, the enemy's intrenchments, in advance, were attacked; and carried, after an obstinate contest, which lasted a great part of the night. This acquisition was important, because it furnished the ground on which the breaching batteries were to be erected. The British troops occupied the works on the 27th; and in the following night made their lodgment secure.

On the morning of the 28th, another letter arrived from the Sultan, intimating the magnitude of the questions to be determined, and signifying his intention to send two persons, for the immediate commencement of a conference, without which an adjustment of so much importance could not be satisfactorily performed. To this the General replied, that no modification would be made of the terms already transmitted; that ambassadors were, therefore, unnecessary, and would not be received, unless they were accompanied by the hostages and specie, already demanded; and that only till three o'clock the next day would time be allowed for an answer.

A breaching battery of six guns was erected on the night of the 28th; and on the morning of the 30th it began to fire. On the first day it demolished part of the the outward wall at the west angle of the fort, and made an impression on the masonry of the bastion within it. On the second its fire was attended with increased effect. An additional battery, constructed on the night of April the 30th, opened in the morning of the 2nd of May. On

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Directors, 3rd August, 1799, ut supra.



BOOK VI. the 3rd, the breach appeared to be practicable, and preparations were eagerly made for the assault. On the morning of the 4th, the troops destined for the service  
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1799. were placed in the trenches before day-light, that no extraordinary movement might serve to put the enemy on their guard. The heat of the day, when the people of the East, having taken their mid-day repast, give themselves up to a season of repose, and when it was expected that the troops in the fort would be least prepared to resist, was chosen for the hour of attack. Four regiments and ten flank companies of Europeans, three corps of grenadier sepoys, and 200 of the Nizam's troops, formed the party for the assault. Colonels Sherbrooke, Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardener, and Mignan, commanded the flank corps; and the conduct of the enterprise was intrusted to Major-General Baird, who had solicited the dangerous service. At one o'clock the troops began to move from the trenches. The width, and rocky channel of the river, though at that time it contained but little water, its exposure to the fire of the fort, the imperfection of the breach, the strength of the place, the numbers, courage, and skill of its defenders, constituted such an accumulation of difficulties, that nothing less than unbounded confidence in the force and courage of his men could have inspired a prudent General with hopes of success. The troops descended into the bed of the river, and moved, regardless of a tremendous fire, towards the opposite bank.

From the time when General Harris sat down before the fort, the Sultan had remained on the ramparts, varying his position according to the incidents of the siege. The general charge of the angle attacked, was given to Seyed Saheb, and Seyed Goffhâr, the last, an able officer, who began his career in the English service, and was in the number of the prisoners at the disaster of Colonel Brathwaite.

The angle of the fort which the English attacked was of such a nature, that a entrenchment to cut it off might have been easily effected; and this was counselled by the most judicious of the Mysorean officers. But the mind of the Sultan, which was always defective in judgment, appears to have been prematurely weakened by the disadvantages of his situation. By the indulgence of arbitrary

power, and the arts of his flatterers, his mind was brought into that situation in which it could endure to hear nothing but what gratified the will of the moment. He had accordingly estranged from his presence every person of a manly character; and surrounded himself with young men and parasites, who made it their business not only to gratify his most childish inclinations, but to occupy him with a perpetual succession of wretched pursuits. He seems, therefore, when adversity came upon him, to have been rendered too effeminate to look it steadily in the face; and exploring firmly the nature of the danger, to employ in the best manner the means which were in his power for averting it. The flatterers were able to persuade him, partly that the fort was too strong to be taken, partly that God would protect him; and they maintained successfully that indecision which was now congenial to the relaxed habit of his mind. "He is surrounded," said Seyed Goffhâr, who was wounded early in the siege, "by boys and flatterers, who will not let him see with his own eyes. I do not wish to survive the result. I am going about in search of death, and cannot find it."

On the morning of the 4th, Seyed Goffhâr, whom from the number of men in the trenches inferred the intention to assault, sent information to the Sultan. The Sultan returned for answer, that it was good to be on the alert, but assured him, as persuaded by the flatterers, that the assault would not take place till night. And in the meantime he was absorbed in religious and astrological operations; the one, to purchase the favour of heaven; the other, to ascertain its decrees. Seyed Goffhâr," says Colonel Wilks, "having satisfied himself, by further observation, that one hour would not elapse before the assault would commence, hurried in a state of rage and despair towards the Sultan: 'I will go,' said he, 'and drag him to the breach, and make him see by what a set of wretches he is surrounded; I will compel him to exert himself at this last moment.' He was going, and met a party of pioneers, whom he had long looked for in vain, to cut off the approach by the southern rampart 'I must first,' said he, 'show those people the work they have to do;'

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BOOK VI. and in the act of giving his instructions, was killed by a  
CHAP. VIII. cannon-shot." <sup>1</sup>

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The Sultan was about to begin his mid-day repast under a small tent, at his usual station, on the northern face, when the news was brought him of the death of Seyed Goffhâr, and excited strong agitation. Before the repast was finished, he heard that the assault was begun. He instantly ordered the troops that were about him, to stand to their arms, commanded the carbines to be loaded, which the servants in attendance carried for his own use, and hurried along the northern rampart to the beach.

"In less than seven minutes from the period of issuing from the trenches, the British colours were planted on the summit of the breach." It was regulated, that as soon as the assailants surmounted the rampart, one half of them should wheel to the right, the other to the left, and that they should meet over the eastern gateway. The right, which was led by General Baird, met with little resistance, both as the enemy, lest retreat should be cut off, abandoned the cavaliers, and as the inner rampart of the south-western face was exposed to a perfect enfilade. The assailants on the left were opposed in a different manner. Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, by whom it was commanded, received a wound in the ascent; and the Sultan passed the nearest traverse, as the column quitted the breach. A succession of well-constructed traverses were most vigorously defended; and a flanking fire of musquetry, from the inner rampart, did great execution upon the assailants. All the commissioned officers, attached to the leading companies, were soon either killed or disabled; and the loss would, at any rate, have been great, had not a very critical assistance been received. When the assailants first surmounted the breach, they were not a little surprised by the sight of a deep, and, to appearance, impassable ditch between the exterior and interior lines of defence. A detachment of the 12th regiment, having discovered a narrow strip of the terre-plein, left for the passage of the workmen, got up the inner

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Sketches, iii. 436, 437. For the interior history of the Mysoreans, at this time, Col. Wilks, who afterwards governed the country, enjoyed singular advantages; and we may confide in his discrimination of the sources and qualities of his information.

rampart of the enfiladed face, without much opposition ; and, wheeling to the left, drove before them the musqueteers who were galling the assailants of the left attack, and they at last reached the flank of the traverse, which was defended by the Sultan. The two columns of the English, on the outer and inner rampart, then moved in a position to expose the successive traverses to a front and flank fire at the same time ; and forced the enemy from one to another, till they perceived the British of the right attack, over the eastern gate, and ready to fall upon them in the rear ; when they broke and hastened to escape. The Sultan continued on foot during the greater part of this time, performing the part rather of a common soldier, than a general, firing several times upon the assailants with his own hands. But a little before the time at which his troops resigned the contest, he complained of pain and weakness in one of his legs, in which he had received a severe wound when young, and ordered a horse. When abandoned by his men, instead of seeking to make his escape, which the proximity of the water-gate would have rendered easy, he made his way toward the gate into the interior fort. As he was crossing to the gate by the communication from the outer rampart, he received a musquet-ball in the right side, nearly as high as the breast, but still pressed on, till he arrived at the gate. Fugitives, from within, as well as from without, were crowding in opposite directions to this gate ; and the detachment of the 12th had descended into the body of the place, for the purpose of arresting the influx of the fugitives from the outer works. The two columns of the assailants, one without the gate, and one within, were now pouring into it a destructive fire from both sides, when the Sultan arrived. Endeavouring to pass, he received another wound from the fire of the inner detachment ; his horse also, being wounded, sunk under him, and his turban fell to the ground, while his friends dropped rapidly around him. His attendants placed him in his palankeen, but the place was already so crowded, and choked up with the dead and the dying, that he could not be removed. According to the statement of a servant who survived, some English soldiers, a few minutes afterwards, entered the gateway ; and one of them offering to

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BOOK VI. pull off the sword-belt of the Sultan, which was very rich,  
CHAP. VIII. Tippoo, who still held his sabre in his hand, made a cut at  
1799. him with all his remaining strength. The man, wounded  
in the knee, put his firelock to his shoulder, and the Sultan,  
receiving the ball in his temple, expired.

The two bodies of assailants, from the right and the left had met over the Eastern gateway; and the palace was the only place within the fort not now in their possession. In this the faithful adherents of Tippoo, whose fate was yet unknown, were expected to make a desperate stand in defence of their sovereign and his family. The troops, exhausted by the heat and the toils of the day, stood in need of refreshment. In the mean-time Major Allan was sent with a guard to inform the persons within the palace, that if they surrendered immediately their lives should be secured; that any resistance, on the other hand, would be fatal to them all. When that officer arrived at the palace, before which a part of the British troops were already drawn up, he observed several persons in the balcony, apparently in the greatest consternation. Upon communicating his message, the Kelledar, another officer of distinction, and a confidential servant, came over the terrace of the front building, and descended by an unfinished part of the wall. They exhibited great embarrassment, and a disposition to delay; upon which the British officer reminded them of their danger, and pledging himself for the protection of the inmates of the palace, desired admittance, that he might give the same assurance to the Sultan himself. They manifested strong aversion to this proposition; but the Major insisted upon returning with them; and desiring two other officers to join him, they ascended by the broken wall, and lowered themselves down on a terrace, on which there was a number of armed men. The Major, carrying a white flag in his hand, which he had formed on the spur of the occasion by fastening a cloth to a serjeant's pike, assured them it was a pledge of security, provided no resistance was attempted: and as an additional proof of his sincerity took off his sword, which he insisted upon placing in the hands of the Kelledar. All affirmed that the family of the Sultan was in the palace, but not the Sultan himself. Their agitation and indecision were conspicuous. The Major was obliged to remind them,

that the fury of the troops, by whom they were now surrounded, was with difficulty restrained ; and that the consequences of delay would be fatal. The rapid movements of several persons within the palace, where many hundreds of Tippoo's troops still remained, made him begin to think the situation critical even of himself and his companions, by whom he was advised to take back his sword. As any suspicion, however, of treachery, reaching in their present state the minds of the British soldiers, would inflame them to the most desperate acts, probably the massacre of every human being within the palace walls, he had the gallantry, as well as the presence of mind to abstain from such an exhibition of distrust. In the mean time, he was entreated by the people on the terrace to hold the flag in a conspicuous manner, as well to give confidence to the people within the palace, as to prevent the British troops from forcing the gates. Growing impatient of delay, the Major sent another message to the Princes. They now sent him word, that he would be received as soon as a carpet for the purpose could be procured ; and in a few minutes the Kelledar returned to conduct him.

He found two of the Princes seated on the carpet, surrounded by attendants. "The recollection," says Major Allen, "of Moiz ad Dien, whom on a former occasion I had seen delivered up with his brother, hostages to Lord Cornwallis ; the sad reverse of their fortune ; their fear, which, notwithstanding their struggles to conceal it, was but too evident, excited the strongest emotions of compassion in my mind." He endeavoured by every mark of tenderness, and by the strongest assurances of protection and respect, to tranquillize their minds. His first object was, to discover where the Sultan was concealed. He next requested their consent to the opening of the gates. At this proposition they were alarmed. Without the authority of their father, whom they desired to consult, they were afraid to take upon themselves a decision of such unspeakable importance. The Major assured them, that he would post a guard of their own sepoy within the palace, and a guard of Europeans without ; that no person should enter but by his authority ; that he would return and remain with them, until General Baird should arrive ;



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and that their own lives, as well as that of every person in the palace, depended upon their compliance. Their confidence was gained. Upon opening the gate, Major Allan found General Baird and several officers with a large body of troops assembled. It was not safe to admit the troops, who were burning for vengeance. And Major Allan returned to conduct the Princes, whose reluctance to quit the palace was not easy to be overcome, to the presence of the General. General Baird was one of those British officers who had personally experienced the cruelty of their father, and suffered all the horrors of a three years' imprisonment in the place which he had now victoriously entered. His mind too had been inflamed by a report at that instant received, that Tippoo had murdered all the Europeans made prisoners during the siege. "He was nevertheless," says Major Allan, "sensibly affected by the sight of the Princes; and his gallantry on the assault was not more conspicuous than the moderation and humanity which he on this occasion displayed. He received the Princes with every mark of regard: repeatedly assured them that no violence or insult should be offered to them, and he gave them in charge to two officers to conduct them to head quarters in camp." They were escorted by the light company of a European regiment; and the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presenting arms as they passed.

The mind dwells with peculiar delight upon these instances in which the sweet sympathies which one human being has with another, and which are of infinite importance in private life, prevail over the destructive passions, alternately the cause and consequence of war. The pleasure, at the same time, which we feel in conceiving the emotions produced in such a scene, lead the bulk of mankind to overvalue greatly the virtues which they imply. When you have glutted upon your victim the passions of ambition and revenge; when you have reduced him from greatness and power, to the weakness and dependence which mark the insect on which you tread, a few tears, and the restraint of the foot from the final stamp, are not a very arduous virtue. The grand misfortune is to be made an insect. When that is done, it is a slight, if any addition to the misfortune to be crushed

at once. The virtue to which exalted praise would be due, and to which human nature is gradually ascending, would be, to restrain in time the selfish desires which hurry us on to the havoc we are vain of contemplating with a sort of pity after we have made it. Let not the mercy, however, be slighted, which is shown even to the victim we have made. It is so much gained for human nature. It is a gain which, however late, the progress and diffusion of philosophy at last have produced ; they will in time produce other and greater results.

When the persons of the Princes were secured, Tippoo was to be searched for in every corner of the palace. A party of English troops were admitted, and those of Tippoo disarmed. After proceeding through several of the apartments, the Kelledar was entreated, if he valued his own life, or that of his master, to discover where he was concealed. That officer, laying his hand upon the hilt of Major Allan's sword, protested, in the most solemn manner, that the Sultan was not in the palace ; that he had been wounded during the storm ; and was lying in a gateway on the northern side of the fort. He offered to conduct the inquirers ; and submit to any punishment if he was found to have deceived. General Baird and the officers who accompanied him, proceeded to the spot ; covered with a promiscuous and shocking heap of bodies wounded and dead. At first, the bodies were dragged out of the gateway to be examined, it being already too dark to distinguish them where they lay. As this mode of examination, however, threatened to be very tedious, a light was procured, and Major Allan and the Kelledar went forward to the place. After some search, the Sultan's palankeen was discovered, and under it a person wounded, but not dead. He was afterwards ascertained to be the Raja Khan, one of Tippoo's most confidential servants, who had attended his master during the whole of the fatal day. This person being made acquainted with the object of the search, pointed out the spot where the Sultan had fallen. The body being brought out and sufficiently recognised, was conveyed in a palankeen to the palace. It was warm when first discovered ; the eyes were open, the features not distorted, and Major Allan and Colonel Wellesley were for a few moments doubtful, whether it was

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BOOK VI. not alive. It had four wounds, three in the trunk, and  
 CHAP. VIII. one in the temple, the ball of which, having entered a  
 1799. little above the right ear, had lodged in the cheek. His  
 dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose  
 drawers of flowered chintz, the usual girdle of the east,  
 crimson-coloured, tied round his waist; and a handsome  
 pouch, with a belt of silk, red and green, hung across his  
 shoulder. He had an amulet on his arm; but his orna-  
 ments, if he wore any, were gone.<sup>1</sup>

The speedy fall of the place was an event of great im-  
 portance to the British army; for though the General  
 had received a casual supply of provisions from an officer  
 whose foresight exceeded that of the men who provided  
 for the army, this afforded a supply for not more than a  
 small number of days. The want of draught cattle ren-  
 dered the magazines in the Coorg country totally useless:  
 and though the General counted upon being in absolute  
 want by the 6th of May, General Floyd did not return  
 before the 13th with the convoys from the south. Of the  
 operations which during the above transactions had taken  
 place under the officers with whom General Floyd now  
 returned to Seringapatam, the following are the principal.  
 The corps which was placed under the command of Colonel  
 Reade began by reducing the country north of Rayacottah.  
 The plan of his operations embraced a great extent; but  
 after a little progress he was apprized of the necessity of  
 abandoning everything to hasten with the grain which he  
 had collected to Seringapatam. The troops under Colonel  
 Brown began the campaign with the siege of Caroor,  
 which surrendered to them without any serious resistance  
 on the 5th of April. On the 8th they proceeded against  
 Errode, and meant to prosecute the reduction of the re-  
 maining fortresses in Coimbatore, when they were sum-  
 moned to join Colonel Reade, for the purpose of advancing  
 to Seringapatam.

Colonel Reade arrived at Cauveryporam, on the 22nd  
 of April, which surrendered to him without resistance.  
 Having there collected the Brinjarries, and other supplies,  
 he left them under the protection of the fort, and with

<sup>1</sup> See Major Allan's own account of the scenes at the palace, and the gate-  
 way; annexed (Appendix 42) to Beatson's View of the War with Tippoo  
 Sultaun.



his detachment proceeded to clear the pass. This was an operation of considerable difficulty, which required all his exertions till the evening of the 27th ; and the 6th of May arrived before the whole of the Brinjarries had ascended. General Floyd had by this time arrived at a place a few miles distant from the pass ; and on the same day he was reinforced by junction of the southern corps of the army under Colonel Brown. On the 7th of May, the whole body, with their convoy, moved from Hannoor towards Seringapatam. As Tippoo's cavalry, under his best General, had closely followed General Floyd from Seringapatam, he expected to meet with considerable interruption to retard him on his return ; and from this danger he was saved, only by the great event which had already arrived.

Such of the sons and officers of Tippoo as were not taken in the fort, surrendered within a few days after the fate of the capital and its sovereign was known ; and an adventurer of the name of Dhoondia was the only exception to the quiet submission of the whole country. This man, of Mahratta parentage, was born in the kingdom of Mysore, and served in the armies both of Hyder and Tippoo. He deserted during the war with Lord Cornwallis ; and headed a predatory band in the region of the Toombudra. Tippoo induced him by fair professions to trust himself in his hand, and then immured him in a prison, where he had lain for several years, when he contrived to make his escape during the capture of Seringapatam ; and soon collected around him a band of desperate adventurers ; which rendered it necessary for General Harris to move the army to the northward to dislodge him. This, however, was not the last effort of Dhoondia, whose history it is proper to finish at once. He was followed by his band of adventurers to the south ; and made such rapid strides towards the establishment even of a sort of empire, that after a little time the government thought it proper to employ against him the army left under Colonel Wellesley for the government of Mysore. Dhoondia displayed no ordinary talents in his defence ; and by his activity and judgment, protracted for several months the efforts employed for his destruction. He could not, however, permanently resist the great superiority of force which was brought against him ; and fell



BOOK VI. in a charge of cavalry which was led by the Colonel in  
CHAP. VIII. person.<sup>1</sup>

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The Sultan, when he lost his empire and his life, was about fifty years of age. He was rather above the middle size, and about five feet eight inches high ; had a short neck and square shoulders, and now bordered on corpulency ; but his limbs were slender, and his feet and hands remarkably small. His complexion was brown, his eyes large and full, his eyebrows small and arched, his nose aquiline ; and in the expression of his countenance there was a dignity, which even the English, in spite of their antipathy and prejudices, felt and confessed.

Though French power was the grand resource upon which Tippoo relied, both for the gratification of his resentments, and for his protection against that reduction to the condition of a pensioned Nabob, the fate to which he believed that he was destined by the English, he made some efforts, but marked with his usual want of good sense, for obtaining support from other quarters. Beside his embassy to the Grand Signor at Constantinople, which excited, without much deserving, the attention of the English, he opened a communication in 1796 with Zeman Shah, the King of the Afghans, and sent an embassy which pointed out to that brother of the faith a glorious career against the nonbelievers or misbelievers of India. The Shah might conquer Delhi, drive out the Mahrattas, and establish his dominion over all that region of India, in one year ; in the next, assail the Mahrattas and the Deccan from the north, while the Sultan co-operated with him from the south ; and after this it would cost them little trouble to extend their empire over every part of India. This invasion of the Afghans, the English government for several years contemplated as an object of apprehension ; and it was the ostensible cause, why the Commander-in-Chief was left in Bengal, and the conduct of the army committed to General Harris, in the last war against Tippoo.

The Sultan was too well apprized of the weakness of Nizam Ali, to expect from his alliance any material advantage ; and, besides, he expected to induce the Mahrattas to yield him any useful assistance, chiefly by offering to

<sup>1</sup> Despatches of the Duke of Wellington, i. 75.

join with them, in seizing the dominions of the Nizam. BOOK VI.  
 He maintained, from the time of the accession of Bajee CHAP. VIII.  
 Rao, a secret agent at Poona, whose endeavours were used  
 to effect an intimate union. But Bajee Rao was held in  
 thralldom by Sindiah ; and any combination of Bajee Rao  
 and Tippoo, which could have a tendency to emancipate  
 the Peshwa from his subjection, was opposed by the in-  
 terests of Scindiah ; and though Scindiah would have been  
 well contented to join with the Sultan in any scheme of  
 hostilities against the English, if it were not attended  
 with danger, he was too much alarmed for his dominions  
 in the north, which the English could easily invade, to be  
 willing for the present to expose himself to the chance  
 of so great an evil. From this state of affairs, Tippoo seems  
 to have despaired of getting the Mahrattas to act with  
 any efficiency on his side ; and for that reason not to  
 have made any very strenuous exertions to induce them.

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In these circumstances, beholding, as he must have  
 done, the great inferiority of his power, his utter inability  
 to maintain a contest against the English, and the prob-  
 ability that resistance would bring on his fall, it may  
 well be regarded as surprising, that he did not endeavour,  
 by prompt attention to their complaints, and early nego-  
 tiation, to escape from the storm which he was unable  
 to face. One of the most remarkable characteristics,  
 however, of the Sultan's mind, was the want of judgment.  
 For an Eastern prince, he was full of knowledge. His  
 mind was active, acute, and ingenious. But, in the value  
 which he set upon objects, whether as means, or as ends,  
 he was almost perpetually deceived. Besides, a convic-  
 tion appears to have been rooted in his mind, that the  
 English had now formed a resolution to deprive him of  
 his kingdom, and that it was useless to negotiate, because  
 no submission to which he could reconcile his mind,  
 would restrain them in the gratification of their ambi-  
 tious designs. Nor was he deprived of grounds of hope,  
 which over a mind like his were calculated to exert a  
 fatal influence. He never could forget the manner in  
 which his father had triumphed over a host of enemies  
 by shutting himself up in his capital, and defending him-  
 self, till the season of the rains ; nor had all his experience  
 of the facility with which Europeans overcame the strong-



BOOK VI. est defences in his power to rear, yielded on this point  
 CHAP. VIII. any decisive instruction. The principal part of his pre-  
 1799. parations for war had consisted in adding to the works  
 of Seringapatam, and storing it with provisions for a  
 siege. With the attempt to disable the Bombay army  
 the idea of even obstructing the march of the invaders,  
 if not altogether abandoned, was very feebly pursued.  
 And, till the English were upon the ramparts, he could  
 not persuade himself that the fort of Seringapatam would  
 be taken. His grand military mistake is acknowledged  
 to have been the neglect of his cavalry; a proper use of  
 which would have rendered the conquering of him a far  
 more arduous task.

The original defects of his mind, arising from the vices  
 of his education, appear to have increased as he advanced  
 in years, and with peculiar rapidity since the loss of his  
 dominions in 1792. The obedience which the will of  
 princes, especially Eastern princes, is habituated to re-  
 ceive, not only renders them wretched when it is opposed,  
 but gluts and palls them with the gratification. Each  
 recurring instance becomes by familiarity insipid, or  
 rather disgusting, and leaves the mind restless and impa-  
 tient for a new gratification. This serves to account for  
 the fickle and capricious disposition which so commonly  
 marks the character of princes; and in general prevails  
 in them to a greater or less degree, in proportion to the  
 natural vivacity and susceptibility of their minds. This  
 disease infected the whole conduct of Tippoo Sultan, pub-  
 lic and private, and latterly in a manner so extraordinary,  
 that, when joined to a similar growth of his impatience  
 at every disagreement between that which he willed and  
 that which fell out, it produced in his subjects a persua-  
 sion that his mind was partially deranged. Like many  
 other persons of active, but not powerful minds, he ran  
 violently upon the observance of minuteness in minute  
 details, but with little capacity of taking a marshalling  
 view of a great whole. He saw but few therefore of the  
 relations and dependencies of things; and was, of course,  
 unable to anticipate justly their distant consequences.  
 The temptation to please, rather than to serve, excluded  
 Tippoo, as it excludes other princes, from the benefit of  
 councils wiser than his own. Accustomed to hear from

those who approached him, that every sentiment which he uttered exceeded in wisdom that of every other man, any difference with his opinions struck him at last in the character of a mere demonstration of folly. As a general, he possessed, as had been abundantly proved by the English in former wars, no other talents than the vulgar ones of great activity, courage, and that turn for stratagem, which the cunning of a rude age has a tendency to produce. As a domestic ruler, he sustains an advantageous comparison with the greatest princes of the East. He bestowed a keen attention upon the conduct of his government, from which he allowed himself to be diverted neither by pleasure nor by sloth. He made a methodical distribution of his time for business, in which he was laborious and exact; but in which his passion for detail made him frequently waste that attention upon minor, which ought to have been reserved to the greatest affairs. He had the discernment to perceive, what is so generally hid from the eyes of rulers in a more enlightened state of society, that it is the prosperity of those who labour with their hands, which constitutes the principle and cause of the prosperity of states; he therefore made it his business to protect them against the intermediate orders of the community, by whom it is so difficult to prevent them from being oppressed. His country was, accordingly, at least during the first and better part of his reign, the best cultivated, and its population the most flourishing in India;<sup>1</sup> while, under the English, and their depen-

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<sup>1</sup> The same was asserted, with more truth no doubt, of the state of Mysore under Hyder; but it is difficult to believe that a country should be flourishing which was the frequent scene of hostile movements, and the sovereign of which demanded large contributions from his subjects, in order to keep up a disproportionate military force. Climate and soil, and an agricultural people, do much to hide, if they do not remedy, the exactions of a bad government; and a passing observer, who sees everywhere on his march abundant tillage, may easily misconceive of the condition of the inhabitants. The accounts of the prosperity of Mysore, under Hyder and Tippoo, must be received with hesitation; where tested by English experience they proved inaccurate. Munro was one of the officers appointed to manage some of the districts ceded by Tippoo in the first war, and his description of the state of things, as he found them, proves irrefutably that the management of the two Mohammedan princes of Mysore was not a whit preferable to that which succeeded them. "The collector cannot expect the country to flourish, when he has himself given the signal to plunder it. The numerous band of revenue servants require no encouragement to exercise the trade which they have always followed, but they now act without restraint, and are joined by the head farmers in stripping the unfortunate husbandmen of a great part of the produce of their labours. This is the system under the Nabobs, under Tippoo, under the Company, and, I believe, under every government in India. The collectors and their deputies,



BOOK VI. dants, the population of the Carnatic and Oude, hastening  
 CHAP. VIII, to the state of deserts, was the most wretched upon the  
 1799. face of the earth; and even Bengal itself, under the operation of laws ill adapted to the circumstances of the case, was suffering almost all the evils which the worst of governments could inflict. That Tippoo was severe, harsh, and perhaps cruel, in superintending the conduct of those who served him, may be so far easily believed, as his inordinate pride would make every offence which appeared to be committed against himself assume gigantic dimensions: and his habit of willing, and seeing his will realized, made him expect every event, willed by himself, as by a law of nature, which nothing but the misconduct of others could have disturbed. That the accounts, however, which we have received from our countrymen, who dreaded and feared him, are marked with exaggeration, is proved by this circumstance, that his servants adhered to him with a fidelity which those of few princes in any age or country have displayed.<sup>1</sup> Of his cruelty we have heard the more, because our own countrymen were among the victims of it. But it is to be observed, that, unless in certain instances, the proof of which cannot be regarded as better than doubtful, their sufferings, however intense, were only the sufferings of a very rigorous imprisonment, of which, considering the manner in which it is lavished by their own laws, Englishmen ought not to be very forward to complain. At that very time, in the dungeons of Madras and Calcutta, it is probable that unhappy sufferers were enduring calamities for debts of 100*l.*; not less atrocious than those which Tippoo, a prince born and educated in

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not being paid, help themselves, and by this means, the country is often as much harassed in peace as in war. The private dividend among Tippoo's managers is from twenty to forty per cent. Life i. 156. Again: "The Baramahl has now been completely surveyed, and the rents of it are fixed; they are on an average nearly what they were under Tippoo. The inhabitants paid the same then as now, but the deficiency of his receipts arose from the peculations of a host of revenue officers. The rents here, as I believe in every other part of India, are too high; this circumstance, joined to the general poverty of the people, is a great obstacle to every kind of improvement." Ibid. 204. There are other passages to the same purport, and they are fatal to a belief that the subjects of Tippoo were in any degree better circumstanced than those of the Company. The probability is, that their situation was worse.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Without detracting from the character for fidelity borne by Tippoo's officers, it is to be remembered that the Sultan did not trust to it as a fixed and permanent principle which precluded the necessity of ensuring it by other means. "The families of all his principal officers had always been kept as hostages in Seringapatam." Munro i. 219.—W.

a barbarous country, and ruling over a barbarous people, inflicted upon imprisoned enemies ; enemies belonging to a nation, who, by the evils they had brought upon him, exasperated him almost to frenzy, and whom he regarded as the enemies both of God and man.<sup>1</sup> Besides, there is among the papers relating to the intercourse of Tippoo with the French, a remarkable proof of his humanity, which, when these papers are ransacked for matters to criminate him, ought not to be suppressed. In the draught which he transmitted to the Isle of France, of the conditions on which he wished that a connection between him and the French should be formed, the following are the very words of a distinct article : "I demand that male and female prisoners, as well English as Portuguese, who shall be taken by the republican troops, or by mine, shall be treated with humanity ; and with regard to their persons, that they shall (their property becoming the right of the allies,) be transported at our joint expense, out of India, to some place far distant from the territories of the allies."

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Another feature in the character of Tippoo was his religion, with a sense of which his mind was most deeply impressed. He spent a considerable part of every day in prayer. He gave to his kingdom, or state, a particular religious title, *Khodadad*, or God-given ; and he lived under a peculiarly strong and operative conviction of the superintendence of a Divine Providence. His confidence in the protection of God was, indeed, one of his snares ; for he relied upon it to the neglect of other means of safety. To one of his French advisers, who had urged him with peculiar fervour to use greater zeal in obtaining the support of the Mahrattas, he replied, "I rely solely on Providence, expecting that I shall be alone and unsupported ; but God, and my courage, will accomplish every

<sup>1</sup> After the capture of Seringapatam. some native spies, employed by the English, asserted that the Sultan had ordered the death of thirteen English prisoners, taken during the siege ; and a scrap of paper was found, said to be in his hand-writing, which bore the character of an order for the death of 100 Coorg prisoners.—All the evidence which accompanies these allegations would not be worthy of regard, but that the moral and intellectual state of the age and country of Tippoo renders such an act by no means improbable, under strong temptation, by any prince of the East. This, however, does not conclude Tippoo to be worse ; it only supposes him not to be better than his neighbours.



BOOK VI. thing.”<sup>1</sup> It is true, that his zeal for God, like the zeal  
 CHAP. VIII. of so many other people, was supported by the notion,  
 1799. and by the desire, of being the favourite of God ; of being  
 honoured with the chief place in his affections, and obtaining the best share in the distribution of his favours. His religion resembled the religion of most of the persons anxious to distinguish themselves for pious zeal, in this respect also ; that it contained in it a large infusion of the persecuting spirit. He imagined that he exceedingly pleased the Almighty, by cultivating within himself a hatred of all those whose notions of a God did not correspond with his own ; and that he should take one of the most effectual modes of recommending himself to that powerful and good Being, if, in order to multiply the number of true believers, he applied evil to the bodies of those who were not of that blessed description.

It would not be reckoned pardonable by Englishmen, if an historian were to omit ambition, and the hatred of the English, among the ingredients in the character of Tippoo. But ambition is too vulgar a quality in the minds of princes to deserve particular commemoration ; and as for his hatred of the English, it only resembled the hatred which the English bore to him, or to the French : and which proud individuals, and proud nations, are so prone to feel, towards all those who excite their fears, or circumscribe their hopes. Besides, among the princes of India, who, except their drivellers, were less ambitious than he ? Was it Sindiah, or was it Holkar ? Even in hatred of the English, is it understood, that these Mah-rattas were exceeded by the sovereign of Mysore ?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the letter from Tippoo Sultaun to M. Du Buc, dated Seringapatam, 2nd Jan. 1799 ; papers printed by order of the House of Commons in 1800.

<sup>2</sup> This extenuation of the defects of Tippoo's character is no doubt prompted by our author's usual generous disposition to protect those whom all other persons assail. Notwithstanding this spirit, however, he is compelled to admit that Tippoo rashly provoked a storm he was unable to face, instigated by an ungovernable hatred of the English, both on account of their power and their religion. It is difficult to understand how this fatal want of judgment is reconcileable with an active, acute, and ingenious mind, or one even for that of an Eastern prince full of knowledge. That the Sultan had an active mind may be allowed, but it was the activity of restlessness, accompanied by cunning rather than acuteness,—by caprice rather than ingenuity. Of his knowledge there is no proof, and he was evidently ignorant of the relative position of the French and English when he trusted to the support of the former in a contest with the latter. In his military capacity it is admitted that he displayed courage without conduct. The merits of his civil government are, as above noticed, exaggerated at least, if not altogether misstated. The imprisonment

When the papers of Tippoo, found in the palace of Seringapatam, were examined, the correspondence was discovered which had passed between him and the French. With this Lord Wellesley shows that he was singularly delighted; as if, without such means of persuasion, he had dreaded, that the grounds of the war, successfully terminated, would not have appeared satisfactory to all those whose approbation he was interested in obtaining. It is, therefore, necessary that the amount of its contents should be declared. Some time before the beginning of April, 1797, the captain of a privateer from the Mauritius, Citizen Ripaud by name, whose ship, damaged in some engagement, had nearly foundered at sea, arrived in the country of Tippoo, and was conveyed to the capital; where several of his countrymen had long been high in the service of the Prince. This man, so illiterate that he could not spell his own language, and ready, as appears by his letters of the 23rd of May, 1797, for the perpetration of any crime, even against his own countrymen, was eager by imposture to recommend himself to the favour of the Sultan. He represented that the French government were not only burning with a desire to invade the possessions of the English in India, but were almost ready for the execution of that great design, having made vast preparations, forwarded a large body of troops to the Isle of France, and chiefly waiting till they could learn how much assistance they might expect from their ancient friend, the Sultan of Mysore. Tippoo, as eager fully as Englishmen, to believe what he eagerly desired, thought he could not be too expeditious in sending men to ascertain the circumstances; and in endeavouring to derive advantage from them should they appear to corre-

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of debtors in Calcutta and Madras, as a consequence of legal enactments, however objectionable in their origin, is a very different thing from the sufferings and massacre of prisoners taken in the chances of war, and is no excuse for the vindictive cruelty exercised by Tippoo upon all, whether Europeans or natives, who were the objects of his vengeance. As to his religion, he not only partook largely of that intolerance which is a prominent feature of the Mohammedan faith, but it was degraded by the grossest superstition, faith in dreams, magic, and astrology; articles of belief, not uncommon it is true amongst the great men of the East, but in a special degree professed by Tippoo, and indicating none of that fulness of knowledge and acuteness of understanding for which in outset of this sketch of his character, credit has been given him. The general tendency of the description is, therefore, to convey an unfaithful portrait of a prince, who, although he may claim compassion for his fate, can never by any sophistry be held up as an object of sympathy or respect.—W.



BOOK VI. spond with report. So completely was Tippoo deceived  
CHAP. VIII. by the representation of Ripaud, that he thought it  
1799. was only necessary to name the extent of the assistance  
which he wished to receive. He demanded an army of  
from 30,000 to 40,000 men, of whom he required that  
from 5,000 to 10,000 should be veteran troops; and, in  
addition to an army of this magnitude, he thought it  
proper to exact the assistance of a fleet. In contributing  
to the common enterprise, he proposed to take the whole  
expense of the army upon himself; and, as soon as  
it arrived, to join it with all his forces; when the expul-  
sion of the English, he trusted, would not be a tardy  
result. As he believed, according to the statement of  
his informer, that nothing was wanting for the immediate  
departure of such a body of troops, but his assent to the  
conditions with which it was expected he should comply,  
he took the requisite measures for its being immediately  
bestowed. Four vakeels proceeded to the coast in April,  
1797; but before they were ready to depart the monsoon  
set in. During the delay which it occasioned, the vakeels  
are said to have fallen into disputes and dissensions.  
This, with other causes, induced the Sultan to annul their  
appointment; and the actual mission, which at last con-  
sisted of only two persons, did not depart till the October  
following. Extreme was the disappointment with these  
vakeels, whom in the whole of this intercourse, the  
Governor-General, to exalt the notion of its importance,  
dubs with title of ambassadors, though the agent whom  
the meanest individual employs to transact for him a  
business of a few rupees, is his vakeel, experienced upon  
their arrival in the Isle of France. They expected to  
have nothing further to do than to set their seal, in the  
name of their master, to the conditions which he had  
given them in writing. This was called, in the pompous  
language of Citizen Ripaud, to contract an alliance offen-  
sive and defensive with the French Republic, one and  
indivisible, terms which the Sultan could not understand,  
as his language wanted words to correspond. And when  
this simple operation was performed, they expected to  
return with a grand army to Mysore. They found that  
not only was there at the Isle of France no force what-  
soever, which could be spared for the use of their master,

but that no intimation had, by the government of France, been conveyed to the constituted authorities of the island of any intention to send an army to India; and that those authorities were not vested with a power to form engagements with Tippoo of any description. Nothing did the rulers of the island find themselves competent to perform, except to forward the letters of the Sultan to the government of France, and offer aid to them in raising a few volunteers. Assistance so contemptible in comparison of what they and their master expected, the vakeels at first refused to accept. And no small impotunity appears to have been necessary to conquer their determination.

In the report of their proceedings, which they were required to give to their master upon their return, they say, "The four chiefs of Mauritius told us personally, that the European Ripaud had brought us here on a false representation to the Sultaun; and that at present they had no forces." A member of the legislative body of the island, who, because he had served in a military capacity in India, and was known to the Sultan, sent him a letter along with the returning vakeels, declared; "Our grief was profound to learn that you had been deceived by Ripaud as to our forces on this island. The only reinforcement which had been sent to us from France, since the commencement of the war, is one battalion, which we have sent to Batavia, to assist the Dutch in the preservation of that place. This we did, in return for the assistance which we had drawn from thence in money, provisions, and naval stores; for you must know, great Prince, that our own resources are insufficient for our support; and we have sworn to bury ourselves under the ruins of our island, rather than see our enemies its possessors."<sup>1</sup> The hopes which the French rulers held out that more efficient assistance might possibly be obtained by appli-

<sup>1</sup> See the papers relating to the war with Tippoo, printed by order of the House of Commons, in 1800. In the report which the vakeels, upon their return, made to the Sultan of their proceedings, they expressly state, that the Governor of the Isle of France waited upon them, and said "that Ripaud had made an erroneous representation to your Highness, which occasioned us to be deputed." And before their departure, they were informed by the Governor, that he would send with them a gentleman, (one of those by whom they were actually accompanied) "who should reside at the presence in quality of vakeel, that the other Frenchmen might not, by telling falsities, like Ripaud, deceive your Highness."



BOOK VI. cation to the French government at Paris, obviously  
 CHAP. VIII. deserve attention merely as expedients to evade the cha-  
 grin of the vakeels. The number of Frenchmen in the  
 .1799. service of the Sultan amounted not to more than 120  
 men.<sup>1</sup>

The confidence which Tippoo reposed in the strength of Seringapatam, especially when protected by God, and his own courage, had prevented him from making any provision against an event which he reckoned so very improbable as its fall. Not only his family, therefore, but the whole of his treasure, was deposited in the fort: and as the palace was obtained by a species of capitulation, without the irruption of the soldiers, there was no suspicion that any portion of the money or jewels which he had in store, was not publicly obtained, and fully brought to account. It hence appeared, to the clearest satisfaction, how exaggerated and extravagant had been the conception of his enormous riches, and hence of his dangerous resources for war. The whole amount of the remaining specie, which Tippoo had treasured up, was about sixteen lacs of pagodas (640,000*l.*); and his jewels, of which in common with the Princes of the East he was fond, and with which they never part, except in their greatest extremity, were valued at about nine lacs (360,000*l.*) more. So far was such a sum from rendering its owner formidable to a power like that of the British in India, that the Governor-General in Council did not reckon it too much to be immediately distributed to the army, as a donative, in reward of the virtues which it had displayed during the campaign.

The English were now in possession of the kingdom of Mysore; and the only question which it remained for the Governor-General to decide, was the momentous one, how a kingdom was to be disposed of. He was not insensible to the difficulties which attended upon his decision; and the

<sup>1</sup> Beatson, i. 139.

The attention is here diverted from the more important contents of the papers to the circumstances which led to Tippoo's connexion with the Isle of France; but from the documents themselves it appeared that the Sultan had addressed the Directory in July, 1798, proposing an offensive and defensive alliance with France for the purpose of expelling the English from India, announcing at the same time his determination not to wait for the forces of his allies, but to commence the attack on the first favourable occasion. Despatches, 591. The whole of the correspondence, forming a large volume, was translated and printed in Calcutta. Ibid. 597.—W.

delicacy which was required, in balancing between the BOOK I. love of territory, on the one hand, and the suspicion and CHAP. VIII. odium on the other, to which the destruction of another prince, and the annexation of any considerable part of his kingdom to an empire already of vast dimensions, would be exposed both in Europe and in India. This part of his task he performed with the greatest address. The Nizam, though, from the inferior part which he had taken in the war, he was not entitled to an equal share with the English in the benefits which resulted from it, was gratified by receiving an equal portion of territory. The necessity, however, was inculcated, of moderation in the desires of both; and the principle which was laid down was, that they should content themselves with such a portion of territory, as would indemnify them for the charges of the war, and yield security. The word security, brought in upon this occasion, was calculated to answer any purpose, to which they who made use of it had, or could have, any desire to employ it. Demands for security had no limit, but the pleasure and power of those by whom they were set up. When the subsequent inquirer asks, Security against whom? It is not easy to find an answer. Security against Tippoo? He was no more. Security against Nizam Ali, and the English, against one another? That was impossible; for they were both to be aggrandized, and in an equal degree. Was it security against the Mahrattas? No, for they also were to be offered a part of the divided territory, which was the way to make them more, not less dangerous neighbours than they were before. On the principle, then, of indemnification and security, it was decreed, that the English, on their part, should take to themselves the whole of the territory possessed by the Sultan on the Malabar coast, the district of Coimbatore and Daramporam, the whole of the country which intervened between the Company's territory on the western, and that on the eastern coast, yielding now an uninterrupted dominion from sea to sea; along with these possessions, the forts and posts forming the heads of the principal passes above the Ghauts on the table-land; <sup>1</sup> the district of Wynaad; and, lastly, the for-

1799.

<sup>1</sup> Col. Beatson says, (p. 254), that in 1788 he "ascertained the position and nature of not less than sixty passes through the mountains, several of which



BOOK VI. tress, city, and island of Seringapatam, as a place which  
 CHAP. VIII. effectually secured the communication between the British  
 1799. territory on both coasts, and strengthened the lines of defence in every direction. A territory, affording an equal revenue with that which by the English was taken for themselves, was given to Nizam Ali, in the districts of Gooty, Gurrumcondah, and the tract of country which lies along the line of the great forts of Chittledroog, Sera, Nundydroog, and Colar, but without the forts, which it was supposed would render his frontier too strong. With regard to the third party in the alliance against Tippoo, they had entirely abstained from all participation in the war; and it would not, in the opinion of the Governor-General, have been good policy, to place on the same level, in the distribution of the spoil, those who did all, and those who did nothing, in the acquiring of it. This would be to encourage allies to be useless, when their services were required. So much territory as was taken by the English, and given to Nizam Ali, would, also, yield to the Mahrattas more than enough of strength. Still it was desirable to conciliate the good will of that people to the present proceedings; and to give them an interest in the arrangements which were made. A portion of territory, from one half to two thirds of the value of that which was taken by the English and given to Nizam Ali, would, it was concluded, answer these ends. This portion was to include Harpoonelly, Soonda above the Ghauts, Anna-goody, and some other districts; with part of the territory, not, however, including the fortresses, of Chittledroog and Bednore.

Of the portion which still remained of the territory gained from Tippoo, yielding thirteen lacs of pagodas, a revenue greater than that of the ancient Rajaship of Mysore, it was accounted politic to form a separate state. For sovereign, the choice lay between the family of Tippoo, and that of the ancient Hindu Rajas, who had been kept in confinement, but not extinguished, by Hyder Ali and his son. In the sons of Tippoo, the due degree of passive submission was reckoned much less probable than in those

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are practicable for armies, and two-thirds, at least, of that number sufficiently open to the incursions of cavalry."

of a family, who, having lost all expectation of reigning BOOK VI.  
would take even liberty as a boon, much more sovereignty, CHAP. VIII.  
though in its most shadowy form. The direct male  
descendant of the Mysore Rajas was a child of a few years  
old; and to him it was decreed that the title of sovereign  
should belong. The conditions upon which he was to  
receive his dignity were as follows: That the whole of the  
military force maintained for the defence of the country  
should be English; That for the expense of it he should  
annually pay seven lacs of pagodas; That in case of war,  
or of preparation for war, the English might exact any  
larger sum, which they deemed proportional to the re-  
sources of the Raja; And last of all, should they be  
dissatisfied with his government in any respect, they  
might interpose to any extent in the internal administra-  
tion of the country, or even take the unlimited manage-  
ment of it to themselves. In this manner, it is evident,  
that the entire sovereignty of the country was assumed  
by the British, of whom the Raja and his ministers could  
only be regarded as Vicegerents at will. It was, there-  
fore, with some reason the Governor-General said, "I  
entertain a sanguine expectation, that the Raja and his  
ministers, being fully apprized of the extensive powers  
reserved to the Company will cheerfully adopt such regu-  
lations as shall render the actual exercise of these powers  
unnecessary;" for knowing themselves to hold a situation  
totally dependent upon the will of another, whatever ema-  
nated from that will, they were bound, without a choice,  
to obey. How long, with whatever dispositions to obedi-  
ence, their performance of the services exacted of them  
will give satisfaction, depends upon circumstances of a  
sort which cannot be foreseen.

The Governor-General was perfectly aware of the share  
of the sovereignty which he had taken, and the share  
which he had left. "Under these arrangements," he said,  
"I trust that I shall be enabled to command the whole  
resources of the Raja's territory;" adding, what were very  
desirable results, that under these arrangements he also  
trusted to be enabled "to improve its cultivation, to  
extend its commerce, and to secure the welfare of its  
inhabitants." For appropriating such "extensive powers,"  
(so they are called by himself,) the reasons which he as-

BOOK VI. signed pronounced a violent condemnation of the policy so  
 CHAP. VIII. long pursued; and of which such applauded rulers as  
 1799. Hastings and Cornwallis had made their boast; the policy  
 of only sharing the powers of government, with the native  
 princes of Oude, the Carnatic, and Tanjore. "Recollecting  
 the inconveniences and embarrassments which have arisen  
 to all parties concerned, under the *double* government, and  
*conflicting* authorities unfortunately established in Oude,  
 the Carnatic, and Tanjore, I resolved to reserve to the  
 Company the most extensive and indisputable powers." This  
 is to boast explicitly, that no double government, no  
 conflicting authorities, were left in Mysore; that, by con-  
 sequence, the powers of government were, without partici-  
 pation, engrossed by the English. What then, it may be  
 asked, was the use of setting up the shadow of a Raja?  
 The sources of evil were manifest. A considerable expense  
 was rendered necessary for the splendour of his state;  
 and it was utterly impossible to govern the country so  
 well through the agency of him and his ministers, as it  
 might have been governed by the direct application of  
 European intelligence and virtue. But this Raja was a  
 species of screen, put up to hide, at once from Indian and  
 from European eyes, the extent of aggrandizement which  
 the British territory had received; and it so far answered  
 the purpose, that, though an obvious, it undoubtedly  
 claims the praise of an adroit, and well-timed political  
 expedient. It enabled the Governor-General to dismiss  
 Nizam Ali with a much smaller share of the prey, than  
 would have satisfied him, had the English taken without  
 disguise the whole of what in this manner they actually  
 appropriated.<sup>1</sup> It precluded the Mahrattas from those  
 attempts to excite a jealousy of the English, to which it  
 was known they were abundantly disposed. And it im-  
 posed completely, as well upon those members of the  
 British legislature, who would have been pleased with an  
 opportunity to criticize; as upon the men whose criticisms  
 are more extensively disseminated through the press; all  
 of whom, or almost all, were too defective, it seems, in the

<sup>1</sup> The Governor-General expressly declares, that beside the jealousy of the Mahrattas, the partition of Mysore between the English and the Nizam would have raised the power of that prince to a dangerous height: and would have given him many strong fortresses which could not have been placed in his hands without imminent danger to the British frontier.



requisite lights, to see through the game that was played : BOOK VI.  
for though none of the great acts of Marquis Wellesley's adminis- CHAP. VIII.  
tration is more questionable than the attack upon  
Tippoo Sultan, that is a part which, till now, has been  
exempt from censure. 1799.

The territory, thus in name transferred to a Hindu Raja, whose residence was to be the ancient city of Mysore, while the benefits of its sovereignty were all transferred to the English, was bounded on the north by a strong line of hill-fortresses and posts, Chittledroog, Sera, Nundydroog, and Colar, forming a powerful barrier towards the southern frontiers of Nizam Ali and the Mahrattas, from Panganoor on the line of the eastern, to Bednore on the line of the western Ghauts, the whole occupied and defended, for the benefit of the English, by English troops ; and on the three other sides, east, west, and south, it was entirely surrounded by the territories of the Company, above and below the Ghauts.

To the family of Tippoo, if we make allowance for the loss of a throne, as well as to the principal men of his kingdom, the conduct of the Governor-General was considerate and generous. The fortress of Velore, in the Carnatic, was appropriated for the residence of the royal family, and fitted up commodiously for their reception, with an allowance for their support, more liberal than that which they had received from Tippoo himself. The principal men were all provided for by jaghires or pensions, conformable to their rank and influence, with a generosity which not only contented, but greatly astonished themselves. They were the more easily pleased, that Tippoo, centering all authority in his own person, rendered it impossible for his servants to acquire any influence beyond the immediate exercise of his official powers ; and as the frugality of their administration was severe, their emoluments were uncommonly small. The same circumstances facilitated the settlement of the country ; for, as no individual possessed any authority sufficient to make resistance, when Tippoo was gone, and as the character of the English was sufficiently known to inspire confidence, the chiefs made their submission without hesitation or delay. When one of Tippoo's confidential servants was sent to treat with the officer at the head of the cavalry, the



BOOK VI. celebrated Kummir ad din Khan, he refused to stipulate  
 CHAP. VIII. for terms, and said he cast himself entirely upon the  
 generosity of the English.

1799.

In the treaty which was signed by Nizam Ali and the English, entitled the Partition Treaty of Mysore, for establishing the arrangements which have just been described, it was fixed, that, unless the Peshwa acceded to the said treaty within the space of one month, gave satisfaction relative to some disputes with Nizam Ali, and complied with certain conditions, not specified, in favour of the English, the territory, which it was meant to bestow upon him, should be shared between the remaining allies, in the proportion of two thirds to Nizam Ali, and one to the English.<sup>1</sup>

When the terrors which Tippoo suspended over the Mahrattas, and the dependence which they felt upon the English against the effects of his ambition and power, were destroyed, it was not expected that their hostile dispositions, which had already so ill disguised themselves, could long be restrained.<sup>2</sup> The power of Nizam Ali was now the only barrier between the English possessions in the Deccan, and the irruptions of that formidable nation: and how small the resistance which he was capable of yielding, the English had abundantly perceived. In one way, it appeared sufficiently easy to augment his capacity for war. He was acutely sensible of the dangers to which he was exposed at the hands of the Mahrattas, and of his incompetency to his own defence. He was therefore

<sup>1</sup> See the papers relating to the war with Tippoo, printed by order of the House of Commons in 1800. See also the Treaty with the Nizam, and that with the Raja of Mysore. For the whole of the concluding struggle with Tippoo we have very complete information, not only in the official papers, which have been pretty fully given in print, but in the valuable works, so frequently quoted, of Beatson and Wilks. For the character of Tippoo, and some parts of his politics, hints are afforded by the volume of his letters, for which we are indebted to Col. Kirkpatrick.—M.

The Lives of Munro, Harris, Baird, and the Despatches of Lord Wellesley, supply fully whatever the prior authorities left wanting.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Indications of a hostile spirit in the Peshwa and Sindiah had been discovered even before the capture of Seringapatam. On the 23rd April, the Governor-General writes to General Harris, "Dowlut Rao Sindiah has been discovered to entertain hostile designs against the Company and the Nizam, and I have reason to suspect that a secret correspondence subsists between him and Tippoo. The Peshwa appears to have entered into Sindiah's views against the Company and the Nizam, and on the 26th "the danger of an early attack upon the dominions of the Nizam, by Dowlut Rao Sindiah, either singly or in concert with the Peshwa, appears to have increased." Despatches, i. 558, 581.

abundantly desirous of receiving such additions to the number of the British troops already in his pay, as would suffice to allay his apprehensions. But the payment of these troops suggested itself to the foresight of the English rulers, as creating difficulties and dangers which it was not easy to overlook. So fickle and capricious were the councils of the Subahdar, that he might suddenly adopt the resolution of dismissing the English troops from his service ; while the impoverishment of his country by mal-administration, and the exhaustion of his resources by useless expences, portended a moment not far distant, when he would be deprived of power to pay as many troops as would satisfy the ideas of security which the English rulers entertained. One expedient presented itself to the imagination of the Governor-General, as adapted to all the exigencies of the case ; and he resolved not to omit so favourable an opportunity of realizing the supposed advantage. If Nizam Ali, instead of paying a monthly or annual subsidy for the maintenance of the troops whose service he was willing to receive, would alienate to the English in perpetuity a territory with revenue sufficient for the expense, a military force might then be established in his dominions, on the least precarious of all securities. The evils were, in the first place, a violation of the act of parliament, which forbade extension of territory ; but that had always been violated with so little ceremony, and lately in so extraordinary a manner, that this constituted an objection of trivial importance : in the second place, the real difficulties of administering the ceded territory, so frugally and beneficently, as to render its produce equal to its expense ; difficulties, it is probable, which were but little understood : and lastly, the grand general evil, that, in proportion as territory augments, and with it the amount and complexity of the business which its administration involves, it becomes more and more impossible for the superintending power to take securities, that the business of government shall not be negligently and corruptly performed ; since, beside the inability of attention to extend itself minutely beyond a limited range of affairs, distance from the eye of government gradually weakens its powers, and at last annihilates a great portion of them. Over-balancing advantages

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. VIII.  
1799.



BOOK VI. appeared to flow, from the funds which would thus be  
 CHAP. VIII. secured for the maintenance of a considerable army, from  
 1799. the security which this army would afford against the  
 Mahrattas, and from the sovereignty which it would  
 transfer to the English over Nizam Ali and his dominions;  
 though his dominions were governed so ill, that little  
 advantage could be hoped from them.<sup>1</sup> The documents  
 relative to the negociations have not been made public;  
 and we know not in what manner that Prince at first  
 received the proposition, nor what modes of inducement  
 were employed to obtain his consent. However, on the  
 12th of October, 1800, a treaty was signed; by which im-  
 portant contract, the English added two battalions of  
 sepoys, and a regiment of native cavalry, to the force  
 which they engaged to uphold in the service of the Su-  
 bahdar, and also bound themselves to defend his dominions  
 against every aggression; while, on his part, Nizam Ali  
 ceded to the English, in perpetual sovereignty, all the  
 acquisitions which he had made from the territory of  
 Tippoo, either by the late treaty, or by that of Seringapa-  
 tam, in 1792; and agreed neither to make war, nor so  
 much as negotiate, by his own authority; but, referring  
 all disputes between himself and other states to the  
 English, to be governed by their decision, allowing the  
 subsidiary troops in his service to be employed by the  
 English in all their wars, joined by 6000 of his own horse,  
 and 9000 of his infantry, only reserving two of the English  
 battalions which should always be attached to his person.  
 For the purpose of obtaining the Tumboodrah as a clear  
 and distinct boundary, Kupoor, Gujunder Gur, and some  
 other districts, lately acquired from Tippoo, were ex-  
 changed for Adoni and a few places on the southern side  
 of the river. With regard to the family and subjects of

<sup>1</sup> The proposition for the territorial grant originated with Azim-ul-Omra, the minister of the Nizam; and it was believed by the Governor-General that the court of Hyderabad was sincerely disposed, and even secretly anxious for a commutation of the subsidy. In the first plan of the treaty, however, an alternative was retained of paying the subsidy in money, whenever convenient; a stipulation to which the English Government objected; and in the counter-plan it was distinctly asserted that no other effectual or satisfactory security than an absolute assignment of territory could be given by the Nizam for the regular payment of the subsidy. The extreme anxiety of the Nizam to have assurance of protection against the Mahrattas, removed all impediments to an amicable adjustment of the conditions, the principle of which he had already recognised. Despatches, ii. 275, and App. 713.—W.

the Subahdar, it was stipulated that he was to remain absolute, and the English were on no pretext to dispute his authority. A revenue of about 1,758,000 pagodas arose from the territory ceded by this treaty to the English.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. VIII.

1800.

Of this engagement, as it affected the interests of the English, the nature may be described in a single sentence. The English acquired a small territory, with the obligation of defending a large one. If it be said, that it was as easy to defend the Nizam's territory, in addition to their own, as it was to defend their own without that of the Nizam, and that the revenue of the new territory was all therefore clear gain, the declaration is unfounded. If the act of parliament, which was set up for a show, but in practice trampled upon habitually, and by those who made it, as shamelessly, as by those for whose coercion it was made, is worthy on such an occasion to be quoted, it may be recollected, that, according to the doctrine which, in that enactment, guided the legislature, all extension of territory was bad, because it cost more to defend it, than it could be made to produce; much more of course, when a small territory was acquired with the burden of defending another, several times as large.

A clause was inserted, to say, that if the Peshwa or Dowlut Rao Sindiah, should desire to have a part in this treaty, they should be admitted to all its advantages; in other words, they should have a subsidiary force on the same terms as Nizam Ali. But so far were the Mahrattas from desiring an alliance of this description, that the Peshwa, under the dictation of Sindiah, refused to accept the territory which was reserved to him out of the spoils of Tippoo; it was therefore divided by the English between themselves and the Subahdar.

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## CHAPTER IX.

*Situation of Oude, as left by Lord Teignmouth, highly satisfactory to the Home Authorities—Great Changes meditated by Lord Mornington—Extirpation of British*

<sup>1</sup> A sketch of the Political History of India, from the Introduction of Mr. Pitt's Bill, A.D. 1784, to the present Date, by Sir John Malcolm, pp. 282—287 Collection of Treaties.



## BOOK VI.

## CHAP. IX.

1800.

*Subjects, not in the Service of the Company—Apprehended Invasion of the Afghans—Endeavour to obtain the Alliance of Sindiah—The Idea abandoned—An Embassy to the King of Persia—Insurrection by Vizir Ali—Reform of his Military Establishment pressed on the Nabob of Oude—His Reluctance—He proposes to abdicate in favour of his Son—The Governor-General presses him to abdicate in favour of the Company—He refuses—Indignation of the Governor-General—He resorts to Coercion on the Reform, which meant the Annihilation, of the Nabob's Military Establishment—The Business of the Annihilation judiciously performed—The Vizir alleges the Want of Resources for the Maintenance of so great a British Army—From this, the Governor-General infers the Necessity of taking from him the Government of his Country—If the Nabob would not give up the whole of his Country willingly, such a Portion of it as would cover the Expense of the British Army to be taken by Force—This was more than One-half—The Vizir to be allowed no Independent Power even in the Rest—The Vizir desires to go on a Pilgrimage—The Hon. H. Wellesley sent to get from him an Appearance of Consent—The Cession of the Portion necessary for the Expense of the Army effected—A Commission for settling the Country with Mr. H. Wellesley at the Head—Governor-General makes a Progress through the Country—Transactions between him and the Nabob of Oude—Proposition of the Bhow Begum—Objections of the Court of Directors to the Appointment of Mr. H. Wellesley—Overruled by the Board of Control—Government of Furruckabad assumed by the Company—Settlement of the Ceded Districts—Full Approbation of the Home Authorities.*

THE arrangements formed by the late Governor-General, Sir John Shore, with respect to the kingdom of Oude, satisfied the capacious desires of the London authorities. Under date the 15th of May, 1799, a despatch, intended to convey their sentiments to the instruments of government in India, has the following passages :

“By the definitive treaty concluded at Lucknow, the Company's influence over the Vizir's country appears to be sufficiently preserved; without the insertion of any

article, which, in its operation, might lead to an interference in the collections, on the part of the Company, that might be deemed offensive. And we have the further satisfaction to find, that (exclusive of the immediate payment of twelve lacs of rupees by the Nabob Vizir),—his annual subsidy is increased upwards of twenty lacs of rupees; besides the acquisition of a fortress in the Oude dominions, of the greatest consequence in the scale of general defence: with other stipulations, which have a tendency to remedy former defects in our political connexion with that country, and to give the Company such an ascendancy as cannot fail to be productive of material benefit to both parties: and which, we trust, will lead to the establishment of a good system of government in Oude, which hitherto all our endeavours, for a series of years, have been unable to accomplish.

“The late Governor-General had given us reason to expect, that, for the first year, or perhaps longer, after Saadut Ali’s accession, his revenues would probably fall considerably short of their estimated amount; and that he would find considerable difficulty in fulfilling his pecuniary engagements with the Company:—and very satisfactorily assigned the ground of that opinion. We are, therefore, not surprised to find by the last accounts, that an arrear had accumulated in the payment of the Company’s tribute, to the amount of upwards of eighteen lacs of rupees. Lord Mornington having represented, however, that he believes the Nabob is sincerely disposed to make every possible effort for the liquidation of this arrear, as well as for introducing such a system of order and economy into the management of his finances as will enable him to be more punctual in his future payments, we entertain a well-grounded expectation that every cause of complaint upon this head will speedily terminate.”

The affairs of Oude being thus settled in a manner which bids fair to be permanent; and it appearing by your political despatch of the 17th April, 1798, that the most perfect tranquillity continues to prevail in the Vizir’s dominions; and as the resolutions of the late Governor-General, of the 9th and 30th October, 1797, for the augmentation of the army, were declared to be connected with the proposed arrangements for that country, we direct

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BOOK VI. that you take into your immediate consideration the propriety of disbanding those new levies, or the necessity of continuing them.”<sup>1</sup>

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While the home authorities were thus congratulating themselves upon the state in which the affairs of Oude were left by the late Governor-General, and pleasing themselves with the belief of its permanence, the new Governor-General was meditating the most important changes. In the political letter from Bengal, as early as the 3rd of October, 1798, the authorities at home were informed; “The Right Honourable the Governor-General has now under consideration the present state of affairs with Oude, and particularly the best means of securing the regular payment of the subsidy, and of reforming the Nabob’s army.”<sup>2</sup> And on the 23rd of December of the same year, the Governor-General wrote, in a private letter to the Resident; “The necessity of providing for the defence of the Carnatic, and for the early revival of our alliances in the Peninsula, as well as for the seasonable reduction of the growing influence of France in India, has not admitted either of my visiting Oude, or of my turning my undivided attention to the *reform* of the Vizir’s affairs. There are, however, two or three leading considerations in the state of Oude to which I wish to direct your particular notice; intending, at an early period, to enter fully into the arrangement in which they must terminate.—Whenever the death of Almas shall happen, an opportunity will offer of securing the benefits of Lord Teignmouth’s treaty, by provisions, which seem necessary for the purpose of realizing the subsidy, under all contingencies. The Company ought to succeed to the power of Almas. And the management, if not the sovereignty, of that part of the Doab, which he now rents, ought to be placed in our hands, a proportionate reduction being made from the subsidy; the strength of our north-western frontier would also be increased. On the other hand, in the event of Alma’s death, we shall have to apprehend either the dangerous power of a successor equal to him in talents and activity, or the weakness of one inferior in both, or the division of the country among a variety of renters; in the

<sup>1</sup> Papers printed by order of the House of Commons in 1806, i. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, v. 3.



first case we should risk internal commotion; in the two latter, the frontier of Oude would be considerably weakened against the attacks either of the Abdallee or of any other invader. The only remedy for these evils will be the possession of the Doab fixed in the hand of our government. The state of the Vizir's troops is another most pressing evil. To you I need not enlarge on their inefficiency and insubordination. My intention is to persuade his Excellency, at a proper season, to disband the whole of his own army, with the exception of such part of it as may be necessary for the purposes of state, or of collection of revenue. In the place of the armed rabble which now alarms the Vizir, and invites his enemies, I propose to substitute an increased number of the Company's regiments of infantry and cavalry, to be relieved from time to time, and to be paid by his Excellency. I have already increased our establishment to the extent of seventeen regiments of infantry, with the view of transferring three regiments to the service of his Excellency.—With respect to the Vizir's civil establishments, and to his abusive systems for the extortion of revenue, and for the violation of every principle of justice, little can be done before I can be enabled to visit Lucknow.”<sup>1</sup>

The hostility of the Governor-General to his fellow-subjects pursuing, independently of the Company, their occupations in any part of India, is expressed, without a word to indicate reasons, in the same letter, thus; “The number of Europeans, particularly of British subjects established in Oude, is a mischief which requires no comment. My resolution is fixed, to dislodge every European, excepting the Company's servants. My wish is, to occasion as little private distress as possible, but the public service must take its course; and it is not to be expected that some cases of hardship will not be found in the extent of so great a measure.” These last words indicate extensive numbers. Why did not the Governor-General, before he dared to strike at the fortunes of great numbers of his countrymen, declare and prove the evils which they produced? For what reason is it, let them declare who know what is understood, under such a government as ours, by the responsibility of the ruling few, that he

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<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. 2. 3.—M. Despatches, i. 386.—W.



BOOK VI. has never yet been effectually called upon to account for  
 CHAP. IX. such a conduct? The good which they were calculated  
 1799. to produce is obvious to all. The question still remains  
 unanswered; What were the evils?<sup>1</sup>

The threat of Zemaun Shah, King of the Abdallees, or Afghans, became a convenient source of pretexts for urging upon the Vizir the projected innovations. This prince had succeeded his father Timur Shah, the son of the celebrated Ahmed Shah, the founder of the dynasty, in the year 1792. His dominions extended from the mouths of the Indus to the parallel of Kashmere; and from the boundaries of the Seikhs, at some distance eastward of the great river Attock, to the vicinity of the Persian Tershish; including the territories of Kabul, Kandahar, Peishere, Ghizni, Gaur, Sigistan, Korassan, and Kashmere. In the year 1796, this prince advanced to Lahore; and though his force was not understood to exceed 33,000 men, almost wholly cavalry, he struck terror into the Mahrattas; and excited alarm in the English government itself. The object of the Shah, as announced by rumour,<sup>2</sup> was, to re-establish the House of Timur, to which he was nearly related, and restore the true

<sup>1</sup> With a few exceptions, the Europeans who found their way to the native courts, whilst the system of exclusion from residence in the Company's territories without permission prevailed, were mere adventurers, without capital or character, education or principle, who were recommended to the princes of India by a supposed fitness for military command, or an imagined influence with the authorities in England, which might be a check upon those in India. The evils resulting from the access of such persons in any numbers were sufficiently obvious, and had been abundantly experienced at Madras, Hyderabad, and Oude, and fully warranted the determination of the Governor-General to use all possible means for their prevention.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The announcement was much more than rumour. Letters from Zemaun Shah himself to the British Government, at successive periods, to Sir John Shore and to Mr. Lumsden. Wellesley Despatches, i. 670; Lord Mornington, also, writes to Mr. Dundas, "I have lately received a letter from Zemaun Shah, containing a declaration of his intention to invade Hindustan, and a peremptory demand of the assistance of the Nabob Vizir and of mine, for the purpose of delivering Shah Alem from the hands of the Mahrattas, of restoring him to the throne of Delhi, and of expelling the Mahrattas from their acquisitions on the south-western frontier of India. That the Shah entertains such a design is unquestionable, and whatever may be the result, it is prudent to be on our guard." Despatches i. 89. There is no doubt that Shah Zemaun seriously purposed the invasion of Hindustan, and that he repeatedly made a demonstration of carrying his purpose into effect. See Elphinstone's *Cabul*, Appendix, 565. Had he been a prince of vigour and talent, or had his authority been firmly established in his own dominions, the project might have been realized with little difficulty. The march of an effective Afghan force to Delhi would have produced a crisis in Hindustan, of which, although the result might have accelerated the extension of our power, yet the interval would have been a state of great anxiety, exertion, and expense. It was sound policy of the government, therefore, not only to prepare against, but, if possible, to prevent such an occurrence.—W.

faith in the empire of the Great Mogul. The Seikhs, it appeared, gave no obstruction to his march : the Mahrattas, from their internal distractions, were ill prepared to resist him : and, though they assembled a considerable army, which might have enabled them to dispute the possession of Delhi, or molest him in his retreat, it was still possible for him, in the opinion of the person then at the head of the English government, to advance to Delhi, even with so inconsiderable an army as that which he led to Lahore ; in which case, he would have formidably threatened the British interests. The Rohillas, it was imagined, would join him ; induced, not only by the affinities of descent and religion, and the cruelties which they had sustained at the hands of the English and Vizir ; but, the Governor-General added, by the love of war and plunder ; yet the truth is, that they devoted themselves to agriculture, whenever oppression would permit them, with an ardour and success of which India had no example ; and their love of war and plunder meant only a greater degree of courage and vigour than distinguished the other races of the country.<sup>1</sup> The approach of the Shah, it was therefore apprehended, would spread the greatest disorders in the dominions of the Vizir. "The troops under Almas," who governed as renter, and defended that half of the dominions of the Vizir which was most exposed to the incursions both of the Mahrattas and Afghans, "were," says the Governor-General, "respectable. The other troops of the Vizir, with little exception, would rather have proved an incumbrance, than an assistance to the British forces ; and nothing but the most urgent remonstrances would have ensured the exertions or supplies of the Vizir. His dominions would have been overrun with marauders ; a total temporary stoppage of the collections would have ensued ; and these disorders, if not speedily quelled, would have ended in general insurrection." On the measures to be adopted, Sir John Shore found it difficult to decide. The Mahrattas, excited by their fears, made proposals to

<sup>1</sup> The mistake is here repeated of confounding the two races who inhabited the province of Rohilcund, the Hindu indigenous population and the Afghan settlers, to whom the term Rohilla should properly be confined. The former were, no doubt, an industrious and agricultural people ; the latter were more especially soldiers — soldiers of fortune, who, upon the occurrence of war and the prospect of plunder, would as certainly have recruited the armies of Zemaun Shah—W.

BOOK VI. the English for a union of forces against the Afghan. But  
 CHAP. IX. the reduction of the power of the Mahrattas, Sir John  
 1799. would have welcomed as one of the most desirable events. On the other hand, Zemaun Shah, if crowned with success, would be still a greater object of dread. Again; if the Mahrattas, by their own exertions, prevailed over the Shah, they would gain a formidable increase of power. Or, if the French leader, who, in the name of Sindiah, now governed so great a portion of the provinces, at which the Afghans were supposed to aim, should, in the midst of commotion, raise himself to the sovereignty of the territories in dispute, this, to the mind of the Governor-General, appeared the most alarming consequence of all. Before the English government thought itself called upon for any great exertions, a rebellious brother of the Shah excited disturbance in his dominions; and recalled him early in 1797, from Lahore. The troops at the cantonments of Cawnpore and Futty Ghur had, in the meantime, been ordered into camp; and two additional regiments of infantry had been raised. The Governor-General, indeed, imagined, that the march of the Shah to Lahore, with so limited a force, was rather an experiment than the commencement of an expedition; but the question was worthy of his attention whether it would have been easy for the King of the Afghans to come with a greater force. It was, too, after all, the opinion of the English ruler, that, though motives were not wanting to prompt the Shah to the invasion of Hindustan, it was, nevertheless, an event very little probable; and such as there would be little prudence in taking any costly precautions to defeat.<sup>1</sup>

In 1798, a belief, but solely derived from rumour,<sup>2</sup> of vast preparations making by the Afghan, for the invasion of India, was excited anew. The apprehensions, however, of the British government were allayed, by intelligence received toward the end of September, that the disturbances within the dominions of the Shah had compelled him to leave his capital and march to Kandahar. But this was speedily followed by reports, that the 10th of

<sup>1</sup> Minute of the Governor-General, 4th of July, 1797. See also Malcolm's Sketch, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> This is a mistake, as shown in a preceding note: the information was positive. See also Minutes of the Governor-General, of August, 1798. Despatches, i. 188.



October was fixed for commencing his march from Kabul towards Hindustan ; and though the authenticity of these reports was held very doubtful, the English government deemed it "their duty," according to their own expressions, "to take every precaution against the possibility of an event, which, combined with the designs of Tippoo and the French, might become of the most serious importance." Endeavours were used to prevail upon Doulut Rao Sindiah to return from the south, and put his dominions in the best posture of defence ; and great hopes were expressed, that he would follow this advice. "The Governor-General also directed the Resident at the court of Sindiah," I use again the language of the Governor-General in council, "to enter into defensive engagements with that chieftain, upon his return to Hindustan, under such limitations and conditions, as might secure the effectual co-operation of the Mahratta army, with the least possible diversion of the British force from the exclusive protection of the frontier of Oude. His Lordship further directed the Resident with Sindiah to endeavour to provide the earliest resistance to the progress of the Shah, at the greatest practicable distance from the frontier of Oude, by encouraging the chiefs of the Rajpoots and Seikhs to oppose the first approach of the invading army."<sup>1</sup> In the month of October, the Commander-in-Chief was directed to prepare for such a disposition of the troops in the upper provinces, and such military operations in general, as would most effectually secure that part of the British frontier against an attack from the Afghans. The proposition of the Commander-in-Chief was approved, for adding to the army two regiments of native infantry, for the movement of five companies of native invalids to Chunar, and of five other companies to Allahabad ; and for assembling a force to cover the city of Benares. The Resident at Lucknow was desired "to urge to the Vizir," these are the words of the official despatch, "the necessity of collecting as large a body of artillery, infantry, and cavalry, as possible, to be placed, if necessary, under the directions of an European officer, and to be employed in the manner suggested by the Commander-in-Chief:" also, to take immediate measures for sending such a supply of

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<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, ii. 36.



BOOK VI. grain to Allahabad as the commanding officer in the field  
 CHAP. IX. might prescribe, and for obtaining the orders and assistance of the Vizir in despatching, whenever it should be  
 1799. requisite, all the boats not required for the service of the army.

Notwithstanding the hopes, however, which had been fondly entertained of a defensive alliance with Sindiah, the authorities in India write to the authorities in England in the following terms: "From the letter to the Resident with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, dated the 26th of October, you will observe, that Sindiah's continuance at Poonah, the dissensions and disaffection which prevail among his commanders, and the unsettled and precarious state of his authority in Hindustan, have prevented our taking any further steps for carrying the intended arrangements into effect." It was in the beginning of October that the authorities in India delivered it to the authorities in England, as their opinion, that the greatest advantages would arise from a connexion with Sindiah. Before the end of the same month, they find the circumstances of Sindiah to be such, that no further steps for carrying the intended arrangements into effect are accounted advisable.<sup>1</sup> Again; the inability of Sindiah, from the disaffection of his commanders, and the tottering state of his authority, were now made the foundation on which measures of policy were built. After an interval of not many months, the necessity was urged of draining the whole resources of the British state, to make war upon him. The fact appears to be that Sindiah knew the improbability of being invaded by the Shah; and though such invasion would bring on him greater evils than it would bring on the government of any other state, he chose to remain at Poonah, for the promotion of those objects of which he was there in eager pursuit.

"Under these circumstances," say the authorities in India, "we have judged it expedient to determine, that in the event of Zemaun Shah's approach to the frontier of our ally the Vizir, our military operations shall be confined to a system of defence; and we have resolved that our arms shall, in no case, pass the limits of his Excellency's dominions, unless such a forward movement shall

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 36, 37.

be deemed by the commanding officer necessary for the protection of the frontier, either of Oude, or of our own dominions." <sup>1</sup>

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After producing all this preparation and expense, the Shah, who, it seems, had again advanced as far as Lahore, began his retreat on the 4th of January : and Shah Aulum was informed by a letter from the Afghan Vizir, that no intention remained of prosecuting the expedition into Hindustan that year, but the helpless Mogul might look forward to a more prosperous issue, at some future period. The cause of the retreat was reported, and believed, to be, the alarming progress making by the brother of the Shah at the head of a military force in the neighbourhood of Herat. <sup>2</sup>

In the month of September, Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, had made the following communication to the Governor-General. A personage, of the name of Mehidi Ali Khan, had intimated, that, as he was about to make a journey into Persia, it might be in his power, and if properly authorized, he had confident hopes that it would be in his power, to excite the Persian rulers, by threatening or attacking the western part of Afghanistan, to divert the Shah from his projected invasion of Hindustan. The fact was, that Baba Khan, <sup>3</sup> then King of Persia, had espoused the cause of Mahmood, the brother of Zemaun, as the elder son, and hence the rightful heir of the late monarch : and had already threatened, if not attacked, the province of Khorassan. Mehidi Ali Khan was intrusted with a mission, the objects of which, as they fell in with the existing politics of the Persian government, were successfully attained. This, however, was not enough to satisfy a

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, ii. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 38.—M. Shah Mohammed, the brother of Zemaun Shah, by a different mother, who was governor of Herat at the time of his father's death, was left in possession of his government upon his acknowledging Zemaun Shah as his sovereign. He subsequently engaged in repeated insurrections against the king in 1794, 1797, and 1799, and these attempts, although unsuccessful, had the effect of suspending Shah Zemaun's designs upon India, and recalling him from the advance he had made towards their fulfilment. The last rebellion of Mohammed, in 1800, placed him, for a season, on the throne of Kabul. Elphinstone's Append. 575. Conolly's Travels, ii. 262.—W.

<sup>3</sup> Baba Khan was the name of the prince, who upon his accession to the throne of Persia, in 1797, took the title of Futteh Ali Shah, by which designation he is better known. Mohammed was not the rightful heir to the throne of Kabul.

BOOK VI. mind, which longed to do every thing in magnificent style;  
 CHAP. IX. and the Governor-General prepared a splendid embassy to  
 1799. the court of Baba Khan. Captain Malcolm, who had lately been assistant to the resident at Hyderabad, was chosen, for his knowledge of the language, and other accomplishments, to conduct the negociation. "The embassy," to use the words of the negotiator, "was in a style of splendour corresponding to the character of the monarch, and the manners of the nation, to whom it was sent; and to the wealth and power of that state from whom it proceeded" a language this, which may be commonly interpreted, lavishly, or, which is the same thing, criminally, expensive. The negotiator continues: "It was completely successful in all its objects. The King of Persia was not only induced by the British envoy to renew his attack upon Khorassan, which had the effect of withdrawing Zemaun Shah from his designs upon India; but entered into treaties of political and commercial alliance with the British government."<sup>1</sup> The embassy proceeded from Bombay on the 29th of December, 1799; and the terms of the treaties were fixed before the end of the succeeding year. It was stipulated, That the King of Persia should lay waste, with a great army, the country of the Afghans, if ever they should proceed to the invasion of India, and conclude no peace without engagements binding them to abstain from all aggressions upon the English: That should any army, belonging to the French, attempt to form a settlement on any of the islands or shores of Persia, a force should be employed by the two contracting states to co-operate for their extirpation; and that if even any individuals of the French nation should request permission to reside in Persia, it should not be granted. In the firmaun, annexed to this treaty, and addressed to the governors and officers in the Persian provinces, it was said: "Should ever any person of the French nation attempt to pass your ports or boundaries; or desire to establish themselves, either on the shores or frontiers, you are to take means to expel and extirpate them, and never to allow them to obtain a footing in any place; and you are at full liberty, and authorized, to disgrace and slay them." Though the atrocious part of this order was, no

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Sketch, p. 317.



doubt, the pure offspring of Persian ferocity ; yet a Briton may justly feel shame, that the ruling men of his nation, a few years ago, (such was the moral corruption of the time !) could contemplate with pleasure so barbarous and inhuman a mandate, or endure to have thought themselves, except in a case of the very last necessity, its procuring cause. On their part, the English were bound, whenever the King of the Afghans, or any person of the French nation, should make war upon the King of Persia, "to send as many cannon and warlike stores as possible, with necessary apparatus, attendants, and inspectors, and deliver them at one of the ports of Persia."<sup>1</sup> The evil of this condition was, that binding, not merely for a single emergency, it tended to involve the English in all the quarrels between the King of Persia and a neighbouring people, with whom it was very unlikely that he would almost ever be at peace : and thus extended more widely than ever those fighting connexions, which the legislature had not only prohibited, but stigmatized, as contrary at once to the interests and the honour of the nation. The commercial treaty was of slight importance, and aimed at little more than some security from the ill-usage to which in barbarous countries merchants are exposed, and some improvements in the mode of recovering the debts, and securing the property of the English traders. On the attainment of these points, the envoy himself, as natural, sets the highest value. "These treaties," he tells us, "while they completely excluded the French from Persia, gave the English every benefit which they could derive from this connexion." He adds, "Nor can there be a doubt, that if this alliance had been cultivated with the same active spirit of foresight and penetration with which it was commenced, it would have secured the influence of the British government in that quarter from many of those attacks to which it has subsequently been exposed."<sup>2</sup> It would have been good, if the envoy had shown, in what advantage the British government could find a compensation, for the expense of upholding such a connexion at the court of Persia.

<sup>1</sup> See Collection of Treaties, &c. between the East India Company and the Asiatic Powers ; also the Appendix to Malcolm's Sketch.

<sup>2</sup> Malcolm's Sketch, p. 318.



BOOK VI. The result; in regard to the Afghans, is necessary to be  
 CHAP. IX. known. The year 1800 was spent, partly in war, partly  
 1799. in negotiation, between the King of Persia and Zemaun Shah. In the year 1801, Mahmood, the rebellious prince, collected such a force, as enabled him not only to defeat his brother, but to render him a captive.<sup>1</sup>

To grant a residence to Vizir Ali, the deposed Nabob or Nawaub of Oude, at a place so near his former dominions as Benares, was not regarded as a measure of prudence, and he had been made acquainted with the resolution of removing him to Calcutta. He viewed the change with the utmost aversion; but all his remonstrances against it had proved in vain; and the time was now approaching, the preparations were even made, for carrying it into execution.

On the morning of the 14th of January, 1799, he paid a visit, by appointment, accompanied by his usual suite of attendants, to Mr. Cherry, the British Resident, at his house, distant about three miles from Benares. After the usual compliments, he began to speak of the hardship of his coercive removal; and proceeded first to warmth, at last to intemperance of language. Mr. Cherry, whose attentions were understood to have gained his personal favour, is said to have gently attempted to repress his indiscretion, and to remind him that he, at least, was not the proper object of his resentment; when the impetuous youth, with sudden or premeditated frenzy, started from his seat, and made a blow at him with his sword. This, by the law of Eastern manners, was a signal to his attendants, with or without concert; and in an instant their swords were unsheathed. Mr. Cherry endeavoured to escape through a window, but one of the attendants, reaching him with his poignard, struck him lifeless on the floor. Two other gentlemen in the room being murdered, the assassins hurried to the houses of other Englishmen; but, sacrificing only two other lives in their progress, they were so vigorously resisted by a gentleman, who possessed himself of a narrow staircase, and defended himself against their ascent, that time was given for the arrival of a party of horse, upon which they immediately betook themselves to flight. So little pre-

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 22, 23.

paration had Vizir Ali made for this explosion, that he was obliged to leave behind him whatever property he possessed; the furniture of his zenana, his elephants, and even a part of his horses. He retired to the woody country of Bhotwal, where he was joined by several disaffected Zemindars.

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The news of this outrage excited considerable emotion at Lucknow, where it was regarded as the eruption of a conspiracy for the overthrow of the government; a conspiracy in which it was unknown to what extent the subjects of Saadut Ali might themselves be concerned. That ruler, in whose character timidity predominated, and who knew that he was hated, suspected every body, even his troops, and prayed that the English battalion might be sent from Cawnpore for the protection of his person. When called upon to join with his forces the British army, for the chastisement of the offender, he found an excuse, which his avarice, his timidity, his desire of ease, and hatred of exertion, all combined in leading him eagerly to adopt. He stated his suspicions of his troops, and represented them as too void, both of discipline and of fidelity, for any advantage to be expected from their aid. He afterwards paid dear for his ingenuousness, when this representation was brought forward as a reason for thrusting upon him measures which his soul abhorred.

Notwithstanding the representations of the former Governor-General, Sir John Shore, that the people of Oude universally regarded Vizir Ali as destitute of all title to the crown, the grand alleged fact, upon which he grounded the important decision of deposing a sovereign, and naming his successor; the Marquis Wellesley, in a letter to the Resident, dated the 22nd of January, 1801, expressly says, "Active and *general* support has been afforded, by the subjects of his Excellency, to the impostor who lately assumed the name of Vizir Ali."<sup>1</sup> It also appears that of the troops of the Vizir, which were required to assist in reducing the disturber, a part in reality joined his standard.

He found himself in a short time at the head of an

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. 146.—M. This does not prove that Vizir Ali was popular when Sir J. Shore wrote; the contrary was no doubt the case. It only proves what was uniformly admitted, the unpopularity of Sadut Ali, in consequence of his parsimony and financial exactions.—W.

BOOK VI. army of several thousand men ; descended with them into  
 CHAP. IX. the plains of Gorukpoor, the eastern district of Oude ;  
 and threw the whole kingdom into trepidation and alarm.

1799. A British force was assembled to oppose him. Some partial rencounters, in which they suffered pretty severely, and the narrow limits for subsistence or plunder to which they were reduced, soon disheartened his followers ; when they abandoned him in great numbers ; and he himself took refuge with a Rajpoot Rajah. He remained with him till the month of December following ; when the Rajpoot made his terms with the British government, and treacherously delivered up Vizir Ali, who was carried to Fort William, and there confined.

In the month of January, 1799, the Governor-General addressed letters to the Vizir, and to the Resident at Lucknow, of which the object was to urge, what he was pleased to denominate a *reform* of the military establishment of the Vizir. The London authorities themselves, in the letter which they afterwards wrote on the 15th of May, 1799, expressing their great satisfaction with the arrangements in Oude which had been formed by Sir John Shore, and with the disposition shown by the Vizir, both to make the large pecuniary payments which were required at his hands, and to introduce the reforms into his financial system which would alone enable to meet those demands, alluded to his military expenditure in the following terms : “ The large, useless, and expensive military establishment, within the Oude dominions, appears to us to be one of the principal objects of *economical reform*, and we have much satisfaction in finding that the subject has already come under your consideration.”<sup>1</sup> In his letter to the Resident, the Governor-General says, “ My object is, that the Vizir should disband, as speedily as possible, the whole of his military force.” The next part of the plan was to replace that force by an army exclusively British. This was what the Governor-General, with other Englishmen, called a *reform* of the military establishments of the Vizir : the total annihilation of his military power, and the resignation of himself and his country to the army of another state. The Vizir was indeed to retain as many, as might be necessary, of that kind of troops which

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, i. 3.



were employed in collecting the taxes ; and as many as might be necessary for the purposes of state : an establishment of the sort which his own aumils, or tax-gatherers, enjoyed.

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CHAP. IX.

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The Resident was instructed to avail himself of the alarm into which the timidity of the Vizir had been thrown by the rumours of the expedition of the King of the Afghans, to urge upon him the necessity of a ready concurrence with the Governor-General's views. "You will," says the letter, "remind his Excellency, that his military establishment was represented, by himself, to be not only inadequate to contribute any assistance towards the defence of his dominions ; but that, at the moment when the services of the British army were most urgently demanded on his frontier, he required the presence of a part of that force in his capital, for the express purpose of protecting his person and authority against the excesses of his own disaffected and disorderly troops. The inference to be drawn from these events is obviously, that the defence of his Excellency's dominions against foreign attack, as well as their internal tranquillity can only be secured, by a reduction of his own useless, if not dangerous troops, and by a proportionate augmentation of the British force in his pay. I am convinced this measure might be effected with a degree of advantage to his Excellency's finances, little inferior to that which it promises to his military establishments ; and that his Excellency might obtain from the Company a force of real efficiency at an expense far below that which he now incurs in maintaining his own army in its present defective condition."

"The *Vizir*," says the Governor-General, "might obtain a force : " when the force was to be the Company's, and the Vizir to have no force. In the very same letter, "It is not my intention," says the Governor-General, "that the British force to be furnished to his Excellency should become a part of his own army. The British force to be substituted in place of that part of his Excellency's army which shall be reduced, will be in every respect the same as the remainder of the Company's troops, and will be relieved from time to time according to the orders of the Governor-General in council."

The negotiations respecting this affair appeared to the



BOOK VI. Governor-General so important, that he was unwilling to  
 CHAP. IX. intrust them to the qualifications of the Resident, Mr.  
 1799. Lumsden. Colonel Scott had attracted his confidence and  
 esteem ; and he resolved that to him the trust should be  
 consigned. "As I am aware," said he, in the same letter,  
 to the Resident, "that you will require the assistance of  
 some able military officer in the execution of the arrange-  
 ment proposed, I have requested Sir A. Clark to dispense  
 with the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, the Adjutant-General, who will be directed to proceed to Lucknow  
 immediately, and to remain there for as long a period as  
 may be necessary to the accomplishment of the objects  
 which I have in view."<sup>1</sup> In consequence of this intima-  
 tion, Mr. Lumsden resigned ; and Colonel Scott was ap-  
 pointed to the office of Resident.

Colonel Scott proceeded to Lucknow in the month of  
 June, bearing a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, ex-  
 cuting at that time, in the absence of the Governor-  
 General, the office of Vice-President of the Supreme  
 Council. The Nawaub was desirous to postpone, rather  
 than accelerate, all discussion upon a project, of which,  
 although he was not yet acquainted with its particulars,  
 the result, he was sufficiently aware, would be a large re-  
 duction of his power : and Colonel Scott appears to have  
 been willing to employ some time in making himself ac-  
 quainted with the situation of affairs, before he strongly  
 pressed upon the Vizir the annihilation, called the reform,  
 of his military establishment. To the usual causes of  
 disorder and misrule, was at this time added another, in  
 the suspension of the powers of the ministers, or princi-  
 pal organs of government, whom, having been appointed  
 under English authority, the Vizir dared not remove, but  
 from whom he withheld his confidence, and the manage-  
 ment of his affairs. A circumstance, too, which peculiarly  
 attracted the attention of the Resident, was the hatred  
 and contempt in which the Nabob himself was held by  
 his subjects. "The information," says he, "which your  
 Lordship has received, of the unpopularity of his Excel-  
 lency, is probably far short of the real state ; as, confined  
 to the court, the only persons who attend the Durbar, ex-  
 cepting the Nawaub's own sons, and occasionally Almas

<sup>1</sup> See the Letter, with that to Sir A. Clarke, in papers, ut supra, iii.4—6.

Ali Khan, are a few pensioners, of whom his Excellency, from their known character, entertains no suspicion of engaging in politics; and it has not been without some difficulty that I have prevailed on native gentlemen of respectable connexions to show themselves at the Durbar. —The present state of things, so degrading to the character of the Nawaub, so prejudicial to his own real interests, and to the welfare of his country; and, I may add—so discreditable to the English name, obviously calls for a radical reform. Major Scott's ideas of "a radical reform," however, were all summed up in these words, "An open, efficient, and respectable administration." Even this, however, he despaired of being able to establish without the immediate interference of the head of the English government. "The evident design of the Nawaub," he declared, "is to temporize and delay, that he may enjoy as long as possible the fruits of the present system of secret agency and intrigue."<sup>1</sup>

On the 8th of September, the Resident writes to the Governor-General, that, as soon after his arrival as practicable, he had presented to the Nawaub Vizir the letter from the Vice-President, on the subject of the military reform; that he had delivered to him a brief outline of the intended plan, and requested to receive his answer as soon as it had received a due degree of his consideration; that after more than twenty days had elapsed, he had requested a communication from the Vizir, who named the third day succeeding the date of the letter he was then writing, to converse with him on the subject.

According to the usual style of oriental politeness, which permits no direct contradiction or negative to be applied to any proposition from an exalted man, the Nawab began by saying, "That the measure proposed was not impracticable, but such as he hoped might be accomplished:" he then observed, that he himself had, however, a proposition to offer, which he would either communicate to the Governor-General, when he should honour Lucknow with his presence, or to the Resident, if he should be intrusted with the execution of the scheme. He was pressed to disclose the nature of his proposition; but in vain. He

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Governor-General, dated 7th September, 1799; papers, ut supra, p. 10.

BOOK VI. said he would call in two days, and dictate to the Resident  
 CHAP. IX. a memorandum on the subject, to be transmitted to the  
 1799. Governor-General; but this, when it was given, indicated no more, than that "the proposition concerned himself personally, that it connected with his own ease the prosperity of his government, and in its operation could be prejudicial to no person."<sup>1</sup> The removal of the minister was the object at which, by the Resident, he was supposed to aim.

On the 20th of the same month, the Resident held it necessary to explain still further the discoveries which he was enabled to make of the disposition and views of the Vizir. "After attentively studying the character of his excellency, and acquainting myself, as far as circumstances will allow, with the general tenor of his proceedings, I am led to conclude that whilst he is determined to fulfil, with minute regularity, the peculiar engagements with the Company, his views are directed to the enjoyment of a full authority over his household affairs, hereditary dominions, and subjects, according to the most strict interpretation of the clause of the seventeenth article of the treaty executed at Lucknow.—I have no conception that he aspires, either now or in prospect, to political independence. What he aims at is independent management of the interior concerns of his dominions, to the exclusion of all interference and inspection on the part of the English government, and to the gradual diminution of its influence over the internal administration of his country." It was only on one account, the cruel and destructive mode in which the country was governed, that the Resident thought the interference of the English government was to be desired, "since the exercise of it," says he, "does not seem to have been intended by the late treaty, and is unequivocally disavowed by several declarations to his predecessor." He had not thought it fitting, except in the way of allusion, to agitate again the subject of the military reforms.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding the right which clearly belonged to the Nawab, of exercising without control the interior government of his country, the Governor-General, by a letter dated 26th of September, says, "The present condition of

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 15, 16.



his government appears to preclude you from the information necessary to your first steps in the proposed reforms." This refers to the complaints of the Resident, that the Vizir carried on his administration by secret agents, not by the ostensible ministers; whence it happened that the Resident found no person qualified to give him the information which he required. "I shall hope," continued the Governor-General, "that my applications to the Vizir would remove every difficulty of this nature.—But, if I should be disappointed in this expectation, it will then become necessary for you, in my name, to insist, that the Vizir shall place his government in such a state, as shall afford you the requisite means of information, as well as of carrying the intended regulations into complete and speedy effect." He adds, "The great and immediate object of my solicitude is, to accomplish the reform of his Excellency's military establishment:—and accordingly, this point must be pressed upon him, with unremitted earnestness. His acquiescence in the measure must, however, be totally unqualified by any conditions not necessarily connected with it."<sup>1</sup>

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The Vizir procrastinating both the disclosure of his secret, and compliance with the proposition for the annihilation-reform of his military establishment, the Governor-General addressed him by letter on the 5th of November.<sup>2</sup> "The general considerations which render it extremely necessary and desirable that the arrangement respecting your military establishment should be carried into execution without delay, have already been fully explained to your Excellency, and you have concurred with me in my view of the subject. One argument in favour of a speedy determination on this subject possibly may not have occurred to your mind, and I therefore take this occasion explicitly to state it to your Excellency." This argument was; that the Company were bound by treaties to defend the dominions of his Excellency against all enemies; that his dominions were threatened by Zemaun Shah, and perhaps by others; that "it might not be in the power of the British government, on a sudden emergency, to reinforce the troops in his Excellency's country with sufficient expedition; my firm opinion," continues the Governor-

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 16, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Despatches, ii. 132.



BOOK VI. General, "therefore is, that the Company can in no other  
 CHAP. IX. manner fulfil effectually their engagement to defend your  
 1799. Excellency's dominions, against all enemies, than by maintaining constantly in those dominions such a force as shall at all times be adequate to your effectual protection, independently of any reinforcements which the exigency might otherwise require."<sup>1</sup> This was, in other words, an explicit declaration, that the military force for the protection of Oude ought to be, at all times, even in the bosom of the most profound peace, at the utmost extent of a war-establishment; than which a more monstrous proposition never issued from human organs! As one of the most essential principles of good government consists in reducing the peace-establishment of the military force to its lowest possible terms, and one of the most remarkable principles of bad government consists in upholding it beyond the limits of the most severe necessity; so, few countries can be placed in a situation which less demanded a great peace-establishment, than the kingdom of Oude. On more than one half of all its frontiers, it was defended by the British dominions, or inaccessible mountains. On the other half, it was not supposed in any danger of being attacked, except, either by the King of the Afghans, who was separated from it by the extent of several large kingdoms; or by the Mahrattas, who were too distracted and weak to be able to defend themselves. A peace-establishment in Oude, at the perpetual extent of a war-establishment for defence against the Afghans, would be very little more than matched by a proposition for a perpetual war-establishment in England, for fear of an invasion from the Turks.

Coercion was now to be employed; and the plan of it was this: without any further regard to the consent of the sovereign, British troops, to the proposed amount, were to march into the country: the sums required for their maintenance were to be immediately demanded: and the want of ability otherwise to comply with the demand would compel him, it was supposed, to relieve himself from the expense of his own army, by putting an end to its existence.

On what ground of justice was this proceeding built?

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 24, 25.

The Governor-General exhibited an argument: "The seventh article of the treaty, concluded with your Excellency, by Sir John Shore, provides for the *occasional* augmentation of the Company's troops in your Excellency's dominions, in terms which evidently render the Company's government competent to decide at all times on the requisite amount of such augmentation. The same article binds your Excellency to defray the expense of any force which shall be deemed necessary by the Company for your defence."<sup>1</sup> The same argumentation was, by his Lordship's military secretary, repeated, more at length, to the Resident.

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The treaty, concluded between the English government and the Nawaub, by Sir John Shore, clearly established two points, with regard to the military force to be maintained at the expense of the Sovereign of Oude; that there should be a certain regular, permanent establishment; and also a power of making occasional augmentations. Enough; said the Governor-General, and his instruments; let the occasional augmentations be made the permanent establishment. When this point was settled, all the benefit was attained of arbitrary will; for, as the amount of these augmentations was not specified, it remained with the Governor-General, upon the foundation of a treaty which exactly defined the permanent establishment, to make that permanent establishment any thing which he pleased. Such is the logic of the strong man towards the weak.

Before this letter, written on the 5th of November, could be received by the Resident, and delivered to the Vizir, namely, on the 12th of the same month, the measure of which he had before announced the contemplation, and which he had hitherto preserved a mysterious secret, was disclosed. He had already, on several occasions, given vent to expressions of impatience, in regard to the difficulties of his government, and the inability under which he found himself placed of commanding the respect or obedience of his subjects. These expressions had been so pointed as sometimes to raise in the mind of the Resident a conjecture, that he was meditating a plan of retreat from the burdens of government. But at the same time, regulations of state were projected, buildings were planned,

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 25.

BOOK VI. household arrangements were formed, and other things  
CHAP. IX. went on, so much in unison with views of permanency, that  
1799. the Resident would not encourage the conjecture which  
sometimes presented itself to his mind. Having appointed the morning of the 12th, to meet with him on business of importance, the Vizir, says the Resident, "began by observing that he had frequently declared to me the impossibility of his conducting the affairs of his country, under existing circumstances; that probably I had not comprehended the full drift of these expressions, or conceived they were uttered in a moment of ill-humour; that the real meaning of them was an earnest desire to relinquish a government which he could not manage with satisfaction to himself, or advantage to his subjects." He added, in the course of the conversation, "That his mind was not disposed to the cares and fatigues of government; that as one of his sons would be raised to the musnud, his name would remain; and that he was possessed of money sufficient for his support, and the gratification of all his his desires in a private station." In a second conversation, on the morning of the 14th, the Vizir entered into some further explanation of the motives which impelled him to the design of abdication, which "consisted," says the Resident, "in general accusations against the refractory and perverse disposition of the people at large; of complaints of the want of fidelity and zeal in the men immediately about his person; of the arrogance of some of the aumils, and of the open disobedience of others."

"Whatever pleasure," says the Resident, "this exposure of his intentions afforded to myself, and whatever eventual benefits I foresaw to the interests of the two states, from the execution of them, I thought it my duty to expostulate with his Excellency, on so extraordinary resolution, by such arguments as occurred to me on the occasion. I replied that the remedy to this aggregate of evils was easy, and within his own power; that a strong and just administration would ensure the obedience of the bulk of his subjects on the firm principle of attachment to his person and government; that a conciliatory and encouraging conduct on his part would secure fidelity and enliven zeal; that the reform of the military establishment was the specific measure that would curb the arrogance of the aumils;



and in conclusion I pledged myself, if his Excellency would reject the advice of interested favourites, and be guided by the impartial and friendly counsel which your Lordship would convey to him through me, that the affairs of his government could be conducted with ease to himself, to the acquisition of a high reputation, and to the prosperity and happiness of his subjects.”

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To a question in regard to the military reform, the Vizir replied, that, under his determination of resigning the government, all discussion of that subject was useless. In this opinion the Resident acquiesced; and he deemed it for the present, inexpedient to produce the Governor-General's letter of the 5th. With respect to the treasures and jewels left by the late Nawaub, he desired instruction; as from the expressions of the Vizir, and his character for avarice, he thought it was probably his intention to carry them along with him to the place of his retreat.<sup>1</sup>

The pleasure, which the Resident expressed, at the prospect of the Nabob's abdication, was faint, compared with the eagerness of the Governor-General in grasping at the prey. “I am directed,” says the military secretary, under date of the 21st of the same month, “by the Right Honourable the Governor-General, to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 12th and 14th instant.

“His Lordship is preparing detailed instructions to you, for the regulation of your conduct under the delicate and important circumstances stated in those letters. In the mean time he has directed me to communicate to you his sentiments on such parts of your despatch of the 12th instant, as appear to his Lordship to require immediate notice.

“The proposition of the Vizir is pregnant with such benefit, not only to the Company, but to the inhabitants of Oude, that his Lordship thinks it cannot be too much encouraged; and that there are no circumstances which shall be allowed to impede the accomplishment of the grand object which it leads to. This object his Lordship considers to be the acquisition by the Company of the exclusive authority, civil and military, over the dominions of Oude.

“His Lordship does not consider the formal abdication

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 27—31.



BOOK VI. of the sovereignty by the Vizir to be necessary to this  
 CHAP. IX. end. On the contrary, he apprehends, that step, by neces-  
 1799. sarily raising a question with regard to the succession,  
 would involve us in some embarrassment. His Lordship  
 is rather of opinion, therefore, that the mode of proceeding  
 on the proposition of the Vizir, must be, by a secret treaty  
 with his Excellency ; which shall stipulate, on his part,  
 that from and after a period, to be appointed by this go-  
 vernment, the complete authority, civil and military, of the  
 dominions of Oude shall vest in, and be exercised by and  
 in the name of, the Company.

“In this treaty his Lordship proposes, that the sons  
 of the Vizir shall be no further mentioned than may be  
 necessary for the purpose of securing to them a suitable  
 provision.

“With respect to what you have stated, relative to the  
 wealth of the state, if the arrangement in the contempla-  
 tion of the Governor-General should be agreed to by the  
 Vizir, his Lordship will feel but little difficulty in allowing  
 his Excellency to appropriate it to his own use, stipulating  
 only on behalf of the Company, that all arrears of subsidy,  
 or of whatever description, due to the Company, shall be  
 previously discharged in full by his Excellency.”<sup>1</sup>

“In conformity with these ideas, the draught of a treaty  
 was speedily prepared, and sent to the Resident, accom-  
 panied by notes for a memorial explanatory of the grounds  
 of the several articles. The ardour of the Governor-  
 General embraced the object as accomplished, or sure of  
 its accomplishment. In pursuance of orders, the Com-  
 mander of the troops in Oude delivered in what was  
 entitled a “Memoir of the Precautionary Movements, and  
 Distribution of the Company’s Troops, for the purpose of  
 establishing the exclusive Control and Authority of the  
 Company over the Dominions of Oude.”<sup>2</sup>

In the transmission of intelligence, receipt of instruc-  
 tions, and other preparatives, time was spent till the 15th  
 of December ; on which day, the plan of the Governor-  
 General, in relation to the measure of abdication, was  
 communicated for the first time to the Vizir, in the  
 matured form of the draught of a treaty. After remarking  
 upon the calmness with which the Vizir perused the

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 31, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 40—48.

treaty, and his observations upon some inferior points, BOOK VI.  
 “His Excellency,” the Resident, says, “who had not CHAP. IX.  
 thoroughly comprehended the extent of the first article, asked what meaning I annexed to it. Referring him to the article itself, I replied, that it vested the whole administration of the country in the hands of the English Company. He then asked, what portion of authority was to remain with his successor ; to which I replied that the plan did not provide for a successor. His Excellency continued his inquiries, by asking, whether a family which had been established for a number of years, was to abandon the sovereignty of its hereditary dominions? I replied that your Lordship’s justice and liberality had made an ample provision for the comfort and independence of that family ; and briefly explained the consideration which had induced your Lordship to stipulate that his Excellency should commit the sole and exclusive administration of Oude to the Company in perpetuity.” From this conversation, the Resident adds, “I can hardly venture to draw any conclusion : and shall, therefore, only observe, that though his Excellency is perfectly master of concealing his passions, yet, if he had entertained an immovable repugnance to the basis of the treaty, he could scarcely have disguised it under smiles, and an unaltered countenance.”<sup>1</sup>

A paper drawn up at the request of the Vizir by the Resident, and afterwards altered by the Vizir to a correspondence with his own feelings, was transmitted to the Governor-General, as the authentic enunciation of his design of abdication.<sup>2</sup> In answer to this, a very long paper, dated the 16th December, was received from the Governor-General. The purpose of this document was to corroborate the ideas on which, in the mind of the Vizir, the plan of abdication was supposed to be founded ; and to convince him of the impossibility of reconciling his design with the appointment of a successor, or any other scheme than that of transferring the undivided sovereignty of the country to the English.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> It was a memorandum of the result of the conversation held with the Resident, drawn up in Persian, and approved of, with some corrections, by the Vizier. Dispatches, li. 152.—W.

<sup>3</sup> This is a very unfair view of the scope of the document in question, the

BOOK VI. On the 19th of December, the Resident again wrote :  
 CHAP. IX. "After my departure from the Nawaub Vizir, on the 15th

1799.

instant, his Excellency either really was, or pretended to be, so much affected by the conversation, that he could not conceal the perturbation of his mind, which he betrayed, by forbidding the customary visits, and by refraining to transact any of the ordinary business. Although there is no reason to suspect that he has disclosed the cause of his uneasiness ; yet this conduct so indiscreet, so unmanly, necessarily occasioned much talk and speculation amongst his own dependants, and the inhabitants of the city.

"His Excellency, on the 17th, informed me of his intention to breakfast with me on the following morning ; but at ten o'clock sent a message, that having been in the sun, his eyes were so much affected by a disorder he is liable to, that he could not fulfil his engagement that day, but would call upon me this morning. He accordingly came, and when entered into a private apartment, opened the conversation by observing, that in the paper transmitted to your Lordship, he had adverted to certain circumstances and causes, under the existence of which he found it impossible to conduct the affairs of his government ; and that he entertained the hope that your

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main tendency of which was to deter Sadut Ali from carrying his intentions into effect. It states frankly and undeniably the difficulties by which his abdication would be followed, and shows that they could only be met by the assumption of the whole power by the British Government. But it also explicitly states, that if he should abdicate, he must not expect to take with him the whole of his accumulated wealth, but that he must discharge all arrears due by the Government of Oude, and leave a sufficiency of supply for the immediate wants of his successor. It must have been quite certain that this would put an end to the project. Sadut Ali's ruling passion was avarice ; he loved power only as the means of amassing wealth ; for any other purpose he detested it. His habits were those of a private individual, not a prince ; and the trouble and responsibility of his high station deprived it of all its attractions. There can be little doubt that he was in earnest in wishing to resign his principality if he could have enjoyed his treasures in security and retained the show of authority over a successor of his own nomination. The line of argument adopted by Lord Wellesley was most of all calculated to deter him from the execution of his design. In the despatches published there is no indication of that delight at his proposal, either on the part of the Resident or the Governor, which is described in the text. In his letter to the Court of Directors, informing them of the circumstance, he announces what no statesman will be inclined to censure, his intention to profit by the event to the utmost practicable extent, and adds, "I entertain a confident hope of being able either to establish, with the consent of the Vizier, the sole and exclusive authority of the Company within the province of Oude and its dependencies, or, at least, to place our interests there on an improved and durable foundation." Despatches, ii. 186.—W.



Lordship would have called upon him for an explanation of those circumstances and causes. BOOK VI.

“His Excellency proceeded, that the proposition offered by your Lordship was so repugnant to his feelings; departed so widely, in a most essential point, from the principle on which he wished to relinquish the government; and would, were he to accept it, bring upon him such indelible disgrace and odium, that he could never voluntarily subscribe to it. The sovereignty, he added, of these dominions, had been in the family near a hundred years; and the transfer of it to the Company, under the stipulations proposed by your Lordship, would, in fact, be a sale of it for money and jewels; that every sentiment of respect for the name of his ancestors, and every consideration for his posterity, combined to preclude him from assenting to so great a sacrifice for the attainment of his personal ease and advantage. His Excellency concluded, that the power and strength of the Company placed every thing at your Lordship’s disposal.

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“Upon stating to his Excellency all the arguments suggested by your Lordship against the nomination of a successor, his Excellency replied; that under your Lordship’s determination not to consent to that part of his proposition, he was ready to abandon his design of retirement, and to retain the charge of the government.”

If this resolution was adopted, the Resident called to his recollection, the reform of his military establishment, the accomplishment of which would be immediately enforced. “I must here,” says the letter of the Resident, “beg leave to call your Lordship’s particular attention to his reply on this point; as tending to discover his real sentiments; and perhaps the true meaning of the words ‘certain causes,’ so repeatedly dwelt upon, and so industriously concealed. His Excellency observed, that the reform of his military establishment upon the principles proposed by your Lordship, would annihilate his authority in his own dominions.”<sup>1</sup>

Intelligence of these declarations on the part of the Vizir appears to have disappointed and provoked the Governor-General in no ordinary degree. On the 27th of December, the Secretary writes: “My dear Scott, I am

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 62.



BOOK VI. directed by Lord Mornington to acknowledge the receipt  
 CHAP. IX. of your letter of the 19th instant to his Lordship's address. His Lordship is extremely disgusted at the duplicity and insincerity which mark the conduct of the Nabob Vizir on the present occasion ; and cannot but strongly suspect, that his Excellency's principal, if not sole, view in the late transaction, has been to ward off the reform of his military establishment, until the advanced period of the season should render it impracticable, at least during the present year." <sup>1</sup> And in the letter of the Governor-General to the home authorities, dated the 25th of January, 1800, he says, "I am concerned to inform your honourable Committee that I have every reason to believe, that the proposition of the Nabob Vizir to abdicate the sovereignty of his dominions (a copy of which was transmitted with my separate letter of the 28th of November) was illusory from the commencement, and designed to defeat, by artificial delays, the proposed reform of his Excellency's military establishments." <sup>2</sup>

The truth is, that the vivacity of the Governor-General in the pursuit of his object was far too great. Had the sincerity of the Vizir been ever so indisputable, it was one thing to abdicate in favour of his son ; a very different thing to abdicate in favour of the East India Company ; and from a proposition to this effect, presented nakedly and impetuously, as that was of the Governor-General, it ought to have been expected that he would revolt. At the same time, it might have been regarded as probable, that if the externals of royalty were left to his son, he would be induced to dispense with the substantial. The Governor-General should have gone to Lucknow himself, when the imposing presence of his authority would have forcibly wrought upon a mind so timid, and accustomed to shrink before superior power, as that of the Vizir. The Governor-General, too, had so lately recognised the policy of setting up the shadow of a sovereign,<sup>3</sup> that the eagerness is the more remarkable, with which in this case he strove to escape from it. When the substance had been held for a time, it would have been easy to deal with the shadow, as experience might direct.

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. v. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Vide supra, p. 162, (viz. the case of Mysore.)

Disappointed in his eager expectation, and piqued at the idea of having been duped, the Governor-General resolved to proceed in his plan for the military reform without a moment's delay. The reason for hurry was the greater, because the season approached when additional inconvenience would attend the movement of the troops. "The Resident," says the Governor-General himself, in another letter to the home authorities,<sup>1</sup> "was directed immediately, either from himself, or in concert with the commanding officer at Cawnpore, as the nature of the case might appear to him to require, to direct the several corps to move to such points of his Excellency's dominions, as might appear most advisable; giving due notice to his Excellency of the entrance of the augmentation of the troops into his territories, and calling upon his Excellency to adopt the requisite measures for the regular payment of the additional force.

On the 4th of January, 1800, "I informed," says the Resident, "his Excellency, that the first division of the troops, intended by your Lordship to augment the force in Oude, as stated in the paper which I had presented to him, was now in a situation immediately to enter his Excellency's dominions; and that I was anxious to advise with him on their destination. He entreated that no steps might be taken for their actual march into his dominions, until I had seen and reflected upon the sentiments which he was then employed in committing to paper, and upon some propositions he had to offer. I assured him it was totally impossible to delay the march of troops; but that, as it would require a day or two to arrange a place for their distribution, if his Excellency would, in that space, come forward, in an unreserved manner, with any specific propositions, I should be enabled to judge what weight to allow them, and how far they would authorize me to suspend the progress of the corps. His Excellency having observed that his assent had not yet been given to the augmentation of the troops, I explained to him the principle on which your Lordship's determination was founded. To which he replied, that, if the measure was to be carried into execution, whether with or without his approbation, there was no occasion

<sup>1</sup> Dated the 31st of August, 1800; papers, ut supra, v. 10.

BOOK VI. for consulting him." To this last observation the Resident found it not convenient to make any answer, and immediately diverted the discourse to another point of the subject.<sup>1</sup>

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On the 15th of January, the Nabob communicated to the Resident a paper in which he thus addressed him: "You, Sir, well know, that the proposed plan never, in any measure, met with my approbation or acceptance; and that, in the whole course of my correspondence with the Governor-General, on this subject, not one of my letters contains my acquiescence to the said plan."

He says again, "It may fairly be concluded from Lord Mornington's letters, that arrangements for the additional troops were not to take effect, until funds should be provided for their support, by the dismissal of my battalions. Nothing having as yet been agreed upon, respecting the disbanding of the latter, and the additional Company's troops being on their march, whence are the funds to be derived for their payment? Their sudden approach, too, leaves no time to form arrangements for them."

"Notwithstanding," says he, "I am well assured that, in consequence of the measure, thousands of people may be deprived of their subsistence; and that, by the disbanding of my troops, serious commotions and alarms will take place in the capital (for which reason I give previous warning of its mischievous effects), yet, dreading his Lordship's displeasure, and with the sole view of pleasing him, I am compelled to grant my assent to the introduction of the plan."

He then proceeds to enumerate certain things, which he still desired, as conditions under which the measure, if unavoidable, might take its effect. The first was, that the augmentation of the troops should not be carried beyond the extent of his means. Another was, that the additional force should be kept in one body, and permanently stationed in one place, which would render it more efficient against Zemaun Shah, and other enemies, defence against whom was its only pretext. A further condition was, that the English commander should not interfere with the collection of the revenue. After several other propositions of minor importance, he said, "From the

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. 73.



kindness of the Sircar of the Company I am led to expect, that, having, in the present instance, in order to avoid the Governor-General's displeasure, given my consent to the introduction, as far as possible, of the plan, I shall not in future be troubled with fresh propositions."<sup>1</sup>

On the 18th, a paper or memorial, the draught of which had been communicated to the Resident on the 11th, was despatched by the Vizir to the Governor-General. He began by adverting to the length of time his ancestors had enjoyed the unlimited sovereignty of these provinces. He described the dangers which had threatened the government of his brother, as well from foreign foes as the disaffection of his troops. "Notwithstanding," said he, "these circumstances, it never once entered the imagination of the British rulers to introduce such innovations, and carry into effect such arrangements, as those now suggested by your Lordship." He then described how completely he was the creature and dependant of the Company, and said "it was in all ages and countries the practice of powerful and liberal sovereigns to spare neither expense nor trouble in assisting those whom they have once taken under their protection. Should the Company," said he, "no longer putting confidence in the sincerity of my friendship, deprive me of the direction of my own army, and spread their troops over my dominions, my authority in the provinces would be annihilated; nor would my orders be attended to on any occasion, whether trifling or momentous. Making myself, however, sure," he adds, "that it never can have been your Lordship's intention, or conformable to your wish, to distrust, degrade me, or lessen my authority in these dominions, I shall without ceremony disclose to your Lordship my unfeigned sentiments and wishes." And he then proceeds to remonstrate against the measure by a train of reasoning, not unskilfully conceived. "By a reference," said he, "to the second article of the treaty, it will be evident to your Lordship, that on my accession to the musnud, the force designed for the defence of these dominions was increased beyond what it had been in any former period; whilst on my part I agreed to defray the expense of the said augmentation. But in no part of the said article is

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<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, lii. 77, 78.



BOOK VI. it written or hinted, that, after the lapse of a certain  
 CHAP. IX. number of years, a further permanent augmentation should  
 1800. take place. And to deviate in any degree from the said  
 treaty appears to be unnecessary.—From an inspection  
 of the 7th article, we learn, that, after the conclusion of  
 the treaty in question, no further augmentation is to be  
 made, excepting in cases of necessity; and that the in-  
 crease is to be proportioned to the emergency, and endure  
 but as long as the necessity exists. An augmentation of  
 the troops, without existing necessity, and making me  
 answerable for the expense attending the increase, is  
 inconsistent with the treaty, and seems inexpedient.—  
 Towards the latter end of the 17th article, it is stipu-  
 lated, ‘that all transactions between the two states shall  
 be carried on with the greatest cordiality and harmony,  
 and that the Nawab shall possess full authority over his  
 household affairs, hereditary dominions, his troops, and  
 his subjects.’ Should the management of the army be  
 taken from under my direction, I ask where is my autho-  
 rity over my household affairs, hereditary dominions, over  
 my troops, and over my subjects? — From the above con-  
 siderations, and from the magnanimity of the Sircar of  
 the English Company, I am induced to expect from your  
 Lordship’s kindness, that, putting the fullest trust and  
 confidence in my friendship and attachment on every  
 occasion, you will, in conformity to the treaty, leave me  
 in possession of the full authority over my dominions,  
 army and subjects.—The fame of the Company will, by  
 these means, be diffused over the face of the earth; and,  
 my reputation increasing, I shall continue to offer up  
 prayers for the prosperity of the Company.”<sup>1</sup>

This remonstrance, which it is impossible to answer,  
 the Governor-General found, in the forms of ceremony,  
 a pretext for treating as an insult; and for not answering  
 it. The following communication, signed by the secretary,  
 was forwarded by express to the Resident. “Your letter  
 of the 18th instant, with its several enclosures, has been  
 received by the Right Honourable the Governor-General.  
 —His Lordship, not thinking proper to receive, in its  
 present form the written communication made to you  
 by the Nabob Vizir on the 11th instant, as an answer

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. 87, 88.

to his Lordship's letter of the 5th November last to his Excellency—directs, that you lose no time in returning the original of that communication to his Excellency, accompanying the delivery of it with the following observations, in the name of the Governor-General:—The mode adopted in the present instance by his Excellency of replying to a public letter from the Governor-General, attested by his Lordship's seal and signature, and written on a subject of the most momentary concern to the mutual interests of the Company and of his Excellency, besides indicating a levity totally unsuitable to the occasion, is highly deficient in the respect due from his Excellency to the first British authority in India:—His Lordship, therefore, declines making any remarks on the paper which you have transmitted, and desires that the Nabob Vizir may be called on to reply to his Lordship's letter of the 5th November, in the manner described no less by reason than by established usage; if, in formally answering his Lordship's letter, his Excellency should think proper to impeach the honour and justice of the British government, in similar terms to those employed in the paper delivered to you on the 11th instant, the Governor-General will then consider, how such unfounded calumnies, and gross misrepresentations both of facts and arguments, deserve to be noticed." This was language to a legitimate hereditary sovereign! The course of procedure is worthy of notice. A party to a treaty fulfils all its conditions with a punctuality, which, in his place, was altogether unexampled: a gross infringement of that treaty, or at least what appears to him a gross infringement, is about to be committed on the other side: he points out clearly, but in the most humble language, savouring of abjectness, much more than disrespect, the inconsistency which appears to him to exist between the treaty and the conduct: this is represented by the other party as an impeachment of their honour and justice; and if no guilt existed before to form a ground for punishing the party who declines compliance with their will, a guilt is now contracted which hardly any punishment can expiate. This, it is evident, is a course, by which no infringement of a treaty can ever be destitute of a justification. If the party injured submits without a

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BOOK VI. word, his consent is alleged. If he complains, he is  
CHAP. IX. treated as impeaching the honour and justice of his  
1800. superior ; a crime of so prodigious a magnitude, as to set  
the superior above all obligation to such a worthless  
connexion.

But this is not the whole of the message which the Resident was commanded to deliver, in the name of the Governor-General, to the Vizir : "The Governor-General further directs, that you peremptorily insist on the Nabob Vizir furnishing a detailed answer to the paper transmitted by his Lordship, on the 16th December last, for his Excellency's information and consideration ; and that such answer be duly attested by his Excellency's signature, in the same manner as his Lordship's paper was formally attested by the signature of his Lordship : his Excellency's early compliance with this demand is equally due to the dignity of this government, and to the candour of its proceedings ; in consequence of his Excellency's own spontaneous proposal to abdicate the sovereignty of his dominions ; if his Lordship's manner of receiving and answering that extraordinary proposition of the Vizir appears in any degree objectionable to his Excellency, it behoves his Excellency clearly to state his objections, in the most formal and authentic mode ; otherwise the Governor-General must, and will conclude, that his Excellency's original proposition was purposely illusory ; and it will become his Lordship's duty to treat it accordingly, as an unworthy attempt to deceive the British Government. In all the transactions of his Lordship's government, since his arrival in India, he has pursued a plain and direct course ; and he is determined to adhere to the same invariable system of just and honourable policy, nor will he be diverted from the system, by any machination of artifice, duplicity, or treachery, which may be opposed to him ; he has already found the advantage of this course in frustrating the projects of the enemies of Great Britain in India ; and he is satisfied that it will prove equally efficacious in confirming the faith of his allies." The earnestness with which the Governor-General desired that this message should be delivered with unimpaired vigour to the Nawab, is visible in the immediately succeeding paragraph of the same letter : "A copy of the foregoing



observations, in Persian, attested by the signature of the Governor-General himself, will be forwarded to you by the Persian translator : and his Lordship directs that you communicate the same to the Nabob Vizir, either in case you should have any reason to suppose that his Excellency is likely to entertain the smallest doubt of your being, not only authorized, but commanded by his Lordship, to convey to his Excellency the message contained in the preceding paragraphs, as nearly as possible in the terms in which they are expressed ; or, in the event of your thinking that the document, attested by his Lordship's signature, will be more impressive than the verbal mode of communication."<sup>1</sup>

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On the 20th and 28th of January, the Resident complained to the Governor-General, that the Vizir, instead of giving his cordial assistance, in carrying into execution the measure of annihilating his army, was rather placing impediments in the way ; by insisting that the English additional force should not be dispersed in small bodies over the country ; by withholding the statement which had been required of the amount and distribution of his own battalions ; and by delaying to issue the perwannahs necessary to ensure provisions to the additional troops. With regard to the last article, the Resident, however, issued his own orders ; and such was the state of the government, that they were punctually obeyed.<sup>2</sup>

The Resident deferred the message to the Vizir, till the Persian translation arrived. "Having received," says he, "on the 28th, in the evening, the translation in Persian of your Lordship's message to the Nawab Vizir, I waited upon his Excellency on the 29th in the afternoon, and, in obedience to your Lordship's commands, returned to him, in the most formal manner, the original draught of his proposed letter to your Lordship, accompanied with the paper of observations. His Excellency discovered considerable agitation in the perusal of the paper ; and he expressed very poignant regret, at having unintentionally, as he affirmed, drawn upon himself such solemn animadversions from your Lordship.—It would, his Excellency observed, be the extreme of ingratitude and folly, wantonly to provoke the displeasure of that power, on which

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iii. 89, 90.



BOOK VI. alone he relied, for the preservation of his honour, and  
 CHAP. IX. the support of his authority. He attempted to apologise  
 1800. for the paper, by saying, that he meant it merely as a  
 representation of arguments which might be produced,  
 and not as a formal declaration of his own sentiments,  
 and on that account had adopted the mode which your  
 Lordship had viewed in so exceptionable a light. In re-  
 spect to the neglect in replying to the paper which had  
 been submitted by your Lordship for his information and  
 consideration, his Excellency assured me, that it arose  
 from his inability to pursue, and reply, in detail, to the  
 extensive train of reasoning which your Lordship had  
 employed; and that he hoped your Lordship would have  
 received the verbal communication, made through me, of  
 the impossibility of his acceding to your Lordship's re-  
 commendation, as a full, and respectful answer.—His  
 Excellency asked, for what purpose, or to what avail,  
 could the attempt be, to deceive your Lordship by illusory  
 propositions?"<sup>1</sup>

The intelligence from the Resident, that opposition  
 rather than assistance was given by the Vizir to the  
 execution of a measure of which he so highly disapproved,  
 produced a long letter of violent animadversions from the  
 Governor-General, in which he told the harassed and  
 trembling Vizir, "the means which your Excellency has  
 employed to delay, and ultimately to frustrate, the execu-  
 tion of the above-mentioned plan, are calculated to de-  
 grade your character, to destroy all confidence between  
 your Excellency and the British government, to produce  
 confusion and disorder in your dominions, and to injure  
 the most important interests of the Company, to such a  
 degree, as may be deemed nearly equivalent to positive  
 hostility on your part."—"The conduct of your Excellency,  
 in this instance," he afterwards adds, "is of a nature so  
 unequivocally hostile, and may prove so injurious to every  
 interest, both of your Excellency and of the Company,  
 that your perseverance in so dangerous a course will leave  
 me no other alternative, than that of considering all  
 amicable engagements between the Company and your  
 Excellency to be dissolved."<sup>2</sup>—This was most distinctly to

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. 91, 92.

<sup>2</sup> Dated 9th February 1800. Despatches, ii. 208.—W.

declare, that if he did not immediately comply, the Governor-General would make war upon him. And since this was the motive depended upon, in truth, from the beginning, would not the direct and manly course have answered the main purpose equally well, and all other purposes a great deal better? We are the masters; such is our will: nothing short of strict and prompt obedience will be endured.

So ardent were the desires of the Governor-General and so much was he accustomed to assume everything on which his conclusions depended, that he maintained, in this letter, to the face of the Vizir, that of the plan for annihilating his army, the Vizir had, "after full deliberation, expressed his entire approbation."<sup>1</sup>

Before the end of February, the Vizir felt convinced, that compliance could not be evaded. The money demanded on account of the additional forces was paid; and orders were issued for commencing the discharge of of his own battalions. The business of dismissing the troops occupied a considerable time; and was retarded by the necessity of employing a portion of them in collecting the taxes which were then due. It was a matter of considerable delicacy, to avoid commotion, and the demand for bloodshed, where so many armed men were about to be deprived of their accustomed means of subsistence. The business was conducted in a manner highly creditable to the ability as well as the feelings of the gentlemen upon whom it devolved. It was the disposition, and the principle of the Governor-General, to treat with generosity the individuals upon whom the measures of his government might heavily press. As considerable arrears were always due to native troops, and seldom fully paid, the complete discharge of arrears, on which the English government insisted, was a powerful instrument of conciliation. When dissatisfaction anywhere appeared, every effort was employed to correct misapprehension; patience was exercised; the means of coercion were rather exhibited, than used; pardon was liberally extended, even where resistance had been overcome; and before the end of the year, the measure was in a great

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. 96—101.

BOOK VI. part carried into effect without bloodshed or com-  
CHAP. IX. motion.<sup>1</sup>

1800.

In the month of November, 1800, when a demand for a second body of new troops was presented to the Vizir, he complained, by letter, to the Resident, in the following terms: "The state of the collections of the country is not unknown to you. You know with what difficulties and exertions they are realized, and hence I feel a great degree of solicitude and apprehension, lest, if I should fail at a season of exigency, my responsibility should be impeached: I, therefore, wrote to you, that, until I was secure of resources to answer the demands, I could not become responsible: Accordingly, Jye Sookh Roy has been directed to prepare a statement of the condition of the country, with respect to its resources. You shall be informed when it is ready; and you can then come and inspect it; and, in concert, devise resources for the additional demands, according to the assets; and I will act accordingly." In another part of the same letter, he said, "Formerly, in the plan proposed for the reform of the military, it was written, 'That the resources for the expense of the new troops would be found in the reduction of those of his Excellency:' Although the resources for the payment of the new British troops were not found in the reduction of those of the Sircar; now that you write, to have the charges of other new troops added to the debit of the state, when the reduction of the military has not yet supplied resources for the payment of the charges of the former new troops, how can I take upon myself to defray the charges of these new troops, without subjecting the Sircar to the imputation of a breach of faith."<sup>2</sup>

Of these complaints, the Governor-General rapidly availed himself to found on them pretensions of a new description. "If," said he, in a letter to the Resident, dated 22nd of January, 1801, "the alarming crisis be now approaching, in which his Excellency can no longer fulfil his public engagements to the Company, this calamity must be imputed principally to his neglect of my repeated advice and earnest representations. The augmented

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. 110—140, containing the correspondence on the disbanding of the troops.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iii. 141.—M. Despatches, ii. 422.—W. :



charges might have been amply provided for, if his Excellency had vigorously and cordially co-operated with me, in the salutary and economical measure of disbanding his own undisciplined troops. It is now become the duty of the British government, to interpose effectually, for the protection of his interests, as well as those of the Company, which are menaced with common and speedy destruction, by the rapid decline of the general resources of his Excellency's dominions." It may be observed, as we go on, that if the prompt disbanding of the forces of the Vizir would disengage a revenue perfectly equal, and more than equal, as had all along been confidently affirmed, to the charge created by the additional force, the delay which the reluctance of the Vizir occasioned, and which was now overcome, could only occasion a temporary embarrassment; and that menace of common and speedy destruction, of which the Governor-General so tragically spoke, had no existence. Or, that, on the other hand, if the menace of destruction was real, the pretence of finding, in the discharge of the Vizir's battalions, an ample resource for the new impositions, was void of foundation. The letter goes on, "The Vizir is already apprized, that I have long lamented the various defects of the system by which the affairs of his Excellency's government are administered. Conscious of the same defects, his Excellency has repeatedly expressed a wish to correct them by the assistance of the British government. The continuance of the present system will exhaust the country to such a degree, as to preclude the possibility of realizing the subsidy. In place of inveterate and growing abuses must be substituted a wise and benevolent plan of government, calculated to inspire the people with confidence in the security of property and of life; to encourage industry; and establish order and submission to the just authority of the state, on the solid foundations of gratitude for benefits received, and expectation of continued security." The Governor-General here establishes the *goodness* of government, "as the solid foundation of submission to its authority." He would not add, what was equally true, that there ought to be no submission without it.

The following passage of the letter deserves profound regard. "Having," continues the Governor-General, "maturely

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BOOK VI. considered these circumstances, with the attention and  
 CHAP. IX. deliberation which the importance of the subject requires, I am satisfied that no effectual security can be  
 1801. provided against the ruin of the province of Oude, until the exclusive management of the civil and military government of that country shall be transferred to the Company, under suitable provisions for the maintenance of his Excellency and of his family. No other remedy can effect any considerable improvement in the resources of the state, or can ultimately secure its external safety, and internal peace."

If this was the only plan which could avert from the state every species of calamity; absolute master, as he was, of the fate of the country, why did the Governor-General hesitate a moment to carry it into execution?

He resolved to offer this proposition to the Vizir in the form of a treaty: but added, "Should his Excellency unfortunately be persuaded, by the interested counsel of evil advisers, absolutely to reject the proposed treaty, you will then proceed to inform his Excellency, in firm, but respectful language, that the funds for the regular payment of the subsidy, to the full extent of the augmented force, must be placed, without a moment of delay, beyond the hazard of failure.—For this purpose, you will require his Excellency to make a cession to the Company, in perpetual sovereignty, of such a portion of his territories, as shall be fully adequate, in their present impoverished condition, to defray those indispensable charges." In selecting the portions to be demanded, the object was, to insulate the Vizir, as well for the purpose of precluding him from foreign connexions, as of defending him from foreign dangers. To this end, choice was made of the Doab, and Rohilcund, in the first instance, with the addition of Azim Ghur, and even Gorukpoor, if the revenue of the former country should prove inadequate.<sup>1</sup> A letter to the same purport, and nearly in the same words, was, at the same time, written by the Governor-General to the Vizir.<sup>2</sup> It closes with the following terms: "I request your Excellency to be satisfied, that the whole course of events in Oude, since your accession, has rendered it my indis-

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. 145—148.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 148—151.—M. Despatches, ii. 429.—W.

pensable duty to adhere with firmness to the tenor of this letter, as containing principles from which the British government never can depart; nor can your Excellency receive with surprise, or concern, a resolution naturally resulting from your own reiterated representations of the confusion of your affairs, and of your inability either to reduce them to order, or to conciliate the alienated affections of your discontented people." The corollary from these deductions most necessarily, and most obviously is, that any sovereign who governs ill, and loses the affections of his people, ought to abdicate, or to be compelled to abdicate, the sovereignty of his dominions. We shall see how energetic and persevering an apostle of this doctrine the Governor-General became.

The subsidy which, according to the treaty of Lord Teignmouth, was already paid by the Vizir, amounted to Rs. 76,00,000: the annual expense of the additional force with which he was to be loaded, was 54,12,929: the whole would amount to 1,30,12,929 rupees. The Nawaub was required to make a cession of territory, in perpetual sovereignty to the English, the revenue of which, even in its present unproductive state, and without any regard to the improvements of which it might be susceptible, should amount to such a sum, over and above the whole expense of collection. The revenue remaining to the Vizir after such a deduction would have been 1,00,00,000.<sup>1</sup> The territory, then, of which he was to be deprived, amounted to more than one half, to not much less than two thirds, of his whole dominions.

The address of the Governor-General to the Vizir was presented to that prince on the 16th of February; and the first conversation on the subject between him and the Resident was on the 26th. "His Excellency's conversation on that day," says the Resident, "though it did not amount to a positive rejection of the first proposition, discovered an unreserved repugnance to the acceptance of it." Before this letter, however, dated on the 6th of March, was closed, a letter addressed to the Governor-General was received from the Vizir.<sup>2</sup> His complaints respecting the want of funds for payment of the enlarged subsidy, he explained as far from amounting to the alarm-

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. p. 161—208.

<sup>2</sup> Despatches, ii. 474.

BOOK VI. ing proposition into which they were framed by the Governor-General ; but, as the fund which had been pointed to by the Governor-General as adequate, had not proved adequate ; and as he had been repeatedly commanded by the Governor-General to make known to the Resident his difficulties, and to make use of his advice, he had, for that reason, explained to him, and had done no more, the perplexities which weighed upon his mind. “In the course, however, of these conferences and communications, no impediment of affairs,” says he, “ever occurred ; and no failure or deficiency whatever was experienced in the discharge of the expenses of the new troops, and in the payment of the kists of the fixed subsidy. On the contrary, those expenses and kists were punctually paid ; accordingly the kist of the fixed subsidy, and the charges of the additional troops, have been completely paid to the end of January, 1801, and Colonel Scott has expressed his acknowledgments on the occasion.—It is equally a subject of astonishment and concern to me, that whereas, under the former government, the payment of the kists, though so much smaller in amount than the present, was constantly kept in arrear during three or four months, the jumma of the country was diminishing yearly, and yet no such propositions were brought forward,—they should be agitated under the government of a friend, who hopes for every thing from your Lordship’s kindness ; who is anxious to obey you, and to manifest the steadiness of his attachment ; who punctually pays the full amount of his kists, notwithstanding their increased amount ; and who has conformed to your Lordship.

“As my consent,” says he, “to the first proposition is altogether impracticable (accordingly I have already written an ample reply to that proposition) ; and, as it is impossible for me, with my own hands, to exclude myself from my patrimonial dominion (for what advantage should I derive from so doing ?)—this, therefore, is a measure, which I will never adopt.

“With respect to what your Lordship writes, about providing a territorial resource for the payment of the British troops ; since I have not, in any way, delayed or neglected to discharge the kists for the expenses of the troops, but have paid them with punctuality, where is the occasion



for requiring any territorial resource?—I expect to derive the most substantial profits from bringing into a flourishing condition this country, which has so long been in a state of waste and ruin. By a separation of territory, my hopes of these substantial profits would be entirely cut off, and a great loss would accrue. How then can I consent to any territorial cession?"<sup>1</sup>

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This letter brought an answer of immense length from the Governor-General, under date the 5th of April.<sup>2</sup> Having lamented the refusal which had been given to both his propositions, and given a description of the progressive decline of the country, from the mis-government of the Vizir, the Governor-General says, "I now declare to your Excellency, in the most explicit terms, that I consider it to be my positive duty, to resort to any extremity, rather than to suffer the further progress of that ruin, to which the interests of your Excellency and the honourable Company are exposed, by the continued operation of the evils and abuses, actually existing, in the civil and military administration of the province of Oude." After noticing the source of embarrassment still existing in the portion of his troops, the dismissal of which the Vizir had till now contrived to evade, the Governor-General subjoined, "But I must recall to your Excellency's recollection, the fact, which you have so emphatically acknowledged on former occasions, that the principal source of all your difficulties is to be found in the state of the country. I have repeatedly represented to your Excellency the effects of the ruinous expedient of anticipating the collections; the destructive practice of realizing them by force of arms; the annual diminution of the jumma of the country; the precarious tenure by which the Aumils and farmers hold their possessions; the misery of the lower classes of the people, absolutely excluded from the protection of the government; and the utter insecurity of life and property, throughout the province of Oude. An immediate alteration in the system of management affords the only hope of providing either for the security of the Company's military funds, or for any other interest involved in the fate of Oude.—It would be vain and fruitless to attempt this arduous task, by partial interference, or

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. 163, 164.<sup>2</sup> Despatches, ii. 474.



BOOK VI. by imperfect modifications of a system, of which every  
 CHAP. IX. principle is founded in error and impolicy, and every instrument tainted with injustice and corruption."—What is here remarkable is, the Governor-General's declared principle of reform ; that, of a system of government, radically corrupt, extirpation is the only cure.

1801.

He proceeds to infer, that as the Vizir professed himself inadequate to the task of reform ; and the undiminished prevalence of evil, since the commencement of his reign, proved the truth of his declaration ; he ought to renounce the government, and give admission to others, by whom the great reform could be effectually performed.

He added, "But whatever may be your Excellency's sentiments with respect to this the first proposition ; the right of the Company to demand a cession of territory, adequate to the security of the funds necessary for defraying the expense of our defensive engagements with your Excellency is indisputable." This right he proceeded to found on his fears with regard to the future ; lest the progressive decline of the country, the fruit of mismanagement, should quickly render its revenue unequal to the payments required.<sup>1</sup>

On the 28th of April, a letter to the same purport, nearly in the same words, under signature of the Governor-General, was sent to the Resident.<sup>2</sup> The determination was now adopted to seize the territory, if the consent of its reluctant sovereign was any longer withheld. "Any further reference to me from Oude is," said his Lordship, "unnecessary. I, therefore, empower you to act under the instructions contained in this letter without waiting for additional orders.—If, therefore, his Excellency should persist in rejecting both propositions, you will inform him, that any further remonstrance to me upon this subject will be unavailing ; that you are directed to insist upon the immediate cession of the territory proposed to be transferred to the Company ; and that in the event of his Excellency's refusal to issue the necessary orders for that purpose, you are authorized to direct the British troops to march for the purpose of establishing the authority of the British government within those districts."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. 185—192.

<sup>2</sup> Despatches, ii. 493.

<sup>3</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. p. 198.

The Vizir, having stipulated for certain conditions,<sup>1</sup> of BOOK VI. which one was, that he should be guaranteed, by a formal CHAP. IX. obligation, in the future independent exercise of an exclusive authority in the remaining parts of his dominions," 1801. it is declared, in the instructions to the Resident, under date the 27th of May; "His Lordship cannot permit the Vizir to maintain an independent power, with a considerable military force, within the territories remaining in his Excellency's possession.—It must never be forgotten that the Governor's original object was not merely to secure the subsidiary funds, but to extinguish the Vizir's military power."<sup>2</sup> This is a part of the design, not only not disclosed by the language held to the Vizir, but hardly consistent with it. In that, he was told, that the vices of his troops were the cause on account of which the English wished them destroyed. According to this new declaration, if the troops had been better, that is, more formidable, the English would have liked them only so much the worse.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These stipulations were dated on the 3rd Mohurram, 1216, or the 1st May, and were commented on at length by the Governor-General on the 8th June. The Vizir demurred to the payment of the debts of former Governments of Oude, of the whole expense of the troops raised to oppose the menaced invasion of Zemaun Shah, and any part of the cost of the embassy to Persia, which, as addressed to an object in which Oude was interested, the Governor-General conceived was due by the Vizir. He demanded the undivided inheritance of the possessions of Asoph-ud-Dowla, which was levelled against the possessions of the Begums. He requested that all correspondence regarding the affairs of Oude should be confined to himself and the Resident, which was intended to exclude such of his ministers as were well affected to the English from his councils. That the Resident should pay no attention to persons "ever on the watch to sow dissensions, and stipulated that the engagements entered into should be firm and permanent; that the troops for which the countries were ceded should always be stationed in them, and that whenever he felt inclined to perform pilgrimage, no hindrance should be offered to his departure." The Governor-General rejected these and other proposed articles; as they betrayed an unjustifiable mistrust in the Company's authority and power, disguised an intention to secure their countenance to acts of vindictiveness or extortion, and sought to evade the discharge of just demands. The proposed stipulations were in many respects open to these imputations, and they were justly rejected by the Governor-General. Dispatches, ii. 527.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Contrast the language, in the last-quoted sentence, with the following passage of an address delivered to the Vizir in the name of the Governor-General, by his brother Henry Wellesley, in September, 1801; where, after a description of the undisciplined and mutinous condition of the troops of the Vizir, and his own declared opinion of them, these, says the address, "were the primary causes which moved the Governor-General to consider the means of applying an effectual reform to the military establishment of Oude. The plan of this reform originated, not in the voluntary suggestion of his Lordship's mind, but in the alarming state of your Excellency's dominions and power, and in your own express desire." Papers, ut supra, iv. 7.



BOOK VI. In a letter of the 8th of June, the Resident gives an  
 CHAP IX. account of a conversation the day before between him and  
 1801. the Vizir. "I stated to his Excellency that the general tenor and spirit of his articles of stipulations had excited the greatest concern and surprise in your Lordship's breast, and that I was commanded by your Lordship to communicate to his Excellency your Lordship's absolute rejection of the whole of them. His Excellency replied, that as his paper contained conditions on which alone his consent to the territorial cession could be granted, your Lordship's rejection of them allowed him no other alternative, than that of passive obedience to whatever measures your Lordship might resolve on."

"I next proceeded to state to his Excellency the terms upon which your Lordship is disposed to guarantee to his Excellency and to his posterity, the dominion of his Excellency's remaining territory. They were enumerated in the following order and manner: 1st, The continuance of the Company's right to station the British troops in any part of his Excellency's dominions: 2ndly, the restriction of his own military establishment to an extent absolutely necessary for the collection of the revenues, and for the purposes of state; and 3rdly, the introduction of such regulations of police, as should be calculated to secure the internal quiet of his Excellency's country, and the orderly and peaceful behaviour of his subjects of every description.

"His Excellency's reply to this," says the Resident, "was striking: that the power of stationing the Company's troops in any part of his dominions, together with the other conditions, formed a combination of circumstances, the objects of which would be open to the comprehension of a child; and that it was impossible for him to agree to a territorial cession on such terms.

"I entreated his Excellency to reject from his mind such unjustifiable suspicions, and to summon all the good sense which he possesses, and to reflect on the consequences of a refusal of the propositions which your Lordship had prepared with so much thought and deliberation. He said, he by no means meant to impute precipitancy to your Lordship's resolution. But if your Lordship's reflection suggested measures to which he

could not accede, the utmost which could be expected from him was passive submission to those measures. And he added, that if your Lordship would give him his dismissal, and allow him to go on a pilgrimage ; or whether that was permitted or not, the whole of his territorial possessions, and of his treasures, were at the disposal of your Lordship's power : he neither had the inclination nor the strength to resist it ; but he could not yield a voluntary consent to propositions so injurious to his reputation."<sup>1</sup>

BOOK VI.

CHAP. IX.

1803.

The Governor-General wished to avoid the appearance of force in seizing the greater part of the Vizir's dominions ; and was exceedingly anxious to extort by importunity some appearance of consent. Not only was the Resident urged to use incessant endeavours for this purpose,<sup>2</sup> but on the 30th of June, notice was sent of the resolution to which the Governor-General had proceeded, of sending his brother Henry Wellesley on a mission to the Vizir, in hopes that his near relation to the head of the government would strike with awe the mind of that Prince, and convince him more fully of the impossibility of eluding its declared determination.<sup>3</sup>

Every mode of importunity was tried and exhausted. The scheme of abdication was, with every art of persuasion, and some even of compulsion (if severity in urging pecuniary demands which would have otherwise been relaxed are truly entitled to that designation), urged upon the Vizir, as the measure which, above all, would yield the greatest portion of advantage, with regard, in the first place, to his own tranquillity and happiness ; in the second place, to the people of Oude ; and in the third, to the British government. If, on the other hand, this measure should unfortunately not obtain his consent, he was desired to consider the territorial cession as a measure which force, if necessary, would be employed to accomplish ; and the Resident did, in the month of July, proceed so far as to give notice to some of the aumils, or great revenue managers of the territories intended to be seized, to hold themselves in readiness for transferring their payments and allegiance to the British government ; a proceeding which the Vizir represented as giving him exquisite pain and overwhelming him with disgrace.

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra. iv. 231.<sup>2</sup> Despatches, ii. 537.—W.<sup>3</sup> Ibid. ii. 441, 561.—W.



BOOK VI. To all the pressing remonstrances with which he was  
 CHAP. IX. plied, he opposed only professions of passive, helpless, and  
 1801. reluctant obedience. He also pressed and endeavoured to stipulate for leave to retire, in performance of a pilgrimage: that his eyes might not behold the performance of acts, which he could not contemplate without affliction; though he desired to retain the power of resuming the government of all that remained of his dominions, when his scheme of pilgrimage should be at an end.

On the 3rd of September, Mr. Wellesley arrived at Lucknow; on the 5th, presented to the Vizir a memorial explanatory of the principal objects of his mission, and had with him his first conversation on the 6th.<sup>1</sup> The two propositions were again tendered; and, with every expression of submissiveness, the Vizir undertook to give them a renewed consideration. His answer was delayed till the 15th; when his consent to the first proposition, as what would bring "an everlasting stigma on his name by depriving a whole family of such a kingdom," was again peremptorily refused. The answer which was made by the two negotiators, the Resident and Mr. Wellesley in conjunction, is perhaps the most remarkable which occurs in the annals of diplomacy; "That his Excellency reasoned upon the first proposition as if the execution of it deprived him of the possession of the musnud; whereas the true extent and meaning of it, and indeed the primary object, was to establish himself and posterity more firmly and securely on the musnud, with all the state, dignity, and affluence, appertaining to his exalted situation." A man may be so placed with regard to another, that it is not prudent for him to dispute the truth of what that other advances, should he even assert that black and white are the same colour. It was necessary to be in such a situation, before a proposition like this could be tendered to a man with any hope of escaping exposure. The Vizir was called upon to consign for ever the sovereignty of all his dominions to the Company, and to bind himself never to reside within them; yet this was not to deprive him of his throne! It was more firmly to establish him on it!<sup>2</sup>

On the subject of the territorial cession, the Nawab still deferred an explicit answer.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Despatches, ii. 567.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, iv. 1—15.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 17.

On the 19th of September, instructions were written to the two negotiators, in which they were informed of the determination of the Governor-General, in case of the continued refusal on the part of the Vizir, to give his consent to one of the two propositions, to take from him not a part only, but the whole of his dominions. His Lordship, as usual, supports this resolution with a train of reasoning. The British interests were not secure, unless there was a good government in Oude: unless the Nawab Vizir gave his consent to one of the two propositions, a good government could not be established in Oude: therefore, it would be not only proper, but an imperative duty, to strip that sovereign of all his dominions. "His Lordship has therefore no hesitation," says the document, "in authorizing you, in the event above stated, to declare to his Excellency, in explicit terms, the resolution of the British government to assume the civil and military administration in the province of Oude. Should the communication of the intended declaration fail to produce any change in his Excellency's disposition, his Lordship directs that you will immediately proceed to make the necessary disposition of the army, and every other arrangement for carrying that resolution into immediate and complete effect."<sup>1</sup>

On the same day, however, on which these instructions were written, the Vizir communicated to the two negotiators a paper, in which he gave his consent to the second proposition, provided he was allowed to depart on his pilgrimages, and his son, as his representative, was, during his absence, placed on the throne. The reason assigned was in these words; "for I should consider it a disgrace, and it would be highly unpleasant to me, to show my face to my people here." The negotiators felt embarrassment; resented the imputations which the condition and the manner of it cast upon the British government; but were unwilling, for considerations of slight importance, to lose the advantage of the Vizir's consent, even to the lowest of the two propositions, since they now despaired of it to the first. "Having," say they, "deliberately reflected on every circumstance immediately connected with the negotiation, or which might eventually influence the result of it, we decidedly and unitedly agreed in the opinion, that the im-

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1801.

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 17.



BOOK VI. portant objects of it could not be accomplished in a more  
 CHAP. IX. preferable manner than by closing with his Excellency's  
 1801. proposition." A paper, accordingly, declaring their acceptance of the proposition, and attested by their joint signatures and seals, was delivered to the Vizir on the 24th.<sup>1</sup>

On the 27th, his Excellency communicated a proposition, of which the purport was, to secure to him the exclusive administration of the reserved territory. On this topic he was informed that enough had already been said : that the right of the British government, in regard to Oude, extended, not only to the alienation of as much of the territory as it chose to say was necessary to defray the cost of defence ; but, even with regard to the remainder, to the placing of it in the military possession of the British troops, and the maintaining of a good government within it. What was this, but to declare, that of this part too, the government, civil and military, must rest in the English the Vizir possessing the name, but none of the powers of a king ? "It is evident," said the Vizir, in a letter on the 29th, "that I can derive no advantage from alienating part of my country, whilst I shall not remain master of the remainder."<sup>2</sup> On this proposition, however, important as he deemed it, he from that time forebore to insist.

The negotiators complained of endeavours to protract the conclusion of the treaty ; first, by demanding unnecessary explanations, though they related to matters of great importance, expressed in the treaty in terms excessively vague ; and, secondly, by delays in the delivery of the accounts, though exceedingly voluminous, and somewhat confused. Several discussions took place on the revenues of some of the districts : but on the 10th of November, the treaty was mutually exchanged, and, on the 14th, was ratified by the Governor-General at Benares. By this treaty the Nawaub ceded a country, producing 1,35,23,474 rupees of revenue, including expense of collection ; and the authority of the British government over the remainder was provided for by the following words ; "And the Honourable the East India Company hereby guarantee to his Excellency the Vizir, and to his heirs and suc-

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iv. 21—23.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iv. 39.

cessors, the possession of the territories which will remain to his Excellency after his territorial cession, together with *the exercise of his and their authority* within the said dominions. His Excellency engages that he will establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers) as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants: and his Excellency will always advise with, and *act in conformity to the counsel*, of the officers of the said Honourable Company."<sup>1</sup> No dominion can be more complete than that which provides for a perpetual conformity to one's counsel, that is, one's will.<sup>2</sup>

On the same day on which the Governor-General ratified the treaty, he created a grand commission for the provisional administration and settlement of the ceded districts. Three of the civil servants of the Company were appointed a Board of Commissioners; and his brother Henry Wellesley was nominated to be Lieutenant-Governor of the new territory, and President of the Board.<sup>3</sup>

The Governor-General performed another duty on the same day, which was that of giving the home authorities, along with the intelligence of the conclusion of the treaty, an intimation of the several advantages which he wished them to believe it carried in its bosom. These were, "the entire extinction of the military power of the Nawaub;" the maintenance of a great part of the Bengal army at the Nawaub's expense; deliverance of the subsidy from all the accidents with which it was liable to be affected "by the corruption, imbecility, and abuse, of that vicious and incorrigible system of vexation and misrule, which constituted the government of Oude;" the power acquired by the Company of becoming "the instrument of restoring to affluence and prosperity one of the most fertile regions of the globe, now reduced to the most afflicting misery and desolation, by the depraved administration of the native government:" deliverance from the stain "on the reputation and honour of the British nation in India, upholding by the terror of their name, and the immediate

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, iv. p. 29 and 35.

<sup>2</sup> Despatches, ii. 596.

<sup>3</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 27.



BOOK VI. force of their arms, a system so disgraceful in its principles, and ruinous in its effects.”<sup>1</sup>

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1801.

On these supposed advantages a few reflections are required. The impatient desire to extinguish the military power of the Vizir exhibits the sort of relation in which the English government in India wishes to stand with its allies. It exhibits also the basis of hypocrisy, on which that government has so much endeavoured to build itself. The Nawaub was stripped of his dominions; yet things were placed in such a form, that it might still be affirmed he possessed them.

With regard to the alleged pecuniary advantages, the case was this. An obligation was contracted to defend and govern a country, for only part of its revenues. The question is, whether this can ever be advantageous. The Company's experience, at least, has been, that the countries of India can, under their administration, hardly ever yield so much as the cost of defence and government. That it is injustice and robbery to take from any people, under the pretext of defending and governing them, more than the lowest possible sum for which these services can be performed, needs no demonstration.

The necessity, perpetually exposed to view, of defending Oude, as a barrier to the Company's frontier, is a fallacy. When the Company received the taxes paid by the people of Oude, and pledged themselves for their good defence and government, the people of Oude became British subjects to all intents and purposes; and the frontier of Oude became the Company's frontier. The question then is, whether it was best to defend a distant, or a proximate frontier. For the same reason that the Company took Oude for a frontier, they ought to have taken Delhi beyond it; after Delhi, another province, and after that another without end. Had they defended the frontier of Bengal and Bahar, leaving the province of Oude as they left the country beyond it, would not the nearer frontier have been easier to defend than the one more remote? If the greater difficulty of defending the more distant frontier of Oude consumed all the money which was obtained from Oude, was there in that case any advantage? If it consumed more than all the money which was obtained from it, was there not in that case a positive loss? The means are not

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, v. 14, 15.

afforded us of exhibiting the loss in figures; but the British legislature, which by a solemn enactment prohibited all extension of frontier, as contrary both to the interest and the honour of the British nation, had declared beforehand that money was only a part of the loss.

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The Governor-General's pretensions, raised on the badness of the native government, seem to be overthrown by his acts. If this was incorrigible, while the country remained in the hands of the Nabob, why, having it completely in his power to deliver the people of Oude from a misery which he delights to describe as unparalleled, did the Governor-General leave a great part of the country with the people in it, to be desolated and tortured by this hateful system of misrule? If it was corrigible, as he contradicts himself immediately by saying it was, and by pledging himself in his letter to the home authorities "to afford every practicable degree of security for the lives and property of the Vizir's remaining subjects," there was no occasion for wresting from the Vizir the greater part of his dominions, under the plea, and that the single, solitary plea, that any improvement of the intolerable system of government, while the country remained in his hands, was altogether impossible.

The truth ought never to be forgotten, which the Governor-General here so eagerly brings forward; That the misery, produced by those native governments which the Company upholds, is misery produced by the Company; and sheds disgrace upon the British name.<sup>1</sup>

From his first arrival in India, the Governor-General had cherished the idea of paying an early visit to the interior and more distant parts of the provinces more immediately subject to his authority; but the circumstances which had required his presence at Calcutta or Madras, had till now postponed the execution of his design. Part of his object was to ascertain the real effects of the Company's government upon the prosperity of the country, upon the wealth, industry, morals, and happiness of the population; and to acquire a knowledge of the

<sup>1</sup> This sentiment is expressed by Mr. Henry Wellesley, in his account of the progress of the negotiation: letter to the Governor-General, dated 7th January, 1802; papers, ut supra, iv. 35. It is several times expressed by Colonel Scott, especially in his conversations with the Vizir, during the course of the negotiation; see papers, vol. iii. passim



BOOK VI. character of the people, and of their modes of thinking,  
CHAP. IX. all more perfectly than, without personal inspection, he  
1801. regarded as possible. The design was laudable. But a  
short reflection might have convinced him, that, in a  
progress of a few months, a great part of which was spent  
on the river, all the observations which he, incapacitated  
from mixing with the natives, both by his station, and his  
language, was in a situation to make, were so very few and  
partial, that they could form a just foundation for few  
useful conclusions; and only exposed him, if he was in-  
clined to over-rate them, to be more easily duped by the  
men through whose eyes it behoved him to see, and on  
whom he was still compelled to rely for all his informa-  
tion. To learn the effects of a government upon a people,  
and to ascertain their temper and modes of thinking, by  
personal observation, requires long, and minute, and ex-  
tensive intercourse. What, in the compass of a few  
weeks, or months, can a man collect, respecting these im-  
portant circumstances, by looking, from his barge, or his  
palanquin, as he proceeds along, and at one or two of the  
principal places conversing in state with a small number  
of the leading men, eager not to salute his ears or his eyes  
with an opinion or a fact, but such as they expect will  
minister to his gratification? What a man, in these cir-  
cumstances, is sure to do, is, to confirm himself in all the  
opinions, right or wrong, with which he sets out; and the  
more strongly, the higher the value which he attaches to  
the observing process he is then performing. What was  
to be expected, therefore, accurately happened; the Go-  
vernor-General saw none but admirable effects of the  
Company's admirable government; and if those of an  
opposite sort had been ten times as many as they were,  
they would all have been equally invisible to his eyes. In  
surveying a country, it is not easy to form sound opinions,  
even when the means of observation are the most perfect  
and full: in India, the Company's servants, setting out with  
strong anticipations, and having means of observation the  
most scanty and defective, have commonly seen such things  
only, as it was their desire and expectation to see.

Other advantages, which the Governor-General expected  
to realize by his presence in the different parts of the  
provinces, where, an increased attention to the discharge of

their duties, in the various local ministers of government, civil and military, who would thus be more sensibly convinced of the vigilant inspection which was maintained over them; and, a new degree of confidence and satisfaction, with respect to their government, in the body of the people, thus made to see with their eyes the solicitude with which the conduct of those who commanded them was watched. But the circumstance which most strongly operated upon the mind of the Governor-General, at the time when he resolved to commence his journey, was, the effect which his departure, with the declared intention of visiting Oude, was expected to produce in accelerating the submission of the Vizir to the demands with which he was pressed. Preparations were made for the commencement of the voyage on the river early in July, 1801; but owing to the delay of the despatches expected from Europe, and other causes, it was the 15th of August before he was enabled to embark. It was on the 18th, in a council held on board the yacht at Barrackpore, that Mr. Speke (the Commander-in-Chief having preceded the Governor-General in this excursion) was chosen, during the absence of the Head Ruler, Vice-President of the Council, and Deputy Governor of Fort William. On the 23rd of September, the Governor-General was at Monghir. On the 14th of November, at the time of ratifying the treaty, he was on the Ganges, near Benares. And on the 19th of January, 1802, he was met at Cawnpore by the Nawaub Vizir, who had left his capital to do him honour by the ceremony of anticipation.<sup>1</sup>

The Governor-General resolved to soothe the mind of the Nawaub, under the mortifying sacrifices to which he had lately been compelled to submit, by the studied display of personal respect; as well for the purpose of substituting pleasurable to painful feelings, as for that of moulding his inclination to the compliances which yet remained to be exacted of him. He abstained accordingly from soliciting his mind on those subjects, till he had made, as he conceived, a very favourable impression upon it.<sup>2</sup> Soon after they had arrived at Lucknow, the Governor-General requested a private conference with his Excellency, and gave him intimation of the acts which he was expected to

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<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra. v. 11—17.<sup>2</sup> Despatches, ii. 672.—W.



BOOK VI. perform. These were, the immediate discharge of the  
CHAP. IX. arrear of the augmented subsidy, amounting to twenty-one  
1801. lacs of rupees; the immediate reduction of his Excellency's  
military establishment to the scale described in the treaty;  
an exchange of one of the new districts for the purpose of  
removing an interruption in the line of the Company's  
frontier; the regular payment of the pensions to his rela-  
tives and dependants; the reform, on a plan to be given  
by the English, of the government within his reserved  
dominions; and the concentration of the British force,  
which was to be employed within those dominions, at a  
cantonment in the vicinity of Lucknow. For obedience,  
on most of these points, the Vizir was prepared, either by  
inclination, or his knowledge of the inability of resistance.  
For the payment of arrears he only requested time; and  
could not help expressing his opinion, that neither ne-  
cessity nor utility required the concentration of the British  
force at Lucknow. The object of principal importance  
was, the introduction of a better government in his re-  
duced dominions. On this subject, the Nawaub professed  
that his opinions coincided with those of the British ruler;  
but complained that he was not possessed of sufficient  
authority, within his dominions, to carry any of his own  
designs into effect. On this subject, he manifested great  
reluctance to explain what he meant. When explanation  
was obtained from him, it appeared that he was galled by  
the interference of the Resident, and made this last effort  
to obtain such an exemption from that restraint, as would  
have destroyed, says the Governor-General, "that degree  
of interference and control which is indispensably neces-  
sary for the support of the British influence in Oude; and  
would have rendered nugatory that stipulation of the  
treaty which provides for the security of the British influ-  
ence over the measures of his Excellency's administra-  
tion." It also appeared, that he was desirous of a change  
of the Resident, who was personally disagreeable to him.  
But on no one of these points did the determination of  
the Governor-General admit of any relaxation. In these  
circumstances, the Nawaub, whether disgusted with his  
situation, or in the spirit of stratagem, renewed his request  
for permission to absent himself on a pilgrimage, and to  
leave his government in the hands of his second son.

Though the Governor-General stated his reasons for dis- BOOK VI.  
approving this design, he gave him assurance that he CHAP. IX.  
would not oppose it; and expressed the highest indigna-  
tion when the Nawaub, as in distrust, betrayed afterwards  
an inclination to render the payment of arrears a condition  
dependent upon compliance with this request.<sup>1</sup>  
1801.

As an introduction to the measures which he designed to propose for improving the government of the Nawaub's dominions, the Governor-General held up to his view, what he regarded as the causes of the existing evils. The abuses arising from the employment of a licentious soldiery in executing the business of government among the people, were once more displayed, but chiefly with intent to declare, that for this evil a remedy, in the annihilation-reform, was already applied. Of all the evils which remained; evils, which the Governor-General had represented as so enormous that nothing less than the abdication of the sovereign, or the complete transfer of all his property into the hands of the Company, could suffice for their cure, the causes, according to his enumeration, reduced themselves to two; First, "The want of a judicial administration for the protection of the lives and property of the subjects, for the detection and punishment of crimes, for the redress of grievances, and for the adjustment of disputed claims;" Secondly, "The abuses prevailing in the administration of the revenues—arising, principally, from the destructive practice of anticipating the revenues, of assigning the charge of the collections to persons who offer the highest terms, or the largest amount of nuzzerana; from the uncertain tenure by which the Aumils hold the charge of their respective districts; the violation of the engagements contracted between the Aumils, Zemindars, under-renters, and ryots, the arbitrary and oppressive exactions which pervade the whole system of the revenue, through every gradation, from the Aumil to the ryot; the defective and injudicious constitution of the whole system of revenue; and the injurious mode of making the collections."<sup>2</sup>

By these, the very words, in conjunction with the acts, of the Governor-General, we are given to understand, that a bad judicial, and a bad taxing system (excepting the

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, v. 20—25.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. v. 25, 26.



BOOK VI. army, the only causes of evil in Oude,) are quite sufficient  
 CHAP IX. to render a government the scourge and desolation of a  
 1802. country, and to make the submersion of such a government, both in name and in reality, but at any rate in reality, if not also in name, a duty imperiously demanded at the hand of whoever has the power to bring it about.

When, however, the Governor-General manifested a sensibility of such uncommon strength (and on such a subject the sensibility of a man is naturally in proportion to the united strength of his moral and intellectual virtues) to the unbounded evils which spring from defective systems of law and taxation, it is remarkable that he did not turn his thoughts to the effects produced by the systems of law and taxation of which he himself superintended the administration. It is declared, in the strongest and most explicit terms, by several of the Company's servants, best acquainted with Indian affairs, in their examination before the House of Commons, in 1806, that, not in respect to army, judicature, or taxation, was the situation of Oude, though viewed with such horror by the Governor-General, more unfavourable, than that of other native governments of India; with which it might truly be regarded as upon a level.<sup>1</sup> The government of Bengal, before it passed into the hands of the English, had been distinguished among the governments of India for its vices rather than its virtues. Yet we have seen it declared, and put upon record, by the most experienced servants of the Company, in their solemn official reports, that in their opinion the new systems of judicature and taxation, so laboriously, and so disinterestedly introduced by the English government, had not improved, but had rather deteriorated the condition of the great body of the people.<sup>2</sup> It is not, however, correct to say, that the Governor-General turned not his attention to the effects of the systems of judicature and taxation, the administration of which it was his business to superintend. He thought of them quite sufficiently; but he was altogether deceived. It was perfectly impossible for him to see with his own eyes what was sufficient to convince a mind, impressed both by anticipation and interest with other notions, that

<sup>1</sup> See the Minutes of Evidence on the Oude Charge, p. 32, 35, 49, 53, 74.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. vi. *passim*.

the British systems were ill adapted to the ends they had in view ; and he was daily assured by those whose anticipations and interests were similar to his own, and who paid their court by speaking opinions calculated to please, that the effects produced were all excellent ; he, therefore, believed that they were all excellent, and assured the home authorities, that he had been enabled to ascertain, by actual observation on his journey, that they were all excellent, and that in the highest degree. He concluded therefore, most conscientiously, that nothing happier could be done for the people of Oude, than to assimilate their situation as nearly as practicable to that of the people in the Company's provinces.

From the specimens of the loose, and defective, and tautological language of the Governor-General, exhibited in his statement of the sources of evil in the government of Oude, the intelligent reader will perceive in what obscurity, on the subjects of judicature and taxation, the mind of that ruler remained ; and how crude and insufficient were the ideas which, upon these subjects, floated in his brain. He had nothing further to recommend than, First, on the subject of judicature, to establish district courts, and a general court of appeal and control, upon the plan of the district courts, and the courts of Sudder Dewannee, and Nizamut Adaulut, in the Company's dominions ; and, secondly, on the subject of taxation, to give the district in charge to persons of undoubted character and qualifications, to pay those persons by a salary, and make their further profits depend upon the augmentation of their collections ; to continue them in their office while their behaviour yielded satisfaction ; to compel them, through the courts of justice, to fulfil their engagements with the middlemen, and the middlemen to fulfil their engagements with one another, and with the ryots.

Along with the establishment of courts of justice, the Governor-General stated, also, the necessity of "an efficient system of police, calculated to secure the apprehension of offenders, for the purpose of bringing them to justice." And he did not prescribe conformity with the practice of the Company in matters of detail, for which he referred the Nawab to the advice of the Resident,

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CHAP. IX.

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BOOK VI. because matters of detail must be said, be regulated by  
 CHAP. IX. local circumstances, and adapted to the constitution of  
 the government, and the actual condition of the people.<sup>1</sup>

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How little security for an improvement of the government these changes afforded, it requires but a feeble insight into the springs of human affairs, sufficiently to discern. He would appoint new officers of justice and police ; but where was any security that they would perform their duty, and not multiply, by the abuse of their powers, the evils they were intended to extinguish ? It appears that the Governor-General was ignorant how completely the English systems of law and taxation were unprovided with securities for the protection of the people, notwithstanding the superior intelligence and good intention of the English government itself. For preventing the gatherers and farmers of the taxes from their usual exactions and oppressions, the Governor-General trusted entirely to the courts of justice ; but unless sufficient securities were created in the constitution of the courts, and code of law, the officers of justice would only become the sharers and protectors of every profitable crime :

Though it appears that the Governor-General had very little knowledge of what properties are required in systems of judicature, and of taxation, to prevent them from ensuring the misery of the people ; yet, of one security, he gives a just conception : "The rights of property, of all descriptions of landholders, should be defined ; and the definition of those rights should form the basis of adjudication."<sup>2</sup> When he mentions landlords, of course it is not exclusively. He means not that the rights of that class of men should have the protection of law ; and the rights of other men be left the sport and prey of arbitrary will. He means that the rights of all men should be accurately defined. And he would allow, that not only their rights but their obligations should be defined, whence alone the violations of them can be effectually suppressed. These definitions, he would, in like manner, allow, ought, by all means, to be made known to every individual whom they concern, that is, the whole community ; in other words, they should be formed into a book, and effectually

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, v. 25, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. v. p. 26.

disseminated and taught.<sup>1</sup> But when the Governor-General expressed his conviction of the great importance of embodying law in accurate definitions, that is, in a well-constructed code; in what degree was it unknown to him that this indispensable requisite to the good administration of justice was, over the greater part of the field of law, altogether wanting in the provinces which he governed, and even in his native country itself?<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It may be useful to some persons to see, what real good sense, without the aid of systematic inquiry, has taught on this subject in a remarkable age and country. *Συνίετε καθ' ὃν τρόπον, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ Σόλων τοὺς νομοὺς ὥς καλῶς κελεύει τεθεναί; . . . ἵν' εἰς ἡ περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐκαστοῦ νομὸς, καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἰδιώτας αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ταραττή, καὶ ποιῇ τῶν ἅπαντας εἰδοτῶν τοὺς νομοὺς ἐλαττοὺν εἶχειν; ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἡ τὰντα ἀναγινῶναι καὶ μαθεῖν ἅπλα καὶ σαφῆ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ προ τούτων γε ἐπετάξεν ἐκθεῖναι προσθεν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄντων, καὶ τῷ γραμματεὶ παραδοῦναι; τούτωνδ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγινώσκειν, ἵν' ἕκαστος ὕμῶν, ἀκούσας πολλὰ κῆρυξ, καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν σκεψάμενος, ὅ αν ἡ καὶ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα, τὰντα νομοθετῇ.* Demosth. contra Leptinem: Reiske, i. 485. The circumstances here pointed out, on the authority of Solon, are, first, clearness, simplicity, and certainty in the laws; so great, that any private man may be as well acquainted with them, as little liable to sustain any evil by his ignorance of them, as the man who makes them the study of his life: Secondly, that the most effectual means should be taken to make every man fully acquainted with the laws, by exposing them, in terms, to public view, even before enactment, and making them be read by the public reader, in the congregations or assemblies.

*Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν προσήκει τοὺς ὀρθῶς κεκμενούς, ὅσα ἐνδεχεται, πάντα διορίσειν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὅτι ἐλαχίστα καταλείπειν ἐπὶ τοῖς κρινόνσι; πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι ἓνα λαβεῖν καὶ ὀλίγους, ῥαοὺς, ἢ πολλοὺς ἐν φρονούντας καὶ δυνάμενους νομοθετεῖν καὶ δικάζειν. Ἐπειθ', αἱ μὲν νομοθεσίαι ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου σκεψάμενων γίνονται; αἱ δὲ κρίσεις ἐξ ὑπογυίου, ὥστε χαλεπὸν ἀποδίδοναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ συμφέρον καλῶς τὸν κρινόντα. Τὸ δὲ πάντων μεγίστον, ὅτι ἡ μὲν τοῦ νομοθετοῦ κρίσις, οὐ κατὰ μέρος, οὐτε περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀλλὰ περὶ μελλόντων τε καὶ καθόλου ἐστὶ; ὁ δ' ἐκκλησιαστής, καὶ δικαστής, ἥδη περὶ παρόντων καὶ ἀφωρισμένων κρινόνσι; πρὸς οὓς καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν ἤδη, καὶ τὸ μισεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἰδίον συμφέρον συνήρηται πολλὰ κῆρυξ; ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν ἱκανῶς τὸ ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ἐπισκοτεῖν τῇ κρίσει τὸ ἰδίον ἢ τὸν ἄλλου ἢ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ. Arist. Rhetor. lib. i. cap. 1.* The proposition here is, That a system of law, to be good, must define every thing, susceptible of definition, within the field of law; and leave as little as possible to the judges. Three reasons are annexed: First, that it is easier to find one or two men, provided with the wisdom necessary for the making of laws, than to find a multitude: Secondly, that legislation is to be performed cautiously and deliberately; judication must be performed upon the spur of the occasion, and expeditiously, which takes from judges the power of tracing accurately the limits of utility and justice: Thirdly, the decision of the legislator, and that is the most important consideration of all, is not about particulars, and cases present to the senses; but about genera, and cases yet to come; whereas the decision of the judge is about particulars, and things present to the senses; things to which his passions are apt to be linked, and by which his interests are apt to be affected: in such a manner, that his discernment of right and wrong is obscured, by the intervention of what is agreeable or painful to himself.

<sup>2</sup> This lengthened review of the negotiations with Oude avoids, with some want of candour, their most important feature, the political necessity of the measures adopted. It was too late to inquire by what means the kind of connexion which had been formed with the princes of this country had grown up. They had become dependants upon the English government, their principality was an integral part of the British empire; was it to be suffered that this part should be a source of weakness instead of strength; that its rulers should be objects of distrust and fear instead of reliance? It was undeniable that their



BOOK VI. Having accomplished all the measures to which his  
 CHAP. IX. notions of reform for Oude were extended, the Governor-

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very existence was the fruit of British forbearance and protection. It was at any time in the power of the English government to annihilate their Nawab Vizirs, and had their support been withdrawn those princes must have fallen victims to the superior strength and ambition of the Mahrattas. To have permitted this would, however, have brought a dangerous enemy close to the English frontiers, whilst it would have added to their means of inflicting injury. The entire command of the resources of Oude was therefore, and must ever be, a legitimate object of British policy, and an equitable return for our protection and forbearance. The resources of Oude were, however, unavailable as long as they were mismanaged; they were worse than unavailable, they were hurtful. That the Nawab Vizir could not maintain an effective body of troops was not matter of conjecture but of experience. Sadut Ali had himself declared that no trust could be placed in them if Zemann Shah invaded Hindustan, and on the occasion of Vizir Ali's insurrection they had shown more disposition to join than to oppose him. It was evident, therefore, that the military force of Oude must be entirely under the control of the British Government. The Government well knew that troops, to be effective, must be paid: the incorrigible improvidence of Asiatic princes rendered it certain that the treasury of Lucknow would not long furnish the pay of the army with punctuality, and the only source upon which reliance could be placed, was the assignment of part of the revenues of the principality, or in other words, part of the principality itself. It is objected to this in the text, that we thereby undertook the defence of the whole with the revenues of a part; if those revenues were sufficient the objection is without force, and that they were deemed sufficient follows from the extent of the Government demand. They themselves indicated what they wanted. The same object, the safety and prosperity of the whole state, considering Oude as a part of the whole state, not as an independent and separate state, required the interposition of the supreme authority, even in the civil government of the province. It is the duty and interest of the British empire that Oude should be prosperous. Now it is very true that the shortest and simplest mode of providing for the good government, civil as well as military, of Oude, would have been the assumption of the whole authority, and the suppression of the expensive, and, sometimes, unmanageable machinery of a ruling dynasty of native princes. It may be doubted, however, if the abrupt supersession of Sadut Ali by an English functionary would have been more consonant with English notions of justice and moderation than the abstraction of a part only of his dominions, and his enforced subordination to the will of the Government. The title, the station, and many of the privileges and powers of his place were still left to the Nawab Vizir, and, at a subsequent period, he had been gratified by the title of king. This is more than a bare title, and if the authority that it implies be judiciously and ably exercised, it may be exercised for all the purposes of civil administration without any control from the British Government. That it will be so exercised for any length of time is very unlikely; and the interference of the paramount state will, therefore, be still required. That interference, however, is fully justifiable upon the principle that the degree of independence left to the king of Oude is matter of sufferance, and that it must be still more limited, or altogether extinguished, whenever the interests of the British empire in India, of which it is a constituent part, clearly demand its curtailment or suppression. That the mode in which the negotiation was carried on was, in some respects, objectionable, may be admitted. The real character of the transaction was coercion. Sadut Ali was compelled reluctantly to agree to loss of territory and diminution of power. Still this merit may be claimed for the attempts at procuring his acquiescence, that they were intended to be less grating to his feelings than a stern and arrogant demand of his submission would have been. The intention was not disappointed, and Sadut Ali no doubt found some consolation for his impaired dignity in the contemplation of the struggles he had made to avert the catastrophe. A very short time after the business had been settled he seems to have been reconciled to his fate, and to have been happy in

General quitted Lucknow at the end of February, and proceeded to Benares, on his way to Calcutta. He had appointed the agents of the Bhow Begum to meet him there, for the adjustment of certain claims, which she preferred, both against the Vizir and the English government. But he was still obliged to defer the decision. A circumstance had occurred with regard to the Begum, which is too intimately connected with other proceedings of the English government in Oude, not to require to be shortly adduced. While the negotiations were proceeding with the Vizir, the Begum had formally tendered to the English government an offer to constitute the Company her heir. The object of the Begum in this determination was to secure herself completely, by the protection of the English government, against the exactions to which she was exposed at the hand of her grandson. Against this disposal of her property, however, the law of the country, and the law of nations, interposed; it being an established principle of Mohammedan jurisprudence, that the sovereign is legal heir to the property of all his subjects; and the Governor-General acknowledging "the justice and policy of preventing the transfer of individual property, by gift or testament, to a foreign state." He determined, however, to accept the legacy, and reasoned in favour of his determination in the following words: "The exalted rank of the Begum, and the superior relation in which she stands towards his Excellency the Vizir, are circumstances which distinguish her condition from that of a subject possessing no rights of property independent of the will of his despotic sovereign: She derives her title to her present possessions from the same source from which his

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the quiet enjoyment of the amusements of royalty and the accumulation of wealth. See Lord Valentia's Travels, vol. i.

Some of the comments of the text upon Lord Wellesley's general or special reasonings are not undeserved. His Lordship, like Warren Hastings, was somewhat too fond of writing. He who writes or talks much will say or write more than is necessary—something that had better have been left unsaid or unwritten. Fewer words would have been more than enough to have convinced Sadut Ali that the Governor-General, whilst he wished to preserve the show of attention to the Nawab's feelings, was determined to effect his purpose, and would have saved his noble correspondent from much of that unfriendly criticism to which his voluminous epistles have, not without some foundation, exposed him. For further illustrations of the Oude negotiations, see the Wellesley Despatches, vol. ii., also the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. viii., and the Parliamentary Debates for 1806.—W.



BOOK VI. Excellency derives his title to the musnud ; her right, therefore to dispose of her personal property, in any manner she may deem expedient, except for purposes injurious to the interests of the state, must be admitted — and the peculiar nature of the connexion subsisting between his Excellency the Vizir and the Honourable Company, renders the Begum's proposed transfer of her wealth to the latter, at the period of her decease, wholly unobjectionable with reference to the public interests of the state of Oude." The remarkable contrast, between this doctrine relative to the property of the Begum, and the doctrine which was promulgated by Mr. Hastings, as the ground on which he bartered to the late Vizir the liberty of taking it away from her, the doctrine too on which that Governor was defended, ay, and acquitted, before the high court of parliament,<sup>1</sup> will not escape the attentive student of Indian history, to the latest generation. The Governor-General adds ; "The character of his Excellency the Vizir, and his inordinate passion for the accumulation of wealth, justify the Begum in seeking timely protection for herself, her family, and dependants, from the effects of his Excellency's known views, and sordid disposition." Recollecting, it seems, the traffic between a predecessor of the Governor-General, and a predecessor of his own, when certain benefits to the Company were exchanged for a permission to spoil the Begum, and other members of the royal family, the Vizir had looked to this quarter, as a source of indemnity for the cessions to which he was urged, and had signified his disposition to conclude a similar bargain. The indignation of the Governor-General is expressed in the following words : "The inclination manifested by his Excellency the Vizir, in the form of a conditional assent to Lieutenant-Colonel Scott's proposal for a territorial cession, to degrade and despoil the most distinguished characters of his family and his court — a design, though under some degree of disguise, particularly directed to the Begum — and his insidious and disgraceful attempt to obtain the sanction of the British name to such unwarrantable acts of proscription, have given additional weight, in his Lordship's mind, to the arguments above detailed, and have determined his Lordship not only to acquiescence in

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra.

the Begum's proposal to its utmost extent, if it should be revived on her part; but to encourage her Highness to renew her proposition at the earliest period of time, and by every justifiable means."<sup>1</sup> Such is the language, in which Marquis Wellesley treats a conduct, which had been pursued by one of his most distinguished predecessors; defended, as meritorious, by some of the most powerful of the public men in England; and solemnly declared to be innocent, by a judicial decision of the High Court of Parliament itself.

In the meantime, the substitution of the forms and agents of the Company's government to those of the government of the Vizir was carrying on in the ceded provinces. The Governor-General had stated to the home authorities, in the letter in which he announced the ratification of the treaty, that the reasons which induced him to vest his brother with extraordinary powers for the superintendence of this service, were the great difficulty of the task, the peculiarly appropriate qualifications which Mr. Wellesley had displayed in the negotiation with the Vizir, and the authority which he would derive from his relationship with himself. And he expressed his "trust, that in the course of a year, or possibly within a shorter period of time, the settlement of the ceded districts might be so far advanced, as to enable him to withdraw Mr. Wellesley, and leave the administration of the country nearly in the same form as that of Benares."<sup>2</sup> When this letter reached the Court of Directors, that body of rulers, professing their inability, till they received the proper documents, to decide upon the means by which the treaty had been accomplished, declared the obligation, under which they felt themselves, to lose no time, in condemning the appointment of Mr. Wellesley, who was the private secretary of the Governor-General, and belonged not to the class of Company's servants as "a virtual supersession of the just rights" of those servants, whom the Court of Directors were bound to protect; and a violation of the act of parliament which expressly confines the filling up

<sup>1</sup> Instructions, under the signature of the Secretary of the Government, sent to Mr. Wellesley and Colonel Scott, at Lucknow, under date Monghir, 21st September, 1801. Papers, ut supra, iv. 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> See the Letter in which he announced the ratification of the treaty, dated on the Ganges, 14th of November, 1801, papers, ut supra, v. 15.

BOOK VI. of vacancies in the civil line of the Company's service in  
 CHAP. IX. India to the civil servants of the Company. They directed  
 accordingly, "that Mr. Wellesley be removed forthwith."  
 1802. This letter, dated the 19th of August, 1802, transmitted,  
 as was legally necessary, to the Board of Control, was re-  
 turned, on the 20th of September, with a prohibition to  
 express for the present any decision upon the appointment  
 of Mr. Wellesley, for the following reasons; first, because  
 the service to which Mr. Wellesley was appointed, being  
 not in the fixed and ordinary line of the Company's ser-  
 vice, and not permanent, but extraordinary and temporary,  
 it did not appear that the rights of the covenanted ser-  
 vants, or the law which prescribed the mode of supplying  
 vacancies, were infringed; secondly, because occasions  
 might occur in which, for extraordinary duties, the em-  
 ployment of persons, without the line of the Company's  
 service, might be expedient; thirdly, because if there ex-  
 isted any such cases, it was proper to wait for the reasons  
 of the Governor-General, before a decision was pronounced;  
 especially, as Mr. Wellesley, it was probable, would have  
 resigned his office, before the order for his removal  
 could be received, and as he had disinterestedly declined  
 all emoluments beyond the amount of what would have  
 belonged to him, as private-secretary to the Governor-  
 General.<sup>1</sup>

On the 13th of March, 1802, the Governor-General wrote  
 to the Court of Directors in the following words: "I have  
 the satisfaction to assure your Honourable Court, that the  
 settlement of the ceded provinces has proceeded with a  
 degree of facility and success, which has exceeded my most  
 sanguine expectations."

A business, relating to another territorial cession, in  
 the mean time occupied the attention of the Lieutenant-  
 Governor. In addition to the territorial cessions which  
 had been extorted from the Nawab Vizir, was the tribute  
 paid to the government of Oude by the sovereign of  
 Furruckabad. The ancestors of this Prince had long  
 solicited, and enjoyed, the protection of the East India  
 Company, against the wish to dispossess them, which they  
 knew was cherished by the Nabobs of Oude. Their prin-  
 cipality extended along the western banks of the Ganges,

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, ii. 42—44.



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of Oude, a space of about 150 miles in length, and a third of that extent in breadth; yielding a revenue of CHAP. IX.  
nearly ten and a half lacs of rupees. It was surrounded 1802.  
for the greater part by the territories belonging to Oude, which had been recently transferred to the East India Company. For terminating the disputes, which had long subsisted between the princes of Furruckabad and Oude, a treaty, under the influence of the English government, was concluded in 1786; according to which it was agreed, that the Nawab of Furruckabad should not retain any military force beyond what was requisite for purposes of state; that the Nawab of Oude should always maintain a battalion of Sepoys in Furruckabad for the protection of the territories and person of the Nawab; and "on account," says the treaty, "of the troops which the Nawab Asoph ud Dowla shall so maintain, the Nawab Muzuffer Jung will pay him the sum of four lacs and fifty thousand rupees yearly, instead of all the sums which the said Asoph ud Dowla, in capacity of Vizir, used formerly to take from him; and henceforth his people shall be at his own disposal." The English government having, in its quality of protector, quartered a Resident upon the Nawab of Furruckabad, and a use having been made of his power, which the Marquis Cornwallis, in a despatch to his masters, described as "having ever been highly offensive to the Vizir, as having in no degree promoted the interest or the satisfaction of the Nawab, and as having — while it produced no sort of advantage to the Company — by no means contributed to the credit of the government of Hindustan," that Supreme Governor, in 1787, determined, "That the English Resident at Furruckabad should be recalled, and that no other should afterwards be appointed."

The eldest son of the Nawab Muzuffer Jung being convicted of the murder of his father, was carried to Lucknow, and confined by orders of the Vizir, when the succession devolved upon the second son of the late Nawab, at that time a minor. The appointment of a regent was regarded as a point of too much importance to be left to the Vizir; the English government interfered, and made choice of an uncle of the young Nabob, who



BOOK VI. had formerly been minister. On the visit paid by the  
 CHAP. IX. late Governor-General to Lucknow, in 1797, he was  
 waited upon by the young Nawab, and the Regent, who  
 1802. had numerous complaints to prefer against one another. The Regent was continued in his office, and terms were drawn up for better regulating the administration. The Marquis Wellesley, in his progress towards Oude, had required the presence of both the Nawab and the Regent at Caunpore, and had carried them with him to Lucknow. His purpose was, both to receive their acknowledgements upon the late transfer of the Furruckabad tribute; and "to adjust," as he himself expresses it, "the terms of a new and improved arrangement of the affairs of that principality — upon terms calculated to secure its prosperity, and beneficial to the interests of the Honourable Company." The pressure, notwithstanding, of other affairs, prevented him from engaging in the business of the meditated changes; and he left the execution of them to the Lieutenant-Governor of the ceded country, to whom the Nawab and Regent were desired to repair with all practicable expedition.<sup>1</sup>

The termination of the Nawab's minority was now approaching, when he desired that the power and management of his principality should be put into his own hands. In writing his instructions to Mr. Wellesley, the Governor-General remarks, that the time was now come, when it became necessary either to vest the Nawab with the general government of the country, or to demand the cession of it to the Honourable Company.

The advantages of the cession to the Company, "both in a political and pecuniary point of view," he said, "were obvious." And to leave the principality to the rightful heir of its ancient masters, was extremely objectionable; inasmuch as the Regent, who had an interest in defaming him, had given him a very bad character. It is true, the Nawab had also given the Regent a bad character; but the Regent, it seems, met with belief; the Nawab, not.

Two remarks are here unavoidable. The first is, that whatever were the springs of action in the mind of the

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra xii. 9. See also the article of charge against Marquis Wellesley, relating to Furruckabad. For the statistics of Furruckabad, see Rennel and Hamilton's East India Gazetteer.

Governor-General, he was forcibly drawn to believe, in conformity with his wishes ; and few men, where the case is involved in any obscurity, are capable of believing in opposition to them. The next remark is, that we have here another instance of the doctrine, taught to the world, both by the reasonings, and still more remarkably by the practice of the Governor-General, that, wherever the character of a sovereign is bad, and his government either bad, or so much as likely to be so, he ought to be deposed, and his power transferred to hands, in which a better use may be expected to be made of it.

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It is not to be supposed, that the Governor-General would wish to narrow his doctrine to the basis of his particular case ; because that would reduce it to the atrocious Machiavelism, That it is always lawful for a strong prince to depose a weak one, at least if he has first kept him a while in the thralldom of dependence, whenever he chooses to suppose that he himself would govern better than the weak one.

The Regent arrived at Bareilly which the Lieutenant-Governor of the ceded districts had made the seat of his administration, on the 30th of April, 1802, a few days earlier than the Nawab. The Lieutenant-Governor requested to know what plan of reform he would recommend, for the government of the Nabob's country. "He appeared at first," says the Lieutenant-Governor, "very unwilling to disclose his sentiments, stating in general terms that he was unable to form any judgment of what was best for the country ; but that he was willing to subscribe to any arrangement which the Governor-General might deem advisable." The Lieutenant-Governor, proceeded to press him, declaring to him, that "without a free and unreserved communication, on his part, no confidential intercourse could subsist between them." The Regent stated his wish to decline the suggestion of any opinions, and entreated to hear what were the designs of the British government. "Being desirous," says the Lieutenant-Governor, "that the proposal, of vesting the civil and military authority in the hands of the British government, should originate with the Regent, I continued to urge him to an unreserved disclosure of his sentiments with respect to the most eligible plan for the future

BOOK VI. government." He then stated, that three modes occurred  
 CHAP. IX. to his mind. One was, that the administration should  
 1802. still remain in his own hands. Another was, that the  
 Nawab, upon the expiration of his minority, should assume  
 the reins of government. The third was, that the English  
 should take the government to themselves. As to the  
 first plan, the Lieutenant-Governor replied, that the aver-  
 sion of the Nawab would render it impracticable. From  
 the second, if the character ascribed to the Nawab, by  
 the Regent himself, were true, the effects of good govern-  
 ment could not be expected. Remained, as the only un-  
 objectionable scheme, the transfer of all the powers of  
 government to the Honourable Company. "Here," says  
 Mr. Wellesley, in his account transmitted to the Governor-  
 General, "I stated, that your Lordship had long been of  
 opinion that this was the only arrangement which could  
 ultimately afford satisfaction to all parties, and establish the  
 welfare and prosperity of the province upon a secure and  
 permanent foundation." The Regent was assured that  
 a liberal provision would be made for all the persons  
 whom this arrangement affected, and that his interests in  
 particular would not be neglected. The Regent "stated  
 in reply, that he had the fullest reliance upon the British  
 government; and that he was ready to promote the Gover-  
 nor-General's views, by all the means in his power."

Upon the arrival of the Nawab, a representation was  
 made to him of the necessity of a radical reform in the  
 government of his country, and of the plan which the  
 Governor-General approved. Requesting to receive the  
 proposition in writing, it was transmitted to him in the  
 following words; "That the Nawab should be continued  
 on the musnud of his ancestors with all honour, consign-  
 ing over the civil and military administration of the pro-  
 vince of Furruckabad into the hands of the Company's  
 government: that whatever balance should remain from  
 the revenues collected, after paying the amount of the  
 Company's tribute, the charges of government, and the  
 expense of a battalion of Sepoys, in the room of an army  
 now maintained by the Regent, should be paid without  
 fail into the Nawab's treasury." What is here remarkable  
 is the *language*; the Nawab was to be continued on the  
 throne of his ancestors, with all honour; at the same



time that the government and dominion of the country were wholly and for ever to be taken from him, and he was to be reduced to the condition of a powerless individual, a mere pensioner of the state. A new degree of skill, in the mode of stating things, had been acquired since abdication was proposed to the Vizir. The Nawab remonstrated, in moderate, but pathetic terms: "I have understood the proposition for delivering up the country of Furruckabad into the hands of the Company's government. I have no power to make any objections to whatever you propose: but you know that the Governor-General, during my minority, delivered over the country to Khirud-mund Khan, as deputy; now that my minority has passed, when I was in hopes that I should be put in possession of the country and property, this proposition is made to me. I am totally at a loss what to do. If I deliver over the country to the English government, all my relations and my neighbours, and all the nobility of Hindustan, will say that I have been found so unfit by the English government, and they did not think proper to intrust me with the management of such a country: and I shall never escape, for many generations, from the sneers of the people. If, on the contrary, I say anything in disobedience to your orders, it will be against all rules of submission and propriety." He then proceeded to propose, that the English government should appoint one of its own servants, as superintendent of revenue; who should take cognizance of the collections; send even his own agents to the villages, to act in common with the Furruckabad collectors; and transmit the stated tribute to the Company. "In this way," said he, "your wishes may be accomplished, and my honour and name preserved among the people.—As hitherto, no person throughout Hindustan, without a fault, has been deprived of the Company's friendship and generosity; if I should also gain my desires, it would not derogate from your friendship and generosity."

The Lieutenant-Governor immediately replied, that his proposition was inadmissible; that, according to the conviction of the Governor-General, nothing but transfer of the government could answer the ends proposed; and "he renewed that proposition with an earnest request that



BOOK VI. the Nabob would take it into his cool and dispassionate  
 CHAP. IX. consideration." The Nawab, still venturing to declare it  
 1802. "extraordinary, that no other mode could be devised," for  
 the rectification of what was amiss, entreated to be furnished with a statement of the revenues, of the demands of the English, and of the balance which would remain for his subsistence, after deduction of them was made. By the account which was delivered to him, it appeared that he would receive 62,366 rupees, per annum. The Nawab offered little further objection. Some moderate requests which he preferred were liberally granted. And a treaty was concluded on the 4th of June, 1802, by which the country was ceded in perpetuity to the English, but instead of the balance of the revenues, a fixed sum of one lac and 8000 rupees per annum was settled on the Nawab.

"It may be proper," says the Lieutenant-Governor, in concluding his report, upon this transaction, to the Governor-General, "to observe, that Khirudmund Khan (the Regent) has afforded me no assistance towards obtaining the Nawab's consent to the cession, although upon his arrival at Bareilly, he confessed himself to be aware of the necessity of it.—I have great reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Nawab; who, if he had been suffered to follow the dictates of his own judgment, would, I am persuaded, have acceded to your Lordship's proposals with very little hesitation. He has invariably expressed himself desirous of promoting your Lordship's views, by all the means in his power." The ground, then, upon which the necessity of taking the country was founded, namely, the bad character of the Nabob, was discovered, and that, before the conclusion of the business, to be false.<sup>1</sup> "It is satisfactory," says the Lieutenant-Governor in another despatch, "to reflect that the transfer of the province of Furruckabad has not been less beneficial to the interests of the Nabob than to those of the Company. Previously to my departure from the ceded provinces, I had an interview with the Nabob at Furruckabad, who expressed himself highly gratified by the arrangement which had taken place; and whose respectable appearance, surrounded by his family and dependants, formed a striking

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, xii. 9—28.

contrast with the state of degradation in which he appeared, when the affairs of Furruckabad were administered by his uncle, the Nabob Khirudmund Khan." <sup>1</sup> It is curious enough to observe the doctrine which is held forth by the Anglo-Indian government. Uniformly, as they desire to transfer the sovereignty of any prince—the Nabob of Furruckabad, the Nabob of Oude, the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Raja of Tanjore,—to themselves, they represent it as no injury to the Prince to be deprived of his sovereignty; but, on the other hand a benefit, and a great one, if they are allowed to live upon a handsome income, as private men. Do the East India Company, and the servants and masters of the East India Company, limit their doctrine to the case of East India Princes, or do they hold it as a general doctrine, applicable to princes in every part of the globe?

In what was called the settlement of the country, for which the Lieutenant-Governor was specially appointed, the principal duty which he prescribed to himself, the principal duty which was expected of him, was to put in play the English machinery for the collection of the revenue. The English collectors were distributed; and, after as much knowledge as they could, by inquiry and personal inspection, obtain respecting the ability of the contributors, an assessment at so much per village was laid on the land; and the terms of it settled for three years. In some of the districts, in which the present desolation seemed easy to be repaired, an increase of rent was to be levied each succeeding year.

The Sayer, including duties of transit, and some other taxes, the Lieutenant-Governor found here to be characterized by the same inconvenience which had recommended the abolition of them in Bengal; namely, great expense of collection, great vexation to the people, and little revenue to the government. He, therefore, took them away; and established a regular custom-house tax, in their place.

Salt, in the ceded districts, had heretofore only paid certain duties to the government; and was imported into the districts by dealers. These dealers are represented by the Lieutenant-Governor as few in number, able to

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<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra; i. 36.



BOOK VI. support a kind of monopoly, and regulate the price at  
 CHAP. IX. their will. The sale of salt was now erected into a monopoly in the hands of government. The Lieutenant-Governor calculated, that the profit to government, "without," he says, "*materially* enhancing the price to consumers," would be eleven lacs of rupees per annum.

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The commercial resources of the country presented to the Lieutenant-Governor an object of particular care. There was no obstruction, but what might easily be removed, in the navigation of the Jumna, from its entrance into the country, to its junction with the Ganges. By removing the evils which had driven commerce from this river, piracy, and vexatious duties, he expected to increase exceedingly the commercial transactions of the country, and to render Allahabad, which was a sacred city of great resort, a remarkable emporium between the eastern and western quarters of Hindustan.<sup>1</sup>

The Commissioners of the Board of Settlement, in addition to their administrative duties, as assistants of the Lieutenant-Governor, were appointed the judges of circuit and appeal; and six judges, with the title of registrars, were destined to hold Zillah Courts, at the six principal places of the country.<sup>2</sup>

In the new country were several Zemindars, who, as usual under the native governments, had enjoyed a sort of sovereignty, and of whom little more was exacted than an annual tribute, and sometimes the use of their troops in war. In the first year of the Company's possession, these Zemindars were only required to yield the same tribute which they had paid to the Vizir. To the alterations which were proposed in the second year, a Raja, named Bugwunt Sing, who possessed the two forts of Sasnee and Bidgeghur, and maintained an army of 20,000 men, showed an aversion to submit. He was given to understand, that in the terms no alteration would be made, and that non-compliance must be followed by the surrender of his forts. It was deemed a matter of more than ordinary importance to dispossess Bugwunt Sing of these two forts, both as they rendered him too powerful for a compliant subject, and as his example afforded encouragement to other Zemindars.

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, i. 34—42.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 64.

On the 12th of December, 1802, Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, with a force consisting of four troops of native cavalry, four battalions of native infantry, and a supply of ordnance, took a position about two miles distant from the fort of Sassnee. He was not ready to commence the operations of the siege till the 27th, when the approaches were begun, at the distance of 800 yards from the place. On the 28th the garrison began for the first time to fire. On the 30th, towards evening, a sally was made against the head of the trenches, and repulsed with a very trifling loss. On the 3rd of January, 1803, about the same time of the day, another sally was made on the trenches, by a large body of infantry, under cover of a heavy fire from the fort; but though some of the enemy rushed impetuously into the trenches, they speedily retired. The breaching and enfilading batteries were completed on the night of the 4th. It was found necessary to increase the force, employed in the reduction of the Raja. The 4th regiment of native cavalry, the 2nd battalion of the 17th regiment, and five companies of his Majesty's 76th regiment were added; and the Honourable Major General St. John was sent to take the command. On the evening of the 14th, Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, judging the breach to be practicable, selected fifteen of the flank companies for the assault, and ordered them to storm a little before day-break, while a false attack was made on the opposite side of the fort. They descended into the ditch, and planted their ladders; but unhappily found that by the unexpected depth of the ditch, and the sinking of the ladders in the mud, they came short of the necessary length by several feet. After an ineffectual endeavour to mount, and after the sepoys had remained fifteen minutes upon the ladders, exposed to a heavy fire, the party was withdrawn, with the loss of ten men killed, and somewhat more than double the number wounded.

The Commander-in-Chief repaired to Sasnee with the reinforcement of another regiment of cavalry; joined the besiegers on the 31st; ordered the approaches to be advanced 200 yards, and the place to be invested as closely as possible. On the 8th, the town adjoining the fort was taken. The enemy defended it feebly; but made a strong, though unsuccessful, attempt, to recover it the following night.



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The army proceeded on the 13th, and summoned Bidgeghur, which the commander, without the consent of his master, declined giving up. Weather being adverse, the batteries were not ready till the morning of the 21st. On the evening of the 27th, the breach was made practicable, and at five o'clock in the morning, the assault was to begin; but during the night, exceedingly dark and rainy, the garrison were discovered evacuating the fort. Though many were killed, the majority, and all the principal leaders escaped. The loss during the siege was trifling, but Lieutenant-Colonel James Gordon, an officer of merit, was killed by the explosion of a powder-magazine in the fort, the morning after it was taken.<sup>1</sup>

In the month of March, the commission appointed for the provisional government of the ceded provinces was dissolved; Mr. Wellesley resigned his situation of Lieutenant-Governor; and immediately returned to Europe. In a despatch, dated 19th of November, 1803, the home authorities declare their entire approbation of the late transactions with the Vizir; "the stipulations of the treaty being calculated to improve and secure the interests of the Vizir, as well as those of the Company;" nay more, "to provide more effectually hereafter for the good government of Oude, and consequently for the happiness of its inhabitants." "We cannot conclude," they say, "without expressing our satisfaction, that the cessions in question have been transferred, and provisionally settled, with so little delay, as already to admit of their being brought under the general administration of the Bengal government. The special commission, at the head of which Mr. Henry Wellesley was placed, appear to us to have executed their trust with zeal, diligence, and ability; and the settlement of the revenue, which they have concluded for a period of three years, holds out flattering prospects of

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, Supplement, No. 2, to vol. iii.

future increase. The general report, delivered in by Mr Wellesley, on the termination of his mission, has afforded us much satisfactory information with respect to the resources of the upper provinces; and we are happy to take this occasion of approving the conduct, and acknowledging the services of that gentleman."<sup>1</sup>

As the temptation of administrators to exaggerate the success of their measures is almost irresistible; as the distance of Indian administrators affords them, in this respect, peculiar advantages; and as it is pleasing to be led by flattering representations, this is a deception against which the public, as yet, are by no means sufficiently on their guard. "It is with the highest degree of satisfaction," says the Governor-General in Council, in a despatch in the revenue department, to the home authorities, dated 20th of October, 1803, "that his Excellency in Council acquaints your Honourable Court, that the wisdom of those measures, adopted during the administration of Mr. Wellesley, for promoting the improvement and prosperity of the ceded provinces, appears to have been fully confirmed by the tranquillity which has generally prevailed through the country, and by the punctuality and facility with which the revenue, on account of the first year of the triennial settlement, has been realized."<sup>2</sup> From such a representation as this, every man would conclude, that great contentment and satisfaction prevailed. Hear Mr. Ryley, who was appointed judge and magistrate of the district of Etawah, in February, 1803, and there remained till 1805. Being asked, as a witness before the House of Commons, on the 20th of June, 1806, "Were the Zemin-

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<sup>1</sup> Papers, i. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 46. "The satisfaction," says the judicial letter from Bengal, in the department of the ceded provinces, dated on the same 20th of October, "generally manifested by all descriptions of persons in the ceded provinces, at the transfer of these provinces to the authority of the British government, and the uninterrupted success which attended the measures adopted under the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, by the late Lieutenant-Governor, and the Board of Commissioners, for the complete establishment of the authority of the British government in these provinces, appeared to his Excellency in Council to leave no room to doubt of the expediency of immediately introducing into the ceded provinces the system of internal government established in Bengal. It is with the highest degree of satisfaction, His Excellency in Council is enabled to add, that the tranquillity which has in general prevailed throughout the country, and the submission and obedience, manifested by all classes of people to the authority of the laws, afford abundant proof, both of the beneficial operation of the new form of government, and of the expediency of its introduction." Supplement, ut supra, p. 301.



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dars, and higher orders of the people, attached to our government during the whole period you were judge and magistrate of the Etawah district?"—he answered; "Generally speaking, I believe the higher orders of people in our district were not at all well-inclined to the British government.—Do you not believe that they are ripe for a revolt if a favourable opportunity should offer?—They certainly showed that disposition once or twice during the time I held that office. During your residence there, did the inhabitants become more, or did they become less reconciled to the British government?—I conceive they were subsequently much less reconciled, certainly, than they were at first.—To what cause do you attribute that?—To their being dissatisfied with the rules and regulations introduced into the country for their government.—Did that prevail principally among the Zemindars, or the inhabitants in general?—The inhabitants, in general, are so influenced by the conduct and desires of the Zemindars, who are independent princes, that their desire is principally that of the head men.—Do you consider that the Zemindars, while they were nominally under the Nabob, considered themselves as independent princes, and acted as such?—Certainly, they considered themselves as independent princes."<sup>1</sup> It by no means follows, that any blame was due to the government, on account of the disaffection of the Zemindars; because they were dissatisfied, from the loss of their power; and so long as they retained it, good government could not be introduced. Yet a desire existed, on the part of administration, to conceal the fact, to conceal it probably even from themselves.

After several manifestations of a refractory spirit, the Zemindar of Cuchoura agreed to deliver up his fort. On the 4th of March, 1803, an English captain, and two companies of sepoys, were admitted within the outer wall, when the army of intimidation, which had accompanied them, was withdrawn. After they had been delayed under various pretences, for several hours, a gun was run out from the upper fort to a position in which it could rake the passage in which the sepoys were drawn up, and the parapets of the walls on each side, were lined immediately with about eight hundred armed men; when a mes-

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Evidence, p. 54—59.

sage was received from the Zemindar, that unless they retired, they would all be destroyed. As nothing could be gained by resistance, the commanding officer obeyed and was not molested in his retreat. When the army had taken up its position before the place, the Zemindar wrote a letter, in which he affirmed, that he had been treated with indignity by the gentlemen who had arrived to demand surrender of the fort, that hostilities were begun by the English troops, and that so far from intentions of war, he was ready to yield implicit obedience. After what had happened; he was told, that nothing would suffice but the unconditional surrender of himself, and all that appertained to him. The trenches were begun on the night of the 8th; the breaching battery opened on the morning of the 12th; and before night, had made such progress, that with two hours more of daylight, the breach would have been effected. Between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, the enemy rushed from the fort, with a resolution to force their way through the chain of posts which surrounded them. They were attacked, and pursued for several miles with considerable slaughter. The principal loss of the English was in Major Nairne, an officer of the highest promise, who was killed by a matchlock ball, as he was leading his corps to the charge.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence of disaffection in the ceded districts broke out, in a manner somewhat alarming, at the commencement of the Mahratta war. On the 4th of September, 1803, a party of Mahrattas, led by a French officer, made an incursion in the neighbourhood of Shekoabad, in the district of Etawah. Mr. Ryley is asked by the House of Commons, "Did the Zemindars and the other people not show an inclination to join him?" He answered, "They not only showed an inclination, but they actually did join him."<sup>2</sup>

The Raja Chutter Saul possessed the fort of Tetteeah, and had not only shown a refractory, but a predatory disposition; he was therefore considered in rebellion, and a

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, Supplement, No. 2 to vol. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of Evidence, p. 55. "From the general spirit of revolt which the Zemindars of this country exhibited, on the small check which our troops received at Shekoabad, &c." says a letter of Captain M. White commanding at Etawah, dated 12th September, 1803. Papers, ut supra, Supplement, No. 2, vol. iii.



BOOK VI. reward offered for his person, either dead or alive. On the  
 CHAP. IX. 30th of September, Lieutenant-Colonel Guthrie marched  
 1893. to Teeteeah; and, as it had been dismantled by a detachment of the British army a few months before, expected to take it by assault. After a severe contest of some hours, he was overpowered by the enemy, and sent a message to Captain Dalston to hasten to his relief. On the arrival of that officer, he found the force under Colonel Guthrie completely broken, and sheltering themselves in the ditch, immediately under the wall of the fort: while the people within, not able to take aim at them with their matchlocks, were throwing powder-pots, which exploded among them in the ditch, and the people of the surrounding villages were assembling to attack them from without. Captain Dalston with his field-pieces soon cleared the tops of the walls; and enabled Colonel Guthrie and his party to make their escape from the ditch. The loss was serious, Colonel Guthrie and three other English officers were wounded, the first mortally. Of the native officers nearly one third were either killed or wounded. They were unable to bring off either their gun or tumbril, of which the one was spiked, the other blown up. On the following night, the enemy evacuated the fort, and the Raja fled to the other side of the Jumna.

Whatever belonged to the offenders was, in these cases, taken as forfeited to the government; for their persons, all the more eminent among them found the means of escape.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER X.

*The Nabob of Surat deposed.—The Raja of Tanjore deposed.—The Nabob of Arcot deposed.—[The Governor-General resigns.]*

THE city of Surat, situated in the province of Gujrat, on the south side of the river Taptee, was by far the greatest place of maritime commerce in India, when the

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of evidence, p. 55.—M. Whatever may be thought of the means by which possession of these districts was obtained, the occurrences narrated in the text are strong proofs that the change of masters was for the benefit of the country. It was quite impossible for any government to subsist where every petty chief intrenched himself in his castle, and was able to set his liege lord at defiance. It required the power and vigour of the British government to put an end to this state of anarchy in the Doab.—W.

Europeans first discovered the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. Communicating easily with some of the richest provinces of the Mogul empire, it was conveniently situated not only for the traffic of the western coast of India, but, what was at that time of much greater importance, the trade of the Persian and Arabian gulfs. As it was the port from which a passage was most conveniently taken to the tomb of the prophet, it acquired a peculiar sacredness in the eyes of Mussulmans, and was spoken of under the denomination of one of the gates of Mecca. It acquired great magnitude, as well as celebrity; for, even after it had confessedly declined, it was estimated in 1796 at 800,000 inhabitants; and though it is probable that this amount exceeds the reality, Surat may at this time be regarded as the largest city in India. When the votaries of the ancient religion of Persia, of which the Zend, and its commentary, the Pazend, are the inspired and sacred books, were driven from Persia, and the tolerating policy of Akbar drew a portion of them to India; Surat, as the most celebrated landing-place from Persia, became the principal place of their abode; and there, about 14,000 of their descendants still preserve their manners, and adhere to their worship.

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The present fort or castle of Surat was erected about the year 1543, when Sultaun Mohammed Shah was King of Gujrat. As this kingdom soon after yielded to the Mogul arms, Surat became subject to the government of Delhi. It fell in with the Mogul policy, to separate the administration of the city, from the government of the castle. The Governor of the castle, and its garrison, were maintained by lands or jaghires, and tunkas or assignments on the revenue. The Governor of the town received the customs, or taxes on exports and imports; the taxes called mokaats, on almost all commodities; and the land revenue, subject to certain deductions for the Delhi treasury, of some surrounding districts.

For the maritime protection of the western side of India, the Mogul government established a fleet. Its expense, in the whole or in part, was defrayed by assignments on the revenues of Surat. Some time after the command of this fleet had fallen into the hands of the chiefs called the Siddees of Rajapoor, or about the year



BOOK VI. 1734, the Mahrattas, carrying their conquests over almost  
 CHAP. X. all the province, reduced the revenues of Surat to the  
 1800. taxes levied within the town, and the produce of a few remaining districts. The Nabob of Surat, thus straitened in his resources, began to fail in his payments to the fleet. Thereupon the Siddees blockaded the port; and compelled him to appropriate to those payments the revenue of the principal district from which any land revenue was now derived, as well as a considerable part of the duties collected within the town. In the year 1746, died the Nabob Teg Beg Khan, and was succeeded in the Nabobship by Sudder Khan, whose son, Vukar Khan, entered at the same time upon the government of the castle. But Mea Achund, who had married into the family of the late Nawab, and was supported by his widow, and some of the leading men, contrived to possess himself of the castle, to the expulsion of Vukar Khan. He also applied to the Mahratta, Damagee, the ancestor of the present Gaekwar princes; and promised him a portion of the revenues of Surat, if aided by him in expelling also the Nabob of the town. By this, commenced the Mahratta chout, which was afterwards shared with the Peshwa. An officer, as collector of chout, was established on the part of the Peshwa, and another on the part of the Gaekwar princes, who, under the pretence of its affecting the revenues, and hence the Mahratta chout, interfered with every act of administration, and contributed to increase the misgovernment of the city. Even when the English, at a much later period, conceived the design of forcing upon the Nawab a better administration of justice, they were restrained by fear of the Mahrattas, to whom the chout on law-suits (a fourth part of all litigated property was the fee for government) was no insignificant portion of the exacted tribute.

Mea Achund succeeded in expelling the Nabob of the city, and was himself after a little time compelled to fly; but a second time recovered his authority, which he permanently retained. Amid these revolutions, however, the government of the castle had been acquired by the Siddee. But the use which he made of his power was so oppressive to the city, that several invitations were soon after made to the English to dispossess him; and take

the command both of the castle and the fleet. Fear of embroiling themselves with the Mahrattas, and the danger of deficient funds, kept the English shy till 1758, when an outrage was committed upon some Englishmen by the people of the Siddee, and all redress refused. The Nabob agreed to assist them in any enterprise against the Siddee, provided he himself was secured in the government of the town. A treaty to this effect, reserving to the English the power of appointing a Naib or deputy to the Nawab was concluded on the 4th of March, 1759; and on the same day the Siddee agreed to give up the castle and the fleet. Sunnuds were granted from Delhi, vesting the Company with the command and emoluments of both; in consequence of which, the Mogul flag continued to fly on the castle, and at the mast-head of the Company's principal cruiser on the station. The annual sum, allotted by the sunnuds for the expense of the castle and fleet, was two lacs of rupees; but the sources from which it was to be derived were found to be far from equal to its production.

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In 1763, the Nawab Mea Achund died; and, under the influence of the Bombay government, was succeeded by his son. In 1777, the office of Naib was wholly abolished, by consent of the Company; and its funds transferred to the Exchequer of the Nabob.

Another succession took place in 1790, when the father died, and the son, in right of inheritance, avowed by the English government, ascended the musnud. His right was exactly the same as that of the other governors, whose power became hereditary, and independent, upon the decline of the Mogul government; that of the Subahdars, for example, of Oude, of Bengal, and the Deccan, or the Nawab of Arcot, acknowledged and treated as sovereign, hereditary princes, both by the English government, and the English people.

The expense which the English had incurred, by holding the castle of Surat, had regularly exceeded the sum, which, notwithstanding various arrangements with the Nabob, they had been able to draw from the sources of revenue. Towards the year 1797, the English authorities, both at home and at the spot, expressed impatience under this burden, and the Nawab was importuned for two



BOOK VI. things ; the adoption of measures for the reform of  
 CHAP. X. government in the city ; and an enlargement of the  
 1800. English receipts. The expedient in particular recommended, was, to disband a great proportion of his own undisciplined soldiery, and assign to the English funds sufficient for the maintenance of three local battalions. "The Nabob," says Governor Duncan, "betrayed an immediate jealousy of, and repugnance to, any concession ; as well on the alleged ground of the inadequacy of his funds ; as of the principle of our interference with his administration ; which he declared to be inconsistent with the treaty of 1759." Notwithstanding this, he was induced, after a pressing negotiation, to consent to pay one lac of rupees annually, and to make other concessions to the annual amount of rather more than 30,000 rupees. But on the 8th of January, 1799, before the treaty was concluded, he died. He left only an infant son, who survived him but a few weeks : and his brother, as heir, laid claim to the government.

The power of the English was now so great, that without their consent it was vain to hope to be Governor of Surat ; and it was resolved, on so favourable a conjuncture, to yield their consent, at the price alone of certain concessions. These were, the establishment of a judicature, and the payment of a sufficient quantity of money. The negotiation continued till the month of April, 1800. The chief difficulty regarded the amount of tribute. Importunity was carried to the very utmost. The re-establishment of the naibship was the instrument of intimidation ; for the right of the claimant was regarded by the Bombay government as too certain to be disputed. Governor Duncan, in his letter to the English chief at Surat, dated 18th April, 1799, describing a particular sum of money as no more than what the Nabob ought to give, to ensure his succession, and prevent the English from appointing a naib, adds, "which we have as clear a right to do, as he has to become Nabob ; or to enjoy the fruits of our protection to his family and himself. Both points stand equally specified in the treaty." With regard to the right, however, of re-establishing a naibship, after having sanctioned its abolition, the case was by no means clear. The Court of Directors, in their letter to the Bombay Presidency, dated

the 17th of February, 1797, had declared, "Although it cannot be denied that the present Nabob, his father, and his grandfather, owed their elevation to the influence of the Company; we doubt our right to impose upon the Nabob an officer under this denomination; from the consideration that the first naib, nominated by the Company's representatives in 1759, was appointed under an express article of a written agreement with the then Nabob Mea Achund, and that upon the death of a second naib the office was consolidated with the office of Nabob, and was not renewed upon the succession of the present Nabob." With regard to the right of inheritance in the present claimant, beside the declarations of Governor Duncan, of which that above quoted is not the only one, Mr. Seton, the chief at Surat, in his letter to Mr. Duncan, of the 26th of December, 1799, says, "The Supreme Government determined the musnud to be the hereditary right of his brother, and from that decision, consequently now his established inheritance."

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The claimant consented to pay a lac of rupees annually but perseveringly insisted that beyond that sum the revenues of the place would not enable him to go. After every mode of importunity was exhausted, and every species of inquiry was made, Mr. Seton became satisfied, that his statement was just, and on the 18th of August, 1799, wrote to the Governor of Bombay, in the following words "I have left nothing undone; and pressed him to the utmost. I am convinced he has not the means, or believe he really would pay more. Poor Mr. Farmer has been led into a false opinion of the resources of Surat; and I could almost venture to stake my life on it, that more than the lac is not to be got by any means short of military force. Take the Government from the family, and pension them (though such a measure would, in my humble opinion, be contrary to good faith), I scarce believe, after all endeavours, that the Company with these pensions, and the increased necessary establishments, would be more in pocket, than they will now with their present establishment and this donation. What were the views of the Company in possessing themselves of the castle? Whatever they were, they are not altered, and they were then satisfied with the castle, and tunka revenue, which is only



BOOK VI. diminished from a decrease of trade ; and here a lac is  
 CHAP. X. unconditionally offered, which exceeds the amount of  
 1800. castle and tunka revenue by 25,000 rupees per annum ; yet the present government are not satisfied therewith, and still want more ; which cannot be raised, if the Nabob does not squeeze it out of the subjects."

A despatch from the Governor-General, dated 10th March, 1800, was in due course received, which ordered the Nawab to be immediately displaced, and the government and revenues to be wholly assumed by the English. This was the most unceremonious act of dethronement which the English had yet performed ; as the victim was the weakest and the most obscure. Some of the explanations with which this command was accompanied are not much less remarkable than the principal fact. Not negotiation, but dethronement, would have been adopted from the first, except for one reason, namely, a little danger. "The exigencies of the public service," says the Governor-General, "during the late war in Mysore, and the negotiations which succeeded the termination of it, would have rendered it impracticable for your government to furnish the military force, indispensably necessary for effecting a reform of the government of Surat, even if other considerations had not rendered it advisable to defer that reform until the complete re-establishment of tranquillity throughout the British possessions in India." It is here of importance, once more, to remark upon the phraseology of the Governor-General. To dethrone the sovereign, to alter completely the distribution of the powers of government, and to place them in a set of hands wholly different and new, though it constituted one of the most complete revolutions which it is possible to conceive, was spoken of as a "reform of the government."

The reasoning, by force of which the Governor-General claims the right to make such a reform, ought to be heard. "On a reference," says he, "to the treaty of 1759, concluded with Mayen-ed-din, we find that it was only a personal engagement with that Nabob, and that it did not extend to his heirs. Independent of the terms of the treaty, the discussion which passed in 1793, on the death of Mayen-ed-din, as well as the letter from your government, dated the 25th of March, 1790, when the office of Nabob

again became vacant, prove it to have been the general sense, that the operation of the treaty of 1759 ceased on the demise of Mayen-ed-din: The power of the Mogul having also become extinct, it follows, that the Company not being restricted with respect to the disposal of the office of Nabob by any specific treaty, are at liberty to dispose of it as they may think proper."

Here two things are assumed: first, that the English of that day were not bound by the treaty of 1759; the second, that, wheresoever not bound by specific treaties, the English were at liberty to dethrone any sovereign whom they pleased; or, in the language of the Governor-General, "to dispose of the office of Nabob, as they may think proper." Upon no part of this reasoning is any comment required.<sup>1</sup>

Attention is also due to the conduct of the Bombay rulers. Governor Duncan and Mr. Seton, had, both of them, previously declared their conviction of the clear right of the Nabob, not only to the Nabobship by inheritance, but to the support and alliance of the English, by a treaty which their acts had repeatedly confirmed. Yet, no sooner did they receive the command of the Governor-General to dethrone him, than they were ready to become the active instruments of that dethronement, and, as far as appears, without so much as a hint, that in their opinion the command was unjust.

The Governor-General next proceeds to say, that the sort of government which was performed by the Nabob, was exceedingly bad. Neither was the defence of the city from external enemies in a tolerable state; nor was its internal government compatible with the happiness of the people, under the prevailing "frauds, exactions, and mismanagement in the collection of the revenue, the avowed corruption in the administration of justice, and the entire inefficiency in the police. "It is obvious," he continues,

<sup>1</sup> To say that the English were at liberty to dethrone any sovereign they pleased is not putting the case fairly. The Nabob of Surat was no sovereign, but an usurping officer of the Mogul empire. Suppose that by any political vicissitude, the king of Delhi had been restored to the power of Akbar or Aurungzeb, would he not have been entitled to displace, and even punish, the Nabob of Surat, unless that officer had returned to his subordinate position? The English had appropriated, in this part of India, the possessions and authority of the Mogul, and had, therefore, the same rights over Surat. It was in this case, as in many others, not their ambition, but their moderation, that involved them in embarrassment and inconsistency.—W.



BOOK VI. "that these important objects," namely, the security and  
 CHAP. X. good government of Surat, "can only be attained by the  
 1800. Company taking the entire civil and military government  
 of the city into their own hands: and consequently," he  
 adds, "it is their duty, as well as their right, to have  
 recourse to that measure."

Here again we see the doctrine most clearly avowed, and most confidently laid down as a basis of action, that bad government under any sovereign constitutes a right, and even a duty, to dethrone him;<sup>1</sup> either in favour of the East India Company alone, if they ought to have the monopoly of dethronement; or in favour of mankind at large, if the privilege ought to be as diffusive as the reason on which it is founded.

It being deemed, by the Governor of Bombay, that his own presence would be useful for effecting the revolution at Surat, he left the Presidency in the end of April, and arrived on the 2nd of May. After endeavouring to secure the co-operation of the persons, whose influence was most considerable on the mind of the Nawab, he opened the business to that ruler himself, on the 9th, and allowed him till the 12th to deliberate upon his answer. At the interview, on that day, the Nawab declared; that he could not survive acquiescence in the demand; not only from a sense of personal degradation; but from the odium he must incur among all Mussulmans, if he consented to place the door of Mecca in the hands of a people who had another faith. The steps necessary for accomplishing the revolution without regard to his consent, were now pursued; and preparations were made for removing his troops from the guard of the city, and taking possession of it, by the Company's soldiers, the following morning. In the mean time, the reflections of the Nawab, and the remonstrances of his friends, convinced him that, opposition being fruitless, submission was the prudent choice; he therefore communicated to the Governor his willingness to comply, and the treaty was mutually signed on the following day. It had been transmitted by the Governor-General, ready drawn; and was executed without altera-

<sup>1</sup> It should rather be stated, the mal-administration of a subordinate functionary constitutes a right and duty to dismiss him; this is not quite the same thing as the right to depose independent sovereigns.—W.

tion. The Nabob resigned the government, civil and military, with all its emoluments, power, and privileges to the East India Company. And on their part, the Company agreed to pay to the Nabob and his heirs one lac of rupees annually, together with a fifth part of what should remain, as surplus of the revenues, after deduction of this allowance, of the Mahratta chout, and of the charges of collection.

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When the powers of government were thus vested in English hands, establishments were formed for the administration of justice, for the superintendence of police, for the collection of the revenue, and for the provision of the Company's investment. For this purpose, the Governor-General had given two leading directions; the first was, that each of these departments should be committed to distinct persons; and the second, that the powers vested in the several officers should correspond as nearly as possible with those of the corresponding officers in Bengal. They have, therefore, no need of description.

Though stripped of all the powers of government, and a mere pensioner of state, it was still accounted proper for Meer Nasseer ud Deen to act the farce of royalty. His succession to the musnud of his ancestors was now acknowledged by the English government, and he was placed on it with the same pomp and ceremony, as if he had been receiving all the powers of sovereignty, on the day after he had for ever resigned them.

The great difficulty was, to obtain deliverance from the misery of the Mahratta chout. The Gaekwar prince expressed the greatest readiness to compliment the Company, to whom he looked for protection, with the share which belonged to him. With the Peshwa, the business was not so easily arranged.<sup>1</sup>

In the despatch of the Court of Directors, dated "Political Department, 18th October, 1797," and addressed "to our President in Council at Fort St. George," they say, "We have requested Lord Mornington to make a short stay at Madras, previous to his proceeding to take upon

<sup>1</sup> See a folio volume of 535 pages, of papers relating to this transaction solely, printed by order of the House of Commons, dated 14th July, 1806, and furnished with a copious table of contents, by which every paper, to which the text bears reference, will be easily found.—M.

See also Despatches, ii. 222, 259, 703.—W.



BOOK VI. himself the Government-General of Bengal, for the purpose of endeavouring to prevail on the Nabob of Arcot to agree to a modification of the treaty with his highness in 1792." Lord Hobart had just been recalled, because he differed with the Government-General of that day, in regard to some of the expedients which he adopted for the attainment of this modification.<sup>1</sup> The Directors, notwithstanding, go on to say, "It were to be wished that the zealous endeavours of Lord Hobart, for that purpose, had proved successful; and as, in our opinion, nothing short of the modification proposed is likely to answer any beneficial purpose, Lord Mornington will render a most essential service to the Company, should he be able to accomplish that object, or an arrangement similar thereto. But feeling, as we do, the necessity of maintaining our credit with the country powers, by an exact observance of treaties—a principle so honourably established under Lord Cornwallis's administration—we cannot authorize his Lordship to exert other powers than those of persuasion to induce the Nabob to form a new arrangement."<sup>2</sup> It is sufficiently remarkable to hear ministers and directors conjunctly declaring, that "the principle of an exact observance of treaties" still remained to "be honourably established," at the time of Lord Cornwallis's administration. It was the desire of credit with the country powers, that now constituted the motive to its observance. But if the Company when weak could disregard such credit with the country powers, they had much less reason now to dread any inconvenience from the want of it. Besides, the question is, whether the country powers ever gave them, or gave any body, credit for a faith, of which they can so little form a conception, as that of regarding a treaty any longer than it is agreeable to his interest to do so.

In a letter in council dated Fort William, 4th July, 1798, the home authorities are told, that "immediately on his arrival at Fort St. George, the Governor-General lost no time in taking the necessary steps for opening a negotiation with the Nabob of Arcot, with a view to the

<sup>1</sup> Vide *supra*, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Papers relating to the affairs of the Carnatic, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, in August, 1803, 1. 243.

accomplishment of your wishes, with regard to the modification of the treaty of 1792—The Governor-General, however, found his Highness so completely indisposed to that arrangement, as to preclude all hopes of obtaining his consent to it at present.” The letter then promises, at a future day, a detailed account of the communications which had passed between the Governor-General and Nabob: but this was never sent.<sup>1</sup>

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In 1799 the Governor-General, when he was again at Madras, and war with Mysore was begun, thought another favourable opportunity had arrived of urging the Nabob afresh on the subject of changes so ardently desired. The treaty of 1792 gave a right to assume the temporary government of the country on the occurrence of war in the Carnatic. To this measure the Nawab and his father had always manifested the most intense aversion. It was hoped that the view of this extremity, and of the burden of debt to the Company, with which he was loaded and galled, would operate forcibly upon his mind. The Governor-General accordingly proposed that he should cede to the Company, in undivided sovereignty, those territories which were already mortgaged for the payment of his subsidy, in which case he would be exempted from the operation of the clause which subjected him to the assumption of his country; while it was further proposed to make over to him, in liquidation of his debt to the Company, certain sums, in dispute between them, to the amount of 2,30,040 pagodas.

These conditions were proposed to the Nabob by letter, dated the 24th of April. The Nabob answered by the same medium, dated the 13th of May. The season for alarming him, by the assumption of his country, was elapsed, Seringapatam being taken, and the war at an end. The Nabob, therefore, stood upon the strength of his treaty, which he represented as so wise, and so admirable, that no change could be made in it without the sacrifice of some mutual advantage; that even if the assumption of his country were necessary, which, thanks to the Divine mercy, was at present far from the case; nay, “were the personal inconvenience ten times greater,” the sacrifice would be cheerfully made, “rather than consent to the



BOOK VI. alteration of the treaty, even in a letter." Besides, there  
 CHAP. X. were other engagements, by which the Nabob must ever  
 1800. hold himself inviolably bound. These were, respect for  
 "the loved and revered personages" by whom the treaty  
 was framed, and the dying commands of his honoured  
 father, to which he had pledged a sacred regard. He also  
 plied the Governor-General with an argument, which to  
 his mind might be regarded as peculiarly persuasive—an  
 argument drawn purely from parliamentary stores—ex-  
 perience against theory: "I cannot," said he, "overlook  
 a circumstance, which, in affairs of this sort, must natu-  
 rally present itself to the mind of your Lordship; that  
 the treaty, which is now suggested to be defective, has  
 had a trial, my Lord, of more than seven years; and, with-  
 out a single exception, has been found, for that period, not  
 only sufficient for all common purposes, but has secured  
 the fulfilment of every condition stipulated in it, with a  
 harmony uninterrupted; and perhaps, I might add, almost  
 unprecedented in any country or age."<sup>1</sup>

The Court of Directors, in their political letter to Fort  
 St. George, dated the 5th of June, 1799, say, "We have  
 been advised, by the Earl of Mornington, that the Nabob  
 continues to oppose a determined resolution to the modi-  
 fication of the treaty of 1792, which has been repeatedly  
 proposed to him. At the same time, we observe, that his  
 Highness has distinctly acknowledged, that he is in the  
 practice of raising money annually by assignments of the  
 revenues of those districts, which form the security for  
 the payment of the Company's subsidy." They add, "As  
 this practice is unquestionably contrary to the letter, and  
 subversive of the spirit of that treaty, we direct, that, im-  
 mediately upon the receipt hereof, you adopt the neces-  
 sary measures for taking possession, in the name of the  
 Company, of the whole, or any part, of the said districts,  
 the revenues of which shall appear to be so assigned; and  
 that you continue to hold the same, and collect the rents  
 thereof, in order that the Company may not in future be  
 deprived of the only security which they possess, under the  
 before-mentioned treaty, to answer any failure in the Nabob  
 in discharging his subsidy. You will immediately commu-  
 nicate to the Nabob the determination we have come

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 213—216.

to, and the orders you have received relative to this BOOK IV.  
point.”<sup>1</sup>

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The affirmation, relative to the assignments on the districts in pledge, is contrasted with the following affirmation of the Nabob, in his letter of the 13th of May, just quoted, in which he answers the proposal and reasonings which the letter of the Governor-General had pressed upon his mind: “I do most unequivocally assure your Lordship, on the word and faith of a sovereign, that no one foot of the districts set apart by the treaty of 1792 have been, or are in any manner or way, directly or indirectly, assigned by me, or with my knowledge, to any individual whatsoever; and, having made this solemn and unreserved declaration, I would hope, that I need not urge more.”<sup>2</sup>

With respect to the command of the home authorities, to take possession of the districts, and all the rest of their expedients, the Governor of Fort St. George, on the 11th of April, 1800, writes, “Your letter to the Governor-General, dated the 16th June 1799, is still under his Lordship’s consideration. But it is material for me to repeat—and with impressive earnestness, that no security, sufficiently extensive and efficient, for the British interest in the Carnatic, can be derived from the treaty of 1792; and that no divided power, however modified, can possibly avert the utter ruin of that devoted country.”<sup>3</sup>

On the 13th of June, 1799, the home authorities wrote to the Governor-General, “In the event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun, the respective countries of the Nabob of Arcot, and the Raja of Tanjore, will of course come under the Company’s management: and we direct, that they be not relinquished, without special orders from us, for that purpose; in order to afford sufficient time for the formation of arrangements for relieving those respective princes from all incumbrances upon their revenues.” Upon this subject, the Governor-General writes, on the 25th of January, 1800, “The short duration of the war rendered it inexpedient for me to assume the management of the respective countries, of the Nabob of the Carnatic, and of the Raja of Tanjore, on behalf of the Company. The immediate effect of such an assumption would have been, a considerable failure of actual resource, at a period of the

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 216.



BOOK VI. utmost exigency. I shall hereafter communicate my sentiments at large, with respect to the state of Tanjore, and the Carnatic. The latter now occupies my particular  
 CHAP. X. attention; and I fear that the perverse councils of the  
 1800. Nabob of Arcot will prove a serious obstacle to any effectual improvement of your affairs in that quarter.<sup>1</sup>

Tuljajee, the Raja of Tanjore, died in 1786, and was succeeded by Ameer Sing, his son. The conduct of this prince gave so little satisfaction to the English, that, after the peace of Seringapatam, which Lord Cornwallis concluded with Tippoo in 1792, they deliberated concerning the propriety of trusting him any longer with the civil administration of the country. But the supreme government "were of opinion, that, under all the circumstances in which the question was involved, it would be more suitable to the national character, to hazard an error on the side of lenity, than to expose themselves to the imputation of having treated him with excessive rigour." Accordingly, a treaty was concluded with him, dated the 12th of July, 1793, and his country, which, like the Carnatic, had been taken under English management during the war, was restored to him, in as full possession as before.

In the year 1798, a convenient discovery was made; that Ameer Sing was not the legal heir to the musnud of Tanjore; but Serfojee, the adopted son of Tuljajee. The question of the rights of these two princes remains in obscurity. The documents have not yet been made accessible to the public; and we know not upon what grounds the decision was formed.<sup>2</sup> This only we know, that it was

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> The circumstances of this case were so remarkable, that it is rather extraordinary the author should not have heard of them, and failed to trace a more particular account. The discovery was not made in 1798. The points in dispute were well known at Amar Sing's accession, but a judgment was then pronounced, which subsequent investigations, resumed in 1794 and terminated only in 1797, led both Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore to consider as erroneous, and at the latter date it was pronounced to be so by the Court of Directors. Amar Sing was the half-brother of Tuljajee; the latter, when dying in 1787, adopted Serfojee as his son, placing him under the private guardianship of the celebrated missionary Swartz, and the public tutelage of his brother. Upon the Raja's death, the validity of the adoption was disputed on three grounds, the imbecile state of the Raja's mind, the age of the boy, ten years, which it was affirmed exceeded that legally qualifying him for adoption, and his being an only son, which was also held a legal disqualification. Upon the two latter grounds the Madras Government, with the approbation of that of Bengal, cancelled the adoption, and placed Amar Sing upon the Musnud.

The cruel treatment of Serfojee by the Raja was repeatedly brought to the

determined to dethrone Ameer Sing, and to set up Serfojee in his stead. Serfojee was obviously in a situation to submit implicitly to any terms which the English might think proper to prescribe. After some months, therefore, of preparation, a treaty was concluded with him, dated the 25th of October, 1799, by which he resigned for ever all the powers of government to the English, and received a pension of one lac of star pagodas, with a fifth of the net revenues.<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th of April, 1800, the Governor-General forwarded to the Governor of Fort St. George, certain letters and papers, found by the English in the palace of Seringapatam. These documents related to a correspondence of the two Nabobs of Arcot, the father and the son, with the Sultan of Mysore. The Governor-General directed Lord Clive to proceed; without loss of time, in conducting an inquiry into the circumstances of which the papers appeared to afford indication, and in particular transmitted a list of witnesses whose evidence was to be carefully and zealously collected. In the mean time, he himself had completely prejudged the question; and did what depended upon him to make Lord Clive prejudice it in a similar manner. "A deliberate consideration," says he, in the very letter which directed inquiry, "of the evidence resulting from the whole of these documents has not only

notice of the British authorities by the vigilance of his reverend guardian; and upon his representations, and those of the Resident, the Madras Government insisted upon the removal of Serfojee and the surviving widows of Tuljajee, who were also objects of the Raja's oppression to Madras. This took place in 1793, and was followed immediately by an appeal to the Government against its former decision adverse to Serfojee's pretensions. The question was fully entered into by Sir John Shore, and as opinions were received from various Pundits of learning and character, which interpreted the law in favour of the adoption; the British authorities had no other alternative than to correct an error of their own commission, and restore Serfojee to that throne, of which they had, in the mistaken belief that they were acting according to the law, deprived him. It was not for their own convenience, therefore, that they deposed Amar Sing and set up Serfojee in his stead, although it was true that the change was for the better, as the administration of Amar Sing had been most injurious to the resources of Tanjore. The particulars of these transactions are interestingly and authentically related from the correspondence of Swartz and the records of the India House, by the venerable missionary's biographer, Dr. Pearson. *Life of Swartz*, ii. 132, 263, and 314. Raja Sarbojee, as he is more accurately named by Bishop Heber, was visited by that prelate in 1826, and is described by him as combining many of the best traits of the native character with European tastes and habits. Letter to R. V. Horton, Esq., Heber's Journal, ii. 459. See also Desp. i. 41, and v 47.—W.

<sup>1</sup> See certain documents in the Second Report of the Select Committee, 1810, p. 234—242.



BOOK VI. confirmed, in the most unquestionable manner, my suspicions of the existence of a secret correspondence between the personages already named, but satisfied my judgment, that its object, on the part of the Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, and especially of the latter, was of the most hostile tendency to the British interests.—The proofs arising from the papers would certainly be sufficient to justify the British government in depriving that faithless and ungrateful prince, of all means of rendering any part of the resources of the territories, which he holds under the protection of the Company, subservient to the further violation of his engagements, and to the prosecution of his desperate purposes of treachery and ingratitude.”<sup>1</sup>

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However, the Governor-General thought, it would, notwithstanding, be more consonant with “the dignity, and systematic moderation of the British government,” not to take the country from its prince, till some inquiry had first been made. But he says, “Although it is my wish to delay the actual assumption of his Highness’s government until that inquiry shall be completed, I deem it necessary to authorize your Lordship to proceed immediately to make every arrangement preparatory to that measure, which now appears to have become inevitable.”<sup>2</sup>

Nothing, surely, ever was more fortunate, than such a discovery at such a time. This the Governor-General has the frankness to declare. “While those orders, lately conveyed by the Honourable Court of Directors relative to the Company’s connexion with the Nabob, were under my consideration, a combination of fortunate circumstances revealed his correspondence.”<sup>3</sup> When the Governor-General, and all his superiors, and all his subordinates, in the government of India, were languishing and panting for the possession of the Carnatic, but afraid, without some more plausible reason than they yet possessed, to commence the seizure, here it was provided for them in extraordinary perfection. But the very circumstance which recommended it to the eager affections of the East India functionaries, will recommend it to the rigid scrutiny of those whose minds are more happily situated for appreciating the facts.

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 2. Also Despatches, ii. 254, and App. 740.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 4.

The documents on which so extraordinary a value was set by the Governor-General, consisted almost entirely of certain things picked out from a mass of correspondence which purported to have passed between the "Presence" (the title which Tippoo bestowed upon himself), and the two vakeels, Golam Ali Khan, and Ali Reza Khan who accompanied, in 1792, the hostage sons of the Sultaun to Madras. Besides these, only two letters were produced; one from a subsequent vakeel of Tippoo at Madras; another, supposed to be from Omdut ul Omrah, but under a fictitious name.

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It is proper to ascertain the value of one circumstance, on which those who are not partial to the British character will not fail to animadvert. As the British government was situated with respect to the papers of Tippoo, it was, it may be affirmed, the easiest thing in the world to procure evidence for any purpose which it pleased: and I wish we could say that civilization and philosophy have made so great a progress in Europe, that European rulers would not fabricate a mass of evidence, even where a kingdom is the prize. The time is so very recent, when such expedients formed a main engine of government, and the progress in political morality appears to be so very slow, that it would be utterly unsafe to proceed upon the supposition that forgery is exploded as an instrument of government. Yet in the case of the British government, so much the greater number of those employed in carrying it on would probably refuse to share in the fabrication of a mass of evidence, that the small number of individuals who might have no insuperable objection to it would find it, in few cases, easy; in most, impossible, to accomplish their purpose. With regard to Lord Wellesley, even his faults bear so little affinity with this species of vice, and his most conspicuous virtues are so directly opposed to it, that we may safely infer it to be as unlikely in his case, as in any which can well be supposed, that he would fabricate evidence to attain the objects of his desire; notwithstanding the violence with which he was apt to desire, and the faculty which he possessed of persuading himself, that everything was righteous by which his desires were going to be fulfilled.

But an argument, more conclusive than any argument



BOOK VI. from character, either national or individual, can almost  
 CHAP. X. ever be, at any rate to strangers, and those whose partiality one has no reason to expect, is this; that the  
 1800. papers prove nothing; which most assuredly would not have been the case, had they been fabricated for the purpose of proving. On the other hand, if they had exhibited a proof which was very strong and specific, it would have been no easy task, after the very exceptionable manner in which they were examined, to have proved that all suspicion of them was utterly groundless.

Among the objects recommended to the vakeels who accompanied the sons of Tippoo to Madras, one, very naturally, was, to communicate to him useful intelligence of every description. They had even a particular commission with regard to secret intelligence, in which a delineation of the defensive works of Fort St. George was particularly included; and they were furnished with a cipher for carrying it on.

With other articles of intelligence, which the vakeels availed themselves of their situation to transmit to their royal master, an account was given of the deportment of the Nabob of Arcot, towards the princes, and towards themselves; and of the conversations which took place between them. The letters relating to this subject were those which were regarded as affording evidence against Wallajah, the deceased, and Omdut ul Omrah, the reigning Nabob.

It is to be remarked, that Lord Cornwallis, after he had reduced Tippoo to a situation, in which he regarded him as too weak to be any longer formidable, adopted the liberal design of conciliating his mind, and gaining it, if possible, by a respectful, generous, and even flattering style of intercourse, to a state of good-will towards the English nation. The same course he recommended to the Nabob Wallajah, who had suffered so deeply by the raising of Tippoo's house, and towards which he had often manifested so great a degree of contempt and aversion.<sup>1</sup>

There were various circumstances which just at that

<sup>1</sup> This recommendation may have been given, but the only evidence for it, which is here received without question, appears to be that of one of the Nawab's officers, under suspicious circumstances, on attempting to vindicate his master from the charge of treacherous correspondence with the Vakeels. See subsequent page.—W.

time induced the Nabob to follow these injunctions of the Governor-General with great alacrity. The fame and authority of Tippoo were now sufficiently high to render his friendship an object of importance. The Nabob of Arcot, on the other hand, felt himself in a state of degradation; and reduced to a cipher among the princes of India. It soothed his vanity to hold some intercourse with as many of them as possible; and not least with one who now occupied so large a space in the eye of the world as the Sultaun of Mysore. It increased his dignity and consequence, when he induced other princes to use towards him the language of friendship, and to treat him as a prince upon a level with themselves. This rendered it more difficult for the English to accomplish their design of divesting him, as he dreaded, of all his sovereign powers, and reducing him and his family to the condition of mere pensioners of state. He seems, accordingly, to have been very eager, to add the forms of a confidential intercourse with Tippoo to the other circumstances which held him forth to the world as a sovereign prince, and which he regarded with justice as the only barrier between him and dethronement.

Attentions to the princes while at Madras, with assurances of his favourable sentiments towards the Sultan, and of his ardent desire of a suitable return, were the expedients of which he made use. Oriental expressions of compliment are all extravagant, and hyperbolical; and we cannot, on such an occasion, suppose, that the Nabob would use the most feeble and cold. Another circumstance of great importance to be remembered was, that the letters contained not the expressions of the Nabob, but only the expressions of the vakeels reporting them; and that Indian agents, reporting to their principals, seldom pay any regard to realities, but, as far as they can go with advantage to themselves, heighten whatsoever they think will be agreeable to their master, extenuate whatsoever they think he will dislike. Now, when all the expressions which the vakeels of Tippoo report to have been used by the Nabob and his son are tortured to the utmost, nothing can be extracted from them but declarations of friendly sentiments, in an hyperbolical style. Even the Persian translator of the English government, who drew

BOOK VI.

CHAP. X.

1800.



BOOK VI. up a report upon the documents, highly praised by the  
 CHAP. X. Governor-General, and in which every effort is made to  
 1800. draw from them evidence of guilt, has the candour to say,  
 "The accuracy of reports from agents, natives of India, to  
 their principals, cannot, under circumstances, be implicitly  
 relied on; and in one of the reports of the vakeels  
 which contains the substance of a conference between  
 themselves, the princes, and the Nabob, at which Colonel  
 Doveton was present, a speech is ascribed to that gentle-  
 man which is evidently fabricated; a circumstance which  
 tends to weaken the validity of all their reports;—and if  
 the evidence of the Nabob's conduct rested solely upon  
 them, the proofs might be considered as extremely de-  
 fective and problematical."<sup>1</sup>

Thus far, then, the ground is clear. But, beside the  
 reports of the vakeels, what further proof is alleged? There  
 are the letters of Tippoo, and the key to the cipher. The  
 letters of Tippoo contain no more than a return to the civil  
 expressions of the Nabob; vague declarations of good-will,  
 couched in a similar style. The key to the cipher shows  
 that Wallajah was designated by the term *Well-wisher of Mankind*,  
 the English by that of *New-Comers*, the Nizam by that of  
*Nothingness*, the Mahrattas that of *Despicable*; and so on.  
 And this is the whole matter of evidence which the  
 papers contained.

To establish still further the dark designs which the  
 Governor-General firmly concluded that a few hyperbolical  
 expressions had already proved, a list of nine witnesses  
 was transmitted to Madras, of whom the two vakeels,  
 Golam Ali Khan, and Ali Reza Khan, were the chief. A  
 commission consisting of two of the most approved ser-  
 vants of the Company, Mr. Webbe, the secretary to the  
 Madras government, and Colonel Close, were selected to  
 conduct the investigation. Every precaution was taken,  
 such as that of preventing communication between the  
 witnesses, to get from them either the evidence pure, or  
 the means of detecting its impurity.

It was resolved to begin with the two vakeels, who of  
 course could best elucidate their own correspondence. To  
 form a proper judgment of their testimony, several cir-  
 cumstances ought to be remarked. In the first place, they

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 14.

were Orientals; that is, men, accustomed, in the use of language toward those on whom their hopes and their fears depended, to regard very little the connexion between their words and the corresponding matters of fact, but chiefly the connexion between those words, and the impression, favourable or unfavourable, which they were likely to make on the minds of the great persons, on whose power the interests of the speaker most remarkably depended. In the second place, it is impossible to conceive any dependance more abject, than was, at this time, the dependence of the khans, Golam Ali, and Ali Reza, upon the English government. The government, under which they had found employment, was totally destroyed. Every source of independent subsistence was cut off; they lived upon a pension which they received from the English government, and which it was only necessary to withhold, to plunge them into the deepest abyss of human misery. They had every motive which interest could yield, to affirm what would be agreeable to the English government. They could have no interested motive to speak what would be agreeable to Tippoo, Wallajah, or Omdut ul Omrah. In these circumstances, if they had given a testimony in every respect conformable to the wishes of the English government, what depended upon their affirmation would have been regarded as of little or no value by any impartial judge. But in as far as they gave a testimony in opposition to those wishes, that is, in opposition as they must have believed, to their own interests, their testimony has some of the strongest possible claims upon our belief.

Every thing was done to remove any obstructions which might exist in the minds of the witnesses to the production of such evidence as was expected. They were given to understand that no blame would be attached to them, who only acted under legitimate orders, for their instrumentality in the designs of their master. And they were assured in the strongest language, that any appearance of a design to conceal the truth, and they well knew what eastern rulers were accustomed to call the truth, would be visited upon them with all the weight of English indignation.

Of the two vakeels, Ali Reza was residing at Vellore,



BOOK VI. Golam Ali at Seringapatam. As least remote, Ali Reza  
 CHAP. X. was examined first. In him, the examining commissioners  
 1800. say, in their report to the Governor, "we think it necessary to apprise your Lordship that we discovered an earnest disposition to develop the truth. Golam Ali they accused of base endeavours at concealment. The evidence of both, taken together, tends not to confirm one single suspicion, if any could have been justly derived from the papers, but to remove them, every one.

They both distinctly and constantly affirmed, that the expressions of good will towards Tippoo, made use of in their hearing by Wallajah or his son, were never understood by them in any other sense than that of vague compliments. Ali Reza gave testimony to another point, with regard to which the Persian translator, commenting on his evidence, thus declares: "In the report of the Persian translator," namely, the report on the documents, "it has been observed, that the expressions of attachment and devotion, ascribed by the vakeels to the Nabob Wallajah, and Omdut ul Omrah, are probably much exaggerated; and that little dependence ought to be placed upon the existence of facts, inferred merely from such expressions; this conjecture is confirmed by Ali Reza Khan, who acknowledges they were much exaggerated, and that it was customary with the vakeels to heighten the expressions of regard, which fell from Lord Cornwallis, or the Nabob Wallajah, for the purpose of gratifying the Sultan; and observed very justly that the people of this country constantly exaggerate their expressions of regard to an extravagant degree."<sup>1</sup>

The vakeels reported several expressions of the Nabob, complimenting the Sultan as a pillar of the faith, and admiring the union of Mussulmans; certain articles of intelligence which he was described as conveying; and expedients of secrecy which he was described as having employed. All this, however, is only the report of the vakeels, which is acknowledged to be incapable of proving any thing, and which, as it forged a speech for Colonel Doveton, would just as probably forge for the Nabob and his son. But the circumstances, even if the statement of them is supposed to be just, afford no ground for an

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 47.

inference of guilt. To call Tippoo a pillar of the Moslem faith, one of the most flattering of all compliments to his bigoted mind, was not criminal ; nor to speak with approbation of the union of Moslems, which might be an exhortation to the Sultaun to favour the Nabob, that is, the English, who always represented their interests as the same with his.

The articles of intelligence which he is said to have conveyed are exceedingly trifling ; and have at any rate the appearance of having been conveyed for a good, not for an evil purpose ; for the preservation of that harmony between Tippoo and the English, which at that time the English had very earnestly at heart. Having learned, that suspicions were caused, by some intercourse which appeared to take place between the Mysore and Mahratta Durbars, the Nabob sent him his advice, that it would be better he should desist, and suspend his negotiations, at least during the administration of Marquis Cornwallis. Again, having learned the existence of a French war, and that Pondicherry was about to be attacked, the Nabob sent his advice to the Sultaun to withdraw his vakeel from Pondicherry, and to intermit all correspondence with the French. This is the whole of the intelligence, the conveyance of which was construed into direct acts of hostility.

A few expressions of want of regard for the English, mixed in the reports of the vakeels, hardly deserve attention ; both because nothing was more likely to be inserted by the vakeels, they knowing nothing much more likely to be agreeable to their master ; and because, if the attachment of the Nabob to the English had been ever so entire, it was perfectly in character with oriental sincerity, to affect to despise and abhor them, in order to conciliate a mind by which it was known they were disliked.

As to the appearance of a concern about secrecy, it is well known to be a feature of the human mind in the state of civilization under which the Sultaun and Nabob were educated, and in India to a singular degree, to make a great affectation of secrecy on very trifling occasions ; and, for the show of importance, to cover every thing as much as possible with a veil of mystery. Under the designation of "*the affair you know*," something was mentioned in the



BOOK VI. letters of Tippoo and the vakeels ; and under this mysterious appellation the deepest villany was supposed to be couched. On this, after examining their witnesses, the commissioners report, "We have the honour to inform your Lordship, that the expression of '*the affair known of*,' so frequently repeated in the correspondence, appears to refer to the subject of a proposed connexion by marriage between the families of Tippoo Sultaun and the Nabob Wallajah."<sup>1</sup>

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On two occasions, while the vakeels remained at Madras, the Nabob made appointments for meeting with them secretly. But both of them persisted in steadily affirming, as witnesses, that nothing passed beyond general professions of regard. The affectation of a wish to conceal from the English the warmth of the attachment he professed, might well be one of the artifices made use of by the Nabob for extracting those appearances of regard from the Sultaun, which it was at this moment his interest to obtain. In exact conformity with this idea, he made offer, upon the departure of the vakeels from Madras, to establish a cipher for the purpose of secret communication. But so little value did the Sultaun attach to any expected communication from the Nabob, that he treated this proposal with total neglect ; than which a stronger proof can hardly be expected of the innocence of all the communications which from that quarter he had ever received.

The commissioners say, "We examined Gholam Ali Meer Suddor, the Dewan Purniah, and the Moonshee Hubbeeb Olla," that is, the men above all others acquainted with the secrets of Tippoo's government ; "but as their testimony did not establish any fact, we thought it unnecessary to record their evidence."<sup>2</sup>

Not only does this evidence afford no proof of a criminal correspondence with Tippoo, on the part of the Nabob ; but the total inability of the English to produce further evidence, with all the records of the Mysore government in

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 39.—The papers from Seringapatam, and the examination of the witnesses, are in a collection of House of Commons "Papers concerning the late Nabob of the Carnatic, ordered to be printed 21st of June, 1802 ;" the rest of the documents are in the volume of papers quoted immediately above.

their hands, and all the living agents of it within their absolute power, is a proof of the contrary; since it is not credible that a criminal correspondence should have existed, and not have left more traces of itself.

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CHAP. X.

1800.

It is just to bewail the unhappy situation, in which the minds of Englishmen in India are placed. Acted upon by circumstances which strongly excite them, their understandings are dragged, like those of other men, towards a conformity with their desires; and they are not guarded against the grossest illusions of self-deceit by those salutary influences which operate upon the human mind in a more favourable situation. The people of India among whom they live, and upon whom the miserable effects of their delusion descend, are not in a situation to expose the sophistry by which their rulers impose upon themselves. They neither dare to do it, nor does their education fit them for doing it, nor do they enjoy a press, the instrument with which it can be done. Their rulers, therefore, have no motive to set a guard upon themselves; and to examine rigidly the arguments by which they justify to themselves an obedience to their own inclinations. The human mind, when thus set free from restraint, is easily satisfied with reasons for self-gratification; and the understanding waits, an humble servant, upon the affections. Not only are the English rulers in India deprived of the salutary dread of the scrutinizing minds, and free pens, of an enlightened public, in the regions in which they act; they well know, that distance and other circumstances so completely veil the truth from English eyes, that, if the case will but bear a varnish, and if they take care to stand well with the minister, they have in England every thing to hope, and seldom any thing to dread, from the successful gratification of the passion of acquiring.

It is most remarkable, that of all the Englishmen in India, of whose sentiments upon the occasion we have any record, the Governor-General and his council, the Governor of Fort St. George and his council, the examining commissioners, and the Persian translator, the very foremost men in India, not one appears to have doubted, that the evidence we have examined estab-



BOOK VI. lished undeniably the facts which they so eagerly desired  
 CHAP. X. to infer.<sup>1</sup>

1800.

The examination of the witnesses was closed, and the report of the commissioners drawn up, and signed at Seringapatam, on the 18th of May, 1800.<sup>2</sup> It was not till the 28th of May, 1801, that any further instructions of the Governor-General were despatched. In the memorable document of that date, addressed to Lord Clive, he states one reason of delay, as follows: "The critical situation of the negotiation depending with the Nizam, appeared to me to render it advisable to postpone the adoption of measures required for the security of the Carnatic. The successful issue of that negotiation appeared likely to facilitate the arrangements which became indispensably necessary in the Carnatic; while a premature prosecution of these arrangements might have impeded, and perhaps frustrated, the successful issue of the negotiation at Hyderabad." Another reason was, that for some time he indulged the hope of being able to employ the weight of his own presence, in removing the obstacles which he expected to oppose the intended revolution in the Carnatic. When that hope was relinquished, he desired that Mr. Webbe, the chief secretary to the government at Madras, might join him in Bengal, to communicate a more minute knowledge of circumstances than he could otherwise acquire.

<sup>1</sup> A disposition to disbelieve is quite as likely to misjudge the weight of evidence as a disposition to believe. Scepticism is as unpropitious as credulity to the appreciation of truth. It may be admitted, that upon the face of the correspondence little appeared to convict the Nawabs of the Carnatic of actual treachery against the British Government, yet there can be little difficulty in crediting that they entertained hostile sentiments towards it, or that they expressed those sentiments to Tippoo's vakeels. - It is possible that the vakeels exaggerated the expressions of the Nawabs to gratify their master, but it cannot be reasonably doubted by any who know the passion of native princes for intrigue, and the intense detestation borne by all Indian Mohammedans towards their Christian masters, that much that was conveyed to Tippoo by his agents, was said and intended by Walajah and his son. The inferiority of Tippoo's origin was a much greater bar to any cordial intercourse between the Nawabs and the Sultan; but that would probably have given way before community of religious intolerance, if the former could have anticipated any prospect of benefit to themselves from the latter's success. Although, then, the correspondence with Tippoo may not substantiate any conspiracy against the English power, it is impossible to question the inference that is reasonably drawn from it, an inference which scarcely required such testimony:—That no reliance could be placed upon the fidelity or attachment of the Nabobs of Arcot. Their political position and their religious creed rendered them irreconcilable foes; and with this conviction it would have been folly to have intrusted them longer with any degree of political power.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Despatches, ii. 515.—W.

“The delay,” says the Governor-General, “which has occurred, has enabled me to receive the sentiments of the President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, and of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, on the subject of the correspondence of the late and present Nabob of Arcot with Tippoo Sultaun. Those sentiments entirely accord with your Lordship’s, and with mine, on the same subject.”

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1800.

He proceeded to declare, that from the evidence which we have examined, he confidently inferred the existence of a criminal correspondence between the Nabob and Tippoo; and that the measure which, in consequence, he resolved to adopt, was the dethronement of the Nabob, and the transfer of his sovereignty to the Company.

An attempt, however, was still to be made, to obtain an appearance of the Nabob’s consent to his own degradation. “I consider it,” says the Governor-General, “to be extremely desirable, that the Nabob should be induced to accede to the proposed arrangement, in the form of a treaty. In order to obtain his Highness’s acquiescence in this mode of adjustment, it will be proper for your Lordship, after having fully apprized the Nabob of the nature of the proofs which we possess of his correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, to offer the inducement of the largest provision to be made for his Highness’s personal expenses, and in that event I authorize your Lordship to insert in the treaty the sum of three lacs of pagodas.”

The Governor-General had no very sanguine hopes, that the Nabob would smooth all difficulties by resigning the dignity to which he clung. He gave directions, therefore, on the contrary supposition, and said, “If the Nabob, Omdut ul Omrah, by refusing to acquiesce in the proposed arrangements, should compel the British government, contrary to its wishes and intentions, to exercise its rights and its power to their full extent, I authorize and direct your Lordship to assume the civil and military government of the Carnatic.”

The Governor-General anticipated even another contingency. “It is possible,” says he, “that in the actual state of his Highness’s councils and temper, the Nabob may be disposed to appeal to the authority of the Honourable the Court of Directors.” Well, and what was his



BOOK VI. Excellency's determination in that event? "Being already," said he, "in possession of the sentiments of the Secret Committee, founded on the discovery of the Nabob's faithless conduct, I shall consider it to be injudicious and unnecessary to admit the appeal: and by that admission to enter upon a formal trial of his Highness's criminal conduct."<sup>1</sup>

CHAP. X.

1801.

Now, finally, the case stood, therefore, as follows. In a dispute, in which the Company, or their representatives, the rulers in India, on the one hand, and the Nabob on the other, were parties, and in which a great kingdom was at issue, the first of the parties not only resolves upon deciding in its own cause, which in the case of disputes about kingdoms can seldom be avoided, but, upon a mass of evidence of its own providing, evidence altogether *ex parte*, evidence which it examined by itself and for itself and upon which it put any construction which it pleased, did, without admitting the opposite party to a hearing, without admitting it to offer a single article of counter-evidence, to sift the evidence brought to condemn it, or so much as to make an observation upon that evidence, proceed to form a decision in its own favour, and to strip the opposite party of a kingdom. It is perfectly obvious, that, upon principles of judicature such as these, a decision in favour of the strongest will seldom be wanting.

Had the actions of the Nabob corresponded with the inference which the English rulers so eagerly drew, their conduct would still have implied a most extraordinary assumption. The principle of their conduct was, that, if an Indian prince did any injury, or but showed that he meditated injury, to the English, that moment the English were entitled to dethrone him, and take his kingdom to themselves. If the Nabob had actually contracted an alliance offensive and defensive with Tippoo, he was not a subject of the British government; he was a sovereign prince; and the utmost such an action implied was a violation of the treaty which subsisted between the English and him. But all that is necessarily done by the violation on one side of a treaty between sovereign states, is only to relieve the party on the other side from all the obligations which it imposed; to leave the two parties, in short, in

<sup>1</sup> For the above extracts, see papers, vol. i: ut supra, p. 42—47.

the same situation, in which they would have been, if the treaty had not existed. It may happen, that, in such a case, it would be improper, in the obeying, so much as to make war upon the infringing party. That would entirely depend upon other questions, namely, the refusal of redress for injury, or of security against indubitable danger. But, even when war takes place, and two princes stand in the relation of active enemies, it is not the principle of just and polished nations to push the warfare to dethronement; nor can it ever be any thing but the height of injustice to carry hostilities beyond the line of redress for indubitable injury, and security against indubitable danger. How the assumption of the English, in the case before us, can be reconciled with these established principles, it is not difficult to determine.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. X.

1801.

<sup>1</sup> The conclusions are wrong because the premises are so. The Nabob had never been a sovereign prince. The ministers of the British crown had, indeed, most impolitically and mistakingly treated him in that capacity, but the history of his connexion with the Company was an irrefutable argument of their error. The Nabob of the Carnatic was originally nothing more than an officer of the Subahdar of the Dekhin, appointed and removed at the pleasure of his superior. That he had been rendered independent of the Subahdar was not even his own act, it was the work of the English; he owed every thing to their protection: he was their creature, not their equal. The dispute lay not between two potentates of independent origin and power, but between the master and servant—the sovereign and the subject. The timidity and the ignorance of the superior had suffered the inferior to appropriate what did not appertain to him, and had recognised pretensions to which he had no claim. That is no reason why the error was to be perpetuated, or that it should not be remedied when it was discovered. The established principles which regulate even hostilities between sovereign states were here inapplicable,—for the sovereign state was one, there were not two sovereign states, consequently there could not be hostilities between them. Whatever may be the law of nations in regard to the treatment of independent sovereigns, it will scarcely be denied that the sovereign has a right to degrade a refractory or rebellious dependant. It is true, however, that the Governor-General deprived himself of any advantage from this view of the case, by treating the Nawab as a sovereign prince in alliance with the English. He observes: ‘The case requires that we should act as against a state, on the basis of the general law of nations, and that we should employ the power of the British empire in India to demand, and if necessary, to enforce an adequate security for our rights and interests against the machinations of a faithless ally, who has violated the fundamental principles of a public alliance to the extent of placing himself in the light of a public enemy.’ Despatches, ii. 523. This means, it is to be presumed, that a sovereign who is an enemy, and who is too weak to resist, may be deprived of his sovereignty: but even if this doctrine were generally true, which it is not, the public hostility of the Nawab of the Carnatic, had not been so decisively manifested as to justify such extreme punishment. The inconsistencies and unsoundness of many of our attempts to vindicate our political measures in India are undeniable. It would have been more honest and honourable to have confined ourselves to the avowal that the maintenance of the British dominion in India was the main-spring of all our policy. It might also have been safely asserted, on this occasion at least, that the interests of the people demanded the separation of the double administration of the affairs of the Carnatic, and an end being put to the misgovernment of the Nabobs of Arcot.—W.



BOOK VI. As if aware, after all, how little all other pleas were  
 CHAP. X. qualified to support the measure which he was eager to  
 1801. pursue, the Governor-General forgot not his standard  
 reason for the dethronement of princes; namely, the bad-  
 ness of their government. He affirmed, that no other  
 expedient but the dethronement of the Nabob of Arcot,  
 and the total transfer to the English of the government of  
 the Carnatic, afforded any chance for that reform which  
 the impoverishment of the country, and the misery of the  
 people, so forcibly required. Here, at last, he obtained a  
 ground, on which, if the end for which government was  
 instituted, and for which it ought to be upheld, is worthy  
 of being regarded, he might stand with perfect assurance.  
 Though we may suspect the servants of the Company of  
 some exaggeration, when they describe the horrible effects  
 of the Nabob's administration, there is no doubt that they  
 were deplorable. It is equally certain, that no consider-  
 able improvement could be introduced, while the powers  
 of civil administration remained at the disposal of the  
 Nabob. And, though what the Company had attempted  
 for improving the condition of their subjects, where they  
 possessed the undivided powers, had hitherto displayed but  
 little either of skill or success, some efforts had been nobly  
 intended, and will doubtless be followed by more judicious  
 expedients. Even under the bad system of taxation, and  
 the bad system of judicature which the English would  
 employ, the people would immediately suffer less than  
 under the still more defective systems of the Nabob; and  
 they would reap the benefit of all the improvements which  
 a more enlightened people may be expected to introduce.  
 On this ground, we should have deemed the Company  
 justified, in proportion as the feelings of millions are of  
 more value than the feelings of an individual, in seizing  
 the government of the Carnatic long before; and, on the  
 same principle, we should rejoice, that every inch of  
 ground within the limits of India were subject to their  
 sway. In matters of detail, I have more frequently had  
 occasion to blame the Company's government than to  
 praise it; and, till the business of government is much  
 better understood, whoever writes history with a view  
 solely to the good of mankind, will have the same thank-  
 less task to perform; yet I believe it will be found that

the Company, during the period of their sovereignty, have done more in behalf of their subjects, have shown more of good-will towards them, have shown less of a selfish attachment to mischievous powers lodged in their own hands, have displayed a more generous welcome to schemes of improvement, and are now more willing to adopt improvements, not only than any other sovereign existing in the same period, but than all other sovereigns taken together upon the surface of the globe.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. X.

1801.

When the instructions for assuming the government of the Carnatic arrived at Madras,<sup>1</sup> the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah was labouring under an illness which he was not expected to survive. In these circumstances, the Governor forbore to agitate his mind with the communication of intelligence, which he was expected to receive with agony. On an occasion, when the whole family would naturally wish to be assembled, the younger son of the Nabob arrived from Trichinopoly with his attendants, who are not described as being either more numerous or better armed, than those who usually escorted a person of similar condition. Upon a report to the Governor, that some of these attendants had been, or had been proposed to be, admitted into the palace of the dying Nabob, the Governor immediately concluded, that this was for some evil purpose unknown, and resolved to anticipate the effects, by taking possession of the palace immediately with an English force. Communication was made to the Nabob, with all the delicacy of which the circumstances admitted, prevention of confusion at his death being the motive assigned; and the troops took a position commanding all the entrances into the palace, without resistance or commotion. The commanding officer was directed "to exert his vigilance in a particular manner, to prevent the removal of treasure from the palace, sufficient grounds of belief existing that a considerable treasure, a large sum of money, had been accumulated by their Highnesses, the late and present Nabob."<sup>2</sup> The English, even yet, were but ill cured of their old delusion, that every Indian prince was enormously rich. Of this supposed treasure we perceive not another trace.

<sup>1</sup> Despatches, 525, 533.

<sup>2</sup> Such are the words of the Governor of Fort St. George, in a letter to Lord Wellesley, 7th of July, 1801; papers, ut supra, p. 65.



BOOK VI. On the 15th of July, 1801, the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah  
 CHAP. X. died. Immediately a commission was given to the two  
 gentlemen, Webbe and Close, to state to the family the  
 crimes which were charged upon the two Nabobs deceased,  
 1801. and to demand, with information that a due provision  
 would be made for their support, that their consent  
 should be given to the destined transfer of the Carnatic  
 government.

The business was urgent ; and, without permitting the lapse of even the day on which the sovereign had expired, the gentlemen repaired to the palace. They were met by some of the principal persons in the service of the late Nabob. They first requested to know if any particular arrangement had been traced by Omdut ul Omrah. Having been informed that a will existed, they desired that it might be produced. Being informed that, without the violation of all decorum, the son and heir of the deceased could not be called upon to attend to ordinary business, before the ceremonies due to his royal father were performed, they replied that on ordinary occasions it was the principle of the English to respect the feelings of individuals, but, where this respect interfered with the business of a great government, the less must, in propriety, yield to the greater interest. The personages, who received their commands, retired to deliberate ; and had not long returned with a declaration of submission, when the young Nabob was introduced, bearing the will of his father in his hand. The will directed, that Ali Hoosun, his eldest son, should succeed to all his rights, all his possessions, and “the sovereignty of the Carnatic :” and that the Khans, Mohammed Nejeeb, Salar Jung, and Tuckia Ali, the individuals now present, should be regents, to assist the young Nawab in the affairs of government, till his arrival at competent maturity of years.

The Nabob retired, and the commissioners desired, that the rest of the conversation should be private, between the regents and themselves. The pretended discoveries were described. The following passage, in the report of the commissioners, is memorable : “Nejeeb Khan expressed his surprise at this communication ; professed his entire ignorance of the subject ; and protested that it was impossible for the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to

cherish the intentions imputed to his Highness. Some of the principal documents having been produced, Nejeeb Khan asserted, that they contained none but expressions of civility and compliment; that the Marquis Cornwallis had repeatedly enjoined the Nabobs, Mohammed Ali, and Omdut ul Omrah, to cultivate a friendly intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun; that the whole tendency of the correspondence produced was directed to that object, in conformity to the injunctions of Lord Cornwallis; and that the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah had recently addressed himself to Lord Cornwallis on the subject of these communications. The particular warmth of the expressions used by Omdut ul Omrah, in his letter addressed to Gholam Ali Khan on the 14th Mohurrun, 1209, having been pointed out to Nejeeb Khan—he observed that it was nothing more than an expression of civility, which might have been used on any ordinary occasion. On the cipher, of which a proposal appeared to have been made to the Sultan, and which proposal he entirely disregarded, the Khan observed, “that the moonshee of the Nabob was present, and could be examined with respect to the authenticity of the hand-writing, that the cipher might have been conveyed into the archives of Tippoo Sultaun by the enemies of Omdut ul Omrah;” and concluded by a most important request, that the family should be furnished with the evidence, stated to exist, of the supposed criminal intercourse, and have an opportunity of offering such explanations as they might be able to give, and of presenting such counter-proofs as they might have to furnish; when, said he, “the proofs being compared, the Company might form a complete judgment.”

A more moderate proposition, on such an occasion, was certainly never advanced. He did not so much as appeal from the judgment of an opposite party; he only requested that party to look first at both sides of the question. If the object had been to explore the truth of the accusation, it would have been easy to secure the papers of the late Nabob, in which, if no marks of a criminal correspondence existed, it would not be very probable that it had ever taken place.

“This discourse,” say the commissioners, “being apparently intended to confound the object of our deputa-



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tion,"—yes, that object, to be sure, was a very different thing—"we stated to the two Khans, that the British government, being satisfied of the sufficiency of its proofs, had no intention of constituting itself a judge of the conduct of its ally." There is here one of the most astonishing instances, which the annals of the human mind can exhibit, of that blindness, which the selfish affections have a tendency to produce, when, unhappily, power is possessed, and all prospect both of shame and of punishment is removed. The British government had taken evidence upon the conduct of its ally, had pronounced a sentence of condemnation, and was proceeding, with impetuosity, to carry its decision into execution, yet it would not "constitute itself a judge of the conduct of its ally!" As if one was not a judge, so long as one abstained from hearing both sides of the question; as if, to all intents and purposes, saving only those of justice, it was not easy to be a judge upon very different terms!

The whole of the conference of this day, it appears, was spent, on the part of the Khans, in "asserting their disbelief of the hostile intercourse with Tippoo; and insisting on the reasonableness of their entering into the defence of Omdut ul Omrah's conduct in regard to the several points in which he was accused. When the day was far advanced, they were permitted, on their earnest request, to retire for the purpose of making the necessary preparations for the funeral of the deceased Nabob, and a second interview was appointed for the evening of the following day.

At this meeting, the evils of a divided government, the abuses which prevailed, and all the other arguments, which had been so often urged to prevail upon the Nabobs to resign their authority, were stated to the regents; they were assured that no remedy would suffice, except the revolution proposed; and they were asked, whether they were prepared to enter into an amicable negotiation for that purpose. They remarked, that, "if the entire government of the Carnatic should be transferred to the hands of the Company, the station of Nabob of the Carnatic would be annihilated." The answer of the commissioners is memorable. It seems to prove, that the English in India have so long, and successfully, made use of fiction,

that they take their own fictions for realities. The commissioners had the confidence to tell the regents, "that the rank and dignity of the Nabob of the Carnatic could not be injured," by actual dethronement. Nay, what is more, they state in their report, that the argument which they made use of to prove it, for they did not leave it without an argument, "was admitted by the Khans to be conclusive." The Khans, notwithstanding, declined any answer, on a proposition of so much importance, till they got the benefit of consultation with the different heads of the family; and they were allowed till the next day to prepare for a final declaration.

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On this occasion, they began by representing, that the whole family, and the ministers of the late Nabob, having, been assembled to deliberate, had come to certain conclusions. All these persons were convinced, that the British government would not insist upon the utmost severity of the terms which had been recently announced; and they had ventured to propose a different plan, by which, in their opinion, the security, which was the professed aim of the Company, would be completely attained. Their proposition was, to give up the reserved sovereignty over the Polygars, and the right of collecting the revenues in the assigned districts, and along with this to make some better regulations in regard to the debts. The commissioners repeated that "the proposition for vesting exclusively in the hands of the Company the entire administration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic, contained the basis on which alone the proposed arrangement could be founded." After strong expostulation, on both sides, the Khans declared, "that they were prepared to give a decided answer; and that the propositions which they had offered, and of which they delivered a written statement, contained finally, and unequivocally, the terms on which they could accede to an arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic by negotiation."

The commissioners resolved to accept of an ultimate refusal from no lips but those of the Nabob himself. Upon their request that he should be introduced, the Khans manifested considerable surprise; and expostulated against the proposition, on the ground both of decorum, from the recency of his father's death, and the



BOOK VI. immaturity of his judgment at eighteen years of age.  
 CHAP. X. "It was not," say the commissioners, "without a very  
 1801. long and tedious conversation, that we obtained from the  
 Khans the appointment of a time for our receiving, from  
 the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, his own deter-  
 mination on the proposition communicated to the two  
 Khans."

On the second day, which was the 19th of July, the projected interview took place. The proposition was re-stated, to which the acquiescence of the young prince was required ; and the consequences held up to his view ; the title of Nabob, with the dignity and emoluments of the head of the family, if he complied ; the loss of all these advantages, if he refused. "He replied, the Khans being present, that he considered them to have been appointed by his father for the purpose of assisting him ; and that the object of his own councils was not separate from that of the Khans." He was then given to understand that Lord Clive, the Governor, required an interview with him. To this proposition also, the Khans manifested reluctance, but they were immediately informed that it was altogether useless. During a short absence of the Khans, for the purpose of preparing the equipage of the prince, "the young man," say the commissioners, "with much apparent anxiety in his manner, whispered in a low tone of voice, that he had been deceived by the two Khans. Ali Hussain, accordingly, proceeded, without further communication with the two Khans, to the tent of the officer commanding the troops at Chepauk, at which place we had the honour of a personal interview with your Lordship." The attendants of the Prince, including even the regents, were ordered to withdraw. At this meeting, it appears that the prince was even forward to declare his disapprobation of the refusal given by the Khans to the proposition of his Lordship ; and "proposed that a treaty should be prepared, upon the basis of vesting the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic in the hands of the Company ; and stated, that he would be ready to execute the instrument, with, or without the consent of the Khans, at another separate conference, which was appointed, for the next day, within the lines of the British troops."

At that interview, however, Ali Hussain withdrew his acquiescence of the former day, which he described as the sudden and inconsiderate suggestion of the moment. He was again conveyed to a tent, to meet with Lord Clive, apart from his attendants and advisers. Being informed that his sentiments of yesterday were understood to be still his real sentiments ; that his altered declaration might be the offspring of fear ; that he was at present, however, within the British lines ; and, if it was necessary should receive the effectual protection of the British power ; he said that he acted under no constraint, and that the determination he had now expressed was that of his own deliberate, clear, and unalterable judgment. "It was then explained to him," say the Commissioners, "that no pains had been omitted, which could warn him of the consequences he was about to incur ; that the duties of humanity towards him, and the duties of attention to the national character of the British government, had been satisfied ; that he had himself determined the situation in which he would hereafter be placed ; and that your Lordship, with concern for himself individually, now apprized him that his future situation would be that of a private person, hostile to the British interests, and dependent on the bounty of the Company.—This declaration Ali Hussain received with a degree of composure and confidence, which denoted that he acted from no impression of fear ; and a smile of complacency which appeared on his countenance, throughout this discussion, denoted an internal satisfaction at the line of conduct he was pursuing. Being asked if he wished to make any further observation, he said that he did not ; and being also asked whether he had any objection to the introduction of the Khans into the tent, he said he had none ; which being accordingly done, he was directed by your Lordship to leave the tent."

The British rulers had all along reserved to themselves an expedient against Ali Hussain, to wit, chicanery about his birth, and had regularly denominated him the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah ; though all that is stated is, that his mother, which, according to the Mussulman law, is a matter of indifference, was not the principal among



BOOK VI. the women in the zenana ;<sup>1</sup> and though, at last, too, they  
 CHAP. X. precluded themselves from this pretence, by choosing him  
 1801. as the man with whom, in preference to all the rest of his  
 family, they wished to negotiate, and at whose hands to  
 accept the grant of the sovereignty.

Negotiation being in this manner closed on the part of Ali Hussain, the son of Omdut ul Omrah, the English rulers directed their attention to Azeem ud Dowlah, a son of Ameer ul Omrah, who, since the death of his father, had been kept in a state of great seclusion and indigence. To make known the intention of dealing with him as successor to the Nabob might shorten his days. But the English soon found an occasion of delivering themselves from this difficulty. The family resolved to place the son of Omdut ul Omrah on the musnud, to which they held him equally entitled by his birth, and by the will of his deceased father. The English held it necessary to prevent that ceremony; for which purpose the troops already commanding the entrance took possession of the palace, and placed a guard of honour about Azeem ud Dowlah. He was not long kept ignorant of what was to be done with him. The forfeiture of the government by Omdut ul Omrah, and "that satisfaction and security," as they expressed it, which the English rulers "deemed to be necessary to the preservation of their interests in the Carnatic," were explained to him; and he was asked whether, if acknowledged as the head and representative of the family, these were terms to which he would submit. He made as little difficulty in expressing his compliance as the circumstances in which he was placed gave reason to expect.<sup>2</sup> A reflection, however, suggests itself, which, at the time, the English rulers were probably too full of their object to make. If Azeem ud Dowlah had to the inheritance of the family any title whatsoever beside the arbitrary will of the English rulers, his title stood exempt from that plea of forfeiture on which the

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mornington writes, "It is certain that the mother of the young man was of low origin, and that she was never married to the Nabob." This would affect his pretensions, according to the Mussulman law. Despatches, ii. 249.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The report from which the above particulars and quotations are taken, is in the volume of papers (p. 8—25), ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 21st and 23rd of June, 1801.

measure of dethronement was set up. It was not so much as pretended that his father, Ameer ul Omrah, had any share in the pretended criminal correspondence of the late and preceding Nabob; and to punish a man for the sins of his grandfather, however it may be reconcileable with some systems of law, will not be denied, it is presumed to be utterly irreconcilable with the essential principles of justice. Besides, though in a certain sense of the word, a prince may forfeit his crown to his subjects, it was not in the relation of subject and prince, that the British Company and the Nabob of Arcot stood; and in what sense it can be said that one prince forfeits his crown to another, it would not be easy to explain.

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A treaty was immediately drawn up and signed, according to which all the powers of government were delivered over in perpetuity to the English, and totally and for ever renounced by the Nabob. Yet such is the memorable harmony between the language which the English rulers desired to employ, and the actions they performed, that the first article of the treaty stands in the following words: "The Nabob Azeem ud Dowlah Behauder is hereby formally established in the state and rank, with the dignities dependent thereon, of his ancestors, heretofore Nabobs of the Carnatic; and the possession thereof is hereby guaranteed by the Honourable East India Company to his said Highness, Azeem ud Dowlah Behauder, who has accordingly succeeded to the Subahdarry of the territories of Arcot."

As a provision for the new Nabob, including the maintenance of the female establishment, or Mhal, of his father, one-fifth part of the net revenues of the Carnatic were pledged. The Company engaged to make a suitable maintenance for the rest of the family, and took upon itself the whole of the debts of the preceding Nabobs.<sup>1</sup>

Against this revolution, there was transmitted to the home authorities a remonstrance in the name of the regents. A letter, as from the rejected Nabob, setting forth, in vehement and pathetic language, the proceedings which had taken place, and the cruel effects, as regarded himself, with which they were attended, was transmitted to two gentlemen in England, of the names of Hall and

<sup>1</sup> See the Treaty and Papers, *ut supra*, i. 74.



BOOK VI. Johnstone, who acted there as agents of the deceased  
CHAP. x. Nabob. The rest of the family continued to vent their  
indignation, in acts of disrespect to the new Nabob, and in  
1801. such other demonstrations as they dared to risk. The  
displays of their dissatisfaction were sufficiently active  
and manifest to give not only displeasure, but some degree  
of disturbance to the government. In due time the ap-  
probation of the Honourable the Court of Directors, a  
favour as often as acquisitions were made, not often denied,  
arrived in proper form. "We have been induced," said  
the Secret Committee, "to postpone expressing our opinion  
on the late important transactions in the Carnatic, from  
a desire to be previously furnished with every information  
which could bear in any material degree upon the ques-  
tion; and we have accordingly waited with impatience  
for a review of the circumstances which led to the late  
arrangement in the Carnatic, which the Governor-General,  
in his letter of the 28th of September, 1801, to the Secret  
Committee, acquainted us he was then preparing, and  
which he proposed to forward by the Mornington packet."  
The Mornington packet arrived, and the promised review  
was not received. It was never sent. The Directors  
accordingly were compelled to approve without it: "We  
do not," they say, "feel ourselves called upon to enter  
into a detail of the circumstances connected with this  
case; or to state at length the reasoning upon those cir-  
cumstances which has led to the conclusion we have come  
to, after the fullest and most deliberate consideration.  
It is enough to state to you, that we are fully prepared  
upon the facts, as at present before us, to approve and  
confirm the treaty in question; and we are of opinion,  
that, acting under the instructions of the Governor-  
General, you stand fully justified, upon the evidence,  
written as well as oral, on which you proceed, in deeming  
the rights of the family of Mohammed Ali, as existing  
under former treaties, to have been wholly forfeited by  
the systematic perfidy and treachery of the late Nabobs  
of the Carnatic, Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, in breach  
of their solemn treaties with the Company. The claims  
of the family having been thus forfeited, and right having  
accrued to the Company of making provision, at their  
discretion, for the future safety of the Carnatic, we are

further of opinion that the nature of the security which has been provided by the treaty, for the defence and preservation of our interests in that quarter, is of a satisfactory description.”<sup>1</sup>

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One expression alone, in this quotation, appears, on the present occasion, to require any comment. The Directors say, that the Nabob Mohammed Ali forfeited the rights which he enjoyed “under treaties with the Company.” But surely his right to the throne of the Carnatic was not created by any treaty with the Company. It had for a long series of years been acknowledged, and proclaimed by the English, as resting on a very different foundation. At the commencement of their political and military operations in the Carnatic, the right of Mohammed Ali by inheritance, to the musnud of his ancestors, was the grand plea which they made use of against the French; and a zeal for the rights of the lawful prince, was one of the colours with which they were most anxious to adorn their conduct. If, by the violation of a treaty, an hereditary sovereign incurs the forfeiture of his sovereignty, how would the case stand, not to speak of other sovereigns, with the East India Company? At a previous epoch, the Directors themselves had vehemently declared, that the treaty was violated; namely, by the assignments which the Nabob had granted on the districts set apart for securing the subsidy. All the rights, therefore, which a violation of the treaty could forfeit, were of course forfeited on that occasion. Yet the Directors by no means pretended that they had a right to dethrone the Nabob on that occasion.<sup>2</sup>

In the letter of Ali Hussain to the agents of the family in England, “Being informed,” he says, “on the 29th, that public notification had been made through the different streets of Madras, that the Ameer’s son would be placed on the musnud on the 31st instant, under the influence of government, I immediately addressed the Governor with the advice of the regents, on the suggested measure, and proposed to accept the terms which had been at first offered; a measure which my mind revolted at, but which

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 29th of September, 1802, to the Governor in Council of Fort St. George; papers, ut supra, i. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Vide supra.

BOOK VI. seemed to be demanded by the trying exigencies of the  
 CHAP. X. moment : and I felt confidence within myself, that, if my  
 1801. offer had been accepted, the liberality of the British  
 nation would have never held me bound by conditions  
 which had been so compulsorily imposed on me ; or would  
 have ameliorated a situation, that had been produced by  
 means, which neither honour nor justice could bear to  
 contemplate. My address was wholly and totally dis-  
 regarded.”<sup>1</sup>

Of this offer no mention whatsoever appears in the  
 correspondence of the Company’s servants with their  
 employers.

On the 6th of April, 1802, the deposed Nawab died.  
 He was residing in the apartment of the Sultana Nizza  
 Begum, his paternal aunt, when the malady, supposed a  
 dysentery, began ; and, in display of the resentments of  
 the family, his situation was concealed from the English  
 government, and the medical assistance of the English  
 refused, till the case was desperate. Nearly at the same  
 time, died Ameer Sing, the deposed Rajah of Tanjore.<sup>2</sup>

Pondicherry having been restored to the French, agree-  
 ably to the treaty of Amiens, Bonaparte alarmed the  
 English by sending out a great list of military officers ;  
 seven generals, and a proportional number in the inferior  
 ranks, with 1400 regular troops, and 100,000*l.* in specie.  
 The speedy renewal of the war gave them relief from  
 their fears. Possession of Pondicherry was resumed by  
 the English in 1803 ; but the French Admiral, Linois,  
 had intelligence sufficiently prompt, to enable him to  
 escape with the fleet.<sup>3</sup>

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Several occurrences of interest took place in this and the  
 immediately subsequent period of the administration  
 of the Marquess Wellesley, which as they are not  
 adverted to in the pages of the original, it will be  
 convenient to notice in this place.

DURING the year 1800, the Isle of France had been the  
 resort of a number of armed vessels, which with singular

<sup>1</sup> Papers, *ut supra*, ordered to be printed 21st and 23rd of June, 1802.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, *ut supra*, i. 95, 96, 145, 146.

<sup>3</sup> Papers ordered to be printed in 1806, No. 25, p. 192.



activity and boldness carried on a predatory warfare against British commerce in the Indian Ocean. The protection afforded by the presence of his Majesty's ships of war was of comparatively little avail against the sudden and rapid operations of the French privateers; and grievous injury was inflicted upon the country trade, and even upon that between England and India.<sup>1</sup> It was computed that between the commencement of the war and the end of 1800, the naval force of the French islands had carried into Port Louis, British property to the amount of above two millions sterling. That such a source of annoyance and injury, such a rallying point for any armament which might be equipped from France against the British possessions in India, should be suffered to exist, was as discreditable to the national reputation, as it was destructive to the mercantile interests of British subjects, and incompatible with the safety of the Indian territories of Great Britain. It was not to be expected, therefore, that a Governor-General of the energetic character of Lord Mornington would fail to attempt the extinction of the evil by the subjugation of the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon.

Accordingly, in the latter months of 1800, as soon as the affairs of Mysore were settled, three of his Majesty's regiments, with 1000 Bengal volunteers, and details of native and European artillery, were ordered to assemble at Trincomalee, on the Island of Ceylon, under the command of Colonel Wellesley, to be employed towards the close of December in an expedition against the Isle of France, if the accounts from Europe and from Egypt were of a nature to leave the Governor-General at liberty to make the attempt.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the plan of the expedition was communicated to Admiral Rainier, who commanded the British squadron in the Indian Ocean, and he was earnestly requested to proceed to Trincomalee to meet the force and transports assembled there, and co-operate in the attack upon the Isle of France, the

<sup>1</sup> The Kent Indiaman was captured by a French privateer off the Sand Heads, on the 7th of October, after an action of an hour and three-quarters. She was carried by boarding, and the passengers and crew were treated after the capture with brutal barbarity. Despatches, ii. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to the Hon. Col. Wellesley, 5th Nov. 1800. Despatches, ii. 413. See also Wellington Despatches, i. 24, 31.



BOOK VI. successful result of which admitted of no reasonable  
 CHAP. X. doubt, from the feeble means of resistance which the  
 colony possessed.<sup>1</sup>

1801.

The attempt upon the Isle of France was retarded, however, by the extraordinary scruples of the British Admiral, who withheld his concurrence in the proposed expedition, chiefly because, in his opinion, no such enterprise could with propriety be undertaken, unless by the express command of the king, signified in the usual official form to the British government of India, and to the commanders of his Majesty's sea and land forces. It is difficult to believe how such a plea could have satisfied the understanding of a British officer, or that a mere defect of form should have imposed upon the Admiral the duty of frustrating or impairing the use of such means as the government of India might possess, for the seasonable annoyance of the enemy, instead of zealously seizing the opportunity to direct against them such additional and powerful resources. The principles urged by Lord Wellesley in reply to the Admiral's objections,<sup>2</sup> received the fullest confirmation from the home authorities; and Lord Hobart expressly states that it is of the utmost importance that it should be understood that in the distant possessions of the British empire during the existence of war, the want of the regular authority should not preclude an attack upon the enemy in any case that may appear calculated to promote the public interests.<sup>3</sup> Full credit is given to Admiral Rainier for having acted under a sense of public duty, but it is impossible to avoid suspecting that he was influenced, however unconsciously, by a jealous tenaciousness of authority which disdained receiving orders from an East India Company's Governor, a feeling which has on various occasions been manifested by those intrusted in India with high naval commands, to the serious detriment of the public cause. On the present occasion, its effects were most mischievous, for the privateers of the Isle of France continued, during several subsequent years after the renewal of the war, to harass

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Admiral Rainier, 22nd Oct. 1800. Despatches, ii. 399. See also Letter to Sir G. Younge and Sir Roger Curtis. *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Despatches, Appendix, 753, 755.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Lord Hobart to the Marquess Wellesley, 13th Sept. 1802. Despatches, 700.

and plunder with impunity the commercial navigation of the Eastern seas. When the reluctance of Admiral Rainier was found insuperable, the Governor-General resolved to resume a design which had been suspended for a season, and send the troops collected at Ceylon against Batavia.<sup>1</sup> Before this project could be realized, instructions were received from England to undertake an expedition in a different direction, and to send a force from India to Egypt, to assist in the expulsion of the French from that country.<sup>2</sup> The instructions had been in some degree anticipated, and the destination of the troops assembled at Trincomalee was dependent upon the nature of the advices which should be received from England,<sup>3</sup> and which it was thought probable would direct the equipment of an armament for the Red Sea. The force assembled in Ceylon was therefore despatched to Bombay, to be joined there by 1600 native infantry, which had been held in readiness for foreign service.<sup>4</sup> The force was placed under the command of Major-General Baird, who left Bengal on the 14th February; and after touching at Ceylon proceeded to Bombay, where he arrived on the 31st March.

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1801.

The forces collected for the Egyptian expedition were embarked as fast as transports could be provided for them, and in successive detachments sailed to Mocha as the first point of rendezvous. They had been preceded in December by Rear-Admiral Blankett, with a squadron of the Company's cruisers, and a small body of troops, intended to act as an advance-guard to the expedition, and prepare the way for its reception. Letters were also addressed by the Governor-General to all the principal Arab chiefs on the coast of the Red Sea, to conciliate their good offices and secure their assistance.<sup>5</sup>

After touching at Mocha, General Baird proceeded to Jidda, where he arrived on the 18th of May, and was joined by Sir Home Popham, who had been sent out from

<sup>1</sup> Wellington Despatches, 155.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Right Hon. H. Dundas to the Marquess Wellesley, 6th Oct. 1803. Despatches, ii. 436. The measure had been suggested by Lord Wellesley long before. Letter to the Right Hon. H. Dundas, 16th May, 1799. Despatches, i. 587.

<sup>3</sup> From Marquess Wellesley to Major-General Baird, 10th Feb. 1801.

<sup>4</sup> Despatches, ii. 440.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. ii. 471.

BOOK VI. England to take the command of the naval part of the  
 CHAP. X. expedition. There also he received intelligence of the  
 1801. action which had taken place between the French army  
 and the British forces on the 21st March, the defeat of  
 the former, and death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Pro-  
 ceeding to Koseir, General Baird arrived there on the 8th  
 June, and having concentrated his troops, commenced his  
 march towards the Nile. The passage of the desert,  
 although impeded by a variety of vexatious embarrass-  
 ments and delays, was effected without any serious loss,  
 and the troops performed the rest of their route down  
 the Nile in boats.

By the 27th of August, the whole of General Baird's  
 force, amounting to 7000 men, was assembled in the Isle  
 of Rhouda. Thence they marched to Rosetta, with the  
 hope of contributing to the capture of Alexandria, but  
 were there met by intelligence that the French were in  
 treaty for surrender; and with this event terminated hos-  
 tilities in Egypt.

After the cessation of active operations, the two armies  
 from India and England were united under the command  
 of Lord Cavan, and the Sepoys were to be marched to  
 Alexandria to form part of the garrison. The blending  
 of two bodies, differing in many respects as to their pay  
 and organization, was ill-calculated to give satisfaction to  
 either, and the detention of the native troops to perform  
 the duties of garrisons would have been a breach of the  
 implied obligation under which they had consented to  
 engage in foreign service. These objectionable projects  
 were, however, obviated by the intelligence that prelimi-  
 naries of peace had been signed; and by the end of April  
 orders were received for the return of the native troops,  
 and a portion of the European to India. They were em-  
 barked at Suez, in the beginning of June, 1802, and  
 arrived at the Presidencies to which they severally be-  
 longed in the course of the two following months.<sup>1</sup> This  
 demonstration of the power of the British empire, which  
 thus brought together numerous and effective armaments  
 from the West and from the East, to fight the battles of  
 England, upon the Banks of the Nile, was calculated to

<sup>1</sup> Besides the Despatches of Lord Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington,  
 see the Life of Sir David Baird for these and other details.



enhance her renown, and confirm her moral, as well as display her political strength. The demonstration was not needed; there was already, as the event proved, a sufficient force to overpower the reliques of the French army, and it would have been economy both of blood and treasure, to have adhered to the Governor-General's original design, and been contented with the less splendid but more serviceable conquest of the Isle of France.

Before the return of the troops from the Egyptian expedition, Lord Wellesley had tendered to the Court of Directors his resignation of the government of India. On the 1st of January, 1802, he conveyed to the Court his wish to be relieved before the end of the current year. In his despatch to the Court, he assigned no other causes for that step than the successful accomplishment of the most essential branches of his general plan for the security of India; the prosperity of the existing state of affairs, and his expectation of completing in the course of the year as great a proportion of improvement in the affairs of India, as he could hope to accomplish within any period of time, to which his government could be reasonably protracted.<sup>1</sup> In a letter addressed to Mr. Addington, the Secretary of State,<sup>2</sup> his Lordship is more explicit: his continuance in India, he states, is precluded by powerful causes, and his administration is brought to a premature conclusion by the authority most interested in its extension; that is, by the Court of Directors, whom he charges with having manifested a want of confidence in him, with having interfered in details of local administration, usually left to local authority, and with having refused their sanction or expressed their disapprobation of arrangements which he had adopted, upon a conviction of their expedience or necessity. He then specifies the particular cases, included under these three general heads.

Without following the Governor-General through all the circumstances which he details, it will be easy to select such as will prove that his accusations were not unfounded and that the Court of Directors had adopted towards him,

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Court of Directors, 1st Jan. 1802. Despatches, ii. 616.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to the Right Hon. H. Addington, Cawnpore, 10th Jan. 1802. Despatches, iii. Introduction, p. iv.



BOOK VI. opinions and feelings, with the influence of which his  
 CHAP. X. continuance in his situation was wholly incompatible.

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They had learned to look upon him with distrust and fear, on various grounds, some of which were not wholly untenable, but of which others were inconsistent with the extension of the British power in India, and the more decidedly political nature of the position in which the Company had been placed by the results of the war with Tippoo Sultan. Unquestionably the accession of territory acquired by that war; the more complex relations in which it had involved the British government with the neighbouring states; and the continuance of hostilities in Europe, fully justified Lord Wellesley in making an addition to the strength of the Company's army. The Court of Directors, influenced by considerations of economy, which, to say the least of it, were ill-timed, disapproved of the augmentation, and peremptorily ordered a reduction to be made. To have obeyed these orders, would not only have incapacitated the government from co-operating in the Egyptian campaign, but would have exposed the newly-acquired provinces to be the prey of rebellion or invasion. Lord Wellesley was therefore compelled to suspend obedience to the orders of the Court, and they never were obeyed. The Mahratta war, which presently followed, was an unanswerable argument against any diminution of the military strength of British government.

Some of the proceedings of the Court regarded the abolition of various salaries and allowances which the Governor-General had sanctioned or granted: this gave him deep offence, and he resents it in strong terms. "It cannot be denied," he observes, "that the Court, by reducing the established allowances of Colonel Wellesley, has offered me the most direct, marked, and disgusting personal indignity which could be devised. The effect of this order must be to inculcate an opinion that I have suffered my brother to derive emoluments beyond the limits of justice and propriety, and that I have exhibited an example of profusion and extravagance in an allowance granted to my nearest connexion. I have already stated that the ground of the order is as unjust and unwarranted in point of fact, as its operation is calculated to be

injurious and humiliating to my reputation and honour." It would appear that the Court had not sufficiently considered the nature of Colonel Wellesley's political as well as military functions in Mysore, or the unavoidable expenses of his situation; and it is undeniable, as Lord Wellesley urges, that if the Court conceived Colonel Wellesley and the Governor-General capable of the conduct which their orders insinuated, they should not have stopped short with such imputation, but should have removed Colonel Wellesley from his command, and Lord Wellesley from his government.

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Besides objections to the amount of remuneration for public services, the Court of Directors assumed a right to nominate individuals to offices of trust, and to displace those appointed by their Governors in India. Thus a peremptory order directed Lord Wellesley to appoint a particular person to be Acting President of the Board of Trade, to the supersession of another individual, who had been placed in that office by the government; and at Mádras the Court, in opposition to the opinions and wishes of Lord Clive, removed the chief secretary to the government and appointed another, displaced a member of the Board of Revenue, and directly nominated two members to that Board, and granted one of the most important commercial residences on the Coast in reversion upon the first vacancy. These measures undoubtedly constituted an usurpation of patronage contrary to the letter and spirit of the Act of Parliament of 1793, which, in vesting the privilege of nomination to all offices under Members of Council in the local authorities, subject to the control of the Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, did not intend to give to either of the latter more than the power of checking any abuse of local patronage, and protecting the just rights of their servants in India: where these were flagrantly and systematically invaded, it was, no doubt, the duty of the authorities in England to interfere, but it is obvious that if the interference is perpetually called for, the legitimate remedy is not an assumption of the patronage, but the removal of the offender.

In addition to the counteraction and mortification thus complained of, the Governor-General, at the time he wrote,

BOOK VI. anticipated exposure to still further offence; "I am  
 CHAP. X. menaced," he observes, "with angry orders of various  
 1802. descriptions, for the subversion of many of the most important acts and institutions of my administration, and for the entire change of its general tenor and spirit." Although not mentioned, he especially alludes to two sets of measures in which he took an active interest, and in which he was most pointedly at variance with the Court of Directors—the establishment of the College of Fort William, and the extended facilities afforded to private trade in Bengal.

It has been already noticed, that in compliance with the requisition of the trading interests of England, a provision was introduced into the charter of 1793, by which 3000 tons at least were to be annually allotted to private merchants. Two objects were proposed by this condition, which was considered to be consistent with the general principle of the Company's monopoly. These were, First, the augmented export of British manufactures; Secondly, the remittance direct to England of that portion of British capital which the Company's investment could not take up, and which was therefore sent in articles of Indian export by foreign shipping, whenever British tonnage was deficient. The provision had failed in both respects. The high rate of freight charged on the Company's shipping, and the delays and interruptions to which their vessels were subjected, were justly complained of as deterring merchants and manufacturers from engaging extensively in the trade. In fact, however, there was no great demand in India at that time for British goods; and the amount of export tonnage, even if the expense had been reduced, would probably have been more than equal to the demand. The case was different with Indian goods. There was a large capital in India, in the fortunes of individuals, that wanted employment, and there was a very extensive demand in Europe for a variety of articles besides those which the Company reserved as objects of their exclusive trade;<sup>1</sup> consequently, the tonnage offered to private mer-

<sup>1</sup> The amount of private, exclusive of privilege goods, shipped from Bengal in the period between the passing of the Act of Parliament and 1800, is thus stated:—

	Tons.		Tons.		Tons.
1794—5	2473	1796—7	4659	1798—99	6223
1795—6	5346	1797—8	3787	1799—1800	7748

At the latter period above 10,000 tons of shipping, built in India, were tendered for the voyage to England.



chants by the Company, was wholly insufficient for their wants, besides being ruinously costly and uncertain. So strongly was this felt, that the Court of Directors, in May, 1798, authorized the government of Bengal to take up ships, on the account of the Company, for the purpose of re-letting, on the same account, the tonnage to the merchants of Calcutta. Their plan, however, was objectionable on the same grounds as before, expense and delay; and, the principle having been admitted, the practice was modified by Lord Wellesley so far that the merchants and ship-owners were permitted to make their own arrangements for the extent and rate of the freight, and the despatch of the vessels, subject to such conditions as were thought necessary to protect the Company's privilege.<sup>1</sup> The discretion thus exercised created exceeding alarm and anger at home. As the ships taken up were India-built, the ship-builders of the Port of London anticipated the destruction of their business, and the Court of Directors proclaimed that the Company's monopoly was subverted. The views of the Governor-General were advocated by a strong mercantile interest in England, and were upheld by the President of the Board of Control, so that the disapprobation of the Court was not allowed to be directly and immediately expressed.<sup>2</sup> The Governor-General repeated the same arrangement in 1800, and in his report of the circumstance to the Court, declared it to be his decided and conscientious conviction that the permanent establishment of a systematic intercourse between the ports of India and that of London, regulated by principles similar to those adopted by his government, had become indispensable to the united and inseparable interests of the Company and of the nation in India. The liberal and unanswerable arguments by which this opinion was vindicated, were not calculated to render the measure acceptable to the narrow and selfish jealousy of the ship-owners or of the Court of Directors. That the Governor-General's

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<sup>1</sup> Advertisement of the Board of Trade, Calcutta, 5th Oct. 1798. Despatches ii. Append. 736.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Right Hon. H. Dundas to the Committee of Ship Builders, 1st July, 1797, and to the Chairman of the Hon. E. India Company, 2nd April, 1800. Wellesley Despatches, v. 117, 121. Letter from the same to Lord Mornington, 18th March, 1799. Ibid. ii. 101. Letter to the Court, 30th Sept. 1800. Despatches, ii. 376.



BOOK VI. unpopularity with both at this early period of his administration must be mainly referred to the encouragement  
 CHAP. X. which he thus afforded to the private trade of India cannot be doubted, and was his own impression. "I apprehend," he observes, "that my conduct on the question of the private trade has been the main source of the virulence which has been betrayed by the Court on various other topics."<sup>1</sup>  
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The support given by Lord Wellesley to the trade from India to England in British-built ships, was the result of the calm and deliberate consideration of a measure concerning which he himself declares he felt no particular solicitude. The same indifference did not attach to an institution of which he was the creator and fosterer—the College of Fort William—and in respect to which he was fated to encounter the no less strenuous opposition of the Court of Directors.

The alteration which had taken place in the situation of the Company in India, and their assumption of a political to the comparative extinction of a mercantile character, had permanently changed the objects which their civil servants were appointed to accomplish, and the denominations of writer, factor, and merchant, by which they were still distinguished, were utterly inapplicable to the nature and extent of their duties and occupations. Not only had they for the greater part ceased to have any connexion with trade, but they were bound by oath to abstain from every commercial and mercantile pursuit, and it had now become their task to maintain civil order through an extensive and populous country; to dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, and creeds; to administer a complicated system of revenue and finance; to conduct difficult and intricate negotiations with all the powers of India; and in several of the chief native states to exercise, as Residents, a peculiar and

<sup>1</sup> See Letter of Mr. Grant and Mr. Twining, two of the Directors, to Lord Wellesley. Despatches, v. 142, 143; also Marquess Wellesley to Lord Castle-reagh, 12th Feb. 1803. Despatches, iii. 54. Papers on the Private Trade. Asiatic Annual Register, 1801; also Debates at the India House on the same subject. In a debate on the 28th May, 1801, one of the Directors, who had recently been chairman, asserted, that "it was through the impropriety of Lord Wellesley's conduct that the agents and merchants were admitted into what they wanted and what they enjoyed." Ibid. p. 176. See also Henchman's Observations on the Reports of the Court of Directors, 1801, and Auber's Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, ii. 232.

invidious control over vast principalities. They were required, in short, to discharge the duties of statesmen in every other part of the world, but under difficulties of a characteristic description, arising from the total dissimilarity that existed between the languages, manners, and opinions of England and India — between all the circumstances in which the public functionaries had been educated, and those to which the fruits of their education were to be applied. It may seem extraordinary, that the incongruity of the two had not previously been discovered, and that it was reserved for the Marquess Wellesley to discover that a knowledge of the languages spoken by the people of India, and of the people themselves, was an essential part of the education of those Englishmen who were to be charged with the offices of magistrates, judges, collectors, ambassadors, and governors in India.

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The views entertained by the Marquess Wellesley of the sort of instruction required, although sound in principle, were of an extent which it would be difficult under any circumstances to realize, and which in India it was hopeless to attempt. The state of preparation in which the junior civil servants of his day were sent out, justified him, no doubt, in desiring that even their European education should be continued after their arrival. Some of the writers he describes as unfit to execute any duties beyond those of a copying-clerk, whilst of those who had received the benefits of a superior education, the studies had been prematurely interrupted at the age when they were about to yield the reward of application. An adequate remedy for this was not to be found in India, but in England; and the attempt to prolong a course of European study in Bengal, where few of the inducements or facilities for such an object were available, and where the services of competent instructors could not at all times or for a continuance be procured, was justly condemned by the Court of Directors as an unprofitable expenditure both of money and of time.

Whilst, however, it was obviously a matter of easy regulation to enforce, in the case of every junior civil servant, the acquirement at home of the highest possible attainments that could be gained by English education, it



BOOK VI. was equally evident that certain local qualifications were  
CHAP. X. indispensable, which could not at any time be conveniently, or at that time be at all obtained in Europe. It  
1802. was scarcely possible to add to the most approved course of juvenile instruction in England, an intimate acquaintance with the history, customs, and manners of the people of India, with the Mohammedan and Hindu codes of law and religion, with the commercial and political interests and relations of Great Britain in Asia, or with the code of regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-General in council, for the purpose of securing to the people of India the benefit of the ancient and accustomed laws of the country, administered in the spirit of the British constitution. Knowledge of this description could be acquired only in India, and an adequate provision for its being effectively imparted was well worthy of the care and encouragement of the state. There are, however, in the constitution of the civil service, and in the condition of society in India, serious obstacles to this part of the plan ; and the only realizable results of the projected establishment were the means of acquiring a command of the languages of the country, of receiving through their literature an honest and authentic expression of the feelings and sentiments of the people, and of learning something of their history, institutions, and laws. The plan of the College also afforded occasions of intimate and creditable intercourse with natives of learning and talent, by which many ignorant prejudices were removed from both the native and European mind, and mutually favourable impressions were acquired. It also offered encouragement to native learning and talent, and the plan extended throughout Hindustan the reputation of the Company's government. Although, therefore, its operations were not as comprehensive as its founder designed, the college of Fort William was productive of important public advantages, exercised for several subsequent years a beneficial influence upon the character of the junior servants of the Company, and was instrumental to the service and credit of the state. A spirit of retrenchment and private interests at last combined to effect its extinction, leaving in its room a meagre contrivance for teaching the smallest possible quantity of

the languages of Bengal, necessary for imperfectly understanding the mere speech of the people.<sup>1</sup>

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The arguments urged by Lord Wellesley with considerable ability, and in general with unanswerable truth, as to the necessity of an improved scale of education for their servants, and the expedience of a collegiate establishment in India for their use, failed to satisfy the Court of Directors, who alarmed at what they termed the considerable and unknown amount of the expense by which it was to be attended, and entertaining an exaggerated apprehension of the financial embarrassments of the Indian government, ordered its immediate abolition. At the same time they could not deny the necessity of providing for instruction in some of the native languages; and they furnished a sketch of a more economical establishment which they were prepared to sanction. Although, in obedience to the orders of the court, the Governor-General announced it to be the intention of the government to abolish the college, he postponed, for various reasons, the actual abolition, until the close of 1803, expressing his hope, that in the mean time, the representations addressed by him to the court might prevail upon it to suffer the establishment to remain unaltered, until he should be enabled to report in person the condition and effects of the institution, and submit such details as might enable the court to exercise its final judgment on the whole plan. This representation, backed by the decided support of the Board of Control, was not without effect upon the proceedings of the Directors, and the sanction of the Court was eventually given to the continuance of a college for the instruction of Bengal writers in the Oriental languages in use in that part of India. Arrangements of a more restricted nature were adopted, for the like instruction to be given to the young civilians of Madras and Bombay, in the languages of the Peninsula; and a college was a few years afterwards founded in England, for the better education of the junior civilians of all the Presidencies, in the usual objects of European study, as well as for a preparatory instruction in the languages of the East. However mutilated, there-

<sup>1</sup> Notes by the Governor-General on the foundation of a College at Fort William, 10th July, 1800. Despatches, ii. 325. Regulations for the Foundation, &c. Ibid. 356.



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fore, by the economy or jealousy of the Court of Directors, the projected college of Lord Wellesley had the merit of awakening public attention to an object of vital importance to the prosperity of British India, and of originating useful, although still imperfect measures for its attainment.<sup>1</sup>

The announcement of Lord Wellesley's wish to be relieved from the labours of his government, proved acceptable to neither the ministry nor to the Court of Directors, and both addressed him to urge his remaining in India for a further period,<sup>2</sup> at least until the month of January, 1804. In writing to his Lordship on this occasion, the Court of Directors expressed their persuasion, that in another season the Governor-General would be able to terminate, with honour to himself and advantage to the Company, every measure of importance connected with the recent acquisitions, perfect the retrenchments, as well those resulting from the peace, as others of which their affairs might be susceptible, and in concert with the home authorities lay the foundation of an efficient system, for the liquidation of the Indian debt. These expectations were disappointed. The war with France was speedily renewed, and the war with the Mahrattas called upon the Indian governments for renewed exertions and augmented expense.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Two Sets of Princes connected with the English ; one, whom they made resign both the Military and the Civil Powers of their Government ; another, whom they made resign only the Military Powers.—Endeavour to make the Peshwa resign the Military Part of his Government.—Negotiations for that Purpose, from 1798 to 1802.—Negotiations with Dowlut Rao Sindiah for a similar Purpose.—The Dependence of all the Mahratta States expected as the Effect of the Resignation to the English of*

<sup>1</sup> Lord Castlereagh to the Marquess Wellesley, 28th April, 1803. Despatches, iii. 379.

<sup>2</sup> From Lord Castlereagh, President of the Board of Control, 10th August and 10th Sept. 1802. Despatches, iii. 31, 33. From the Court of Directors to the Governor-General, 29th Sept. 1802. Despatch, iii. Introduction, xxv.

*the Military Power of any one of them.—Negotiation with Sindiah ineffectual.—War between Sindiah and Holkar.—The Peshwa driven from Poonah.—For the Sake of being restored by English Arms, the Peshwa consents to the Resignation of his Military Power.—A Treaty for that Purpose signed at Bassein.—The Governor-General expects that the other Mahratta States will not dare to quarrel with the English on account of the Treaty of Bassein.—Sindiah assembles his Troops, and marches to the Vicinity of Boorhanpore.—Persevering Attempts to make Sindiah execute a Treaty similar to that of Bassein.—The Peshwa restored.—Probability of a War with the Mahratta Princes on account of the Treaty of Bassein.—Junction of the Armies of Sindiah and the Raja of Berar.—Sindiah and the Raja required by the English to quit their present menacing Position, and replace their Armies at their usual Stations.—Sindiah and the Raja evading Compliance, the English regard them as Enemies.—Arguments by which the Governor-General endeavoured to prove that the line of Policy which led to this Crisis was good.—Investigation of those Arguments.*

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THE relations, which the British government endeavoured to establish with the Princes of India, were different in different circumstances. They with whom their connexion was the most intimate, the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Raja of Tanjore, the Nabob of Oude, formed one class. Another was formed by those who stood in the circumstances of the Nizam, of the Peshwa and other Mahratta powers.

From the Princes of the first class, it had lately been the object of the British government to take away not only the military, but likewise the civil power, in the countries to which their titles respectively extended; and, leaving them the name of sovereign, to make them simply pensioners of state. With the rest, this object had been completely attained: with the Nabob of Oude, it was found expedient to make something of a compromise. A sort of delegated administration, which, however, he bound himself to carry on according to the pleasure of the delegator, was left to him in civil affairs, in a portion, not much more than a third, of his former dominions.

BOOK VI. To this point the pretensions of the British government  
 CHAP. IX. had advanced by degrees. At first they were neither very  
 1802. high, nor very definite. The English, for their own security, found it necessary to aid the Princes in defending themselves; and the Princes agreed to re-imburse the English for the expenses which they incurred.

The powers of government, that is, in India, the powers of the sovereign, may be looked upon as divided (in India they are very conspicuously divided) into two portions; the one, the military power; the other, the civil power; the one consisting in authority over the military force; the other in the administration of what is called the civil or non-military affairs of the state, the collection of the revenue, judicature, and police.

The English arrived at the first remarkable stage, when they made the Princes, with whom they were most nearly connected, strip themselves of their military power, to place it in the hands of the English. At this stage affairs remained during a considerable number of years. The sovereigns, placed in these circumstances, held their civil power in a state of absolute dependence. When the civil power, also, was taken away from them, nothing of sovereign remained, but the name. They were in the situation of the Raja of Sattarah, only in the hands of a people, to whom it was agreeable to treat them with more indulgence.

With the Princes of the second class, the object at which the British government had begun to aim, was, to make each of them resign the military part of his power to the English. In respect to the Nizam, the business had been effectually accomplished by the treaty of 1800; when he agreed to receive the subsidiary force of the English, and alienated a great proportion of his dominions to defray its expense.<sup>1</sup> The eagerness with which Lord Wellesley endeavoured to establish the same relations with the principal Mahratta states, he himself informs us, was extreme.

It had suited the English, in their transactions with the Mahratta people, to suppose, in the chieftain called the Peshwa, a species of sovereign authority over the rest of the Mahratta potentates; an authority, which it was

<sup>1</sup> Despatches, ii. 135, 258, 270, 275, and Appendix, 709, 726.



abundantly evident that he did not exercise, and to which it was equally evident that the rest of the Princes paid no respect.<sup>1</sup> In the spirit of this policy, it was the wish of Lord Wellesley to induce the Peshwa, in preference to all the rest of the Mahratta chiefs, to consign the defence of his government and dominions to a British force, and to alienate a part of those dominions for the maintenance of that force; an arrangement which that Governor denominates, "an intimate alliance, founded upon principles which should render the British influence and military force the main support of that power."<sup>2</sup>

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In 1798, when the Nizam consented to transfer the military powers of government within his dominions to the English, a similar proposal of "general defensive alliance, and mutual guarantee,"<sup>3</sup> as it is called by Lord Wellesley, was strongly pressed upon the Peshwa. The moment was conceived to be favourable. "The authority of Bajee Rao," says the Governor-General, "was then reduced to a state of extreme weakness by the imbecility of his councils, by the instability and treachery of his disposition, and by the prevalence of internal discord; and in that crisis, his government was menaced with destruction, by the overbearing power of Sindiah. It was evident that the Peshwa could not expect to be relieved from the oppressive control of Sindiah, and to be restored to a due degree of authority within his own dominions, by any other means than by the aid of the British power."<sup>4</sup> The Governor-

<sup>1</sup> The whole history of the Mahratta states shows, that the Peshwa's supremacy was not merely what it suited the English to represent it, but was an essential part of the constitution of the state. The overgrown power of some of the chiefs had, it is true, rendered the Peshwa's authority little more than nominal as regarded them; but even Sindiah and Holkar ever professed to consider the Peshwa as their sovereign, or at least as their sovereign's representative. The title by which they held their lands was originally a grant from the Peshwa in consideration of military service. Undoubtedly, as far as this kind of contract was a leading feature in the feudal system of Europe, the same system may be said to have been found in India. Territory held by the tenure of military service occurred throughout India, and was the loose bond which held the Mahratta chiefs together under a common head. With exception, too, of some of the most powerful of the chiefs, the Peshwa's authority was exercised over the Mahratta jagirdars or feudatories.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Governor-General's Narrative of the late Transactions in the Mahratta empire: East India Papers, Mahratta War, 1803, ordered to be printed 5th and 29th June, 1804, p. 304.—M.

Besides the Narrative, the same collection contains another communication from Lord Wellesley, entitled Notes relative to the late Transactions in the Mahratta Empire. This was separately printed, with an appendix of official documents, by Debrett, 1804. See also Despatches, iii. 26.—W.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Governor-General's instructions to the Resident at Poonah, dated 23rd



BOOK VI. General informs us, that Bajee Rao did even apply to him  
 CHAP. XI. for assistance. But when he was made to understand, that  
 1802. it would be granted only on the condition of permanently  
 confiding his defence to a British force; that is, of transferring his military power to the hands of the English, "he deliberately," says the Governor-General, "preferred a situation of degradation and danger, with nominal independence, to a more intimate connexion with the British power; which," adds the Governor-General, sufficiently disclosing his views, "could not be formed on principles calculated to secure to the Peshwa the constant protection of our arms, without, at the same time, establishing our ascendancy in the Mahratta empire."<sup>1</sup> The length of time, during which the Peshwa amused the Governor-General, is thus commented upon by that disappointed ruler. Subsequent events justify a conclusion, that the long and systematic course of deceitful policy, pursued by the Peshwa on this occasion, was not less the result of a determined spirit of hostility, than of his characteristic jealousy and irresolution."<sup>2</sup>

The prospect of the war between the British power and Tippoo Sultaun inspired not the Peshwa, we are assured by the Governor-General, with any of the sentiments of a generous ally; but turned his attention solely to the advantages which the crisis presented "to the faithless and sordid policy of that Prince;" who not only, "by a course of studied and systematic deceit, avoided all active interference in the contest, but actually maintained an amicable intercourse with the enemy."<sup>3</sup>

The Governor-General even makes profession of having been duped by the Peshwa. "His Excellency," says he, speaking of himself in the third person, a novelty which this Governor-General introduced, and of which, in the end, the Directors complained, "in a letter addressed to the Honourable the Court of Directors, under date the 20th of March, 1799, expressed his conviction, that the disposition of the Court of Poonah continued perfectly

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of June, 1802, transmitted in a letter from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated 24th of December, 1802, and received the 9th of May, 1803. Ibid. p. 34.—M. Despatches, iii. 3. 12.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Despatches, iii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Letters, ut supra, p. 34.

favourable to the British interests; and that want of power would be the sole cause of its inaction, in the event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun." The course of the war, however, he says, suggested doubts; and at the termination of it they were confirmed, "by the correspondence between Tippoo Sultaun and his agents at Poonah, and by letters from Nana Furnavese, and other Mahratta chieftains, to Tippoo Sultaun, which were discovered among the records of Seringapatam. The combined evidence of those documents, and of the Peshwa's conduct during the war, affords unequivocal proofs of the hostility of his disposition towards the British power; and justifies a conclusion, that, if fortune had appeared to favour the enemy, the Peshwa would openly have espoused his cause."<sup>1</sup>

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Here was the conduct most exactly, which had been ascribed to the Nabob of Arcot, and by which that prince was declared to have forfeited his throne. The Nabob of Arcot, and the Peshwa, were both princes, connected, by treaty, in alliance with the British power. Both were accused of violating the obligations of that treaty, by corresponding with Tippoo Sultaun. We have seen the treatment bestowed upon the one; it remains to contrast with it, that which was bestowed upon the other, of the two offenders.<sup>2</sup>

"Although," says the Governor-General, "the faithless conduct of the Peshwa not only deprived him of all title to participate in the advantages of the war, but exposed him to the just resentment of the allies, the Governor-General determined to refrain from any measures of a vindictive nature; and to adopt the more liberal policy—of conciliating the Peshwa's interests—and of providing for the security of the allies, and for the general tranquillity of India—by repeating his invitation to the Peshwa to accede to the proposal of general defensive alliance and mutual guarantee; which his excellency had before unsuccessfully offered to the Peshwa's acceptance."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letters, ut supra, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> It scarcely needs to be observed, that they were situated, in relation to the British power, in totally dissimilar circumstances: the mere existence of a treaty with each constituted no analogy: the identity or difference depended upon the conditions and objects of the treaties made with them.—W.

<sup>3</sup> Letters, ut supra, Ibid. p. 34.

BOOK VI. Such was the difference of treatment intended for the  
 CHAP. XI. Peshwa. The following was the result. "At the close of  
 1802. the war in 1799," says the Governor-General, "the propositions for the conclusion of defensive and subsidiary engagements with the Peshwa were renewed ; under circumstances of peculiar advantage to the latter ; who, by acceding to those propositions, would not only have been emancipated from the oppressive control of Sindiah, and have been reinstated in the due exercise of his authority—but would have been admitted to a participation in the conquered territory of Mysore.

"But, after a vexatious and illusory discussion of the propositions, during a period of several months, the negotiation was closed, by the Peshwa's rejection of the conditions of defensive alliance, under any admissible modification of them.

"The circumstances of that negotiation afford the strongest reasons to believe, that the Peshwa never seriously intended to enter into any engagements, on the basis of those propositions ; and that he had no other intention, from the commencement of the negotiation, than, to avoid the consequences of an unqualified refusal to treat ; to deceive the public, and the Governor-General, by the appearances of a disposition to concur in the views of the British government for the tranquillity of India ; and to deter Sindiah from the prosecution of his ambitious designs, by persuading that chieftain, that the Peshwa had it in his power, and in his contemplation, to avail himself of the protection of the British arms."<sup>1</sup>

Nor were these the only occasions on which the Peshwa had been importuned on the same subject. "The negotiations," continues the same high reporter, "which followed the renewal of the Governor-General's propositions in the month of April, 1800, were conducted, on the part of the

<sup>1</sup> Letters, ut supra, Ibid. p. 34.—M.

These were, no doubt, his intentions ; as beside his own very reasonable aversion to arrangements which would have placed the Peshwa under the control of the English, the same policy was always enforced upon him by the sagacity of Nana Furnavese, who, to the period of his death in 1800, was decidedly averse to the admission of a body of foreign troops in the manner proposed by the Marquess Wellesley, if the energies of the Government could be restored without their aid. Nana Furnavese respected the English, admired them sincerely, and the vigour of their government, but as political enemies, no one regarded them with more jealousy and alarm. Mahr. Hist. iii. 188.—W.



Peshwa, in the same spirit of temporizing policy, and studied evasion, which characterized his conduct in every previous discussion. His long and degrading subjection to the power of Sindiah; his repeated experience of the perfidy and violence of that unprincipled chieftain; the internal distraction which prevailed in his government; and the consciousness of his inability to relieve himself from the pressure of his accumulated difficulties, and to secure the efficient exercise of his authority; were insufficient to subdue the emotions of his jealous fears, and to induce him to rely, with confidence, on the protection of that state, which alone possessed the power and the will to extricate him from his embarrassments, and to place him in a situation of comparative dignity and security. Those negotiations were closed in the month of September, 1800, when various unprecedented acts of violence and extortion, on the part of Sindiah, had aggravated the pressure of the Peshwa, and virtually annihilated his authority — by the Peshwa's absolute rejection of the principal articles of the Governor-General's proposition.

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. XI.  
1802.

“And he may be considered to have rejected those propositions again, by his refusal to become a party in the treaty of general defensive alliance, concluded with the Nizam in October, 1800, which was tendered to his acceptance.”<sup>1</sup>

But the complaints of the Governor-General are not confined to the arts by which the Peshwa endeavoured to preserve the advantage of appearing to enjoy the friendship of the British government, and at the same time to avoid the transference and loss of his military power. “While these several negotiations were depending,” says the great informant, “the Peshwa was at different times employed in carrying on intrigues at the court of Hyderabad, to effect the dissolution of the alliance between the Company and the Nizam, and to engage his Highness to unite with the Mahrattas, at any future favourable opportunity, for the subversion of the British power.”<sup>2</sup>

Towards the end of the year 1801, the Peshwa came forward with a proposal “for subsidizing a body of British troops.” To this, according to the Governor-General, he was “influenced, either by views and intentions similar to

<sup>1</sup> Letters, ut supra, Ibid. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



BOOK VI. those which regulated his conduct during the negotiations  
 CHAP. XI. of 1799 and 1800 ; or, if sincere in his proposal, by the  
 1802. hope of obtaining the aid of the British for the re-establishment and security of his authority, without hazarding the introduction of that degree of control and ascendancy, which," says the Governor-General, "it must be our interest to establish in the Mahratta state, and which it is his object to avoid."<sup>1</sup>

"The Peshwa," continues the Governor-General, "is aware that the permanent establishment of a British force, in the vicinity of Poonah, would immediately place him, in some degree, in a state of dependance upon the British power. And, therefore, he has stipulated, that the subsidiary force shall be retained within the Company's dominions at all times, except when he shall require its actual services."<sup>2</sup> For the charges of the troops, the Peshwa proposed to assign a territory, in a part of the Mahratta country over which he had only a nominal authority, and "the cession of which," says the Governor-General, "would not in any degree contribute to render the Peshwa dependent on the support of the British power."<sup>3</sup> Because this arrangement would be extremely advantageous to the Peshwa, without yielding correspondent advantages to the British government, it was the opinion of the Governor-General, that it ought to be rejected. But he was of opinion, that rather than not get a British force subsidized, as he termed it, by the Peshwa ; that is, placed in the service, and at the expense of that prince, it was advisable to consent to his proposition with regard to the station of the troops, provided he would make an acceptable provision in land, or even in money, for their maintenance. The Governor-General reasoned thus : "The measure of subsidizing a British force, even under the limitations which the Peshwa has annexed to that proposal, must immediately place him, in some degree, in a state of dependance upon the British power ; provided that measure be uncombined with any other arrangement, calculated to defeat its operation. The dependance of a state, in any degree, upon the power of another, naturally tends to promote a sense of security, derived from the support of a foreign power ; produces a

<sup>1</sup> Letters, ut supra, Ibid. p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

relaxation of vigilance and caution ; and the operation of BOOK VI.  
 natural causes, in augmenting the dependance of the CHAP. XI.  
 Peshwa on the British power, under the operation of the  
 proposed engagement, would be accelerated by the effect  
 which those engagements would produce, of detaching the  
 state of Poonah from the other members of the Mahratta  
 empire." <sup>1</sup>

1802.

When "the Governor-General," these are his own words, "notwithstanding his frequent disappointment in the accomplishment of his salutary views, determined, in June, 1802, to renew his negotiations for the conclusion of an improved system of alliance with the court of Poonah ; the increased distraction in the Mahratta state, the rebellion of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and his success against the combined forces of the Peshwa and Sindiah, appeared to constitute a crisis of affairs, favourable to the success of the proposed negotiation at Poonah. In the course of the discussions which ensued, the Peshwa manifested a desire to contract defensive engagements with the Honourable Company, under circumstances of more apparent solicitude, than had marked his conduct at any former occasion. The Peshwa, however, continued to withhold his consent to any admissible modifications of the Governor-General's propositions, until Jeswunt Rao Holkar, at the head of a formidable army, actually arrived in the vicinity of Poonah." <sup>2</sup>

The crisis to which the Mahratta affairs were then approaching, was preceded and produced by the following circumstances.

Mulhar Rao Holkar, one of the leaders in the army of the first Peshwa, was instrumental in pushing the conquests of the Mahrattas towards the north ; and, according to the usual policy of the Mahratta government, received a portion of territory, in the province of Malwa, for the support of his troops. This happened about the year 1736 ; and laid the foundation of the sovereignty of the Holkar family ; for, as the power of the primary government declined, that of the principal viceroys, according to custom, became independent ; and, although the memory of the primitive connexion with the Peshwa was not obliterated.

<sup>1</sup> Letters, ut supra, Ibid. p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Governor-General's Narrative, Ibid. p.305.

BOOK VI. ated, they not only acted as his equals, but frequently as his  
 CHAP. XI. masters; and on no occasion, except when it suited their  
 1802. interest, allowed their will to be governed by his. Mulhar  
 Rao Holkar died in the year 1766. He was succeeded by  
 his nephew, Tukajee Holkar. This prince reigned till the  
 year 1797. He left four sons, Cashee Rao, Mulhar Rao,  
 Etojee Holkar, and Jeswunt Rao Holkar; the two former  
 alone by the wife or principal female in the harem. Cashee  
 Rao succeeded Tukajee, as the eldest son by his wife. A  
 dispute, however, soon arose between Cashee Rao and his  
 brother Mulhar Rao, who claimed an equal share in the  
 inheritance; and they both repaired to Poonah, for the  
 purpose of settling their disputes by the intervention of  
 the Peshwa.<sup>1</sup>

Dowlut Rao Sindiah exercised at that time a despotic  
 authority over the Peshwa; and regarded the occasion as  
 highly favourable for adding the possessions of the Holkar  
 family to his own. Having made his terms with Cashee  
 Rao, who is said to have renounced a claim of sixty, and  
 paid a sum of six lacs of rupees,<sup>2</sup> he surprised and slaugh-  
 tered Mulhar Rao, with all his attendants, at Poonah, in  
 the month of September, 1797. The wife of Mulhar Rao,  
 left in a state of pregnancy, produced a son, who was named  
 Khundeh Rao. Sindiah possessed himself of the person of

<sup>1</sup> Mulhar Rao, named Holkar, or, more properly, Hulkur, from the village of Hul, where he was born, was of the Dhoongur or Shepherd caste. His father was a small farmer, and he himself, whilst a youth, tended the flocks of the family; he was afterwards enlisted in his troop by an uncle who commanded a small party of horse in the service of a Mahratta chief. Distinguishing himself as a brave and active soldier, he was taken into the service of the Peshwa, the first Bajee Rao, was appointed to the command of five hundred horse, and, in the course of a short time, acquired higher distinctions. The first grant of land for his services was made in 1728. In 1732 he commanded the advance of the Mahratta army which conquered Malwa; and, in the following year, Indore, which became the capital of his descendants, was assigned to him for the support of his troops. To the territory round Indore he made large accessions, so that, with exception of one district, all that belonged to his successors was bequeathed by Mulhar Rao. The only son, Kundee Rao, being dead, he was succeeded by his grandson, Mallee Rao, but this prince reigned only nine months. Upon his decease, a distribution of the powers of the state of Indore took place, which, however, apparently precarious, continued undisturbed for thirty years. Alia (Ahalya) Bhye, the mother of Mallee Rao, widow of Kundee Rao, the son of Mulhar Rao, boldly assumed the office of regent, and elected for the commander of the army, and to fulfil those duties which she could not as a female perform, Tukajee Holkar, a chief of the same tribe, but no way related to Mulhar Rao. Ahalya Bhye died in 1795; Tukajee in 1797. Malcolm's Central India, i. 1. 142. The character of Ahalaya Bhye is there delineated at length in the most favourable colours. She was undoubtedly a woman of singular merit.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Fifteen according to Malcolm; ten in cash, and five in the mortgage of the revenue of Amber in the Deccan. Central India, i. 197.—W.



the infant ; retained Cashee Rao in a state of dependence ; and proposed to govern the Holkar dominions in his name. The two brothers Etojee and Jeswunt Rao, had attached themselves to the cause of Mulhar Rao, and were both at Poonah at the time of his murder. Etojee fled to Kolapore, where he was taken, in the commission of hostilities ; sent to Poonah ; and deprived of his life.<sup>1</sup> Jeswunt Rao, made his escape to Nagpore ; and was protected for some time ; but the instigations of Sindiah at last prevailed, and the Raja placed him in confinement. He contrived to effect his escape, and fled to Muheswar, on the Nerbuddah.<sup>2</sup> Sindiah, at that time deeply engaged in his schemes for securing the ascendancy of Poonah, had not leisure to pursue the fugitives with vigour and expedition, and probably thought his resources too contemptible to excite any apprehension. This remissness enabled Jeswunt Rao to avail himself of the means which so plentifully exist in India, of collecting an army of adventurers, by the prospect of plunder. It was not till the year 1801, that Sindiah really became alarmed at the progress of Jeswunt Rao.<sup>3</sup> He then began to collect an army on the Nerbuddah, and ordered the chiefs in his dependance to join him with the smallest possible delay. On the 14th of October, 1801, a general engagement took place between the armies of the two chieftains, in the neighbour-

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<sup>1</sup> Malcolm says he had joined a body of freebooters, and being taken, was trampled to death by an elephant. Grant Duff gives a particular account of his execution and the savage exultation of Bajee Rao at his destruction. Mahr. Hist. iii. 199.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Jeswunt Rao, after escaping from Nagpoor, took refuge at Dhar with Anand Rao, of the Puar tribe, to whom he rendered some important service. Compelled by the threats of Sindiah to withdraw his protection, the chief of Dhar gave him a small supply of money, with which he raised a force of fourteen horsemen, and a hundred and twenty ragged, half-armed foot. With this small band he commenced a course of depredations, the success of which added to his adherents. Being the son of a concubine, Jeswunt Rao refrained from claiming the rights of legitimacy, and professed himself the servant of Kundee Rao, the infant son of the murdered Mulhar Rao, a prudent regard for the feelings of his family and clan which contributed materially to his strength. He next formed an alliance with Amir Khan, a Mohammedan leader, who like the Mahratta became, subsequently, of great celebrity in the predatory warfare of Hindustan, was eventually joined by the troops of Kasi Rao, assembled at Indore, and by the end of 1788 was at the head of a considerable army: he encountered Sindiah with between 60,000 and 70,000 men. Central India. See also Life of Amir Khan, by H. T. Prinsep.—W.

<sup>3</sup> There is some disagreement in the dates of these events between the different authorities. According to Malcolm, Sindiah marched against Holkar in 1799. Grant says, he moved from Poonah in November, 1800. The battle of Indore, according to the latter, was fought upon the day mentioned in the text. Mahr. Hist. iii. 201.—W.



BOOK VI. hood of Indore, the capital of the Holkar family. Holkar  
 CHAP. XI. was completely vanquished, and fled with the loss of his  
 artillery and baggage.<sup>1</sup>

1802.

In this situation of affairs, a favourable opportunity appeared to the Governor-General to present itself, of extending his favourite plan for engrossing the military power of the princes in India, or (as he himself chose rather to name it) "the system of general defensive alliance and guarantee." Colonel Collins, who had acted for some time as resident at Futty Ghur, was, in the month of December, 1801, directed to repair to the camp of Dowlut Rao Sindiah. And in the instructions of the Governor-General to that officer, dated the 15th of January, 1802, are the following words: "The events which have lately occurred in Hindostan, and the actual situation of the affairs of Dowlut Rao Sindiah, appear to his Excellency to afford a more favourable opportunity than any which has hitherto offered, of persuading that chieftain to become a party, in the proposed system of defensive alliance and reciprocal guarantee, under the provisions of the treaty concluded with his Highness the Nizam, on the 12th of October, 1800."

The next paragraph of this official paper is important, as exhibiting the views of the Governor-General, with regard to the effect which this defensive alliance, with any one of the Mahratta powers, would have upon all the rest. According to him it would produce one of two effects. Either it would compel them to give up their military power, in imitation of the state which had submitted to that stipulation; or, it would place them "in a dependent and subordinate condition,"—a condition in which "all their ambitious views, and aggressive designs, would be controlled." "It may reasonably," says the Governor-General, "be expected, that the success of a negotiation, for that purpose, with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, will materially promote the complete accomplishment of his Excellency's views, by inducing the other Mahratta powers to concur in the proposed arrangement, with a view to avoid *the dependent and subordinate condition to which they must be reduced*, by their exclusion from an alliance, *of which the operation,*

<sup>1</sup> For these particulars of the dispute between Sindiah and Holkar, see the same volume of Parliamentary Papers, p. 258, 1, 5.

*with respect to them, must be, to control all ambitious views and aggressive designs on their part,* without affording to those powers the benefits of the general guarantee." The doctrine of the Governor-General, therefore, was, that, in this manner, every one of the Mahratta states would become dependent upon the English government; those who accepted the alliance, by the alliance; those who did not accept it, by being deprived of it; the same happy effect, in two opposite cases, by the same ingenious combination of means.

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In regard to the terms of the proposed alliance, the document in question says, "The general conditions to which, in conformity to the proposed arrangement, it is desirable that Sindiah should accede, are, 1st. To subsidize a considerable British force, to be stationed within his dominions: 2ndly. To cede in perpetual sovereignty to the Company, an extent of territory, the net produce of which shall be adequate to the charges of that force: 3rdly. To admit the arbitration of the British government, in all disputes and differences between Sindiah and his Highness the Nizam, and, eventually, between Sindiah and the other states of Hindustan: and 4thly. To dismiss all the subjects of France now in his service, and to pledge himself never to entertain in his service persons of that description."

It was declared to be "extremely desirable that Sindiah should subsidize the same number of British troops, as are subsidized by his Highness the Nizam. If Sindiah, however, as was suspected, would not, unless in a case of extreme necessity, agree to that proposal, the Governor-General was inclined to come down in his terms. He would consent to such a number of troops as even that of two battalions. The obligation of submitting Sindiah's relations with other states to the will of the English, it was not, in the opinion of the Governor-General, very material to exact; for this reason, that, if the other conditions were accepted, this would follow, as a necessary consequence, whether agreeable to Sindiah or not. "His Excellency," says the paper of instructions, "considers Sindiah's positive consent to the third condition, to be an object of inferior importance to the rest: as, without any specific stipulation, the arbitration of the British govern-

BOOK VI. ment will necessarily be admitted, to an extent proportioned to the ascendancy which that government will obtain over Sindiah, under the proposed engagements —  
 CHAP. XI.  
 1802. and to the power which it will possess of controlling his designs.<sup>1</sup>

Though Sindiah had not only been disposed to receive, but forward to invite the British Resident to his camp, he would offer no specific proposition when Colonel Collins arrived. It was the wish of the British negotiator, who joined the camp of Sindiah on the 20th of February, 1802, to draw from that chieftain a declaration of a desire for British assistance; and afterwards to present the scheme of the Governor-General as the condition on which that advantage might be obtained. Sindiah, however, would not admit that he had any other motive for desiring the presence of a British Resident, than to cement the friendship which already subsisted between him and the British government; and to possess a more immediate channel of communication: especially, "as he was guarantee to the treaty between the English government and the Peshwa;" in this expression, exhibiting, even at this early period, his jealousy with respect to the negotiation, which was now carrying on at Poonah, for superseding the existing treaty with the Peshwa, by a treaty upon the Governor-General's favourite system, called "the system of defensive alliance, and mutual guarantee."

After allowing time for ascertaining the state of Sindiah's councils, the Resident informed the Governor-General, that "Sindiah was anxiously desirous to preserve the relations of friendship at that time subsisting between him and the English government. At the same time," said he, "I consider it my indispensable duty to apprise your Excellency, that I am firmly persuaded he feels no inclination whatever to improve those relations." In other words, he was not yet brought so low, as willingly to descend into that situation in which a participation in the "system of defensive alliance and mutual guarantee" would of necessity place him.

It is important, at the same time, to observe the opinion of this select servant of the Company, with regard to the influence which the treaty so eagerly pursued with

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 7—9.



the Peshwa would have upon the interests of Sindiah; an influence sufficient to make him court as a favour what he now rejected as equivalent to the renunciation of his independence and power. "Indeed," says the Resident, "were the Peshwa to accept the aid of a subsidiary force from our government, I should, in this event, entertain strong hopes, that Sindiah, apprehensive lest the authority of the head of the Mahratta empire might be exerted against himself, would solicit as a favour to be admitted to the benefit of the treaty of general defensive alliance." The Resident, in this instance, declared his belief, that the same effect would result from this treaty with regard to Sindiah, as the Governor-General had stated to him would be the effect of such a treaty, with any one of the Mahratta powers, upon every one of the rest.<sup>1</sup>

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As the Resident was convinced, that, in the present circumstances, it was in vain to hope for the submission of Sindiah to the system of the Governor-General, he thought the dignity of the British government would best be consulted, by forbearing to present the proposition.<sup>2</sup>

Holkar repaired so quickly the disaster sustained near Indore, that early in 1802 he resolved to change the scene of his operations from Malwa to Poonah. Cashee Rao, who had been allowed to repair to Kandeish, had for some time shown a disposition to aid in carrying on a joint war against Sindiah, for the preservation of the Holkar dominions; but as the resources both of his mind and of his fortune were small, so he had latterly professed his determination to adhere to a system of neutrality in the dispute between Sindiah and Jeswunt Rao. The release of the infant Khundeh Rao had been always demanded

<sup>1</sup> On this subject, he further says, in the same despatch: "It must likewise be considered, that, however much it may be to the interest of the Peshwa to engage in the defensive alliance, with a view to the restoration of the due exercise of his authority, as head of the Mahratta empire; yet that Sindiah is by no means in a similar predicament. On the contrary, as the Maharaja (Sindiah), by the real superiority of his power, is now enabled to intimidate Bajee Rao into concessions suitable to his purposes, he is apparently urged, by principles of self-interest, not only to decline becoming a party himself in the treaty, but moreover to exert his utmost influence, in order to prevent the Peshwa from entering into engagements which, if carried to the extent originally proposed, would completely render him alike independent of Sindiah, and of every other chieftain of the Mahratta state."

<sup>2</sup> See the despatch of Colonel Collins, dated Ougein, 8th of March, 1802. Ibid. p. 13—15.



BOOK VI. by Jeswunt Rao, as a condition without which he would  
 CHAP. XI. listen to no terms of accommodation. Representing  
 1802. Cashee Rao as incapacitated by mental imbecility for the exercise of the powers of government, he proclaimed the infant, head of the Holkar family; demanded, as uncle, the custody of his person, and the administration of his dominions; and gave out his design of marching to Poonah, for the purpose of receiving justice at the hand of the Peshwa; that is, of putting down the authority of Sindiah, with respect to whom the Peshwa had long been placed in a state of prostrate subjection.

Before the middle of the year 1802, Holkar had prepared a large, and, as compared with that of his opponents, a well-disciplined army; and began his march to the south. Sindiah, alive to the danger which threatened his interests at Poonah, detached a large portion of his army under one of his principal generals, Suddasheo Bhao. This force arrived in the vicinity of Poonah, at the close of the month of September: and afterwards effected a junction with the troops of the Peshwa. On the 25th of October the two armies engaged. After a warm cannonade of about three hours, the cavalry of Holkar made a general charge. The cavalry of Sindiah gave way, when that of Holkar cutting in upon the line of infantry, put them to flight and gained a decisive victory.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Barry Close had been sent in the capacity of Resident to Poonah, in the month of December of the preceding year, with much reliance upon his approved

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 258, 343.—On the 8th of March, Colonel Collins, in the camp of Sindiah, estimated the prospects of Holkar thus: "Since the defeat of Jeswunt Rao at Indore, where he lost the whole of his artillery, this chief has merely been able to carry on a depredatory war; and as he possesses no other means of subsisting his troops, than by plundering, it is not unlikely that they may disperse during the rainy monsoon. Yet should he even find it practicable to retain them in his service, still they are not so formidable, either from discipline or numbers, as to create any serious grounds of alarm to this court." (Ibid. p. 14.) The Governor-General, in his letter to the Secret Committee, 24th of December, 1802, speaking of the situation of the Peshwa, previous to the battle of the 24th of October, says: "The superiority of Jeswunt Rao Holkar's troops, in number and discipline, to those of the Peshwa and Dowlut Rao Sindiah, rendered the issue of any contest nearly certain." Ibid. p. 29.—M.

The cavalry of Holkar gave way after an unsuccessful charge upon the Peshwa's household horse, but they were stopped, and led again into action by Holkar himself. The victory was owing to his personal efforts, and the steadiness of his infantry, under European officers. The fullest account of it is given by Grant: that of Malcolm agrees with it in the most essential point, Holkar's own share in restoring the day. *Mahr. Hist.* iii. 206. *Central India*, i. 226.—W.

ability and diligence for leading the Peshwa to a conformity with the earnest wishes of the English government, on the subject of the defensive alliance.

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A few days before the arrival of Colonel Close, the Peshwa had communicated to Colonel Palmer, his predecessor, his consent "to subsidize a permanent force of the Company's infantry, to the extent of six battalions, with the corresponding artillery, as the Governor-General had proposed; and to assign territory in Hindustan, producing twenty-five lacs of rupees annual revenue: but that the troops should be retained within the Company's dominions at all times, except when the Peshwa should formally require their actual services." There was still a great distance between the compliance of the Peshwa, and the Governor-General's demands. "I am to have my last private audience of the Peshwa," says Colonel Palmer, "this evening: when I will make a final effort to convince his Highness of the lasting security, power, and prosperity," (such was the language which the Governor-General and his agents held even to one another upon their scheme for reducing to dependance the Princes of Hindustan,) "which he will derive from embracing your Lordship's proposals; though I apprehend, that nothing short of imminent and certain destruction will induce him to make concessions, which militate with his deep-rooted jealousy and prejudices," (so the aversion to a final renunciation of all independent power was coolly denominated;) "of which he thinks," continues the despatch, "that he had already made extraordinary sacrifices."<sup>1</sup>

The negotiation languished for six months, because the Governor-General, who, during a considerable part of that time, was earnestly endeavouring to accomplish a similar treaty with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, did not transmit to the Resident his instructions upon the subject of this proposal, till the month of June.

During this interval, the new Resident had time to make his observations upon the character and views of the Peshwa, of which he delivered a most unfavourable report. "Every day's experience," said he, "tends to strengthen the impression, that from the first, your Lordship's amicable and liberal views, in relation to this state,

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 39, 40.



BOOK VI. have not only been discordant with the natural disposition  
 CHAP. XI. of the Peshwa ; but totally adverse to that selfish and  
 1802. wicked policy, which, in a certain degree, he seems to  
 have realized : a slight recurrence to the history of his  
 machinations is sufficient to demonstrate, that, in the  
 midst of personal peril, and the lowest debasement, he  
 viewed the admission of permanent support from your  
 Lordship with aversion."

"With regard to the Peshwa's government," he says,  
 "it seems, if possible, to become less respectable every  
 day. The great families of the state, with whom he is at  
 variance, prevail over him at every contest."<sup>1</sup>

When the instructions of the Governor-General arrived,  
 he remarked, upon the stipulation of the Peshwa respect-  
 ing the station of the subsidized battalions, that "if the  
 Peshwa should ever conclude subsidiary engagements on  
 these terms, he would never apply for the aid of the stipu-  
 lated force, except in cases of the utmost emergency :  
 and his expectation probably is, that the knowledge of  
 his ability to command so powerful a body of troops would  
 alone be sufficient to give due weight to his authority, and  
 to preclude any attempt which might otherwise be made  
 for the subversion of it."

On the next great point, "as the Peshwa," he said,  
 "probably derives no revenue from the territory which  
 he proposes to assign for the charges of the subsidiary  
 force ; and his authority in it is merely nominal, his power  
 and resources would not in any degree be reduced by the  
 cession ; and the situation of the districts would be too  
 distant and distinct from those territories in which the  
 Peshwa's authority is established and acknowledged, to  
 excite in his mind any apprehension of being overawed  
 or controlled by the proximity of the Company's terri-  
 torial power and resources. In his Excellency's judg-  
 ment, therefore, the cession of the proposed territory in  
 Hindustan would not in any degree contribute to render  
 the Peshwa dependent on the support of the British  
 power."

The expense, also, both of taking and of retaining pos-  
 session of these territories, surrounded as they were by  
 the territories of other Mahratta chiefs, and subject to

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 42, 46.

their claims, was stated by the Governor-General as a ground of objection.

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. XI.

1802.

Upon the whole, he observes, "By this arrangement, the Peshwa would derive the benefit of our support, without becoming subject to our control." He, therefore, concludes; "Under all these circumstances his Excellency is decidedly of opinion that an unqualified concurrence in the Peshwa's propositions would produce more injury than benefit to the British interests in India." At the same time, "From the view," he declares, "which has thus been taken of the disposition and conduct of the Peshwa towards the British power; and from a consideration of the actual condition of his government, with reference both to its internal weakness, and to the state of its external relations, it is to be inferred, that in the actual situation of affairs, no expectation can reasonably be entertained of the Peshwa's acquiescence in any arrangement founded on the basis of the Governor-General's original propositions."

What was then to be done? Was the pursuit of the subsidizing arrangement to be resigned? The desires of the Governor-General were too ardent for that conclusion. He resolved, on the other hand, to accede to the wishes of the Peshwa, in regard to the station of the troops, provided he would either assign a less exceptionable territory, or even engage to pay a competent annual sum from his treasury.<sup>1</sup>

Of the discussions on this new proposition, the detailed reports have not been communicated to parliament, and hence the particulars are unknown. Though Bajee Rao manifested, as the Governor-General informed his honourable masters, a solicitude apparently more sincere than formerly, to contract defensive engagements with the British government, he would assent to no admissible modification of the proffered plan, till Jeswunt Rao Holkar was in the vicinity of Poonah.

To whomsoever of the two antagonists the impending contest should yield the ascendancy, the Peshwa perfectly foreknew that the result would be equally fatal to his authority. On the 11th of October, he transmitted

<sup>1</sup> See, for these facts and quotations, Governor-General's Instructions to the Resident at Poonah, dated 3rd of June, 1802; papers, ut supra, p. 33—39.



BOOK VI. through his principal minister a set of proposals to the  
 CHAP. XI. British Resident. In these, it was proposed to agree, that  
 1802. the troops should be permanently stationed within his dominions, and that a district should be assigned for their maintenance in his territories bordering on the Toombudra.<sup>1</sup> We are informed by the Governor-General, that

"during the discussions which ensued on the basis of these propositions, the evasive conduct of the Peshwa excited considerable doubts of his sincerity, even at that stage of the negotiation: and that on the 24th of October, when the army of Jeswunt Rao Holkar had arrived within a few miles of Poonah, the Peshwa despatched a deputation to that chieftain, with distinct proposals for an accommodation, which Jeswunt Rao Holkar rejected."<sup>2</sup>

On the day of the action, the Peshwa, surrounded by a body of troops, waited for the result, and then fled; leaving in the hands of his minister, for the British Resident, a preliminary engagement to subsidize six battalions, with their proportion of artillery, and to cede a country, either in Guzerat or the Carnatic, yielding twenty-five lacs of rupees.

The wishes of the Governor-General were accomplished, beyond his expectation. And he ratified the engagement on the day on which it was received.<sup>3</sup>

Two grand objects now solicited the attention of the British government. The first was the restoration of the Peshwa; and his elevation to that height of power, which, nominally his, actually that of the British government, might suffice to control the rest of the Mahratta states. The next was, to improve this event for imposing a similar treaty upon others of the more powerful Mahratta princes; or, at any rate, to prevent, by all possible means, their alarm from giving birth to an immediate war, which (especially in the existing state of the finances) might expose the present arrangement to both unpopularity and trouble.

The following occurrences were meanwhile taking place.

<sup>1</sup> Papers, *ut supra*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 30.—M. The proposals were no doubt insincere, for Grant affirms that the Peshwa entertained no doubt of Holkar's being defeated. The purport of the only mission noticed by the author of the Mahratta History; was a command to Holkar to retire. *iii.* 206.—W.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 30, 64.

The Peshwa, having repaired in the first instance to a fortress, not far distant from Poonah, afterwards pursued his flight to the fortress of Mhar, on the river Bancoote, in the Concan, a maritime country on the western side of the Ghauts. Holkar, whose object it probably was to obtain possession of the person of the Peshwa, and to make the same use of his authority which had been made by Sindiah, attempted, but not with sufficient rapidity, to intercept his flight.

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Disappointed in this prospect, Holkar turned his views to Amrut Rao, the adopted son of the Peshwa's father, the late Ragoba; and detaching a body of troops to the place of his residence, brought him to Poonah. The Peshwa's flight from his capital was treated as an abdication, or akin to an abdication, of the government; and affairs were administered in the name of Amrut Rao.<sup>1</sup>

To the British Resident, who remained at Poonah, when it fell into the hands of Holkar, that chieftain, as well as Amrut Rao, diligently represented their views as friendly toward the British state, or even submissive; and they employed their earnest endeavours to prevail upon him to remain at Poonah. As this, however, might appear to afford the sanction of his government to the new authority, he thought it his duty to withdraw, and having, not without difficulty, obtained that permission, departed on the 28th of November.

"At the conferences," says the Governor-General, "holden, by the Resident, with Amrut Rao and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, on the eve of the Resident's departure from Poonah, both those chieftains expressed the solicitude for the preservation of the friendship of the British government; and directly and earnestly appealed to the Resident for his advice in the present situation of affairs. Jeswunt Rao Holkar expressly intimated a wish for the mediation of the Resident, for the express purpose of effecting an accommodation with the Peshwa."<sup>2</sup>

The Peshwa seemed unable to believe himself in safety, in any place accessible to Jeswunt Rao Holkar; and

<sup>1</sup> Not as Peshwa but as Regent for his son Vinayak Rao, who was placed by Holkar on the musnud. The Government was, however, conducted by Amrut Rao. Mahr. Hist. iii. 223. — W.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, iii. p. 32, 223.



BOOK VI. requested that a British ship might be sent to Bancoote, to  
 CHAP. XI. convey him, when he should account it necessary, to Bom-  
 .1802. bay. This determination the Resident at Poonah thought  
 it would not be advisable to encourage. But, "under the  
 determination," says the Governor-General, "which I had  
 adopted, of employing every effort for the restoration of  
 the Peshwa's authority, and in the actual situation of the  
 Peshwa's affairs, it appeared to me, to be extremely de-  
 sirable, that the Peshwa should immediately place himself  
 under the protection of the British power, by retiring to  
 Bombay."<sup>1</sup>

The Resident from Poonah arrived at Bombay on the  
 3rd of December. The Peshwa, notwithstanding the per-  
 mission to place himself under the protection of the  
 British government at Bombay, had yet remained in the  
 Concan, with a declared desire, however, of repairing to  
 his own city of Bassein, where he would enjoy the protec-  
 tion of a British force. His minister arrived at Bombay  
 on the 8th of December. At a conference, the next day,  
 with Colonel Close, he expressed the earnest desire of his  
 master to conclude the proposed engagements with the  
 British government; to the end that, all its demands  
 being complied with, and all obstacles removed, he might  
 as speedily as possible be restored to his authority by the  
 British troops. On the 16th, the Peshwa arrived at Bas-  
 sein; and was presented with a draught of the proposed  
 treaty. The 18th was appointed for the day on which the  
 arrangement should be completed. After a long discus-  
 sion, the whole of the draught was accepted, with some  
 alterations in one or two of the articles. And the treaty,  
 called, from the place of transaction, the treaty of Bas-  
 sein, was signed on the 31st.

The great and leading articles were those to which the

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 31, 32. "I considered," he further says, "that this mea-  
 sure would preclude all hazard of precipitating hostilities with Jeswunt Rao  
 Holkar, by any advance of the British troops, for the protection of the Peshwa's  
 person; and would enable the British government to open a negotiation with  
 Jeswunt Rao Holkar for the restoration of the Peshwa on the musnud of  
 Poonah, under every circumstance of advantage. This event would also  
 enable us to combine with our other measures, under great advantage, the  
 proposed negotiation with Sindiah, for the conclusion of defensive arrange-  
 ments. It was obvious, also, that the Peshwa's arrival at Bombay would  
 afford the most favourable opportunity for the adjustment of the terms of the  
 defensive alliance with the Peshwa, on the basis of my original propositions,  
 with the addition of such stipulations as might appear to be expedient, with  
 reference to the actual crisis of affairs."

Peshwa engaged himself, by a paper left behind him, when he fled from Poonah ; the permanent establishment within his dominions of the force hired from the Company ; and the assignment of a portion of territory, convenient for the English, as the equivalent in exchange. Of the remaining articles, the most important was that by which the Peshwa bound himself never to make war upon any state, but to submit all his differences with other powers to the English ; and, in short, not to hold any intercourse with other states, except in concert with the English government.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. XI.

1802.

A local affair of considerable importance was commodiously regulated through this treaty. The pecuniary claims of the Peshwa upon Surat, and the territory lately ceded by the Gaekwar in Guzerat, were commuted for a territory yielding a revenue of the same annual amount.

In one respect, this Mahratta ally was left in a situation different from the situation of those other allies, the Nabobs of Oude and the Carnatic. In their case the English rulers insisted upon a power of ordering, agreeably to their wisdom, the internal administration of the country ; or, rather, of taking it wholly into their hands ; alleging, as cause, the bad government of those rulers, which it was neither consistent with the interest, nor the humanity, nor the honour of the English government, to render itself the means of preserving in existence. With regard to the one of these powers, the design was partially, with regard to the other, it was completely, executed. With the Peshwa, for the present, the same demand for good government produced not the same effects. In the 17th article of the treaty, "The Honourable Company's Government," it is said, "hereby declare, that they have no manner of concern with any of his Highness's children relations, subjects, or servants ; with respect to whom his Highness is absolute." Nay more, "the subsidiary force is to be at all times ready for such services as the due correction of his Highness's subjects and dependants, and the overawing and chastising of rebels, or excitors of disturbance." In other words, to what degree soever of misery the vices of the Peshwa's government may reduce his subjects, the English have "no manner of concern" with that : but, if these unhappy subjects make any effort to



BOOK VI. relieve themselves, the English troops shall be employed  
 CHAP. XI. in exterminating them. When combinations of rulers  
 1802. take place, and the control of subjects is sufficiently removed, the treatment which is carved out for subjects is pretty much the same, whether the soil be Asiatic or European ; the subjects, Mahrattas or French.<sup>1</sup>

The turn which the councils of Sindiah might take, or might receive, in consequence of the present transactions with the Peshwa, was the object which next solicited, and that in a high degree, the attention of the British government. By a letter dated the 16th of November, 1802, the Resident at Poonah is apprized, "that it is the Governor-General's intention to avail himself immediately of the state of affairs at Poonah, and of the defeat of Sindiah's troops by Holkar, to renew overtures to Sindiah, for the purpose of inducing that chieftain to enter into the terms of the general defensive alliance." And along with the notification of the engagements concluded with the Peshwa, Sindiah received an invitation to co-operate with the British government in the restoration of that chief to his throne, and also proposals for a treaty to be concluded with himself, on terms similar to those which had been accepted by the Peshwa.<sup>2</sup>

In another letter, on the 22nd of the same month, the Governor-General still further unfolded his policy. "In fulfilling the obligation now imposed on us, of reinstating the Peshwa in his government and restoring his authority, his Excellency is anxious ; first, to avoid all contest with Sindiah or Holkar ; and secondly, to refrain from checking the progress of the present warfare between these chieftains." As the immediate march of the British troops for the restoration of the Peshwa would be likely to begin a war between Holkar and the Company, and to terminate that between him and Sindiah ; as the intermediate period, at the same time, "presented the most favourable crisis for the accomplishment of his Excellency's views of defensive alliance with Sindiah ;" and, as "a delay in the advance of the troops might afford the

<sup>1</sup> This is an unfair view of the stipulation, which was not designed for the people, but their chiefs, whose turbulence and power, as in the case of Sindiah and Holkar, demanded that the Peshwa should be protected against them.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, p.64, 67.

further advantage of improving the terms of the defensive alliance with the Peshwa, by obtaining his consent to those conditions which he theretofore rejected," the Resident was informed that there was no occasion to be in a hurry, in commencing operations for the reinstatement of the Peshwa.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. XI.  
1802.

Though the Governor-General expressed his conviction, that "nothing but necessity would induce Sindiah to co-operate in the success of the present arrangement;" he yet entertained the hope, that he would perceive his inability to prevent that success; and, as the engagement with the Peshwa would place him under the power of the English, whether he consented to the plan of hired troops, or did not consent to it, that he would account dependance, with the benefit of their alliance, less objectionable than dependance, without it.<sup>2</sup> The home authorities, accordingly, who are always presented with the fair face of things, were told by his Excellency, under date the 24th of December, 1802, "I entertain a confident expectation of the complete accomplishment of all our views, and of the restoration of tranquillity within the Mahratta dominions, by the means of amicable negotiation. It appears probable that Sindiah will cordially co-operate with the British government, in the restoration of the Peshwa's authority; and will consent, in the actual state of his own affairs, to become a party in the proposed system of defensive arrangements."<sup>3</sup>

Yet the Resident at Poonah is told, in a letter dated the 30th of the same month: "Notwithstanding the Peshwa's recent recognition of his engagements with you, his Excellency the Governor-General is induced to apprehend, from the general tenor of the information contained in your despatches, and from the character and disposition of the Peshwa, that his Highness is more disposed to rely on the exertions of Sindiah, than on those of the British government, for his restoration to the musnud of Poonah." Under such views, "his Highness," he added, "may possibly evade the conclusion of a definitive treaty, on the basis of the preliminary engagement. This result will be rendered still more probable by an accommodation between Sindiah and Holkar. The intelligence contained in a despatch

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 64, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 33.



BOOK VI from the Resident with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, under date the  
 CHAP. XI. 19th instant, strongly indicates the probability of that  
 1802. event. And it is apparent, that the principal inducement,  
 both of Sindiah and Holkar, to enter into such accommodation, is the apprehension which they entertain of the interference of the British power, for the restoration and establishment of the Peshwa's authority. It may be expected, therefore, that an accommodation between these chieftains will be accompanied by proposals to the Peshwa, under the mediation and guarantee of Sindiah, of a nature which his Highness may be disposed to accept, rather than be indebted for the restoration of his authority to the interposition of the British government." <sup>1</sup> It was the 10th of February, 1803, before the Governor-General disclosed to the home authorities his opinion that, "the knowledge," as he expresses it, "of our arrangement with the Peshwa, may induce Dowlut Rao Sindiah, and Holkar, to compromise their differences; and to offer to the Peshwa proposals for restoring his Highness to the musnud of Poonah, which his Highness may be disposed to accept, notwithstanding the actual conclusion of engagements for that purpose with the British government." <sup>2</sup>

With regard to the policy which the state of things created by this conduct would suggest, he says: "In such an event, it is not my intention to attempt to compel the Peshwa to adhere to the faith of his engagements, at the hazard of involving the Company in a war with the combined Mahratta states." <sup>3</sup>

This is an admission, that the probable evil of a war with the combined Mahratta states was more than a counterbalance for the probable good to be derived from placing them all in dependence; the effect, which the treaty with the Peshwa, he said, would produce, whether they entered, or refused to enter, into the scheme for hiring the British troops.

Notwithstanding this opinion of the preponderant evil of a war with the combined Mahratta states, the Governor-General declares, that, if the Peshwa adhered to his engagements, and had the concurrence of his principal subjects, he should not allow the chance of any other opposition to deter him. Yet from that preponderant evil, the power of

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

the Peshwa would still be the only defalcation ; and how little the account which could be justly made of the power of the Peshwa, the Governor-General was amply informed.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. XI.  
1802.

To one view, taken by the Marquis Wellesley, of the question of restoring the Mahratta sovereign, philosophy will not withhold unqualified praise. "The stipulations of treaty" (says he, in his instructions, dated 2nd of February, to 1803, the Governor of Fort St. George), "on which I founded my intention to facilitate the restoration of the Peshwa's authority, originated in a supposition that the majority of the Mahratta jaghiredars and the body of the Peshwa's subjects, entertain a desire of co-operating in that measure. Justice and wisdom would forbid any attempt to impose upon the Mahrattas a ruler, whose restoration to authority was adverse to every class of his subjects. The recent engagements with the Peshwa involve no obligation of such an extent. Whatever might be the success of our arms, the ultimate objects of these engagements could not be attained, by a course of policy so violent and extreme. If, therefore, it should appear, that a decided opposition to the restoration of the Peshwa is to be expected, from the majority of the Mahratta jaghiredars, and from the body of the Peshwa's subjects, I shall instantly relinquish every attempt to restore the Peshwa to the musnud of Poonah."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It made a very material difference, however, whether the Peshwa desired to depart from the conditions of the treaty, or whether he desired to observe them. The Governor-General would not compel him to adhere to the faith of his engagement, but if he did so voluntarily, it was, of course, incumbent upon the English faithfully to fulfil the promises of support which they had made to him. It was not a question of the degree in which the Peshwa's co-operation might or might not diminish the chances of unsuccessful war, but whether the British character for faithful observance of their political engagements should be forfeited or preserved. No risk of war could be put in balance with national reputation. It is true, that the Peshwa had scarcely signed the treaty of Bassein, when, with that duplicity which characterized his whole reign, and eventually hurled him from his throne, he began intriguing with Sindiah and the Raja of Berar, to instigate them to hostilities against the English, with the professed, but, possibly, insincere hope, that they would release him from the dependence to which he had precipitately subjected himself. This negotiation was kept secret from his new allies ; and any show of reluctance on their part to reconduct him to Poonah, would, no doubt, have been met by the most vehement remonstrance, and earnest protestations of fidelity and attachment. They had no present reason, therefore, to suppose that they were forcing upon the Peshwa an unacceptable alliance, and as long as he manifested the will to keep his engagements, they were bound in honour and in policy to hazard war, if war was the consequence of the treaty which they had formed.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 78.



BOOK VI. This virtuous example, till such a time as the majority  
 CHAP. XI. of the people in every civilized country have become sufficiently enlightened to see the depravity of the case in its own essence, will help to stamp with infamy the most flagitious perhaps of all the crimes which can be committed against human nature, the imposing upon a nation, by force of foreign armies, and for the pleasure or interest of foreign rulers, a government, composed of men, and involving principles, which the people for whom it is destined have either rejected from experience of their badness, or repel from their experience or expectation of better. Even where the disparity of civilization and knowledge were very great; and where it was beyond dispute, that a civilized country was about to bestow upon a barbarous one the greatest of all possible benefits, a good and beneficent government; even here, it would require the strongest circumstances to justify the employment of violence or force. But, where nations, upon a level only with another in point of civilization, or perhaps below it, proceed with bayonets to force upon it a government confessedly bad, and prodigiously below the knowledge and civilization of the age, under the pretence of fears that such a nation will choose a worse government for itself, these nations, or their rulers, if the people have no voice in the matter, are guided by views of benefit to themselves, and despise the shame of trampling upon the first principles of humanity and justice.

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 1802.

In paying the homage which he counted due to the will of a nation of Mahrattas, the Marquis Wellesley was not making a sacrifice of interests which he held in low esteem. In his address to the home authorities, dated the 24th of December, 1802, he declared his conviction, that "those defensive engagements which he was desirous of concluding with the Mahratta states, were essential to the complete consolidation of the British empire in India, and to the future tranquillity of Hindustan."<sup>1</sup> Yet the complete consolidation of the British empire in India, and the future tranquillity of Hindustan, which could never exist till a sufficient bridle was put in the mouth of the Mahratta power, he thought it his duty to sacrifice, or to leave to the care of unforeseen events, rather than violate

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 33.

the freedom of will, in this important concern, of the people of one of the Mahratta states.

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. XI.

1803.

When the Governor-General resolved on restoring the Peshwa, upon the supposition that he and his subjects were consenting to the plan, a very low estimate of the opposition to be expected from other quarters was presented by the Governor-General to his superiors, in his language of the 10th of February, 1803. "No reason," said he, "exists, to justify an apprehension, that in the events supposed, Sindiah would proceed to such an extremity, as to make opposition, either singly, or united with Holkar. Nor is any such desperate course of proceeding to be apprehended from the Raja of Berar. Uncombined with the power of Sindiah, Holkar will not probably venture to resist the Peshwa. Holkar also has anxiously solicited the arbitration of the British government with respect to his claims. He has transmitted distinct propositions with that view to Lieutenant-Colonel Close."<sup>1</sup>

The substance of the propositions was that the Peshwa should give to him a crore of rupees for the payment of his troops; that he should also give to him a fortress, as he had given Ahmednuggur to Sindiah; that he should effect the release of Kundee Rao, and grant him investiture, as the heir and representative of the Holkar family. Both the Governor-General and the Peshwa held these demands inadmissible. So far from yielding money to Holkar, the Peshwa thought he ought much rather to get money from him, on account of the depredations committed on his dominions. The gift of a fortress to one person was no reason, he said, why he should be called upon to give one to another; and as to the proposition for disinheriting Cashee Rao, it was forbidden by justice, and by the investiture which had been bestowed upon him during the life of his father; at the same time there was an expedient for reconciling the interests of both, as Cashee Rao had no children, and might secure the succession of Kundee Rao by adoption. The Governor-General held, that the rights of Cashee Rao, founded on descent, should on no account be allowed to be disputed. But he was of opinion, that the Peshwa ought willingly to grant a considerable sum of money, to obtain the departure of

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 69.

BOOK VI. Holkar ; and was even ready to guarantee a loan raised for  
 CHAP. XI. that purpose ; and, if the grant of a fort and jaghire would  
 1802. suffice to avert a rupture, it would not, he conceived, be  
 good policy to withhold it.<sup>1</sup>

“On the receipt of these instructions,” says the Governor-General, “Colonel Close endeavoured to persuade his Highness the Peshwa to offer to Holkar such concessions as might induce Holkar to compromise the subsisting differences, and to admit his Highness’s peaceable return to his capital. His Highness, however, manifested an insuperable aversion to offer any concession to Holkar, whom he considered to be a rebel against the legitimate authority of the sovereign power of the Mahratta empire.” It then remained for Colonel Close to communicate by letter to Holkar, the sentiments of the Governor-General on the subject of his demands ; the assurance, that the British government would use its influence to adjust his claims upon Sindiah ; an offer to guarantee any adjustment which he might accomplish with the Peshwa ; and lastly, the expression of a hope that he would not oppose the execution of the recent engagements between the British and Poonah states.<sup>2</sup>

The expectations of the Governor-General that he might be able, through the operation of the new treaty with the Peshwa, to intimidate Sindiah into an acceptance of the chains which he had forged for him, he did not easily relinquish. That chieftain, after such operations as he had in his power for the increase and equipment of his army, proceeded towards the south ; crossed the Nerbudah on the 4th of February ; and on the 23rd arrived in the vicinity of Boorhanpore. Colonel Collins, who had left the camp of Sindiah early in the preceding May, but had received in the month of December commands to return for the purpose of proposing to him a treaty, on similar terms with that of Bassein, arrived at his camp on the 27th of February. “The advices,” says the Governor-General in his address to the home authorities of the 19th of April, 1802, “which I received from that officer, and from other quarters, induced me to entertain suspicions that Dowlut Rao Sindiah meditated an accommodation with Jeswunt Rao Holkar ; and confederacy with that chieftain,

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 414, 415, 82, 83.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 86, 87.



and with the Raja of Berar, for the purpose of frustrating the success of the arrangements concluded between the British government and the Peshwa: without, however intending to proceed to the desperate extremity of provoking a contest with the British arms.

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CHAP. XI.  
1803.

"This suspicion," he adds, "was corroborated, by the artifices practised at the camp of Sindiah, upon the arrival of Colonel Collins, with a view of eluding the communication of the propositions with which Colonel Collins was charged, under my authority. And the appearance of Sindia's intentions became still more unsatisfactory, from the evasive, and indirect, or vexatious replies, which Colonel Collins received to my propositions, after he had, at length, obtained access to Dowlut Rao Sindia."

At an interview, which the Resident at last obtained with Sindia, on the 24th of March, that chief informed him that a messenger was on his way to his camp from the Peshwa, for the purpose of explaining to him the nature and extent of the engagements recently concluded between the Peshwa and the British government, and that till the communications of this agent were received, he could not give a decided answer to the proposition about concluding with the English a treaty similar to that of Bassein. He gave, at the same time, the strongest assurance, that he had no intention to obstruct the execution of the agreement between the Peshwa and the British government; on the other hand, that he desired to improve the friendship at present happily existing between that government and the Peshwa, as well as himself.

In this declaration, the Governor-General professed his belief that Sindia was perfectly sincere. "Nor is that sincerity," said he, "inconsistent with a desire to delay his assent to the treaty of Bassein, and to the propositions immediately affecting his separate interests, until he shall have received a direct communication from the Peshwa; or incompatible with the project for a confederacy between Sindia, Holkar, and the Raja of Berar, for purposes of a defensive nature—which I consider to be the extreme object of Sindia, in negotiating such a confederacy, without any views whatever of hostility towards the British power."

Berar was the next, in power and consequence, among



BOOK VI. the Mahratta states. "The intelligence which I have  
 CHAP. XI. received from the court of the Raja of Berar," says the  
 1803. Governor-General, "indicates that chieftain's dissatisfaction at the conclusion of defensive engagements between the British government and his Highness the Peshwa.—Whatever may be the aversion of the Raja of Berar to the interposition of the British government, in the affairs of the Mahratta empire, any attempt, on the part of that chieftain, to obstruct the execution of the treaty of Bassein, would be inconsistent with the systematic caution of his character; and imprudent, in the actual state of his military power, and in the exposed situation of his territories."<sup>1</sup>

At so late a date, therefore, as the 19th of April, 1803, the home authorities were assured by their Indian substitute, that no prospect of a war, the offspring and consequence of the treaty of Bassein, presented itself in any quarter.<sup>2</sup> The same language was employed even so late as the 20th of June. "Every circumstance," he assured them, "connected with the restoration of the Peshwa, justifies a confident expectation of the complete and pacific accomplishment of the beneficial objects of the late alliance.—Although the information," he added, "contained in Lieutenant-Colonel Close's address to your Honourable Committee, and the tenor of latest advices from the Courts of Dowlut Rao Sindia, and the Raja of Berar, tend to countenance the rumours of a projected confederacy between these chieftains and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, the existence of any such confederacy is still a subject of considerable doubt.—If any such combination has been formed, its object is probably restricted to purposes of a defensive nature, without involving any views of hostility towards the British power.—The local situation, and comparative power and resources, of Sindia and Ragojee Bhonsla, preclude the apprehension of any attempt

<sup>1</sup> For the despatch from which these quotations and facts are extracted, see papers, *ut supra*, p. 85—91.

<sup>2</sup> It cannot be justly affirmed that they were assured there was no prospect of a war. The especial purport of the despatch of the 19th of April, was to report upon the suspicious conduct of the Mahratta chiefs: that it might not end in war was argued upon obvious considerations of what their interests were; but it is no where positively affirmed that there would not be war, and its possibility is implied by the whole tenor of the letter. Despatches, *iii.* 72.—W.

of these chiefs to subvert the Peshwa's government, or the treaty of Bassein, at the desperate hazard of a war with the British power. The situation of Holkar's power is entirely precarious and accidental. The instability of the resources of that adventurer reduces the continuance of his power to the utmost degree of uncertainty; and absolutely deprives him of the means of opposing any systematic or formidable resistance to the operation of an alliance with the Poonah state.—My instructions to Colonel Collins, of the 5th of May, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Close, of the 7th May, together with my letter of the 15th May to the Raja of Berar, have probably already produced an arrangement of a pacific nature with all the chiefs of the Mahratta empire, whose formal accession to the treaty of Bassein has not yet been signified to me.”<sup>1</sup>

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CHAP. XI.

1803.

The Peshwa received not the treaty, ratified by the Governor-General in Council, earlier than the 18th of March, 1803. The Governor-General informs the Court of Directors, that “he received it with demonstrations of the highest satisfaction.”<sup>2</sup>

As early, however, as the month of November preceding, the Governor of Fort St. George, under intimations from both the Governor-General and the Resident at Poona, was induced to assemble a considerable army at Hurryhur, on the Mysore frontier; which, under the character of an army of observation, might be ready to be employed as events should determine. The Governor of Bombay

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 98, 99.—M. Despatches, iii. It is very evident, from the tenor of the letter of the 20th of June, that the Governor-General was now too sanguine in his anticipations of continued tranquil relations with Sindiah and the Raja of Berar. He gave them credit for a more accurate estimate of their own force, and that of the English, than they were capable of forming; and he was not aware of the encouragement to interfere which they received from the Peshwa. At the same time it is equally evident that he considered the result as uncertain, and the home authorities must have seen clearly the probability of hostilities. It cannot be affirmed, as it is the object of the text to insinuate, that they were imposed upon by partial misrepresentation. The possible occurrence of the events which took place, however improbable it may have been thought, is decidedly expressed in the paragraph of the letter of the 20th of June: “The judicious arrangements which Major-General Wellesley has effected for the disposition of the troops under his command, is calculated to meet every emergency of affairs, even under the improbable supposition that Sindiah, the Raja of Berar, and Jeswant Rao Holkar, have really entertained designs of a hostile nature against the British Government or the allies.”—W.

<sup>2</sup> Governor-General's Narrative of the late Transactions in the Mahratta Empire. Ibid. p. 309.



## BOOK VI.

## CHAP. XI.

1803.

received, in like manner, instructions to hold in readiness for immediate service the disposable force of that Presidency. And a considerable detachment of the subsidiary force at Hyderabad was, through the Resident, directed to be placed in a similar state of preparation.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of February, the whole of the subsidiary or hired force in the service of the Nizam, under the command of Colonel Stevenson, together with 6000 infantry, and 9000 of that Prince's native cavalry, marched from the capital towards the western frontier of the Hyderabad dominions, and reached Paraindah, distant 116 miles from Poonah, on the 25th of March.

From the army assembled at Hurryhur, under the immediate command of General Stuart, the General-in-Chief of the forces under the Presidency of Madras, a detachment, consisting of one regiment of European, and three of native cavalry, two regiments of European, and six battalions of native infantry, with a due proportion of artillery, amounting, in the whole, to 1709 cavalry and 7890 infantry, exclusive of 2500 horse belonging to the Raja of Mysore, began to advance towards Poonah, on the 8th of March. For the command of this detachment; a service, requiring, as he affirmed, considerable skill, both military and diplomatic; the Governor of Fort St. George recommended the brother of the Governor-General, Major-General the Honourable Arthur Wellesley, as a man who, not only possessed, in a high degree, the other requisite gifts, but who, by his command at Seringapatam, had been accustomed to transactions with the jaghiredars of the Poonah state, and successful in gaining their confidence and respect. A man so related, and so recommended, was not likely to see the merits of any competitor set in preference to his own.<sup>2</sup>

On the 12th of April, the force under General Wellesley crossed the Toombudra. On the 15th, the distance was not great between him and Colonel Stevenson, who arrived

<sup>1</sup> Narrative, ut supra. Ibid. p. 307.—M.

These arrangements were subservient to the restoration of the Peshwa in case of opposition, apprehended chiefly from Holkar.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The spirit of this remark cannot be mistaken; but it is not the less true that General Wellesley was eminently fitted for the duty by his popularity with the Mahratta Jagirdars of the South, and his knowledge of the country and the people. See his Memorandum upon Operations in the Mahratta territory. Despatches, i. 111; also, Correspondence, 91, 92, 94, etc.—W.

at Aklooss. Jeswunt Rao Holkar, who had some time quitted Poonah, arrived at Chandore, 300 miles from Poonah, on the same day on which Colonel Stevenson arrived at Aklooss; and nothing remained to oppose the British army. It was unnecessary, therefore, to carry the whole of the troops to Poonah, where the country was too recently and severely ravaged, to yield any supplies. Colonel Stevenson was directed to place the troops of the Nizam at Gardoon, within the Nizam's frontier, and to take post with the subsidiary troops, augmented by the King's Scotch Brigade, further up the Beema, near its junction with the Mota Mola.

Amrut Rao was left at Poonah, with a guard of about 1500 men, alone, and helpless, when Holkar marched. It was, nevertheless, reported, that this defenceless individual, who from first to last is represented, by the English themselves, as utterly averse to the part which he was constrained by Holkar to act, had it in contemplation to burn the city of Poonah; that is, to render his peace impracticable with the people into whose hands he saw that he must inevitably fall. Intimation of this report, and, it would seem, of some belief in the danger which it announced, was transmitted (repeatedly we are told) by Colonel Close to General Wellesley. The Peshwa, by whom it is not wonderful that it was believed, transmitted an urgent request that General Wellesley would detach some of the Poonah officers with their troops to provide for the safety of his family. Counting the Poonah officers, with their troops, a security ill-proportioned to the danger, General Wellesley resolved to attempt an unexpected arrival. Intelligence was received on the 19th, that Amrut Rao was still at Poonah on the 18th, and had removed the family of the Peshwa to Servagur; which was concluded to be a step preparatory to the burning of the town. General Wellesley, therefore, taking with him only the cavalry, and making a night march through a difficult pass, and a rugged country, arrived at Poonah on the 20th, having accomplished, from the evening of the 19th, a march of forty, and from the morning of that day, that is, in a period of about thirty-two hours, a march of sixty miles.<sup>1</sup> Amrut Rao heard of the march of the British

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<sup>1</sup> Despatches of the Duke of Wellington, i. 142.—W.



BOOK VI. cavalry on the morning of the 20th, and quitted Poonah,  
 CHAP. XI. but without any act implying that he had ever entertained  
 a thought of setting fire to the place.

1803.

In conducting the Peshwa to Poonah, it only now remained to provide a sufficient quantity of pomp. The description shall be given in the words of the Governor-General himself. "During these transactions, arrangements were made by the Governor of Bombay, and by Lieutenant-Colonel Close, for the march of the Peshwa towards Poonah. A detachment, consisting of his Majesty's 78th regiment (which left Bengal on the 7th of February, and arrived at Bombay on the 5th of April, 1803), five companies of his Majesty's 84th regiment, a proportion of artillery, and 1035 sepoy—in all 2205 men, was formed, and placed under the command of Colonel Murray, of his Majesty's 84th regiment, as an escort to his Highness, who left Bassein, attended by Colonel Close, on the 27th of April.

"On the 7th of May, the Peshwa passed General Wellesley's camp, at Panowallah, near Poonah. On the 13th, his Highness, attended by his brother Chimnajee Appa, and by a numerous train of the principal chiefs of the Mahratta empire, proceeded towards the city of Poonah; and, having entered his palace, resumed his seat upon the musnud, and received presents from his principal servants.

"During the procession, the British Resident, accompanied by his suite, paid his compliments to his Highness, when a salute was fired by the British troops, encamped in the vicinity of Poonah, under the command of General Wellesley. This salute was immediately answered from the fortress of Seonghur.

"While the procession passed the bridge into the city, a second salute was fired from the British camp; and as the Peshwa approached the palace, salutes were fired from the several posts of the Mahratta troops. At sunset, salutes were fired from all the hill-forts in the vicinity of Poonah."<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the confident expectation which the Governor-General had expressed to the home authorities, not only on the 19th of April, but as late as the 20th of

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General's Narrative. Ibid. 307—311.

June, that no war would rise out of the treaty of Bassein;<sup>1</sup> yet before that time, as he himself informs us, "he had great cause to doubt the sincerity of Sindiah's professions; while the increasing rumours of a hostile confederacy against the British government, between that chieftain and the Raja of Berar, rendered it indispensably necessary to ascertain, with the least practicable delay, whether the British government were likely to be exposed to a contest with the confederated chieftains. These considerations determined the Governor-General to lose no time in furnishing Colonel Collins with detailed instructions for the guidance of his conduct, in this important and delicate crisis of affairs. With a view to expedition, the Governor-General's instructions were, in the first instance, transmitted in the form of notes, under date the 5th of May, 1803, and were afterwards formed into a detailed despatch, which was forwarded to Colonel Collins on the 3rd of June."<sup>2</sup>

Nay, when the time arrived, at which it was desirable to make it appear, that the hostile mind of Sindiah, and not provocation by the British government, had produced the calamity of war, the Governor-General actually enters into an argument to prove, that from an early date, he had evidence which rendered in no respect doubtful the existence of hostile projects in the mind of Sindiah. After a display of the motives, in their own ambition, which Sindiah and the Raja of Berar, had for aversion to the treaty of Bassein, "The belief," he says, "that those chieftains entertained designs hostile to the British government, at the earliest stages of the negotiation between the resident and Dowlut Rao Sindiah, is supported by the information which the Governor-General has from time to time received of the proceedings of that chieftain." Of this information he specifies three instances; one contained in a letter of Colonel Collins, dated the 9th of March; a second received on the 17th of June; and the third alone, not more conclusive than the former, sent by Colonel Collins on the 14th, not received till after the date of his pacific declaration to the home authorities. "These facts," he then subjoins, "reciprocally confirm

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<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Narrative, ut supra, p. 317, 318.—M. Despatches, iii. 120.—W.

BOOK VI. each point of the evidence of Sindiah's hostile projects ;  
 CHAP. XI. and combined with information, at various times com-  
 1803. municated, by the Resident with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, of  
 the proceedings of that chieftain, with the repeated rumours of the formation of a hostile confederacy between Dowlut Rao Sindiah, and the Raja of Berar, and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and with the tenor and result of the Resident's negotiations, must be considered to amount to full proof of the alleged design of subverting the alliance formed between the British government and the Peshwa." <sup>1</sup>

The Resident with the Dowlut Rao Sindiah, having received the Governor-General's instructions, obtained an audience of that chief on the 28th of May. He was encamped at a place called Chickley, not far from Boorhanpore, where his own dominions border on those of the Raja of Berar. The conference was opened, on the part of the Resident, by communicating to Sindiah the treaty of Bassein, of which a copy was presented and read. "When the whole of the treaty had been distinctly explained to the Maharaja, I then asked him," says the Resident, "whether he thought it contained any thing injurious to his just rights; since I had reason to think some doubts had arisen in his mind on this head?"—It was one of his ministers who thought proper to reply; "acknowledging," says the Resident, "that the treaty did not contain any stipulation prejudicial to the rights of the Maharaja; to which the latter assented."

"I proceeded," says Colonel Collins, "to state—that negotiations had of late been carried on between Dowlut Rao Sindiah and the Berar Raja—that these chiefs were, I understood, to have an interview shortly, somewhere in the vicinity of this place—that the Maharaja had concluded a peace with Jeswunt Rao Holkar, in whose camp a vakeel also now resided on the part of Ragojee Bhonslah—that Sindiah had likewise avowed an intention of proceeding with his army to Poonah, accompanied by the Berar Raja—and that, on combining these circumstances, I could not but suspect that this court meditated designs adverse to the interests of the British government;—for, since his Highness the Peshwa was restored to the musnud of Poonah, the presence of the Maharaja at that capital

<sup>1</sup> Narrative, ut supra. Ibid. p. 334.



could not now be of any use, but, on the contrary, might be productive of evil consequences—nor could the longer continuance of the Maharaja in the Deccan be necessary to his security, since he had come to an accommodation with the only enemy from whom he had any thing to apprehend south of the Nerbuddah; that, therefore, I felt it my duty to require an unreserved explanation from this court, as well respecting the intent of the proposed interview between the Maharaja and the Berar Raja, as regarding the nature of the engagements entered into by those chiefs with Jeswunt Rao Holkar—as their recent union and present proceedings induced some suspicion, that they were confederated, either for the purpose of invading the territories of our allies, his Highness the Peshwa and Nabob Nizam; or of subverting the arrangements lately concluded between the British government and Bajee Rao.”<sup>1</sup>

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The Resident repeated the assurance of the peaceable and even amicable views of the British government; and stated the arguments of himself and of the Governor-General, to prove to Sindiah, not only that the British government and the Peshwa had a perfect right to contract the engagements into which they had entered, but that the interests of Sindiah, by that means, were in no respect affected.

On the part of Sindiah it was, in like manner, affirmed, that he had no intention whatever to invade either the territory of his Highness the Peshwa, or of the Nabob Nizam. But in regard to the negotiations with the Berar Raja and Holkar, the Resident was informed, that Sindiah could afford him no explanations till the conference between him and Ragojee Bhonslah had taken place. No mode of address, conciliatory or menacing, was left untried by the Resident, to extort a declaration, whether opposition to the treaty of Bassein was or was not in contemplation. Sindiah was informed, that if he maintained his present suspicious attitude, the British government would be called upon to make preparations upon his frontier, which would be attacked in every part, the moment that intelligence was received of his accession to any hostile

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Collins's despatch, dated 29th May, 1803. Ibid. p. 153.—M. Despatches, iii. 159.—W.



BOOK VI. confederacy. After various expostulations, both with the  
 CHAP. XI. ministers and Sindiah himself, the Resident says, that he  
 1803. turned at last to Sindiah, and "conjured him, in language both urgent and conciliatory, to remove all his doubts and suspicions, by an immediate and candid avowal of his intentions."

"Dowlut Rao," he continues, "in reply to these instances on my part, said, that he could not, at present, afford me the satisfaction I demanded, without a violation of the faith which he had pledged to the Raja of Berar. He then observed, that the Bhonslah was distant no more than forty coss from hence, and would probably arrive here in the course of a few days: that immediately after his interview with the Raja, I should be informed whether it would be peace or war."

It is proper to state, that the Resident, in answer to his remonstrance against the march of Sindiah and the Raja of Berar to Poonah, received a solemn assurance, which he appears not to have disbelieved, that the Peshwa, after his return to his capital, had repeatedly written to the Maharaja and the Berar Raja, inviting them both to Poonah. It is also proper to give the following circumstance, in the words of the Resident; "Neither Sindiah," says he, "nor his ministers, made any remarks on the treaty of Bassein, nor did they request a copy of it."<sup>1</sup>

It will hardly be pretended that the words of Sindiah, "after my interview with the Raja, you shall be informed whether it will be peace or war," yielded any information which was not conveyed by the more evasive expressions of his ministers; "till after the Maharaja's interview with the Raja, it is impossible for him to afford you satisfaction with regard to the declaration which you require." That the words were intended by Sindiah to convey a menace or insult, there is not a single circumstance to countenance the slightest suspicion. And it is visible from the words of the Resident, that they were not by him understood in that sense. "These words he delivered," says he, "with much seeming composure. I then asked, whether I must consider this declaration as final on his part; which question was answered in the affirmative by the ministers of Dowlut Rao Sindiah. Here the

<sup>1</sup> Despatch, ut supra. Ibid. p. 153, 154.

conference, which had lasted three hours, ended; and I soon after took a respectful leave of the Maharaja." BOOK VI.

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The Governor-General describes as very great, the effect which was produced upon his mind, by the phrase of the Maharaja. "This unprovoked menace of hostility," says he, "and the insult offered to the British government, by reference of the question of peace or war to the result of a conference with the Raja of Berar, who, at the head of a considerable army, had reached the vicinity of Dowlut Rao Sindiah's camp, together with the indication which it afforded of a disposition on the part of those chieftains to prosecute the supposed objects of their confederacy, rendered it the duty of the British government to adopt, without delay, the most effectual measures for the vindication of its dignity, and for the security of its rights and interests, and those of its allies, against any attempt on the part of the confederates, to injure or to invade them."<sup>1</sup> 1803.

In consequence of a movement of Holkar towards the frontier of the Nizam, and some depredations committed in the vicinity of Aurungabad, General Wellesley, at the end of April, had directed Colonel Stevenson, with the British force under his command, and the united troops of the Nizam, to move northwards to that city. Towards the end of May, General Stuart, with the army under his command, amounting to three companies of European artillery, one regiment of European, and two regiments of native cavalry, three corps of European infantry, and five battalions of sepoys, with a large train of artillery, crossed the Toombudra, and proceeded forward to Mudgul, a position where, without abandoning the defence of the English frontier, he was sufficiently near the scene of action, to support the advanced detachment, and overawe those who might be found refractory among the Mahratta chiefs. On the 4th of June, Major-General Wellesley marched from Poonah, with the main body of the forces under his command, and on the 15th, encamped at Augah, near Sindiah's fortress of Ahmednuggur, at the distance of about 80 miles from Poonah. "The total number of British troops," says the Governor-General, "prepared on the 4th of June,

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Governor-General to home authorities, dated 1st August. Ibid. p. 148.

BOOK VI. 1803, on the western side of India (exclusive of Guzerat),  
 CHAP. XI. to support the arrangements with the Peshwa, amounted  
 1803. to 28,244 men; of this number, 16,823 were under the  
 immediate command of General Wellesley, and destined  
 for active operations, against the confederated chieftains,  
 in the event of its being necessary to proceed to hostilities  
 against those chiefs."<sup>1</sup>

The expense of bringing such an army as this into the field was no trifling price to pay for those "arrangements with the Peshwa," which this great force was "prepared on the 4th June, 1803, to support." Yet this was not enough; for, immediately on the intelligence of Sindiah's phrase about "peace or war," the Governor-General issued private instructions to the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in India, to assemble the Bengal army on the Company's western frontier, and to prepare for an eventual war.

It deserves to be noticed, that the letter of the Governor-General to the home authorities, assuring them confidently that no war would rise out of the recent alliance contracted with the Peshwa, was dated on the 20th of June. The instructions to the Commander-in-Chief, which directed the assembling of the army, and laid down a plan of the war, were dated on the 28th of the same month.

In the demand for prompt decision which might arise in the present eventful position of the British government with the Mahratta states, the Governor-General considered that his own distance from the scene of action would require a dangerous suspension of operations, if the power of adapting measures to the exigencies as they arose were not consigned to some individual upon the spot. So much would of necessity depend upon the person at the head of the military force, that a peculiar advantage would arise from combining in his hands, if adapted to the trust, the political powers which it was thought advisable to convey. In General Wellesley the Governor-General imagined he saw the requisite qualifications very happily combined. That officer was accordingly vested with the general controul of all affairs in Hindustan and the Deccan, relative either to negotiation or war with the Mahratta states. The

<sup>1</sup> Narrative, ut supra. Ibid. p. 325, 326.



instructions with which he was furnished for guidance in the use of those extraordinary powers are dated on the 26th. of June. The new authority was to pass to General Stuart, as Commander-in-Chief at the Madras presidency, if circumstances (an exigency very unlikely to arise) should render it necessary for that officer to unite the whole force of the army in the field, and to assume in person the general command. And the plenipotentiary commission of General Wellesley remained subject, of course, to the commands of the authority from which it was derived.<sup>1</sup>

On the 13th of May, the Governor-General addressed a letter to Sindiah, and another to the Raja of Berar. These letters, while they paid to these chieftains the compliment of conveying immediately from the head of the English government, intimation of the treaty of Bassein, and affirmed that no injury was done to the rights of either of them by that engagement, which it was within the undoubted competence of the Peshwa to contract, offered to each the benefit of a similar engagement, if they were sufficiently wise to see how deeply their interests were concerned in it; asserted the pacific views of the British government, even if they should reject this generous offer; informed them, however, of the suspicions, which several parts of their recent conduct had a tendency to raise, of their intention to form a hostile confederacy against the late arrangements; directed them, if they wished that their pacific declarations should be deemed sincere, to abstain from occupying with their armies an alarming position on the frontier of the Nizam, the British ally; desired Sindiah, in particular, to carry back his army to the northern side of the Nerbudda; and declared to them, that, if they persisted in maintaining a warlike attitude, the British government must place itself in a similar situation, and the moment they rendered their hostile designs indubitable, would in its own defence be constrained to attack them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Narrative, ut supra, p. 149, 162.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 133—136.—M.

There was other correspondence with the Raja of Berar. Prior to the date of Lord Wellesley's letter, or on the 4th of May, the Raja wrote to the Nizam, to announce his proposed interview with Sindiah, and thus explained its object. "After a meeting shall have taken place, and an arrangement for the reconciliation and union between Sindiah and Holkar shall have been effected, a specific plan for the adjustment of the state and government of Rao Pundit Pradhann, (the Peshwa,) such as the honour and integrity of the Raj indis-



BOOK VI. The Raja of Berar, having arrived within one march of  
 CHAP. XI. Sindiah's camp on the 3rd of June, was met by that Prince  
 1803. on the following morning. "The secretary of the British  
 Resident, who was despatched to him with a complimentary  
 message on the 5th, he received with distinguished  
 attention: and he expressed with apparent sincerity,"  
 says the Governor-General, "his solicitude to maintain  
 the relations of friendship which had so long subsisted  
 between the British government and the state of Berar." A  
 conference between the chieftains took place on the  
 8th. On the 9th, the British Resident sent to importune  
 Sindiah for the answer which he promised after his inter-  
 view with the Raja of Berar. Having received an evasive  
 reply, the Resident addressed, on the 12th, a memorial to  
 Sindiah, informing him, that if he should now refuse to  
 give an explicit account of his intentions, and should con-  
 tinue with his army on the south side of the Nerbudda,  
 "such refusal or delay would be regarded as an avowal of  
 hostile designs against the British government." The  
 Resident requested either the satisfaction which he was  
 commissioned to demand, or an escort to convey him from  
 Sindiah's camp.<sup>1</sup>

Having received a verbal message, which he regarded as  
 an evasion, stating that the required explanation should be  
 afforded in two or three days, the Resident informed the  
 Maharaja, that he received this communication as a final  
 answer, refusing the satisfaction which the British govern-  
 ment required; and that he purposed leaving his camp  
 without further delay. The two Mahratta chiefs invented  
 expedients for preventing the departure of the Resident,  
 and at the same time evaded his endeavours to obtain a  
 declaration of their designs. At length, on the 4th of

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pensably calls for, and is calculated for the prosperity of the country, shall, with a due attention to the complexion of the times, be maturely devised and executed." This letter was, of course, communicated to the British government, and Lord Wellesley again, on the 22nd of May, addressed the Berar Raja to express his surprise and disappointment at learning so plain an avowal of an intention to form a confederacy for the subversion of the arrangements concluded with the Peshwa. He also apprized the Raja, that any advance into the territories of the Nizam, would be considered as an act of hostile aggression; exhorted him earnestly to return peaceably into his territories, and distinctly intimated that the question of peace or war between the two states, depended entirely upon the Raja's conduct. The interview that followed was, therefore, most unequivocally an act of defiance, and equivalent to a declaration of war. Despatches, *iii.* 104, and App. 661.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Narrative, *ut supra*, p. 166, 323.

July, he obtained an audience of both together in the tent of the Raja of Berar. He entertained them with the old story — “That the treaty of Bassein” (I quote the words of the Governor-General, as combining his authority with that of his agent) “contained no stipulation injurious to the rights of any of the feudatory Mahratta chieftains; but, on the contrary, expressly provided for their security and independence — That the Governor-General regarded the Raja of Berar, and Sindiah, as the ancient friends of the British power; and was willing to improve the existing connexion between their states and the British government — That the British government only required a confirmation of the assurance made by Sindiah, that he had no intention whatever to obstruct the completion of the engagements lately concluded at Bassein, together with a similar assurance on the part of the Raja of Berar — And that it was the earnest desire of the Governor-General to promote the prosperity of the respective governments of Dowlut Rao Sindiah, and the Raja of Berar; so long as they refrained from committing acts of aggression against the English and their allies.”

The Mahratta chiefs did not think proper to make any remarks upon the assertions and argumentation of the British Resident. They contented themselves with declaring, through the mouth of the Berar minister, by whom on their part the discourse was principally held, that it was the duty of the Peshwa to have consulted with them as chiefs of the Mahratta state, before he concluded a treaty which so deeply affected the interests of that state; and, moreover, that they had a variety of observations to make upon the stipulations, themselves, of the treaty of Bassein. The British minister insisted, as he had done so frequently before, on the right of the Peshwa to make a treaty for himself; but, with regard to the observations proposed to be made upon the several articles of the treaty of Bassein, he requested they might be committed to writing, and submitted to the consideration of the Governor-General.

Notwithstanding these allegations of grounds of complaint, the Mahrattas re-affirmed their sincere disposition to cultivate the friendship of the British government; declared that they had no design whatever to oppose any

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BOOK VI. engagements with it into which the Peshwa might have  
CHAP. XI. entered ; and promised that their armies should neither  
1803. advance to Poonah, nor ascend the Adjuntée Ghaut, across  
the mountainous ridge which separated their present position from the frontier of the Nizam. Remarking, however, that the British troops had crossed the Godaverī river, and were approaching the Adjuntée Ghaut ; they requested that Colonel Collins would use his endeavours to prevent their advance. The Colonel replied that it was incumbent upon Sindiah to lead his army across the Nerbudda, and the Raja of Berar to return to Nagpoor, if they wished their actions to appear in conformity with their pacific declarations ; and in that case, the British army, he doubted not, would also be withdrawn.<sup>1</sup>

On the 14th of July, General Wellesley addressed a letter, couched in respectful terms, to Dowlut Rao Sindiah, setting before him the reasons which the British government had to consider his present menacing position an indication of designs, which would render it necessary to act against him as an enemy, unless he withdrew his army across the Nerbudda ; but making at the same time the correspondent offer, that, as soon as the Mahratta chiefs should lead back their armies to their usual stations, he would also withdraw from its advanced position the British army under his command.

A conference on the subject of this letter took place between the chieftains on the 21st of July. To a note, the next day addressed by the Resident to Dowlut Rao Sindiah, requesting an answer to the letter of General Wellesley, no reply was returned. The Resident received the General's instructions to urge them once more on the separation of their armies ; and received an appointment for a conference with Sindiah on the 25th. On this occasion he was told, " that the forces of Sindiah and the Raja of Berar were encamped on their own territories ; that those chieftains had solemnly promised not to ascend the Adjuntée pass, nor to march to Poonah ; that they had already given to the Governor-General assurances in writing, that they never would attempt to subvert the treaty of Bassein, which assurances were unequivocal proofs of their amicable intentions ; lastly, that the treaty

<sup>1</sup> Narrative, ut supra, p. 324.



at that time under negotiation between Sindiah and Holkar was not completely settled ; and that until it should be finally concluded, Dowlut Rao Sindiah could not return to Hindustan." The Resident remarked, that, as the actual position of the Mahratta armies could afford no advantage to their respective sovereigns, unless in the event of a war with the British power, the British government could not conclude that the determination of these sovereigns to keep their armies in such a position was for any other than a hostile purpose ; and that, for the negotiation with Holkar, Boorhanpore was a much more convenient situation than the frontier, so much more distant, of the British ally. After much discussion, the 28th was named, as the day on which the Resident should receive a decisive reply. The 28th was afterwards shifted to the 29th ; the Resident threatening to depart, and making vehement remonstrance against so many delays. The interview on the 29th was not more availing than those which preceded. The Resident sent forward his tents on the 30th, intending to begin his march on the 31st, and refused to attend a conference to which he was invited with Sindiah and the Raja of Berar. As he was prevented, however, from setting out on the 31st, by the heaviness of the rain, he complied with a request from both chieftains to meet them on the evening of that day at the tents of the Raja of Berar.

After the usual topics were once more gone over, the Mahratta chieftains offered the following proposition : that the forces of the Raja and of Sindiah should, in conjunction retire to Boorhanpore ; while the British General should withdraw his troops to their usual stations. As these respective movements would leave to the Mahratta chieftains nearly all their present power of injuring the British state, while they would deprive the British government of the security afforded by the present position of its troops, the Resident assured them that a proposition to this effect could not be received.

The Princes made a second proposal. That the Resident should fix a day, on which both the Mahratta and the British armies should begin to withdraw to their respective stations. Beside that the Resident had no power to engage for the movements of the British army, he plainly



BOOK VI. gave the Princes to understand, that their promise about  
 CHAP. XI. withdrawing their armies was not sufficient security for  
 the performance.

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They lastly offered to refer it to General Wellesley, to name a day on which the British troops, and theirs, should begin their march; to name also the time at which he thought the British troops might reach their usual stations, when they too would so regulate their marches as to arrive at their usual stations at the same precise period of time. If this proposition was rejected, they said they could not retire without an injury to the honour and dignity of their respective governments.

The Resident consented to postpone his departure, till time was given for referring the last proposition to General Wellesley; but required, as a condition, that the letters to that effect should be with him for transmission before noon of the following day. The letters came; submitting for decision, however, not the last, but the first, of the three propositions which had been previously discussed. Observing this coarse attempt at more evasion and delay, this officer made immediate arrangements for quitting the camp of Dowlut Rao Sindiah, and commenced his march towards Aurungabad on the 3rd of August.<sup>1</sup>

Aware of the great unpopularity in England to which wars in India, except wars against Tippoo Sahib, were exposed; aware also of the vast load of debt which his administration had heaped upon the government of India, a load which a new and extensive war must greatly augment, the Governor-General has, in various documents, presented a laboured argument to prove, that the appeal to arms now made by the British government was forced, and altogether unavoidable.<sup>2</sup> It may be requisite, as far as it can be done with the due restriction in point of space, to show how far his arguments are supported by the facts.

When Dowlut Rao Sindiah and the Raja of Berar united their armies, under circumstances so warlike and in a position so threatening, as those of the union which took

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General's Narrative, *Ibid.* p. 327—331; Notes relative to the late Transactions in the Mahratta Empire, *Ibid.* p. 226—230; Letter from Governor-General in Council to the home authorities, dated 25th of September, 1803, *Ibid.* p. 170—176.—M. See also Despatches, iii. 159, 170, 236.—W.

<sup>2</sup> In his Narrative, *ut supra*, p. 331; Notes, *ut supra*, p. 230; Despatch of the 23th of September, 1803, *ut supra*, 176.—M.

Despatches, iii. 330.—W.

place on the borders of Nizam Ali's dominions in 1803; and when the English, should they begin to act in the rainy season, would enjoy important advantages, of which, if they left the enemy to begin operations in the dry season, they would be deprived, it will hardly be denied that the English had good reasons for commencing hostilities, if no other expedient could be devised to procure the dispersion of those armies, the position of which created that danger, which it was the professed object of the war to avert.

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Still, however, two questions will remain, both of which must be clearly and decisively answered in the negative, to make good the Governor-General's defence. In the first place, allowing the necessity of war in August, 1803, to have been ever so imperative, was it, or was it not, a necessity of that Governor's own creating, a necessity of whose existence he alone was the author, and for which it is just that he should be held responsible? In the next place, were the objects, on account of which this necessity was created, equal in value to the cost of a war? In the last place, was it true, that the alleged necessity existed, and that no expedient but that of war could avert the danger which the new position of the two Mahratta chieftains appeared to involve.

The answer to the first of these questions will not require many words. The necessity, whatever it was, which existed for war at the time when hostilities commenced, was undoubtedly created by the Governor-General himself. The proof is so obvious, that hardly does it require to be stated in words. That necessity was created by the treaty of Bassein; and the treaty of Bassein was the work of the Governor-General. The Governor-General had no apprehension of war, either on the part of Sindiah, or of the Raja of Berar, previous to the treaty of Bassein, as is proved by all his words and all his actions. If we are to believe his solemn declarations, he had little apprehension of it, even after the treaty of Bassein, nay till six weeks before the declaration of war.

For believing that, but for the treaty of Bassein, war, either on the part of Sindiah, or of the Raja of Berar, was in no degree to be apprehended by the British government, the current of the history, the circumstances

BOOK VI. and character of those Princes, and even the succeeding  
 CHAP. XI. results, prove that he had sufficient and superabundant  
 1803. reasons. Undoubtedly those reasons must have been strong, when they sufficed to convince the Governor-General, even after these Princes had received all the alarm and provocation which the treaty of Bassein was calculated to produce, that they would yet be deterred from any resistance to the operation of that treaty, by the awful chances of a conflict with the British power. The weakness of which these Princes were conscious, as compared with the British state, was the first solid ground of the Governor-General's confidence. The extremely indolent and pacific character of the Raja of Berar was another. Unless in confederacy with the Raja of Berar, it was not to be apprehended that Sindiah would venture upon a war with the British government ; and scarcely any thing less rousing to his feelings than the treaty of Bassein would have induced that unwarlike Prince to form a confederacy with Sindiah, in defiance of the British power. As for Holkar, it was the weakness of Sindiah which made him any thing ; and the united force of both, if, without the treaty of Bassein, it would have been possible to unite them, would have constituted a feeble source of danger to the British state.

The treaty of Bassein, therefore, as it was the cause assigned by these Princes themselves for their union and the warlike attitude they had assumed, so it will hardly admit of dispute that it was the real cause. The Governor-General himself, when he came at last to the endeavour of making out as strong a case as possible for the necessity of drawing the sword, exhibits reasons which operated both on Sindiah and the Raja of Berar, for going to war on account of the treaty of Bassein, reasons which, to men of their minds, he seems to represent as little less than irresistible. "The conduct," says he, "of Dowlut Rao Sindiah towards the Peshwa, during a long course of time antecedent to the Peshwa's degradation from the musnud of Poonah, and the views which that chieftain, and the Raja of Berar are known to have entertained with respect to the supreme authority of the Mahratta state, afford the means of forming a correct judgment of the motives which may have rendered those chieftains desirous



of subverting the treaty of Bassein." Of these views he then exhibits the following sketch. "The whole course," says he, "of Dowlut Rao Sindiah's proceedings, since his accession to the dominions of Madajee Sindiah, has manifested a systematic design of establishing an ascendancy in the Mahratta state upon the ruins of the Peshwa's authority." After adducing a number of facts in proof of this proposition, he draws the following conclusion: "The actual re-establishment of the Peshwa in the government of Poonah, under the exclusive protection of the British power, and the conclusion of engagements calculated to secure to his Highness the due exercise of his authority on a permanent foundation, deprived Dowlut Rao Sindiah of every hope of accomplishing the objects of his ambition, so long as that alliance should be successfully maintained. This statement of facts sufficiently explains the anxiety of Dowlut Rao Sindiah to effect the subversion of the treaty of Bassein, and his prosecution of hostile designs against the British government."<sup>1</sup> "The motives which must be supposed to have influenced the Raja of Berar, in combining his power with that of Dowlut Rao Sindiah, for the subversion of the alliance concluded between the British government and the Peshwa, were manifestly similar to those which actuated the conduct of Dowlut Rao Sindiah. The Raja of Berar has always maintained pretensions to the supreme ministerial authority in the Mahratta empire, founded on his affinity to the reigning Raja of Sattarah. Convinced that the permanency of the defensive alliance, concluded between the British government and the Peshwa, would preclude all future opportunity of accomplishing the object of his ambition, the Raja of Berar appears to have been equally concerned with Dowlut Rao Sindia in the subversion of that alliance."

The Governor-General subjoins a reflection, actually founded upon the improbability there was of a union between those Princes, till the treaty of Bassein gave them

<sup>1</sup> In transcribing these words, I have left out three expressions, two of vague reprobation which the Governor-General bestows upon the actions of Sindiah, and one of applause which he bestows upon his own, because they have only a tendency to substitute the opinion of the Governor-General upon these points, for the opinion which the pure facts may suggest; and I have so altered another of the expressions as to render it grammatical.



BOOK VI. so extraordinary a motive. "Although the views ascribed  
 CHAP. XI. to those chieftains," says he, "were manifestly incompatible with the accomplishment of their respective designs; the removal of an obstacle which would effectually preclude the success of either chieftain, in obtaining an ascendancy at Poonah, constituted an object of common interest to both."

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The Governor-General then states his conjecture of the mode in which the treaty of Bassein induced them to reconcile their conflicting interests. "It appears," he says, "to be chiefly probable, that those chieftains, sensible that the combination of their power afforded the only prospect of subverting the alliance concluded between the British government and the Peshwa, agreed to compromise their respective and contradictory projects, by an arrangement for the partition of the whole power and dominion of the Mahratta state."<sup>1</sup>

The circumstances on which these conclusions are founded were all as much known to the Governor-General before, as after he concluded the treaty of Bassein. He was, therefore, exceedingly to blame, if he formed that agreement, without an expectation, approaching to a full assurance, that a war with the power of Sindiah and the Raja of Berar, if not also (as might have been expected) with that of Holkar combined, would be a part of the price which the British state would have to pay for the advantages, real or supposed, of the treaty of Bassein.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Governor-General's Letter, *ut supra*, p. 179, 180: Narrative, *ut supra*, p. 331, 332.

<sup>2</sup> It is admitted in a preceding page, that, according to the Governor-General's solemn declarations, he had little apprehension of war, even till a few weeks before the declaration of it: he had, therefore, no expectation, approaching to a full assurance, that hostilities would be the consequences of the treaty of Bassein. Then, says our author, "he was exceedingly to blame; because the circumstances on which he accounted for the eventual occurrence of the war, must have been known to him as well before, as after, he concluded the treaty of Bassein." It is one thing, however, to discover motives for actual conduct, and another to anticipate their existence; it is also far from a necessary conclusion, even when motives may be suspected, that they will be followed by acts, especially when it is obvious that other motives, equally or still more cogent, must exist, by which the former may be neutralized, and that the acts are so obviously impolitic as to render it probable that they will not be perpetrated. That the interference of the British, in behalf of the Peshwa, might be distasteful to the principal Mahratta chiefs, may have been little doubted, but it could scarcely have been deemed of sufficient intensity to instigate actual hostilities, particularly when such a result was incompatible with all rational policy. It was thought likely that Sindiah would know his strength rather than to hazard a contest with the British government; that the Raja of Berar, beside his inactive temperament, had inte-

The question, then, or at least one of the questions, to which he should have applied the full force of a sound reflection, equally free from oversight or prepossession, was, whether the benefits, which could reasonably be expected from the treaty of Bassein, were a full compensation for the evils ready to spring from the wars to which it was likely to give birth : on the contrary, if he allowed his mind to repel from itself, as far as possible, all expectation of the expensive and bloody consequences likely to issue from the treaty ; and, fixing his attention almost exclusively upon the advantages painted in his imagination, decided upon what may be regarded as a hearing of only one side, that the treaty ought, if possible, to be made, he pursued a course which, in the management of public affairs, is indeed most lamentably common, but which on that account only deserves so much the more to be pointed out to the disapprobation of mankind.

The discussion of a question like this requires the use of so many words, because it imports a reference to so many particulars, that it would produce an interruption incompatible with the due continuity of a narrative discourse. It may, notwithstanding, have its use to point out merely the paths of inquiry.

To them, on whom, in this instance, peace or war depended, it belonged to ask themselves, whether the act of grasping at a new set of advantages, in relation to other states, which act it is pretty certain that those states, or some of them, will hostilely resent, does not constitute

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rests opposed to those of Sindiah, which rendered their union improbable ; and that, even should it take place, and Holkar be joined with them, the confederates would still be too doubtful of their strength to risk the encounter. That these Mahratta chiefs had no real grievance to complain of, that the treaty of Bassein encroached not on their territories or their legal authority, and that whatever obstacle the English alliance might oppose to their unjustifiable pretensions, the cost and danger of removing it by an appeal to arms, would be so much more than equivalent to any possible advantages to be attained, were reasons authorizing the conclusion that the absurdity of hostile collision would be too obvious to the understanding of princes, not devoid of political sagacity or knowledge, to permit of their adopting such a line of policy. The Governor-General was mistaken in supposing that the Mahratta princes attached due weight to those considerations, but they were sufficiently palpable to justify him in believing that they would not have been disregarded, and that they would have formed a counterpoise to feelings of personal mortification and disappointment sufficient to have prevented the actual occurrence of war. He was not, therefore, exceedingly to blame in entertaining expectations, approaching to full assurance that the treaty of Bassein would not be followed by hostilities.—W.

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the war, a war of aggression, on the part of the state which wilfully performs the act out of which it foresees that war will arise. A war, which is truly and indisputably defensive, is a war undertaken in defence, that is, to prevent the loss of existing advantages. And though a state may justly assert its rights to aim at new advantages, yet, if it aims at advantages which it cannot attain without producing a loss of existing advantages to some other state, a loss which that state endeavours to prevent with a war, the war on the part of the latter state is truly a defensive, on the part of the other is truly an aggressive, and, in almost all cases, an unjust war.

The Governor-General is so far from denying that the treaty of Bassein did import the loss of advantages to Sindiah, that we have just heard him enumerating the advantages of which it deprived that Mahratta chief; advantages on which it was natural for him to place the highest possible value; the power, as he imagined, of establishing his controlling influence over the Peshwa, and, through him, over the whole or the greater part of the Mahratta states.

Many times is the answer of the Governor-General repeated in the documents which he has liberally supplied. These advantages, he cries, on the part of Sindiah, existed only for purposes of injustice; his complaints are, therefore, to be treated with indignation.

The man who carefully visits the sources of Indian history, is often called to observe, and to observe with astonishment, what power the human mind has in deluding itself; and what sort of things a man can pass upon himself for conclusive reasoning, when those against whom his reasoning operates are sure not to be heard, and when he is equally sure that those to whom his discourse is addressed, and whom he is concerned to satisfy, have all the requisites for embracing delusion; to wit, ignorance, negligence, and, in regard to the particulars in question, a supposition, at the least, of concurring, not diverging interests.

It is truly surprising, that the object, which is marked by the Governor-General as the most profligate ambition, and the most odious injustice, cruelty, and oppression, in Dowlut Rao Sindiah, to aim at, is the same object, exactly,

at which he himself was aiming, with so uncommon a degree of ardour and perseverance, and at the expense of so many sacrifices. The object, incontestably, at which both were aiming, was an all-controlling influence over the Peshwa, and through him, as far as possible, over the other Mahratta governments. As far, then, as concerned the object of pursuit, the coincidence is complete, manifest, and indubitable, between the ambition of Sindiah, and the ambition of the Governor-General. Wherein, then, did the ambition of these two leaders differ, so as to entitle the Governor-General to cover the ambition of Sindiah with the epithets most expressive of the disapprobation and abhorrence of mankind, his own with epithets the most expressive of their approbation and favour? One mighty difference there was; that the one was the Governor-General's own ambition, the other that of another man; and a man the gratification of whose ambition in this instance was incompatible with the gratification of his. Another difference, which would be felt where it was desirable for the Governor-General that it should be felt, was, that the benefits, which were said to be great, arising from the accomplishment of this object of the Governor-General's ambition, were to be English benefits. From the accomplishment of the same object of Sindiah's ambition would arise nothing but the prevention of these English benefits. Under this mode of viewing the question, however, it cannot be disguised, that Sindiah would have the same grounds exactly for applying epithets of applause to his own ambition, and of abuse to that of the Governor-General.<sup>1</sup>

But differences, such as these, are more frequently the

<sup>1</sup> There is one important difference in the relations in which the English and Sindiah stood to the Peshwa, which is wholly overlooked in this argument; the different mode in which they prosecuted the objects of their, be it admitted, equal ambition. The English acted with the professed acquiescence of the Peshwa; Sindiah notoriously in his despite. The English placed the Peshwa on his throne, and kept him there, and allowed him the independent enjoyment of extensive authority; Sindiah occupied Poonah with an almost hostile force; compelled the Peshwa to submit entirely to his will, and was yet unable to protect him against his enemies. The English did not march to Poonah to hold the Peshwa in subjection; the Peshwa fled to them, and was glad to resume his principality under the shadow of their banners. Admitting, then, that the establishment of British control at Poonah was the result of the Governor-General's ambition, that ambition differed from Sindiah's in seeking to effect its objects by gentle, not by violent means; with the concurrence, not in defiance of, those over whom it aspired to rule.—W.



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 CHAP. XI. even known, to be so ; since nothing is more easy for the  
 1803. greater part of men, than to be ignorant of the motives  
 by which they are actuated, and, while absorbed in the  
 pursuits of the most vulgar and selfish ambition, to be  
 giving themselves credit for the highest virtue, before the  
 tribunal of their own consciences. What then will be  
 said ? That of this controlling power, at which Sindiah  
 and the English both of them aimed, Sindiah would make  
 a bad use, the English a good one ? If one ruler has a  
 title to make at his pleasure this assumption in his own  
 favour, so has every other ruler ; and a justification is  
 afforded to the strong, who are always in the right, for ex-  
 tending, as far as they please, their oppressions over the  
 weak.

If we should allow, that the English government would  
 make a better use of new power than a native one, as it  
 would be disgraceful to think it would not, the reason  
 would go further than the Governor-General would wish ;  
 for upon this reason not one native government should be  
 left existing in India.

But beside this ; what is it that we are precisely to un-  
 derstand by a better use : is it a use better for the Eng-  
 lish ? Or a use better for the English and Mahrattas both ?  
 This latter assertion is the only one which it would  
 answer any purpose to make ; meaning, in both cases, the  
 people at large, not the handful of individuals composing  
 the government, whose interests are worth no more than  
 those of any other equally minute portion of the common  
 mass.

That the use of it, on the part of the English, would  
 be good even for themselves, was so far from being a de-  
 cided point, that all connexions of the same description  
 stood condemned and forbidden, by a memorable clause  
 of that very act of parliament on which the government  
 of the East India Company rested, and of which, by con-  
 sequence, the treaty of Bassein was a flagrant violation.  
 By how many of the Court of Directors, not to speak of  
 other classes of men, it was condemned as injurious to  
 British interests, we shall afterwards have occasion to  
 observe.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The condemnation of the principle of the extension of the British power in  
 India by the Court of Directors, and by the Parliament, was much too phi-

But whatever the effects in regard to the English, unless it appear that the control over the Peshwa and the Mahratta states, which was equally the object of ambition to Sindiah and the Governor-General, would have been attended with worse consequences to the Mahrattas, if in the hands of Sindiah, than if in the hands of the English, it will be difficult to show in what respect the ambition of Sindiah was selfish and wicked; that of the English full of magnanimity and virtue. In what respects then were the people of the Mahratta states to be the better for the control of the English? Not as regarded oppression at the hands of their several and respective governments; for, in regard to the treatment which those governments might yield to their subjects, the English were ready to bind themselves not to interfere; and we have seen, in the case of the Nabobs of the Carnatic and of Oude, that the motives of misrule in the native governments, upheld by British power were not diminished; but increased a hundred fold.

The grand benefit held out by the Governor-General is, that the Mahrattas would be withheld from war. But this, if foreign war is meant, the Mahrattas had always regarded, and except in a few instances, had always found, a source of benefit, rather than harm. If internal wars are meant, these, it is plain, would be as effectually prevented, if the control of Sindiah, as if that of the Eng-

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isophical to be of any practical applicability to the mingled character of human occurrences. It might have had some credit for benevolence, if there was not reason to believe that it was prompted, in some degree, by party and personal feeling. It is not entitled to commendation for foresight, as events have shown it to be idle: and it deserves not the character of wisdom, for it was irreconcilable with the whole position of the English in India. The very foundation of a political power involved the consequence of extension: an empire, once planted in India, must either have been soon rooted up, or it must have continued to grow. The sagacity of Clive foresaw the necessity, and he had told the public that it was impossible to stop. We were in a situation in which we must either go forward or backwards; our whole progress was one of aggression, and it is much less easy to defend our being in India as a political power at all, than to justify our engrossing all the political power of the country. Once there, as rulers and princes, it was for the honour and profit of Great Britain that we should be paramount. It is not necessary here to advocate the extension of British power as conducive to the benefit of India. What statesman or historian will venture now to affirm that the extension of the British Indian empire has not been advantageous to Great Britain. Every step of advance made in India has opened new fields to British industry; has added largely to British capital; has augmented our population and wealth, and has extended the resources, whilst it has elevated the reputation of the ruling state.—W.



BOOK VI. lish, became complete over all the Mahratta states :<sup>1</sup> and  
 CHAP. XI. Sindiah, had he been as skilful a rhetorician as the English  
 1803. rulers, would, as gairishly as they, have described the preventing of internal war, and the union and tranquillity of the Mahratta powers, as the grand, the patriotic, and virtuous aim of all his thoughts, and all his actions.

But this is not all. Not only did Sindiah lose advantages, in respect to a favourite object of ambition, which was exactly the same object, by the gaining of which the English had deprived him of those advantages ; but, if he had been the greatest lover of peace and justice of all the princes upon the face of the earth, he would still have had the greatest reason to resent the formation of the treaty of Bassein, and to resist to the utmost its execution. What is that, on the strength of which we have already seen the Governor-General boasting of the prodigious value of the treaty of Bassein ? Not the circumstance of its having made a dependant of the feeble and degraded Peshwa. This in itself was a matter of little importance. The treaty, for receiving the British troops, concluded with one of the chief Mahratta states, was declared to be valuable, because it afforded a controlling power over all the other governments of the Mahratta nation.<sup>2</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> The benefits of British supremacy, as far as the people of any Indian state are affected, is a very different question from the advantages to Great Britain. The results are of a more mingled nature ; many are evil, but the good, perhaps, predominate, at least we would wish to hope so. In this particular instance, however, the argument confined to the suppression of internal war amongst the Mahrattas is easily answered, as it turns upon an impossible condition. If the control of Sindiah became as complete over the Mahratta states as that of the English, internal wars would be as effectually prevented. That Sindiah could not acquire such control was clear : he had tried it and failed ; he had been baffled by a rival who commenced his career with seven horsemen. Holkar, at one time little better than a petty freebooter, had driven Sindiah and the Peshwa from Poonah ; what guarantee of internal tranquillity could the power of Sindiah afford ?—W.

<sup>2</sup> The following are some of the Governor-General's expressions : " If the negotiation shall prove successful, there is reason to expect that it will promote the complete accomplishment of the general system of defensive alliance, by inducing the other Mahratta powers to concur in the proposed arrangement—with a view to avoid the dependent and subordinate condition to which they must be reduced by their exclusion from an alliance of which the operation, with respect to them, must be, to control all ambitious views and aggressive designs on their part, without affording to those powers the benefit of the general guarantee." (Narrative, ut supra, p. 10.)—" The same conveyance will furnish you with a detail of the negotiations conducted by the Resident at Poonah, under my authority, with the view to the accomplishment of the important object of comprehending the Mahratta states in the general system of defensive alliance with the Honourable Company and its allies, on the basis of the treaty concluded with his Highness the Nizam, in the month of October, 1800." (Ibid. 29) — " The intimate connexion with the Peshwa, on principles

what is meant by a controlling power? The power, undoubtedly, of preventing them from doing whatever the English government should dislike. But the state, which is prevented from doing whatever another state dislikes, is in reality dependent upon that state; and can regard itself in no other light than that of a vassal. If the loss of independence, therefore, is a loss sufficient to summon the most pacific prince in the world to arms, Dowlut Rao Sindiah, and the Raja of Berar, had that motive for offering resistance to the treaty of Bassein.

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It will not weaken the argument, to say, that the Governor-General was deceived in ascribing these wonderful powers to the treaty of Bassein; because it was not surely unnatural in the Mahratta princes to apprehend that which the Governor-General hoped, and to do what lay in their power to prevent it.

It was idle, too, in the Governor-General unless for the sake of immediate effect upon the minds of his ministerial and directorial masters, to which it was not ill-adapted, to declare so often, and with so much emphasis, that Sindiah himself was unable to show wherein he was injured by the treaty of Bassein, and could not deny that his rights continued unimpaired. What then? Because Sindiah and his ministers were far less skilful than the Governor-General in the use of language; had objections to the treaty of Bassein which they did not think it politic to acknowledge; knew not how to separate the objections they might wish, from those they did not wish, to avow; and agreeably to the rules of Eastern etiquette, which never in general terms condemns, but always approves of, every thing proceeding from the will of a superior, did, in general courtesy, when urged and importuned upon the subject, apply a vague negation of injustice to the treaty of Bassein; does that hinder it from being now clearly seen that the treaty of Bassein had an operation injurious to that prince,

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calculated to secure to him the constant protection of the British arms, could not be formed, without at the same time establishing our ascendancy in the Mahratta empire." (Ibid. 34.)—In the next page (35) he calls it "that degree of control and ascendancy, which it must be our interest to establish in the Mahratta state, and which it is his object to avoid."—"The Peshwa is aware, that the permanent establishment of a British force in the neighbourhood of Poonah, would immediately place him, in some degree, in a state of dependence upon the British power." (Ibid.)



BOOK VI. an operation which the Governor-General regarded as the  
 CHAP. XI. great source of all the good which it was expected to produce ?<sup>1</sup>

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One thing, indeed, is to be considered, that in a great part of all that is said by the Governor-General, it is pretty distinctly implied that to render the Indian princes dependent upon the British government was not an injury to them, but a benefit. If this were allowed to be true; and if it were possible, in other indulgences, to make up to a prince for the loss of his independence; yet, in such cases, the consent of the prince in question would seem a requisite, even were his subject people, as they usually are, counted for nothing; because, if any ruler, who has the power, may proceed to impose by force this kind of benefit upon any other ruler at his pleasure, this allegation would prove to be neither more nor less than another of the pretexts, under which the weak are always exposed to become the prey of the strong.

In the only objections which Dowlut Rao Sindia and the Raja of Berar explicitly produced to the treaty of Bassein, it must be owned they were not very happy. Sindiah observed, that he was guarantee of the treaty which was in force between the British and Poonah governments at the period when the treaty of Bassein was depending. And both princes affirmed, that the Peshwa, as a member of the Mahratta confederacy, ought not to have concluded a treaty but with consent of the leading chiefs of whom the confederacy was composed.

With regard to the first of these pleas, the answer of the Governor-General was conclusive. When a compact is formed between two parties, the office and duty of a guarantee is, to hinder one of the parties from neglecting, while the other fulfils, the obligations which it imposes. He is not vested with a right to hinder them from mu-

<sup>1</sup> The pains taken in the text to show that Sindiah had reason to be dissatisfied with the treaty of Bassein are very superfluous. Undoubtedly he had, but he was not the principal party to be consulted. The question at issue was the restoration of the Peshwa, the nominal, and until lately, the actual head of the Mahratta confederacy. As a former ally, a friendly potentate, he had a right to the good offices of the English; he had called for them, and they were granted on conditions unquestionably beneficial to the English, and in intention, at least, beneficial to the Peshwa. It would have been a base abandonment of positive obligations, as well as an improvident rejection of advantages, to have withheld all assistance from the Peshwa, through dread of Sindiah's displeasure, or apprehension of his power.—W.

tually annulling the obligations, if both of them please. It was not by the dissolution of the treaty of Salbye, nor in his capacity of its guarantee, it was by the formation of the treaty of Bassein, and his capacity of a sovereign prince, that Sindiah was injured, if injured at all.

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In the answer of the British ruler to the second of those pleas, there is something which will require rather more of development. That the Peshwa had a right to conclude the treaty of Bassein, without consulting any of the Mahratta princes, makes a great figure among the arguments of the Governor-General. The idea of a confederacy does not imply that a member shall make no separate engagement, only no separate engagement which in any respect affects the confederacy. The Governor-General truly affirmed, that there was nothing in the treaty of Bassein, which affected the Mahratta confederacy, that is, directly; though it was not less true, that, indirectly, it dissolved it. The Governor-General calls the other Mahratta princes, as distinct from the Peshwa, "the feudatory chieftains of the empire," though feudality is a sort of bondage which never had existence in any part of the world, but in Europe in the barbarous ages. And under this fiction, he proceeds so far as to say, "it may be a question, whether the Peshwa, acting in the name and under the ostensible sanction of the nominal head of the empire;" (that is, by the right of a gross and violent usurpation, and in the name of a man whom he kept a degraded, wretched, and hopeless prisoner;) "might not conclude treaties which should be obligatory upon the subordinate chiefs and feudatories, without their concurrence."

The Governor-General proceeds to speak a more rational language, in the words which immediately follow. "But," says he, "it would be absurd to regulate any political question, by the standard of a constitution, which time and events have entirely altered or dissolved. The late Maharajah Sindiah and Dowlut Rao Sindiah, have uniformly exercised the powers of independent dominion — by making war on the neighbouring states, by concluding engagements with them, and by regulating the whole system of their internal administration — without the participation, or previous consent of the Peshwa, whose supremacy,



BOOK VI. however, both Maharajah Sindiah and Dowlut Rao Sindiah  
 CHAP. XI. have uniformly acknowledged ; Dowlut Rao Sindiah, there-  
 1803. fore, could not — even on the supposed principles of the  
 original constitution — deny the right of the Peshwa to  
 conclude his late engagements with the British government,  
 without impeaching the validity of his own proceedings,  
 and those of his predecessor. Nor could he — according  
 to the more admissible rules, derived from practice and  
 prescription — justly refuse to admit the exercise of these  
 independent rights of dominion, on the part of the Peshwa,  
 which both Sindiah and his predecessor assumed, in a state  
 of acknowledged subordination to his Highness's paramount  
 authority.”<sup>1</sup>

The observation is emphatically just. It is the weakness of pedantry, or the villany of imposture, to affect to “regulate any political question by the standard of a constitution ;” when, however, the name may remain as it was, the thing is wholly or materially altered. And the inference is conclusive, that, if Sindiah and his predecessor had a right to adopt, without reference to the other states, what measures they chose in regard to foreign policy, so had the Peshwa ; if it was not unlawful in the Peshwa, it had in them been heretofore unlawful. In his anxiety, however, to uphold the fiction of a feudal superiority in the Peshwa, the Governor-General uses a language almost contradictory, when he says, both that Sindiah and his predecessor had “uniformly exercised the powers of independent dominion,” and that they had “uniformly acknowledged the supremacy of the Peshwa :” the uniform exercise of the powers of independent dominion is the negation of all external supremacy. Besides, the word *supremacy* is a great deal too strong to express the sort of relation which the Peshwa ever bore to the rest of the Mahratta rulers. It imports, as borrowed from European affairs, a combination of ideas, which represents not any thing which ever existed in India ; and, if employed as an accurate representation of any thing which ever existed in India, is only calculated to mislead.

It is curious to observe with what assurance the Governor-General makes, and repeats again and again,

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General's Narrative, ut supra. Ibid. p. 319. Also the Governor-General's instructions to the Resident with Dowlut Rao Sindiah. Ibid. p. 129.

the assertion, that "the treaty of Bassein not only offers BOOK VI.  
no injury to the independance of the feudatory Mahratta CHAP. XI.  
chiefs ; but expressly provides additional security for it."<sup>1</sup>

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The treaty was so worded, as not, in its terms, to contradict such an assertion. But what sort of a conduct is this ? Does it justify the attempt to pass upon the belief of other men a proposition, if it is true only in sound, how great soever the difference between the sound and the substance ?

The only article of the treaty of Bassein, which referred directly to the other states, was the 12th ; according to which the Peshwa bound himself to make no war upon other states, and to submit all his differences with them to the English government. And to this it is that the Governor-General in his said declarations refers. But what was this except transferring the power of attempting to subvert the independence of the "feudatory Mahratta chiefs" from the Peshwa whom they did not fear, to the English whom they excessively feared ? In this manner it was, that the treaty of Bassein afforded additional security for their independence ?

But let us pass from the question, whether the Mahratta chiefs had or had not just reason for resenting the treaty of Bassein : and let us consider the question of English interests naked, and by itself. What benefits to that people was it calculated to yield ? And those benefits, were they an equivalent for the evils which, as it did produce them, so it ought to have been expected to produce ?

The Governor-General's own opinion of the good things likely to flow from the treaty of Bassein, is adumbrated in a great variety of general phrases, though they are exhibited nowhere in very distinct enumeration. We shall adduce a specimen of the more remarkable of his forms of expression, and endeavour, with as much precision as possible, to ascertain the particulars at which they point.

"The stipulations of the treaty of Bassein have been framed exclusively with a view to maintain the general

<sup>1</sup> For this specimen, see Governor-General's Narrative. Ibid. p. 318. See, too, p. 312. Also his instructions to the Resident, ut supra, p. 129 ; and the despatch, 25th September, 1803, commencing Ibid. p. 169.



BOOK VI. tranquillity of India, by preventing the destruction of the  
 CHAP. XI. Peshwa's power, and by securing his just rights from  
 violence and usurpation."<sup>1</sup>

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"The object of Lord Wellesley's policy is to establish a permanent foundation of general tranquillity in India, by securing to every state the free enjoyment of its just rights and independence, and by frustrating every project, calculated to disturb the possessions, or to violate the rights of the established powers of Hindustan, or of the Deccan."<sup>2</sup>

"Every principle of true policy demands, that no effort should be omitted by the British government to establish a permanent foundation of general tranquillity in India, by securing to every state the free enjoyment of its just rights and independence, and by frustrating every project, calculated to disturb the possessions, or to violate the rights, of the established powers of Hindustan, and of the Deccan."<sup>3</sup>

"The conclusion of the treaty of Bassein promises to establish the British interests in the Mahratta empire, on the most solid and durable foundations; to afford additional security for the permanent tranquillity and prosperity of the British dominions in India, and to effectually exclude the interests and influence of France from the Mahratta empire."<sup>4</sup>

The object of the Governor-General, as he himself is fond of describing it, was, "A system of general defensive alliance between the British power and the several states of Hindustan."<sup>5</sup> This was indeed a great and operose scheme of policy. Equally great, however, were the effects which the Governor-General expected from it; permanent tranquillity, as he thus declares, and justice, over the whole of India.

When the Governor-General, however, after ascribing these grand effects to the consummation of his proposed alliance, not with one, but with all, or most of the leading states of India, proceeds, in the warmth of his mind, to

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General's Narrative. Ibid. p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> Instructions to Colonel Collins. Ibid. p. 8. See, too, his instructions to the Resident at Poonah, 22nd of November, 1802, where he describes it as a plan "to combine the principal powers of Hindustan in a general system of defensive alliance and guarantee." Ibid. p. 65. See also Governor-General's Narrative. Ibid. p. 307.

ascribe them all to the single treaty with the Peshwa, we find him practising a very ordinary fallacy, that is, predicating of a part, what ought to have been predicated only of the whole ; as if, because the head, limbs, and trunk, constitute a man, it should be affirmed that the human foot is a rational animal.

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It cannot bear to be affirmed, in a distinct proposition, that the mere addition of the inconsiderable power of the Peshwa gave the British government such a commanding and absolute power all over India as every where to secure justice and tranquillity ; that is, to compel undeviating obedience to its commands on the part of every government on that continent.

Besides, if it were allowed, for the sake of argument, that such a proposition were capable of being maintained, it followed, that no general system of alliance was required ; that an alliance with the Peshwa alone, exclusive of the rest of the Indian princes, accomplished simply all that was proposed to be accomplished, by the immense, and troublesome, and complicated machinery of alliances with all the princes in India. Why, then, did the Governor-General aim at any more ?

It is reasonable, however, to suppose, that the Governor-General means, what he so often tells us that he means, namely, that the alliance with the Peshwa was to be considered as about to fulfil the hopes which he held forth, only in so far as it had a tendency to produce other alliances, from the union of which, all taken together, those great effects might be expected to proceed.

But what tendency, then, had the alliance with the Peshwa to produce other alliances of the same description ? We have seen, already, in what manner the Governor-General and his agents *supposed*, that it would produce them. They supposed that it would place the British power in a situation to coerce completely the other Mahratta sovereigns ; that is, to restrain them from every course of action of which the British government should disapprove ; and that the Mahratta sovereigns, seeing the coercion unavoidable, would choose coercion with the benefit of having the British government bound to defend them, rather than coercion detached from that benefit.

Experience, in a very short time, demonstrated the

BOOK VI. lacy of these expectations. The treaty with the Peshwa  
 CHAP. XI. did not produce an alliance with any other of the Mah-  
 1803. ratta states whatsoever. It did not produce the tranquillity of all India. It produced one of the most widely extended wars which India had ever seen. If this war reduced the Mahratta princes to the necessity of submitting to the will of the conqueror, it was not the alliance with the Peshwa, but the war, by which that submission was produced ; an effect which the same cause might have equally secured, if the treaty of Bassein had never existed. If it be said, that the treaty of Bassein produced the effects which the Governor-General applauds, by producing at any rate the war out of which they flowed ; what is this, but to say, that the treaty of Bassein was good, only as creating a pretext for war ; and that it was fit and proper to be made, for the mere purpose of creating it ? But to perform a public act, with an intention to produce a war, is purposely to be the author of the war, only with a machination contrived to impose a contrary, that is, a wrong belief, upon the world.

The good things derived from the treaty of Bassein, must, then, be regarded as all summed up in these two effects ; first, the war with the Mahratta chiefs ; and, secondly, the means which it contributed to the success of the war. As to the war, if that was a good thing, it might have been easily produced without the treaty of Bassein. Therefore the treaty of Bassein deserves but little admiration or applause upon that account. As to the other question ; namely, in what proportion it contributed to the success of the war, the Governor-General presents an answer on which he appears to lay the greatest stress. The treaty of Bassein was a contrivance to prevent the union of the Mahratta states. It is necessary, therefore, to inquire, how far the truth of this allegation extends.

The treaty of Bassein was calculated to withhold the Peshwa from any confederacy hostile to the English. It was so far from calculated to prevent, that it was calculated to produce, a confederacy hostile to the English of all the rest of the Mahratta states.

A very limited question thus remains to be answered ; namely, how much the chance of the accession of the



Peshwa would add to the dangers arising from the chance of a confederacy, hostile to the English, among the other Mahratta states ; and how much would those dangers be lessened, by the certainty of his absence ? The item in the account, it is evident, is the power of the Peshwa ; and, that being remarkably small, as the danger of a confederacy could not be greatly augmented by its presence, so it could not be greatly diminished by the reverse.

There is, however, a view of the danger, which is drawn by the Governor-General, in very frightful colours. He says, that either Sindiah or Holkar must have prevailed in the contest subsisting between them at the time when the treaty of Bassein was framed ; that the successful prince, whoever it was, would have engrossed the power of the Peshwa ; would thence have become too powerful to be resisted by any of the other Mahratta princes ; would of course have subdued them all ; and, uniting under his sceptre the whole power of the Mahratta nation, would have become a dangerous neighbour to the British state. From this danger it was delivered by the treaty of Bassein.

To make of this an argument in favour of the treaty of Bassein, two things must be allowed : it must be allowed that the danger held forth was such as it is represented ; and it must be allowed that there was no better method of averting that danger. Both may be disputed. First, it is by no means certain, that the Mahratta state would have assumed a shape more formidable to the English, had the contending princes been left to themselves. It is not even probable. The probability is, that Sindiah and Holkar, neither being able to succeed to the extent of his wishes, would have been obliged to compromise their differences ; and the Peshwa might have acquired rather more of power and independence, than he had previously enjoyed. But if Sindiah prevailed ; as the greater power of that chieftain rendered it probable, if any of them prevailed, that he would be the successful contender ; in what respect would his power be greater, than it was before Holkar appeared ? At that time, he was master of the Peshwa ; and yet so little had he increased his strength, that a mere adventurer was able in a few years to raise an army, an army against which he found it difficult to

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BOOK VI. contend. Sindiah possessed not talents to bind together the  
 CHAP. XI. parts of an extensive dominion, as discordant as those of  
 1802. a Mahratta empire; and had he united the Holkar possessions, and even those of the Peshwa, to his own, he would have diminished, rather than increased, his efficient power. Experience showed that by the attention he was obliged to bestow in holding in obedience the Peshwa's dominions in the south, his authority became little more than nominal, over his own in the north.

It would be tedious to run over all the possible shapes into which, if left to themselves, the Mahratta states might then have fallen; but it may safely be affirmed that no shape which they had any chance to assume would have been so formidable to the English, as that into which they were thrown by the treaty of Bassein.

But if the reality of the danger, which the Governor-General thought he foresaw, were as well proved as it appears to stand unsupported by proof, it would still remain to inquire whether it might not have been averted by other and better means, than the treaty of Bassein. Had the mind of the Governor-General not been imperiously guided by his passion for "the system of general defensive alliance between the British power, and the several states of Hindustan," he might have interposed, with so much effect, in the character of an arbitrator, as to establish a balance in the Mahratta empire; and a balance, which it would have been easy for the British government to keep perpetually trimmed. He might have so terminated the subsisting disputes, as to make the power of Sindiah, of the Peshwa, Holkar, and the Raja of Berar, nearly equal. In the contests which would of course prevail among them, the British government, by always showing itself disposed to succour the weakest party, might have possessed a pretty complete security for maintaining the Mahratta empire, if there was any use in such a care, in the shape which it had thus been intentionally made to assume. Not only did the power of the British state enable it to interpose with a weight which none of the parties would have been easily induced to resist; but such was in fact the state and disposition of the parties, that they all appealed eagerly to the British government, and most earnestly solicited its interference.

The Governor-General, by rushing, with eyes fixed on nothing but the beauties of his "defensive system," to the conclusion of a treaty which gave to the British the government in fact of one member of the Mahratta state, and threatened in a most alarming manner the independence of all the rest, sacrificed the high advantage of acting as a mediator among the Mahratta princes, and created a confederacy which hardly any other combination of circumstances could have produced.

The Governor-General ascribes to the treaty of Bassein only one other advantage, of the importance of which it seems desirable that an estimate should be made; namely, the destruction of the French influence in the Mahratta state. In the first place, it was not the treaty of Bassein by which that destruction was produced; it was the war with Sindiah; and a war with Sindiah, if it had been worth a war, would have produced it without the treaty of Bassein. But, though what the treaty of Bassein did not produce was the destruction of the French influence, what the treaty of Bassein did produce was the union of Sindiah with the Raja of Berar, and the necessity, in order to accomplish that destruction, of vanquishing both of those princes together, instead of one.

The Governor-General, as suited his argument, and probably at that time his state of mind, represents the danger from French influence as prodigiously great. Not only does he affirm the power possessed by the French officers in the service of Sindiah, to have been highly alarming to the British government; but he holds it out as probable, that some of the contending parties in the Mahratta state would have solicited the aid of the French government, have received a French army from Europe, have prevailed over all its opponents, and so have established a great Mahratta empire, supported and governed by the French. Upon this theory of evil it will probably not be expected that I should bestow many words.

The influence of the French with Sindiah was at this time so far from great, that it was completely undermined, and tottering to its fall. So well aware of this was Peron, the officer at the head of the French party, that he had already intimated to the English an intention, which he soon after fulfilled, of withdrawing himself from the

BOOK VI. Mahratta service. Not only Sindiah, but all his chiefs, had become jealous of the French to the highest degree. CHAP. XI. It was known to the English, that he meditated, and had already begun, a reduction of their power ;<sup>1</sup> the English found, at the end of the war, that, instead of objecting to the condition which they proposed to him, of excluding the French from his service, he was eager to close with it ; and there seems little room for doubt, that if the treaty of Bassein had not been concluded, the Governor-General might, if he chose, have made an arrangement with Sindiah for discharging the French, without the lamentable expense of war.<sup>2</sup>

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But if the condition and influence of the French officers had much more nearly corresponded with the apprehensions of the Governor-General, it is high time that a more sober estimate of the danger, than hitherto they have been accustomed to make, should be suggested to him and to his countrymen. If the assertion were made, that it would not be in the power of the French officers to render Sindiah, or any native power, much more formidable than it would be without them, it would not be easy to refute that opinion. What renders the native sovereigns weak, is less the badness of their military officers, than the badness of their governments ; and, under such governments, no officers can be very instrumental in the creation of strength. If the commanding officer has not land assigned for the maintenance of his troops, he is always without resources : if he has land he becomes a civil ruler ; and the multiplicity and extreme difficulty of his civil functions leave little of his time for military cares. Besides, he has then an interest in peace ; both because his country yields most when he is most attentive to it, and because his troops are more easily maintained at home than in the field. In the next place, to form a right judgment on this important subject, it is necessary duly to consider how many powerful causes must all be united, all operate in conjunction, to produce an efficient and formidable army. Of these, some of the most im-

<sup>1</sup> Col. Collins's Despatch. Ibid. p. 17, 18.

<sup>2</sup> The Governor-General himself was of this opinion, when he first sent Colonel Collins to the camp of Sindiah, with an expectation that he would not only dismiss the French officers, but accept the English subsidiary force ; that is, give up his military power entirely to the English.



portant are incapable of existing in the armies officered by Europeans in the service of the native princes of India. Allowing, what never would happen, that the physical requisites of an army were all provided, and bearing in mind that all the efficiency of these requisites depends upon the sort of machine which the officers, considered as an organized body, compose, the reader will easily perceive, that of the causes necessary to render that machine a good one, some of the most important cannot, in the circumstances we are contemplating, ever be found. To give to a body of men, that most peculiar, that highly artificial, and, when contemplated by itself, most extraordinary turn of mind, which is necessary to convert them into an organ of life, of unity, of order, of action, and energy, to the animate and inanimate materials of an army, requires the utmost force of the legal and popular sanctions combined. But neither the legal nor the popular sanction can be made to operate with any considerable force upon Frenchmen, in such a situation as that of officers in the army of an Indian Prince. What is there, in such a situation, to restrain the operation of private views, arising from the love of money, or the love of power, from pique, from jealousy, from envy, from sloth, and the many thousand causes, which are always producing opposition among men when they are not under the operation of the strongest motives to resist them? Under a European government, it is not the power of the General, which produces that unity of will by which an army is animated. In general, his power would be far from adequate to so extraordinary an effect. The whole power of government, operating with unlimited command over the means both of reward and punishment; the whole force of the popular sanction, holding forth the hatred and contempt, or the love and admiration, of those among whom he is to spend his days, as the portion of every man who conforms, or does not conform, to what is expected of men in his situation, are not only added to the authority of the General, but, so difficult is the effect accounted, that, even when all these forces, operating together, produce it to any considerable degree, the world thinks that it never can express sufficient admiration, never bestow a sufficient portion of applause. Which

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BOOK VI. of these great, and indispensable powers, had any existence in the case of Perron, or any other officer, in a similar case? Upon his officers, it is plain, the popular or moral sanction had no means of operation. What cared they, what should be thought of them by the people of Sindiah's court or kingdom, as soon as it was more agreeable for them to be gone than to remain? What cared they for his punishments, when they had it in their power to make their escape from his dominions? A body of officers, in such a situation, is a rope of sand. The General who leads them is their slave; because he can retain their service only by pleasing them: he can seldom please one set of them, without displeasing another: and he dares not restrain their excesses; which produce two deplorable effects, the unavoidable loss of discipline, and the hatred, wherever he advances, of the people whom he is unable to protect. The chances, therefore, are innumerable, against the event, that an army, officered as that of Sindiah by Frenchmen, should ever become formidable to one officered as that of the British in India.

Of this truth, the Governor-General himself appears to have been not altogether unapprized. The evidence is exhibited in the instructions which he issued to the Commander-in-Chief, at the commencement of the war, for holding out to the French officers inducements to abandon the service of Sindiah; and in the hopes which he entertained that those invitations would produce their effect.<sup>1</sup> It is exhibited also in the declarations which he makes of the acquiescence with which, in several states of circumstances, he would have beheld the continuance of the French officers in the service of Sindiah. Thus, the Governor-General, when he conceived suspicions that the Peshwa, even subsequent to his flight from Poonah, would refuse to execute his engagements for receiving the English mercenary force, declared that he would not attempt compulsion, nor risk a war with a combination of the Mahratta powers, even for the mighty benefits of the treaty of Bassein.<sup>2</sup> Again, when he despaired of inducing Sindiah to accede to the terms of his defensive alliance, he assured him, that the English government would still

<sup>1</sup> See papers of Instructions. Ibid. p. 156, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Papers on the Mahratta War, ut supra, p. 68.

gladly preserve with him the relations of amity and peace, BOOK VI.  
provided he did not resist the treaty of Bassein, or in- CHAP. XI.  
fringe the rights of any British ally.<sup>1</sup> In other words,  
had the Peshwa not agreed to put his military power into  
the hands of the English, the Governor-General would  
have quietly beheld the whole of the Mahratta states,  
Sindiah's Frenchmen and all, existing in their usual inde-  
pendence and turbulence, rather than incur the evils of  
a war for the sake of producing a change; and had Sindiah  
not assumed an attitude which implied a determination  
to resist the treaty of Bassein, the Governor-General would  
not have made war upon him, in order to effect the de-  
struction of his European force; a war which, nevertheless,  
had that destruction been essential to the security of the  
state which he ruled, it would have been incumbent upon  
him to make.<sup>2</sup> 1803.

As to the chance of the arrival of a French army from  
Europe, a chance which the Governor-General represents  
as most formidable, how that was diminished by the  
treaty of Bassein, it is not easy to perceive. If anything  
was likely to induce Sindiah and the Raja of Berar to seek  
assistance from an army of Frenchmen, of whom they  
were jealous only somewhat less than they were of the  
English, it was the treaty of Bassein. If it be said, that  
the reduction which was effected of the power of Sindiah  
would have deprived a French army of the assistance to  
which it might otherwise have looked, it was the war, by

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General's letter to Sindiah, Ibid. p. 134, also 129.

<sup>2</sup> When the Governor-General, it may be further observed, tells Sindiah, that  
he had not the means of defending himself against the miserable power of  
Holkar, (Ibid. p. 131, 133,) he surely made a very small account of Perron and  
his battalions. It has been given, in parliament, as the opinion of two men,  
not apt to agree on disputable ground, of both Hastings and Francis, that  
European officers, and disciplined battalions, were to the native princes, espe-  
cially the Mahrattas, a source of weakness, not of strength, who, though  
formidable by their irregular warfare, could not be so in a pitched battle. See  
Report of the debate, on the state of affairs in India, 5th of April, 1805. It was  
affirmed on that occasion by Mr. Francis, that after the minutest investigation,  
he found there were not more than twelve French officers in the whole  
Mahratta service. And it is worthy of remark, that no specific statement of the  
number, nothing but large general expressions, is given by the Indian govern-  
ment. Francis, moreover, affirms, that of the force under the command of  
Perron, the greater part were ordinary Mahratta troops; but a small portion  
officered by Europeans, or disciplined in the European manner.—M.

It is very certain that Mr. Francis's information was incorrect. Forty  
officers, British subjects, serving in Perron's brigades, left the service on the  
breaking out of the war, and were pensioned. There were as many more  
Frenchmen and foreigners. Sketch of Native Corps, 60.—W.

BOOK VI. which this effect was produced, not the treaty of Bassein.  
 CHAP. XI. This is another argument which proves that the treaty of  
 1803. Bassein was good only as furnishing a pretext for the war with Sindiah and Berar.

Had Englishmen been capable of forming a sober estimate of the circumstances of France, at that time in a situation very little calculated for sending an army to India, the value attached to this contingency would not have been great. Neither would it be easy to show, that her chances of success, had France conducted an army to India, would not have been fully as great, at the close of the Mahratta war, as before. A prospect of deliverance from the English would probably have roused the whole Mahratta nation, then peculiarly exasperated, to have joined the invaders. As for the loss of Sindiah's French officers, it would have been easy to supply their place, and to incorporate with the European battalions as many native troops as their funds could maintain. In regard to pecuniary supply, Sindiah could not be less capable of aiding them after the war than before. He was totally incapable at both times.

The Governor-General not only made a very high estimate of the advantages arising from the treaty of Bassein : he had a contrivance for making a very low estimate of the expense which it produced. It produced, indeed, a war, which laid upon the East India Company a frightful load of debt. But the contending armies of Sindiah and Holkar could not, the Governor-General informs us, have been kept in the field, without ravaging the territories of the English and the Nizam ; and to stand protected against this danger, armies must have been placed on the frontiers, which would have cost nearly as much as the war. This is one of those vague assertions, which, without much regard to their foundation, are so often hazarded, when they are required to serve a particular purpose, but which answer that purpose only so long as they are looked at with a distant and a careless eye. In the present case, it may be safely affirmed, that all the expense which a plan of defence required would have been the merest trifle in comparison with the enormous expenditure of the war. That much would have been required for defence, is fully contradicted by the Governor-General himself ; who con-



fidently affirmed his belief, that the treaty of Bassein, however alarming and odious to Sindiah and Holkar, would yet be unable to move them to hostilities, because they knew their own weakness, and the dreadful consequences of a war with the British power. If for the mighty interests, placed at stake by the treaty of Bassein, it was yet improbable they would dare to provoke the British anger, it was next to a certainty, that they would be careful not to provoke it for the sake of a little plunder.

To have placed the subsidiary force with the Nizam upon his frontier, and to have increased to the necessary extent the troops stationed in Mysore, presented but little demand for expenditure, beyond what the maintenance of that portion of the army would have required in any other station. If some little expense must have attended these movements, it would be absurd to speak of it coolly as fit to be compared with the huge expenditure of the Mahratta war.

We are now then prepared to exhibit, in a few words, the statement of profit and loss by the treaty of Bassein. What was gained by it was, the dependence of the Peshwa, and nothing more : what was lost by it was, all that was lost by the Mahratta war. The loss by the Mahratta war is the excess of what it produced in evil above what it produced in good. Of the good and the evil which was produced by the Mahratta war, nothing can be spoken with precision, till it is known what they are. An account, therefore, of the events, and of the results of the war, will usefully precede the portion which remains of the inquiry into the nature and effects of the treaty of Bassein.

To have fully exposed the fallacy and unfairness of the assertions in the text, it would have been necessary to have followed it almost phrase by phrase ; but this would have involved a prolixity equally tedious. In addition to what has preceded, therefore, it will be sufficient to point out a few of the leading exemplifications of want of candour or correctness, as far as they can be extracted from a very discursive and prolonged series of cavils. In professing to discuss the question of English interests, 'naked' as the writer expresses it, secured by the treaty of Bassein, he does little more than strain Lord Wellesley's vague phraseology to conclusions to which it was not intended to lead. "The stipulations of the treaty of Bassein," says Lord Wellesley, "have been framed exclusively to maintain the general tranquillity of India, by preventing the destruction of the Peshwa's power." Therefore, argues the author, Lord Wellesley either mistook a part for the whole, and identified the Peshwa with all the powers of India, or he concluded that the Peshwa's aid was to give the English the power of controlling or coercing all the rest. Now the Governor-General's object, although he does not always very guardedly express it, is



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clearly the annunciation of a system, not of a particular case. A system of general defensive alliance between the British power and the several states of Hindustan. The policy and practicability of such a system may require investigation; but it is an unworthy occupation to squabble about words, and for a loose phrase or two to fix upon Lord Wellesley the absurdity of confounding the Peshwa with all the states of Hindustan.

The alliance with the Peshwa did not, it is urged, produce a general defensive alliance—it produced war; therefore a war was the good thing realized for the British by the treaty of Bassein. But war, as has been observed, was not the necessary, it was only a contingent consequence of that treaty, and one regarded as improbable. It was a contingency too, worth risking for the establishment of a controlling authority at Poona, by which an accession of territory was obtained, means of enlarging our military resources acquired, chance of annoyance from foreign foes obviated, and the dominions of the British and the Nizam placed in a position of improved security and strength. These were solid advantages, and that they were worth fighting for was proved by the result, as they were not only preserved, but were largely extended at the termination of the war. So far, therefore, it may be admitted that the war was not a bad thing, but it was not the proposed nor the necessary consequence of the Treaty of Bassein. That in the war which ensued, it was an advantage to have the amity instead of the enmity of the Peshwa, no one but our author could seriously have questioned. That the Mahratta confederacy, concentrated under one powerful head, would have been a dangerous neighbour, is undeniable, although we may admit there was little probability of any such consolidation. And the benefits expected from the pacific mediation of the British power, between the Mahratta states, are controverted by fact and likelihood. What had been the result of a pacific mediation between the Mahrattas and the Nizam? The almost extermination of the latter. No interposition but that of force could have been of the slightest efficacy. It may reasonably be doubted if the British Government, by always showing itself disposed to succour the weakest party, would have been less mixed up with Mahratta politics, would have incurred less trouble and cost, would less assuredly have engrossed the whole military control of the country, than by the Governor-General's system of subsidiary alliances.

The apprehension expressed by the Governor-General of the French in the Mahratta service, may have been exaggerated, but the hostilities that followed showed that the danger, although not such as to have authorized a war, of which the sole object should have been its removal, was not imaginary. The force under General Perron was numerous and well organized, and other disciplined brigades, even without their European officers, were far from being insignificant opponents in more than one engagement. Whatever may have been the probability of succours from Europe, it was infinitely diminished by the Treaty of Bassein, which placed the maritime provinces of the Peshwa, and the subordinate chiefs who were faithful to him, under British military control. That aggressions against the territories of the Company and the Nizam would have occurred, is exceedingly probable, and the means of guarding against them might have been less simple than the text supposes; at any rate, it was a contingency against which it was incumbent effectually to provide, and this provision involved a certain expenditure, as well as a precarious state of relations to which it could not be expected that any government of character would long submit.

In conclusion, it is said, that nothing was gained by the treaty of Bassein but the dependence of the Peshwa, and all that was lost by the war was lost by the treaty. It will be seen, that very great advantages were gained by the war: the immediate gain was also much more than the dependence of the Peshwa. An advance was made in the extension of the British power, not only of immense magnitude in itself, but fertile in consequences the most momentous to our dominions in India. As these results were not fully foreseen, they form no part of the merit of those by whom the ground was prepared for them, but they establish a balance of advantage which is fairly to be taken into account in estimating the consequences of the Mahratta war. We may reply confidently, then, to the two questions of our author,—first, that the treaty of Bassein did not create the necessity although it involved the contingency of war; and, secondly, that the advantages realized by the treaty were not only of sufficient value to render the contingency worth hazarding,

but they could not have been declined upon the plea of such a contingency, in justice or with honour. BOOK VI.

The prospect of the war with Sindiah and the Raja of Berar, was contemplated with uneasiness by the authorities in England; and pending instructions from the Select Committee, Lord Castlereagh addressed to the Marquis Wellesley the views which he had been led to entertain, in the form of distinct notes. Although much that is remarked in these notes is just, yet the conclusion is the recommendation of a line of policy which would have led to the same consequences. It was proposed to modify, not to annul the treaty of Bassein; to retain the lands assigned for the subsidiary force, and to hold that force always disposable for the service of the Peshwa, although not stationed within his dominions, and its employment being discountenanced as much as possible by the Resident. The object of this modification was to avoid the semblance of interfering with the Mahratta confederacy, but the appearance signified little, as long as the interference was real, and the subservience of a British force to the will of the Peshwa was not likely to be an inoperative instrument in his hands. The other Mahratta chiefs would have had as little reason to be satisfied with this plan as with that actually adopted, the modification of which was prevented by the occurrence of hostilities.

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Lord Castlereagh's observations were referred by Lord Wellesley to different persons of eminence in India for their opinion, and his printed despatches contain the remarks of Major General Wellesley upon the document. According to General Wellesley's notions, the policy of a connexion with the Mahrattas, did not arise from the connexion subsisting previously to the conquest of Mysore, between the Company, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam, by the treaty concluded in 1790 at Poonah; but subsequently to the conquest of Mysore, it originated, 1st, in the necessity of preserving the state of the Nizam in independence; 2ndly, in the unjust claims of the Mahratta nation on the Nizam; 3rdly, in the certainty that those claims would be asserted in arms, and that the Nizam must submit, unless he should protect himself by raising an army, to be officered by European adventurers, particularly Frenchmen; 4thly, the necessity of preventing the Nizam from entertaining those adventurers, and of affording him protection at least to equal that which he would have procured for himself, by those means, even at the risk of a war with the whole Mahratta nation. There can be little reasonable doubt that the security of the Nizam, by the protection given him by the British, was looked upon by the Mahrattas as snatching from their grasp a certain victim, and that sooner or later they would attempt to vindicate their pretensions by arms. The prevention of this particular event, was, according to General Wellesley the main object of the views of the Governor-General in proposing a general defensive alliance, and in the difficulties attending a general alliance, he sought for that of the Peshwa as dividing and diminishing the Mahratta strength. Another of General Wellesley's arguments in favour of the treaty is, that at the period when it was formed, all the Mahratta forces, Sindiah and Holkar included, repeatedly urged the Governor-General to settle the Peshwa's affairs; and whatever may have been the insincerity of the two principal parties, it was proved, by the alacrity with which many of the chiefs of the Deccan joined the English, that they were well pleased to see them afford succour to the Peshwa. "The southern chiefs, who are the principal support of the government of Poonah, had not submitted to Holkar, they were in arms waiting for the arrival of the British troops, and they joined the army when it arrived in their neighbourhood." The stipulations of the treaty of Bassein, therefore, were not in opposition to the sentiments professed or entertained by the majority of the Mahratta chiefs. Of the general policy of such alliances General Wellesley remarks, that in the actual state of politics among Asiatic powers, no permanent system could be adopted which would preserve the weak against the strong, and would keep all for any length of time in their relative situations, and the whole in peace, excepting there should be one power which either by the superiority of its strength, its military system, or its resources, should preponderate and be able to protect all. That preponderating power was the Company, and the exercise of its authority in defending the weak against the aggression of the strong, in preventing all unjust wars, in prohibiting, in fact, all war within India, was a magnanimous and wise policy, which, although not carried into operation without resistance, and not wholly effected upon the principles which influenced Marquis Wellesley, has ultimately succeeded.



## BOOK VI

## CHAP. XI.

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Some of the more powerful of the aggressors have, in defence of their right to commit aggression, provoked the British power to inflict upon them political extermination, but the greater number of the weaker princes have been rescued from the most grievous and intolerable oppression, the people have been protected from plunder and devastation, and the general condition of India has been changed from a scene of perpetual warfare to a state of universal tranquillity. Wellesley Despatches, vol. v. Letter from Lord Castlereagh, President of the Board of Control, with paper of observations, 4th March, 1804, p. 302. Major General Wellesley's observations on the preceding document, p. 318.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Objects to which the Operations of the Army in the North were to be directed. — Objects to which the Operations of the Army in the South were to be directed. — Minor Objects of the War. — General Lake takes the field. — History of the French Force in the Service of Sindiah, and of his Possessions in the Doab. — History of the Emperor Shah Aulum continued. — Battle of Allyghur, and Capture of the Fort. — Battle of Delhi, and Surrender of the Emperor to the English. — Agra taken. — Battle of Laswaree. — French Force in the Service of Sindiah destroyed, and his Dominions in the Doab transferred to the English. — Operations of the Army under General Wellesley in the South. — Ahmednuggur taken. — Battle of Assye. — Boorhanpore and Asseerghur taken. — Sindiah makes an Overture towards Peace. — Battle of Argaum. — Siege and Capture of the Fort of Gawilghur. — Operations in Bundelcund. — In Cuttack. — In Guzerat. — Negotiation with the Raja of Berar. — Treaty concluded. — Negotiation with Sindiah. — Treaty concluded. — Engagements with the minor Princes near the Jumna. — Sindiah enters into the defensive Alliance. — Governor-General's Account of the Benefit derived from the defensive Alliances, and the Mahratta War. — Investigation of that Account.*

FOR the war, as soon as it should begin, the Governor-General had prepared a most extensive scheme of operations. To General Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, at that time present with the army on the upper frontiers, instructions had been sent on the 28th of June; pointing out, not only the necessity of placing the army under his command, with the utmost expedition, in a state of pre-

paration for the field, but also, though briefly, and in the form of notes, the objects to the attainment of which the operations of that army would immediately be directed. On the subsequent exertions of the Commander-in-Chief, to make ready for action, the Governor-General bestows unqualified praise. "By the indefatigable activity," says he, "zeal, ability, and energy of General Lake (whose personal exertions have surpassed all former example, and have been the main source of the success of the war in that quarter) the army of Bengal, on the north-west frontier of Oude, was placed, towards the close of the month of July, in a state of preparation and equipment favourable to the immediate attack of M. Perron's force, as soon as authentic advices should be received of the commencement of hostilities in the Deccan."<sup>1</sup>

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In this part of the extensive field, which the plan of of the Governor-General embraced, he gave notice of two military, and two political, objects. The first of the military objects was to conquer the whole of that portion of Sindiah's dominions which lay between the Ganges and the Jumna; destroying completely the French force by which that district was protected; extending the Company's frontier to the Jumna; and including the cities of Delhi and Agra, with a chain of posts, sufficient for protecting the navigation of the river, on the right bank of the Jumna. The second of the military objects was of minor importance; the annexation of Bundelcund to the British dominions.

The political objects were also two. The first, to use the language of the Governor-General, was, "the possession of the nominal authority of the Mogul;" that is to say, the possession of his person, and thereafter the use of his name, to any purpose to which the use of that name might be found advantageous. Together with the city of Delhi, the person of the Mogul had for a series of years been subject to Sindiah; more immediately, at that particular moment, to Perron, as the vicegerent of Sindiah in that part of his kingdom. The acquisition of the country would, of course, place the Mogul, too, in British hands. The second of the Governor-General's political objects was, an extension of his general scheme of

<sup>1</sup> Letters, ut supra, p. 154, 234.



BOOK VI. alliance. He desired that the whole of the petty states to  
 CHAP. XII. the southward and westward of the Jumna, from Jyneghur  
 1803. to Bundelcund, should be united in "an efficient system  
 of alliance" with the British government.<sup>1</sup>

Such were the ends to be pursued in the north ; for the accomplishment of which the Commander-in-Chief was vested with the same sort of powers, which had already been conveyed to General Wellesley, for the more secure attainment of those which were aimed at in the south. General Wellesley was expected, with the force under his command, to defeat the confederate army of Sindiah and the Raja of Berar ; to protect from all danger, in that direction, the dominions of the Company and their allies ; and to establish, in their subsidizing form, the governments of the Nizam, the Peshwa, and Gaekwar.

The province of Cuttack separated the Company's dominions in Bengal, from the Northern Circars. By the conquest of this district, the territory of the English nation in the northern part of India would be united, on the eastern coast, with that in the south, and would extend in one unbroken line from the mountains on the frontier of Tibet to Cape Comorin ; the Mahrattas on that side of India would be deprived of all connexion with the sea, and hence with the transmarine enemies of the Anglo-Indian government ; a communication not liable to the interruption of the monsoons would be formed between Calcutta and Madras ; and an additional portion of the Bengal frontier would be delivered from the chance of Mahratta incursions. The province of Cuttack belonged to the Raja of Berar. Preparations were made for invading it about the time at which the operations of the principal armies should commence.<sup>2</sup>

Sindiah possessed the port of Baroach, and a contiguous

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General's Letter to the Commander-in-chief, dated 27th of July, 1803. Ibid. p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Whatever difference of opinion may prevail as to the merits of the Marquess Wellesley's public correspondence relative to Mahratta politics before the war, it is impossible to withhold admiration from it after the war had become inevitable. It is a remarkable exhibition of activity and comprehensiveness of mind. All the great objects both of a political and military nature are pointed out with a most perfect knowledge of the situation and circumstances of the different native chiefs, and with a distinct and full enunciation of the purposes most advantageous to British interests. At the same time he is most liberal in his confidence as to the means by which the objects are to be effected, and most prodigal in his gratitude for their successful accomplishment.—W.

district on the coast of Guzerat. The government of BOOK VI.  
Bombay was made ready to seize them, as soon as the war CHAP. XII.  
should be declared.

General Lake took the field with an army of 10,500 men, consisting of about two hundred European artillery, three regiments of European, and five of native cavalry, one regiment of European, and eleven battalions of native infantry. Beside this force, about 3,500 men were assembled near Allahabad for the invasion of Bundelcund; and about 2000 were collected at Mirzapoor, to cover Benares, and guard the passes of the adjoining mountains.

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The army of Sindiah, to which General Lake was to be opposed, was under the command of a Frenchman, named Perron, and stated by the Governor-General, on grounds of course a little uncertain, to have consisted of 16,000 or 17,000 infantry, formed and disciplined on the European plan; with a large body of irregular infantry, from fifteen to twenty thousand horse, and a train of artillery, which the Governor-General describes, as both numerous and well appointed.<sup>1</sup>

To understand the nature of the power of Sindiah, in this quarter of India, a short history is required, not only of the peculiar composition of his army, but also of the territorial acquisitions which he there retained. Deboigne, though not the first Frenchman who was admitted into the army of Sindiah, was the first who obtained any considerable degree of power. Born a Savoyard, of parents respectable, though poor, after having served some time

<sup>1</sup> Vide Governor-General's Notes relative to the late transactions in the Mahratta empire. Ibid. p. 235. It is instructive to observe the prevalence of exaggeration: Col. Collins, in his letter from Sindiah's camp, dated 7th of April, 1802, says, "Since my arrival at this court, I have obtained more accurate information of the state of the regular infantry in the service of Dowlut Rao Sindiah than I heretofore possessed. I believe your Lordship may rely on the correctness of the following statement. General Perron commands four brigades of native infantry, each consisting of ten battalions of sepoys. The complement of a battalion is 716 firelocks, and every corps is commanded by two or three European officers." Ibid. p. 17. By this statement, Perron's infantry amounted to 28,640, more than one-half beyond the estimate of the Governor-General, which yet we may suppose beyond the mark.—M.

The author of the account of the Corps in the Service of Native Princes states, that Perron commanded at the breaking out of the war, forty battalions of 700 men each, with a train of 140 pieces of cannon, and 5000 cavalry. General De Boigne's own statement to Colonel Francklin was, that the force which he raised was of three brigades, amounting to 24,000 men, with 130 pieces of cannon. Life of Shah Alem, 192.—W.



BOOK VI. in the army of his own prince, he entered the more  
 CHAP. XII. splendid service of France, in quality of an ensign in the  
 1803. Irish brigades.<sup>1</sup> In the vicissitudes of his early life, we must content ourselves with effects ; the causes very frequently remain unknown. We find him, next, an ensign in a Russian army, serving against the Turks. He was here taken prisoner ; carried to Constantinople ; and sold as a slave. After the war, being redeemed by his parents, he repaired to St. Petersburg, found means to recommend himself, and was made a lieutenant. He was detached to some Russian post on the Turkish frontier, and had some fortune to command the escort which attended Lord Percy in a progress among the Grecian Islands. In consequence of the impression which he must have made upon that nobleman, Lord Percy furnished him with two letters of recommendation, one to Mr. Hastings, Governor of Bengal, and another to Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, to whose acquaintance, it is said, he had already been admitted, during the residence of that nobleman as British ambassador at St. Petersburg. It is surmised, that he obtained the consent of the Empress to make a voyage to India, from which he was to return by way of Cashmere, Tartary, and the borders of the Caspian Sea. Be that as it may, he arrived at Madras in the year 1780, and engaged as an ensign in the service of the Nabob of Arcot. In 1782 he repaired to Calcutta, where the letter of Lord Percy procured him a favourable reception from Mr. Hastings. Without disclosing his connexion with the Russian government, he described to that Governor the journey by Cashmere, and the shores of the Caspian, as the object which he now had in view ; and was furnished by him with a recommendation to the Nawab of Oude, and the British Resident at Lucknow. It is said, that he was accommodated by the Nawab with a bill of exchange on Cashmere for 6000 rupees, with which, instead of prosecuting his journey, he purchased arms and horses, and entered into the service of the Raja of Jeypoor ; that upon intelligence of this proceeding he was ordered down

<sup>1</sup> This sketch of the history, both of Deboigne and Perron, for which I have been obliged to trust to sources a little uncertain, is given, as exhibiting, which is enough for the present purpose, an idea, correct as to the class of men to which they belonged, rather than, in every minute particular, as to the individuals who are named.

to Lucknow by Mr. Hastings, whom he thought it his interest to obey; that he found the means of exculpating himself in the mind of that ruler, and was permitted to return to Lucknow; that he now engaged in trade, which he prosecuted with success; that he came to Agra, in 1784, at which time the Rana of Gohud was closely besieged by Madajee Sindiah; that he suggested to the Rana a plan for raising the siege, but Sindiah intercepted his correspondence, and, impressed with the proof of military talents which it displayed, consulted Mr. Anderson, the British Resident, on the propriety of taking him into his service; that Mr. Anderson, to whom he had letters of recommendation, sent for him, introduced him to Sindiah, and procured him the command of two battalions, to be disciplined in the European style. The terror which Sindiah found to march before the grape and bayonets of Deboigne's battalions, and the effects which they produced in the battles of Lallsort, Chacksana, and Agra, from 1784 to 1789, made him eager to increase their number to eight, then to sixteen, and afterwards, it is said, to twenty battalions, at which amount they remained. A battalion complete, consisted of 500 muskets, and 200 gunners, with four field-pieces and one howitzer. The military talents of Deboigne, and the efficiency of his troops, were the grand instrument which facilitated, or rather produced, the victories, and enlarged the dominions of Sindiah, in the region of the Jumna. In 1792, with eight battalions, he fought the desperate battle of Mairta against a great army of Rattores, a warlike tribe of Rajpoots. In the same year, and with the same force, he defeated, after an obstinate conflict at Patun, the formidable army of Ismael Beg. In 1792, he defeated the army of Tuckojee Holkar, containing four battalions disciplined, and commanded by a Frenchman; and at last made Sindiah, without dispute, the most powerful of the native princes in India. Deboigne was a man above six feet high, with giant bones, large features, and piercing eyes; he was active, and laborious to an astonishing degree; understood profoundly the art of bending to his purposes the minds of men; and was popular (because men felt the benefit of his equitable and vigilant ad-



BOOK VI. ministration), though stained with three unpopular vices, CHAP. XII. jealousy, avarice, and envy.<sup>1</sup>

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Perron came into India as a petty officer of a ship, either with Suffrein, or about the time of Suffrein's arrival. Having travelled into the upper provinces, he first received employment in the army of the Rana of Gohud, where he served under the immediate command of an Englishman. After the destruction of the Rana, he joined, in quality of quarter-master-serjeant, a corps commanded by a Frenchman in the service of Sindiah. Though he soon raised himself to a higher command, his corps was reduced, upon the return of the army into cantonments; and he was even unsuccessful in an application for employment in the army of the Begum Sumroo. When the brigade of Deboigne began to be formed, the prospects of Perron revived. He received the command of the Boorhanpore battalion; and had an opportunity of distinguishing himself in the battle of Patun. He commanded the detachment of Deboigne's army which besieged Ismael Beg in Canoor: and it was to him that Ismael Beg surrendered. To the honour of their European education, Deboigne and Perron resolutely protected their prisoner from the death which Sindiah, who had suffered from his prowess, thirsted to inflict upon him: and he remained in the fort of Agra, with a considerable allowance for his subsistence. When the corps of Deboigne became sufficiently numerous to be divided into two brigades, he gave the command of the first to M. Frimont, and that of the second to M. Perron, who, accordingly, upon the death of M. Frimont, became second in command. When the ambition of Sindiah to establish a control over the Peshwa carried him to Poonah, it was the brigade of Perron which attended him thither, and formed the principal part of his force. Perron, thus about the person of Dowlut Rao from the moment of his accession, and one of the main instruments of his power, easily succeeded to the whole authority of Deboigne, when,

<sup>1</sup> This account, which savours of exaggeration, is derived from an English gentleman, who served at the same time with Deboigne as an officer in Sindiah's army. See *Asiat. An. Register* for 1805, Characters, p. 22.—M.

It was written by Major L. F. Smith, and is added to his *Sketch of the History of the Disciplined Regiments in the Service of Native Princes*, first published in Calcutta—reprinted in London, 1805.—W.

in 1798, the commander withdrew with his fortune to Europe.<sup>1</sup>

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M. Deboigne had received a large tract of country, in the region of the Jumna, in assignment for the maintenance of his troops. Not only the territory as well as the army which had devolved upon Perron required his presence upon the departure of Deboigne; but the presumption of the Governors both of Delhi and of Agra, had so much increased by the long absence of Sindiah in the south, that it seemed to be high time to reduce them to obedience. In the month of October, 1798, Perron sent two battalions, commanded by Colonel Sutherland, one of the Englishmen who helped to officer Sindiah's regular brigades, with an expectation that the Kelledar would deliver up the fort; but disappointed in that hope, he sent three battalions more, and the place was invested. Though, from a humane regard to the aged Mogul and his family, who were kept as a sort of prisoners in the fort, much caution was used in firing at the place, it was ready for assault in nineteen days, when the Kelledar capitulated and surrendered.<sup>2</sup>

This was the occasion, on which, for the first time, the custody of the Emperor was placed in the hands of a Frenchman. He had now, during ten years, been subject to the power of Sindiah, under which he had fallen by the following means.

In 1782, when Mr. Hastings so eagerly made peace with the Mahratta powers, their dominions were bounded, on the north, by that great chain of mountains, which extends in a direction nearly east and west, from Cuttack in the Bay of Bengal to Ajmere, and forms a great boundary between the southern and the northern portions of the Indian continent. This physical barrier against the dangers to which the English dominions in the north of India were exposed, from the vicinity of the Mahrattas, was not all. On the western half of this chain of mountains, on its northern side, and immediately bordering upon the Company's frontier, or that of their dependant,

<sup>1</sup> These particulars, collected by the well-informed editor of the earliest volumes of the *As. An. Reg.* (see vol. iii. *Charac.* p. 39), are confirmed by common history in all the leading and material points.

<sup>2</sup> See letters from an officer in Perron's army. *Asiat. An. Register*, vol. i. *Chron.* p. 50.



BOOK VI. the Nabob of Oude, were placed, forming another line of  
 CHAP. XII. defence, a number of small independent states, all jealous  
 1803. of the Mahrattas, and all dreading any extension of their  
 power. The whole of that wide expanse of country, which  
 extends from near Allahabad on the east to the river  
 Sutledge on the west; bounded on the south by the  
 mountainous ridge just mentioned; on the north, as far as  
 Shekoab, by the Jumna; thence by a line passing near  
 Secundra to the Ganges, and by the Ganges to Hurdwar;  
 was, by the policy of Mr. Hastings, left open to the ambi-  
 tion of the Mahrattas. This country contained, among  
 other principalities, the territory of Bundelcund and  
 Narwar; that of Gohud, including Gwalior and Bind; and  
 the great provinces of Agra and Delhi, including the Jaat  
 country, and nearly one half of the Doab, subject chiefly  
 to the Emperor Shah Aulum, and a few other Moham-  
 medan chiefs. Sindiah was the Mahratta prince, who,  
 from the vicinity of his territories, and from his power,  
 was best situated for availing himself of the offered advan-  
 tage; and he did not allow the opportunity to escape.  
 Another Mahratta chieftain, indeed, found means to get a  
 partial possession of Bundelcund, while Sindiah was en-  
 grossed with the business of other acquisitions; but all  
 the rest of that extensive country was wholly appropriated  
 by the latter chieftain.<sup>1</sup>

Sindiah had already made great progress in subduing  
 this region, when, with Ismael Beg, he approached Delhi  
 in 1788. Gholam Kadur, a son of Zabita Khan; who,  
 having from some cause of displeasure been banished from  
 the presence of his father, had received an asylum from

<sup>1</sup> See Rennel. Asiatic An. for 1804, Miscel. Tracts, p. 77: Hamilton's East Ind. Gazetteer. The policy of letting him take possession of this country is thus represented by Lord Wellesley: "The territories of Sindiah between the Jumna and the Ganges, interrupt the line of our defence in that quarter; and some of his principal posts are introduced into the centre of our dominions; while the possession of Agra, Delhi, and of the western and southern banks of the Jumna, enables him to command nearly the whole line of the western frontier. In the event of any considerable accession to Sindiah's power, or in the event of his forming any connexion with France, or with any enemy to the British interests — the actual position of his territories and forces in Hindostan would furnish great advantages to him, in any attack upon the Company's dominions." Governor-General's Instructions to the Commander-in-Chief, dated 27th July, 1803, *Ibid.* p. 156. As the Governor-General was making out a case, allowance is to be made for exaggeration.—M.

There is no exaggeration in the Governor-General's assertion, that the position of Sindiah was favourable to an attack upon the British provinces in Upper India, including those recently ceded by the Nawab Vizir.—W.

Shah Aulum, and growing into his favour, had been created by him Ameer ul Omrah ; enjoyed at that time the principal power at Delhi. The Emperor appears to have been desirous of emancipating himself from the dominion of Gholam Kadur, a man of a haughty and ferocious character ; and informed him that, having no money to carry on the contest, he regarded resistance as vain. Gholam Kadur himself undertook for resources ; only insisting, that, as "the presence of the monarch was half the battle," the Emperor should head the army in the field ; and to this the Emperor assenting, commissioned Gholam Kadur to make the requisite preparations for war. Next day, it is said, a letter from the Emperor to Sindiah was intercepted, in which the Emperor exhorted Sindiah to use the greatest possible despatch, for the purpose of destroying Gholam Kadur ; "for Gholam Kadur," said he, "desires me to act contrary to my wishes, and oppose you." Upon this discovery, Gholam Kadur, burning for revenge, ordered an attack upon the fort, in which Shah Aulum resided ; carried it in a few days ; flew to the apartment of the monarch, whom he treated with every species of indignity ; and then put out his eyes. After plundering the Emperor and his family, and sparing no expedient, however degrading, to strip the females of all their valuable ornaments, he fled upon the approach of Sindiah ; who thus became master of the legitimate sovereign of India, and of all the territories which yet owned his sway.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Of this, as of other parts of the Mahratta history in which the English were not immediately concerned, when our knowledge is sufficiently certain in all the points of any material importance ; we must, for the minute particulars, be satisfied to know that they cannot be very remote from the truth.—The remaining history of Gholam Kadur is short. He took refuge in Agra, which Sindiah besieged. Seeing resistance hopeless, he took advantage of a dark night, stuffed his saddle with the jewels which he had plundered from the family of the Emperor, and with a few followers took his flight towards Persia. On the second night, having fallen from his horse, he gave time to his pursuers to come up, and make him prisoner. Sindiah, after exposing him for some time, first in irons, next in a cage, ordered him to be deprived of his ears, nose, hands, feet, and eyes ; in which deplorable condition he was left to expire. The party who pursued him was commanded by a Frenchman of the name of Lostoneaux. It was under him that Perron is said to have been first admitted into the service of Sindiah, when he served as a quarter-master-serjeant. Lostoneaux is said to have got possession of the saddle, which Gholam Kadur is supposed to have stuffed with diamonds. This at least is known, that he soon after contrived to slip away, and returned to Europe. His corps breaking up after his desertion, Perron was in danger of losing em.



BOOK VI. Though the Emperor was allowed by Sindiah to remain  
 CHAP. XII. in the fort of Delhi, with the nominal authority over the  
 1803. city, and a small district around, he was held in a state of poverty, in which not only the decencies, but almost the necessaries of life were denied to him and his family. A Kelledar or Governor was placed in the fort, by whom he was guarded as a prisoner. And Sindiah at times had made him set forth his claim, not only to the tribute which the English had covenanted to pay to him for Bengal, which they had so early found a pretext for not paying, and which now, with its interest, amounted to a great sum; but to the wide extended sovereignty which had ceased to be his, only by successful usurpation and rebellion.

As there is no reason to believe that Perron behaved not to Shah Aulum with all the humanity and delicacy, practicable in the circumstances of Perron, so there is reason to believe that the condition of the unhappy monarch was ameliorated after he became subject to that European officer. M. Perron is represented, by all those from whom we receive any accounts of him, except the English rulers, as not only a man of talents, but a man of humanity and moderation.<sup>1</sup>

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ployment, till Sindiah's general gave him a battalion of his own. *Asiat. An. Reg.* for 1804, *Chron.* p. 63.—Also for 1801, *Charac.* p. 39.—M.

The first of these accounts is a very loose and inaccurate statement. The Mahrattas had been in possession of Delhi before Gholam Kadur's last administration; he had recovered it by surprise, but conscious of his inability to resist the advance of Sindiah's general, Rana Khan, resolved to plunder the palace and retire. Shah Alem's inability to comply with the Rohillas' requisitions of treasure, was resented by the most brutal treatment and the loss of his eyes. The ruffian fled to Meerut; not to Agra. See Franeklin's *Shah Alem*.—W.

<sup>1</sup> The English officer, from whose letters, in the *Asiat. An. Reg.* vol. i. *Chron.* p. 50, we have the account of the surrender of Delhi to Perron's battalions, says, "The General from that amiable humanity, which is a noble trait in his character, endeavoured to avoid recourse to hostile measures, in regard to the old king, the numerous princes, and princesses, who are detained in the fort: and even when the siege was laid, it was with full permission of the king, and every measure adopted to obviate any possible injury to the old monarch and the royal family. Though the troops in the fort, amounting to 600, were debarred from all exterior supplies of provision, yet General Perron ordered that the royal persons should be amply supplied, and their provisions pass unmolested." The author of a very intelligent letter (dated Oude, November, 1799, on the military state of the north-west part of the Company's frontier, published in the *Asiat. An. Register* for 1804, *Miscel. Tracts*, p. 77) says "General Perron, a French officer of great experience and consummate abilities, both as a statesman and soldier, represents Dowlut

By the distance at which Sindiah, while engaged in establishing his authority in the south, was kept from his dominions in the north, the administration of the government of his new acquisitions, in the region of the Jumna, fell almost entirely into the hands of Perron, who was present with an army, and had a large portion of it in assignment for the maintenance of his troops. We have the testimony of a most unexceptionable witness, Colonel Collins, both that he made a wise and excellent use of his power; and that the success of his administration had created incurable jealousy and hatred in the breast both of Sindiah's nobles, and of Sindiah himself. "I have it," says that Resident, in his letter dated 30th of March, 1802, "from good authority, that the Sirdars of this court have frequently remonstrated with the Maharaja, on the subject of the extensive authority vested in General Perron; and I have also been told in confidence, that, whenever the disturbances in this quarter are composed, so far as to admit of Sindiah's repairing to Agra, it is the intention of the Maharaja to deprive the General of the command of those fortresses which he now possesses in Hindustan. Nor do I doubt the truth of this information; when I reflect on the general disposition of the Mahrattas; they being, as your Lordship well knows, at all times inclined to suspicion and jealousy; of which I saw strong symptoms, at my audience with the Maharaja on the 27th ultimo. The ministers, who were present at this interview, having put various questions to me respecting the state of Sindiah's possessions in the Doab, I purposely spoke of them, as being in the most flourishing condition, ascribing the same to the able management of General Perron, to whom, as your Lordship recollects, they are assigned in *jeypad*. I also noticed the unwearied attention of the General, to improve and strengthen the works of the different fortresses garrisoned by his troops; and mentioned likewise the high estimation in which he was held by all the Rajpoot and Seik Sirdars, who were chiefly guided by his councils and directions." Though we may

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Rao Sindiah in Hindustan; and is invested with the most full and absolute authority over every department of the government, civil and military.—This power he exercises with great moderation, at the same time with a degree of judgment and energy, that evince very superior talents."

<sup>1</sup> Papers relative to the Mahratta war in 1803, ut supra, p. 17.



BOOK VI. easily enough suppose in this language a degree of exaggeration, to which the occasion may be supposed to have presented temptation, yet we cannot suppose a gentleman,

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of an English education, and of a high character, to have made a deliberate statement for which he knew there was no foundation in fact. In his next letter, Colonel Collins says, "Such Mahratta Sirdars, as are envious or jealous of the power of M. Perron, do not scruple to affirm, that he by no means wishes the total ruin of Holkar ; since, in this event, the Maharaja would be enabled to repair to Hindostan, and to take upon himself the chief direction of affairs in that quarter. Whether or not Sindiah has been influenced by these suggestions, I shall not presume to determine ; but I believe it to be an undoubted fact, that General Perron has been given to understand he must relinquish the collections of all the districts which he now possesses in Hindostan, excepting those appertaining to his jeydad, the annual revenues of which are estimated at forty lacs of rupees ; at present the General collects nearly eighty lacs." <sup>1</sup> From Futty Ghur, to which, for the purpose of avoiding the unhealthy season, he had returned from Sindiah's camp, having by the way paid a visit to Perron at his head-quarters at Cowle, Colonel Collins, on the 24th of June, 1802, wrote again, as follows : "General Perron has been peremptorily directed by Sindiah to give up all the Mehals in his possession, not appertaining to his own jeydad. And I understand, from good authority, that the General is highly displeased with the conduct of Sindiah's ministers on this occasion ; insomuch that he entertains serious intentions of relinquishing his present command in the service of the Maharaja. Indeed, when I was at Cowle, he assured me, that ere long I might expect to see him at Futty Ghur." <sup>2</sup>

The first object to which General Lake was commanded to direct the operations of the war, was the destruction of the force of General Perron. This force the Governor-General, though he very seriously, not to say violently, dreaded it, yet at the same time, with a very possible inconsistency, so much despised, that he confidently

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Governor-General, dated Camp, near Ougein, 18th April, 1802. Ibid. p. 18. Compare the statement of 1,35,00,000 in the Governor-General's notes. Ibid. p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 24.

expected the complete annihilation of it, before the end of the rains. "I desire," says he, "that your Excellency will compose the main army, and regulate the strength and operations of the several detachments, in a manner which shall appear to your judgment to afford the most absolute security for the complete destruction of M. Perron's force before the conclusion of the rains."<sup>1</sup>

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Not arms alone, other expedients were to be employed. "It would be highly desirable," says the Governor-General, "to detach M. Perron from Sindiah's service, by pacific negotiation. M. Perron's inclination certainly is, to dispose of his power to a French purchaser; I should not be surprised if he were to be found ready to enter into terms with your Excellency; provided he could obtain sufficient security for his personal interests.—I empower your Excellency to conclude any agreement for the security of M. Perron's personal interests and property, accompanied by any reasonable remuneration from the British government, which shall induce him to deliver up the whole of his military resources and power, together with his territorial possession, and the person of the Mogul, and of the heir apparent, into your Excellency's hands. The same principle applies generally to M. Perron's European officers. And the proclamations with which I have furnished your Excellency will enable you to avail yourself of the first opportunity of offering propositions to those officers, or to the several corps under M. Perron's commands."<sup>2</sup>

On the 7th of August, the General marched from Cawnpore. On the 28th he reached the frontier; and early on the morning of the 29th moved into the Mahratta territories, with a view of attacking a part of M. Perron's army assembled near the fortress of Alighur. The British army reached the enemy's camp about seven o'clock in the morning; and found the whole of his cavalry drawn up on the plain, close to the fort of Alighur. Appearing to be strongly posted, with their right extending to the fort of Alighur, and their front protected by a deep morass, the General resolved to make his attack on their left flank, which had no protection except from two

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Lord Lake, 27th July, 1803. Ibid. p. 159. Dispatches, iii. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Letter, ut supra, Ibid. p. 161.



BOOK VI. detached villages. The British cavalry were formed into  
 CHAP. XII. two lines, supported by the line of infantry and guns ;  
 1803. but the enemy retired as they advanced, and quitted the  
 field without an engagement. They were estimated at  
 15,000 strong. As if to show the extreme want of all  
 cohesion, and hence of stability, in the materials of Per-  
 ron's power, the Commander-in-Chief informs the Gover-  
 nor-General, and the Governor-General with exultation  
 informs his employers ; that upon so very trifling an  
 occasion as this, "many of the confederates of M. Perron  
 left him ; and "I learn," says the General, "from all  
 quarters, the most of the enemy's cavalry who opposed us  
 yesterday, have returned to their homes, declaring their  
 inability to oppose the English."<sup>1</sup>

The town of Coel immediately surrendered to the  
 English ; but the garrison of Alighur resisted all the  
 motives with which Lake endeavoured to persuade them.  
 After consideration, he deemed it practicable to carry the  
 fort by assault ; and this he preferred to the slow opera-  
 tions of a siege. The place was strong, with a broad and  
 deep ditch, a fine glacis, the country levelled for a mile  
 round, and exposed in every direction to the fire of the  
 fort. Lieutenant-Colonel Monson was chosen to lead the  
 attack : and the preparations were completed before the  
 4th of September. At three o'clock on the morning of  
 that day, the troops moved down to a distance of 600  
 yards from the sortie. After waiting till half after four,  
 the storming party advanced under cover of a heavy fire  
 from the British batteries erected for the purpose, and  
 arrived within a hundred yards of the fort before they  
 were perceived. There was only one passage across the  
 ditch into the fort, by a narrow causeway, where, the  
 enemy having commenced a mine, but omitted a draw-  
 bridge, the British troops were enabled to pass, and assault  
 the body of the place. As soon as Colonel Monson per-  
 ceived that the garrison had received the alarm, he pushed  
 on with two flank companies of Europeans, hoping to  
 enter the gate along with the external guard. The gate was  
 found shut ; and the ladders were applied. Major Macleod  
 of the 76th regiment, and two grenadiers, began to mount ;  
 but so formidable an array of pikemen appeared to receive

<sup>1</sup> Letter, ut supra. Ibid. p. 267, 268.

them, that it would have been vain and foolish to per- BOOK VI.  
sist. A gun was now required to blow open the gate. CHAP. XII.  
Being situated near the angle of a bastion, it was difficult  
to place a gun in a situation to act upon it. Four or five  
rounds were fired, before it was blown open; the troops  
were stopped about twenty minutes; during which they  
were raked by a destructive fire of grape, wall-pieces,  
and matchlocks; Colonel Monson was wounded; six  
officers were killed; and the principal loss in the assault  
was sustained. A narrow and intricate passage of con-  
siderable length, all the way exposed to a heavy cross fire  
in every direction, led from the first gate to that which  
opened immediately into the body of the place. To this  
it was a work of great difficulty to bring up the gun,  
and when it was brought up, the gate was found too  
strong to be forced. In this extremity Major Macleod  
pushed through the wicket with the grenadiers, and as-  
cended the ramparts. After this but little opposition  
was made. The garrison endeavoured to escape in every  
direction. Many jumped into the ditch, of whom some  
were drowned. About 2000 perished. Some surrendered,  
and were permitted to quit the fort, by the Commander-  
in-Chief, who was close to the scene of action, to witness  
an attack which nothing but the persevering bravery of  
the men permitted to succeed. The English loss was  
fifty-nine killed, including six, and 212 wounded, includ-  
ing eleven European officers.<sup>1</sup>

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The fort was esteemed an acquisition of great impor-  
tance, as being the ordinary residence of M. Perron, and  
the principal place of deposit for his military stores; of  
which the quantity found by the English, probably because  
it was inconsiderable, is not specified, in any of the printed  
documents in which the value of the acquisition is pre-  
sented to view.

The same day on which Alighur was taken, the Com-  
mander found it necessary to send a considerable detach-  
ment, to join the officer left at Futtý Ghur, charged with  
a convoy for the army. Five companies of sepóys, with  
one gun, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel  
Coningham, left at Shekoabad, had been attacked on the

<sup>1</sup> See the Governor-General's Notes, Ibid. p. 247 — and the Dispatch of the  
Commander, p. 268.



BOOK IV. 2nd of September, by a body of cavalry, commanded by  
 CHAP. XII. a Frenchman of the name of Fleury. Though much  
 1803. superior in force, the assailants were repulsed, but returned to the attack on the 4th, when the English capitulated, their ammunition being nearly spent. Before the reinforcements sent by the General arrived, the enemy crossed the Jumna, and disappeared.

On the 5th of September, M. Perron addressed a letter to General Lake, which was received on the 7th. In that letter Perron informed the British Commander, that he had resigned the service of Dowlut Rao Sindia, and requested permission to pass with his family, his effects, and the officers of his suite, through the Company's dominions to Lucknow. The instructions of the Governor-General, to purchase, if possible, the surrender of the military resources of Perron, have already been mentioned. We are informed by the Governor-General, that "on the 20th of August the Commander-in-Chief received a letter from General Perron, indicating a desire on the part of that officer, to effect an arrangement, which might preclude the necessity of an actual contest between the British forces, and those under the command of General Perron" We learn, on the same occasion, from the same high authority, that some time previously Perron had applied for leave to pass through the Company's territories, as being about to resign the service of Sindiah; and had, at the request of the Commander-in-Chief, sent to the English camp a confidential agent, with whom a discussion took place on the 29th of August. All that we further know is, that the agent departed without effecting any arrangement. The Governor-General tells us, that "he evaded the propositions of the Commander-in-Chief, for the surrender of M. Perron."<sup>1</sup> Perron might have received a large sum of money, had he bargained for his own retirement, and transferred to the English any considerable portion of the military resources with which he was intrusted. Perron retired, without bargaining at all: and, although he had the greatest cause of resentment against his employer, without transferring to his enemies the smallest portion of the resources with which he was intrusted.

The Governor-General informs us, that M. Perron stated

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Governor-General in Council, 25th Sept. 1803. Ibid. p. 187.

two facts, which remarkably confirm what I have already suggested, with regard to the miserable foundation and feeble texture of all such power as his. "M. Perron stated, that his reason for retiring proceeded from his having received intelligence that his successor had been appointed; and was actually on his way to take possession of his new charge. M. Perron also observed, that the treachery and ingratitude of his European officers convinced him that further resistance to the British arms was useless."<sup>1</sup>

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General Lake, who estimated, and knew that the Governor-General estimated, highly the value of removing M. Perron, granted him, in a prompt and handsome manner, the indulgence which he requested; and that General proceeded in consequence to Lucknow.

On the same day on which General Lake received the letter of Perron, measures being completed for the possession of Alighur, he began his march for Delhi. On the 9th of September, he reached Secundra; and during the next two days advanced about eighteen miles beyond Soorajepoor; when intelligence was received, that the army which had belonged to Perron, now commanded by another Frenchman of the name of Louis Bourquin, had crossed the Jumna from Delhi during the night, with a view to meet and repel the British army.

The troops, fatigued with eighteen miles of march, and the heat of the day, reached their ground of encampment (six miles from Delhi) about eleven o'clock, and had scarcely pitched their tents, when the outposts were attacked. The General, having reconnoitred, and found the enemy drawn up in order of battle, immediately ordered out the whole line. The position of the enemy was on a rising ground, with swamps on either flank; their front, where alone they could be attacked, was defended by a numerous artillery and a line of intrenchments. The number of the British troops amounted to about four thousand five hundred men. That of the enemy is stated at nineteen thousand. The British infantry were ordered to advance from the right of battalions in open columns of companies; and during this operation, the cavalry were commanded to precede. Advancing two miles in front, they were exposed for one hour to a severe cannonade

<sup>1</sup> Governor's-General's Notes. Ibid. p. 248.



BOOK VI. before they were joined by the infantry ; the Commander-  
CHAP. XII. in-Chief had his horse shot under him ; and a considerable

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loss was sustained. As the infantry approached, the General ordered the cavalry to fall back, with a view both to cover the advance of the infantry, and if possible to draw the enemy forward from their intrenchments upon the plain. The enemy fell into the snare, believed the movement a retreat, and advanced, shouting, with the whole of their guns. The British cavalry retired, with the utmost steadiness and order, till joined by the infantry, when they opened from the centre, and allowed the infantry to pass to the front. The whole were instantly formed, the infantry in one line, the cavalry in a second, about forty yards in the rear of the right wing. The enemy had halted, on perceiving the British infantry, and began a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain shot. The General having placed himself on the line, the men advanced with steadiness, and without taking their muskets from their shoulders, till within a hundred paces of the enemy, who began to pour upon them a shower of grape from the whole of their guns. Orders were given to charge with bayonets. The line fired a volley and rushed on, with their gallant commander at their head, when the enemy gave way and fled in every direction. As soon as the troops halted after the charge, the General ordered the line to break into columns of companies, which permitted the cavalry to pass through the intervals with their galloper guns, and complete the victory. The enemy were pursued with slaughter to the banks of the Jumna. This battle, though small in scale, and not very trying, from the resistance of the enemy, affords a high specimen both of the talents of the General, and the discipline and bravery of the men.

The enemy left the whole of their artillery, sixty-eight pieces of ordnance, with a great quantity of ammunition, and two tumbrils containing treasure, on the field. In men, their loss was estimated at three thousand : that of the English, in killed, wounded, and missing, was four hundred and eighty-five. After being seventeen hours under arms, the British army took up fresh ground towards the river, and next morning encamped, opposite to the city of Delhi. As the enemy had evacuated both the city and fort, Shah Aulum sent a message to express his desire

of placing himself under the protection of the victors. An intrigue had been opened with him before, and means had been found to convey to him a letter from the Governor-General, promising to him, in case he should find the means, during the present crisis, "of placing himself under the protection of the British government, that every demonstration of respect and attention would be paid towards his Majesty, on the part of that government, and that an adequate provision would be made for the support of his Majesty, and of his family and household." To this secret communication a secret answer was received by the Commander-in-Chief on the 29th of August, "expressing," says the Governor-General, "the anxious wish of his Majesty to avail himself of the protection of the British government."<sup>1</sup> On the 14th the British army began to cross the river. And on the same day, the General Bourquin, who commanded in the late action, and four other French officers, surrendered themselves prisoners to General Lake. On the 16th he paid his visit to Shah Aulum. The language of the Governor-General, on this occasion, is something more than pompous. "His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, had the honour to pay his first visit to his Majesty Shah Aulum on the 16th of September; and to congratulate his Majesty on his emancipation from the control of a French faction who had so long oppressed and degraded him. His Majesty was graciously pleased to direct his eldest son, and heir apparent, the Prince Mirza Akbar Shah, to conduct the Commander-in-Chief to his royal presence. The Prince was to have arrived at the Commander-in-Chief's tent at twelve o'clock; but did not reach the British camp until half-past three o'clock, p. m. By the time his Royal Highness had been received, remounted on his elephant, and the whole cavalcade formed, it was half-past four o'clock. The distance being five miles, the Commander-in-Chief did not reach the palace at Delhi until sun-set. The crowd in the city was extra-

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. XII.  
1803.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Governor-General in Council, to the Secret Committee, 12th of April, 1804; Papers relating to the King or Mogul at Delhi, ordered to be printed 12th March, 1805. See also the Message of the King, *ibid.* p. 9, which, so far from expressing great *anxiety of wish*, exhibits much distrust of the English, complaining of their late conduct, and declaring an apprehension "lest when they gain possession of the country they may prove forgetful of him."



BOOK VI. ordinary ; and it was with some difficulty that the cavalcade could make its way to the palace. The courts of the palace were full of people ; anxious to witness the deliverance of their sovereign from a state of degradation and bondage. At length the Commander-in-Chief was ushered into the royal presence : and found the unfortunate and venerable Emperor ; oppressed by the accumulated calamities of old age, degraded authority, extreme poverty, and loss of sight ; seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his royal state, with every external appearance of the misery of his condition.”<sup>1</sup>

1803.

In another passage the Governor-General speaks of this event, as “delivering the unfortunate and aged Emperor Shah Aulum, and the royal house of Timour, from misery, degradation, and bondage ; and rescuing his Imperial Majesty, the Mogul, from the hands of a desperate band of French adventurers.”<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the French officers, this is a language in the highest degree illiberal, if not unjust, and moreover, indecent. It was not they who degraded, if that was a crime, the house of Timour ; it is in evidence that they improved the condition of its surviving members ; it is not in evidence that they did not improve it as far as that improvement depended upon them. It is manifest, that certain forms of respect, and a less penurious supply of money, was all that could depend upon them. Of these there is no indication that the first were withheld. Of the second, the French had little to bestow. The revenues of Perron’s government must, with great difficulty, have met its charges, and he departed at last with no more than the fortune of a private individual. Whatever he afforded to Shah Aulum beyond the allowance prescribed by Sindiah, he must have paid out of his own fortune. And had Shah Aulum been supported out of the pocket of any English gentleman, of the Governor-General himself, though doubtless he would have dealt by him kindly, and even generously ; yet I may venture to affirm, that his “royal state,” would not have exhibited great magnificence.

Besides, who would not imagine, upon hearing this lan-

<sup>1</sup> Papers relating to the Mahratta War, ut supra, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 234.

guage of the English ruler, that he was about to restore his "Imperial Majesty, Shah Aulum (whom his subjects were so anxious to see delivered from a state of degradation and bondage,") to his lost authority? to those territories, from which he had been extruded, only by successful usurpation and rebellion; territories, of which the provinces held by the Company formed a material part? or, if he was not to give him any of the usurped territories which had fallen to the lot of the English, not even that tribute which they had stipulated to pay him, and which they had long withheld; that at any rate he was to bestow upon him those territories, of which Sindiah had deprived him, and which the English had just retaken, or were about to retake? Not an atom of this. The English were to restore no territory. Even that which they were now taking from Sindiah, and of which by Sindiah the Emperor had but lately been robbed, the English were to keep to themselves. The English, therefore, were to hold his "Imperial Majesty" still degraded from all sovereign power: still in bondage, as much as ever. The very words of the Governor-General are, that only so much "regard should be paid to the comfort and convenience of his Majesty and the royal family as was consistent with the due security of their persons," in other words, their imprisonment. Wherein then consisted the difference of his treatment? In this alone, that he would enjoy more of the comforts which in a state of imprisonment money can bestow, and was secure from personal violence.

The lofty description afforded us by the British ruler, goes on in the following words; "It is impossible to describe the impression which General Lake's conduct on this interesting occasion has made on the minds of the inhabitants of Delhi, and of all the Mussulmans who have had an opportunity of being made acquainted with the occurrences of the 16th of September, 1803. In the metaphorical language of Asia, the native news-writers who describe this extraordinary scene, have declared that his Majesty Shah Aulum recovered his sight from excess of joy.<sup>1</sup> In addition to many other marks of royal favour and condescension, the Emperor was graciously pleased to

<sup>1</sup> They probably said something not less extravagant, when he passed into the hands of Sindiah.



BOOK VI. confer on General Lake the second title in the Empire,  
 CHAP. XII. *Sumsam u dowla, ashgar ul mulk, Khan dowran Khan,*  
 General Gerard Lake bahadur, *futteh jung*: The sword of  
 1803. the state, the hero of the land, the lord of the age, and the  
 victorious in war."<sup>1</sup>

Though mention is made of the surrender of no more than one other French officer, named Doderneque;<sup>2</sup> the letter to the Secret Committee, dated the 31st of October, says, "The Governor-General in Council has the satisfaction to inform your Honourable Committee, that no French officers of any consideration now remain in the service of the confederated Mahratta chieftains."<sup>3</sup> This, then, was a danger, of which, whatever else may justly be said of it; there was little difficulty in getting rid.

Appointing Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony to hold the chief command at Delhi, and leaving a garrison of one battalion and four companies of native infantry, with a corps of Mewatties, newly raised under the command of Englishmen who had quitted the service of Sindiah at the beginning of the war, the Commander-in-Chief began his march to Agra on the 24th of September, and arrived at Muttra on the 2nd of October, where he was joined by the troops from Futtighur. On the 4th he arrived at Agra; and immediately summoned the garrison, but no answer was returned. He received information, that considerable confusion prevailed within the fort, where all the European officers were placed under confinement.

Finding that approaches could not be made, unless seven battalions were dislodged of the enemy's regular infantry, who, with several guns, were encamped without the fort, and occupied the town of Agra, together with the principal mosque, and some adjacent ravines, General Lake gave directions for attacking the town and the

<sup>1</sup> How often, in looking narrowly into the conduct of public affairs, has the friend of humanity occasion to lament the low state in which *political morality* remains! its deplorable state compared even with private morality! How many men would disdain the practice of hypocrisy in private, who, in public life, regard it, even in its grossest shape, as far from importing the same baseness of mind. Notes, ut supra, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> It is scarcely worth making any remark on this statement, except to show its spirit. The same sentence that mentions M. Doderneque's (Dudernaigue's) surrender, adds, he was accompanied by a French officer in Sindiah's service; our author should therefore have admitted that there were at least 'two' Frenchmen in the Mahratta army. Despatches, iii. 426.—W.

<sup>3</sup> Notes, ut supra, p. 203.

ravines on the 10th, both at the same time, the one with BOOK VI.  
a brigade, the other with three battalions of sepoys. The CHAP. XII.  
attack succeeded in both places, though not without a  
severe conflict; and the troops engaged in the ravines,  
being carried by their ardour to quit them, and gain the  
glacis, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's guns, were  
exposed to a heavy fire of grape and matchlocks from the  
fort, and suffered proportionally both in officers and men.  
Another occurrence was, that the defeated battalions  
agreed afterwards to transfer their services to the British  
commander, and marched into his camp, to the number of  
2,500 men, on the 13th of October.

1803.

On that day the garrison desired a parley; but while a  
British officer, sent into the fort, was endeavouring to  
remove their objections to the terms of capitulation, they  
recommenced firing, and would admit of no further inter-  
course. The breaching batteries, however, having opened  
on the morning of the 17th, and threatening a speedy  
catastrophe, they capitulated in the evening, on terms of  
safety to their persons and private property.<sup>1</sup>

A force, composed of fifteen regular battalions, sent  
north by Sindiah at the commencement of the campaign,  
and of two battalions which had joined them from Delhi,  
after the battle of the 11th of September, still remained.  
They had occupied a position about thirty miles in the  
rear of the British army, during the siege of Agra, but  
without attempting interruption. And they were under-  
stood to have in view a march upon Delhi, with the hope  
of recovering that important post. In quest of this  
enemy, the British army moved from Agra on the 27th of  
October. Retarded by the heaviness of the rain, they  
left the heavy guns and baggage at Futtypore, and on the  
30th and 31st, marching twenty miles each day, they  
encamped on the 31st, a short distance from the ground  
which the enemy had quitted in the morning. The  
General conceived the design of overtaking them with the  
cavalry, and giving them, by a slight engagement, inter-  
ruption till the arrival of the infantry. Marching from  
12 o'clock on the night of the 31st, till sunrise the next  
morning, a distance of twenty-five miles, he came up with  
the enemy, retreating as he imagined, and in confusion.

<sup>1</sup> Notes, ut supra, p. 251.



BOOK VI. Eager not to permit their retreat to the hills, and to  
CHAP. XII. secure their guns, he resolved, as he himself expresses it,  
1803. "to try the effect of an attack upon them with the  
cavalry alone."

The advance of the cavalry was slow, the road having been rendered difficult by the water of a reservoir, the embankment of which the enemy had cut. The British General, having commanded the advanced guard and first brigade, led by Colonel Vandeleur, to march upon the point, where the enemy, who had for some time been covered by the clouds of dust, had been observed in motion, directed the remainder of the cavalry to attack in succession as soon as they could form and come up. When they advanced sufficiently near to perceive the enemy, they found them occupying an advantageous position, with their right upon a rivulet which the British had immediately passed, their left on the village of Laswaree, and their whole front amply provided with artillery. The point to which the advanced guard and first brigade were directed, was found to be the left of the enemy's new position, which, without hesitation, they attacked. They forced the line, and penetrated into the village, Colonel Vandeleur having fallen in the charge ; but they were exposed to so galling a fire of cannon and musquetry, that it was impossible to form the squadrons for a second attack, and the General was obliged to draw them off. They left for want of draught cattle, the guns of the enemy which had fallen into their hands ; and the other brigades retired from the fire to which they found themselves exposed, without being able to discover the enemy, though they fell in with and carried away a few of their guns. The British infantry, which had left their former ground at three in the morning, arrived on the banks of the rivulet about eleven. After so long a march, some time for refreshment was indispensably required. During this interval a proposal was received from the enemy, offering on certain conditions to surrender their guns. The General, eager to stop the effusion of blood, offered immediately to comply with their terms, and allowed them an hour to come to a final determination. In the meantime, the disposition was made for battle. The whole of the infantry was formed on the left, with a view to attack the right flank of the enemy, which,

since the morning had been thrown back to some distance, leaving an interval to the rivulet. The British infantry was formed in two columns, the first destined to turn the right flank of the enemy, and assault the village of Mohaulpoor, the second, to support the first. The cavalry was formed into three brigades, of which one was to support the infantry in the attack of the enemy's right, another was detached to the right of the British army, to watch the enemy's left, avail itself of any confusion, and attack them in their retreat; the third composed the reserve, and was formed in the space between the preceding two. The enemy were drawn up in two lines, which had the village of Mohaulpoor between them on the left, and extended beyond it on the right.

The time for parley being expired, the British infantry moved along the bank of the rivulet, through high grass and broken ground, which afforded cover. The enemy, as soon as the movements of the British columns to turn their flank became visible, threw back their right, forming an acute angle in front with their former position, and rendering it impossible to turn their flanks. As soon as the British columns became exposed to the enemy's cannon, the field-pieces which they had been able to bring up, and the galloper guns attached to the cavalry, formed into four batteries, began also to fire. The cannonade on both sides was very spirited and severe. The King's 76th regiment, which headed the attack, and had often signalized its discipline and courage in India, had arrived, together with a battalion and five companies of native troops, within one hundred paces of the enemy, while the remainder of the column, impeded in its advance, was still at some distance behind. This advanced party were exposed to the enemy's fire; and the men were falling very fast. Thus situated, the General thought it better to advance with them to the attack, than wait till the remainder of the column should be able to form. As soon as they arrived within reach of the enemy's canister shot, a tremendous fire was opened upon them; and their loss was exceedingly severe. The regularity of their advance being disturbed by the severity of the cannonade, the enemy's cavalry were encouraged to charge. The steadiness, however, of "this handful of heroes," as they are justly denominated by their grateful

BOOK VI.

CHAP. XII.

1803.



BOOK VI. commander, enabled them to repulse the assailants with  
CHAP. XII. their fire. They rallied, however, at a little distance, and  
1803. resumed a menacing posture; when the General ordered  
an attack by the British cavalry. It was performed, with  
great gallantry and success, by the 29th regiment of dra-  
goons, whose commander, Major Griffiths, was killed by a  
cannon-shot immediately before the charge. The infantry,  
at the same time, advanced upon the enemy's line, which  
they broke and routed. The remainder of the first column  
of British infantry arrived just in time to join in the  
attack of the enemy's second line, of which the right had  
been thrown back in the same proportion as that of the  
first. Major-General Ware, who commanded the right  
wing of the British army, fell about the same time by a  
cannon-shot. After a good resistance, and losing all their  
guns, the enemy were driven back towards a small mosque  
in the rear of the village, when the three brigades of Bri-  
tish cavalry, advancing upon them from their different  
positions, charged them with great execution. A column  
of the enemy on the left attempted to go off in good order  
with a part of the baggage: but were turned by the bri-  
gade of horse which had been detached to the right of the  
British army, and shared the same fate with the rest of  
their companions. About two thousand of the enemy,  
seeing it impossible to escape, threw down their arms, and  
surrendered themselves prisoners, with the baggage and  
everything belonging to their camp.

This battle appears to have been gained principally by  
the admirable discipline and bravery of the 76th regiment.  
Of the commander, the gallantry was probably more re-  
markable than the generalship. He was frustrated in  
two of his plans; in his attack with the cavalry in the  
morning, and in turning the flank of the enemy in the  
afternoon; and the victory was gained at last by mere  
dint of hard fighting, to which the general himself set a  
conspicuous example. He led the charge of the cavalry in  
the morning; and at the head of the 76th regiment (which  
he allowed to come up too soon) conducted in person every  
operation of the day. Two horses were shot under him;  
and his son, acting as his aide-de-camp, was wounded by  
his side, in circumstances resembling those of poetic dis-  
tress. The son had but just persuaded the father to mount

his horse, after one of his own had fallen under him, pierced by several shots, when he himself was struck with a ball; and at that instant the father was obliged to lead on the troops, leaving his wounded son upon the field.

With seventeen battalions of infantry, the enemy are supposed to have brought into the action more than four thousand horse. Their guns, in number seventy-two, being all taken, were more precisely known. The English loss amounted to 172 men killed, 652 wounded. Three months only had elapsed since General Lake crossed the Mahratta frontier; and not only the whole of that army which the Governor-General had treated as an object of so much apprehension, was destroyed, but the whole of that extensive territory in the region of the Jumna, which the predecessor of Dowlut Rao had so laboriously added to his dominions, was placed in the hands of the English.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Notes, ut supra, p. 251 to 254, 288.—M.

Although the account given of the battle of Laswari, in the official despatches, is repeated verbally in the Notes on the Mahratta War, and Major Thorn's Memoir of the War in India, there is some indistinctness in the early part of the narrative, and it is left doubtful by the Dispatch whether the Mahratta army was attacked by the cavalry before its change of position. There can be no doubt, however, that it was so attacked, but without effect, as the new position was taken up without any serious opposition, by noon. The charge then effected by the advance and first brigade was evidently a failure also; although they broke through the first line, it would seem, that they made no impression on the second, and were exposed to so heavy a fire that it was impossible to form the squadrons for a second attack, and the enemy kept their ground. The statement that the other brigades were unable to discover the enemy, although they fell in with and carried away a few of their guns, is somewhat incongruous, and is incorrect. The third brigade was ordered to turn the right flank of the enemy, and failed not to discover and to feel them, although their guns, being concealed by a high grass jungle, became perceptible only when a tremendous shower of grape and double-headed shot poured upon the advancing squadrons. The cavalry, however, it is said, broke through the line, although the guns were chained together, and charged backwards and forwards three times. Here, again, is some want of precision, as it is added that their battalions, which were drawn up behind a deep intrenchment, kept up a galling fire with musquetry, which did great execution. Their line, therefore, was not broken, although it might have been penetrated by the cavalry, who suffered most severely in these fruitless displays of headstrong valour. It is undeniable, therefore, that until the infantry came into action, the Mahrattas had the best of the day; and after they were attacked by the whole British force, they maintained a stout resistance, and inflicted terrible destruction upon their assailants. It is justly remarked by Major Thorn, that throughout the war, every conflict gave evidence of the improvement made by the natives in military knowledge, through their connexion with the French. On the present occasion the effect of their influence and instruction was fully experienced in the organization of the army of Sindiah, which evinced all the characteristics of European arrangement and discipline. It is worthy of remark, too, that these disciplined battalions were in the battle of Laswari left to themselves. It is doubtful if they had any European officers with them; certainly they had



BOOK VI. During the time of these exploits, the great division of  
 CHAP. XII. the English army in the south had been employed in the  
 1803. following manner. The strong fortress of Ahmednuggur, held by Sindiah, with its adjoining territory, was the object of the first operations of General Wellesley. He moved from his camp at Walkee on the 8th of August, and, arriving at Ahmednuggur, took the pettah by escalade, on the same day. The English had thirty-three men killed, and eleven wounded. They opened a battery against the fort on the 10th; and on the 11th the Kelledar or Governor offered to negotiate; and on the 12th evacuated the fort, on condition of safety to the persons and private property of the garrison. This acquisition was of some importance; one of the strongest fortresses in India, in good repair, on the frontier of the Nizam, covering Poonah, and a point of support to the future operation in advance.<sup>1</sup>

In taking possession of the districts of 6,34,000 rupees estimated revenue, dependent on Ahmednuggur, and making arrangements for the security of the fort, the General was occupied for several days, and crossed the Godavery only on the 24th. On the same day, Sindiah, and the Rajah of Berar, having ascended the Adjunttee Ghaut, entered the territory of the Nizam with a large body of horse. On the 29th, General Wellesley arrived at Aurungabad, between which place, and the corps under Colonel Stephenson, who had moved to the eastward toward the Badowly Ghaut, the enemy had passed, and had reached Jalnapoor, about forty miles east from Aurungabad.<sup>2</sup> The enemy continued their march in a south-east direction, with a view, as was reported, to cross the Godavery, and march upon Hyderabad. To intercept them in this intention, General Wellesley regained the river, and moved eastward along its northern bank. The enemy, however, soon altered their course, and proceeded to the north of Julnapoor. Colonel Stephenson returned from the eastward on the 1st of September, and on the 2nd

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none of character. The cavalry, too, although it has been affirmed that the Mahratta chiefs should have looked to that as their national and only effective force, gave no support to the infantry in this engagement. Thorn's Memoir of the Campaign in Hindustan, 219.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Notes, ut supra, p. 239, 266.—M. Wellington Despatches, i. 299.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Wellington Despatches, i. 344.—W.

attacked and carried the fort of Julnapoor.<sup>1</sup> After this, he made several attempts to bring the enemy to action, and actually surprised their camp on the night of the 9th of September. They continued their northern movement toward the Adjuntee pass, near which they were joined by a detachment, it is said, of sixteen battalions of Sindiah's regular infantry, commanded by two Frenchmen.<sup>2</sup> On the 21st, the divisions of the British army were so near, that the two commanders had a conference, and concerted a plan for attacking the enemy jointly on the morning of the 24th. Colonel Stephenson marched by a western route, General Wellesley by the eastern, round the hills between Budnapore and Jalna. On the 23rd, General Wellesley received intelligence that Sindiah and the Raja had moved off with their cavalry in the morning; but that the infantry, about to follow, were still in camp at the distance of about six miles.

This intelligence, from which the General inferred the intention of the enemy to escape, made him resolve to attack them, without waiting till the following morning for Colonel Stephenson. He found the whole combined army near the village of Assye, encamped on the bank of the Kailna river. His road brought him first in front of their right; but as it was composed almost entirely of cavalry, and the defeat of the infantry was most likely to be effectual, he resolved to attack the left. Marching round, he crossed the River Kailna, at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank; and formed the infantry in two lines, and the British cavalry as a reserve in a third; leaving the Mahratta and Mysore cavalry on the other side of the Kailna, to hold in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry, which had followed the British army from the right of their own position. As soon as the enemy perceived the intention of the British general to attack their left, they changed the position of their infantry and guns. Another stream, called the Juah, of nearly the same size with the Kailna, flowed in a parallel direction: at a small distance beyond it, the enemy formed a line, having its right on the Kailna, and its left on the Juah. This line

<sup>1</sup> Wellington Despatches, 355.

<sup>2</sup> They were joined by the brigades of Col. Pohlman, M. Dupont, and Begum Sumroo. Ibid. 386.—W.



BOOK VI. and that of the British army faced one another ; but the  
CHAP. XII. enemy formed a second line on the left of their position,  
1803. nearly at right angles to their first, extending to the rear  
along the banks of the Juah. The fire of the enemy's  
guns performed dreadful execution, as the British army  
advanced. The British artillery had opened upon the  
enemy at the distance of 400 yards ; but the number of  
men and bullocks that were disabled soon rendered it im-  
possible to bring on the guns ; and as they were found to  
produce little effect, the General resolved to advance with-  
out them. The right of the British line was so thinned  
by the cannon of the enemy's left, that a body of their  
cavalry was encouraged to charge it. A body of the Bri-  
tish cavalry, however, were prepared to intercept them,  
and they were repelled with slaughter. The steady advance  
of the British troops at last overawed the enemy, and they  
gave way in every direction. The cavalry then broke in,  
and charged them with the greatest effect. The enemy  
fled, but the force of the English was too small to render  
the victory decisive. Some of the enemy's corps went off  
in good order ; and Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell was killed,  
in charging with the British cavalry a body of infantry,  
who had again formed, but soon resumed their retreat.  
Many also of the enemy's guns, which had been left in the  
rear by the British line as they advanced, were, by a prac-  
tice common in the native armies of India, turned upon  
the British by individuals who had thrown themselves as  
dead upon the ground. The General thought it necessary  
to take a regiment of European infantry, and one of native  
cavalry, and proceed in person to stop this fire, which for  
some time was very severe. His horse in this operation  
was shot under him. The enemy's cavalry, which had been  
hovering about during the action, continued for some time  
near the British line. But at last, the whole of the enemy  
went off, leaving ninety-eight pieces of cannon, and seven  
standards, in the hands of the English, with 1200 men, it  
is said, dead on the field.

It required no ordinary exertion of discipline and cou-  
rage in the men, to advance with so much steadiness under  
the carnage of such a fire. The personal courage, too, was  
abundantly displayed, of the General who led them on.  
And unless in as far as the wisdom may be questioned,

first, of sacrificing so great a number of men for the only object which could be attained by it ; next, of not waiting for the arrival of Stephenson, when the victory would have been attended with much greater, perhaps with decisive effects, the conduct of the action, it is probable, possessed all the merit of which the nature of the case allowed. Of the British army, 428 were killed, 1138 were wounded. As the whole are said to have consisted of only 4500 men, between one third and one half of the whole army were either killed or wounded. This was paying very dear for so indecisive an affair.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Stephenson, though his march had been retarded by some unexpected impediment, arrived on the 24th ; and was immediately sent after the enemy, whom

<sup>1</sup> Notes, ut supra, p. 239, &c. and 280.—M. Despatches, i. 336.

Sir Thomas Munro thus expresses the opinion upon the battle of Assye that was very generally entertained in India :—"If there was anything wrong at Assye it was in giving battle ; but in the conduct of the action everything was right. General Wellesley gave every part of his army its full share, left no part of it unemployed ; but supported, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with infantry, every point that was pressed, at the moment that it was most necessary. Life, i. 354. The letter, in which this occurs, is dated February, 1804 ; his opinion had not been changed, therefore, by the letter of General Wellesley to him of the 1st Nov., 1803, in answer to his objection to the action, that Col. Stevenson had been detached. General Wellesley, in this letter, and in his own remarks on the action, published in his despatches, i. 393, shows that the separate march of his corps and Col. Stevenson's was unavoidable, but that it was so arranged as to have brought them to the point, where, according to their intelligence, the enemy was to be found, at the same time. Owing to a misapprehension of the intelligence, by which the name of a district was confounded with that of a village in it, and the consequent conclusion that they were in the village of Bokerdur, instead of the village of Assye, in the district of Bokerdur, General Wellesley came upon their left wing at the latter village, six miles nearer than the former. Here he learned that they were retreating. He conceived it dangerous to ascertain this by a reconnoissance of part of his force, and to have reconnoitred them with the whole, and then attempted to retire, would have been difficult, if not impossible, in the face of their numerous cavalry ; he, therefore, with the promptitude of a resolute judgment, determined to make it a battle. That the loss was so severe was in part attributable to the officer who led the picquets on the right, and was followed by the 79th direct upon the village of Assye, instead of keeping out of the range of the shot, as he was directed, the British commander having determined to manœuvre by his left. The corps on the right were then separated from the left by a large break, and were not only exposed to a terrible cannonade from Assye, but were charged by the enemy's cavalry ; to repel this charge the British cavalry were brought into action sooner than was intended. It was thus brought into the cannonade ; horses and men were lost ; it charged among broken infantry, and separated ; the unity of the body was destroyed, and it was no longer possible to use it as had been planned, when it was placed in the third line to pursue and cut up the defeated and broken enemy. From this vindication of his measures it is clear that the action could not have been avoided without mischief, and that the cost of its purchase might have been less but for one of those chances which, according to the historian of the Duke of Wellington's Peninsular campaigns — and we cannot wish for better authority — so frequently influence the fate of battles.—W.



BOOK VI. the state of the troops under General Wellesley rendered him unable to pursue. The enemy had been so little broken or dispersed by their defeat, that they had  
 CHAP. XII.  
 1803. little to dread, from the pursuit of Colonel Stephenson; and proceeded westward, along the bank of the Taptee, as if they meditated a descent upon Poonah by a march to the southward through the Caserbary Ghaut. General Wellesley imagined that this was a demonstration to prevent a northern movement of the British troops against the city of Boorhanpore, the fortress of Asseerghur, and the rest of Sindiah's places in Candesh. But that General deemed himself sufficiently strong, both to proceed against the places in question, and to watch the movements of the enemy towards the south. Remaining with his own army to the southward, he sent his commands to Stephenson, who had descended the Adjuntee Ghaut, in pursuit of the enemy, to continue his march to the northward, and attack Boorhanpore and Asseerghur. As soon as the plan of the British General came to the knowledge of the enemy, the Raja of Berar and Sindiah separated their armies, the former marching towards Chandore, the latter making a movement to the northward, for the purpose of yielding protection to his threatened possessions. General Wellesley followed to the north, and descended the Adjuntee Ghaut on the 19th of October; Sindiah, upon this, instead of continuing his movement to the north, gave it an easterly direction through the valley formed by the Taptee and Poorna rivers; while the Raja of Berar passed through the hills which formed the boundary of Candesh, and moved towards the Godavery. This seemed to require again the presence of General Wellesley in the south, who accordingly ascended the Adjuntee Ghaut on the 25th of October, and, continuing his march to the southward, passed Aurungabad on the 29th.

In the mean time Colonel Stephenson had easily accomplished the service upon which he had been detached. The city of Boorhanpore was evacuated on his approach; and was entered by the British troops on the 15th of October. On the 17th he marched upon Asseerghur, the importance of which, in the estimation of the people of India, may be conjectured from a name by which it was

distinguished, the Key of the Deccan. On the 18th Colonel Stephenson attacked the pettah, and of course with success. On the 20th the batteries were opened against the fort, and within an hour the garrison offered to accept the conditions which the British commander had proposed on summoning the place. In this manner the fortress was placed in the hands of the English on the 21st, and with it the whole of Sindiah's dominions in the Deccan. The operations of the army were now turned against Berar. Colonel Stephenson began an easterly movement towards Sindiah; and received the commands of the General to prosecute his march as far as Gawilghur, and lay siege to that, the principal fortress belonging to the Raja of Berar.<sup>1</sup>

In the first week of November, Jeswunt Rao Gorparah, and another person of inferior rank, arrived in the British camp, commissioned, they said, by Sindiah, to treat with General Wellesley on the subject of peace. As soon after the battle of Assye as the 8th of October, the British General had received a letter from one of Sindiah's ministers, requesting that he would send to the enemy's camp, one of the British, and one of the Nizam's officers, to settle the terms of a peace.<sup>2</sup> With this request the General deemed it, on two accounts, inexpedient to comply; first, because the letter bore no stamp of the authority of Sindiah, who might afterwards disavow it; next, because a British officer in the camp of the enemy, and the appearance, on the part of the British, of being petitioners for peace, would reanimate the dejected minds of the enemy's troops. But he expressed his readiness honourably to receive any person whom the confederate chiefs might, for that purpose depute, to the British camp. Several subsequent proposals had been submitted to him, but all, through channels, which the principal might have disavowed. Even Gorparah, and his companion, when requested, at their first conference with General Wellesley, to exhibit their credentials, had none to produce. Though liable to be dismissed with disgrace,

<sup>1</sup> General Wellesley's Despatch, Papers relating to East India Affairs, (printed June, 1806,) No. 24, p. 82.—M. Wellington Despatches, i. 468.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The proposal was not from one of Sindiah's ministers but from Balloojee Koonjur, the Peshwa's most confidential agent, who, notwithstanding the war, continued in Sindiah's camp. For General Wellesley's reply to his letter, see Wellington Despatches, i. 426.—W.



BOOK VI. they were told by the British General, that they might  
 CHAP. XII. remain in the camp, till they had time to receive from  
 1803. their master those powers which were necessary to enable them to treat, and those documents to substantiate their powers, without which they ought not to have been sent. In the meantime a letter arrived from Sindiah, declaring his intention to send another commissioner, and disavowing Gorparah and his companion. General Wellesley, who believed, in this case, that the master was the impostor, not the servants, sent for the unhappy men, and made them acquainted with the dangerous situation in which they were placed. They convinced him, that, on their part, there was no fiction, and gratefully received his assurance that he would not render them the victims of the duplicity of their master. In the mean time, Gorparah's application for powers, and his account of his reception by the British General, had been received by Sindiah, and determined that unsteady chief to send him the requisite powers. They arrived in the British camp a few hours after the conference on the disavowal had taken place, but were still defective in one essential point ;<sup>1</sup> for amendment in respect to which, the General advised Gorparah and his colleague again to apply. In the mean time, he solicited an armistice, and that for both confederates. This, as no ambassador, or expression of a desire for peace, had yet arrived from the Raja of Berar, and as it was impolitic to allow the hostile princes to negotiate in common, Wellesley positively refused, in regard to the other chieftain ; but granted to Sindiah for the troops in the Deccan. It was dated on the 23rd of November ; requiring, that Sindiah should take up a position agreed upon, and not approach the British camp nearer than a distance of twenty coss. Calculating upon the division of the confederates ; finding that the Raja of Berar was proceeding towards his own territories, that the number of troops he had with him was small, and diminishing every day ; ceasing, in consequence, to have any apprehension for the territories of the Nizam, Wellesley descended the Ghaut by Rajoora,

<sup>1</sup> They were essentially defective, as they did not enable the envoys to cede any portion of the territory as compensation to the British Government and the allies, which was required as the basis of the pacification. Mahr. Hist. iii. 261. See also Wellington Despatches, i. 495, 514, 522.—W.

1803.

with a view to support, and cover the operations of Stephenson against the fort of Gawilghur. The principal part of the army of the Raja of Berar was encamped under the command of his brother, Munno Bappoo, not far from Elichpoor ; and the cavalry of Sindiah, who had not yet ratified the armistice, was encamped at about four miles' distance. Colonel Stephenson had advanced as far as Hattee Anderah, on the 28th of November ; when, being apprized of the situation of the enemy, and the approach of General Wellesley, he prudently halted, to enable both armies to co-operate in the attack. They joined, on the 29th, at a place within sight of the enemy's camp. Upon the approach of the British, the enemy retired ; and as the troops had performed a very long march on a very hot day, the General had no intention of pursuit. Bodies of horse were in a little time observed in front. And, on pushing forward the piquets for taking up the ground of encampment, the enemy were distinctly perceived, drawn up regularly on the plains of Argaum. Late as was the period of the day, the General resolved to attack. The distance was about six miles. The British army advanced in a direction nearly parallel to that of the enemy's line, in one column, led by the British cavalry, and covered on the left and rear by the cavalry of Hyderabad and Mysore. The enemy's line extended above five miles. Sindiah's part of the force, consisting of one very heavy body of cavalry, was on the right, having some Pindarees and other light troops on their outward flank. The village of Argaum, with its extensive enclosures and gardens, was in the rear of the enemy's line ; in its front was a plain, cut by a number of water-courses. The British army was formed in two lines ; the infantry in the first, the cavalry in the second ; the British, to support the right, the Mogul and Mysore, the left. The British line was not formed exactly parallel to that of the enemy, but with the right a little advanced, to press upon the enemy's left. Some time was spent in forming the order of battle, because part of the infantry which led the column got into some confusion.<sup>1</sup> As soon as the line was

<sup>1</sup> Three regiments of native infantry, which had behaved admirably at Assye, were panic-struck, broke, and were running off, when the cannonade commenced ; General Wellesley was luckily at hand, and was able to rally



BOOK VI. formed, the whole advanced in the greatest order. Two  
 CHAP. XII. regiments on the right were attacked by a large body of  
 1803. Persians, as was supposed, whom they destroyed; a  
 battalion also on the left received and repulsed a charge  
 of Sindiah's cavalry. As the British line advanced, the  
 enemy retired in disorder, leaving thirty-eight pieces of  
 cannon, with their ammunition, in the hands of the as-  
 sailants. The cavalry continued their pursuit by moon-  
 light; but night rendered it impossible to derive many  
 advantages from the victory. The British loss, in this  
 battle, if battle it may be called, was trifling; total in  
 killed, wounded, and missing, 346.<sup>1</sup>

After the battle of Argaum, the General resolved to lose  
 no time in commencing the siege of Gawilghur. He ar-  
 rived at Elichpoor on the 5th of December, where he  
 endeavoured to collect information for the attack. Gawil-  
 ghur stands upon a lofty point of a ridge of mountains  
 between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Taptee. It  
 consisted of two forts; the inner, fronting to the south  
 where the rock is most precipitous; and the outer, covering  
 the former, toward the north-west and north. Upon  
 deliberation, it appeared advisable to make the principal  
 attack upon the northern side. To this service the corps  
 of Colonel Stephenson was destined, having been equipped  
 for that purpose at Asseerghur. On the 7th, both divi-  
 sions of the army marched from Elichpoor; that under  
 Colonel Stephenson, by a road of about thirty miles in  
 length, through the mountains, the road which led most  
 directly to the point of attack; that under General Wel-  
 lesley, with all the cavalry, in a different direction, with a  
 view to cover, and if possible assist them, by other attacks  
 on the south and the west. The march of Colonel Ste-  
 phenson, through the mountains, was attended with almost  
 insuperable difficulties. The heavy ordnance, and stores,  
 were dragged by hand, over mountains, and through  
 ravines, for nearly the whole distance, by roads which it

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them and restore the day. He adds, "If I had not been there, I am convinced  
 we should have lost the day. As it was, so much time elapsed before they  
 could be formed again, that there was not daylight sufficient for effecting all  
 that might have been performed." Letter to Major Shawe, Despatches, i.  
 533.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Lieut. Gov.-Gen. in Council to the Secret Committee, dated 28th Dec. 1803,  
 ibid. p. 297; also Calcutta Gazettes, ibid. p. 290—295.—M. Despatches, i.  
 528.—W.

had been previously necessary for the troops to make. BOOK VI.  
On the 12th, Colonel Stephenson reached his ground, and CHAP. XII.  
at night erected two batteries in front of the north face  
of the fort. On the same night the troops of General  
Wellesley constructed a battery on the mountain under  
the southern gate ; but as it was impossible to get up the  
heavy guns, it proved of little advantage. On the even-  
ing of the 14th, the breaches in the walls of the outer  
fort were practicable. Preparations were made during the  
day ; and the assault was to be given on the following  
morning. Beside the party destined for the storm, two  
detachments were led, one toward the southern, another  
toward the north-west gate, for the purpose merely of  
drawing the attention of the enemy, as neither of them  
could get into the fort till the storming party should open  
the gates. The troops advanced about ten o'clock ; and  
the outer fort was soon in possession of the assailants.  
The wall of the inner fort was then to be carried. It had  
not been breached, and attempts were made in vain upon  
the gate. A place, however, was found, at which the wall  
might be escaladed, when Captain Campbell mounted with  
the light infantry of the 94th regiment, and opened the  
gate. After this the garrison made no resistance. "Vast  
numbers of them," says the General, "were killed, par-  
ticularly at different gates." <sup>1</sup>

1803.

While the two great divisions of the British army were  
thus engaged, the minor objects of the war had been no  
less successfully pursued.

The detachment of British troops which had been as-  
sembled at Allahabad, under the command of Lieutenant-  
Colonel Powell, for the occupation of Bundelcund, crossed  
the Jumna, and entered that province, on the 6th of  
September. The situation of the province at that period  
was briefly as follows :—

Chuttersaul, having succeeded a long line of Hindu  
ancestors, in the Rajaship of Bundelcund, of whom a con-  
siderable number had existed in the state of vassals to  
the Mogul throne, availed himself of the decline of that  
monarchy, not only to re-establish his independence, but  
enlarge his dominions. Alarmed, however, at the prospect  
of what was likely to follow from the power and disposi-

<sup>1</sup> Despatches, i. 550.



BOOK VI. tion of his Mahratta neighbours, he sought for protection  
 CHAP. XII. to his house, by securing the favour of the most powerful  
 1803. of the Mahratta leaders. For this purpose, though the  
 father of a numerous offspring, he adopted Bajee Rao, the  
 first Peshwa, as his son; and left him a third part of his  
 dominions. The rest he divided equally between two of  
 his sons. Further subdivisions took place in succeeding  
 generations. Jealousies arose among the different branches  
 of the family; and wars ensued. The country, as was the  
 habitual state of Hindu countries, was perpetually ravaged  
 by hostile contentions; and at last so much enfeebled,  
 that it offered an easy prey to any invader.

While Sindiah made his conclusive attempt, in 1786,  
 upon the expiring sovereignty of Delhi, the Peshwa joined  
 in the expedition, with a view of joining also in the  
 plunder. His object was to obtain the Doab, or district  
 between the Jumna and Ganges; and he placed Ali  
 Bahaudur, the grandson, by an illegitimate father, of  
 Bajee Rao, the first Peshwa, whom he destined to govern  
 it in his name, at the head of the troops whom he sent to  
 join in the expedition. In the course of the enterprise, a  
 breach ensued between Sindiah and Ali Bahaudur, who  
 was joined by another chief, named Raja Himmut Bahau-  
 dur.<sup>1</sup> Frustrated in their views upon the Doab, which  
 Sindiah destined, probably from the beginning, for himself,  
 these two chieftains directed their arms against Bundel-  
 cund. From the distracted state of the country, it was  
 speedily overrun, and apparently subdued; but in a moun-  
 tainous region, where every village was a fortress, the  
 authority of the Mahratta government was not easily,  
 indeed never completely, established. Ali Bahaudur  
 agreed to yield obedience and tribute to the Peshwa, the  
 latter of which was never in his power. He died in 1802,  
 having spent fourteen years without completing the reduc-  
 tion of Bundelcund, one of the fortresses of which, the  
 celebrated Callinger, he was fruitlessly besieging at the  
 time of his death. His son, Shumshere Bahaudur, eighteen  
 years of age, was then resident at Poonah; and the Raja

<sup>1</sup> Himmut Bahadur was a religious character, or Gosain, and also a soldier of fortune, who was first in the service of the Nawab of Oude. He availed himself of the state of anarchy of Bundelkand to establish himself in the province, and is said to have invited Ali Bahadur to invade it.—W.

Himmut Bahaudur, who had always retained a great share of power, and who now found the government at his disposal, appointed a distant relation of the family regent during the absence of the prince.<sup>1</sup> In this situation were the affairs of Bundelcund, when the Peshwa was driven from Poonah, and the war broke out between the British government and the Mahratta chiefs.

In the month of August, 1803, certain alterations were agreed upon between the British government and the Peshwa, in the terms of the treaty of Bassein. Of these the principal were, that the English, in lieu of some of the ceded districts, and as a compensation for an additional number of subsidized troops, should accept of territory in Bundelcund, which it remained for them to subdue, yielding, by estimate, a revenue of 36,16,000 rupees.<sup>2</sup> As Himmut Bahaudur, in the probable success of the English, anticipated the loss of his own power, he ingeniously resolved to assist them in their project, on condition of obtaining an advantageous indemnity to himself. He was accordingly ready, with a force of about 13,000, or 14,000 men, as soon as the detachment of the British army entered the territory of Bundelcund. He joined the detachment on the 15th of September; on the 23rd they arrived, in conjunction, on the bank of the river Cane; and found the troops of Shumshere Bahaudur, a considerable force, encamped on the opposite side. After reducing several forts, and establishing the British authority in the adjacent district, they crossed the Cane on the 10th of October; and on the 12th gave battle to Shumshere Bahaudur; who retreated with loss, and shortly after, despairing of his ability to maintain the contest, crossed the river Betwa, and retired from the province.

For seizing the province of Cuttack, a part of the

<sup>1</sup> The circumstances are, elsewhere, somewhat differently related. The uncle of Shamsler Bahadur, Ganee Bahadur, placed on the musnud another of his nephews, Zulphikar Ali, an infant, intending to establish his own authority under the title of Regent, with the concurrence of Himut Bahadur. Shamsler Bahadur, however, with the sanction of Amrut Rao, whilst temporary Peshwa, proceeded to Bundelkand, threw his uncle into confinement, and assumed the sovereignty. Himut Bahadur, although he is said to have invited the Raja into the country, and to have aided him in the recovery of his rights, became alarmed at his violence, and sought his own safety by proposing to the British to enter into the province, and co-operated with them in its subjugation. Memoir on Bundelcund, *Asiat. An. Reg.* 1806. Pogson's Account of the Bundelas.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Letter, *ut supra*. *Ibid.* p. 200, 535.



BOOK VI. northern division of the Madras army, doing duty in the  
CHAP. XII. Northern Circars, was destined to march from Ganjam,  
1803. and to be reinforced by a detachment of 6216 men from Bengal. Of this detachment, a body of 854 were collected at Jalasore, to be ready to penetrate into Cuttack, as soon as the movements of the principal force should render it necessary; 521 were to take possession of Balasore; and 1300 were to occupy a post at Midnapore, with a view to support the detachments at Jalasore and Balasore, and afford protection to the Company's frontier against any sudden incursion of the Raja's horse. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, the officer chosen to conduct this expedition, having been seized with an illness which threatened his life, Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt was appointed to act in his stead.

The troops marched from Ganjam on the 8th of September, and on the 14th took possession of Manickpatam, whence the Mahrattas fled upon their approach. Application was made to the Brahmens of Juggurnaut to place the Pagoda under British protection; and with this they complied. The next object was Cuttack; but the inundations produced by the rains allowed not the march to begin before the 24th of September, and even then rendered it so laborious and slow, being also, in some degree, harassed by the parties of the enemy's horse, that it was not completed before the 10th of October. The town yielded without resistance, and operations were begun for the reduction of the fort. Of the other detachments, that appointed to take possession of Ballasore had there landed on the 21st of September, and soon overcame all the resistance by which it was opposed. The detachment formed at Jalasore left that place on the 23rd of September, and on the 4th of October arrived without opposition at Ballasore. On the 10th of that month, a force of 816 men marched from Balasore, by order of the Governor-General, to aid Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt in the reduction of Cuttack. Barabutty, the fort of Cuttack, was a place of considerable strength, and had only one entrance, by a bridge, over a wet ditch of enormous dimensions. A battery, which opened on the morning of the 14th, in a few hours took off nearly all the defence, and silenced the guns on one side, when it was resolved immediately to try

the assault. In passing the bridge, the storming party, BOOK VI.  
headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Clayton, were exposed to a CHAP. XII.  
heavy, but ill-directed fire of musquetry from the fort;  
and forty minutes elapsed before they succeeded in blowing  
open the wicket, at which the men entered singly:  
Two other gates were forced open after some resistance;  
when the enemy hastened to abandon the fort. The fall  
of this place delivered the whole of the province of Cut-  
tack into the hands of the English.<sup>1</sup>

1803.

The conquest of Sindiah's territories in Guzerat was made by a force from Bombay, consisting of one European regiment, with a proportion of artillery and sepoy commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington. They marched from Baroda on the 21st of August, and encamped within two miles of Baroach on the 23rd. Though the next day, when the English advanced upon the place, the enemy were seen posted, as for resistance, in front of the pettah, they were soon compelled to retreat within the fort. Next morning, Colonel Woodington took possession of the pettah; and on the 29th, the breach in the fort was reported practicable. The storming party were led by Captain Richardson, and displayed the virtues seldom wanting in British troops on such an occasion. The enemy resisted with considerable spirit, for a little time; but then fled, with slight loss to the assailants. After the capture of Baroach and its dependencies, yielding a revenue of eleven lacs of rupees, Colonel Woodington proceeded against Champaneer, the only district which Sindiah now possessed in the province of Guzerat. It was defended by a fort, on Powanghur, one of the detached hills, which form so many places of great natural strength in India. Champaneer, the pettah, was carried by assault with inconsiderable loss. At first the Kelledar of the fort refused to surrender; but, on the 17th of September, when preparations were made for the assault, he capitulated, and the fort was occupied by the British troops.<sup>2</sup>

The Mahratta chieftains were now eager to escape by negotiation the ruin which their arms were unable to avert. On the evening of the 30th of November, the day after the battle of Argaum, a vakeel arrived, bearing a letter from

<sup>1</sup> Letter ut supra, Ibid. 243—5.—M. Despatches, iii. 373, 430.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Letter, ut supra. Ibid. p. 243.—M. Despatches, iii. 416, 432.—W.



BOOK VI. the Raja of Berar, and requesting a conference with the  
CHAP. XII. British General. First, a discussion arose about the origin  
1803. of the war; the vakeel maintaining that the British government, General Wellesley maintaining that the Raja, was the aggressor. The vakeel alleged, that the war commenced, because the Raja did not obey the orders of Colonel Collins, in withdrawing with his troops: Wellesley affirmed that the war commenced, because the Raja, along with Sindiah, had assumed a position which threatened the British allies. The vakeel contended that the troops of the Raja were on his own territory: that his presence there was necessary, both because the contest between Sindiah and Holkar was destructive to Hindustan, and because the Peshwa had made a treaty with the English, contrary to the custom of the Mahratta states. Wellesley replied, that for mediation between Sindiah and Holkar, the position taken by the Raja was unnecessary, and that with the treaty of the Peshwa the English would give him no leave to interfere. The vakeel, as the representative of the weakest party, at last declared, that, however the war began, his master was very desirous of bringing it to an end. He was then questioned about his powers, but said he had only a commission to learn the wishes of the British General, and to express the desire of the Raja to comply. Compensation for the injuries of aggression and for the expenses of the war was declared to be the only basis on which the English would treat. The vakeel applied for a suspension of arms, which was absolutely rejected; and leave to remain in camp, till he should receive powers sufficient to treat, which was also refused, and he was advised to take up his intermediate residence in some of the neighbouring towns.

A second conference took place on the 9th of December, when the vakeel produced letters from the Raja, expressing assent to the conditions which the British General had presented for the basis of negotiation. The cessions demanded by the English, to effect the stipulated compensation, were then described. For the Company, the whole of the province of Cuttack, including the port of Balasore. For their ally the Nizam, the country lying between his own frontier and the river Wurda to the eastward, and between his own frontier and the hills in

which are situated the forts of Gawilghur and Nernulla, to the northward; together with renunciation of all the claims which the Raja might have ever advanced on any part of his dominions. And for their other allies, any of the Zemindars and Rajas, the tributaries or subjects of the Raja, with whom the English had formed connexions during the war, the confirmation of all their engagements. The vakeel exclaimed against the exorbitance of these demands, which were sufficient, he said, not only to reduce, but entirely to destroy the state of his master.

Major General Wellesley replied, that "the Raja was a great politician; and ought to have calculated rather better his chances of success, before he commenced the war: but that having commenced it, it was proper that he should suffer, before he should get out of the scrape." <sup>1</sup>

After several discussions, in which General Wellesley relaxed only so far as to reserve to the Raja the forts of Gawilghur and Nernulla, with contiguous districts yielding four lacs of annual revenue, the terms of the treaty were arranged on the 16th, and signed by the British General and the Mahratta vakeel, on the 17th of December, 1803. The forts were left to the Raja, as not being calculated to be of much advantage to the Nizam, while they were necessary to the Raja for coercing the predatory people on the hills; and the contiguous districts were granted, in order to leave him an interest in restraining the depredators, to whose incursions these districts, together with the rest of the adjoining country, were continually exposed. Of the country to which the Raja was thus obliged to resign his pretensions, he had possessed but a sort of divided sovereignty, in conjunction with the Nizam. It was originally a part of the Subah of the Deccan; but the Mahrattas had established over it a claim, at first to one-fifth, afterwards by degrees to one-half, at last to four-fifths, and in some parts to the whole, of the revenues. Though an extensive and fertile country, it was not, however, computed that the Raja had annually realized from it more than thirty lacs of rupees.

<sup>1</sup> Memorandum transmitted by General Wellesley to the Governor-General of the conferences between him and the Ambassador of the Raja of Berar. Papers relating to East India affairs (printed by order of the House of Commons, June, 1806), No. 25, p. 124.]



BOOK VI. To some other articles ; as, the exclusion from his ser-  
 CHAP. XII. vice of Europeans and Americans, the mutual appoint-  
 1803. ment of resident ambassadors, and the renunciation of  
 the confederacy ; scarcely any objection was experienced  
 on the part of the Raja.<sup>1</sup>

If he had not prevented further hostilities by compli-  
 ance, the British General was prepared to pursue him to  
 Nagpoor, the capital of his dominions, while the troops in  
 Sumbulpore and Cuttack were ready to co-operate, and  
 General Lake, having subdued all opposition in Hindustan,  
 was at liberty to detach a force into Berar.<sup>2</sup>

At the very time of negotiation, the Governor-General  
 prepared a copious delineation of his views respecting the  
 objects to be obtained by concluding treaties of peace  
 with the belligerent chiefs, and sent it, bearing date the  
 11th of December, under title of Instructions, to General  
 Wellesley. Even now the formation of what is called a  
 defensive alliance with Sindiah, that is, the substitution  
 in the service of Sindiah of the Company's troops to Sin-  
 diah's own troops, was an object of solicitude with the  
 British ruler : And he prepared two plans of concession ;  
 one on the supposition of his accepting ; another on the  
 supposition of his rejecting, the proposition of a subsidi-  
 ary force. The singular part of the offer was, to maintain  
 the subsidiary force, if equal to that which was placed at  
 Hyderabad, without any expense to Sindiah, and wholly  
 at the Company's expense ; for it was distinctly proposed,  
 that for the expense of that force, no assignment of ter-  
 ritory beyond that of which the cession would at all events  
 be exacted of him, nor any other funds whatsoever, should  
 be required.<sup>3</sup>

By the ratification of the treaty with the Raja of Berar  
 the whole of the forces under General Wellesley were free  
 to act against Sindiah : the troops which had been em-  
 ployed in reducing the possessions of that chief in Gu-  
 zerat, having accomplished that service, were now ready  
 to penetrate into Malwa to his capital, Ougein, for which  
 purpose they had actually marched to the frontier of Gu-  
 zerat : and the detachment which had been prepared by

<sup>1</sup> Memorandum, ut supra ; Letter of General Wellesley to the Governor-General ; and copy of the treaty. Ibid. p. 122—132.

<sup>2</sup> Notes relative to the peace. Ibid. p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Instructions of Governor-General, parag. 62. Ibid. p. 121.

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General Lake to co-operate in the subjugation of Berar, might now commence operations on the unsubdued dominions of Sindiah.<sup>1</sup>

It was not till the 8th of December that the various artifices of that chieftain, to procrastinate, and to evade the proposition of admitting compensation as the basis of negotiation, were terminated. His vakeels insisted that, as his losses were still greater than those of the English, if compensation were the question, it was to him that the greater compensation would be due. It was answered, that he was the aggressor. But this was the point in debate; this was what Sindiah denied. He was given, however, to understand, that he was the unsuccessful party, and of this he had a bitter and certain experience. A long discussion ensued on the cessions to which, under the title of compensation, the English laid claim. A further conference took place on the 11th. Other conferences followed, on the 24th, the 26th, and the 28th; when compliance was expressed with the terms, from which it was found that the English would not recede. On the following day, the treaty was signed. The Maharaja ceded all his rights of sovereignty, in the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, and to the northward of the territories belonging to the Rajas of Jeypoor, Jodepoor, and Gohud; he ceded the fort and territory of Baroach; the fort and territory of Ahmednugger; all the possessions which he had held on the south side of the Adjunttee hills to the Godavery river; all claims upon his Majesty Shah Aulum, or to interfere in his affairs; and all claims of every description upon the British government, or any of its allies, the Subahdar of the Deccan, the Peshwa, and Anund Rao Gaekwar. Provision was made for the independence of all those minor states, in the region of the Jumna, which had formerly borne the yoke of Sindiah, but had made engagements with the English during the recent war. The fort of Asseerghur, the city of Boorhanpore, the forts of Powanghur, and Gohud, with the territories depending upon them, were restored. Sindiah was also allowed to retain certain lands in the vicinity of Ahmed-

<sup>1</sup> Notes relative to the peace with the confederate Mahratta chieftains. Ibid. p. 341.—M. Despatches, iii. 497.—W.



BOOK VI. nugger ; and within the cessions which he had made in  
 CHAP. XII. the north, his claims were allowed to certain lands which  
 1803. he represented as the private estates of his family, and to  
 the possession of which none of the rights of sovereignty  
 were to be annexed. Certain Jaghires and pensions, which  
 Sindiah or his predecessor had granted to individuals,  
 either of their family, or among their principal servants,  
 in the ceded countries, or upon their revenues, were con-  
 firmed, to the amount of seventeen lacs of rupees per  
 annum. Sindiah most readily engaged not to receive into  
 his service any Frenchman, or the subject of any Euro-  
 pean or American power, that might be at war with the  
 British government. Lastly, an article was inserted,  
 leaving the way open to form afterwards an additional  
 treaty for a subsidiary alliance ; which, in this case, was  
 not to be subsidiary ; for the English government stipu-  
 lated to afford the troops their pay and subsistence, with-  
 out compensation either in money or land.<sup>1</sup>

Of these cessions, it was agreed, between the British  
 government and its allies, that the territory situated to  
 the westward of the River Wurda and the southward of  
 the hills on which were the forts of Gawilghur and Nur-  
 nulla, together with the territory between the Adjunttee  
 hills and the River Godavery, should belong to the Nizam ;  
 that Ahmednugger and its territory should belong to the  
 Peshwa, to whose capital it so nearly approached ; and  
 that all the rest should belong to the English. The minor  
 princes in the region of the Jumna, who formerly bore

<sup>1</sup> The reasons for this measure are thus explained by General Wellesley :  
 " Under these circumstances," (the inability of Sindiah, with his reduced re-  
 sources, to resist Holkar,) " I thought it expedient to hold forth to Sindiah an  
 option of becoming a party to the general defensive alliance ; and as a further  
 inducement to him to agree to that treaty, to engage that the assistance to be  
 given to him should occasion no further diminution of his revenues. I was  
 induced to make this last engagement by the consideration that Sindiah would  
 not agree to the treaty of general defensive alliance, although his ministers  
 proposed that he should unite himself more closely with the Company, if he  
 was to be obliged to pay for the assistance which he should receive ; and that,  
 if he does agree to that treaty, the peace of India is secured as far as it can be  
 by human means. I have every reason to believe also, that when Sindiah will  
 wind up his affairs at the close of this war, he will not have a disposable clear  
 revenue, such as the British Government would require to pay the expenses of  
 the force which might be given to him." Wellington Despatches, i. 561. The  
 reasons, therefore, were simply that Sindiah would not, and could not bear the  
 cost of the subsidiary force ; and as it was considered an object of great poli-  
 tical importance that it should be furnished, the British Government neces-  
 sarily applied to it a portion of the revenue which they had taken away from  
 Sindiah.—W.

the yoke of Sindiah, and whom it was the policy of the Governor-General now to render dependent upon the British government, and to form of them a sort of barrier on the British frontier against any aggression of the Mahratta powers, were the Rajas of Bhurtpore, Jodepore, Jyepoor, Macherry, and Boondee, the Rana of Gohud, and Ambajee Rao Ingliia.

With the first five of these minor princes, who were already in possession of acknowledged sovereignties, treaties of alliance were formed, on condition that the English should take no tribute from them, nor interfere in the affairs of their government; that, in case of the invasion of the Company's territory, they should assist in repelling the enemy; and that the Company should guarantee their dominions against all aggression, they defraying the expense of the aid which they might receive. The case of the remaining two chieftains required some further arrangements. The Rana of Gohud had been dispossessed of his territories by Sindiah; and all of them, together with the neighbouring districts, had been consigned to Ambajee, one of Sindiah's leading commanders, as renter. Ambajee had deserted Sindiah during the war; and it was now determined to make a partition, in sovereignty, of the territories which he rented, between him and the Rana of Gohud, reserving the fort and city of Gualior to the Company. The same condition was contracted, as in the case of the other three princes, respecting mutual defence; but it was appointed that three battalions of the Company's sepoy should be stationed with the Rana, and paid for by him, at the rate of 75,000 rupees a month.<sup>1</sup>

The condition to which Sindiah was reduced, by the war, and by the sacrifices which he had made for the attainment of peace, excited in his breast the liveliest apprehensions with regard to the power and designs of Holkar; and he now applied himself in earnest to interpose, if possible, the shield of the Company between

<sup>1</sup> Memorandum of the conferences between Major-General the Hon. Arthur Wellesley, and the Ambassadors of Dowlut Rao Sindiah; Letter from General Wellesley to Governor-General; Treaty of peace with Sindiah; and treaties with the Rajas of Bhurtpore, &c. Ibid. p. 132—164; and the Governor-General's "Notes relative to the peace concluded between the British Government and the confederate Mahratta chieftains, and to the various questions arising out of the terms of the pacification." Ibid. p. 177—199.



BOOK VI. himself and this fortunate antagonist. By one expedient  
 CHAP. XII. alone, was he permitted to hope, that this important  
 1803. object could be attained ; by entering into the system of  
 general alliance, and subsidiary defence. It was agreed,  
 accordingly, that Major Malcolm should repair to the  
 camp of Sindiah, to settle the terms of a treaty of this  
 description. The business was accomplished, and the treaty  
 signed at Boorhanpore on the 27th of February, 1804.  
 There were two remarkable circumstances. One was, the  
 price which the Governor-General consented to pay for  
 the supposed advantage of placing a body of British  
 troops at the disposal of Sindiah, and pledging the English  
 government for his defence. The amount of the force  
 defined by the treaty was 6000 infantry, and the usual  
 proportion of artillery. These troops were to be main-  
 tained entirely at the expense of the English government,  
 with the proceeds of the newly-acquired dominions ; and  
 that they might not establish an influence in Sindiah's  
 government, they were not even to be stationed within  
 his territory, but at some convenient place near his  
 frontier within the Company's dominions. The other re-  
 markable circumstance was, not the condition by which  
 the English government made itself responsible for the  
 defence of the dominions of Sindiah, but that, by which  
 it engaged to make itself the instrument of his despotism ;  
 to become the executioner of every possible atrocity to-  
 wards his own subjects, of which he might think proper  
 to be guilty. It bound itself, by an express stipulation,  
 not to interfere between him and his subjects, how dread-  
 ful soever his conduct in regard to his subjects might be.  
 But the moment his subjects should take measures to  
 resist him, whatsoever the enormities against which they  
 might seek protection, the English government engaged,  
 without scruple and without condition, to act immediately  
 for their *suppression and chastisement*. Where was now  
 the doctrine of the Governor-General for the deposition of  
 princes whose government was bad ? Where was the re-  
 gard to that disgrace which, as he told the princes whom  
 he deposed, redounded to the British name, whenever they  
 supported a government that was bad ?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This virtuous indignation is not called for by the stipulations of the treaty, The British government engaged not to give support to Sindiah's relations.

In forming his connexions with other states, either for war or peace, the Maharaja bound himself to the slight condition of only consulting with the Company's government, but by no means of being governed by its decisions; and in any war to be carried on by their mutual exertions it was agreed, without any mention made of the proportion of troops, that in the partition of conquests the shares should be equal. The stipulation with regard to Frenchmen and other Europeans, or Americans, was made still more agreeable to the taste of the times; for it was promised by Sindiah that he would allow no such person to remain in his dominions without the consent of the Company's government.<sup>1</sup>

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The Governor-General seemed now to have accomplished the whole of his objects; and lofty was the conception which he formed of the benefits attained. The famous official document, which has been already quoted, "Notes relative to the peace concluded between the British government and the confederate Mahratta chieftains," concludes with "a general recapitulation of the benefits which the British government in India has derived from the success of the war, and from the combined arrangements of the pacification, including the treaties of peace, of partition, and of defensive alliance and subsidy." It exhibits them under no less than *nineteen* several heads: 1. The reduction of the power and resources of Sindiah and the Raja of Berar; 2. The destruction of the French power; 3. The security against its revival; 4. The annexation to the British dominions of the territory occupied by Perron; 5. The annexation of other territories in the Doab, and the command of the Jumma; 6. The deliverance of the Emperor Shah Aulum from the control of the French; 7. The security and influence derived from the

dependants, military chiefs, and servants, with respect to whom the Maharaja was absolute, and to assist in reducing and punishing them on his requisition if they rebelled or acted in opposition to his authority (Article 8). A previous article, however, provides that the subsidiary force is not to be employed on trifling occasions (Article 6). A clause which implies the exercise of the judgment of the British government as to the occasions on which its troops were to be employed; a discretionary power also involved in the presence of the Resident. It is not true, therefore, that the treaty binds the British to act immediately against the Raja's subjects without scruple, or without condition.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Treaty of alliance and mutual defence. Ibid. p. 164.



BOOK VI. system of alliance with the petty states along the Jumna  
CHAP. XII. against the Mahrattas; 8. The security and influence

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derived from the possession of Gualior, and the subsidiary force established in Gohud; 9. The means of defence derived from these same fountains against any other enemy on the north-western frontier; 10. The advantages both in security and wealth derived from Cuttack; 11. The advantages derived from the possession of Baroach, which left Sindiah no direct communication with the sea, or with the transmarine enemies of the British government; 12. The security derived from Baroach against the intrigues of the French with any native state; 13. The additional security bestowed upon the British interests in Guzerat, by the possession of Baroach, and the abolition of Sindiah's claims on the Gaekwar; 14. The revenue and commerce derived from Baroach; 15. The benefits bestowed upon the Peshwa and Nizam; 16. The increased renown of the British nation, both for power and virtue; 17. The "defensive and *subsidiary*<sup>1</sup> alliance" with Dowlut Rao Sindiah; 18. The power of controlling the causes of dissension and contest among the Mahratta states; the power of keeping them weak; the power of preventing their combination with one another, or with the enemies of the British state; 19. The security afforded to the Company and its allies from the turbulence of the Mahratta character and state.<sup>2</sup>

This is exhibited as an instructive specimen of a good mode of making up an account.

After this enumeration, the document breaks out into the following triumphant declaration:—"The general arrangements of the pacification, combined with the treaties of partition, with the defensive and subsidiary alliance now concluded with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, with the condition of our external relations and with the internal prosperity of the British empire; have finally placed the British power in India in that commanding position with regard to other states, which affords *the only possible security for the permanent tranquillity and prosperity of these valuable and important possessions.*"

It is material here to mark, what is thus solemnly

<sup>1</sup> Subsidiary it could not well be, when he paid no subsidy.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 197, 198. Despatches, 4, 132.

declared, by one of the most eminent of all our Indian rulers, that without that artificial system, which he created, of subsidiary troops, and dependence, under the name of alliance, there is no such thing as security for "the British empire in the East."<sup>1</sup>

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The document goes on to boast, that the troops, thus bestowed upon the Peshwa, the Nizam, Sindiah, the Gaekwar, and Rana of Gohud, would exceed 24,000 men; that all these would be maintained at the expense of those allies, which was incorrect, as Sindiah paid nothing for the 6000 allotted to him; that this amount of troops would always be maintained in a state of perfect equipment, and might be directed against any of the principal states of India, without affecting the tranquillity of the Company's possessions, or adding materially to its expenses.

It then declares:—"The position, extent, and equipment of this military force, combined with the privilege which the British government possesses of arbitrating differences and dissensions between the several states with which it is connected by the obligations of alliance, enable the British power to control the causes of that internal war which, during so long a term of years, has desolated many of the most fertile provinces of India; has occasioned a constant and hazardous fluctuation of power among the native states; has encouraged a predatory spirit among the inhabitants; and formed an inexhaustible source for the supply of military adventurers, prepared to join the standard of any turbulent chieftain for the purpose of ambition, plunder, or rebellion. No danger can result from the operation of our defensive alliances, of involving the British government in war; excepting in cases of manifest justice and irresistible necessity. The power of arbitration, reserved in all cases by the British government, not only secures the Company from the contingency of war, in the prosecution of the unjust views of any of our allies, but affords a considerable advantage in authorizing and empowering the British government to check, by amicable negotiation, the primary and remote sources of hostilities in every part of India."<sup>2</sup>

When extracted from these sounding words, the mean-

<sup>1</sup> Contrast with it the opinions of his successor. Vide infra.

<sup>2</sup> Papers, ut supra, p. 198.



BOOK VI. ing is, that the British government in India had obtained  
 CHAP. XII. two advantages: 1. An enlargement of revenue: 2. In-  
 1803. creased security against the recurrence of war, or the  
 evils of an unsuccessful one.

1. Additional revenue is only useful, when it is not balanced by an equal increase of expense. The Governor-General talks loudly of the additional revenue; but not a word of the additional expense. If we had no more evidence but this, it would be a legitimate inference, that the expense was omitted, because it would not have been favourable to his argument to speak of it. We have abundant general evidence that the expense of governing enlarged territory, in almost all places, though more especially in India, equals, or more frequently surpasses, all the revenue which it is possible to draw from it. We shall presently see in what degree the facts of the present case conform to the general rule. If it turns out that the expense of governing the new territory is equal to its revenue, it follows that the enormous expense of the war, generated by the treaty of Bassein, and by the passion of the Governor-General for subsidiary alliances, remained altogether without compensation on the score of money.

2. Let us inquire, if there is more solidity in the alleged advantage, in which, single and solitary, the whole compensation for the war remains to be sought, viz., security against the evils of war.

Now, at first view, it would appear that an obligation to defend a great number of Indian states, an obligation of taking part in all their miserable and never-ending quarrels, was of all receipts the most effectual, for being involved almost incessantly in the evils of war.

This increased exposure to the evils of war was far outweighed, according to the Governor-General, by the power of preventing war through the influence of the subsidiary troops.

Unfortunately the question which hence arises admits not of that degree of limitation and precision which enables it to receive a conclusive answer. The probabilities, though sufficiently great, must be weighed, and without any fixed and definite standard.

One thing, in the mean time, is abundantly certain, that if the East India Company was able to keep any Indian

state from going to war, this must have been, because it was the master of that state, because that state was dependent upon the East India Company, and bound in all its concerns to obey the Company's will. But if this were the case, and if the native governments were thus deprived of all independent power, infinitely better would it have been to have removed them entirely. Two prodigious advantages would thus have been gained; the great expense of keeping them would have been saved; and the people in the countries under them would have been delivered from the unspeakable miseries of their administration; miseries always increased to excess by the union of a native with the British government. But, to place this question on the broadest basis: the policy of taking the whole of the Mahratta country immediately under the British government, would either have been good, or it would have been bad. If it would have been good, why was it not followed: when the power was not wanting, and when the right of conquest would have applied with just as much propriety to the part that was not done, as the part that was? If it would not have been good policy to take the whole of the Mahratta country under the British government; in other words, to have had the responsibility of defending it with the whole of its resources; it was surely much worse policy to take the responsibility of defending it, with only a part of those resources.

Another question, however, may be, not whether something better than the defensive alliances might not have been done, but whether something might not have been done that was worse; whether, if the government of the Mahratta princes was not entirely dissolved, it was not better to bind them by defensive alliances, than to leave them unbound; whether according to the Governor-General, the British state was not more exempt from the danger of war, with the alliances, than without them.

To answer this question, it must be maturely considered, under what danger of war the British government would have been placed, without the alliances. It is not the way to arrive at a just conclusion, to set out without allowing that this danger was just anything which any body pleases. It may be pretty confidently affirmed, that

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BOOK VI. with good government within their own territories, under  
 CHAP. XII. the known greatness of their power, the English were  
 1803. almost wholly exempt from the danger of war; because,  
 in this case, war could reach them through but one medium,  
 that of invasion; and from invasion, surely, they had little to dread.

Allowing then, that the subsidiary alliances were a scheme calculated to prevent the danger of war; as far as regards the British government, there was little or nothing of that sort to prevent; the subsidiary alliances were a great and complicated apparatus, for which, when got up, there was nothing to do; a huge cause prepared when there was no effect to be produced.<sup>1</sup>

This is decisive in regard to the practical question. In speculation, another question may still be raised; namely, whether, if the British state had been exposed to the danger of wars, the scheme of the subsidiary alliances was a good instrument for preventing them. In India, as in all countries in corresponding circumstances, one thing saves from aggression, and one thing alone, namely, power; the prospect which the aggressor has before him, of suffering by his aggression, rather than of gaining by it. The question, then, is shortly this; did the subsidiary alliances make the English stronger, in relation to the princes of India, than they would have been without those alliances?

The subsidiary alliances yielded two things; they yielded a portion of territory; and they yielded a certain position of a certain portion of British troops. In regard to the territory, it may, at any rate, be assumed, as doubtful, whether, in the circumstances of the British state, at the time of the treaty of Bassein, it could be rendered intrinsically stronger by any accession of territory; since, by Act of Parliament, the question stands decided the opposite

<sup>1</sup> The Governor-General, indeed, takes it as one of his benefits, that the native states would be restrained from war among themselves. But he does not inform us to whom the benefit would accrue. If the English were secure from aggression, the wars of the native princes were of no importance to them. If humanity is pretended, and the deliverance of the people from the horrors of war, it is to be replied with dreadful certainty, that under the atrocities of a native government supported by British power, the horrors of peace were no improvement upon the horrors of war. The sufferings of the people under the Nabobs of the Carnatic and Oude were described by the English government itself, perhaps with some exaggeration. as unmatched in any portion of India.

way : much more, then, is it doubtful, whether it could be rendered stronger by an accession of territory, which imported the obligation and expense not merely of defending itself, but of defending the whole kingdom to which it was annexed. It will not, then, be assumed, that the mere territory gotten by the English was the circumstance looked to for preventing the evils of war. If it was that, the territory might have been taken without the alliances.

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The only remaining circumstance is, the position of the troops. For, as to the other conditions, about not holding intercourse with other states except in conjunction with the English, these were merely verbal ; and would be regarded by the Indian governments, just as long, as they would have been regarded without the alliance ; namely, as long as the English could punish them, whenever they should do what the English would dislike.

Now, surely, it is not a proposition which it will be easy to maintain, that a country is stronger with regard to its neighbours, if it has its army dispersed in several countries ; a considerable body of it in one country, and a considerable body in another, than if it has the whole concentrated within itself ; and skilfully placed in the situation best calculated to overawe any neighbour from whom danger may be apprehended. There are many combinations of circumstances in which this would be a source of weakness much more than strength.

If it is said, that the position of the English subsidiary troops, with a native prince, imported the annihilation, or a great reduction, of his own force ; this, in the circumstances of India, cannot be regarded as a matter of almost any importance. In a country swarming with military adventurers, and which fights with undisciplined troops, an army can always be got together with great rapidity, as soon as a leader can hold out a reasonable prospect that something will be gained by joining his standards. The whole history of India is a proof, that a man who is without an army to-day, may, if he has the due advantages, to-morrow (if we may use an eastern hyperbole) be surrounded by a great one. Of this we have had a great and very recent example, in the army with which Holkar, a



BOOK VI. mere adventurer, was enabled to meet, and to conquer  
 CHAP. XII. Sindiah, the most powerful native prince in India.

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It was, in a short time, as we shall see, found by the British government itself, that it could regard the presence of subsidiary troops as a very weak bridle in the mouth of a native prince, when he began to forget his own weakness. The weakness, in fact, was the bridle. If he remained weak, that was enough, without the subsidiary troops. If he grew strong, the subsidiary troops, it was seen, would not long restrain him.

I cannot aim at the production of all those circumstances, on both sides of this question, which would be necessary to be produced, and to be weighed, to demonstrate accurately the probabilities of good or of evil, attached to such a scheme of policy, as that of the subsidiary alliances of Governor-General Wellesley. I have endeavoured to conduct the reader into the paths of inquiry; and leave the question undecided.

In summing up the account of the treaty of Bassein, we can only, therefore, approach to a determinate conclusion. On the one side, there is the certain and the enormous evil, of the expenditure of the Mahratta war. Whether the subsidiary alliances, which were looked to for compensation, were calculated to yield any compensation, and did not rather add to the evils, is seen to be at the least exceedingly doubtful. The policy of the treaty of Bassein cannot, therefore, be misunderstood.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That many of the consequences of the Mahratta war, enumerated by Lord Wellesley were real and permanent political advantages to the British dominion in India cannot be questioned. The power of the principal Mahratta chiefs was reduced, and their military reputation destroyed; in the like proportion the power of the British government was augmented, and its renown enhanced; and an immense stride was effected towards that exalted position in which it now stands as the paramount sovereign of Hindustan. That Great Britain reaps substantial benefits from its ascendancy will be scarcely disputed. That India derives benefit from it is also undeniable, although it may not be of that value which the English, who are the greatest gainers, are fond of representing it. That the Governor-General was mistaken in his anticipations of at once preserving perpetual tranquillity, subsequent events sufficiently proved; and it would be an impeachment of his humanity and justice to suppose that he could have foreseen the disastrous results which his treaties of defensive alliance inflicted on those princes who were tempted or compelled to become his allies. He did not make a sufficient allowance for the reluctance with which it is natural for man in every station of life to part with independence, and especially for princes to relinquish the authority they have received from their predecessors. The nature of the subsidiary connexion imposed upon the subsidized prince a state of subjection to which he could scarcely be expected cheerfully to submit; and the vain attempts made by him to shake off his fetters, either riveted them more firmly, or terminated in his annihila-

tion. It is true that the conditions of a subsidiary alliance leave to a native prince the power of ruling his own subjects with benignity, wisdom, and justice. There is no reason why he should be a sensualist or an oppressor because he has not an army at his command. Such, however, is human nature in the East — possibly also in other quarters of the world — that when responsibility is withdrawn, and impunity secured, the motives to useful activity are weakened or destroyed, and the objects of interest are exclusively concentrated in individual indulgence. There is no doubt that Lord Wellesley's views in the formation of subsidiary alliances, as far as they regarded the princes of India, with whom they were formed, have in every instance been disappointed; and as far as the people are concerned, often imperfectly realized; but it is not the less true that the grand aim of his policy has been attained, and that by the command or influence which British India now exercises over all the other states internal war has been put an end to throughout the whole of that continent. There may be an occasional disturbance, but it can neither be extensive nor long continued; it cannot deserve the imputation of a state of warfare. That under any circumstances, intestine hostilities are to be prevented, if possible, our author would have been the first to admit; as he is no admirer of military renown: but when it is remembered in what manner, and by what persons, with what an utter disregard of those restraints by which the horrors of war amongst civilized nations are in some degree checked, hostilities in India were carried on, there will remain no doubt that India has gained, upon the whole, important advantages from the scheme of universal pacification which it was Lord Wellesley's policy to establish, and which has now been effected. That it was not sooner accomplished, was in part owing to the different views of his successors and in part to a circumstance politicians do not always sufficiently regard — matters were not sufficiently ripe for so great a change.

It is worthy of remark that at a subsequent period the author changed his opinions materially in regard to the necessity of the war with the Mahrattas, as well as that with Tippoo. The purport of his reasoning in the text is, that both might have been avoided, that there was no real danger to be apprehended from Tippoo, and that our interference in the domestic concerns of the Mahrattas, out of which the war arose, was entirely unnecessary and unadvisable. In his examination before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, he says, "all our wars cannot perhaps be with propriety considered wars of necessity, but most of those by which the territories we possess have been obtained, and out of which our subsidiary alliances have grown, have been wars, I think, of necessity, and not of choice. For example, the wars with Tippoo and the Mahrattas." Evidence Political, i. p. 10. This is very irreconcilable with the notious of the text, and although more consonant to the fact; it requires perhaps some modification. The immediate necessity of the second war with Tippoo is very questionable; and it may be doubted if the Mahratta war might not have been delayed. In both cases, however, it must be admitted that collision sooner or later was unavoidable; and it was not inconsistent with a prudent policy to have brought on its occurrence as soon as we were prepared for the encounter.—W.

### CHAPTER XIII.

*Necessity inferred of curbing Holkar.— Intercourse between Holkar and Sindiah renewed.— Governor-General resolves to take the Holkar Dominions, but to give them away to the Peshwa, Sindiah, and the Nizam.— Holkar retreats before the Commander-in-Chief, towards the South. — The Commander-in-Chief withdraws the Army into Cantonments, leaving Colonel Monson with a Detachment*

BOOK VI.

CHAP. XII.

1803.



BOOK VI.  
CHAP. XIII.

1804.

*in advance.—Holkar turns upon Monson.—Monson makes a disastrous Retreat to Agra.—The British Army from Guzerat subdues Holkar's Dominions in Malwa.—Holkar by a Stratagem attacks Delhi.—Brave Defence of Delhi.—The Holkar Dominions in the Deccan subdued.—Defeat of Holkar's Infantry at Deeg.—Rout of his Cavalry at Furruckabad.—The Raja of Bhurtpore, one of the allied Chieftains, joins with Holkar.—Unsuccessful Attack upon the Fortress of Bhurtpore.—Accommodation with the Raja of Bhurtpore.—Disputes with Sindiah.—Prospect of a War with Sindiah.—Holkar joins the Camp of Sindiah.—The British Resident ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to quit the Camp of Sindiah.—Sindiah endeavours to prevent the Departure of the Resident.—Marquis Wellesley succeeded by Marquis Cornwallis.—Cornwallis' View of the State of Government.—Of Wellesley's System of subsidiary and defensive Alliance.—Cornwallis resolves to avoid a War with Sindiah, by yielding every Point in Dispute.—To make Peace with Holkar by restoring all the Territories he had lost.—To dissolve the Connexion of the British Government with the minor Princes on the Mahratta Frontier.—Negotiations between Sindiah and the Commander-in-Chief.—Death of Lord Cornwallis.—Sir G. Barlow adheres to the Plans of Lord Cornwallis.—Holkar advances into the Country of the Seiks.—Pursued by Lord Lake.—A fresh Treaty concluded by Sindiah.—Treaty with Holkar.—Financial Results.*

WHEN the English were freed from the burden and the dangers of the war with Sindiah and the Raja of Berar, they began to think of placing a curb on the power of Jeswunt Rao Holkar. Though Holkar had engaged, and upon very advantageous terms, to join with the other chieftains, he had abstained from co-operation in the war against the English; and though he had committed some ravages on a part of the Nizam's territory, toward the beginning of the war; the Governor-General had not held it expedient to treat this offence as a reason for hostilities: Holkar, on the other hand, had been uniformly assured that the English were desirous of preserving with him the relations of peace.

In the month of December, 1803, Holkar, having BOOK VI.  
marched towards the territory of the Raja of Jyenagur, CHAP. XIII.  
took up a position which threatened the security of this  
ally of the British state. At the same time, he addressed  
letters to the British Commander-in-Chief, containing as-  
surances of his disposition to cultivate the friendship of  
the British government. But a letter of his to the Raja  
of Macherry, suggesting to him inducements to withdraw  
from the British alliance, was communicated by that Raja  
to the Commander-in-Chief; further correspondence of a  
hostile nature was discovered; and intelligence was re-  
ceived of his having murdered three British subjects in  
his service, on a false charge that one of them had corre-  
sponded with the Commander-in-Chief. It appeared im-  
prudent to remove the army of the Commander-in-Chief  
from the field, till security was obtained against the pro-  
jects of Holkar.

1804,

The determination which hitherto had guided the con-  
duct of the Governor-General, that he would abstain from  
the dispute in the Holkar family respecting the successor  
of Tuckojee, still operated in his mind. And he autho-  
rized the Commander-in-Chief to conclude an arrange-  
ment with Jeswunt Rao, engaging, on the part of the  
British government, to leave him in the unmolested ex-  
ercise of his authority, provided he would engage to abstain  
from all aggression upon the British or their allies.

The Commander-in-Chief addressed a letter to Holkar,  
dated the 29th of January, 1804, in conformity with the  
instructions which he had received; inviting him to send  
vakeels to the British camp for the purpose of effecting  
the amicable agreement which both parties professed to  
have in view; but requiring him, as a proof of his friendly  
intentions, to withdraw his army from its menacing posi-  
tion, and abstain from exactions upon the British allies.  
At the same time the British army advanced to Hindoun,  
a position which at once commanded the principal roads  
into the Company's territory, and afforded an easy move-  
ment in any direction which the forces of Holkar might  
be found to pursue. On the 27th of February, an answer  
from that chieftain arrived. It repeated the assurance of  
his desire to cultivate the friendship of the British govern-  
ment, and expressed his intention to withdraw from his



BOOK VI. present position, and send a vakeel to the British camp.  
 CHAP. XIII. In the mean time, however, letters were intercepted, addressed by Holkar to subjects and allies of the British government, exciting them to revolt, and stating his design of sending troops to ravage the British territories. The Commander-in-Chief made an amicable reply to his letter ; but warned him, at the same time, against the practices in which he had begun to indulge. And on the 16th of March two vakeels from Holkar arrived in the British camp.

1804.

They were commissioned to demand ; 1. leave to collect the chout according to the custom of his ancestors ; 2. certain possessions formerly enjoyed by his family, namely, Etawah, twelve pergunnahs in the Doab, one in Bundelcund, and the country of Hurriana ; 3. the guarantee of the country which he then possessed ; 4. a treaty similar in terms to that which had been concluded with Sindiah. These demands were treated as altogether extravagant ; and the vakeels, after receiving a remonstrance on the continuance of their master in his present threatening position, departed from the camp, bearing to him another letter from the Commander-in-Chief. In this, Holkar was invited to send again a confidential agent, with powers to conclude an arrangement on terms in which the British government would be able to concur. In the mean time, he had addressed a letter to General Wellesley ; containing a demand of certain territories, which he said belonged to his family in the Deccan ; and intimating that, notwithstanding the greatness of the British power, a war with him would not be without its evils ; for “although unable to oppose their artillery in the field, countries of many coss should be overrun, and plundered, and burnt ; that they should not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and that calamities would fall on lacs of human beings in continued war by the attacks of his army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea.” An answer, however, to the letter of the Commander-in-Chief was received in the British camp on the 4th of April ; still evading either acceptance or rejection of the simple proposition of the British Commander, and urging his pretensions to something like the terms he himself had proposed. That letter drew another from the Commander-in-Chief, ap-

plauding the forbearance of the British government, and assuring Holkar that he would best consult his own interest by complying with its demands.<sup>1</sup>

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Holkar, though fully aware of the hatred towards him in the bosom of Sindiah, was not deterred from the endeavour of opening a negotiation, or at any rate of giving himself the benefit of an apparent intrigue, with that chieftain. A vakeel of his arrived in the camp of Sindiah, on the 5th of February, 1804. The account, which Sindiah and his ministers thought proper to render of this event to the British Resident in his camp, was liable to suspicion, on the one hand from the extreme duplicity of Mahratta councils, on the other from the extraordinary desire which appeared on the part of Sindiah to produce a war between that rival and the British government. They said, that the vakeel had endeavoured to prevail upon Sindiah to accommodate his dispute with Holkar, and form a union for the reduction of the British power, the continual augmentation of which could be attended with nothing less than final destruction of the Mahratta state; but that the answer of Sindiah was a positive refusal, on the professed grounds, of the treachery with which Holkar had violated his pledge to the late confederacy, the impossibility of confiding in any engagement into which he might enter, and the resolution of Sindiah to adhere to his connexion with the British state. Notwithstanding this supposed reply, a vakeel from Sindiah proceeded to the camp of Holkar, on the alleged motive that, unable as he was to resist the arms of that chieftain, it was desirable both to effect an accommodation with him, and to sound his inclinations. According to the representation made to the British Resident, the vakeel was authorized to propose a continuance of the relations of amity and peace, but to threaten hostilities if depredations were committed on any part of the territory either of Sindiah or his dependants.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Governor-General in council to the Secret Committee; dated 15th June, 1804. Papers, ut supra, printed in 1806. Notes 23, p. 263. Notes, ut supra, No. 25, p. 205.—M. Wellesley Despatches, iv. 48.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Major Malcolm; Papers, ut supra, No. 23, p. 298; Governor-General's Despatch, *ibid.* p. 270.—M.

This intercourse is thus explained by Grant. Holkar had always intended to engage in hostilities with the British, but had kept aloof in uncertainty of



BOOK VI. Sindiah's vakeel arrived in Holkar's camp on the 3rd of  
 CHAP. XIII. March. Previous to this time, Holkar had moved, with  
 1805. the main body of his troops, into Ajmere, a country belonging to Sindiah. His pretence was devotion; but he levied contributions on the people, and made an attempt, though unsuccessful, to obtain possession of the fort. Notwithstanding a declaration to the British Commander-in-Chief, that he intended to proceed homewards from Ajmere, a portion of his army still remained on the frontier of the Raja of Jypore, and no longer abstained from depredations on his country. The ministers of Sindiah made report to the British Resident, respecting the vakeel who had been sent to the camp of Holkar, that he had been received with distinguished ceremony and respect; that he was invited to a private conference; that Holkar, on this occasion, openly confessed his design of making a predatory war upon the British possessions; that, when the vakeel expostulated with him on his proceedings in Ajmere, he apologized, by stating his intention to leave his family with the Raja of Jodepore when he commenced his operations against the English; the refusal of that Raja to join with him, till he put him in possession of the province and fort of Ajmere: and thence his hope, that Sindiah would excuse an irregularity, which not inclination, but necessity, in the prosecution of a war involving the independence of them both, had induced him to commit. Of this report, so much alone was fit for belief, as had confirmation from other sources of evidence.

The only matters of fact, which seem to have been distinctly ascertained, were, first, certain trifling depredations at Jypore, less material than those at Aurungabad which had been formerly excused, on the score of a ne-

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the result of the war, anticipating that Sindiah would immediately turn his arms against him if he triumphed over the British, or that if he was defeated, he, Holkar, might come to Sindiah's aid with additional credit and influence. As soon as hostilities had terminated, he sent a vakeel to Sindiah, recommending him to break the treaty and renew the war, but that chieftain was, or pretended to be so exasperated against Holkar, that he immediately communicated the fact to the British authority. Some of his ministers, especially his father-in-law, Sherzee Rao Ghatgay had more confidence in Holkar, and advised Sindiah, notwithstanding the communication to the British Resident to despatch a Vakeel to Holkar's camp, for the purpose, as they gave out, of ascertaining his designs, but in reality to leave open the door of reconciliation, in case the project of Holkar, in whose wisdom and fortune all the Maharrattas began to have great confidence, should prove worthy of regard. *Mahr. Hist.*, iii, 270.—W.

cessity created by troops whom he was unable to maintain; secondly, a disposition to haggle for better terms, in forming a treaty, than the British government were willing to grant; and thirdly, the existence and character of him and his army, to whom predatory warfare was a matter, it was supposed, both of choice and necessity, as the plunder of the Company's territory was the only source of subsistence. On these facts and suppositions, with a strong disposition to believe reports, and to magnify grounds of suspicion, the Governor-General, on the 16th of April, issued orders to the Commander-in-Chief, and Major-General Wellesley, to commence hostile operations against Holkar, both in the north and in the south.<sup>1</sup>

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In his despatch to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 15th of June, 1804, the Governor-General says: "Jeswunt Rao Holkar being justly considered as an adventurer, and as the *usurper* of the *rights* of his brother Cashee Rao Holkar—consistently with

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General's Letter, No. 23, ut supra, p. 271: Notes, No. 25, ut supra, p. 208.—M.

Holkar's demands and menaces were something more than grounds for suspicion, but a new light has been thrown upon this subject by recent and authentic information. Regulating its proceedings by the rules of European policy, the Indian government imagined that a state of warfare was necessarily to be preceded by a specific declaration. Mahratta policy required no such formality, and must have thought the Governor-General's tardiness the result of either infirmity of purpose or conscious weakness. It is clear that Holkar considered himself to be at war with the English. In the biographical memoirs of Holkar's confederate, Ameer Khan, written from his own dictation, and of which a translation by Mr. Prinsep has been published in Calcutta, he intimates no sort of suspicion that peace subsisted between Holkar and the English from the commencement of hostilities against Sindiah, with whom he was in alliance, and therefore a party in the contest. Ameer Khan relates that as soon as Sindiah and the Raja of Berar heard that the Peshwa had come to terms with the English, they sent a confidential messenger to Holkar to say, that as Bajee Rao had called in the English, and brought their army into the field, and Hindoostan could no longer be deemed the safe possession of their nation, all private quarrels should be buried in oblivion, and every true Mahratta uniting in heart and hand, and in word and deed, ought to endeavour to drive the English out of the country: that they who were the chiefs of the nation should agree, therefore, mutually to assist one another at present, and to settle their private disputes and animosities as might be agreed upon afterwards. Holkar consulted Ameer Khan on the subject, by whose advice certain conditions were proposed to the allied chiefs, to which they acceded, and in consequence Ameer Khan, with a select body of Holkar's troops, was on his march to join the confederates when the news of the battle of Assye arrested his progress, and he returned to Holkar. This demonstration, of which there can be no doubt, as it is related by Ameer Khan himself, does not seem to have been known to the English authorities. Again, after the battle of Laswaree, whilst yet Holkar was looked upon as neutral, he wrote to Ameer Khan with many adjurations that he had made up his mind to enter the field against General Lake, and he therefore commanded the Ameer to join him as soon as possible. Memoirs of Mohammed Ameer Khan, translated from the Persian by H. T. Prinsep, Esq., Calcutta, 1832.



BOOK VI. the principles of justice, no arrangement could be proposed between the British government and Jeswunt Rao

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Holkar, involving the formal sanction of the British government to that chieftain's *usurpation*, and to the exclusion of Cashee Rao Holkar from *his hereditary dominions*." Yet these very dominions, thus declared to belong to Cashee Rao, the Governor-General had already resolved, without a shadow of complaint against Cashee Rao, to take, and give away to other persons. In his instructions to the British Resident in the Camp of Sindiah, dated the 16th of April, 1804, he says ; " His Excellency thinks it may be useful to you to be apprized, that it is not his intention, in the event of the reduction of Holkar's power, to take any share of the possessions of the Holkar family for the Company. Chandore, and its dependencies and vicinity, will probably be given to the Peshwa ; and the other possessions of Holkar, situated to the south of the Godavery, to the Subahdar of the Decan : all the remainder of the possessions of Holkar will accrue to Sindiah, provided he shall exert himself in the reduction of Jeswunt Rao Holkar." In lieu of " his hereditary dominions," which it was not pretended that he had done anything to forfeit to the British government, " it will be necessary," says the Governor-General in a subsequent paragraph, " to make *some* provision for Cashee Rao, and for such of the legitimate branches of the family as may not be concerned in the violation of the public peace, or in the crimes of Jeswunt Rao Holkar."<sup>2</sup>

The motive which led the Governor-General to decline a portion of the territory of Holkar for the Company, immediately after having taken for it so great a portion from Sindiah ; and to add so largely to the dominions of Sindiah, immediately after having so greatly reduced them, is somewhat mysterious, if viewed through the single medium of national good ; but is sufficiently intelligible, if we either suppose, that he already condemned the policy of his former measures, and thought an opposite conduct very likely to pass without observation ; or, that, still approving the former policy, he yet regarded escape from the imputation of making war from the love

<sup>1</sup> No. 23, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Letters, ut supra, Ibid. p. 303, 304.—M. Despatches, 4, 99, 369.—W.

of conquest; as a greater good, in the present instance, than the territory declined.<sup>1</sup>

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Sindiah, we are told, was highly delighted, as well he might be, with the announcement of the intention of the Governor-General, both to commence hostilities, upon Holkar, and to make such a division of the territory of the family. He promised to promote the war with his utmost exertions.

When Major-General Wellesley received instructions to begin hostilities, the Deccan was labouring under a scarcity approaching to famine. The principal possessions held for the benefit of Holkar in that quarter of India were—the fort and territory of Chandore, about 130 miles north of Poonah; the fort and territory of Dhoorb, about twenty miles west by north from Chandore, on the same range of hills; Galna, a hill-fort thirty-five miles north-north east of Chandore, and eighty-five miles from Aurungabad; some territory in Candeish; and a few districts intermixed with those of the Nizam. With the capture of the fortresses of Chandore and Galna, these territories would be wholly subdued. But to conduct the operations of an army, in a country totally destitute of forage and provisions, appeared to General Wellesley so hazardous, that he represented it as almost impossible for him to advance against Chandore till the commencement of the rains. In the mean time, he augmented the force in Guzerat by three battalions of native infantry, and instructed Colonel Murray, the commanding officer, to march towards the territories of Holkar in Malwa, and, either by meeting and engaging his army; or acting against his country, to accelerate, as much as possible, his destruction.<sup>2</sup>

During the negotiation with Holkar, the Commander-in-Chief had advanced slowly toward the territory of the Raja of Jypore. A detachment of considerable strength, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ball, had occupied a position near Canore, about ninety miles south-

<sup>1</sup> It was strictly a defensive war, not one engaged in for purposes of conquest, and the determination to divide the territory amongst the dependent chiefs was a demonstration of disinterestedness which could not fail to have a favourable effect on native opinion. In giving up the territory also, little else was done than restoring to each his own.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The documents relative to the correspondence and negotiations with Holkar, previous to the commencement of hostilities, were printed by an order of the House of Commons, under date, 11th of February, 1805.



BOOK VI. west of Delhi, to guard in that direction the Company's  
CHAP. XIII. frontier. To protect and encourage the Raja of Jypore,  
whose territory Holkar, now returned from Ajmere, began  
1804. to ravage, occupying a position which even threatened his  
capital, General Lake sent forward a detachment of three  
battalions of native infantry, under the command of the  
Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Monson, on the 18th of  
April. This detachment arrived in the vicinity of Jypore  
on the 21st. On the morning of the 23rd, Holkar de-  
camped from his position, and began his march to the  
southward with great precipitation. Some parties of  
Hindustanee horse, under European officers, which the  
General had detached for the purpose of observing the  
motions of Holkar, and harassing his march, followed him  
in his retreat. A halt of two days, on the part of Holkar,  
induced the British commander, suspecting a feint, to ad-  
vance with the army; while Monson, with his detachment,  
was directed to precede the main body, as rapidly as pos-  
sible. On the approach of the British forces, Holkar  
resumed his retreat, which he continued with great  
precipitation, till he arrived in the vicinity of Kotah.  
Here he had so far preceded the British troops, that he  
could halt without fear of an immediate attack. The  
Hindustanee horse, who had hung upon his rear, described  
his army as being in the greatest distress, the country re-  
maining nearly desolate from its former ravages. A letter  
without date was received by the Commander-in-Chief,  
from Holkar, on the 8th of May, offering to send, according  
to his desire, a person duly authorized "to settle every  
thing amicably." The Commander-in-Chief replied,  
"When I wrote you, formerly, that vakeels might be sent  
to confirm a friendship, conditions were specified, which  
you have not any way fulfilled; but have acted directly  
contrary to them. This has forced the British govern-  
ment to concert, with its allies, the necessary measures for  
subverting a power, equally inimical to all. This has  
been resolved upon. You will perceive that I cannot now  
enter into any bonds of amity with you, without consult-  
ing the allies of the British government." The fort of  
Rampoora, which the British army were now approaching,  
was the grand protection of the northern possessions of  
Holkar. For the attack of this place, a detachment was

formed, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Don. BOOK VI.  
Having encamped before the place, this officer adopted the CHAP. XIII.  
plan of entering the fort by blowing open the gates. He  
advanced to the assault, a little before day-break, on the  
morning of the 16th of May; and as a well-concerted  
plan was well executed, all resistance was speedily over-  
come, and the place was taken with inconsiderable loss.

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The distance which Holkar had gained by his rapid flight, the improbability of forcing him to action, or of his returning to the upper provinces, presented to the mind of the Commander-in-Chief the inexpediency of retaining the advanced position, which he now occupied, with the main body of his army. Only the British troops in Guzerat, in concert with those of Sindiah, appeared capable, during the present season, of acting with advantage upon the territories of Holkar. He accordingly withdrew the army into cantonments within the British dominions, leaving Colonel Monson with injunctions to make such a disposition of his force as would preclude, in that direction, any sort of danger from Holkar's return.<sup>1</sup>

On the 21st of May, a body of predatory horse, estimated at five thousand, made an incursion into the province of Bundelcund, where seven companies of sepoy, a troop of native cavalry, and the park of artillery, detached, under the command of Captain Smith, from the main body of the troops in that province, were employed in the reduction of a fort, about five miles distant from Kooch. On the morning of the 22nd, this body of horse succeeded in cutting off a part of the British detachment which was posted in the pettah of the fort, and compelled the whole to retreat, with the loss of two howitzers, two twelve-pounders, one six-pounder, and all the tumbrils belonging to the park. The same party made an attempt afterwards upon the town of Calpee, and aimed at crossing the Jumna, but were repulsed with loss; and having afterwards sustained a defeat near Kooch, evacuated the province. The refractory Bundela chiefs still afford considerable employment to the British army.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the Despatch of the Governor-General, ut supra, in Papers, No. 23; and Notes, ut supra, No. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Calcutta Gazettes, Papers, ut supra, No. 25, p. 229.—M.

The party surprised at Mulaya, near Koonch, consisted of two companies of



BOOK VI After the departure of General Lake, Monson, now  
 CHAP. XIII. Brigadier-General, continued to make some movements in  
 1804. advance, and on the first of July, in the height of the  
 rains, was encamped at Soonara; within twenty coss of  
 the camp of Holkar, containing the whole of his cavalry,  
 brigades, and guns. On the evening of that day, a party  
 marched from the British detachment, towards the fort of  
 Hinglais-Ghur, and halted within a mile of the fort, at  
 half-past ten on the following morning. The troops,  
 having rested three hours, arrived at the destined points  
 of attack, at half an hour after two. As soon as they were  
 discovered, a heavy cannonade began from the fort; but  
 it was completely silenced, by the great expertness of the  
 British artillery, in the space of an hour; when the men  
 escalated the walls, and took possession, without difficulty.  
 It was a fortress of great natural strength, and the gal-  
 lantry and skill with which it was attacked, form one of  
 the brilliant incidents of the war. The Commander-in-Chief  
 set a high value on this acquisition; which, he thought,  
 would secure the supplies of Monson, if he advanced to  
 the support of the army from Guzerat, and afford protec-  
 tion to the people of the surrounding districts, who ap-  
 peared to be well inclined to the British cause.<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th of July, Monson received intelligence, that  
 Holkar, who, since his retreat before the Commander-in-  
 Chief, had occupied a position in Malwa, having the  
 Chumbul river between himself and the British detach-  
 ment, had crossed that river with the whole of his army  
 and guns. The force under Monson consisted of five bat-  
 talions of sepoys, with artillery in proportion; and two  
 bodies of irregular horse, about three thousand strong, the  
 one British, under Lieutenant Lucan, the other a detach-

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Sepoys, and one of European artillery, with four European officers. It was  
 entirely cut to pieces by the enemy. According to Ameer Khan's account of  
 this and the ensuing operations which were executed by his troops, Kalpee was  
 plundered, after the defeat of a small detachment, and capture of the officer  
 commanding it, who, however, was liberated without ransom. On his retreat  
 from the Jumna, in consequence of not finding a ford, the Ameer fell in with  
 another party under Captain Jones, was successfully resisted, and obliged to  
 retreat, and his whole party was successfully broken, and dispersed in an affair  
 with Colonel Shepherd, near Koonch, on the 24th June, 1804. *Memoirs*  
 of Ameer Khan, 207. *Thorn, War in India*, 344. *Wellesley-Despatches*,  
 4, 72.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Despatches from the Commander-in-Chief, and General Monson; *Papers*  
*ut supra*, No. 25, p. 233.

ment sent by Sindiah, commanded by a leader named Bappoojee Sindiah. Monson was now advanced about fifty miles beyond the Mokundra pass, where he had expected to procure supplies, and to communicate with Colonel Murray, who was advancing from Guzerat towards Ougein. He made his first movement towards the spot where Holkar crossed the river, in the hope of being able to attack him with advantage, before his troops recovered from the confusion which the passage of the river would be sure to produce. Afterwards, however, reflecting that he had only two days' grain in his camp, that part of his corps was detached to bring up grain, that one battalion of it was on the march to join him from Hinglais-Ghur, and that the enemy's cavalry was very numerous; expecting, also, to be joined by an escort, with treasure for the use of his detachment; and having received accounts from Colonel Murray of his intention to fall back on the Myhie river, he determined to retire to the Mokundra pass.<sup>1</sup> The whole of the baggage and stores was sent off to Soonarah, at four in the morning of the 8th. Monson remained on the ground of encampment till half-past nine, with his detachment formed in order of battle. No enemy having appeared, he now commenced his march; leaving the irregular cavalry, with orders to follow in half an hour, and afford the earliest information of the enemy's motions. The detachment had marched six coss, when intelligence was received that the irregular cavalry, thus remaining behind, had been attacked and defeated by Holkar's horse; and that Lieutenant Lucan, and several other officers, were prisoners.<sup>2</sup> The detachment continued its march, and, next day about noon, reached, unmolested, the Mokundra pass. On the morning of the 10th, a large body of the enemy's cavalry appeared, and continually increased in numbers till noon the following day; when Holkar summoned the detachment to surrender their arms. A refusal being returned, he divided his force into three bodies, and made a vigorous attack on the front and

<sup>1</sup> Monson's determination to retreat is affirmed by Ameer Khan to have been adopted by the treacherous advice of Bapoojee Sindiah, who was in secret understanding with Jeswunt Rao. *Memoirs*, 215.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Lucan was deserted by most of the horse he commanded, was wounded and taken prisoner, and died at Kotah. Bapoojee, with his cavalry, fled upon Holkar's first appearance, and afterwards joined him. *Memoirs*, 215, Note.—W.



BOOK VI. flanks of the British corps. The position and steadiness  
 CHAP. XIII. of the troops enabled them to sustain reiterated onsets,  
 1804. persevered in till night, when Holkar drew off to a distance of two coss; and being joined by his infantry and guns, was expected to renew his attacks on the following morning. Monson, not regarding his position as tenable, and fearing lest the enemy should get in his rear, adopted the resolution of retiring to Kotah. Arrived at this place, on the morning of the 12th, after two marches, rendered excessive harassing by the rain, which fell in torrents, and the enemy who pursued them, the Raja refused to admit them, and professed his inability to furnish any supplies. As the troops were suffering by want of provisions, the decision of Monson was, to advance to the ghaut or ford of the Gaumus Nuddi, only seven miles off.<sup>1</sup> But the rain had fallen with great violence, since the 10th, and the soil was soft. The troops were unable, therefore, to reach the rivulet, till the morning of the 13th, when it was found impassable. They halted on the 14th, to procure a supply of grain from a neighbouring village; and attempted, on the 15th, to continue the march; but it was found impossible to proceed with the guns. In hopes of an abatement of the rain, they made another halt. It rained during the whole of the night of the 15th; and, next morning, the guns had sunk so deep in the mud, as not to be extricable. The camp was without provisions; and all the neighbouring villages were exhausted. The detachment was under an absolute necessity to proceed: Monson was therefore obliged to spike and leave the guns, sending injunctions to the Raja of Boondee to extricate, and remove them to a place of security. The country was so completely overflowed, that the troops could hardly march. The Chumbelee rivulet, which they reached on the 17th, was not fordable; on the 18th, the European artillerymen were crossed over on elephants, and sent on

<sup>1</sup> The Rana of Kotah, Zalim Sing, always denied his having refused the detachment food, and said he had offered it an asylum without the walls. He could scarcely, with a due regard to his own safety, have received them into his fortress, and as it was, he was compelled to pay Holkar a fine of ten lacs of rupees for his equivocal conduct. Mahr. Hist., iii., 260. Malcolm's Central India, i., 499. Memoir of Ameer Khan, 217. Lord Lake also writes, Zaulim Sing, of Kotah, has acted uncommonly well, and proved himself a staunch friend to our government: he will, in all probability, suffer most severely from it, particularly if Colonel Monson should quit his country. Despatches, iv. 179.

to Rampoorā; on the 19th, the rivulet continued to swell; corn, with great difficulty and some danger, was procured for two days; on the evening of the 21st, the camp of a body of the enemy's horse was successfully beaten up; on the 23rd and 24th, a few rafts having been procured, three battalions of the detachment were moved across; the remainder, about seven hundred men, were attacked by a party of the enemy's horse, but able to repel them. On the morning of the 25th, after the whole of the detachment had been got over, not without loss, they moved in different corps, assailed as they passed, by the hill-people and banditti, towards Rampoorā, at which some of them arrived on the 27th, others not till the 29th.

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At Rampoorā, Monson was joined by two battalions of sepoys, a body of irregular horse, four six-pounders, two howitzers, and a supply of grain, sent to his relief from Agra, by the Commander-in-Chief, as soon as he received intelligence of the disasters of the detachment. As the country, however, was destitute of provisions, as Holkar was advancing in considerable force, as Monson expected to be joined at Khoosul-Ghur by six battalions and twenty-one guns, under Sudasheo Bhao Bukshee, in the service of Sindiah, and then to obtain provisions which would enable him to keep the field, he resolved to continue his march to that place, leaving a sufficient garrison for the protection of Rampoorā.

He reached the river Bannas about daybreak on the 22nd of August. It was not fordable. Three boats were found, with which one of the battalions was transported, for the purpose of conducting the treasure to Khoosul-Ghur. The next morning the cavalry of the enemy pitched their camp about four miles distant from the British detachment. On the morning of the 24th, the river having fallen, Monson began to transport his baggage. The greater part of the baggage, and four battalions, had crossed, and General Monson, with the remaining battalion and the piquets of the rest was preparing to follow, as soon as the remainder of the baggage and the people of the camp had effected their passage, when the enemy, a great number of whose cavalry had already passed to the right and the left of the British position, brought up their infantry and guns, and opened a heavy cannonade on the



BOOK VI. small body of the English that still remained on that side  
CHAP. XIII. of the river. Monson led them directly to the charge,  
1804. and they succeeded in taking some guns; but were soon  
overpowered by excess of numbers, and with great difficulty effected their retreat, covered by the fire of one of the battalions on the opposite side, which advanced to the bank of the river to protect them. The enemy prosecuted their advantage, and Monson was obliged to abandon his baggage, and fly to Khoosul-Ghur, which he reached on the night of the 25th of August. On the morning of the 26th, the enemy's cavalry encamped round him in separate bodies. At the same time a correspondence was detected between some of the native officers and the enemy; and though decisive measures to check the mischief were immediately adopted, two companies of infantry, and a large proportion of the irregular cavalry, made their escape.<sup>1</sup> On the same day Monson quitted the fort, having spiked the last remaining howitzer; and, with the men in an oblong square, began to proceed. During the night and the following day, the enemy's cavalry, supported by guns, attempted several times, but without success, to penetrate the detachment; who, on the night of the 27th, took possession of the ruined fort of Hindown, and next day, at noon, continued their retreat towards Agra. They had no sooner cleared the ravines near Hindown, than a desperate charge, in three separate bodies, was made upon them by the enemy's horse. The sepoys had sufficient discipline to reserve their fire till the enemy had almost come up to the bayonet. It was then given with effect; and the enemy immediately turned, and fled in all directions. Having reached the Biana pass, about sunset on the 28th, when the troops were almost exhausted with hunger and fatigue, Monson halted, with a view to pass the night at the entrance. But the enemy's guns approached, and began a galling fire. He was therefore obliged to prosecute his retreat. The night was dark, the camp-followers and baggage mixed with the line, the troops were thrown into confusion, order could no more be restored, and the different corps concluded their re-

<sup>1</sup> Sindiah's troops stationed at Khooshul-Ghur, and intended to co-operate with the British, endeavoured to plunder the town, and being opposed by the British detachment, were in open hostility.—W.

treat in great disorder, the last of them reaching Agra on the 31st of August. The enemy followed in straggling parties, for purposes of plunder, as far as Futtypoor, but made no united attack after that on the night of the 25th.<sup>1</sup>

During the retreat of his detachment, Colonel Murray, with the division of the British army from Guzerat, advanced into the heart of the Holkar dominions; and on the 24th of August took possession of the capital, Indore. The commander of the troops which had been left for its protection retired without opposition.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed papers, ut supra, No. 25, pp. 229—339. Despatches, iv. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Printed papers, ut supra, p. 240.—M.

It is observed of Colonel Monson by Lord Lake (Despatches iv. 245), that it is extraordinary, "that a man, brave as a lion, should have no judgment or reflection." There is perhaps, nothing very extraordinary in the combination of courage with lack of judgment, and it must be suspected there was want of judgment in this disastrous retreat. At the same time, it is clear that all the fault was not Monson's, that very much of it was Murray's, and that both had been placed in an awkward position, by those who planned their operations. Each was advanced to a great distance from effective support, with a force insufficient to encounter the enemy by whom they were separated, and whose strength was greatly and fatally miscalculated by the Commander-in-Chief (Letter to Lord Wellesley, July 1st, 1805. Despatches, v., 283). Lord Lake was informed, and he believed the information, that Holkar's resources were reduced to the lowest ebb, and that his army was almost annihilated. He estimated the force to be left with Colonel Monson by a proportionate scale and the estimate proved erroneous. According to Lord Lake, however, Monson advanced considerably beyond the point at which he had been directed to remain, the passes of Boondee and Lakery, in the mountains south of Rampoor, by which the entrance from Malwa into Bundelcund was secured. It was the Commander-in-Chief's intention that the detachment should have remained in this position until the termination of the rainy season, when either alone, or reinforced, as might have been necessary, it could have advanced into Malwa.

Colonel Monson, however, tempted by the prospect of some unimportant advantage, moved on first to Kotah, and then to the Mokundra pass, which he described, in reply to Lord Lake's disapprobation of his movement, as equally adapted to secure the object proposed, and thus, according to Lord Lake's statement, persuaded him against his own opinions to acquiesce in the advance so far. When here, however, Monson thought it would be an advantage to occupy Hinglaiz-Ghur, fifty miles beyond the pass, and accordingly extended his forward movement. After taking the fortress, he learned that Holkar was about to cross the Chumbul, and wrote to Lord Lake to say that he intended to attack the Mahrattas whilst engaged in the passage. In this he might have succeeded, but he changed his mind and fell back. In the Commander-in-Chief's opinion this was another mistake. As an equally favourable opportunity for an attack could not occur, the omission should have been repaired by an attack under the most favourable circumstances that could be obtained. The numbers of Monson's force were certainly inferior to those of the enemy, but he had on his side discipline, approved valour, and the choice of position. A bold effort was also necessary to extricate him from his situation, and to avoid the disgrace and misfortunes inseparable from a rapid retreat. The retreat was, however, continued to Mokundra with the declared intention of making a stand there, but here again Monson failed in resolution, and after a short halt, resumed his march. The losses suffered from this until his arrival at Rampoor, were owing rather to the climate than to the enemy. Colonel Monson reached Rampoor on the 27th July, and did not move again till the



BOOK VI. Upon the escape of Monson to Agra, Holkar advanced  
 CHAP. XIII. with the whole of his army to Muttra, situated on the  
 1804. right bank of the Jumna, about thirty miles from Agra ;  
 and took possession of the place. The Commander-in-  
 Chief marched from Cawnpore on the 3rd, arrived at Agra  
 on the 22nd of September, and proceeded immediately to  
 Secundra, where he assembled the whole of the army  
 under his personal command. On the 1st of October, he

22nd August. This delay Lord Lake observes, in his despatches to Lord Wellesley, was fatal. It was in some measure his own work. He says, "when I was informed that the detachment joined by the reinforcement was at Rampoor, I transmitted instructions to Colonel Monson to make a stand at that place if such measure appeared to him practicable." This is rather a questionable account of the transaction. The reinforcement did not join till the 14th of August. Lord Lake could not have heard of the junction in much less than a week afterwards, and his instructions to remain, if practicable, must have met Monson on the march towards Agra. Long before this, however, Lord Lake had sent to Monson orders to suspend his retreat. On the 28th of June, Monson writes to Colonel Don in the rear; "The Commander-in-Chief positively forbids me falling back, even further than Kotah, therefore, we must (the whole) remain at Rampoor until I hear further from him." Memoir of Colonel Don. East India Military Calendar, ii, 548. Lord Lake, therefore, seems to have been the cause of Colonel Monson's protracted stay at Rampoor, although it does not excuse his want of decision in hesitating at once to quit a place where it was impossible to make a stand, or his want of judgment in eventually leaving it if it was defensible. Every day's delay tended to render the country still more impassable at such a season; and, undoubtedly, as Monson did finally think it necessary to leave Rampoor, he should have quitted it with the least possible delay. Besides the other obvious advantages of such expedition, he would have shortened the distance between him and his reinforcements, they would have encountered him earlier, and in better organization, and the whole would probably have effected their return to the Company's territories in good order, and with little comparative dishonour or loss. A full investigation of the circumstances of the retreat was promised to the Court of Directors (Despatches, iv., 343), but it does not appear that any other explanation was attempted than that furnished after the close of the campaign by Lord Lake, and referred to above (Despatches, v., 283). It is clear from this account, that Monson was in insufficient strength, but it is also evident that he advanced with great imprudence, and with very imperfect information, and that when he judged it prudent to retreat, (and with his force, without any Europeans, and without regular cavalry, it would have been very hazardous to have done anything else), he displayed great want of singleness and steadiness of purpose, by which he lost invaluable time, and exposed his troops to destruction. The consequences were most disastrous. The actual loss, severe as it was, was the least of its evils. It impressed all India with the belief that Holkar was able to resist, and likely to overcome the power of the English; it gave fresh life to hostile hopes, and activity to dangerous intrigues; it encouraged Sindiah and the Bhonsla to pursue measures which, but for the prudent forbearance of the Governor-General, would again have brought their armies into the field, and it tempted the Raja of Bhurtpore to enter into a confederacy with Holkar, and was thus productive of all the disgrace and loss consequent upon the siege of that fortress. Had not Monson's detachment been exposed to destruction, Holkar must have been exterminated in the early part of the ensuing campaign, or in the end of 1804, and an immense saving of treasure and life would have been effected, whilst all the political advantages expected from the war, and which in impatience of its protracted continuance were thrown away by Lord Wellesley's successors, would, in all probability, have been secured.—W.

marched towards Muttra, from which, as he advanced, Holkar retired, and planned an important stratagem. Leaving his cavalry to engage the attention of the British Commander, which they effectually did, he secretly despatched his infantry and guns, for the execution of his destined exploit. On the night of the 6th, he encamped with his cavalry about four miles in front of the British position. Before daylight next morning General Lake moved out to surprise him. The General formed his army into three divisions; leaving the park, and an adequate force, for the protection of the camp; but Holkar was apprized of his approach, and retired too promptly to permit an attack. Early on the morning of the 8th, the infantry of that chieftain appeared before Delhi, and immediately opened a heavy cannonade. The garrison was small, consisting entirely of sepoys, and a small corps of irregular infantry; the place was extremely extensive; and the fortifications were in a ruinous state. Everything promised a successful enterprise.

From the first notice of the enemy's approach in that direction, the most judicious precautions had been taken, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonels Ochterlony and Burn, the first acting as resident in the city, the second commandant of the troops, to place the city in the best state of defence which circumstances would permit. During the 8th, the distance from which the enemy fired prevented much execution. On the 9th, however, having erected a battery, within breaching distance, they demolished a part of the wall, and would have quickly effected a breach; when a sally was planned to check their progress. Two hundred sepoys, and 150 of the irregular corps, under the command of Lieutenant Rose, performed the exploit with great gallantry; took possession of the enemy's battery; spiked their guns; and threw them into so much confusion, that they fired upon their own people, who, flying from the assailing party, were mistaken for British troops. The principal operations from this time were carried on under cover of extensive gardens and adjoining ruins on the southern face of the fort; and they soon made a breach in the curtain between two of the gates. Measures which were completed by the evening of the 12th, to preclude communication between the breach

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CHAP. XIII.

1804.



BOOK VI. and the town, prevented their profiting by that advantage.  
 CHAP. XIII. But, on the 13th, appearances indicated the intention of a very serious attack. At daybreak, on the 14th, the guns of the enemy opened in every direction. A large body of infantry advanced under cover of this cannonade, preceded by ladders, to the Lahore gate. They were received, however, with so much steadiness and gallantry, that they were driven back, leaving their ladders, with considerable confusion, and considerable loss. Inactive to a great degree, during the rest of the day, they made a show towards evening of drawing some guns to another of the gates; but took advantage of the night; and in the morning their rear guard of cavalry at a distance was all that could be seen. As the number of the men, by whom Delhi was defended, was too small to admit of regular reliefs, or to make it safe for them to undress, provisions and sweetmeats were served out to them daily at the expense of government, "which," according to the information of Colonel Ochterlony, "had the best effect upon their spirits." That officer concludes his report with the following merited eulogium: "The fatigue suffered by both officers and men could be exceeded by nothing but the cheerfulness and patience with which it was endured; and it cannot but reflect the greatest honour on the discipline, courage, and fortitude of British troops, in the eyes of all Hindustan, to observe, that, with a small force, they sustained a siege of nine days, repelled an assault, and defended a city ten miles in circumference, and which had ever, heretofore, been given up at the first appearance of an enemy at its gates."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed papers, ut supra, p. 233, 243—248.—M.

The defence of Delhi only wants an Orme to form a worthy pendant to that of Arcot by Clive. A city of great extent, containing a mixed population, upon whose fidelity no reliance could be placed, and enclosed by walls which, never intended for military protection, were in a dilapidated condition, was besieged by a force of about 20,000 men, with above 100 pieces of cannon, and defended by scarcely more than 800 men, with eleven guns. The troops employed in the defence consisted of the 2nd battalion of the 14th, and four companies of the 17th native infantry, two weak battalions which had come over from Sindiah in the preceding war, and three battalions of Nejeebs or irregular infantry. These last had mutinied on the approach of the enemy, but the mutiny was immediately suppressed by vigorous measures, the ringleaders were secured, a native court-martial was held upon them, nine were severely flogged, and two blown away from the muzzles of the guns. Little confidence could therefore be placed in this corps; but they behaved well. A body of irregular horse deserted to the enemy. One battalion of native infantry, the 2nd of the 4th, was stationed in Selim Gurb, the fort and palace, as a guard to the family of the Mogul, some of the members of which had been detected in a

About this period it was, that the Governor-General BOOK VI.  
made his final arrangement respecting the maintenance CHAP. XIII.  
and condition of Shah Aulum and his family. Over the  
city of Delhi, and a small portion of surrounding territory,  
a sort of nominal sovereignty was reserved to the Em- 1804.  
peror. The whole was, indeed, to remain under charge of  
the British Resident; but the revenues would be collected,  
and justice administered, in the name of the Mogul. Be-  
side the produce of this territory, of which the Emperor  
would appoint a dewan, and other officers, to inspect the  
collection, and ensure the application to his use, a sum of  
90,000 rupees would be issued from the treasury of the  
Resident at Delhi, for the expenses of himself and his  
family. But "in extending," says the Governor-General,  
"to the royal family the benefits of the British protection,  
no obligation was imposed upon us, to consider the rights  
and claims of his Majesty Shah Aulum as Emperor of  
Hindustan; and the Governor-General has deemed it  
equally unnecessary and inexpedient, to combine with the  
intended provision for his Majesty and his household, the  
consideration of any question connected with the future  
exercise of the Imperial prerogative and authority."<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of June, the state of the country  
at that time rendering military operations impracticable  
in the Deccan, Major-General Wellesley was called to

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correspondence with Holkar. So little did Lord Lake anticipate the possi-  
bility of Delhi being defended by such disproportionate forces, that he had in-  
structed the Resident to withdraw all the regular troops into the fort for the  
protection of the person of Shah Alem and that of the royal family, leaving for  
the defence of the city such irregulars as might have been entertained. The  
Resident, Lieut.-Col. Ochterlony, who had made such preparation as the time  
permitted for the defence of the city, acting under these instructions, directed  
the Commandant, Colonel Burn, to retire with his detachment into the city,  
and take up the ground lately occupied by the 2nd battalion, 4th regiment, for  
the night, (of the 7th November,) placing sentries at the gates; evidently in-  
tending to withdraw the whole into the fort. Considering, however, that if  
the city were left undefended, it would become the scene of indiscriminate  
tumult and plunder, and that its abandonment without a struggle would be a  
discredit to the British arms and a moral triumph for the enemy: trusting,  
also, to be able finally, if compelled, to effect his retreat into the citadel,  
Colonel Burn determined, with the means at his disposal, to defend, as long  
as he could, the city from the enemy. This bold as well as prudent resolve  
was entirely concurred in by his officers, and the Resident ably and zealously  
co-operated in its execution. The result reflected the highest honour upon  
the defenders, and restored the reputation of the British arms. Oral infor-  
mation; Thorn's War in India; Memoir of Major-General William Burn;  
East India Military Calendar, ii. 497.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Printed papers, ut supra, No. 23, p. 149.—M. Despatches, iv. 237,  
542, 553.—W.



BOOK VI. Calcutta, to assist in the deliberation on certain military and economical plans ; and surrendered the general powers, military and civil, with which he was invested. Before his departure, a portion of the troops in the field were made to return to Fort St. George and Bombay ; leaving disposable, in the Deccan, two regiments of European infantry, four regiments of native cavalry, and thirteen battalions of sepoy. The principal part of this force, four regiments of native cavalry, two regiments of European infantry, six battalions of sepoy, with a battering train, and the common proportion of artillery and pioneers, were directed to assemble for active operations at Aurungabad, under the general command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace. Of the remaining seven battalions of sepoy, six were ordered to remain as a reserve ; four at Poonah, and two at Hyderabad : and one was required as a garrison at Ahmednugger.<sup>1</sup>

Having completed his arrangements for action, Colonel Wallace marched from Foorkabad on the 29th of September ; and reached Chandore on the 8th of October. On the same day he detached a battalion with two 12-pounders, against a small fort, called Laussoolgaum, garrisoned by Holkar, and distant about twelve miles. The battalion met with a desperate resistance, and lost its commander. A reinforcement was sent during the night, and the place was stormed the following morning. Wallace took possession, without resistance, of the pettah of Chandore on the evening of the 8th ; and on the 10th he had carried his approaches within three or four hundred yards of the gate of the fort, when the Kelledar, or governor, sent overtures of capitulation. The terms, permitting the garrison to depart with their private effects, were agreed upon, on the night of the 11th, and at ten on the morning of the 12th, the British troops were placed in possession of the fort. It was a place of great strength, being inaccessible at every part but the gate-way ; and of considerable importance, as commanding one of the best passes in the range of hills where it stands. The fort of Dhoorb surrendered to a detachment on the 14th ; the forts of Anchella, Jeewunta, and some minor posts, on the same range of hills, were evacuated ; and Colonel

<sup>1</sup> Printed papers, ut supra, No. 25, p. 209.

Wallace, leaving a garrison in Chandore, began his march to Galna on the 17th. He arrived on the 21st; took possession of the pettah on the following morning; on the 25th two practicable breaches were made in the walls; and the storming parties were on the point of advancing when the garrison offered to surrender. The reduction of Galna yielded possession of all the territories of Holkar in the Deccan. Of those in Malwa the conquest was already completed, by Colonel Murray's detachment.<sup>1</sup>

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The Commander-in-Chief, as soon as he had completed his supplies at Muttra, marched towards Delhi, where he arrived on the 17th of October, two days after the enemy's retreat. Lieutenant-Colonel Burn, who had been recalled from Sehaurunpore to the defence of Delhi, crossed the Jumna, on his return to his former station, with one battalion of sepöys and some nujeebs, on the 26th of October. On the 29th, Holkar crossed with his cavalry, between Paniput and Delhi, and advanced upon this detachment, which he overtook at Saumlee, on the following day. Colonel Burn encamped with his small party in a square, which towards evening was completely surrounded. At four the next morning he began to move. The enemy having posted themselves on the road to Sehaurunpore, expecting the detachment to proceed in that direction, enabled Colonel Burn to reach, without molestation, a small Gurrie, bordering on the city. Finding the minds of the men admirably disposed, he resolved to defend himself in the Gurrie till reinforcements should arrive, or even to fight his way back to Delhi. All attempts having failed for the collection of grain, and the troops having suffered great privations, he had come to the resolution, on the 1st of November, of fighting his way to Bhaugput, on the following night; but at this time he received intelligence of the march of the Commander-in-Chief, and was induced to wait for his approach.

On the 31st of October, that General, taking the reserve, his three regiments of dragoons, three regiments of native cavalry, and the mounted artillery, crossed the Jumna, to pursue the cavalry of Holkar. At the same time Major-General Frazer, with the main body of the infantry, two regiments of native cavalry, and the park of

<sup>1</sup> Printed papers, ut supra, p. 250, 251, 266, 267.



BOOK VI. artillery, was directed to move upon the infantry and  
CHAP. XIII. artillery of Holkar, which had reached the neighbourhood  
1804. of Deeg, on the right bank of the Jumna. The object of this double movement was, to force both the cavalry and the infantry of Holkar to risk an action with the British troops, or to make him fly from Hindustan, under circumstances of so much ignominy and distress, as would have a disastrous effect upon the reputation of his cause.

General Lake arrived at Bhaugput on the 1st of November. On the second he performed a march of more than twenty-eight miles, and reached Kondellah. On the 3rd he arrived at Saumlee, from which the enemy had decamped early in the morning.

Major-General Frazer marched from Delhi on the 5th of November, and arrived at Goburdun on the 12th, a place within three coss of the fort of Deeg. His force consisted of two regiments of native cavalry, his Majesty's 76th regiment, the Company's European regiments, six battalions of sepoy, and the park of artillery, in all about six thousand men. The force of the enemy was understood to amount to twenty-four battalions of infantry, a large body of horse, and 160 pieces of ordnance; strongly encamped, with their right upon Deeg, and a large jeel of water covering the whole of their front.

As the hour was late, and the General had little information of the enemy's position, he delayed the attack till morning. Having made his arrangements for the security of the camp, he marched with the army in two brigades at three o'clock in the morning; making a circuit round the water to the left, to enable him to come upon the right flank of the enemy. A little after day-break, the army was formed, in two lines; and attacked, and carried a large village on the enemy's flank. It then descended the hill, and charged the enemy's advanced party, under a heavy discharge of round, grape, and chain, from their guns, which they abandoned as the British army came up. General Frazer, whose gallantry animated every man in the field, was wounded, and obliged to be carried from the battle, when the command devolved upon General Monson. The enemy retired to fresh batteries as the British advanced. The whole of the batteries were carried for upwards of two miles, till the enemy were driven close to

the walls of the fort. One body of them, drawn up to the eastward of the lower end of the lake, still retained a position, whence they had annoyed the British with a very destructive fire. Seeing the British troops, under cover of a fire from several pieces of cannon, moving round to their left, they made a precipitate retreat into the lake, where many of them were lost.

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The British took eighty-seven pieces of ordnance in this battle, and lost in killed and wounded about 350 men. The enemy's loss, which was great, could only be conjectured. The remains of the army took shelter in the fortress of Deeg.<sup>1</sup>

After the flight of Holkar with his cavalry from Saumlee, on the morning of the 3rd, the Commander-in-Chief went after him with such expedition, as might allow him no time to ravage the country without risking an engagement with the British cavalry. On the 9th of November, that General arrived at Happer, which the enemy had left the preceding night, moving in the direction of Coorjah, with design, as was supposed, to re-cross the Jumna, in the neighbourhood of Muttra. General Lake arrived at Khass Gunge, on the 14th of November, when Holkar appeared to have taken the direct road to Futtu Ghur. On the 16th, Lake arrived at Alygunge distant about thirty-six miles from Futtu Ghur. He halted only to refresh his men and horses, and, marching with the cavalry early in the night, came up with the enemy before day-break. They were encamped close under the walls of Furruckabad, and taken by surprise. The execution done upon them was therefore prodigious, and their resistance inconsiderable. Several discharges of grape being given to them from the horse artillery, the cavalry advanced, and put them to the sword. Many of the horses were still at their piquets, when the British cavalry penetrated into their camp.<sup>2</sup> From the 31st of

<sup>1</sup> Despatches, iv. 233.—W.

Lord Lake expresses his opinion, on several occasions, that this was one of the severest actions during the war; it appears to have been the hardest fought battle on this side India." "I have every reason to believe that the action of the 13th instant was a very near business." Despatches iv. 241, 251. It was a contest less with men than with guns; the batteries of the enemy were crowded with guns and strongly posted. Thorn's War in India, plan, p. 408.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The surprise was complete; Holkar would not credit the possibility of the British making so rapid a movement, and went to sleep as if no danger was



BOOK VI. October, when they departed from Delhi, the British  
 CHAP. XII. troops had daily marched a distance of twenty-three or  
 1804. twenty-four miles; during the day and night preceding the attack, they marched fifty-eight miles; and from the distance to which they pursued the enemy, must have passed over a space of more than seventy miles before they took up their ground.

After allowing the troops to halt for two days, the British General again marched in pursuit of Holkar, who fled to the Jumna in great distress, and re-crossed it near Mohabun on the 23rd, hastening to join the remainder of his army at Deeg. The Commander-in-Chief arrived at Muttra on the 28th; and joined the army at Deeg on the 1st of December. On his march he received the melancholy intelligence that the wound of General Frazer had proved mortal. The loss of that officer was felt as a national, and almost an individual, calamity, by every Briton in India.

Of the enemy's force, a considerable portion having thrown themselves into the town and fort of Deeg, and the remainder occupying a position under its walls, arrangements were taken for the reduction of the place. The battering train and necessary stores arrived from Agra, on the 10th; and ground was broken on the 13th. The possession of an eminence which commanded the town, and in some degree, the fortress itself, appeared of importance for the further operations of the siege. It was defended by a small fortification; the enemy had strongly intrenched themselves in its front; had erected batteries in the most commanding situations; and were favoured by the nature of the ground. The breach in the wall was practicable on the 23rd; and arrangements were made to storm it, together with the intrenchments and batteries,

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near. Afterwards, in the course of the night, intelligence came by the dawn that the general was only four coss off, but the servants would not waken the Maharaja. taking on themselves to decide that the report was not true. At about midnight, (more correctly, at dawn,) General Lake came down upon upon Holkar's position; by some accident a tumbril blew up just before the onset, and the report awakened the Maharaja to a sense of his danger, so that he was on horseback when the enemy came, with a few more prepared for action. But before the rest were mounted, the General was upon them, and the army was defeated with great slaughter. Memoir of Ameer Khan. Major Thorn estimates that Holkar, in the onslaught, and by dispersion, must have lost half his force; estimated, but no doubt with exaggeration, at 60,000 men. War in India, 393.—W.

during the night. The force destined for the attack was divided into three columns, and moved off in such a manner as to reach the different points of attack a little before twelve at night. The right column, under Captain Kelly, was ordered to force the enemy's batteries and trenches, on the high ground to the left of the town. The left column, under Major Radcliffe, was destined to carry the batteries and trenches on the enemy's right. The centre column formed the storming party, and was led by Lieut.-Colonel Macrae. The whole service was performed with equal gallantry and success. "By means of the darkness of the night," says the Commander-in-Chief, "the enemy was taken by surprise, and prevented from availing themselves of the advantage they possessed, or of making a very formidable resistance." The loss of the British was not trifling, and that of the enemy very great. Overawed by this example of the audacity and success of the British troops, the enemy evacuated the town of Deeg on the following day; the fort, on the succeeding night; and fled in the direction of Bhurtpore, leaving nearly the whole of their cannon behind.<sup>1</sup>

The fort of Deeg belonged to Runjeet Sing, the Raja of Bhurtpore. When the British, in the battle fought on the 13th, pursued the troops of Holkar under the walls of the fort, a destructive fire of cannon and musquetry was opened upon them by the garrison. The Raja of Bhurtpore was one of the first of the chiefs in that part of India, who, at the time when General Lake advanced against Sindiah beyond the Jumna, made overtures for a combination with the British state. As he was one of the most considerable of the minor sovereigns in that part of India, and possessed great influence among the Rajas of the Jaats, his accession to the British cause was treated as a fortunate event, and he was indulged with very advantageous terms. A treaty was concluded by him, by which the British government bound itself to protect his dominions; bound itself not to interfere in the smallest degree with the administration of his country; freed him

<sup>1</sup> Printed papers, ut supra, p. 224, 252—273; also General Lake's Letter to the Governor-General, dated Muttra, 1st July, 1805; Papers, ut supra, No. 15, p. 35.—M.

Despatches, iv. 241.—W.



BOOK VI. entirely from the heavy tribute which he annually paid  
 CHAP. XIII. to the Mahratta powers; and of the surrounding districts, conquered from Sindiah, annexed so much to the territories of the Raja, as equalled in extent and value one-third of his former dominions.

1804.

Notwithstanding these great advantages, and the Governor-General's system of defensive alliance, no sooner had Holkar assumed an attitude of defiance to the British Power, than Runjeet Sing manifested an inclination to join him. On the 1st of August, 1804, a secret agent of the Raja, with letters to Holkar, was apprehended at Muttra, and discovery made of a treacherous correspondence. The Raja, very soon after concluding his treaty with the British government, had exhorted Holkar to despise the British power, and offered to join him, on condition of receiving certain accessions of territory. During the same month in which this discovery was made, several complaints were addressed to him by the Commander-in-Chief, on account of the little assistance received from him in providing for the war. In the intercepted correspondence, offence appeared to have been taken by the Raja at the violent manner in which the British resident at Muttra had decided some disputes respecting the traffic in salt; and some alarm was conveyed to his mind by a report that the English government was to introduce the English courts of justice into his dominions.<sup>1</sup>

Upon reference of all these circumstances to the Governor-General, though he regarded them as ample proof of traitorous designs, he was yet disposed, on the present occasion, when his defensive system was upon its trial, to exercise an uncommon degree of lenity and forbearance. He imputed the offences of the Raja and his son, to the corrupt intrigues of mischievous advisers; and said, that "the just principles of policy, as well as the characteristic lenity and mercy of the British government, required that a due indulgence should be manifested towards the imbecility, ignorance, and indo-

<sup>1</sup> Another cause seems to have been a religious feeling. The letters of the agent repeatedly allude to the Raja's horror at the cow-killing propensities of the infidel English. Despatches, Lieut.-General Lake to the Marquess Wellesley, iv. 183, 187.—W.

lence of the native chiefs, who have been drawn into these acts of treachery and hostility, by the depravity and artifices of their servants and adherents.”<sup>1</sup> And he instructed the Commander-in-Chief to warn the Raja of his danger; to assure him that no design of interfering with his government was entertained by the British rulers; and to require him to break off immediately all communication with the enemies of the British state. Towards the end of October, the Commander-in-Chief complained to the Governor-General, that the Raja had evaded his application for the troops, with which, according to the treaty, he was bound to assist the British government; while he had afforded to Holkar positive and material assistance.<sup>2</sup> In reply, the Governor-General left the question of peace or war to be decided by the opinion of expediency which the Commander-in-Chief, with his more intimate knowledge of the circumstances, might be induced to form; still, however, remarking, that “if considerations of security should not require the punishment of Bhurtpore, those of policy suggested the expediency of forbearance, notwithstanding the provocation which would render such punishment an act of retributive justice.” The behaviour, however, of the garrison of Deeg, at the time of the battle fought under its walls, produced orders from the seat of government for the entire reduction of the Raja, and the annexation of all his forts and territories to the British dominions. As Bappoojee Sindiah, the officer who, at the beginning of the war with Holkar, commanded that detachment from the army of Sindiah which co-operated with General Monson at the commencement of his retreat, and was one of the chieftains included in the list of those who, under the operation of the late treaty, were to receive jaghires

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Governor-General to the Commander-in-Chief. Papers, No. 15, ut supra, p. 23. Compare the sentiments here expressed with those employed against the Nabobs of Arcot.—M.

Despatches, iv. 193, 353. The grounds of this opinion were furnished by Lord Lake, who from personal knowledge of the Raja and his son, considered them to be indolent and unenterprising characters, and unlikely to have embarked in any hazardous enterprise, except upon the instigation of some of the persons about them, who, from the desperate state of their fortunes, were ready to advocate the most violent measures. Despatches iv. 184.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The troops also which had been professedly assembled for the purpose of co-operating with the British army, were actually engaged on the side of the enemy at the battle of Deeg. Despatches iv. 357.—W.



BOOK VI. and pensions from the British government, had afterwards  
 CHAP. XIII. openly joined Holkar with the troops under his command ;  
 1804. and Suddasheo Bhao, another of Sindiah's officers, who  
 had been sent to co-operate with Monson, had also joined  
 the enemy, the Governor-General at the same time directed  
 the Commander-in-Chief to proceed against them as rebels ;  
 try them by a court-martial ; and carry the sentence into  
 immediate execution.<sup>1</sup>

The loss of Deeg was a tremendous blow to Holkar and the Raja. The surrounding country immediately submitted to the authority of the British government ; and General Lake, having taken the requisite steps for securing the fort, and administering the country, moved from Deeg on the 29th of December. The army of Guzerat, under the command of Colonel Murray, had been ordered to advance from the southward, in the direction of Kotah, to intercept, if made by that route, the flight of Holkar into Malwa. This officer had reached the neighbourhood of Kotah by the end of December ; and General Lake believed, if he could have made the Mahratta chieftain retreat in that direction, that he might have been effectually destroyed. But Holkar, though pursued from place to place, could not be driven from the Bhurtpore territories, so long as his infantry could find protection in the city of Bhurtpore, his cavalry, by its rapid movements, could elude all attacks, and supplies were derived from the resources of the Raja. The reduction of Bhurtpore presented itself, therefore, to the Commander-in-Chief as, of necessity, the first of his future operations.

After being joined at Muttra by the King's 75th regiment, which he had summoned from Cawnpore, he arrived before the capital of the Raja, on the 3rd of January, 1805. The town of Bhurtpore, eight miles in extent, was everywhere surrounded by a mud wall of great thickness and height, and a very wide and deep ditch filled with

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, No. 15, p. 7—37.—M.

Lord Wellesley's instructions to Lord Lake, were, to issue a proclamation ordering Bapoojee Sindiah and his followers to proceed to his camp by a certain day, under penalty of being considered and treated as rebels and traitors. If they did not join the camp, and afterwards became prisoners to the British army, then they were to be tried by a court-martial, and the General was authorized to carry into immediate execution the punishment which might be awarded them for their treachery and rebellion. Despatches, iv. 263.—W.

water. The fort was situated at the eastern extremity of the town; and the walls were flanked with bastions, at short distances, mounted with a numerous artillery. The whole force of Runjeet Sing, and as many of the surrounding inhabitants as were deemed conducive to its defence, were thrown into the place; while the broken battalions of Holkar had intrenched themselves under its walls. The British army, after driving the battalions from this position, with great slaughter, and the loss of all the artillery which they had been enabled to carry from Deeg, took up a position south-west of the town. The batteries were opened on the 7th of January. On the 9th, a breach was reported practicable; and the General resolved to assault in the evening, as the enemy had hitherto stockaded, at night, the damage sustained by the wall in the course of the day. When the storming party arrived at the ditch, they found the water exceedingly deep. Over this difficulty they prevailed; and gained the foot of the breach. Here they made several gallant and persevering exertions; but all ineffectual: they were repulsed with a heavy loss, including Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, the officer who bravely commanded in the assault.

The operations of the besiegers were immediately renewed, and a second breach was prepared on the 21st. It was deemed advisable to give the assault by daylight. The storming party moved out of the trenches, where they had been lodged for the purpose, a little before three o'clock in the afternoon. They were unable to pass the ditch; and, being exposed for a considerable time to a fire which did great execution, were obliged to retire.

The want of military stores and provisions delayed the commencement of renewed operations, till the beginning of February, when the batteries were opened upon the wall, at some distance from the part which was formerly breached. On the 20th of the same month, the breach being as complete as it was supposed to be capable of being made, one column, composed of 200 Europeans, and a battalion of sepoys, was ordered to attack the enemy's trenches and guns outside the town; a second column, composed of 300 Europeans, and two battalions of sepoys, to attack one of the gates; while a third, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Don, and formed of the greatest part of the

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BOOK VI. European force belonging to the Bengal army, and three  
 CHAP. XIII. battalions of sepoy, was to ascend the breach. The signal to be observed by the storming party was, the commencement of the attack by the first column on the enemy's trenches, a little before four o'clock in the afternoon. This column was successful, and got immediate possession of the enemy's guns. The second column was delayed by a party of the enemy's horse; and was exposed, by a mistake, it is said, of their guide, to a destructive fire from the town, which destroyed their ladders, and rendered ineffectual the attempt on the gate. The storming party was also delayed, according to the statement of the Commander-in-Chief, by circumstances, which he does not mention; and found the ditch so deep, that it was impossible to arrive at the breach. The troops, having attempted to ascend by the bastion, were repulsed with great slaughter, though the colours of one of the native regiments were planted within a short distance of the top.

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As the Commander-in-Chief ascribed the failure to accidental obstructions and delays; as the storming party had nearly gained the summit of the bastion; and as he was informed, he says, that a few hours more battering would make the ascent there perfectly easy, he determined to make another attempt on the following day. The whole European part of the Bengal army, and the greater part of two King's regiments, with upwards of four battalions of native infantry, moved on to the attack, under Brigadier-General Monson, about three o'clock in the afternoon "Discharges of grape, logs of wood, and pots filled with combustible materials, immediately," says the report of the Commander-in-Chief, "knocked down those who were ascending; and the whole party, after being engaged in an obstinate contest for two hours, and suffering very severe loss, were obliged to relinquish the attempt, and retire to our trenches." The steepness of the ascent, and the inability of the assailants to mount, except by small parties at a time, were, it was said, the enemy's advantages.<sup>1</sup>

The guns of the British army had, in consequence of incessant firing, become, for the most part, unserviceable; the whole of the artillery stores were expended; provi-

<sup>1</sup> No. 15, ut supra, p. 37, 38. No. 25, ut supra, p. 272—285.—M.  
 Despatches iv. 264, 292.—W.

sions were exhausted; and the sick and wounded were numerous. It was therefore necessary to intermit the siege of Bhurtpore. One of the most remarkable, perhaps, of all the events in the history of the British nation in India, is the difficulty, found by this victorious army, of subduing the capital of a petty Raja of Hindustan. The circumstances have not been sufficiently disclosed; for, on the subject of these unsuccessful attacks, the reports of the Commander-in-Chief are laconic. As general causes, he chiefly alleges the extent of the place, the number of its defenders, the strength of its works, and, lastly, the incapacity of his engineers; as if a Commander-in-Chief were fit for his office who is not himself an engineer.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Although it may be reasonably expected, that a Commander-in-Chief should be able to appreciate the abilities of his engineers, and the probable adequacy of the means at their command to overcome the resistance opposed to him, it can scarcely be held to be incumbent on him to be an engineer himself. Lord Lake was certainly no engineer; neither his education, nor his experience, nor his temperament, qualified him for directing the operations of a siege. It is said that he proposed to attack Bhurtpore, as he had done Alighur, by blowing open the gates,—in which there is great likelihood that he would have succeeded;—he was advised to the contrary, and it was determined to attempt to breach with a very ineffective battering train, with a great deficiency of officers instructed or experienced in the art of engineering, and with a great abundance of ignorance as to the strength and circumstances of the fortress. The fullest account of the siege is given by Major Thorn; many interesting particulars are also supplied by a treatise on the Attack of Mud Forts, by Colonel Galloway, and by a series of anonymous articles, entitled *Military Autobiography*, which are understood to be the composition of a distinguished Bengal officer, in the *East Indian United Service Journal*, published in Calcutta, in 1833, and 1834. From these sources, and from the oral information of officers present at the siege, some addition may be made to the meagre account which the text has derived from the official despatches.

Operations commenced with the construction of a breaching battery, not of the most formidable description; it consisted of six eighteen-pounders, and on the right of it was a small mortar-battery of four pieces; the distance was above 700 yards. The wall of the fort extended right and left as far as the eye could reach, and was thickly studded with projecting bastions, well furnished with artillery. The spot chosen for forming a breach lay close to the right flank of one of these bastions, which enabled the defenders to enfilade the approach, a circumstance that occasioned much of the loss suffered in the attempt to storm. In the first assault some delay and confusion took place from the accidental divergence, in the dark, of the column of attack; and in Major Thorn's opinion this delay was a chief cause of the failure. This, however, may be doubted, as it may be otherwise sufficiently accounted for. When the column arrived near the wall, its progress was arrested by a deep ditch, the existence of which had not been suspected.

The distance at which the battery had been raised, and the absence of approaches, prevented the assailants from discovering what was going on along the foot of the walls, and permitted the garrison to employ working parties to widen and deepen what was a dry and neglected ditch, and to fill it for the requisite distance opposite to the breach with water, from a water-course which communicated with an extensive swamp at some short distance from the fort. Such was the impediment which arrested the column, as they were wholly unprepared for it; a few men continued to cross the ditch above the breach, and make their way to the latter by a narrow path at the foot of the wall, just broad enough to admit one man at a time. In this way, a few men of the flank



BOOK VI. The Bombay army, from Guzerat, which had been directed to move towards Kotah, was afterwards commanded

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companies of His Majesty's 22nd mounted the breach, but support could not be given with sufficient celerity to enable them to maintain it, and they were compelled to retire. The fort kept up a hot fire during the whole of the assault. Many men were killed on the retreat also, as the country was in possession of Holkar's cavalry, who perpetually hovered on the flanks of the columns, cutting off all stragglers.

Whatever chance of success the first attack of this description might have offered, from the courage of the troops and the intimidation of the enemy, was immeasurably diminished for a second effort, as the troops had lost, and the enemy gained, confidence. A somewhat stronger battery was formed, and a breach on the other side of the same bastion was effected. In order to gain some information as to the ditch, a stratagem of palpable absurdity was devised: three native troopers in the character of deserters rode from the camp towards the walls, they were fired at with blank cartridges, and the people on the walls, being thus far deceived, allowed them to approach the edge of the ditch, pointing out to them the direction of the gates. The situation of the troopers did not allow of very deliberate observation, as they rode off again as speedily as they could, being now fired at by the garrison. They returned in safety, and reported that the ditch was inconsiderable; their report was trusted to, but when the troops made their way, under a heavy and destructive fire, to the edge of the ditch, they found a sheet of water of considerable width, much broader than the ladders they had brought to cross it with, and much beyond the depth of the tallest grenadier. Some time was vainly spent in attempting to get across under a well-sustained and well-directed fire from the walls, and after much loss the column was recalled. Nothing more strongly shows the utter ignorance of the besiegers of the localities of the neighbourhood, than the injury they sustained from an impediment entirely within their own power. Had they known whence the ditch was fed, it would have been easy for them to have cut off the supply of water, and in all probability the first assault would have given them Bhurtpore.

These two failures having enforced the necessity of more regular proceedings, approaches were begun in a different position, and carried to the edge of the ditch. Supplies of stores and artillery were brought from Agra and other depôts; and more powerful batteries, though still much too weak for the purpose, opened against a part of the wall where the curtain was of less width than usual, and was effectually covered by a bastion at either extremity. On the morning of the day appointed for the storm, the garrison, whose courage had been elevated to the highest pitch by the slow progress of the siege, and the impunity with which they had murdered the wounded, and mutilated the slain, left behind after each assault, made a desperate sally upon the head of the trenches, gained possession of them for a time, and were repulsed only after they had killed the officer of His Majesty's 75th, commanding the advance, and many of the men. They gained and retained possession also of a trench in advance of the lines, from which it was proposed to dislodge them, and follow them closely into the breach. The Europeans, however, of His Majesty's 75th and 76th, who were at the head of the column, refused to advance, and the few men of the flank companies of the 22nd who had obeyed the command, were necessarily recalled. The entreaties and expostulations of their officers failing to produce any effect, two regiments of Native Infantry, the 12th and 15th, were summoned to the front, and gallantly advanced to the storm. These circumstances explain the delay alluded to by Lord Lake. The men were tired and disheartened by the conflict in which they had been engaged during the forenoon, and had adopted a notion that in the advanced trench which had been occupied by the enemy a mine was laid, by which they would be blown up. In this state of exhaustion and panic it would have been judicious to have deferred the assault, as persisting in it paralyzed so large a portion of the assailing force. When the column reached the ditch, it was, as before, impassable; but some of the men inclining to the right contrived to turn it and to clamber up the rugged slope of the flanking bastion, and the colours of the 12th regiment of Native Infantry waved from the summit of the

to join the Commander-in-Chief at Bhurtpore; where it arrived, on the 12th of February; and under Major-General Jones, who had succeeded Colonel Murray, bore a full share in the succeeding operations.

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During the detention of the army before the capital of Runjeet Sing, the cavalry under General Smith had been employed in expelling Ameer Khan, an adventurer of Afghan descent, who had found the means of collecting a predatory army, and made an incursion into the Company's territory.<sup>1</sup> Before the preparations were completed

slope. There was, however, still a perpendicular parapet of some height to be surmounted; and as this was resolutely defended by the garrison, all efforts to scale it were productive only of the destruction of the assailants. Two or three of the men did get in at the front embrasure of the wall, but they were instantly cut to pieces by the enemy. So apparent an approximation to success induced the Commander-in-Chief to direct a repetition of the attack upon the bastion which had been ascended, on the following day; and on this occasion the Europeans, who had been panic-struck on the day preceding, volunteered to lead the attack, and gallantly redeemed their character. Their valour only aggravated their loss. There was no breach, and the attempt to carry the fort by scrambling in disorder up a scabrous bastion, in which no firm footing could be found, and where the party was exposed to a murderous fire, and to an equally destructive shower of deadly missiles from a numerous garrison, strong in position, and exulting in spirit, was an inconsiderate and unjustifiable casting away of men's lives.

The writer in the East Indian United Service Journal, adverting to the blame imputed to the Engineers for the failure of the attack upon Bhurtpore, remarks, "who the Commanding Engineer was, I have met with no body who could exactly tell. I believe the office passed through the hands of several individuals during the siege, but no one of them was of sufficient character, either in respect of influence or experience, to take upon himself the responsibility attached to so important a situation." He adds, however, "even if an officer of the requisite ability and experience had been present, it is doubtful whether he would have been attended to, for so confident was the General in the resistless bravery of his troops, and so impatient withal, that he could hardly brook the delay that was necessary to enable his guns to make a breach in the ramparts. He had undertaken to besiege a large, populous, and strong place, with means that were totally inadequate for such an enterprise; and in a military point of view he was highly culpable." The writer proceeds to blame the government for not providing the means whilst it enjoined the enterprise; but admitting the neglect, this does not exonerate a General, left as Lord Lake was with large discretionary authority, from the culpability of attempting objects which his utter want of means rendered impossibilities.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Ameer Khan joined Holkar after the first storm of Bhurtpore, and co-operated with his cavalry in harassing the British camp and columns. He also took an active part in the different attempts made to cut off the English convoys coming to the siege. As these attempts were unsuccessful, the Raja of Bhurtpore ascribed their failure to want of proper concert between Ameer Khan and Holkar, and he therefore sent for them and said, "as both Sirdars could not act well together in the same field, it would be better that one should remain at Bhurtpore while the other headed an incursion into the enemy's territory, and carried the war thither." "Holkar recollecting," adds his friend and confederate, with some malice, "his misfortunes at Furruckabad and Deeg, chose to remain," and Ameer Khan, therefore, went upon this expedition. His direction was Rohilkund, of which country he was a native. He was followed on the day after his departure by General Smith, with three regiments of dragoons, three regiments of native cavalry, and a division of



BOOK VI. for resuming the siege of Bhurtpore, this force returned, and might, it appeared to the Commander-in-Chief, be now advantageously employed in dislodging Holkar from the neighbourhood of Bhurtpore; and, if possible, expelling him from that quarter of India. At two o'clock in the morning of the 29th of March, he left his camp, with the whole of the cavalry and the reserve, intending to surprise the enemy about daybreak. Colonel Don, with the reserve, moved directly upon their left, while the General himself made a circuit to their right, in the line in which it was expected they would fly from the attack on their left. They were so much, however, upon their guard, as to be secured by a timely flight from any considerable injury. In two days, it was heard, that they were again encamped within twenty miles of Bhurtpore. On the 1st of April, the Commander-in-Chief proceeded with the same force at midnight, for another chance of reaching them before they could take to flight. Though now passing the night in so much vigilance that they kept their horses saddled, they had not begun to march before the British force were within two hundred yards from them, and having horses superior both in speed and strength, were able to perform upon them considerable execution, before they had time to disperse. So little did the enemy think of defending themselves, that of the British, in either of those onsets, not a man was lost.

In addition to other causes, which tended to reduce the power of Holkar, the most respectable of the chiefs who belonged to his army, now came with their followers to

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horse artillery. At Moradabad, which was an English station, Ameer Khan's party did some mischief, but they were detained before the house of the Judge, which had been prepared for resistance, and in which the English residents, with some of the militia, had taken refuge. They defended themselves there for two days, until the approach of General Smith effected their deliverance. The Mahratta force then moved towards the hills, destroying and plundering some insignificant villages: fearing that his retreat might be cut off, Ameer Khan then retraced his steps, but was intercepted, and brought to action near Afzulgerh, on the 2nd of March. Some vigorous charges were made by the enemy, but they were resolutely encountered, and driven with some loss from the field. After the plunder of some other towns in Rohilcund, and some fruitless operations against detachments and convoys of the English, Ameer Khan re-crossed the Ganges on the 13th of March, attended, according to his own account, by no more than 100 men. He contrived to collect some of his scattered forces, with whom he rejoined Holkar on the 20th of March. General Smith returned to camp on the 23rd, having effectually frustrated Ameer Khan's predatory designs. War in India, 430. Life of Ameer Khan, 250.—W.

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the English camp. The Raja of Bhurtpore, also, discovering the fallacy of the hopes which he had built upon Holkar, and dreading the effects of a renewed attack, began, soon after the suspension of operations, to testify his desire for reconciliation. Though an example to counteract the impressions made upon the minds of the people of Hindustan, by the successful resistance of the Raja of Bhurtpore, might have appeared, at this time, exceedingly useful; yet some strong circumstances recommended a course rather of forbearance than of revenge. The season was very far advanced, and Bhurtpore might still make a tedious defence: the severity of the hot winds would destroy the health of the Europeans in the trenches, and affect even that of the natives; great inconvenience was sustained from the continuance of Holkar in that quarter of India, from which it would be difficult to expel him, with Bhurtpore for a place of refuge and support: And, above all, it was necessary to have the army in a state of readiness to act against Sindiah, who appeared on the point of renewing the war. The proposals of the Raja, therefore, met the British rulers in a very compliant temper; and the terms of a new treaty were settled on the 10th of April, when the preparations for the renewal of the siege were completed, and the army had actually taken up its position at the place. As compensation for the expense which the Raja, by his disobedience, had inflicted on the British government, he agreed to pay, by instalments, a sum of twenty lacs of Furruckabad rupees; and the additional territory, with which he had been aggrandized by the Company, was resumed. In other respects, he was allowed to remain in the same situation in which he had been placed by the preceding treaty. The fort of Deeg was not, indeed, to be restored till after experience, for some time had, of his fidelity and friendship; but if that were obtained, a part of the compensation-money would not be required.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion of a treaty with Sindiah, even his entering into the system of subsidiary defence, created no sense of tranquillity, no expectation of peace between him and the British government. Before the signature of the

<sup>1</sup> No. 15, ut supra, p. 40—45, 53.—M. See Treaty. Wellesley Despatches, iv. App., p. 636.—W.



BOOK VI. treaty of subsidiary alliance, a dispute had arisen about  
CHAP. XIII. the fort of Gualior, and the territory of Gohud. The British government included these possessions in the construction of that article of the treaty which bound Sindiah to all the engagements formed by the British government during the war, with any of the chiefs who had previously paid to him tribute or obedience. Sindiah contended that they could not be included in that article by any just and reasonable construction ; and also represented them as so important to himself, that he could by no means retain his state and condition without them.

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The behaviour of Ambajee Englah, or Inglah, had produced even hostile operations between the time of signing the treaty of peace, and signing the treaty of defensive alliance. After having separated his interests from those of Sindiah, under whom he rented and governed the possessions in question, and after having formed engagements with the British government, on the terms which it held out, during the war, to every chief whom it found possessed of power ; that versatile leader, as soon as he understood that peace was likely to be concluded with Sindiah, renounced his engagements with the English, and endeavoured to prevent them from obtaining possession of the fort and districts which he had agreed to give up. The Commander-in-Chief sent troops, and seized them.

The disputes on the subject of Gualior and Gohud began on the 17th of February, 1804 ; and were pressed, with infinite eagerness, by the ministers of Sindiah. They did not prevent the signature of the defensive treaty, because the Mahratta ministers declared, that, how much soever convinced of his right, and how deeply soever his interests would be affected by the alienation of that right, their master would not allow it to disturb the relations of peace so happily established ; but would throw himself on the honour and generosity of the British chiefs. They argued and contended, that the article of the treaty which bound him to the engagements, formed with his dependants and tributaries by the British government, could only refer to such chiefs as the Rajas of Jodepoor and Jyepoor, or, at any rate, to Zemindars and Jaghire-dars ; that Gohud was the immediate property of the

Maharaja; that it was absurd to talk of a Rana of Gohud; as no such person was known; as all the pretensions of that family were extinct, and the province had been in the immediate and absolute possession of Sindiah and his predecessor for thirty years; that no right could be justly founded on the revival of an antiquated claim, in favour of some forgotten individual of an ancient family; and that it was not for the interest of the British government, any more than of Sindiah, to call in question the foundations of actual possession, since a great part of all that belonged to both was held by neither a more ancient, nor a more valid title, than that which Sindiah possessed to the territory of Gohud. As for the fort of Gualior, it was not so much, they affirmed, as a part of Gohud; it was a fortress of the Mogul, granted to Sindiah, of which the Rana of Gohud, even when such a personage existed, could be regarded as no more than the Governor, nominated by Sindiah, and employed during his pleasure. The English affirmed, that as the operation of the treaty extended, by the very terms, to all the territories of Sindiah, excepting those "situated to the southward of the territories of the Rajas of Jyepoor, Jodepoor, and the Rana of Gohud," it was evident, that it was meant to apply to those of the Rana of Gohud: that if the possession in question had not passed to the English, by treaty with the parties to whom they were now consigned, they would have passed to them by conquest; as the army, after the battle of Laswaree, was actually moving towards Gohud and Gualior, when Ambajee Ingliah, against whom the heir of the family of the Rana of Gohud had been acting, in aid of the British government, with a considerable body of troops, concluded a treaty, by which they were surrendered.

It would appear, that General Wellésley believed there was weight in the arguments of Sindiah. In the answer which he returned to Major Malcolm, when that officer made communication to him of the conclusion of the treaty of defensive alliance, which he negotiated with Sindiah: "It appears," he remarked, "that Sindiah's ministers have given that prince reason to expect that he would retain Gualior; and, I think it possible, that, considering all the circumstances of the case, his Excellency

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BOOK VI. the Governor-General may be induced to attend to Sindiah's wishes upon this occasion. At all events, your despatches contain fresh matter, upon which it would be desirable to receive his Excellency's orders, before you proceed to make any communication to Sindiah's Durbar, on the subject of Gualior."

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The Governor-General continued steadfastly to consider the arrangement which he had made respecting Gualior and Gohud, as necessary to complete his intended plan of defence, by a chain of allied princes and strong positions between the British and Mahratta frontiers. Sindiah, after a fruitless contest, was obliged to submit; and on the 21st of May, 1804, he received in public Durbar, the list of treaties to which he was required to conform.

The apparent termination of this dispute by no means introduced the sentiments of friendship between the two governments. In a letter dated the 18th of October, 1804, which was addressed, in the name of Sindiah, to the Governor-General, various complaints were urged, "tending," says the British ruler, "to implicate the justice and good faith of the British government, in its conduct towards that chieftain."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As subsequently intimated (p. 437), this letter, although dated in October, did not reach the Governor-General until the middle of February. The delay is not sufficiently accounted for by its circuitous conveyance, as noticed in Lord Wellesley's reply to Sindiah. The letter could not have been dispatched at the date when it was written, and other probable causes may be assigned for its subsequent retardation. The whole of the discussions with Sindiah were an exemplification of the cat in the adage, "letting 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would.'" Sindiah's sympathies were with Holkar, but he wanted the resolution to declare them; and with the varying fortunes of that chief, his determination to join him or to keep aloof alternated. A strong party in his court, at the head of which was his father-in-law, Serjee Rao Ghatkay, listening only to their hatred of the English, believed, and endeavoured to make Sindiah believe, that Holkar must triumph if supported by Sindiah; that he might, even without such assistance, eventually succeed. Opposed to this party was another of the Maharaja's advisers, with the chief minister Bapoojee Wittul at their head, and their representations contributed to shake Sindiah's resolution. The persuasions and arguments of either, however, gained or lost efficacy with the course of events; and that under the fluctuation of feeling thus produced, the letter was composed, kept back, and dispatched, is probable from a consideration of what had occurred. At the end of August, Monson's detachment was driven out of Malwa and destroyed. In the course of September Holkar was in occupation of Muttra and threatened Agra, and nothing was anticipated amongst the Mahrattas but the total overthrow of the English. In this state of excitement the letter, which is little better than a defiance, was composed, and it may have been sent off to the Vakeel at Benares. In the course of October, however, Lord Lake with his army was in the field; the attempt upon Delhi was defeated, and affairs began to look doubtful. The Vakeel was then probably enjoined to delay the delivery of the letter by undertaking a long journey from Benares to Calcutta, performed no doubt deliberately, so that he might be easily overtaken, and his

First of all, the British government had used him ill in regard to money ; for, whereas the losses to which he had

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ultimate instructions be regulated by intermediate events. Then came news of the pursuit and surprise of Furruckabad, and of the battle and siege of Deeg ; and a further delay took place which would have probably ended in a total suppression of the despatch, if the repulse at Bhurtpore in the beginning of January had not turned the scale in favour of co-operation with Holkar, and the journey of the messenger was completed. This is in all likelihood the true explanation of the interval of four months that elapsed between the date and the delivery of Sindiah's letter.

As to the complaints preferred in that letter, those which had any decency in them had been repeatedly discussed with the Resident in Sindiah's court, or in his camp, and had been, as it was supposed, finally disposed of. On the 18th of May the Resident "took occasion to require a formal renunciation of Dowlut Rao Sindiah's claim to the fort and territory of Gwalior and Gohud ; and the minister in reply authorized the Resident to assure the Governor-General that the claim had been completely relinquished by his master." The treaty was accordingly ratified to this effect by Sindiah himself, on the 24th of May. His again urging the claim after such full and formal renunciation of it, could only have proceeded from a belief that the British government might now be intimidated into an acquiescence in an act of injustice.

From this time forward the main point pressed upon the consideration of the Governor-General by Sindiah's ministers, was the grant of pecuniary assistance, without which, it was affirmed, Sindiah could take no part in the war against Holkar, as he could not move his army from Burhanpore. That he was labouring under financial difficulties was no doubt true, but it was not true to the extent asserted, for when it suited him to march, he moved towards the scene of hostilities without having received the demanded aid. Pecuniary assistance, however, was promised him, if he would satisfy the British government that he was not engaged in any hostile designs against them. The proofs insisted on were the dismissal from his court of Holkar's Vakeel, who at first openly, and afterwards secretly, resided with Sindiah, and was frequently admitted to private conferences with him and his ministers. The next condition was, the removal from his counsels of Serjee Rao Ghatkay, a man, as the Mahrattas universally acknowledged, of infamous character, and notoriously inimical to the English, and in communication with Holkar. He had been obliged to withdraw from the court by the odium he had incurred with his countrymen, and had resided at Poonah ; but in August, when the British arms had suffered a reverse, made his appearance at Burhanpore, and speedily gained an ascendancy over the mind of his son-in-law. Bapoojee Wittul dying at the end of 1804, Serjee Rao became chief minister. The third and last condition insisted on by the Resident was Sindiah's march to his capital, Ougein, where he would be advantageously situated for the protection of Malwa, and less readily in communication with the enemies of the British state. These conditions were repeatedly assented to, receded from, evaded, refused, promised, with the most barefaced and disgraceful want of consistency, and with the evident purpose of adhering to no pledge, observing no faith, which it might be thought safe to violate. The British government would have been fully justified in punishing such insolence and perfidy, by the renewal of hostilities, the end of which must have been Sindiah's speedy destruction. Knowledge of his inability to resist usually came opportunely to Dowlut Rao's recollection, when matters seemed verging to extremity, and no submission was too base, no stratagem too villanous, of which the effect was to dissuade or prevent the British Resident from quitting the Mahratta camp, a measure which Sindiah dreaded as equivalent to a declaration of war.

Sindiah at last consented to leave Burhanpore on pretence of moving to his capital : here instead of taking the road to Ougein, he marched to the east, in the direction of Bundelkhand, where Ameer khan, with a body of horse, was carrying on military operations on Holkar's part. On the way, he committed an unprovoked aggression on the Nawab of Bhopal, an independent prince, an attack upon whom, without any communication with the English government, was a breach of the treaty of defensive alliance. Thence he proceeded to



BOOK VI. recently been exposed had deprived him of the pecuniary  
 CHAP. XIII. means necessary to bring his forces into the field, the

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Saugur; and, asserting that he was entitled to the payment of a balance due on account of an assignment to him by the Peshwa, levied contributions on the country, and besieged the town. Saugur belonged to the Peshwa, the ally of the British government: hostile proceedings against the former were virtually so against the latter, and were every way incompatible with the relations in which all three powers stood towards each other. At Saugur, Sindiah was in communication with Ameer Khan at Bhilsa, and with Ambajee and other sirdars in Malwa, who were in arms against the English; and his language, and that of his ministers, became less equivocal. The communications made by the Resident of Lord Lake's successes, were unnoticed; whilst those of Holkar's, real or fabricated, were received with marks of public exultation. Nine battalions of infantry, with sixty-five guns, and a large body of Pindaries, joined the camp; and every thing bore so decidedly the appearance of hostility, that the Acting Resident, Mr. Jenkins—the Resident, Mr. Webbe, having died—determined to quit the camp, and applied for passports. He was desired to wait some days, when Ambajee Inglia would arrive, and it would be settled whether Sindiah would march to Ougein, or the Resident should receive his dismissal; a declaration equivalent to an announcement of contemplated war, and calculated, therefore, to confirm the representative of the English government in his intention. When this was found to be the case, Sindiah was alarmed, and fresh prettexts, and renewed promises of a more friendly complexion, prevailed upon the Resident to delay his threatened departure. The prettexts proved, as usual frivolous or false; the promises were broken, the instant they had served the purpose of the moment; and additional proofs of Sindiah's intrigues with Holkar having been received, the Acting Resident would no longer be delayed, and left the camp, with his suite and baggage, on the 23rd of January, 1805.

At the end of his first march, messengers from Sindiah overtook him, and entreated him to return for an interview with the Maharaja, who was prepared to comply entirely with the wishes of the British Government. Mr. Jenkins accordingly returned, leaving his tents in a grove near the camp of Sindiah's regular brigades. He was detained at the Durbar until evening, when news arrived that his escort had been attacked by an overwhelming force of Pindaries, the officer commanding it, the surgeon attached to the Residency, and several of the Sepoys had been wounded, and the whole of the baggage carried off. A similar atrocity had been attempted on a previous occasion. On the night of the 29th December, the public baggage tent had been attacked, and the guard overpowered, but the plunder was only partial, and the violence of a more unauthorized character. In either case, all sanction was disavowed by Sindiah, and he professed extreme horror and indignation at the conduct of the plunderers, but no attempt was made to detect or punish them, nor was the property restored. The text ascribes the outrage to Serjee Rao alone, in hopes to embroil Sindiah beyond remedy with the British Government, but it is not likely that it was perpetrated without Sindiah's cognizance, and it had probably no deeper design than the prevention of the Resident's departure. The Governor-General, although he immediately demanded Sindiah's disavowal of any concern in his transaction, and reparation for the wrong inflicted, (Despatches iv. 296,) under a guarded menace of the revival of hostilities, was not willing to ascribe it to any other cause than the uncontrollable licentiousness of the Pindaries, and did not judge it prudent to take any further notice of the occurrence. The same precarious and unsafe sort of intercourse was in consequence maintained for a further period, until a change of councils in the administration of the British Government rewarded the perfidy of Dowlut Rao Sindiah with the possession of Gohud and Gwalior.

The despatch from which the preceding details are principally extracted contains also a report of the negotiations with the Berar Raja, which are not adverted to in the text, although they equally threatened to add to the enemies of the British Government. In the Month of August, news of Holkar's successes reached Berar, with circumstances of great exaggeration, disseminating, as they had done elsewhere, erroneous impressions of the injury he had in-

English had disregarded his earnest applications for the sums necessary to enable him to co-operate in the subjugation of Holkar; the consequence of which was, that when he sent two chiefs, Bappojee Sindiah, and Suddasheo Bhao, to join the army under General Lake, as that General would afford them no money, they were soon obliged to separate from him, in order to find a subsistence, and even to effect a temporary and feigned conjunction with the enemy, to avoid destruction, either by his arms, or by the want of subsistence.

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Secondly, the British government had used him ill, in respect to Gualior and Gohud; which had long formed part of his immediate dominions, and were not included in the list, delivered to General Wellesley, of the places which he ceded by the treaty of peace.

Thirdly, his tributary, the Raja of Jodepore, was included in the list of princes protected by engagements with the English; while that Raja himself disclaimed all such engagements; had received into his protection the family of Holkar; and had written frequently to Sindiah,

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flicted upon his opponents. Intrigue was immediately at work to prevail upon the Raja to take the opportunity of recovering some of the losses of the late war: the Resident was made acquainted with the existence of a correspondence in which plans were proposed to the Raja for seizing the province of Sumbhulpore, and for cooperating with the Raja of Khurda and other petty chiefs in Cuttack, who actually rose in insurrection. The replies of the Raja expressed his approbation of these projects, contained instructions for carrying them into effect, and enjoined secrecy and caution. It was also ascertained that he was in communication with Sindiah and with Holkar. In October, a vakeel from Ameer Khan arrived at Nagpore, and one who had been sent to Sindiah returned. The return of the latter was immediately followed by orders for the assemblage of the Raja's troops and his army under Saccaram Bukshee marched towards the frontier, whilst in other parts of his dominions levies of men and other military preparations were made with great activity. The representations of the resident against these measures were met by assurances of continued amity, and the military movements were accounted for as necessary to resist a threatened incursion of Ameer Khan, who had engaged to assist the Nawab of Bhopal in opposing the claims of the Raja of Berar upon Hoshunghabad. Some acts of plunder, committed on the territories of Nagpore, by Ameer Khan's Pindarries, gave some colour to the assertions of the Raja; and the precautions taken in Sumbhulpore and Cuttack, with intelligence of the action of Furruckabad and Deeg, seem to have determined the court of Nagpore at least to wait for the further development of events, before they manifested their hostile sentiments. Some further anxiety and suspicion were created by the conduct of the Raja's brother, Venkajee Bhonsla, who collected a body of troops, and plundered some villages in the territory of the Nizam, but his conduct was earnestly disavowed by the Raja and his Jagir put under sequestration, reparation was made for the injury committed, and no further fear was entertained of the Raja's entering into any confederacy adverse to the British state. Letter of the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 24th March, 1805. Dispatches iv, 322.—W.



BOOK VI. declaring, that he remained in the same relation to him as  
CHAP XIII. before.

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Fourthly, the lands which were to be restored, as the private property of Sindiah, had not yet been given up; and the pensions, and other sums, which were agreed for, had not been regularly paid.

Fifthly, the British government had not afforded to his dominions that protection which, by treaty, they owed; for even when Colonel Murray was at Oujein, Holkar had besieged the fort of Mundesoor, and laid waste the surrounding country; while Meer Khan, the Afghan, who was a partisan of Holkar, had captured Bhilsa, and plundered the adjoining districts.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the date of this letter, Sindiah had moved from Boorhanpore, and reached the Nerbudda, which his army was already beginning to cross. In compliance with the urgent remonstrances of the British government, he professed the intention of repairing to the capital of his dominions, and undertaking the regulation of his affairs. In reality, he took the direction of Bhopaul; and, with or without his consent, two signal enormities took place. Some of his troops plundered Saugur, a city and district pertaining to the Peshwa; and a party of his irregular troops attacked and plundered the camp of the British Resident. At the time when this outrage was committed, the British force in Bundelcund had been summoned, by the Commander-in-Chief, to reinforce the main army at Bhurtpore, which had suffered a material reduction in the late unsuccessful attempts. The army from Bundelcund was on its march, and had arrived at Gualior, when, late in the evening, hircarrahs came in with intelligence of the violation of the British Residency,

<sup>1</sup> The replies of the Governor-General to these allegations were sufficiently convincing, but it is worth while to notice the first, more particularly, as an example of impudence not exceeded by any thing in the annals even of Mahratta diplomacy. It was matter of universal notoriety that these two chiefs had behaved with the most unequivocal treachery, and Sindiah must have known both the fact and the cause. "No Mahratta doubts," says Captain Grant, "that Bapoojee Sindiah and Seudasheo Bhao deserted to Holkar with Dowlut Rao's consent." *Mahr. Hist.*, 3. The fifth allegation is scarcely inferior in shamelessness to the first, for Colonel Murray's inability to protect the country of Sindiah against Holkar, was mainly owing, not only to the utter want of that co-operation which the treaty entitled him to expect from Sindiah's troops, but to the opposition, little short of hostility, which he experienced from Sindiah's officers. Letter from Marquess Wellesley to Dowlut Rao Sindiah, 4th. of April. Despatches iv., 294.—W.

in Sindiah's camp. The greatest alarm was excited. The route through Bundelcund into Allahabad, from Allahabad to Benares, and from Benares to Calcutta, was denuded of all its troops; and there was nothing to oppose the progress of Sindiah, through the heart of the British dominions, to Calcutta itself. It immediately suggested itself to the minds of the British officers, that Sindiah had resolved to avail himself of the fortunate moment, when the British troops were all withdrawn to the disastrous siege of Bhurtpore, to perform this brilliant exploit; and that the violation of the Residency was the first act of the war. Under this impression, it was resolved to march back the army of Bundelcund to Jansee, which lay on the road by which it was necessary for Sindiah to pass. Sindiah proceeded rather in a contrary direction, towards Malwa. The probability is, that Serjee Rao Gautka, his minister, and father-in-law, committed the outrage upon the British Residency, in hopes to embroil him beyond remedy with the British government, and thus to ensure the war to which he found it so difficult to draw the feeble and irresolute mind of his prince; while the promptitude with which the British force was again opposed to his march into the British dominions maintained, in his mind, the ascendancy of those fears which the minister found it so hard to subdue. A spirited prince might have made a very different use of his opportunity.

The letter which contained the complaints of Sindiah was conveyed in so tedious a mode, that four months elapsed before it was delivered at Calcutta; nor was the answer penned till the 14th of April, 1805. The Governor-General had satisfactory arguments with which to repel the several allegations of Sindiah: though he allowed that the Raja of Jodepore had refused to abide by the stipulation contracted with the British government; which, therefore, would not interfere between him and Sindiah. He then proceeded to give a list of offences, thirteen in number, with which Sindiah was chargeable toward the British state.

First, after remaining at Boorhanpore, till towards the end of the year 1804, Sindiah, instead of proceeding to his capital, in conformity with the pressing instances of the Resident, and his own repeated promises, for the

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BOOK VI. purpose of co-operating with the British government, direct-  
 CHAP. XIII. ed his march towards the territory of Bhopaul, where he  
 1805. was not only remote from the scene of utility, but positively injurious, by alarming and robbing one of the British allies.

Secondly, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the Resident, a vakeel of Holkar was allowed to remain in Sindiah's camp; and Sindiah's minister maintained with him a constant clandestine intercourse.

Thirdly, Sindiah's officers, at Oujein, instead of yielding any assistance to the operations of Colonel Murray, had obstructed them.

Fourthly, two of Sindiah's commanders had deserted from the British army, and had served with the enemy during almost the whole of the war.

Fifthly, Sindiah, notwithstanding his complaint of the want of resources, had augmented his army as the powers of the enemy declined, thereby exciting a suspicion of treacherous designs.

Sixthly, the heinous outrage had been committed of attacking and plundering the camp of the British Resident, without the adoption of a single step towards compensation, or atonement, or even the discovery and punishment of the offenders.

The remaining articles in the list were either of minor importance, or so nearly, in their import, coincident with some of the articles mentioned above, that it appears unnecessary to repeat them.

The Governor-General declared; "By all these acts, your Highness has manifestly violated, not only the obligations of the treaty of defensive alliance, but also of the treaty of peace." According to this declaration, it was the forbearance alone of the British government, which prevented the immediate renewal of war.

The next step which was taken by Sindiah, produced expectation that hostilities were near. On the 22nd of March, 1805, he announced, officially, to the British Resident, his resolution of marching to Bhurtpore, with the intention of interposing his mediation, for the restoration of peace, between the British government and its enemies. "To proceed," says the Governor-General, "at the head of an army to the seat of hostilities, for the purpose of

interposing his unsolicited mediation, was an act not only inconsistent with the nature of his engagements, but insulting to the honour, and highly dangerous to the interests, of the British government." In the instructions, however, which the Governor-General issued upon this emergency, he was extremely anxious to avoid the extremity of war, unless in the case of actual aggression. But he deemed it necessary to make immediate arrangements for seizing the possessions of Sindiah, if that chieftain should proceed to extremities. Colonel Close was vested with the same powers which had formerly been confided to General Wellesley; and orders were issued to the officers commanding the subsidiary force at Poonah, and at Hyderabad, to occupy, with their troops, the positions most favorable for invading the southern dominions of Sindiah. The force in Guzerat, which had been weakened by the detachment sent to co-operate in the war against Holkar, was reinforced, with a view as well to defence, as to seize whatever belonged to Sindiah in Guzerat, and its vicinity. Upon some further disclosure of the hostile, or, at least, the unfriendly councils of Sindiah, the Commander-in-Chief was instructed to oppose the march to Bhurtpore, as what, "under all the circumstances of the case, constituted not only a declaration of war, but a violent act of hostility."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The preposterous folly of Sindiah in thus uniting with Holkar when all prospect of success had vanished, is explained by the life of Ameer Khan: this determination must have been formed some time before he announced his intention of marching to Bhurtpore; and when he announced his intention he fully expected that the Raja was still at war with the English. The treaty with the Raja was not concluded until the 17th of April; and although negotiations had commenced on the 10th of March, this was a secret to both Holkar and Ameer Khan, and the Raja was at the same time carrying on negotiations with Sindiah, for at his request Ameer Khan was sent with Holkar's concurrence to Subbulghur, to expedite arrangements for bringing up Dowlut Rao Sindiah. This was as late as the 7th of April, by which date Sindiah had arrived at Subbulghur, on his way to Bhurtpore. After Ameer Khan's departure, and "when Serjee Rao Ghautka had arrived near to Bhurtpore, the Raja, finding it impossible to keep his secret longer, made it known to Jeswunt Rao Holkar, telling him that he had made his terms some time before with the English." Sindiah, therefore, had been led into the snare by the Raja of Bhurtpore, who had been treacherous to his late allies, and deserted the Mahrattas, when they could no longer wholly disavow their proceedings. It was fortunate that the Jant found it his interest not to deceive the English, for had he upon the near approach of Sindiah broken off the negotiation and resumed hostilities, Lord Lake, with his army dispirited and weakened by the siege, would have been awkwardly situated, between the forces of Bhurtpore and those of Holkar and Ameer Khan on the one hand, and those of Dowlut Rao Sindiah and Ambajee Inglia on the other. That it was Dowlut Rao's intention to fall upon the rear of the English army, had he found, as he



BOOK VI. The Governor-General, in the event of a war, now resolved to reduce the power of Sindiah to what he calls  
 CHAP. XIII. "the lowest scale." He observes, that the principle of  
 1805. compensation, which had regulated the terms of the former treaty, "had proved inadequate to the purposes of British security, and that the restraints imposed by the provisions of the treaty of peace upon Dowlut Rao Sindiah's means of mischief were insufficient—that another principle of pacification must therefore be assumed; that Sindiah must not be permitted to retain the rights and privileges of an independent state; nor any privileges to an extent that might at a future time enable him to injure the British or their allies; and that the British government must secure the arrangement by establishing a direct control over the acts of his government—experience having sufficiently manifested, that it was in vain to place any reliance on the faith, justice, sincerity, gratitude, or honour of that chieftain"—he might have added, or any chieftain of his nation or country.

No declaration can be more positive and strong of the total inefficacy of the system of defensive alliance. As there is here a declaration of what was *not* sufficient for British security, namely, the system of defensive alliance, so there is a declaration of what alone *is* sufficient, namely, the total prostration and absolute dependence of every surrounding power. This, however, we have more than once had occasion to observe, is conquest—conquest in one of the worst of its shapes: worst, both with respect to the people of India, as adding enormously to the villanies of their own species of government, instead of imparting to them the blessings of a better one; and the people of England, as loading them with all the cost of governing and defending the country, without giving them all the revenues.<sup>1</sup>

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expected, hostilities still in progress at Bhurtpore, cannot be reasonably doubted, notwithstanding his amicable professions. Ameer Khan declares, in speaking of the subsequent separation of the Mahratta chiefs, that "Sindiah broke off from the treaty of offensive and defensive alliance against the English," which is a confession that such an alliance had been formed. Life, 273.

<sup>1</sup> No argument against Lord Wellesley's system of defensive alliance can be drawn from the transactions with Sindiah, for no such alliance with him, on the principle of military control, had been formed. The treaty with him contemplated him as an entirely independent prince, and left him full power over both his civil and military administration; his incapability of exercising this power, except to his own hurt and the injury of his neighbours, was an argument in favour of that sort of control which Lord Wellesley sought to establish,

Sindiah continued his march to the northward, and on the 29th of March had advanced with all his cavalry and Pindarees to Subbulghur, on the river Chumbul, leaving his battalions and guns in the rear. His force at this time was understood by the British government to consist of eight or nine thousand cavalry, 20,000 Pindarees, and nominally eighteen battalions of infantry with 140 guns, all in a very defective state of discipline and equipment. On the 31st of March he had advanced about eighteen miles in a north-easterly direction from Subbulghur. Here he was joined by Ambajee; and the British Resident in his camp, understanding that it was his intention to cross the Chumbul with his cavalry and Pindarees, leaving the bazars and heavy baggage of the army under the protection of Ambajee, requested an audience. His object was to represent to Sindiah the impropriety of crossing the Chumbul, and the propriety of waiting for Colonel Close, who was expected soon to arrive on an important mission from the capital of the Raja of Berar. The propositions of the British agent were received with the most amicable professions on the part of Sindiah and his ministers; who represented, that the embarrassment of his finances was so great as to prevent him from returning to effect the settlement of his country; that his march towards Bhurtpore was intended solely to accelerate the arrival of peace; but that, if the British government would make any arrangement for the relief of his urgent necessities, he would regulate his proceedings agreeably

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and which had been successfully established in the case of the Peshwa. There is no doubt that the Peshwa was in secret communication with Sindiah and Holkar, throughout the whole of these transactions: and had it not been for the check imposed upon him by the subsidiary force, he would probably have been as troublesome as his neighbours. As far, therefore, as the great object of Lord Wellesley's system, the preservation of peace in India, was concerned, these occurrences proved that it was not to be affected by any interchange of obligations on the reciprocal footing of equal independence. This had never been doubted, and the efficacy of the system of defensive alliance was not impeached by the events that had occurred, nor was it denied by Lord Wellesley's declaration. On the contrary, it was affirmed by it. Lord Wellesley declared that in regard to Sindiah it must be inferred, that he must not be longer allowed that share of independence which he had abused; that all military means of mischief must be taken away from him. This may be called by what name the author pleases, but this was all along the essential part of the system of defensive alliance, and it cannot be said to have proved ineffective in regard to Sindiah, as it had not been tried. All that had been substantiated by our connexion, had been that no alliance of any kind soever could be maintained with a prince upon whom no obligations were binding, with whom no treaties were sacred.—W.



BOOK VI. to its desires. A copy of a letter to the Governor-  
CHAP. XIII. General was also read, in which reparation was promised  
for the outrage on the Resident's camp.

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This conference, when reported to the Governor-General, appeared to him to indicate a more submissive turn in the councils of Sindiah; the Resident was accordingly instructed, to inform the chieftain, that the atonement offered for the outrage was accepted; that the distresses of his government would be relieved by pecuniary aid, if he would act in co-operation with the British government; and that he could do this, only by returning to the southward, and employing himself in the seizure of the remaining possessions of Holkar in Malwa.

On the 2nd of April, Sindiah marched about eight miles in a retrograde direction towards Subbulghur; leaving the whole of his baggage and bazars under the charge of Ambajee. On the 3rd, the Resident was visited by Sindiah's vakeel, whose commission was, to importune him on the subject of pecuniary relief. A discussion ensued on the two points, of receiving money, and deferring the declared intention of crossing the Chumbul and proceeding to Kerowly, till the arrival of Colonel Close. The result was, an agreement on the part of Sindiah, to return and wait at Subbulghur, and on that of the British Resident, to afford a certain portion of pecuniary aid.

On the 7th of April, Ameer Khan departed from Bhurtpore, with the avowed intention of joining the army of Sindiah. On the same day, the minister of Sindiah marched towards Bhurtpore with a large body of Sindiah's Pindarees, and a considerable part of his cavalry. Information was sent to the Resident, that the proposed mediation was the object of the march.

On the 11th, General Lake received a letter from the said minister, who had arrived at Weir, a town situated about fifteen miles S.W. of Bhurtpore, stating that as the British Resident in the camp of Sindiah had expressed a desire for the mediation of his master, he had commanded him to proceed for that purpose to Bhurtpore. The British General replied; that, peace having been concluded with the Raja of Bhurtpore, the advance of the minister of Sindiah was unnecessary, and might subvert the relations

of amity between the British government and his master, to whom it was highly expedient that he should return. Notwithstanding this, he advanced on the 12th, with a small party of horse, within a few miles of Bhurtpore, whence he transmitted a message to the Raja, soliciting a personal conference, which the Raja declined. The minister then returned to Weir. Holkar, who had been obliged, on the submission of the Raja, to leave Bhurtpore, joined him, at this place, with three or four thousand exhausted cavalry, nearly the whole of his remaining force; and both proceeded towards the camp of Sindiah at Subbulghur.

The advance of the minister, immediately after the master had agreed to halt, the Governor-General regarded as an evasion and a fraud. The conduct of Sindiah, and some intercepted letters, taken from an agent of Sindiah, despatched to Holkar, toward the close of the month of March, convinced the Governor-General of a coincidence in the views of these two chiefs. And, whether they united their forces for the sake of obtaining better terms of peace, or for the purpose of increasing their abilities for war; as it would be of great importance for them, in either case, to prevent an accommodation between the British government and Runjeet Sing, it was not doubted that the design of Sindiah to proceed to Bhurtpore had that prevention for its end.<sup>1</sup> On the 11th, the 14th, and the 15th of April, Bappojee Sindiah, Ameer Khan, and Holkar, respectively, joined the camp of Sindiah, who offered to the British Resident a frivolous pretext for affording a cordial reception to each. He affirmed that Holkar, who had determined, he said, to renew his invasion of the British territories, had, in compliance with his persuasions, abandoned that design, and consented to accept his mediation for the attainment of peace.

On the 21st of April, the Commander-in-Chief, with the whole of his army, moved from Bhurtpore, toward the position of the united chiefs; and signified his desire to the British Resident, that he would take the earliest opportunity of quitting Sindiah's camp. The necessity of this measure appeared to him the stronger from a recent

<sup>1</sup> As mentioned in the note he had advanced in no expectation of preventing a peace, but in full belief that the war continued.—W.

BOOK VI. event. Holkar had seized the person of Ambajee, for the  
 CHAP. XIII. purpose of extorting from him a sum of money ; an au-  
 1805. dacity to which he would not have proceeded, in the very  
 camp of Sindiah, without the consent of that chieftain,  
 and a perfect concurrence in their views.<sup>1</sup>

On the 27th, in consequence of instructions from the Commander-in-Chief, the British Resident solicited an interview with Sindiah ; and he thought proper to give notice that the object of it was, to require the return of Sindiah from the position which he then occupied, and his separation from Holkar. The evening of the same day was appointed ; but, when it arrived, the attendance of the Resident was not demanded. All that day, and the succeeding night, great alarm and confusion prevailed in Sindiah's camp ; for it was reported that the British army was near. On the morning of the 28th, Sindiah and Holkar, with their respective forces, began to retreat with great precipitation ; and pursued a difficult march, for several days, during which heat and want of water destroyed a great number of men, to Shahpore, a town in the direct route to Kotah, and distant from that place about fifty miles.

The resolution, which this retreat suggested to the Governor-General, was " To adopt the necessary measures for cantoning the army at its several fixed stations. In his judgment," he says, " this measure, properly arranged, might be expected to afford sufficient protection to the British possessions even in the event of a war ; and the best security for the preservation of peace would be," (not the system of defensive alliance, but) " such a distribution of the British armies as should enable them to act against the enemy with vigour and celerity, if Sindiah should commence hostilities, or Holkar again attempt to

<sup>1</sup> A curious and characteristic account of Ambajee's seizure is given by Ameer Khan. It was effected by him under the orders of Holkar, and with the express permission of Sindiah. Dowlut Rao observed, " Ambajee Ingolia, who professes to be my servant and has lacs of rupees in ready money by him, will give no aid. If you can contrive a way of extorting money from him you have the permission, but the half must be given to me." Ambajee was confined and tortured ; he attempted to destroy himself, but did not succeed. He was at last obliged to purchase his liberation by the payment of thirty-eight, or according to some accounts, fifty-five lacs of rupees. Ambajee Ingolia was in consequence instrumental in sowing a dissension between Sindiah and Holkar, and inducing the former to make his peace with the English, by abandoning his ally. *Life of Ameer Khan*, 271, 273.—W.



disturb the tranquillity of the British territories. At the same time this arrangement would afford the means of effecting a material reduction of the heavy charges incident to a state of war." Yet he had argued, in defence of the former war, that to keep the British army in a state of vigilance would be nearly as expensive as a state of war.

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CHAP. XI. I.

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On the 10th of May, Sindiah and Holkar re-commenced their retreat to Kotah ; while the demand was still evaded of the English Resident for leave to depart from Sindiah's camp. The opinion entertained by the Governor-General of the state of Sindiah's councils, at the time when he arranged the cantonment of the British troops, is thus expressed, in his own words :—"The weakness and the indolence of Sindiah's personal character, combined with his habits of levity and debauchery, have gradually subjected him to the uncontrolled influence of his minister, Serjee Rao Ghautka, a person of the most profligate principles, and whose cruelty, violence, and abandoned conduct, have rendered him odious to whatever remains of respectable among the chiefs attached to Sindiah. Ghautka's personal views, and irregular and disorderly disposition, are adverse to the establishment of Sindiah's government upon any settled basis of peace and order. Ghautka is therefore an enemy to the treaty of alliance subsisting between Dowlut Rao Sindiah and the Honourable Company. Under the guidance of such perverse councils the interests of Dowlut Rao Sindiah have actually been sacrificed by Ghautka to those of Jeswunt Rao Holkar ; and it appears by the report of the acting Resident, contained in his despatch of the 9th of May, that in the absence of Serjee Rao Ghautka, the functions of the administration are actually discharged by Jeswunt Rao Holkar."

With respect to Holkar, the Governor-General was of opinion, that his turbulent disposition and predatory habits would never allow him to submit to restraint, "excepting only in the last extremity of ruined fortune :". And that, as no terms of accommodation, such as he would accept, could be offered to him, without the appearance of concession, no arrangement with him ought to be thought of, except on terms previously solicited by himself, and



BOOK VI. such as would deprive him of the means of disturbing  
CHAP. XIII. the possessions of the British government and its allies.

1805. He predicted, and there was abundant reason for the anticipation, that the confederacy between Holkar and Sindiah would be of short duration. In that case, provided Sindiah abstained from actual aggression upon the British state or its allies, the existing treaty of peace might still, he thought, be preserved.<sup>1</sup>

About the beginning of June, the confederate chieftains proceeded in a westerly direction towards Ajmere. For the countenance or aid they had received, or might be expected to receive, in that quarter, from the petty princes who had entered into the Governor-General's system of alliance, that Governor provided the following legitimate apology:—"The conduct of the petty chiefs of Hindostan, and of the Rajpoot states must necessarily be regulated by the progress of events. None of these chiefs possesses singly the power of resisting the forces of the confederates, and any effectual combination among those chiefs is rendered impracticable by the nature of their tenures, by their respective views and prejudices, and by the insuperable operation of immemorial usages and customs. They are therefore compelled to submit to exactions enforced by the vicinity of a superior force, and their preservation and their interests are concerned in supporting the cause of that power, which, engaged in a contest with another state, appears to be successful, and in abstaining from any opposition to either of the belligerent powers which possesses the means of punishing their resistance.<sup>2</sup> In contracting alliances with the petty states of Hindustan, the British government has never entertained the vain expectation of deriving from them the benefits of an active opposition to the power of the Mahratta chieftains, or even of an absolute neutrality, excepting under circumstances which should enable us to protect them against the power of the enemy. At the same time the actual or expected superiority and success

<sup>1</sup> Printed papers, ut supra, No. 23; Extract of a Letter from the Governor-General, 7th June, 1805, relative to Gualior and Gohud, with enclosures, p. 167—203; and a copy of a letter from ditto, 31st May, with enclosures, p. 5—148.—M. Despatches, iv. 535.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Compare with these grounds of action, those laid down by Mr. Hastings, in regard to the Rohillas.

of the confederates can alone induce those states to unite their exertions with those of the enemy in active operations against the British power." It is not easy to see, what utility could exist in alliances, of which these were to be the only results.<sup>1</sup>

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In the early part of June, intelligence was transmitted to the Governor-General by the Resident in Sindiah's camp, whom Sindiah, in spite of reiterated applications, had still detained, of the probability of an important change in the councils of that chieftain, by the dismissal of Serjee Rao Ghautka, the minister, and the appointment of Ambajee in his stead. Though it appeared that the ascendancy of Holkar in the councils of Sindiah was the cause of the expected change,<sup>2</sup> the Governor-General was disposed to believe that it increased all the probabilities of a speedy dissolution of the confederacy; as Ambajee, it was likely, would favour the projects of Holkar no longer than necessity required.

On the 17th of June, the acting Resident delivered to Sindiah a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, declaring, that if he were not permitted to quit the camp in ten days, the relations subsisting between the two states would be regarded as no longer binding on the British government. In some supposed inconsistency in the letters of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, Sindiah found a pretext for delay, requiring time to apply for elucidation to the Commander-in-Chief.

All pretext on this ground being removed, the Governor-General concluded, that, if Sindiah any longer persisted in his refusal to dismiss the Resident, it was a sufficient

<sup>1</sup> This supposes that no advantage is to be derived from a liberal policy. The British power stood in no need of the aid of the petty Rajpoot and Mahratta princes of Hindustan; but the latter stood in urgent need of the protection of a powerful and benevolent state against the lawless and merciless exactions and cruelties of such freebooters as Jeswunt Rao Holkar and Ameer Khan, and even Sindiah himself. To yield them protection was an act of humanity and of policy, for it secured the tranquillity of India, and all the benefits which could not fail to result from a friendly and safe international exchange of the products of prosperity. Although not necessary, also, it cannot be denied that the command and direction of the resources of a number of small states, exercised by a great one, contribute to the resources and strength of the latter. Once confident of the ability and the will of the British power to yield them protection, the petty states of Hindustan have been ready enough to enlist under its banners and reinforce its armies.—W.

<sup>2</sup> This was a mistake; it was the resentment of Ambajee against Holkar that gave him weight with Sindiah, he, himself, having cause to regret his union with that chief, and to dread its consequences.—W.

BOOK VI. proof of the necessity of war ; and if war had become  
 CHAP. XIII. necessary, that it should not be delayed. Instructions  
 1805. were, therefore, addressed to the Commander-in-Chief, by  
 which he was directed to be prepared for active operations  
 against the confederate forces of Sindiah and Holkar, as  
 soon as the season should admit.

On the 27th of June, the last of the days allowed to  
 precede the departure of the Resident agreeably to the  
 demand of the Commander-in-Chief, he was visited by  
 one of the principal servants of Sindiah. The object of  
 the conference was, to prevail upon the Resident to wave  
 his demand of dismissal. On this occasion, the strongest  
 professions of amicable intentions with respect to the  
 British government were made on the part of Sindiah ;  
 and his extreme reluctance to part with the Resident was  
 ascribed to the appearance which would thence arise of  
 enmity between the states ; while he would by no means  
 allow, that detention could be considered as a sufficient  
 motive for war.<sup>1</sup>

Thus stood the relations between the British state and  
 the Mahratta chiefs, when the Marquis Cornwallis arrived  
 in India. In the month of December, 1803, the Marquis  
 Wellesley had notified to the Court of Directors his inten-  
 tion of resigning the government of India, and of return-  
 ing to Europe, as soon as the negotiations with Dowlut  
 Rao Sindiah, and the Raja of Berar, should be conducted  
 to a conclusion. The hostilities, in which the Company  
 became involved with Holkar, induced him to defer the  
 execution of his intentions ; and, even in the month of  
 March, 1805, though he expressed his increasing solicitude,  
 in the declining state of his health, to be relieved from  
 the cares and toils of government, and to return to a more  
 genial climate, he declared his resolution not to abandon  
 his post, till the tranquillity and order of the British  
 empire in India should rest on a secure and permanent  
 basis.<sup>2</sup> Before this time, however, measures had been  
 contemplated in England for a change in the administra-  
 tion of India. The Directors, and the Ministry them-

<sup>1</sup> Despatch of the Governor-General, dated 30th July, 1805, with its en-  
 closures, No. 23, ut supra, p. 227—248.—M. Despatches, iv. 602. Also, vol. v.  
 p. 155, 244.—W.

<sup>2</sup> No. 23, ut supra, p. 253.



selves, began to be alarmed at the accumulation of the Indian debt, and the pecuniary difficulties which pressed upon the Company. Lord Wellesley was regarded as a very expensive and ambitious ruler; the greater part of his administration had been a scene of war and conquest; war and conquest in India had been successfully held forth to the British nation, as at once hostile to the British interests, and cruel to the people of India; with a ruler, possessing the dispositions of Lord Wellesley, it was supposed, that the chances of war would always outnumber the chances of peace; the popular voice, which often governs the cabinets of princes, ascribed a character of moderation and sageness to the Marquis Cornwallis; and to those who longed for peace and an overflowing exchequer in India, it appeared that the return of this nobleman would afford a remedy for every disorder. Though bending under years and infirmities, his own judgment, and that of the parties on whom the choice depended, succeeded in sending him, in the prospect to a probable, in the event to an actual, grave.

He arrived at Calcutta on the 30th of July, 1805, and on the same day took the oaths in Council, and assumed the government. On the first of August, he announced this event to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, in an overland despatch; in which he added, "Finding, to my great concern, that we are still at war with Holkar, and that we can hardly be said to be at peace with Sindiah, I have determined to proceed immediately to the upper provinces, that I may be at hand to avail myself of the interval which the present rainy season must occasion in our military operations, to endeavour, if it can be done without a sacrifice to our honour, to terminate, by negotiation, a contest, in which the most brilliant success can afford us no solid benefit, and which, if it should continue, must involve us in pecuniary difficulties which we shall hardly be able to surmount."

The extent of the condemnation, thus speedily pronounced on the policy of his predecessor, was somewhat equivocal. The meaning might be, either that so much success had already been gained in the contest, that no *further* success would be of any advantage; or, that it was



BOOK VI. a contest, in which from the beginning "the most brilliant  
CHAP. XIII. success could afford no solid benefit." <sup>1</sup>

1805.

Lord Cornwallis lost no time in commencing his journey to the upper provinces. In a letter of his, dated on the river, August 9th, 1805, he informed the Court of Directors, that "one of the first objects to which his attention had been directed, was, an inquiry into the state of their finances. The result," he says, "of this inquiry affords the most discouraging prospects; and has convinced me, that unless some very speedy measures are taken to reduce our expenses, it will be impossible to meet with effect the contingency of a renewed war with Sindiah and those powers who may be disposed to confederate with him." The only source of relief to which it appeared that he could have immediate recourse, was the reduction of as many as possible of the irregular troops.

Among the measures of Lord Wellesley, already described, for reducing the power of the Mahratta princes at the commencement of the war, was that of encouraging, by offers of engagement in the British service, the officers employed by those princes, to desert with their troops. The number of those who came over to the British service, became at last very considerable; and the expense exceedingly severe. Measures had been taken to lessen the burden before the close of the late administration; and the expense had been reduced from the sum of 5,83,669 rupees per month, to that of 3,90,455. The expense appeared, and with justice, in so very serious a light to Lord Cornwallis, that the troops in question he declared, "would certainly be less formidable if opposed to the British government in the field, than while they remained so distressing a drain upon its resources." A formidable impediment, however, opposed the dismissal even of those to whom the faith of the government was in no degree pledged; because their pay was several months in arrear, as well as that of the rest of the army, and there was no money in the treasury for its discharge. In this exigency the Governor-General resolved to retain the treasures which the Directors had sent for China; and apprized,

<sup>1</sup> It can scarcely be thought that the latter explanation was intended. To the actual state of the contest it was not inapplicable. Nothing was to be gained from Holkar; and there was no object desired in further reducing the power of Sindiah.—W.

them of this intention by his letter, dated on the 9th of August. In another letter, dated on the 28th of the same month, he says, "I have already represented to your Honourable Committee, the extreme pecuniary embarrassments in which I have found this government involved; every part of the army, and every branch of the public departments attached to it, even in their present stationary positions, are suffering severe distress, from an accumulation of arrears; and if, unfortunately, it should become indispensably necessary to put the troops again in motion, I hardly know how the difficulties of providing funds for such an event are to be surmounted."<sup>1</sup>

BOOK VI.

HAP. XIII.

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The next part of the late system of government, in which the Governor-General thought it necessary to interfere, was the scheme of alliances. On that subject, his sentiments differed widely from those of the ruler who had gone before him.

In a letter dated the 20th of July, 1805, Colonel Close, Resident at Poonah, had stated to the Governor-General, that he had obtained an interview with one of the principal officers of the Peshwa's government, "with whom," says he, "I conversed largely on the present distracted conduct of the Poonah government; pointing out to him, that, owing to the want of capacity and good intention on the part of the Dewan, the Peshwa, instead of enjoying that ease of mind and honourable comfort, which his alliance with the British government was calculated to bestow upon him, was kept in a constant state of anxiety, either by remonstrances necessarily made to his Dewan by the British Resident, or by the disobedience and wicked conduct of the persons placed by the Dewan in the civil and military charge of his Highness's territories, which, instead of yielding a revenue for his Highness's treasury, went only to maintain a set of abandoned men, whose first object is obtaining authority to assemble bands of freebooters, and who then, acting for themselves, hold his Highness's government at defiance."

A despatch from the Marquis Cornwallis to Colonel Close, signed by the secretary to Government, and dated

<sup>1</sup> Copies of all letters from the late Marquis Cornwallis, &c., ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 19th February, 1803, p. 3, 4, and 6. For the reduction of their regular troops by Lord Wellesley, see the letter of the Commander-in-Chief, No. 23, ut supra, p. 243.

BOOK VI. on the river near Plassey, the 18th of August, 1805, says,  
 CHAP. XIII. "The information which the Governor-General has obtained since his Lordship's arrival at Fort William, respecting the state of affairs at the court of Poonah, and especially the communications contained in your despatches above acknowledged, have enabled his Lordship to form a correct judgment of the condition of his Highness the Peshwa's government. His Lordship observes, with deep concern, the utter inefficiency of the Peshwa's authority to maintain the allegiance and subordination of his officers and subjects; to secure the resources of his country; or to command the services of his troops. His Highness is compelled to solicit the interference of the British government, to repress civil commotion among the public officers of his government, and to provide the means of paying the troops which, by treaty, he is pledged to furnish for the service of the war. His Highness himself, solicitous only of personal ease and security, seems disposed to leave to the British government the internal regulation of his dominions, and the suppression of that anarchy and confusion which is the necessary result of a weak and inefficient government.—We are thus reduced to the alternative, either of mixing in all the disorder and contentions, incident to the loose and inefficient condition of the Peshwa's administration; or of suffering the government and dominion of his Highness to be completely overthrown by the unrestrained effects of general anarchy and rebellion.—Under such circumstances, the alliance with the Peshwa, far from being productive of any advantage to the Company, must involve us in inextricable difficulty, and become an intolerable burden upon us."

The Governor-General alludes to certain circumstances; but the question is, whether these very circumstances are not the natural result of such an alliance, not with the Peshwa exclusively, but any one of the native states; and whether there is any rational medium between abstinence from all connexion with these states, and the avowed conquest of them; the complete substitution, at once, of the British government to their own wretched system of misrule.

The Governor-General recurs to his former opinions respecting the impolicy of all connexion with the Mahratta



states ; opinions of which the reason was not confined to the Mahratta states ; and he says, "It must be in your recollection, that, during Marquis Cornwallis's former administration, his Lordship, foreseeing the evils of mixing in the labyrinth of the Mahratta politics, and Mahratta contentions, sedulously avoided that sort of connexion with the Peshwa's government, which was calculated to involve the Company in the difficulties and embarrassments of our actual situation. The evils, however, which his Lordship then anticipated from such an alliance, appear to his Lordship to have been exceeded by those which have actually occurred under the operation of the treaty of Bassein.

The views of Lord Cornwallis were less clear and decided with regard to the Nizam, although his observations, addressed to the Resident at Hyderabad, under date the 21st of August, 1805, announced the existence of the same evils, resulting from the alliance with the Nizam, as resulted from that with the Peshwa ; that is, a total dissolution of the energies of government, in the hands of the native prince, and the necessity, on the part of the British, of exercising all the functions of government under infinite disadvantages. "The Governor-General," says that address, "observes, with great regret, the degree of interference exercised by the British government, through the channels of its representative, in the internal administration of the government of Hyderabad. It appears to his Lordship to have entirely changed the nature of the relations originally established between the British government and the state of Hyderabad. His Lordship is aware, that this undesirable degree of interference and ascendancy in the councils of the state of Hyderabad, is to be ascribed to the gradual decay of the energies of government ; to the defect of efficient instruments of authority ; to the circumstances which attended the nomination of the present ministers ; and to the personal character of his Highness Secundar Jah.—But the evils which appear to his Lordship to be the necessary result of such a system of interference and paramount ascendancy in the government of Hyderabad, greatly exceed those which the maintenance of that system is calculated to prevent.—The former are of a nature more extensive and more durable ;

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BOOK VI. and affect the general interests and character of the British  
 CHAP. XIII. government, throughout the whole peninsula of India.

1805.

The evils of an opposite system are comparatively local and temporary ; although rendered more dangerous at the present moment, by the probable effects of a belief which, however unjust, appears to be too generally entertained, of a systematic design on the part of the British government, to establish its control and authority over every state in India.—It is the primary object of his Lordship's policy to remove this unfavourable and dangerous impression, by abstaining in the utmost degree practicable, consistently with the general security of the Company's dominions, from all interference in the internal concerns of other states. His Lordship considers even the preservation of our actual alliances to be an object of inferior importance to that of regaining the confidence, and removing the jealousies and suspicions of surrounding states."

In terms exactly correspondent, the Governor-General wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. In a letter enclosing the above despatches, dated on the river near Raj Mahl, on the 28th of August, he says ; "One of the most important, and, in my opinion, not the least unfortunate consequences of the subsisting state of our alliance has been the gradual increasing ascendancy of the British influence and authority, exercised through the medium of our Residents, at the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad. The weak and wretched state of the Peshwa's internal government cannot be more forcibly described than in the enclosed despatch, recently received from Colonel Close. And I have reason to believe, that the authority of the Soubah of the Deccan over his dominions is approaching fast to the same state of inefficiency and weakness. The evils likely to ensue from the above statement are sufficiently obvious ; but the remedy to be applied to them is unhappily not so apparent.—In the hope, that by degrees, we may be able to withdraw ourselves from the disgraceful participation in which we should be involved, by mixing ourselves in all the intrigues, oppression, and chicanery of the active management of distracted and dislocated provinces, I have ordered those letters to be addressed to the

Residents at the courts of Hyderabad and Poonah, of which copies are herewith enclosed." <sup>1</sup>

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. XIII.

1805.

The conduct which Lord Cornwallis determined to pursue, in regard to the relations between the British state and the belligerent or contumacious chiefs, Holkar and Sindiah, was lastly disclosed. His sentiments on that subject, were addressed in a despatch to General, then Lord Lake, on the 18th of September.

In this he declared, that "the first, and most important object of his attention was, a satisfactory adjustment of all differences between the British government and Dowlut Rao Sindiah." To the accomplishment of this primary object of his desire, he conceived that two things only operated in the character of material obstructions; the detention by Sindiah of the British Resident; and the retention, by the British government, of the fortress of Gualior, and the province of Gohud.

The British Governor had made up his mind with regard to both causes of dissension. With regard to the first, he says, "I deem it proper to apprize your Lordship, that as a mere point of honour, I am obliged to compromise, or even to abandon, the demand which has been so repeatedly, and so urgently made, for the release of the British Residency, if it should ultimately prove to be the only obstacle to a satisfactory adjustment of affairs with Dowlut Rao Sindiah." With regard to the second, he says, "It is, in my decided opinion, desirable to abandon our possession of Gualior, and our connexion with Gohud, independently of any reference to a settlement of differences with Dowlut Rao Sindiah: I have, therefore, no hesitation in resolving to transfer to Dowlut Rao Sindiah the possession of that fortress and territory."

This accordingly formed the basis of the scheme of pacification planned by the Governor-General. On his part, Sindiah was to be required to resign his claim to the jaghires and pensions, stipulation for which had been made in the preceding treaty; to make a provision for the Rana of Gohud, to the extent of two and a half, or three lacs of rupees per annum; and to make compensation for the loss sustained by the plunder of the residency. On the other

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, ordered to be printed, 19th of February, 1808, p. 5.



BOOK VI. hand, the Jyenegur tribute, amounting to the annual sum  
 CHAP. XIII. of three lacs of rupees, might be restored to Sindiah ; and  
 1805. leave might be given him, to station a force in Dholepoor  
 Baree, and Raja Kerree, the districts reserved to him in  
 the Doab, as the private estates of his family.

With regard to Jeswunt Rao Holkar, Cornwallis declared it to be his intention to restore to that chieftain the whole of the territories and possessions which had been conquered from him by the British arms.

Two important subjects of regulation yet remained ; those minor princes in the region of the Jumna, with whom the British government had formed connexions : and the territory to the westward and southward of Delhi, of which that government had not yet disposed. The plan of the Governor-General was to give up both. He purposed to divide the territory among the princes with whom the British government had formed connexions : and to reconcile those princes to the renunciation of the engagements which the British government had contracted with them, by the allurements of the territory which they were about to receive. His plan was to assign jaghires, in proportion to their claims, to those of least consideration ; and to divide the remainder between the Rajas of Macherry and Bhurtpore. He meant that the British government should remain wholly exempt from any obligation to ensure or defend the possession of the territories which it thus conferred. He expressed a hope that those princes, by means of a union among themselves, might, in the reduced condition of Sindiah, have sufficient power for their own defence. "But even the probability," he adds, "of Sindiah's ultimate success would not, in my opinion, constitute a sufficient objection to the proposed arrangement ; being satisfied of the expediency even of admitting into the territories in question the power of Dowlut Rao Sindiah, rather than we should preserve any control over, or connexion with them." Any attempt of Sindiah, in any circumstances, against the British possessions in the Doab, he pronounced to be altogether improbable. And "Sindiah's endeavours," he said, "to wrest their territories from the hands of the Rajas of Macherry and Bhurtpore may be expected to lay the foundation of interminable contests, which will afford ample and permanent employment to Sindiah."

In the spirit of these instructions, a letter to Sindiah had been penned on the preceding day ; intended to inform him that, as soon as he should release the British Residency, Lord Lake was authorized to open with him a negotiation, for the conclusion of an arrangement by which Gualior and Gohud might revert to his dominion.<sup>1</sup> BOOK VI.  
CHAP. XII.  
1805.

Before these letters were received by the Commander-in-Chief, the dismissal of Serjee Rao Gautka from the office of minister to Sindiah, and the appointment of Ambajee, had for some time taken place. This event the British rulers ascribed to the disappointment of Sindiah, in the hopes with which they supposed that Serjee Rao Gautka had nourished him, of finding in the union with Holkar a force with which the English might be opposed. Upon the dismissal of Serjee Rao Gautka from the service of Sindiah, he repaired to the camp of Holkar, which for some time had been separated from that of Sindiah. It was the interest, however, of Holkar, to preserve a connexion with Sindiah, which the latter was now very desirous to dissolve. Holkar offered to give no asylum to the discarded minister, who in a short time left his camp, and repaired to the Deccan. Sindiah played the double part, so agreeable to eastern politics; and temporized with Holkar till he felt assured of a favourable adjustment of the subjects of difference between him and the British state.

Moonshee Kavel Nyne was one of the confidential servants of Sindiah, who had been opposed to Serjee Rao Gautka, and of course leaned to the British interests. During the ascendancy of Serjee Rao Gautka, Moonshee Kavel Nyne, from real or apprehended dread of violence, had fled from the dominions of Sindiah ; and had taken shelter under the British government at Delhi. Upon the first intimation, from the new Governor-General to the Commander-in-Chief, of the altered tone of politics which was about to be introduced, Moonshee Kavel Nyne was invited to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief ; where it was concerted, that one of his relations should speak to Sindiah, and explain to him the facility with which, through the medium of Moonshee Kavel Nyne, he might

<sup>1</sup> Papers (1803), ut supra, No. 11, p. 6—12.



BOOK VI. open a negotiation, calculated to save him from the dangers with which he was encompassed. Sindiah was eager to embrace the expedient, and immediately sent proposals through the medium of Kavel Nyne. By this contrivance the British commander stood upon the vantage ground; and stated, that he could attend to no proposition, while the British Residency was detained.<sup>1</sup> Upon this communication, the Residency was dismissed; and was upon its march to the British territories, while the Commander-in-Chief had forwarded to Sindiah a plan of settlement, fashioned a little according to the views of the Governor-General, before the Governor-General's instructions of the 19th of September, and his letter to Sindiah, arrived in the British camp.

1805.

Impressed by dread of the effects, which the manifestation of so eager a desire for peace, and the appearance of indecision in the British councils, if, one proposal being sent, another should immediately follow, might produce upon Mahratta minds; while at the same time he was strongly persuaded of the impolicy of the measures which the Governor-General had enjoined; the Commander-in-Chief took upon himself to detain the letter addressed to Sindiah, and to represent to the Governor-General the views which operated upon his mind.

Apologizing for the interposition of any delay in carrying the commands of the Governor-General into effect, by the alteration which had taken place in the state of affairs; and announcing the actual transmission of a plan of settlement which it was probable that Sindiah would accept, the Commander-in-Chief proceeded to represent; first, that it would be inconsistent with the interests of the British state to let the Mahrattas regain a footing in the upper provinces of India; secondly, that it would be inconsistent with the justice and honour of the British state to relinquish the engagements which it had formed with the minor princes on the Mahratta frontier.

<sup>1</sup> By this reasonable show of policy, some of the mischief which was likely to have arisen from Lord Cornwallis's impatience to conclude a peace, in which he would have waved insisting upon the Resident's release, and allowed Sindiah to station an armed force of his own in the districts of the Doab, were obviated. Such a precipitancy would have been interpreted by Sindiah as a proof of the weakness of the British government, and would have encouraged him to have been still more insolent and exacting in his demands.—W.

1. If the Mahrattas were thrown back from the Com-BOOK VI.  
pany's frontier, to the distance originally planned, a CHAP. XIII.  
strong barrier would be interposed against them in every  
direction. To the north-west, the countries of Hurrianah,  
Bicaneer, Jodepore, and the northern ports of Jeypore, and  
the Shekawutee, dry, sandy, mountainous, and inhabited  
by a warlike race, could not be crossed by a hostile army  
without the greatest difficulty and loss. The roads further  
south, by Mewat or Bhurtpore, somewhat less impassable,  
but more than 150 miles in length to the Jumna, through  
a country with many difficult passes, strong towns, and a  
warlike and predatory population, would, under a union  
with the chiefs in that direction, and a well-established  
line of defence on the part of the British government, be  
impracticable to a Mahratta army. Though, from the  
southern part of the territories of Bhurtpore to the junc-  
tion of the Chumbul with the Jumna, the approach from  
Malwa presented little difficulty, this line was short; the  
number of fords so far down the Jumna was much less  
than higher up; and a British corps, well posted, would  
afford, in this direction, all the security which could be  
desired. 1805.

If the princes in this region were for a while protected  
by the British government, they would recover from that  
state of disunion, poverty, and weakness, into which they  
had been thrown, partly by the policy, partly by the vices  
of the Mahratta governments. If abandoned to them-  
selves, they would soon be all subdued, either by Sindiah,  
or some other conquering hero; and a state of things  
would be introduced, in the highest degree unfavourable  
to the interests of the British government. "These petty  
states would first quarrel with each other; would then  
call in the different native powers in their vicinity, to their  
respective aid; and large armies of irregulars would be  
contending upon the frontier of our most fertile pro-  
vinces; against whose eventual excesses there would be  
no well-grounded security, but a military force in a state  
of constant preparation." The military habits of the  
people would thus be nourished, instead of those habits of  
peaceful industry, which it was found by experience they  
were so ready to acquire. The Jumna, which it was the  
intention of the Governor-General to make the boundary

BOOK VI. of the British dominions, was not, as had been supposed, CHAP. XIII. a barrier of any importance ; as above its junction with the Chumbul, except during a few weeks in the year, it is fordable in a variety of places, and would afford little security from the incursions of a predatory army, to the provinces in the Doab, to Rohilcund, or the countries of the Vizir.

1805.

2. The personages on the further side of the Jumna ; Rajas, Zemindars, Jaghiredars, and others ; to whom the British faith had been formally pledged, were numerous. From that pledge the British faith could not be released, unless the opposite party either infringed the conditions of the engagement, or freely allowed it to be dissolved. "I am fully satisfied," says the Commander-in-Chief, "that no inducement whatever would make the lesser Rajas in this quarter renounce the benefit of the protection of the British government. Even such a proposition would excite in their minds the utmost alarm. They would, I fear, consider it as a prelude to their being sacrificed to the object of obtaining a peace with the Mahrattas.

With regard to the Rana of Gohud, he expressed himself convinced of the utter incapacity of that feeble-minded person for the business of government ; and, with respect to him, objected not to the arrangement which the Governor-General proposed.

Before the Governor-General received this remonstrance, he was incapable of discharging the functions of government. His health was impaired when he left England ; and from the commencement of his journey from Calcutta, had rapidly declined. On the 29th of September, he had become too ill to proceed, and was removed from his boats to a house in Gazeepore, a town in the district of Benares, at which he had arrived. Accounts were despatched to the Presidency, with intelligence that he could not survive many days. The evil consequences to which the state was exposed by the absurdity of those, who, at an eventful period, sent a man to govern India, just stepping into the grave, without the smallest provision for an event so probable as his death, began now to be seen. Two members alone of the Supreme Council, Sir George Barlow, and Mr. Udney, remained at Calcutta. "Under the embarrassing circumstances," says Sir George, "attendant on



this heavy calamity, it has been judged to be for the good of the public service, that I should proceed immediately, by relays, to Benares, to join his Lordship, for the purpose of assisting in the conduct of the negotiations for peace commenced by his Lordship, if his indisposition should continue; or of prosecuting the negotiations to a conclusion, in the ever-to-be-deplored event of his Lordship's death. The public service necessarily requires the presence of Lord Lake with the army in the field; and as no provision has been made by the legislature for the very distressing and embarrassing situation in which we are unhappily placed by the indisposition of Lord Cornwallis, at a crisis when the public interests demand the presence of a competent authority near the scene of the depending negotiations, I have been compelled, by my sense of public duty, to leave the charge of that branch of the administration, which must be conducted at Fort William, in the hands of one member of the government. My justification for the adoption of this measure will, I trust, be found in the unprecedented nature of the case, and in the pressing exigency which calls me from the Presidency."

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CHAP. XIII.  
1805.

It so happened, that affairs at that time were easy to be arranged; and fell into hands of considerable skill.<sup>1</sup> It was very possible, they might have been of difficult arrangement; and highly probable, when left to chance, that they would have fallen into hands incapable of the task. Of sending a dying man to govern India, without foreseeing the chance of his death, how many evils, in that case, might have been the direful consequence?<sup>2</sup>

Lord Cornwallis lingered to the 5th of October, and then expired. During the last month he remained, for the greatest part of the morning, in a state of weakness

<sup>1</sup> It is rather inconsistent after describing the differences of opinion that existed, to affirm that affairs at the time of Lord Cornwallis's death were easy to be arranged. The course to be followed was, at Lord Wellesley's departure, simple enough, but it had become complicated and embarrassed by the new and conflicting views of his successor. Neither can much credit for skill be given to those into whose hands the management of affairs fell after the death of the Governor-General, as their sole object was to get quit of present difficulties at any cost, even at the sacrifice of the national power and credit. This was cutting, not disentangling the Gordian knot, and evinced little prudence or judgment in the operators.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Papers (1806), ut supra, No. 11, p. 5—13; No. 17; and No. 25, p. 3 and 4.



BOOK VI. approaching to insensibility. Till near the last, he revived a  
 CHAP. XIII. little towards the evening; was dressed, heard the despatches, and gave instructions for the letters which were to be written. By the persons who attended him, it was stated, that even in this condition his mind displayed a considerable portion of its original force.<sup>1</sup> Without reminding ourselves of the partiality of these reporters, and going so far as to admit the possibility of the force which is spoken of, we cannot help seeing that it could exert itself on those subjects only with which the mind was already familiar. Where was the strength to perform the process of fresh inquiry; to collect, and to fix in the mind the knowledge necessary to lay the basis of action in a state of things to a great degree new?

The duties and rank of Supreme Ruler devolved, of course, on Sir George Barlow, a civil servant of the Company, who had ascended with reputation through the several gradations of office, to the dignity of senior member of the Supreme Council, when Lord Cornwallis expired. The new Governor-General lost no time in making reply to the representation which the Commander-in-Chief had addressed to Lord Cornwallis, immediately before his death. He stated his resolution to adhere to the plan of his predecessor, in "abandoning all connexion with the petty states, and, generally, with the territories to the westward of the Jumna." "This resolution," he added, "is founded, not only upon my knowledge of the entire conformity of those general principles to the provisions of the legislature, and to the orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors; but also upon my conviction of their expediency, with a view to the permanent establishment of the British interests in India."

1. With respect to the *security*, which, in the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, would be sacrificed to this policy, Sir George observed, that it was the declared resolution, even of Marquis Wellesley, "to render, generally, the Jumna the boundary of the British possessions north of Bundelcund, retaining such posts, and such an extent of country on the right bank of that river, as might appear to be necessary for the purposes of effectual defence." The security of the British empire must, he said, be derived

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Sketch, p. 413.

from one or other of two sources ; either, first, from establishing a controlling power over all the states of India ; or, secondly, from the contentions and wars, sure to prevail among those states, if left to themselves, combined with efficient measures of defence on the part of the British government itself. With regard to the first of these sources, "such a system of control," he observed, "must, in its nature, be progressive, and must ultimately tend to a system of universal dominion. After this important observation, bearing so directly on Lord Wellesley's favourite scheme of subsidiary alliance, he added, "It must be obvious to your Lordship, that the prosecution of this system is inconsistent, not only with the provisions of the legislature, but with the general principles of policy which this government has uniformly professed to maintain."<sup>1</sup> The line of the Jumna, he thought, might be rendered an effectual barrier against predatory incursions, or serious attack, by forming a chain of military posts on the banks of that river, from Calpee to the northern extremity of the British frontier, and retaining, for that purpose, upon the right bank of the Jumna, through the whole of that extent, a tract of land, not exceeding, generally, eight or ten miles in breadth, subject to the operation of the British laws.

2. To show that the faith was not binding which the British had pledged for the protection of various chiefs, the Governor-General employed the following argument :— That the British government was not bound to keep in its own possession the territory in which these chiefs were situated, or on which they were dependent : and if it surrendered the territory, it dissolved the engagement which it had formed to protect them. Those particular persons, to whom pecuniary or territorial assignments had been

<sup>1</sup> The security of the British power of India was, therefore, made by Sir G. Barlow to depend upon no more permanent or honourable a foundation than the quarrels of the neighbouring potentates. Consistently with this doctrine, it should have been the policy of the British government to foment intestine dissension, and to perpetuate not tranquillity but hostilities among the native states. That such a nefarious practice was not adopted may be believed, but it was scarcely less culpable to look on unconcerned, and suffer those horrors to prevail which it was in the power, whenever it was in the pleasure of the government of British India, to arrest. The scheme of Lord Wellesley may have been chimerical—may have involved consequences which were not foreseen, but it was benevolent and magnanimous. The cold and selfish policy of suffering the princes of India to tear each other to pieces, without interposing to prevent them, savours neither of benevolence nor magnanimity.—W.

BOOK VI. promised, might be provided for by jaghires, in the territory held on the right bank of the Jumna.<sup>1</sup>  
 CHAP. XIII.

1805.

Early in the month of September, Holkar, with the main body of his army, moved from Ajmere, in a north-westerly direction, toward the country of the Seiks. He entered the Shekawutee, with about twelve thousand horse, a small body of ill-equipped infantry, and about thirty guns, of various calibres, most of them unfit for service. Skirting the country of the Raja of Macherry, and the province of Rewarree, he proceeded to Dadree; where he left his infantry, guns, and about a thousand horse, under one of his chiefs. This chief, in conjunction with the Raja of Neemrana, one of the districts to the south-west of Delhi, ceded to the British government by the treaty of peace with Sindiah, proceeded to ravage the British territories. Holkar, himself, with the main body of his cavalry, proceeded towards Patiala, giving out his expectation, of being joined by the chiefs of the Seiks, and even by the King of Caubul.<sup>2</sup> The Commander-in-Chief took measures, with his usual promptitude, for not only defeating the schemes of the enemy, but rendering the desperate enterprise in which he had now engaged, the means of his speedy destruction. A force, consisting of three battalions, and eight companies of native infantry, eight six-pounders, and two corps, exceeding two thousand, of irregular horse, with four galloper guns, was appointed to take up a position at Nernoul. Another force, consist-

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Sir George Barlow, dated on the river near Chunar, 20th Oct., 1805; Papers, ut supra, No. 18, p. 5—7.—M.

According to Lord Lake's letter of the 7th October, many of the petty Rajas and chiefs thus situated had not become subjects of the British government only by being occupants of the territory at the time it was conquered, and, therefore, transferable with it when it was surrendered. They had to a still greater extent been put in possession of lands out of the conquered territory, in admission of disputed claims, or in reward for actual services. Of these claims and rewards granted by the British Government, they were almost certain of being deprived upon the restoration of the Mahratta authorities, and the pretended bounty or equity of the British was not only frustrated, but exposed its objects to the resentment and injustice of the public enemy. Its protection should never have been given, or it should never have been withdrawn.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Ameer Khan also asserts that the Raja of Patecala and Runjit Sing invited Holkar and Ameer Khan to enter into engagements with them, promising if they came to that quarter they should be well received, and all would make common cause against the general enemy. It is not likely they would have entered the Punjab without some encouragement; but that encouragement was apparently partial and undecided. The Khan admits that they had some difficulty in prevailing on Runjit Sing to countenance them. Life, p. 274.—W.



ing of three battalions of regular, and three of irregular, BOOK VI.  
 native infantry, with two thousand of the best irregular CHAP. XIII.  
 horse, was sent to Rewarree, where, aided by the troops  
 of the Raja of Macherry, it would maintain tranquillity,  
 cut off the communication of the enemy with Ajmere, 1805.  
 and Malwa, and prevent him from retreating in the route  
 by which he had advanced. Major-General Jones, with  
 the army under his command, received orders to advance  
 towards the Shekawutee, with a view to secure the defeat  
 of the enemy's infantry, and the capture of his guns ; a loss  
 which would not only sink his reputation, but deprive him  
 of the means of subsisting his cavalry during the period  
 of the rains. And the Commander-in-Chief, with the  
 cavalry of the army, and a small reserve of infantry, pro-  
 ceeded from Muttra, about the middle of October, to give  
 chase to Holkar himself, in whatever direction he might  
 proceed.<sup>1</sup>

In the mean time, the negotiation between the British  
 government and Sindiah was conducted, under the auspices  
 of Lord Lake, on the part of Sindiah, by Moonshee Kavel  
 Nyne ; on the part of the British government, by Lieu-  
 tenant-Colonel Malcolm, the political agent of the Go-  
 vernor-General in the British camp. On the 23rd of  
 November, the treaty was concluded and signed. Of de-  
 fensive, or any other alliance, the name was not introduced.  
 Of the treaty of peace, concluded through General Wel-  
 lesley at Surjee Anjengaum, every part was to remain in  
 force, except so much as should be altered by the present  
 agreement. Gualior, and the greatest part of Gohud, were  
 ceded ; not, however, as due by the preceding treaty, but  
 from considerations of friendship. The river Chumbul,  
 as affording a distinct line of demarcation, was declared  
 to be the boundary between the two states. Sindiah  
 renounced the jaghires and pensions, as well as the dis-  
 tricts held as private property, for which provision in his  
 favour was made in the preceding treaty. The British  
 government agreed to allow to himself, personally, an  
 annual pension of four lacs of rupees ; and to assign jag-  
 hires to his wife and daughter, the first of two lacs, the  
 second of one lac of rupees, per annum, in the British  
 territories in Hindustan. It also engaged to enter into

<sup>1</sup> Papers, ut supra, No. 11, p. 15 ; and No. 25, p. 19, 20.



BOOK VI. no treaties with the Rajas of Oudipore, Jodepore, Kotah,  
 CHAP. XIII. and other chiefs, the tributaries of Sindiah, in Malwa,  
 1805. Mewar or Merwar; and to interfere in no respect with  
 the conquests made by Sindiah from the Holkar family,  
 between the rivers Taptee and Chumbul. The British  
 government, high and mighty, held it fitting to insert an  
 article in the treaty of peace, binding the Maharaja never  
 to admit Serjee Rao Gautka into his service or councils.  
 "This article," says Colonel Malcolm, "was a complete  
 vindication of our insulted honour." Truckling to the  
 master, you struck a blow at the servant, who, in no pos-  
 sible shape, was responsible to you; and this you were  
 pleased to consider as a vindication of honour!

As this treaty appeared to the Governor-General to im-  
 pose upon the British government the obligation of pro-  
 tecting the states and chieftains north of the Chumbul,  
 from Cotah to the Jumna, he insisted that two declaratory  
 articles should be annexed, by which that inconvenience  
 might be wholly avoided.

During the negotiations, which preceded the signature  
 of this treaty, Lord Lake was marching in pursuit of  
 Holkar. That chieftain, from the day on which the  
 British General took the field, continued merely to fly  
 before him. Totally disappointed in his hopes of assist-  
 ance from the Seik chiefs, and reduced at last to the ex-  
 tremity of distress, he sent agents, with an application for  
 peace, to the British camp. As the British commander  
 had instructions to grant terms far more favourable than  
 the enemy had any reason to expect, the negotiation was  
 speedily terminated; and on the 24th of December, 1805,  
 a treaty was signed at Raipoor Ghaut, on the banks of the  
 river Beah, the ancient Hyphasis, to which Holkar had  
 carried his flight.<sup>1</sup> By this treaty, Holkar renounced all

<sup>1</sup> Holkar and his associate had some time before arrived at Amritsir, and  
 had been endeavouring to procure aid from Runjit Sing, whilst he had been  
 endeavouring to employ their troops against a refractory tribe of Mohamme-  
 dans, a measure to which Holkar had assented, being in great want of money,  
 but which was opposed by Ameer Khan. All parties were mutually dissatis-  
 fied when Lord Lake arrived on the Beyah, and made an indirect attempt to  
 open negotiations, the council at Calcutta having written to the General to  
 offer terms, and bring the war to a close as soon as possible. Ameer Khan  
 represents himself as urging the continuance of hostilities and recourse to  
 Shah Shuja at Kabool, but Holkar was weary of the war, and the treaty was  
 concluded. Of the terms originally granted to Holkar by Lord Lake, Ameer  
 Khan says, "The Maharaja looked upon these terms as a God-send, and his

his rights to every place on the northern side of the Chumbul; all his claims on Poonah and Bundelcund, and upon the British government, or its allies; and agreed not to entertain Europeans in his service, without the consent of the British government. On these conditions, he was allowed to return to his own dominions; but by a route prescribed, and without injuring the territory of the British government, or its allies. The British government, on the other hand, agreed, not to interfere with any of the possessions or dependencies of Holkar, south of the Chumbul; and to restore the forts and territories captured by the British forces on the southern side of the river's Taptee and Godavery. An article was inserted, by which Holkar was bound never to admit Serjee Rao Gautka into his council or service. This article, however, as well as the corresponding article in the treaty with Sindiah, were, after a few months, annulled, in consequence of a report that Serjee Rao Gautka was about to join Holkar. In such a case, these articles might have created embarrassment; "which, agreeably," says Sir John Malcolm, "to the policy of that day, it was deemed prudent to avoid."

Sir George Barlow made an alteration in this treaty, as he did in that with Sindiah, which was sent to him for confirmation. The territories of Holkar, north of the Chumbul, would involve the British government in expense and trouble, either to guarantee or to keep them. He, therefore, annexed a clause, for leaving them to Holkar.

Acting upon his determination to break loose from the engagements, formed with the minor states and chieftains, between the Mahratta frontier and the Doab, the Governor-General disregarded the remonstrances which were made by the Commander-in-Chief, in favour, more especially, of the Raja of Boondee, and the Raja of Jyepore. Lord Lake represented, that the district of Boondee, though not material in point of extent, was highly

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agent, who was well acquainted with his inclinations and wishes, brought the paper with exultation." The further concessions made by Sir G. Barlow, Ameer Khan pretends to have been given by the English to remove his objections to the conclusion of peace. That he did oppose it violently for reasons of his own is true, as we learn from Major Thorn's account of his behaviour: but the concessions were made some time after all the parties had returned from the Punjab. War in India, 495. Life of Ameer Khan, 286.—W.

BOOK VI.  
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BOOK VI. important, as commanding a principal pass into the northern  
CHAP. XIII. provinces of the British empire ; that the Raja, steady in  
his friendship, and eminent for his services to the British  
1805. government, had excited the utmost rage of Holkar, to  
whom he was tributary, by the great aid which he had  
rendered to Colonel Monson, during his retreat ; and that  
neither justice, nor honour, allowed him to be delivered  
over to the vengeance of his barbarous foe. The resolu-  
tion of the Governor-General remained unchangeable, and  
by the article which he annexed to the treaty with Holkar,  
that chief was set free to do what he would with the Raja  
of Boondee.

The Raja of Jyepore had entered into the system of  
defensive alliance with the British state, at an early period  
of the war with Sindiah ; but, for a time, showed himself  
little disposed to be of any advantage ; and Cornwallis, by  
a letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the 3rd of August,  
had directed the alliance to be treated as dissolved. At  
that time, however, the united armies of Sindiah and Hol-  
kar were on the frontiers of Jyepore, and the Bombay army,  
which had marched to a place not far from the capital,  
was drawing most of its supplies from the territories of  
the Raja. In these circumstances, Lord Lake, before the  
receipt of the letter of Lord Cornwallis, had encouraged  
the Raja to found a claim for British protection on the  
services which it was now in his power to render. He  
had also prevailed upon Lord Cornwallis to suspend the  
dissolution of the alliance. When Holkar, during the  
month of October, passed to the north in the direction of  
Jyepore, Lord Lake had exhorted the Raja to discharge  
the duties of a faithful ally, under assurances of British  
protection ; the Raja, on his part, had joined the Bombay  
army under General Jones, and, by his aid, and the sup-  
plies derived from his country, had enabled that General  
to maintain a position of the greatest importance to the  
operations of the war ; and if, according to expectation,  
Holkar had retreated in that direction, no doubt was en-  
tertained that effective assistance would have been received  
from the troops of the Raja. In the opinion, therefore, of  
the Commander-in-Chief, the Raja of Jyepore, who was  
exposed to a speedy attack from both Sindiah and Holkar,  
the moment that British protection was withdrawn, could

not be left exposed to their rapacity and vengeance, without a stain upon the British name. These expostulations altered not the resolution of Sir George Barlow, who considered the obligations of the British government as dissolved by the early appearances of disaffection on the part of the Raja, and not restored by his subsequent deserts. He would not even listen to the Commander-in-Chief, requesting that he would defer the renunciation of the alliance till the time when Holkar, who was pledged by the treaty to return immediately to his dominions, should have passed the territories of the Raja. On the contrary, he directed that the renunciation should be immediately declared, lest Holkar, in passing, should commit excesses, which, otherwise, it would be necessary for the British government to resent. Lord Lake was afterwards compelled to receive the bitter reproaches of the Raja, through the mouth of one of his agents, at Delhi.

Regarding the treaties with the Rajas of Macherry and Bhurtpore, as still imposing obligations upon the British government, the Governor-General directed the Commander-in-Chief to enter into a negotiation with them; and to offer them considerable accessions of territory as a return for their consent to the dissolution of the alliance. But Lake, apprehending that even the rumour of any such intention on the part of the British government would again set loose the powers of uproar and destruction in that part of India, represented his apprehensions in such alarming colours, that Sir George, though he declared his resolution unchanged, disclaimed any desire for precipitation; and the Rajas of Bhurtpore and Macherry, with the chiefs in their vicinity, were not, at that time, deprived of the protection of the British power.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Collection of treaties in India (published 1812), p. 290—297, Malcolm's Sketch, p. 406—436. On the negotiation of the new treaties with Sindiah and Holkar, and on the discussions relative to the dissolution of the alliance with the minor states, the official documents, which have yet been printed, furnish scanty information. The supply afforded by Sir John Malcolm is peculiarly authentic, as he was the negotiator and agent, through whom almost every thing was transacted.—M.

Little difference of opinion now prevails upon the merits of this lame and impotent conclusion of hostilities with the Mahratta chiefs. Captain Grant (iii. 317) designates Sir G. Barlow's measures to have been as short-sighted and contracted as they were selfish and indiscriminating. Col. Malcolm dwells at some length upon the impolicy, and to their full extent, the impracticability of the principles by which the measures of the actual government were regulated (Political History, i. 373); Colonel Tod has forcibly illustrated



BOOK IV. It remains, that the financial results of the operations  
 CHAP. XIII. of government from the close of the first administration

1805.

the evils resulting from it, in the miseries which were in consequence inflicted upon Rajputana, (History of Rajasthan,) and the Marquis of Hastings, alluding to its principal feature, has characterized the condition of abstaining from the protection of the Rajput states as equally discreditable and embarrassing. (Summary of his Administration, by the Marquis of Hastings.) In blind deference to the alarm excited at home by temporary financial difficulties, in conformity to the parliamentary phrascology of self-denial, and in improvident impatience for a return to a state of selfish but insecure tranquillity, the Government of India descended from the high station it had so long occupied; resigned all the advantages to which it was both in justice and policy entitled by the blood and treasure it had been forced to expend; forfeited its character for the honourable discharge of its engagements; made in the words of the Jypore vakeel "its faith subservient to its convenience," and inspired a general distrust of its principles, and doubt of its strength. Its feeble and ungenerous policy allowed the whole of Hindustan, beyond its own boundaries, to become a scene of fearful strife, lawless plunder, and frightful desolation, for many succeeding years, until the same horrors invaded its own sacred precincts, and involved it in an expensive and perilous warfare, the result of which was its being obliged to assume what it had so long mischievously declined, the avowed supremacy over all the states and princes of Hindustan. What was done in 1817 might have been accomplished, with quite as much reason, with more ease, and still less cost, in 1805. Sindiah's power was then completely broken; Holkar was a fugitive; neither deserved any forbearance; both merited signal chastisement; the one for his unwarrantable acts of predatory aggression, the other for his long course of insolence and treachery. Our author, himself, could scarcely have condemned such a consummation, as it would have substituted for that disguised system of control to which, with some reason, he objects, the more honest principle of conquest which he advocates. Instead of rewarding the perfidy of Sindiah with accessions of territory to which he had no claim, it would have been but a just retribution to have diminished that which he retained. Holkar had no territory, he had no legitimate claim to that of which his ancestors had possessed themselves by fraud or force; and the gratuitous restitution to him of the whole of it, was to reward fraud and to invite future insult and spoliation. These were measures of suicidal folly, but it was both treacherous and cruel to abandon the Rajput princes to Mahratta vengeance and rapacity, especially with a full anticipation of what would be the consequences of withdrawing from them the British protection, as they were pointed out with prophetic anticipation by Lord Lake, in his reply to the orders of Lord Cornwallis. That Cornwallis would have modified his purposes upon the receipt of Lord Lake's representations is not very likely, as he was evidently entirely influenced by the impressions he had brought with him from England, but it may be doubted if even he would have enforced the execution of his orders with the precipitancy and inflexibility of Sir G. Barlow, qualities the less to have been expected, as that officer had been one of Lord Wellesley's council; had concurred with him in all his public measures, and in anticipation of his own succession to power during Lord Cornwallis's fatal illness, had written to Lord Wellesley to express "his confident hope that an accommodation would be effected with Sindiah and with Holkar, on terms not differing essentially from those to which he was aware that Lord Wellesley was prepared to accede." Certainly Lord Wellesley was not prepared to sacrifice the allies and dependants of the British Government, the Rajas of Boondi and Jypur, to the tender mercies of such inveterate enemies to the British power and to social order as Amcer Khan and Jeswunt Rao Holkar. It was evident that Sir G. Barlow's measures were regulated by only one principle, obedience to the wishes of the Court of Directors, which he enforced without regard to circumstances or seasons. Lord Lake, not without reason, indignant at the total disregard of his representations, and disdaining to be made the instrument of measures which he condemned, resigned his political and diplomatic powers on the 17th of January, 1806, announcing as the object of the rest of his service in Hindustan, placing the army in cantonments,

of the Marquis Cornwallis, till the present remarkable era, BOOK VI.  
should now be adduced. As regards the British nation, it CHAP. XIII.  
is in these results that the good or evil of its operations  
in India is wholly to be found. If India affords a surplus 1805.  
revenue which can be sent to England, thus far is India  
beneficial to England. If the revenue of India is not  
equal to the expense of governing India, then is India a  
burden and a drain to England. This is only an applica-  
tion of the principle, according to which the advantage  
or disadvantage of new territory, in general, is to be esti-  
mated. If the new territory increases the revenue more  
than the charges, it is advantageous; if it increases the  
charges in proportion to the revenue, it is hurtful. It is  
also to be observed, that the interest and redemption of  
the money expended in making the acquisition must be  
taken into account. If it has been made by a war, for  
example; the whole expense of the war must be taken  
into the account. And the new territory must increase  
the revenue beyond the charges in a degree adequate to  
the interest and redemption of the whole sum expended  
in the war, otherwise the acquisition is a positive loss. If  
the surplus of the revenue were the same after the acqui-  
sition as before, the whole expense of the war would be  
lost; the nation would not be the richer for the acquisi-  
tion, but the poorer; it would have been its wisdom to  
have abstained from the war, and to rest contented with  
the territory which it possessed. If the revenue, after  
the acquisition, is lessened in proportion to the charge; if  
the surplus of the revenue is diminished, or the deficit  
enlarged; in that case, the loss is not confined to that of  
the whole expense of the war; it is all that, and more; it  
is the expense of the war, added to the sum by which  
the balance of the annual receipt and expenditure is  
deteriorated.<sup>1</sup>

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completing the reduction of the irregular corps, and settling, agreeably to the instructions of the Government, the claims of the native chiefs. These duties occupied him through the remainder of the year, and the following year, in February, 1807, his Lordship embarked at Calcutta for England, leaving a name that retains a distinguished station in the military annals of Bengal, and is affectionately preserved in the traditions of the native army.—W.

<sup>1</sup> It is singular that a writer of in general such liberal sentiments should have taken so narrow a view of the advantages derived to England from her Indian possessions. India, he argues, is beneficial to England only as it affords a surplus revenue which can be sent to England, that is, in proportion



BOOK VI. With this principle in view, the following statements  
 CHAP. XIII. will require but little explanation.

1805.

In the year 1793-4, the revenues in India amounted to 8,276,770*l.*; the whole of the charges, including supplies

to the direct tribute which it can pay. Now this is to affirm that during the greater number of the years in which we have been in possession of India it has been of no benefit at all. Who will venture to maintain a proposition so contrary to the fact? Regarding our connexion with India even only on the paltry consideration of how much money we have made by it, the assertion that we have profited solely by its surplus revenue, that, is, that in five years out of six we have realized no profit at all, is palpably false. In every year of our intercourse with India, even in those in which the public revenue has fallen far short of the expenditure, there has been a large accession to English capital brought home from India. What are the profits of the Indian trade, what is the maintenance of thirty thousand Englishmen, military included; what is the amount of money annually remitted to England for the support of relations, the education of children, the pensions of officers; and finally what can we call the fortunes accumulated by individuals in trade or in the service of the Company, which they survive to spend in England, or bequeath to their descendants? What is all this but additional capital, remitted from India to England; additional, largely additional, means of recompensing British industry. It is idle, then, to talk of a surplus revenue being the sole source of the benefits derivable from India. On the contrary, it is, and it ought to be, the least even of our pecuniary advantages; for its transfer to England is an abstraction of Indian capital, for which no equivalent is given; it is an exhausting drain upon the resources of the country, the issue of which is replaced by no reflux; it is an extraction of the life-blood from the veins of national industry, which no subsequent introduction of nourishment is furnished to restore. Whatever profit to England, then, the payment to it of a surplus revenue raised in India might afford, the injury done to India would be so disproportionate, that it is to be hoped the legislators of either country will never seriously propose so objectionable a mode of enriching the parent state. In fact, it would do no such thing; the impoverishment of the new territory would very soon disappoint all prospect of gain in the old, and the coffers of England would not long be filled by the surplus revenues of India. Surplus revenue is in fact an absurdity. Properly speaking there can be no surplus revenue whilst there is a debt to be discharged. If the current charges fall below the current receipts, and the balance is not required for the liquidation of public debt, the receipts will be reduced, and the burdens of the people be relieved. "If what the public contribute in revenue should unexpectedly become more productive, it would be the duty of the government to repeal or to reduce objectionable taxes, to increase the judicial and other establishments, so as to render justice more accessible to the great body of the people, to endow public institutions, for providing better means of education, or hospitals for the care of the sick and destitute, to construct roads and bridges, reservoirs and water-courses, to support caravanseries for the accommodation of the traveller, and otherwise to promote those objects which may conduce to the comfort, convenience, and well-being of our native subjects."—Tucker, *Financial Situation of the East India Company*. The nature of our connexion with India, unfortunately to such an extent for the latter, does impose an annual tribute, but "considerations of policy, of justice, and humanity, all alike concur to condemn unmeasured exaction." The notion of extorting a large tribute; or any tribute from India, except by indirect means, calculated to do infinite mischief, and to annihilate in the end the numerous and great benefits which both England and India reap from their mutual intercourse. This is with reference to the connexion, even in its most unworthy aspect. The gain of a higher character, the moral and political power derived from India by England, is a much more real, and important, and honourable benefit, than all the pounds, shillings, and pence that have ever been, or ever will be "conveyed" from the pockets of the people of India to those of the people of Great Britain.—W.

to the outlying settlements; and the interest of debts, amounted to 6,633,951*l*. There was consequently a surplus of revenue to the amount of 1,642,819*l*. BOOK VI. CHAP. XIII.

But this favourable appearance was the result of merely temporary causes; for in the course of four years, though years of peace, and with an economical ruler, it gradually vanished; and in the year 1797-8, when the administration of Marquis Wellesley commenced, there was a deficit of revenue, or surplus of charge. The revenues amounted to 8,059,880*l*.; the charges and interest to 8,178,626*l*.; surpassing the revenues by 118,746*l*.

1805.

The evil was prodigiously increased by the administration of Marquis Wellesley; after all the subsidies which he obtained, and all the territory which he added to the British dominions. In the year 1805-6, in which he closed his administration, the revenues amounted to 15,403,409*l*.; charges and interest to 17,672,017*l*.; leaving a surplus of charge equal to 2,268,608*l*.<sup>1</sup>

Such, at the three different periods under comparison, was the state of the government of India, in respect to income and expenditure. Let us consider what was the condition of the Company at the same three periods in respect to debts both at home and in India. In 1793, the debts, both at interest and floating, as they appear upon the face of the Company's accounts, were, in England, 7,991,078*l*.;<sup>2</sup> in India, 7,971,665*l*.; total, 15,962,743*l*. In 1797, the debts in England were, 7,916,459*l*.; in India, 9,142,733*l*.; total, 17,059,192*l*. In 1805, they were 6,012,196*l*. in England, and 25,626,631*l*. in India; in all, 31,638,827*l*.

In estimating the financial condition of a great government, the annual receipt, as compared with the annual expenditure, and the debt, where debt is incurred, are the only circumstances, usually, which are taken into reckon-

<sup>1</sup> The following is a table of the particulars:—

	Revenues.	Charges.	Net Revenue.
1793-4	£8,276,770	£7,066,924	£2,209,846
1797-8	8,059,880	7,411,401	648,479
1805-6	15,403,409	15,561,328	157,319 net charge.

	Supplies to Out-Settlements.	Interest on Debts.	Surplus Revenue.	Surplus Charge.
1793-4	£40,822	£526,205	£1,642,819	£ —
1797-8	163,299	603,926		118,746
1805-6	250,599	1,860,090		2,268,608

<sup>2</sup> 2,992,440*l*. being deducted, viz., the East India Annuities transferred to the Bank. Fourth Report, 1810, p. 450.



BOOK VI. ing, and make up the account. The goods and effects in  
 CHAP. XIII. hand, which are necessary for the immediate movements  
 1805. of the machine, and in the course of immediate consump-  
 tion, justly go for nothing; since if any part of them is  
 taken away it must be immediately replaced, and cannot  
 form a part of a fund available to any other purpose, with-  
 out diminishing some other fund to an equal degree.

Departing from this appropriate rule, the East India Company has availed itself of its mercantile capacity, to bring forward regularly a statement of assets, as a compensation for its debts. This, however, is objectionable, on a second account; because, according to the mode in which this statement is framed, it may exhibit at pleasure either a great or a small amount. Some of the principal articles have hardly any marketable value; could produce little, if the Company were left to dispose of them to the best advantage; yet the rulers of the Company assign to them any value which seems best calculated to answer their designs. Houses, for example, warehouses, forts, and other buildings, with their furniture, constitute a large article; set down at several times the value, probably, at which they would sell. Debts due to the Company, and arrears of tribute, form another material ingredient; of which a great proportion is past recovery. A specimen of the mode in which the account of assets is made up, may be seen in the following fact:—that 1,733,328*l.*, as due by the public for the expedition to Egypt, was continued in the Bengal accounts as an asset, after the expense had been liquidated in England; and upwards of 2,000,000*l.* due to the Company by the Nabob of Arcot, and Raja of Tanjore, is continued in the Madras accounts as an asset, though virtually remitted and extinguished upon assuming the territory of the Carnatic.<sup>1</sup>

The account of assets, therefore, exhibited by the East India Company, deserves very little regard, in forming an estimate of the financial situation of the government of India. Being, however, uniformly adduced, as an article of importance in the Company's accounts, its presence is thus rendered necessary here. As the Committee of the House of Commons, formed in 1810, instituted a comparison between the account of assets and debts, for the

<sup>1</sup> See the Third Report of the Committee, 1810, p. 328, and Appendix No. 2.

period of 1793, and the latest period to which their inquiries could extend, there will be an advantage in taking the same periods for the subject of that view of the assets which is here required. That Committee entered into a slight examination of the statement exhibited by the East India Company of assets in India, and by making certain large, though far from sufficient deductions, reduced the amount of it nearly one half. Unhappily they did not carry even the same degree of scrutiny into the statement of assets at home, and took it pretty nearly as made up by the Company. According to their adjustments the balance is exhibited thus :

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1805.

Debts, 1792-3.	Assets, 1792-3.
Home . . . . £7,991,078 <sup>1</sup>	Home . . . . £9,740,832
India . . . . 7,992,548	India . . . . 3,800,838
<hr/> Total debts 15,933,626	<hr/> Total assets 13,541,670
13,541,670	

£2,441,956, the amount by which, at the first period, the debts exceeded the supposed assets.

Debts, 1809-10.	Assets, 1809-10.
Home . . . . 10,357,088	Home . . . . 14,504,944
India . . . . 28,897,742	India . . . . 12,222,010
<hr/> £39,254,830	<hr/> £26,726,954
Debts, 1809-10.	Assets, 1809-10.
39,254,830	26,726,954
30,660,119	Add sundries
<hr/> £8,594,711	as per note <sup>2</sup> 3,933,165

the amount by which, at the second period, the debts exceeded the supposed assets.<sup>3</sup>

£30,660,119

<sup>1</sup> The difference between this and the debt for that year, as stated in the accounts, arises from the sum of 2,992,440*l.*, East India Annuities, transferred to the Bank, excluded by the Committee from the Company's accounts.

<sup>2</sup> Goods and Stores in India in 1810, bought in England, not

included in the account of assets . . . . .	£2,249,060
Balance in favour of the Company in China, in 1810 . . . . .	1,306,606
Ditto at St. Helena . . . . .	147,628
Ditto Prince of Wales Island . . . . .	215,786
Ditto Cape of Good Hope . . . . .	14,085

To b: added to amount of assets £3,933,165

<sup>3</sup> For the above statements, see Third Report, ut supra, p. 363; Fourth Report, ut supra, p. 450.

BOOK VI. To this sum is to be added 2,027,295*l.*, not derived from  
 CHAP. XIII. any intrinsic source either at home or abroad, but sub-  
 1805. scribed in England in 1793, and 1794, for the addition of  
 one million which the Company was empowered to make  
 to its capital by the new charter of 1793.

The whole of the moneys which have passed into the Company's treasury for capital stock, amounts to the sum of 7,780,000*l.* This remains to be added to the debtor side of its account. The total, then, of the sums on the debtor side of the account at the period in question, viz., the year 1809-10, was 47,034,830*l.*, surpassing the whole of its assets by the sum of 16,374,711*l.*

Upon the statements by which was exhibited the financial condition of the Company at the close of the administration of Marquis Wellesley, it may be justly remarked, that the expenditure at that time was an expenditure of war, and that the ratio between the ordinary revenues, and a war expenditure, affords not a just view of the financial effects which his administration produced.

Let us take the statements for 1808-9, the last of the years for which we have the aid of the Committee of 1810, in unravelling the confusion, and removing the obscurity of the Company's accounts. The government of India had at this time enjoyed three years of uninterrupted peace; when the financial effects of the administration which closed in 1805, may be supposed to be sufficiently ascertained. In that year the revenues amounted to 15,525,055*l.*; the charges, including supplies to out-lying settlements, and the interest of debts, amounted to 15,551,097*l.*; constituting a surplus of charge to the amount of 26,042*l.* This was a great reduction from 2,268,608*l.*, the excess of charge in 1805; it was even somewhat less than 118,746*l.*, the excess of charge in 1798; but far was this from being a state of receipt adequate to pay the interest and redeem the capital of that enormous sum expended by the wars to which the administration of Marquis Wellesley had given birth. The debts, as they appear upon the face of the accounts were, in England 10,357,088*l.* in 1810; in India 30,876,788*l.* in 1809, which was the last year of which the Committee had received the accounts. The sum of debts was therefore 41,233,876*l.*; being an addition to the



sum of the debts existing in 1805, of little less than 10,000,000*l*.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. XIII.

Among the accounts from the East India Company, which are annually presented to Parliament, is an account entitled "stock by computation." This consists of the debts of the Company, including every acknowledged claim on the one side ; of the whole of their disposable effects on the other. On the credit side of this account is placed all the property which has been already spoken of under the name of assets, excepting the greater part of what stands under the name of dead stock, and has little *real*, though set down by the Company at a great *imaginary* value, fixed at the pleasure of those who determine the shape of the accounts. The Committee of 1810 have given the results which this document presents.

On the 1st of March, 1793, the debts were less than the effects ; in other words, there was a balance in favour of the concern, to the amount of 1,956,866*l*. On the 1st of March, 1810, the debts were greater than the effects ; in other words, there was a balance against the concern, to the amount of 6,025,505*l*. This constitutes a deterioration during the intermediate period, amounting to 7,982,371*l*. To this the same Committee of 1810 add the money raised for capital stock in 1793 and 1794 ; and after some other adjustments exhibit the deterioration [in] those seventeen years at 11,062,291*l*.<sup>2</sup>

To the balance of 6,025,505*l*. against the Company in 1810 are to be added the sums received for capital stock, amounting as above to 7,780,000*l*. ; exhibiting on the debit side of the Company's account, a balance of 13,805,505*l*. ; in other words, an amount to that extent, of legitimate claims, which there is nothing whatsoever in the shape of property to meet.

As the operations of the Company are twofold, those of government and those of commerce, it is a question whether the unfavourable result which appears on the comparison of the accounts of stock in the year 1793, and 1810, was produced by the government, or the commerce.

<sup>1</sup> See the Second and Fourth Reports of the Committee of 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Fourth Report ut supra, p. 451.



BOOK VI. This question the Committee in 1810 make an attempt to  
 CHAP. XIII. answer. Beside the charges which clearly belong to the  
 1805. government, and those which clearly belong to the commerce, there are some, of which it is doubtful whether they belong to the government or the commerce. The charges which the Committee represent as clearly belonging to the government exceed the receipts by 6,364,931*l*. Besides this amount there is a sum of 6,875,350*l*., which they represent as doubtful, whether it belongs to the government or the commerce. This constitutes an unfavourable balance, to the amount of 13,240,281*l*. Exclusive of these doubtful charges, there is a profit upon the goods purchased and sold, or the commercial transactions of the period, to the amount of 14,676,817*l*. Out of this was paid the dividends upon stock, and the interest upon Debt in England, amounting to 12,515,284; after which remained a surplus, in the aid of government, to the amount of 2,164,533*l*.; reducing the unfavourable balance of 13,240,281*l*. as above, to 110,758, the net deterioration of the period.<sup>1</sup>

The Committee exhibited an account which was intended to show how much England gained or lost by India (not including China), during the period of seventeen years from 1793 to 1810. During that period, the value of property sent by England to India is stated at 43,808,341*l*.; the value received by England from India is stated at 42,178,640*l*. England therefore lost 1,629,701*l*.<sup>2</sup>

We have a statement by the Court of Directors which supplies the omission of China. In the year 1808, the financial distresses of the Company compelled the Directors to apply to parliament for relief. To lay a ground for the application, they submitted an exposition of the Company's finances at home and abroad. In this exposition is contained a statement of the sums disbursed in England on account of India and China, and of all the property received from them in return, beginning with the year 1797-8, and ending with the year 1806-7. During that interval England sent to India and China

<sup>1</sup> Fourth Report, ut supra, p. 262. App. No. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Third Report, ut supra, p. 373.

value more than it received from them, to the amount of 5,691,619%.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK VI.  
CHAP. XIII.

The peace which terminated the war with the Mahrattas,

1808.

<sup>1</sup> The passage in the exposition itself, p. 7, requires to be seen. "The Company have long been in the habit of paying in England political charges strictly appertaining to the territory. For these charges the Company never have credit in the Indian accounts. The large supplies of stores, and part even of the goods, sent out annually by the Company to India, are intended for political purposes, and the whole amount of them should be brought in India to the credit of the Home concern from the time they are shipped; but the practice has been to credit the Company for them only as they were taken out from the Indian warehouses for use, and no losses of such articles in the way outwards or in India, have ever been brought to the credit of London at all. Moreover, it is evident from what has been already stated in this exposition, that the supplies of goods and bullion from England have at times at least exceeded the returns in the same period. The only way therefore to come to an accurate conclusion, is to state all that England has received from India and China; and sent to or paid for India and China in any given period, and thence to strike the balance. Such a statement is exhibited in the accompanying paper, No. 5, which begins with the year 1797-8, and ends with the year 1806-7. On the one side this statement shows all that has been sent to India and China in goods, stores, and bullion, and all that has been paid for bills drawn from thence, or for political charges attaching to the Indian territory; and on the other side, the statement shows all that has been sent from India and China in goods and bills, and all payments received here from government, or payments made in India for commercial charges, and also for any loss that has occurred in English exports sold there. India and China are not debited for goods lost in the way thither, and they are credited for goods sent thence which have been captured or lost on the passage home. After all these allowances and adjustments, which, according to the best knowledge of the Court, comprehend every thing the account ought to contain, the balance is in favour of England, or of the Company at home 5,691,689%. If it be asked from what funds at home the Company have been able to bring India so largely indebted? the answer is obvious; From the increase of their capital stock and bonded debt, and from the considerable temporary credits they always have for investments outward. From this account, it is clear, that of the sum of nineteen millions of debt contracted in India since the year 1798-9 down to the year 1807-8, England, or the Company in its commercial capacity, is justly chargeable with no part, and that, on the contrary, India has in that period become largely indebted to England."—M.

This result, it is to be recollected, is not between England, and India, and China, but between the East India Company, and India, and China. Remittances on account of individuals are not comprised in it, and during the whole of this time the value of the goods sent from India in private tonnage was quite considerable enough to turn the balance largely in favour of India. Even, however, as concerns the Company, the account is so constructed as to mislead; without an examination of the details on which it is founded, it is impossible to detect where the fallacy lies, but one source is no doubt in the over-valuation of the exports, and the under-valuation of the imports, the former being invoiced with the addition of an estimate profit, the latter being charged at the cost instead of the selling price. A merchant who should invest ten thousand pounds in the purchase of goods, sell them in India for twelve thousand, convert that twelve thousand pounds into Indian goods, which he would sell in England for twenty thousand, would scarcely consider himself a loser by the transaction. It was not only from their capital or their credits that the Company defrayed political charges of two millions sterling in the time specified; the profits of their trade contributed. As far, therefore, as this account professes to show the state of the Company's dealings with India and China, it is erroneous, and for a general view of the interchange of capital between India and England, it is worthless.—W.

BOOK VI. a few months after the period of Lord Wellesley's administration, is the last great epoch, in the series of British transactions in India. With regard to subsequent events, the official papers, and other sources of information, are not sufficiently at command. Here, therefore, it is necessary that, for the present, this History should close.

CHAP. XIII.  
1805.

END OF VOL. VI.

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MILL'S HISTORY  
OF BRITISH INDIA,  
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IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

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Mill, James .

THE HISTORY OF  
BRITISH INDIA.

Vol. 7

Continued

FROM 1805 TO 1835.

BY HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A. F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY AND OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS AND  
CALCUTTA; OF THE IMPERIAL SOCIETY OF NATURALISTS OF MOSCOW;  
OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC. ETC.;  
AND BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSCRIT IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOLUME I.

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23.7.36

LONDON:

JAMES MADDEN AND CO.,

SUCCESSORS TO PARBURY & CO. 8, LEADENHALL STREET.

M.DCCC.XLV.

LONDON:  
Printed by S. & J. BENTLEY, WILSON, and FLEET,  
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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WHEN I consented to carry a new edition of Mill's History of British India through the press, I engaged to continue the History to the date at which the East India Company's charter was last renewed. The engagement was somewhat ill-considered. It was acceded to under an anticipation that the task could be accomplished with comparative facility, as a residence in Bengal during nearly the entire interval had made me familiar with the general course of the events which had occurred, and some of which I had at various times attempted to record. It was soon evident that I had much miscalculated.

However lively the impression which had been made by the interesting and important character of the transactions I had witnessed, I felt it to be my duty, before undertaking to narrate them, to consult all the available authorities of an original and authentic description in which they were to be traced. Foremost among these were the valuable but volumi-



nous Records at the India House; an unreserved access to which was readily granted by Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Controul, and W. B. Bayley, Esq., then Chairman of the Court of Directors. The obligation of making use of this privilege, however imperfectly, has caused an amount of labour and expenditure of time far exceeding my expectations.

Beside the manuscript volumes, to which the great bulk of the Records is necessarily confined, very extensive portions of them have been occasionally printed by order of Parliament, or under the authority of the Court of Directors. To these, also, it was necessary to refer, and the reference was not effected without incurring additional trouble and delay.

The third and last class of authorities to which extensive application has been made, consists of the published accounts of persons engaged or interested in the occurrences which they have related. There is a great body of contemporary evidence of this description, varying in merit and in weight, but exacting attention from all who wish to obtain an accurate knowledge of the origin and progress of events. The perusal in more or less detail of as many publications of this class as I could meet with, has contributed to retard the completion of my task beyond the limits within which I had trusted that it would have been concluded.

I have thought it necessary thus to account for the delay which has occurred, and which is not yet at an end. It has been occasioned by an anxious wish to offer to the public an historical work in which they may place some trust. Whether that object has been attained, remains to be determined; but the desire to merit confidence will, perhaps, be accepted as a sufficient excuse for the apparent tardiness of the writer.

H. H. WILSON.

LONDON,  
*25th November, 1844.*



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# HISTORY

OF

# BRITISH INDIA.

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## BOOK I.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE WITH THE MAHRATTAS,  
1805, TO THE RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S  
CHARTER, 1813.

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## CHAPTER I.

*General View of the Political State of India.—Relations of the British Government with the Native States.—Accessions of Territory.—Protection of Shah Alem.—Bundelkhand, Sketch of its History and Condition.—NATIVE PRINCES.—Mohammedans.—KING OF DELHI.—Conduct of Prince Jehangir.—NAWAB OF OUDE.—Vicious Administration of the Principality.—NIZAM OF HYDERABAD.—Discontent.—Determination of the British Government to maintain the Alliance.—Career of Raja Mahipat Ram.—Death of Mir Alem.—Hindus.—Mahrattas.—PESHWA.—Attempts to recover his Political Consideration.—GAEKWAR.—Pecuniary Embarrassments.—British Interference.—Settlement of Kattiwar.—Intrigues at Baroda.—*

BOOK I.  
CHAP. I.

1805.



BOOK I.  
CHAP. I.

1805.

RAJA OF BERAR.—*Dissatisfaction.*—*Relinquishment of Sambhalpur.*—SINDHIA.—*Pecuniary Difficulties.*—*Decline of Power.*—*Quarrels at his Court.*—*Conduct to Bhopal.*—HOLKAR.—*Exactions from the surrounding States.*—*Death of his Nephew, Kandi Rao,*—*of his Brother, Kasi Rao.*—*Derangement.*—*Tulasi Bhai, Regent.*—AMIR KHAN.—*His Rise and Power.*—Rajputs.—RANA OF UDAYPUR. RAJAS OF JODHPUR AND JAYPUR.—*Contest for the Hand of Krishna Kumari, Princess of Udaypur.*—*Mahratta Extortion.*—*Application of Jaypur for British Interference,*—*refused.*—*Policy of Holkar and Sindhia.*—*Amir Khan joins the Rana.*—*Death of the Princess.*—*Other Rajput Princes.*—BIKANER, KOTA, BUNDI, MACHERI.—Játs.—RAJA OF BHURTPORE.—RANA OF GOHUD.—*Treaty with him annulled.*—*Sikhs, their Origin and Constitution.*—*Rise of Ranjit Sing.*—*Remarks.*

THE recent hostilities between the British Government of India and the chiefs of the principal Mahratta states had entirely altered the relative position of the contending parties, and had engendered the elements of still more momentous change.

The Mahrattas had occupied through the latter half of the eighteenth century the chief place amongst the native states of India: they had brought under their sway the widest and most valuable portions of Hindustan, and had possessed themselves of the name and person of the Emperor of Delhi. On the first occasion on which they had come into collision with the British arms, they had inflicted upon them discomfiture and discredit; and

they had plunged into the late struggle, strong both in military resources and reputation, and confident that they should rid themselves of a dangerous and encroaching rival. The result had disappointed their hopes, and accelerated the aggrandisement of that power which they had trusted to overthrow.

BOOK I.  
CHAP. I.

1805.

In the outset of the contest, native opinion had inclined to the Mahrattas; the close of the war had shaken belief in their superiority. Still, however, much of the prepossession in their favour survived their reverses, and the full consequences of the encounter seem to have been but imperfectly appreciated even by those who had been engaged in the strife. Engrossed by the care of providing for immediate pecuniary embarrassments, the British Government overlooked all political considerations; and, in its impatience to relieve financial pressure, threw away some actual and some prospective advantages, shrunk from the commanding elevation to which it had been raised, and by unseasonable moderation disseminated doubts of its vigour, and held out encouragement to future aggression. The Mahratta leaders, justly ascribing much of their adversity to internal disunion, misinterpreting the motives of their enemy's forbearance, and fretting under the losses and indignities they had sustained, accustomed themselves to undervalue the resources and energies of their conquerors, and to look forward to some favourable opportunity of repairing their reputation and recovering their territory. At the same time, with the improvidence inseparable from the character of Indian princes, they set on foot no adequate preparations for the realisation of their purposes.

BOOK I. Instead of profiting by the experience of the past,  
CHAP. I. and the respite which had been granted to them;  
1805. instead of husbanding their means, consolidating their power, and cementing that union in which alone lay their safety, they wasted their strength in a petty and predatory warfare with the princes of Rajputana, or in intestine dissensions; and with territories almost depopulated, revenues utterly exhausted, troops wholly disorganized, and mutual animosities incurably exacerbated, they again provoked the resentment of the British Government when in the full exercise of its energies, and awakened to a clear perception of its true interests and of those of Hindustan. The last act of this extraordinary drama was then consummated. The Marquis of Hastings completed what Clive had begun, and all India acknowledged the supremacy of Great Britain.

As some time intervened before the predominance of the British power throughout India was finally established, we may, for the present, pause to contemplate the political condition of the country at the period at which the narrative recommences; and for a few years following; so as to form a correct notion of the extent of British dominion and authority, and of the circumstances and objects of the principal native states. We shall thus be better able to understand the character of those transactions which led to a renewal of the struggle, and to the final attainment of that commanding attitude which the British Government, after repeated proofs of forbearance, was at last compelled to assume.

The capture of Seringapatam and death of Tippoo

Sultan, in 1799, put an end to all fear of any formidable enmity in the south of India. Those events had added largely to the Company's territory in the Peninsula<sup>1</sup>, and had restored the principality of Mysore to the representative of its former Hindu Rajas, on conditions the avowed intentions of which were, the entire command of the resources of the country in time of war, and a general controuling power over its government in time of peace. Tribute under the denomination of subsidy was also imposed upon the Raja, and provision was made for appropriating the whole of the revenue, subject to a pension to be paid to him in the event of his failing to fulfill his obligations.<sup>2</sup> The Raja, Krishna Raja Udayávar, was a minor, and the administration of the affairs of the state was intrusted to a native minister named Purnia, a Brahman, a man of ability and judgment, who distinctly understood the position in which Mysore was placed, and its entire dependence upon the power to which it owed its existence. As long as he lived, the connexion was maintained in a spirit of sincere submission on the part of the inferior, and of implicit confidence on that of the superior; rendering Mysore virtually an integral portion of the British Indian Empire.

The western coast of the Peninsula was, with a few exceptions, British territory. At the southern

<sup>1</sup> By the Partition Treaty of Mysore, July 1799, territory yielding an annual revenue of 13,74,000 Cantarai Pagodas was reserved to the Mysore Raja. To the Company was assigned a portion that was valued at C. Ps. 7,77,000; to the Nizam lands to the amount of C. Ps. 6,07,000, and of C. Ps. 2,63,957 to the Peshwa. The shares of the two latter were subsequently transferred to the Company.—Collection of Treaties and Engagements with Native Princes and States of Asia, published in 1812, p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with Mysore, 8th July, 1799, and supplementary treaties, 1803 and 1807.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 454, 248, 302.



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extremity, the petty states of Cochin and Travancore were governed by their own Rajas. These princes had been rescued by the interposition of the British arms from the tyranny of Tippoo, and had agreed to pay a stipulated subsidy for the protection which they received.<sup>1</sup> The amount had however been determined without an equitable regard to the advantages for which it was an equivalent, or to the sources from which it was derived.<sup>2</sup> The demand became an exaction, and the payment speedily fell into arrear. A perpetual and undignified interchange of requisition and evasion ensued, and mutual dissatisfaction was the unavoidable result. This was more especially the case with the Raja of Travancore, as, upon the plea of danger from the designs of France, an additional subsidy had been levied upon him subsequently to the capture of Seringapatam; and, as he neither understood nor dreaded the peril, the cost of arming against its occurrence was felt to be both onerous and unjust. Discontent and indignation were consequently brooding over the councils of Travancore, and their dictates shortly afterwards impelled the Raja to an unavailing effort to throw off the burden under which he laboured.

Proceeding along the Malabar coast towards the

<sup>1</sup> The Raja of Cochin was made to pay to the Company a lakh of rupees annually; treaty, 1791.—Collection of Treaties, p. 421. An agreement was made in 1788 with the Raja of Travancore, by which he engaged to subsidize two battalions of Sipahis. In 1795, he agreed to maintain constantly one battalion. This was extended, in 1797, to three battalions, and one company of European artillery. In 1805, the Raja was compelled to pay for a fourth battalion.—Collection of Treaties, pp. 174, 170, 283.

<sup>2</sup> The gross revenue of Cochin was estimated at five lakhs of rupees, from which the charges of collection were to be deducted. The tribute was therefore about one-fourth of the net receipts. The total revenues of Travancore, in 1807, were estimated by the Resident at twenty lakhs of rupees: the Company's claim was nearly eight lakhs.—MS. Records.

north, a few districts of limited extent were subject to petty Mahratta chiefs, feudatories of Poona : and Goa, and a narrow territory around it, still remained to the Portuguese : as amicable relations subsisted with the superior states, the subordinate character of these dependencies, as well as their insignificance, divested them of all political consideration. Goa, indeed, was occupied by an English garrison. Farther to the north, the coast belonged to the Gaekwar or ruler of Guzerat ; whom a subsidiary treaty, and a connexion of the most intimate nature, attached inseparably to the interests of the British Government. Cutch, the adjacent country to the west, although independent, was distracted by civil broils, the chief parties in which appealed for assistance to the Presidency of Bombay. Sindh, the boundary province of India in this direction, was governed by independent princes, who had shewn themselves disinclined to entertain any correspondence with the Company's authorities. They exercised little or no influence upon the politics of India, as their situation and circumstances restricted their intercourse in a great degree to their western and northern neighbours, the Baluchis and Afghans.

The whole of the eastern or Coromandel coast of the Peninsula was British, with the exception of a small tract occupied by the Danish settlement of Tranquebar. The Nawab of the Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore had been deprived of territorial revenue and political importance, and had been reduced to the irrevocable condition of pensioners of the East India Company. The province of Cuttack, which under the Mahratta govern-

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ment of Berar had intercepted the communication between the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, now served to connect them; as it had been taken from the Raja in the late war, and had been permanently annexed to the Company's possessions, which now extended along the whole line of coast from the Gulph of Manar to the Delta of the Ganges.

Important additions to the British dominions in Hindustan had been effected by treaty or conquest during the administration of Marquis Wellesley. At its commencement, the Bengal Presidency was bounded on the north by the course of the Gandak river, and by the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. The cession of Gorakhpur by the Nawab Vizir, Sádāt Ali, carried the boundary across the Gandak to the foot of the mountains of Nepal; and the transfer of the lower Doab, Furruckabad, and Bareilly, by the same prince, extended the British authority over the country of the Rohillas. The victorious career of Lord Lake rescued the upper provinces of the Doab from Mahratta spoliation, and brought them as far as to the north-west of Delhi under British influence or rule. Of the conquests on the west bank of the Jumna, a narrow strip of land alone had been retained; but its value was more than commensurate with its extent, as it included the important cities Agra, Mathura, and Delhi,—the first celebrated for its reliques of Mogul magnificence, the second sanctified by the religious veneration of the Hindus, and the third selected in every age of the history of India for the capital of those Hindu and Mohammedan monarchs who aspired to the universal

sceptre of Hindustan. Along with this imperial city the British became possessed of the person and family of the representative of the fallen dynasty of Timur, the venerable Shah Alem, alike distinguished by his descent and his misfortunes. Indebted to the British in the dawn of life for safety and support, he had passed through manhood to old age amidst an unvarying succession of danger, tumult, treachery, and disaster, and was happy to end his days in peace and security under the shelter of his early friends. However trifling the accession to the real power of the victors which might be thought to accrue from their holding in their hands the titular sovereign of Hindustan, and although the charge was not unattended by circumstances of anxiety and embarrassment, yet that the keeping of the person of Shah Alem was not devoid of political value might be inferred from the eagerness with which the prize had been disputed by military adventurers both Mohammedans and Hindus, and by the weight which chieftains the most lawless, and princes the most powerful, still attached to an order or a grant that bore the seal of the emperor, even though the document conferred but a nominal title to the honours or possessions which it purported to bestow. Shah Alem himself was an object of general sympathy, from the injuries or indignities which he had undergone from his own rebellious servants or his Mahratta allies; and the respectful and benevolent treatment which he experienced from his new guardians contrasted favourably with the conduct pursued towards him by their predecessors. There



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can be no doubt that the change was most acceptable to the Mohammedans of Hindustan, and contributed essentially to conciliate their good-will and gain their allegiance.

The greater portion of the territory on the west of the Jumna which had been wrested from the Mahrattas was precipitately relinquished by Marquis Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow, but on the south-west the extensive province of Bundelkhand was permanently comprehended within the limits of the Presidency of Bengal. The district had been ceded by the Peshwa in commutation of territory in the south of India, which he had at first assigned to the Company in place of the amount which he had agreed to pay for a subsidiary force.<sup>1</sup> At the time when this exchange was effected, the authority of the Peshwa over any part of Bundelkhand was little more than nominal, and his claims were at best of a questionable character, as will be evident upon a brief review of the history of the province.

The Rajas of Bundelkhand pretend to trace their pedigree from the Solar dynasty of Hindu kings; Kusa, one of the sons of the mytho-heroic prince Ramachandra, having, it is said, migrated from Ayodhyá or Oude, and settled in Bundelkhand. The traditions of the Hindus in general do not countenance such a genealogy; and it seems not unlikely that the Bundela tribe were foreigners

<sup>1</sup> The annual revenue of these lands was computed to be 26 lakhs of rupees. Treaty of Bassein, 1802. Portions to the value of 19 lakhs were restored to the Peshwa, in lieu of which he ceded territory in Bundelkhand of the estimated annual value of 36 lakhs. Supplementary treaty, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 233, 242.

and conquerors, who immigrated into the country<sup>1</sup> in comparatively modern times. They long struggled, with varied success, to maintain their independence against the Mohammedan kings of Delhi; but they sunk under a vigorous effort made in the beginning of the reign of Shah Jehan, and were compelled to acknowledge for a season the supremacy of the Mogul. This state of things was of no long duration: encouraged by the distracted condition of the empire during the latter years of Shah Jehan's reign, a chieftain named Champat Rai<sup>2</sup> led the way to the reassertion of the national independence. The task was prosecuted with improved success by his more celebrated son Chatrasál, and a new dynasty was founded by the latter, which reigned over the eastern division of the province: the western division was restored to the representatives of the ancient Rajas, who, however, renewed their professions of fealty to the throne of Delhi.

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The elevation of Chatrasál to the rank and power of Raja took place towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb. The successors of that emperor, unable to make good their pretensions to

<sup>1</sup> Bundel-khand, "the portion of the Bundela," is not named in any ancient writings or inscriptions. The country is denominated Chaidya, the land of the Chedi, or Chandel, the name still borne by the agricultural population. The term Bundela is confined to the military chiefs, who never condescend to engage in the cultivation of the soil, and of whom the first is said to have been Devada Bír, a Rajput, who invaded and occupied the country some time in the 14th century.—Memoir on Bundelkhand, by Capt. J. Franklin; Tr. Royal Asiatic Society, i. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Authorities differ with respect to the birth and station of Champat Rai. One account makes him an officer in the service of the Raja of Urcha.—Franklin, as above. Another affirms his being a member of the ruling dynasty, and Raja of Urcha himself.—Pogson, Hist. of the Bundelas, p. 44. This could scarcely have been the case, although he might have been a kinsman of the Raja.

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supremacy, acknowledged the new Raja. In the reign of Mohammed Shah, however, Bangash Khan, the Afghan governor of Allahabad, fell suddenly upon Chatrasál with an overwhelming force, and dispossessed him of his dominions. Chatrasál had recourse to the Mahrattas, who under the first Peshwa, Baji Rao, were at this time advancing slowly through Kandesh and Malwa to Hindustan. The opportunity of establishing their ascendancy in Bundelkhand, which was afforded by the application of the Raja, was promptly embraced; and Baji Rao with a large force surprised and defeated Bangash Khan, who was glad to escape with his life. The Mohammedan yoke was now thrown off for ever, but one not less oppressive was imposed, in the domination of the Mahrattas. In the first instance they replaced Chatrasál in his principality; but upon his death, which happened not long afterwards, the Peshwa, whom he had adopted as a son, succeeded by virtue of that adoption to one-third of the territory;<sup>1</sup> the other two-thirds were equally divided between the two sons of Chatrasál; one of whom, Hirdi Sah, became Raja of Panna, the other, Jagat Sah, of Jetpur.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Mahratta records assert that this disposition of his Raj was the spontaneous effect of the Raja's gratitude.—Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, i. 515. It is more probable that the cession was the price of the Peshwa's assistance, as intimated in the *Seir Mutakherin*, i. 282. In the memoirs of Amir Khan it is stated, that, after the expulsion of the Afghan, Chatrasál adopted the Peshwa, and at once divided his Raj into four parts, of which he retained one, and apportioned the other three between the Peshwa and his sons. Govind Pandit was nominated manager of the Peshwa's share, which included Ságar, Jhausi, and Kalpi, or a line of country in the centre of the province from the Nerhudda to the Jumna, by which the Mahrattas could readily march from the Dekhin to the Doab.—*Mem. of Amir Khan*, 55.

<sup>2</sup> The Raja of Panna, and the Rajas of Ajaygerh, Charkari, Bijawar, Jetpur, and Sarila, are respectively descended from these princes.

It was a condition of the arrangement made in favour of the Peshwa, that the government of Poona should guarantee to the descendants of Chatrasál the portions of the inheritance set apart for his sons. The stipulation was for some time faithfully observed; the sons of Chatrasál enjoyed their portions in peace, and parcelled them at their death amongst their posterity. Their example was imitated by their successors, subdivisions were infinitely multiplied, and Bundelkhand was filled with a swarm of petty Rajas too weak to defend themselves against Mahratta aggression, and too turbulent to refrain from those mutual hostilities by which their weakness was aggravated: the state of confusion and anarchy into which the province was thrown by the intestine divisions of its rulers, offered it as a tempting bait to military adventure; and a follower of Sindhia, Ali Bahadur, was induced to avail himself of the favourable opportunity.

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Ali Bahadur<sup>1</sup> was a Sirdar of some repute in the service of the Peshwa when he was dispatched by Nana Furnavez, the minister of Poona, with a body of troops to co-operate with Madhoji Sindhia in his incursion into Hindustan. He bore an efficient part in the operations which gave Delhi and Shah Alem to Sindhia, but was not altogether satisfied with the requital which his exertions had received. Ali Bahadur<sup>2</sup>, therefore, quitted Sindhia, and at the

<sup>1</sup> The father of Ali Bahadur, Shamshir Bahadur, was the son of the Peshwa Baji Rao, a Brahman, by a Mohammedan woman. Agreeably to the ancient Hindu law, he was of the caste, which in this case was equivalent to the religion, of his mother; a characteristic illustration of the laxity of manners of the Mahratta court, and of Hindu indifference to religious creeds.

<sup>2</sup> According to Malcolm, Ali Bahadur separated from Sindhia upon



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1805. instigation of Himmat Bahadur, who was the military leader and spiritual head of a large body of armed Gosains, combining the characters of religious vagrants and mercenary soldiers, and who had acquired some territory in Bundelkhand, he marched
- A. D. 1790. into the province with a considerable force, and in a few years reduced under his authority the greater part of the territories which had been distributed amongst the unworthy descendants of Chatrasál. The stronghold of Kalinjar alone resisted his impetuosity, and, after a siege of two years, he died in camp before its walls.<sup>1</sup> He left two sons, Shamshir Bahadur, and Zulfikar Ali. The former at the date of his father's death was at Poona: the latter, who was an infant, was thereupon raised to the principality by his uncle Ghani Bahadur; but Shamshir Bahadur speedily arrived to vindicate his claim to the succession, put his uncle to death, and assumed the sovereignty over his father's conquests. He was not long able to maintain his authority.
- A. D. 1802.

The exchange of territory accomplished by the Peshwa was a genuine exemplification of Mahratta diplomacy, for it transferred to the British Government the trouble of enforcing claims of questionable

the advance of the latter to Delhi.—Central India. Grant Duff states the separation to have taken place after the capture of Delhi.—Hist. Mahr. iii. 75. The memoirs of Amir Khan (p. 86) assert that he invaded Bundelkhand by command of the Peshwa. He no doubt professed to act as the Peshwa's officer, and hoisted the Zari Patka or regal standard of Poona.

<sup>1</sup> Ali Bahadur, to evince his determination not to relinquish the siege until the capture of the fortress, caused a house to be built near the fort for his residence. The Kiladar, not to be surpassed in bravado, sent him a present of some mango-seeds to sow in the garden to be attached to the new edifice, with an intimation that he might hope to take Kalinjar when the seeds should have grown to trees, and the trees should have borne fruit.—Pogson's Bundelas, p. 122.

validity, and granted to them districts over which the court of Poona had never exercised actual sovereignty. The cessions were taken chiefly from the recent conquests of Ali Bahadur, whose right had neither become confirmed by time nor by the recognition of the subjugated people; and whose possessions, although, inasmuch as they had fallen to a subject and officer of the Peshwa, they might be considered as in some degree dependent upon the head of the Mahratta state, yet had never acknowledged such dependence, nor contributed in any manner to his power or resources. The attempt of Shamshir Bahadur to establish himself in the country which his father had conquered was as much opposed to the pretensions of the Peshwa, as to the claims of the English founded upon them, and he was consequently treated as the enemy of both. His father's friend and coadjutor, the Gosain Himmat Bahadur, foreseeing the inability of Shamshir Bahadur to resist this combination against him, speedily made terms with the British, and joined their forces on their advance into Bundelkhand. After an ineffectual show of resistance, Shamshir Bahadur was content to desist from opposition, and to accept a pension for himself and for his family, with permission to reside at Banda.<sup>1</sup> Himmat Bahadur soon after died; his armed bands were dismissed upon the return of peace, and his descendants were settled upon a Jagir in the Doab.<sup>2</sup> So far, little difficulty was found in the introduction of

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<sup>1</sup> The titular Nawab of Banda is at present Zulfikar Ali, the brother of Shamshir Bahadur, who resides near Banda, and receives a pension of four lakhs of rupees.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Sekandra, in the district of Cawnpore. Ibid. p. 287.

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1805. division of Allahabad.

The establishment of a government in Bundelkhand that proclaimed order and insisted upon obedience was, however, no easy task. The feuds of the numerous petty Rajas, and the depredations of the Mahrattas, had filled the country with military adventurers, few of whom had other means of supporting themselves and their followers than levying contributions on the peaceable inhabitants, and plundering those who resisted their exactions. Nor did they respect the new acquisitions of the Company; and, as these had been left imperfectly guarded by the precipitate dismissal of the irregular battalions which during the war had been taken into British pay, and by the improvident reduction of the regular force below the necessity for its services, the leaders of the marauding bands were long suffered to disturb the tranquillity of the country, and prevent its return to order and good government. The inhabitants themselves, a bold and resolute race, habituated to the use of arms, and unaccustomed to legal controul, were little inclined to submit to civil jurisdiction or fiscal regulations; and, when unable to resist the enforcement of the laws or the collection of the revenues, they deserted their villages and augmented the ranks of the banditti. Where this was not the case, they not unfrequently entered into a compact with the predatory leaders to defraud the state of its dues, by paying to them a sum less than the public demand, and receiving in return an acquittance for the whole. With this evidence of

their having been compelled to pay their revenue, they claimed exemption from farther payment, alleging, with sufficient plausibility, that a Government, which could not defend them, could not claim fulfilment of their obligations, and pleading the impossibility of their paying double the amount at which they were assessed. The plea was admitted until its collusive origin was detected, and the refusal to grant exemptions on this account tended to put a stop to the fraud; but not until a loss of revenue had been sustained, the amount of which would have economically defrayed the expense of a protecting military force. Both the marauding chiefs and the refractory villagers derived support in their resistance to Government from the numerous small forts with which the province was studded: at the time of its occupation there were not fewer than one hundred and fifty within the limits of the Company's acquired territory, the greater proportion of which were eventually demolished, but not without opposition.

Amidst the many strongholds which were erected in Bundelkhand, two were remarkable for their position and strength. These were Ajaygerh and Kalinjar. They were both in the hands of adventurers who had risen to power by the usual methods of military rapine and violence, and who, by their own armed adherents, or the marauding hordes to whom they afforded shelter, spread desolation and alarm through the adjacent country. A vigorous effort, early made, might have planted the British standard on their walls with little difficulty; but as it was the policy of the Government to conciliate,



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where to suppress and overawe would be attended with expense, it was determined in the councils of Calcutta that "a certain extent of dominion, local power, and revenue would be cheaply sacrificed for tranquillity and security within a more contracted circle." It was argued, that "it was not to be apprehended that the furtive depredations of roving banditti could be supposed to have intimidated the military power which had overthrown the combined force of the Mahratta confederacy, and that there was every reason to believe that the concessions which were proposed were not calculated to excite a renewal of the disorders by which they had been obtained."<sup>1</sup> Upon these principles, falsified as they were by the history of all past ages, and opposed to the opinions and recommendations of the principal civil and military functionaries and of the commander-in-chief,<sup>2</sup> the occupants of Ajaygerh and Kalinjar were left in possession of their fortresses; and to them<sup>3</sup> and to other usurping chiefs the Government granted sunnuds, formally recognising and confirming their right of occupancy, upon conditions of general submission and allegiance. In like manner, but upon more legitimate grounds, the descendants of Chatrasál, who still retained portions of their patrimony, were confirmed in their possessions, but

<sup>1</sup> MS. Records. Proceedings of Bengal Government, 10th July, 1806.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Lake in a letter to the Government, recorded the 17th July, 1806, expressed his conviction, that, until Ajaygerh and Kalinjar were in possession of the Government, it would be impossible to maintain peace in Bundelkhand. Events fully corroborated the justice of his prediction.

<sup>3</sup> Lakshman Dawa, the Kiladár of Ajaygerh, was allowed to keep his fort for two years upon payment of a small annual tribute, and to hold the district adjacent in perpetual farm. Darya Sing Chaubè, the Kiladár of Kalinjar, was confirmed in the occupancy of that fort and the adjacent district; 8th December, 1806.

their promise of allegiance was not to entitle them to protection; and so far was the doctrine of non-interference carried, that they were suffered to decide by the sword those disputes amongst themselves, to which the complicated questions of proprietary right to lands that had repeatedly changed masters could not fail to give rise. It was not until a change of administration in Calcutta had taken place that "it was deemed essential, not only to the preservation of political influence over the chiefs of Bundelkhand and its consequent advantages, but also to the dignity and reputation of the British Government, to interfere for the suppression of intestine disorder, by compelling that submission which it had till then been found impracticable to conciliate or command."<sup>1</sup>

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The western portion of Bundelkhand was distributed among the Rajas of Dattea, Tehri, and Samphar. They were descended from the ancient Rajas. They were acknowledged by the British as independent princes, and were bound to them by treaties of amity and alliance. No submission was required from them, and care was taken to avoid any obligation to defend them against foreign aggression. They remained, consequently, many years exposed to Mahratta insolence and spoliation, and were reduced to the verge of annihilation, when the course of events, and altered political views, brought them finally within the pale of British protection.

Such were the principal accessions to the territory of British India during the administration of

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of Bengal Government, 8th September, 1807. Lord Minto had recently assumed charge of the Government.

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1806. relation to some of the neighbouring princes. The  
situation and circumstances of the more important  
native states it will now be necessary to describe.

The great distinction of the native ruling powers was two-fold. They were either Mohammedan or Hindu. The latter comprised several varieties, and were mainly distinguishable as Mahrattas, Rajputs, Játs, and Sikhs.

Although extensive and populous territories still acknowledged the sway of some of the descendants of the Mohammedan conquerors of India, yet their political power was, in every instance of any importance, extinct; and, with one or two exceptions of little note or influence, they were either directly or indirectly dependent upon the British Government. They were its pensioners, or its subsidiary allies: the former compelled to forego all the attributes of sovereignty, except an empty title; the latter obliged to sheath their swords for ever, and rely for defence upon troops whom they alienated their dominions to pay, but over whom they held no command. At the head of the former class was the Great Mogul himself, the descendant and representative of Timur-lang.

The actual occupant of the throne of Delhi did not long survive his transition from a rigorous to a respectful state of captivity. Shah Alem died on the 18th of December, 1806. He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, who took the title of Shah Akbar the Second. The father had experienced the misfortunes inseparable from a powerless

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sceptre too severely to regret its resignation into hands able to wield it with vigour: the son, although no stranger to distress and peril, anticipated from the indulgence or indifference of his protectors a greater share of real power than it was convenient or safe to permit him to exercise. His attempts to break through the limits prescribed to him were for some time after his accession frequent and persevering; but they were for the most part of little consideration, except as paving the way for pretensions of a more ambitious tendency, and they were checked without much trouble or the exhibition of severity.<sup>1</sup> On one subject alone it was necessary to act with energy; and the manifestation of power and will, which was then called for, terminated the aspirations of Akbar the Second to become a king in more than name.

The King of Delhi had several sons: of these, the eldest was considered to be entitled to the designation of heir-apparent, agreeably to the laws of succession upheld by the British Indian Government;

<sup>1</sup> A principal object of his majesty's ambition was the presentation of *Khelats*, or honorary dresses, to the princes of Hindustan, and, above all, to the Governor-General. As the acceptance of such a compliment is an admission of inferiority, it was of course declined. Having, however, obtained leave to send an agent to Calcutta to represent to the Government matters of public and private interest, Shah Akbar endeavoured to carry the point of the *khelat* by a little ingenuity. His envoy was instructed to present to Lord Minto an old cloak, which the king himself had worn, as a mark of personal regard; but he was to contrive to do this at a public audience, when the present would have assumed the character of an honorary distinction conferred upon the Governor-General by the King of Delhi. The device was easily seen through, and as easily frustrated: the cloak was thankfully accepted as a private gift, but the bearer was compelled to transmit it through the usual channel of communication, through the office of the Persian secretary. Such were the strange vicissitudes of fortune, that the Great Mogul was reduced to the necessity of trying to trick the chief functionary of a trading company into the acceptance of the greatest honour in native estimation which it was in his power to bestow!



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but, influenced by his favourite queen, Akbar Shah strove pertinaciously to obtain the recognition of his third son, Mirza Jehangir, of whom she was the mother, in that capacity. Although willing to withhold from the eldest son the immediate assumption of the title which it considered as his birthright, the Government of Bengal refused to gratify the wish of the king; and obliged him, on one occasion, to cancel and counteract honours and privileges which he had granted to Mirza Jehangir as indications of a purpose to raise him to the rank of heir-apparent.<sup>1</sup> Although obliged to give way for a season, the king, unable to resist female blandishments and tears, resumed his project; and the subject of debate might have long continued to estrange him from his European advisers, had not the rashness and presumption of the prince given occasion to the British Government to act decisively, and remove Mirza Jehangir from Delhi altogether.

Mirza Jehangir, having been empowered by the injudicious liberality of his mother to take into pay a body of armed retainers, occasioned so much discomfort and alarm within the palace by the turbulence which he encouraged and the excesses of which he partook, that his parents were at last convinced of the necessity of subjecting him to some controul, and the king was prevailed upon to allow the Company's Sipahis to mount guard at

<sup>1</sup> These were, 1, the use of the Aftábi, a flat circular parasol, carried by an attendant, not over the head, but on the side of a person, or palankín, which is next the sun; 2, the Tapach, a state cushion; and, 3, the Nalki, open state palankín. They were conferred in full Durbar, with the customary solemnities. By desire of the Government the Aftábi was discontinued, and the use of the other articles extended to all the princes, so as to deprive them of any specific significance.

the palace gates. A guard was accordingly stationed at the outer gates, when the followers of Jehangir took up a menacing position at the inner gateway, and insisted that the Sipahis should be withdrawn. The British Resident, Mr. Seton, advancing to expostulate with them, was fired at and narrowly escaped being shot, as the ball struck the cap of a soldier who was close by his side. The Sipahis were then ordered to take forcible possession of the inner gates; and after a short conflict, in which some of the assailants were wounded, and several of their opponents were killed, the gates were carried, and the followers of the prince were dispersed. The prince gave himself up to the Resident, and was sent a state prisoner to Allahabad, where he resided until his death, abandoning all hopes of succession to a titular crown and passing his days in indolence and indulgence.<sup>1</sup> The king gradually ceased to exhibit outwardly any concern for his fate, and abstained from all endeavours to interfere with the disposal of the throne, or to acquire a greater portion of authority than it was thought fit to intrust him with: this resignation was rewarded by an increase of his pension, which

BOOK I.  
CHAP. I.

1809.

24th July.

<sup>1</sup> He was at first lodged in the fort of Allahabad, but was afterwards removed to a building that had been a Mohammedan mausoleum, part of the monument of Sultan Khosru, without the city. The author saw him here in 1820. He was allowed considerable personal liberty, and was treated with as much consideration as was compatible with his security. He seemed to be cheerful and reconciled to his situation, and was said to have both the means and the inclination to forget political disappointments in personal enjoyment. He was a man of small stature and delicate features, of a pleasing though very dark countenance, and of elegant manners. He wore no turban nor any covering on his head, but let his long black hair, which shewed symptoms of more than ordinary care bestowed upon it, hang full upon his shoulders. It was impossible not to feel some sympathy for his humiliation, although there was nothing in his character or conduct to inspire respect.

BOOK I. had been promised conditionally by Marquis Welles-  
 CHAP. I. ley, and was granted by Lord Minto.<sup>1</sup>

1806.

A prince, second only to the King of Delhi in Mohammedan estimation, and far superior to that sovereign in wealth and power, the Nawab of Oude, was connected with the British Government by a subsidiary alliance. The precise nature of the connexion will have been made known by the ample details and discussions relating to it inserted in the preceding pages. For all objects of exterior policy the Nawab was a nonentity, and even in his interior administration he was expected to refer questions of any moment to the consideration of the British Resident, and to adopt no measures of importance without the concurrence of the Governor-General. The reigning Nawab, Sâdat·Ali Khan, was far from easy under the bonds which attached him to the

<sup>1</sup> The original pension was fixed at 76,500 rupees a month, to be provided for out of the revenues of certain lands in the district of Delhi set apart for that purpose; and a promise was made, that the allowance should be increased when the funds admitted of it. The extent of the increase was not specified. In 1809, the revenues of the assigned territory continued still short of the pension, but it was determined to increase the latter to one lakh of rupees per month, of which 7000 rupees were to be appropriated to the heir-apparent.—Governor-General's Minute, 17th June, 1809. Other augmentations have been since made, making the allowance, including stipends to members of the family both at Delhi and Benares, fifteen lakhs of rupees (150,000*l.*) per annum.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, ii. part 2. 362. His majesty has been long urgent for a farther increase, upon the plea that the revenues of the assigned lands have improved, but "it was never proposed either to limit the stipends by the amount of the produce of the territory, or to augment them to an extent equal to the revenue which the territory might eventually yield: the obligation which the British Government had imposed on itself was that of providing adequate means for the support of the king and his household in a manner suitable to the condition in which he was placed, while in policy it was inexpedient that the provision granted should exceed an amount sufficient for that purpose."—Minute quoted by Captain Sutherland. The same authority states, that, if the civil and military charges upon what may be possibly meant by the assigned lands were deducted from their revenue, little would remain for the payment of the stipend of the King of Delhi.—Sketches of the Relations between the British Government of India and Native States; by Captain J. Sutherland, Calcutta, 1833.

British; but he had been raised by them to the throne, and, being of a timid and inactive character, could scarcely have maintained his dignity without the support of his allies. Even under their guardianship he lived in constant dread of domestic intrigue, and was perpetually haunted by unfounded suspicions that his nearest relatives were plotting against his throne and his life.<sup>1</sup> His chief gratification was the accumulation of treasure; and the curtailment of his revenues, consequent upon the enforced alienation of a valuable portion of his territory in commutation of the subsidy, was the main-spring of his dissatisfaction with the relations in which he stood to the Government of Bengal. He felt aggrieved, also, by the immunity from transit duties claimed by trading boats on the Ganges where it formed the boundary of Oude, under passes from the Company's custom-offices on the opposite bank, and agreeably to a commercial treaty into which he had reluctantly entered. The interference of the Resident was not unfrequently a source of mortification to him. So far had his discontent proceeded, that he renewed to Sir G. Barlow the proposition he had made to Lord Wellesley, to transfer the management of his dominions to his eldest son and make a pilgrimage to Mecca. When, however, the acquiescence of the Government was expressed, the project was apparently abandoned, as the proposal was never repeated. In his personal expenditure

<sup>1</sup> His own brothers, Mirza Mehdi and Shahámat Ali, were accused by him of having instigated attempts to procure his assassination. The charges were investigated by the Resident under orders from the Government, and were proved to be void of any foundation. To appease the fears of the Nawab, the princes were obliged to leave Lucknow, and take up their residence at Patna in the Company's territories.



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1807.

Sádat Ali was meanly parsimonious, and the amount of the public revenue was more than adequate to the public disbursements. The landholders were nevertheless exposed to the systematic extortion of contractors, to whom the Nawab farmed the assessments, and whom he authorised to levy their demands by the most violent and oppressive means.<sup>1</sup> Their exactions were as systematically resisted, and the Zemindars became habituated to refuse payment even of what was justly claimable, unless compelled by superior power. Their villages were not unusually fortified, and they resided in mud forts which were not easily captured by the unaided military of the Nawab. In this emergency it became necessary to have recourse to the subsidiary force, and the Company's battalions were employed to reduce refractory landholders and collect the revenue. As obvious objections to such a duty existed, the aid of the troops was always granted with reluctance; another subject of grievance to the Nawab, who considered himself entitled to command the services of a force which he virtually paid. The evil was not so serious in the early part of the reign of Sádat Ali as it subsequently became, and, upon the whole, the province of Oude was in a peaceable and improving condition; while the character and situation of the reigning prince en-

<sup>1</sup> The contractors rarely benefited by their bargains, as Sádat Ali was well versed in the art of squeezing the sponge when it had done its office. As soon as the contractors were thought to be sufficiently gorged, complaints against their oppression, which were never wanting, were readily listened to, and they were seized and imprisoned until they had poured into the Nawab's treasury the whole or greater portion of their spoils. Their incarceration depended upon their tenaciousness of the booty. In 1807, the Resident stated there were fourteen farmers of the revenue in prison in Lucknow, some of whom had been confined for years.—MS. Records.

sured his entire subservience to the political views and interests of the British Government.

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1806.

Another native Mohammedan sovereign, Sekandar Jah, titular Nizam, Subahdár, or viceroy of the Dekhin, possessed of equally extensive territories, was also a subsidiary ally of the Company.<sup>1</sup> The alliance was more distasteful to him than to the Vizir; and his capricious and violent temper, and the frontier position of his country in contiguity to independent states, rendered the preservation of the political relations which had been established with him a subject of solicitude and apprehension. He had succeeded to the principality upon the demise of his father Nizam Ali, in 1803, without opposition, through the support of the British authorities; by whose interposition the menaced competition of one of his brothers, who enjoyed much more extensive popularity with the nobles and people of Hyderabad, was prevented. The sense of gratitude for this obligation was soon obliterated by the consciousness of loss of independence; and the ill-concealed discontent of the Nizam gave courage to many of his followers to organize a system of opposition to the British councils, and still further estrange the mind of their master from the connexion: they even contemplated its dissolution, and persuaded the

<sup>1</sup> By the treaty with the Nizam, dated 12th October, 1800, the subsidized force was finally fixed at eight battalions of Sipahis, or eight thousand firelocks, and two regiments of cavalry, or one thousand horse, with their complement of guns, European artillerymen, lascars, and pioneers. For the payment of this force the territories acquired by the Nizam under the treaty of Seringapatam, 13th March, 1792, and that of Mysore, 22nd June, 1799, were given back to the Company, with the exception of some districts north of the Tumbhadra river, for which Adoni and others to the south of it were exchanged: the annual revenues of the whole were estimated at twenty-six lakhs of Kanterai pagodas, about 874,000*l.*—Collection of Treaties, p. 188.

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Nizam, and perhaps credited it themselves, that it was practicable to form a combination with the Mahrattas by which the British might be humbled, and perhaps expelled from Hindustan. These suggestions gratified the enmity and flattered the pride of the Nizam; but he was too fondly addicted to low and sensual indulgence, too irresolute in purpose and contracted in intellect, to be capable of prosecuting a dangerous design with the steadiness, determination, and foresight indispensable to its success. Fortunately also for the ultimate preservation of his throne, his prime minister, Mir Alem, who had grown old in the service of the state, and had been an actor in many of the great events which had occurred in the Peninsula during the reign of the late Nizam,<sup>1</sup> was well aware of the relative strength of the British and Mahratta powers, and accurately appreciated his sovereign's situation. He knew, in fact, that the government of Hyderabad subsisted only as long as it remained under British protection, and that, the moment such protection should be withdrawn, the principality would be defenceless against Mahratta ambition, and would, at no remote period, fall under their yoke; he therefore sedulously advocated British influence at the court of Hyderabad, and was in requital supported

<sup>1</sup> Mir Alem was first employed in 1789 on a mission to Lord Cornwallis, and afterwards accompanied the Nizam's army to Seringapatam, where he conducted the negotiations for peace. In 1794 he was deputed to Poona, but failed in his negociation. In 1798 he negotiated with the British Resident the treaty with the Nizam, and commanded the army which joined the British troops in the capture of Seringapatam. Some time after his return he fell into disgrace, and was unemployed between 1800 and 1803. In 1804, upon the death of Azim ul Omra, the prime minister, and at the recommendation of the British Resident, he was appointed to that office. He died in the 56th year of his age.

by that influence against the effects of his master's caprice and displeasure.

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1807.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Mir Alem and of several of the most respectable members of the court of Hyderabad to preserve unimpaired the continued friendship of the British Government, the conduct of the Nizam so manifestly threatened its forfeiture and the dissolution of the alliance, that even Sir George Barlow deemed the occasion such as to justify avowed interference. Mir Alem was in danger of assassination, and obliged to seek shelter with the Resident: secret communications were opened with Sindhia and Holkar: all appointments of influence and trust were conferred upon individuals notoriously inimical to the British connexion, and considerable bodies of armed men were in course of assemblage at Hyderabad. It became a question whether the menaced separation should be anticipated, or prevented; whether the connexion should be spontaneously relinquished, or its continuation should be authoritatively perpetuated. The conclusion was, that it should be maintained at all hazards. "The alliance with Hyderabad," it was argued, "could not be dissolved without subverting the foundations of the British power and ascendancy in the political scale of India, and without becoming the signal and instrument of the downfall of the remaining fabric of our political relations. If the subsidiary force were withdrawn, the territory alienated for its support would be required to be restored; and the power and resources which the British Government had a right to demand for its own support and security would be placed in the hands of a



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hostile party, avowedly eager, not merely for the abolition of the alliance, but for the destruction of the British Indian Empire: the weapons of which we were now masters would be turned against us; universal agitation, alarm, distrust, and turbulence would ensue; and elements of a renewed combination of hostile states against us would acquire an uncontrollable latitude of action and efficient means of success.”<sup>1</sup> Sir G. Barlow, therefore, concluded that the Nizam had no right to depart from the obligations of the connexion, and that they must be vigorously enforced. The political wisdom of the conclusion was undeniable, however at variance with the doctrine of non-interference, which even in regard to the Nizam had not long before been inculcated by the Bengal Government. The arguments upon which the resolution was formed are applicable to all similar relations, indicating the true character of subsidiary alliances as well as the difficulty and danger of their dissolution. The question of right has different aspects, according to the different positions of the contracting parties. The British Government might have the right, as it had the power, to enforce obligations which it considered essential to its own security and support; but the Nizam had an equal right to claim their abrogation, if he regarded them as non-essential to his security, repugnant to his feelings, derogatory to his character, and detrimental to the happiness and prosperity of his dominions. It was not a question of right, but of power; and, as the Subahdar of the Dekhin was no longer in a condition to assert his indepen-

<sup>1</sup> Minute of the Governor-General.

dence, he was under the necessity of submitting to whatever terms his European masters were pleased to impose.

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1807.

The Nizam was indeed thoroughly alarmed by the tone which the Resident was authorised to assume. A ready source of intimidation always exists in the minds of native princes in the indeterminate laws of succession, and the readiness with which the ties of relationship are sacrificed to the temptations of ambition. The Nizam, like the Nawab Vizir, had brothers of whom he stood in fear, and of whose promptitude to become the instruments of British vindictiveness no native courtier or politician could entertain a doubt. That he would be deposed in favour of his younger brother was the immediate suggestion of his own suspicions, and they were confirmed by the sympathising fears of his family and adherents. He therefore changed the tenor of his conduct, readily acquiesced in the conditions<sup>1</sup> to which his assent was required, promised to repose entire confidence in Mir Alem and in the Resident, and engaged to dismiss from their offices, whether of a public or personal nature, and banish from his capital, certain individuals known to be hostile to the British interest, and appoint to their duties persons in whom the Resident

<sup>1</sup> They were, the dismissal from his presence and from office of persons hostile to the minister and the British alliance; the separation of the military from the civil command on the northern frontier, and the appointment to both duties of persons in the confidence of the Resident; admittance of the Resident to an audience whenever he requested it, without any conditions; due attention to the just claims of the British Government; the communication of all petitions and statements of a public nature without reserve to the minister; and, should any difference with him arise, the question should be referred to the British Resident.—MS. Records.

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could confide. This last stipulation was not accomplished without the employment of military force for an object, and with results strikingly characteristic of the disorganised state of the native principalities, and which therefore it may be of use to describe in some detail.

The chief favourite and principal adviser of the Nizam was Raja Mahipat Ram, a Hindu, who was originally employed as Dewan, or man of business, by Monsieur Raymond the commander of the French brigades. In this situation he had formed an intimacy with the prince Sekandar Jah, and upon the dispersion of the French force was taken into his service and obtained his confidence. Upon the elevation of the prince to the throne, Mahipat Ram received the honorary title of Raja, and was appointed to the united civil and military command of the north-west or Berar frontier. His public functions he discharged by deputy, and resided at Hyderabad, the intimate associate and secret counsellor of the prince. Aspiring to the supreme direction of public affairs, he became the opponent and enemy of the prime minister, and of those by whom he was upheld. His early connexions, and the injury to his fortunes consequent upon the breaking up of Raymond's corps, had no doubt disposed him to cherish unfriendly feelings towards Mir Alem's English friends; and he may honestly have desired, however inconsiderately he may have proposed, to liberate his sovereign from dependence upon a foreign power. Whatever may have been his motives, he was known to be implacably hostile to the British alliance, and he was one of those

whose removal from the court was inflexibly insisted on. He was also dismissed from his command, and ordered to withdraw to his personal Jagir. However unpalatable to the Nizam and to his favourite, Mahipat Ram, after some ineffectual endeavours to obtain a milder doom, was compelled to retire to his feudatory estates.

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1803.

Raja Mahipat Ram was incapable of leading an inactive life, or abstaining from turbulence and intrigue. He collected a force of five thousand horse, whom he employed to dispossess some of his brother feudatories of their territories, and to levy contributions even upon the districts immediately subject to the officers of the Nizam; not, as there was good reason to suspect, without the connivance of his prince, who preferred the vexation and embarrassment of his minister to the peace of his subjects and the maintenance of his own authority. The remonstrances of the Resident compelled the Nizam at length to send a force against his vassal, but it was defeated; and Mr. Gordon, an officer who commanded one of his disciplined battalions, being wounded in the action and taken prisoner, was put to death after the engagement in the presence of the Raja. The Nizam's troops being either unable or unwilling to suppress the insurrection, it became necessary to adopt more vigorous measures; and a considerable portion of the subsidiary force<sup>1</sup>, under its commandant Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor, marched against the Raja at Shahpur, whilst other divisions moved from the north and the south

22nd Feb.  
1803.

<sup>1</sup> Five companies H. M. 33rd; two battalions N. I.; two regiments N. C.; a brigade of artillery; and a body of the Nizam's troops.



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CHAP. I.

1808.

May 23rd.

to intercept him in the event of his attempting to retire into the adjacent Mahratta districts. Unable to face the force sent against him, Mahipat Ram retreated towards Berar with the utmost expedition, and was followed by Colonel Montresor with equal celerity. The Raja contrived for three months to evade his pursuers, but with the loss of his guns, his baggage, and his infantry. His flight into Berar, where it was apprehended he would find numerous adherents, was prevented by the judicious movements of Colonel Montresor, and the advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton with a division of the subsidiary force from the frontier of that province. Thus foiled in his purpose, Mahipat Ram directed his course to Kandesh. Turning to the west he crossed the Godaveri, Tapti, and Nerbudda rivers; and threw himself into the territory of Holkar, whither his pursuers did not consider themselves authorised to follow him. The detachment under Colonel Doveton was left to guard the frontier, and the main body returned to Hyderabad. Raja Mahipat Ram was no longer formidable: he was now a mere military adventurer at the head of a party of roving horse, willing to be retained by any foreign prince by the promise of pay and the prospect of plunder. He was accordingly engaged by Holkar; but the situation of that chief, his illness, and the troubles that distracted his court, rendered the engagement of little other value than the personal protection which it afforded him.

It was still thought advisable, in order to obviate the recurrence of mischievous intrigues at Hydera-

bad, to obtain possession of the person of Mahipat Ram, and applications to that effect were made to Holkar. In reply, the Mahratta declared that it was, and had always been, the Raja's intention to proceed to Calcutta and appeal to the Governor-General against Mir Alem and the Resident, to whose personal animosity he attributed his misfortunes; professing himself ready to retire from public life and settle at Benares, if the liberality of the British Government afforded him the means. This arrangement had been proposed before his insurrection, but he was now held to have forfeited any claim to favour; and a pension, although granted to his family, was refused to himself: his unconditional surrender was demanded, with which he declined to comply. There is no reason to suppose he was sincere in his professions, as at the same time he was writing to the Nizam, offering, if his sanction were declared, to come to Hyderabad with fifty thousand horse, which he affirmed Holkar and Amir Khan were prepared to dispatch to his assistance to enable him to shake off the English yoke.

It was not in the power, if it had ever been the practice, of Holkar to observe punctuality in the payment of his soldiery; and the funds of Mahipat Ram, although assisted by secret contributions from the Nizam, soon fell short of the means of maintaining a corps of any strength. After repeated mutinies for arrears of pay, the principal part of his followers deserted him: with the remainder he attached himself to the party in Holkar's camp which after that chieftain's insanity aimed at the direction of affairs, under the guidance of Tulasí Bhai, his

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wife. The opposite faction, headed by a military leader named Dharma Koar, having acquired a temporary superiority, Mahipat Ram was ordered to quit the encampment. Delaying to obey the order, he was attacked by a party of Dharma Koar's troops at a time when his own men were dispersed : and whilst he was remonstrating against the aggression, and professing his readiness to depart, he was shot in the tumult : his head was cut off, and cast like that of a common malefactor before the threshold of Holkar's tent. It was, however, given up to the entreaties of his friends, and burnt with the body ; but his effects were confiscated, and the horses of his troopers were seized for the use of the state. Such was the fate of an individual whose influence had threatened to subvert the alliance between the Nizam and the British Government, and had endangered the tranquillity of India. He seems to have been a man of an active and enterprising character, whose chief error was embarking rashly in undertakings in which he had no possible chance of success.

The minister of the Nizam, Mir Alem, died on the 8th of January, 1809. A negociation for the nomination of a successor ensued, which was not unattended with difficulties ; the British Government professing to leave it to the Nizam, whilst stedfastly resolved to suffer no one unfriendly to its interests to exercise the administration, and the Nizam with equal insincerity pretending to defer to the wishes of the Bengal Government, whilst secretly striving to secure its acknowledgment of a favourite of his own. A compromise was at length effected. Monir ul

Mulk, the choice of the Nawab, was appointed minister under a written engagement to maintain the British connexion unimpaired; but, as he was incompetent to the duties of his office, the real administration was vested in the hands of Chandu Lal as his Peshkâr or deputy, a Hindu of experience and talent, who had been employed by Mir Alem in a similar capacity, and who, like him, was deeply impressed with the essential importance of the Resident's support, both to his own authority and to the integrity of the Nizam's dominions. The connexion with Hyderabad, after the brief interruption which has been described, was established on a firmer footing than before; and the growing habits of excess in which the Nizam indulged, as well as his natural timidity and indolence, enfeebled his own sentiments of aversion, and rendered them no longer objects of apprehension.

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A subsidiary alliance<sup>1</sup> united the Peshwa also with the British Government of India, but the connexion was distinguished by some essential differences from those which had been formed with the Mohammedan princes: it was of more recent date and less stringent obligations: the Mahratta prince retained a much larger share of independence and power, and more consistently contemplated the opportunity of ridding himself of a controul which he equally felt to be intolerable, but which he had the policy

1805.

<sup>1</sup> By this, commonly called the Treaty of Bassein, dated 31st December, 1802, the Peshwa agreed to receive a permanent subsidiary force of not less than 6000 regular infantry, with the usual proportion of field-pieces and European artillerymen; for the regular payment of which, certain districts in the Dekhin were at first assigned, but were, as already noticed, commuted for others in Bundelkhand by a supplemental treaty, December, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 233.



BOOK I. to affect to submit to with cheerfulness and satisfac-  
 CHAP. I. tion.<sup>1</sup> Baji Rao had entered into the alliance in a  
 1805. moment of despair, when no other means were open  
 to him of escaping from the violence of Holkar, but  
 the treaty was scarcely concluded when he was  
 busied in intrigues with the other Mahratta princes  
 for its infraction. The unexpected close of the  
 war with Sindhia and the Raja of Berar disap-  
 pointed his projects, the discomfiture of the con-  
 federates showed him that it was vain to expect  
 immediate release from his engagements, and his  
 next object was to turn them to his advantage :  
 there, also, he encountered various disappointments,  
 and these contributed to enhance his discontent with  
 the British Government, however veiled beneath the  
 show of cordiality and good-humour. The Court of  
 Poona entertained heavy pecuniary claims upon the  
 Gaekwar and the Nizam for arrears of tribute, or  
 for payments stipulated by treaty<sup>2</sup>: these claims the  
 British Government undertook to investigate and  
 adjust, but the accounts were long and complicated,  
 and the equity of the demand not unfrequently

<sup>1</sup> For a time he appears to have imposed upon the Government of Bengal; as the satisfaction which he expressed was one of the arguments employed by Sir G. Barlow against the modifications of the treaty of Bassein, proposed by the Secret Committee.—Malcolm, *Political History of India*, i. 380.

<sup>2</sup> The amount of the demand upon the Gaekwar was nearly three millions sterling; upon the Nizam about six hundred thousand pounds. As an instructive illustration of the nature of such claims, and the unfailing source of dispute which they furnished to the native states of India, the Peshwa's account with the Gaekwar is particularised in the Appendix. It is clear that such an account never could be settled, and that it provided a permanent plea of quarrel whenever the creditor thought himself strong enough to insist upon a partial payment, another name for a contribution; or whenever the debtor, in the same belief of his power, thought fit to demand an abatement of the claim. The ascendancy of an umpire whose award is not to be disputed has put an end to all such grounds of contention.

questionable. The investigation proceeded slowly, and adjustment was deferred until the patience of the Peshwa was exhausted, and he felt as a grievance that interposition which barred his attempting to realise at least a portion of his demands by a more summary process. Another subject of grievance was the decided refusal of the Government to allow the Peshwa to use the subsidiary force as an instrument for the establishment of an unprecedented controul over some of his feudatories, and for their forcible expulsion from their Jagirs: this was especially the case with regard to Parasuram Srinivás, the Pratinidhi or principal hereditary noble of the Mahratta state, between whom and Baji Rao an inveterate feud had for some time subsisted.<sup>1</sup> The Peshwa advanced also unfounded pecuniary claims upon portions of Bundelkhand not included in the cessions he had made to the British; and demanded arrears of Chouth, the Mahratta tribute, from the independent Rajas of the province, as well as from the rulers of Jhansi, Kalpi, and Ságar, which his relations with the British, that prevented him from engaging in hostilities or entering into negociation with other princes without their participation, disabled him from asserting in the manner most agreeable to Mahratta policy. He likewise claimed a share of the contributions extorted by Holkar and Sindhia from the princes of Rajputana; and, attributing the difficulty of realising these demands to the non-appointment of such a representative in Hindustan as had been charged with the interests of the Peshwa anterior to the

BOOK I.  
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1807.

<sup>1</sup> History of the Mahrattas, iii. 341.

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1807.

date of the British connexion, he was urgent with his allies to sanction the revival of the office of Sir-subha, or Peshwa's representative, in which character he proposed to send one of his principal officers into Bundelkhand. To this proposition an unqualified refusal was given, as it was obviously designed to replace the Peshwa in the position of titular head of the Mahratta confederacy, and to renew that system of combination which it had been the especial object of the treaty of Bassein to overturn. The nomination of an officer who should be acknowledged by Sindhia and Holkar as the Peshwa's delegate was also an infringement of the stipulation in the treaties with those princes, as well as with the Peshwa, by which internegotiation of a political tendency was prohibited. The British Government, therefore, required the Peshwa to desist from the appointment of a Sir-subha, offering at the same time to mediate between him and the chiefs of Bundelkhand for the recovery of his just demands. The firm opposition made by Sir G. Barlow to this insidious project, in which it was ascertained that both Sindhia and Holkar had secretly concurred, inflicted upon Baji Rao severe disappointment and mortification. He professed, indeed, to place entire confidence in the wisdom and friendship of his allies, but it was evident that little reliance on his sincerity could be entertained; nor were positive proofs wanting of his being concerned in negotiations incompatible with the spirit and letter of his engagements to the British;<sup>1</sup> and it

<sup>1</sup> The villages taken from Sindhia, and transferred to the Peshwa, after the war had been secretly suffered to remain in the possession of the

was obvious that his conviction of the impossibility of forming an effective combination against their power, alone deterred him from new intrigues calculated to disturb the existing relations and endanger the tranquillity of India. The other members of the Mahratta confederacy were not in a situation favourable to their co-operation in his designs.

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The bonds of union with the Gaekwar or Mahratta ruler of Guzerat were of the most intimate description; and the maintenance of his authority, his very existence as a political power, depended entirely upon the assistance and support of his English allies. The contest for the occupation of Guzerat, adverted to in a former page, terminated in the acknowledgment of Fattih Sing.<sup>1</sup> Upon his death, in 1793, Govind Rao was recognised by the Government of Poona as Raja. He died in 1800, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Anand Rao, a prince of weak intellect and indolent disposition, who was incapable of conducting an efficient administration. A struggle for the management of affairs ensued. Kanhoji Rao, the eldest illegitimate son of Govind Rao, a bold and ambitious young man, at first secured to himself and his partisans all

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former. The nomination of a Sir-subba, as mentioned in the text, was with the private concurrence of Sindhia and Holkar. When a quarrel had ensued between those two chiefs after the return of the latter to Hindustan, an envoy was sent by the Peshwa to mediate between them. As this was a palpable infraction of the treaty of Bassein, Baji Rao was called upon for an explanation. He at once disavowed his agent, and, in proof of his fidelity to his engagements, produced what were also evidences of his intercourse with the other chiefs, letters from Holkar and Sindhia declaratory of their desire to renew their subordination to the Poona Government. Baji Rao at the same time pretended a conviction that, although these proposals might have for their object the advantage of the writers, it was for his own advantage to adhere to the terms of the subsidiary alliance.—MS. Records; also Hist. of the Mahrattas, iii. 333.

<sup>1</sup> iii. 602.



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the principal offices of the state; but after a short time he was dispossessed of them by one to whom the authority could be more safely and beneficially entrusted, Raoji Appa, who had been the minister of Govind Rao, a man of ability whose exercise of authority was not incompatible with the continuation of Anand Rao as titular sovereign. Kanhoji had recourse to Mulhar Rao, a cousin of his late father, who held an extensive Jagir under the Gaekwar, and was a chief of talent and enterprise. Raoji Appa, unable to oppose this combination, made urgent application to the Government of Bombay for the formation of a subsidiary alliance. The proposal was acceded to, and Major Walker, with a military detachment, was sent to his succour.<sup>1</sup> Mulhar Rao and Kanhoji were defeated: the former declared his submission to the new order of things; but Kanhoji kept aloof, and for some time devastated the country at the head of a predatory body of horse. He was ultimately routed by a British division under Major Holmes, and driven out of Guzerat. Raoji Appa retained the functions of prime minister and virtual ruler undisturbed, and Major Walker was appointed Resident at Baroda, the capital of the Gaekwar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By the agreement entered into, the Gaekwar engaged to pay for the expenses of the military assistance granted to him, and for a permanent force to be furnished by the Company; and to cede in perpetuity the Perguana of Chikli in the dependencies of Surat, with his share of the chouth or contribution levied on that city. These engagements were confirmed by a formal treaty in June, 1802. It was also provided that an assignment of territory should be made to the Company of the estimated annual revenue of 7,80,000 rupees, for the maintenance of 2000 native infantry; and, as the number was subsequently raised to 3000, with a company of European artillery, other lands were made over by a treaty dated in April, 1805, yielding with the former a total revenue of 11,70,000 rupees.—*Coll. of Treaties*, pp. 565-594, and schedule A. p. 601.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of the Mahr.* iii. 216.

When tranquillity was re-established, and opportunity was afforded for an inquiry into the condition of the Gaekwar's affairs, it was found that they were so irretrievably involved, that it was indispensably necessary, if it were thought desirable to continue the connexion, to extend the assistance to be afforded beyond military support, and to prop the rapidly declining resources of the principality with the funds and credit of the British Government. The annual disbursements greatly exceeded the annual receipts of the public treasury;<sup>1</sup> the revenues were intercepted by appropriations and mortgages, the fruits of former improvidence; heavy debts, bearing a ruinous rate of interest, were owing to the bankers and monied men; and long arrears of pay were due to the troops, the discharge of which was a necessary preliminary to their dismissal, and consequent diminution of public expenditure. The additional burthen imposed upon the state by the subsidy to be paid to the British force was quite incapable of being sustained; and it was evident not only that the engagement could not be fulfilled, but that national insolvency, general confusion and distress, and the dissolution of the Gaekwar's power, were unavoidable, unless vigorous means were promptly employed to administer present relief and ensure future amelioration. Fortunately the Resident was endowed with more than ordinary abilities, industry, energy, and judgment; enjoyed the unreserved confidence of his own Government; and speedily commanded the same implicit credit

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<sup>1</sup> The revenue of Guzerat was estimated at 50 lakhs of rupees per annum; the expenditure exceeded 82 lakhs.—MS. Rec.

BOOK I. with the Gaekwar, his minister, his chief officers,  
 CHAP. I. and the monied and commercial members of the  
 1803. community.<sup>1</sup>

The first measure of reduced expenditure that was adopted, was, the discharge of the Gaekwar's troops, the need of whom was superseded by the subsidiary force; but for this purpose it was requisite to pay the arrears due to them, and the funds were to be raised. The British Government agreed to advance part of the sum required for this object, and to guarantee repayment of the remainder to opulent individuals, who, under that security, were willing to furnish what was requisite. The advances in both cases were to be liquidated out of assignments of territory, the revenues of which were to be collected and accounted for by the Company.<sup>2</sup> The money was supplied, but the

<sup>1</sup> This is strikingly expressed in the counterpart of the treaty of 1805, written by the Gaekwar himself, anticipating the possibility of his falling into the hands of his rebellious subjects or mutinous troops. He enjoins that, "in such a situation, his subjects will pay no attention to his orders, but hear what Major Walker has to say, strictly following his instructions." And the document concludes with these provisions: "Conformably to Major Walker's suggestions and wishes, the articles contained in this declaration were written, and to them I have given my assent; but in the event of any evil-disposed persons attempting anything unfair or unreasonable against my person, my Dewan, Raoji Appaji, his son, his brother, nephew, or relations, and Madhu Rao Tántia Mazamdar, or even should I myself, or my successors, commit anything improper or unjust, the English Government shall interfere, and see in either case that it is settled according to equity and reason. I have also required of Major Walker on the part of the Company to promise that my state and government shall be permanent, and shall descend to the lineal heirs of the Musnud, and that the Dewanship shall be preserved to Raoji Appaji. In the last place, I desire to form the most intimate connexion with the Company, and that all business with the Poona Durbar may be jointly managed by the English Resident and my Vakeel. Given at Baroda, 28th July, 1802. (Signed) Anand Rao, Gaekwar; Sena-khás-khel, Shamsheer Bahadur."—*Coll. of Treaties*, p. 569. These may have been the sentiments of the minister rather than of the Raja, but they were generally consistent with the conduct of Anand Rao.

<sup>2</sup> The amount required was 41,38,000 rupees (£413,800), of which the British Government advanced 19,67,000 rupees (£196,700): the rest was

reduction of the troops was not effected by pecuniary means alone.

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The most efficient portion of the Gaekwar's army consisted of a body of about seven thousand Arabs, a description of mercenaries whom it was formerly a frequent practice in the Peninsula to engage, and who bore a high reputation for fidelity and courage, but were equally characterised by turbulence and rapacity. These troops formed the garrison of Baroda, and were extremely averse to the loss of pay and privileges with which they were threatened. In order to evade their dismissal, they advanced the most extravagant demands, and, seizing upon the capital and person of the Gaekwar, refused to set him at liberty unless their claims were satisfied. Major Walker having endeavoured in vain to bring them to reasonable terms, Baroda was invested by the subsidiary force under Colonel Woodington, strengthened by a European regiment from Bombay. The Arabs defended themselves with spirit, and inflicted some loss on their assailants; but, after a siege of ten days, a practicable breach having been made in the walls, they capitulated on the promise that all arrears justly due to them should be paid, and they engaged in that event to disband and leave the country.

This transaction, and the flight of Kanhoji, restored tranquillity to Guzerat, and enabled the minister and the Resident to proceed without in-

provided by different Saráfs or bankers at Baroda under the Company's Bhándári—a general assurance that they should be repaid, not an absolute surety for repayment. An annual territorial revenue of 12,95,000 rupees was appropriated to the liquidation of the principal, with interest at nine per cent. per annum until the whole should be redeemed.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 601.



BOOK I. interruption in their projects of reform. Raoji Appa  
CHAP. I. died in January, 1803, and was succeeded in his  
1806. office of Dewan by his nephew Sitarám, who pro-  
fessed the same principles, and for a time pursued  
the same policy, as his uncle. The reduction of  
the expenditure proved however no easy task, as  
extravagance and dishonesty pervaded every de-  
partment, and little reliance could be placed upon  
the co-operation of the servants of the state, who  
were themselves the chief plunderers and default-  
ers. Sitarám soon became weary of a duty so  
troublesome and unpopular, and lent himself to  
the prevailing practice of profusion; so that the  
whole labour and odium fell upon the Resident.  
He was ably assisted by Gangadhar Sastri, an ac-  
countant in his employment, who acquired at a  
subsequent date a melancholy celebrity in the po-  
litical history of the Peninsula, as we shall have  
occasion to relate. The Resident was also firmly  
supported by the bankers and public creditors, who  
had a deep personal interest in the success of his  
proceedings.

The avowed exercise of British controul over the  
internal administration of the Gaekwar, which com-  
menced under the authority of Marquis Wellesley,  
was continued on the same footing by Sir G. Bar-  
low, although an admitted departure from his policy  
of non-interference. "The peculiar situation," he  
observed "of the affairs of the Gaekwar state, and  
the circumstances under which our connexion with  
that state has been established, and has become in a  
manner interwoven with its internal concerns, dis-  
tinguish our relations with Baroda from those which

subsidist with the other powers of India, although the general political relations and obligations are the same. The interference, therefore, which we are called upon to exercise, cannot be considered to constitute a deviation from those principles of policy which in our intercourse with other allies preclude our interference in the management of their internal concerns. It is evident that the alternative of our interference for the reform of the affairs of the Gaekwar is not merely the loss of the advantages to be derived from the efficacy of the alliance, but the positive dangers to which the certain ruin of the state would expose our most essential interests in that quarter of the Peninsula." These observations were undoubtedly just, but the spirit which they evince was eminently selfish, and no consideration of the benefit accruing to the Gaekwar was allowed to influence the maintenance of the connexion.

At the same time that the right and policy of interference were thus explicitly recognised, the economical timidity of the Bengal Government suspended the execution of a measure recommended by the Resident as essential to the realisation of the resources of Guzerat,—the enforced levy of the tribute due to the Gaekwar by his tributaries in Kattiwar. The obvious necessity, however, of rendering this source of legitimate revenue productive, and the expectation that a judicious display of the British power might prevent serious opposition, overcame the reluctance of the Governor-General; and a military detachment under the command of the Resident undertook the performance of the

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BOOK I. Mulkigiri, or periodical collection of tribute by the  
CHAP. I. march of troops through the province.

1807. Although correctly applicable to one division only, that occupied by the Katti tribe, the term Kattiwar designates the whole of the peninsula of Guzerat. The country was distributed amongst various tribes, of whom the Rajputs and Kattis were the most remarkable: subject to a number of petty chieftains of various degrees of power, and possessing domains differing in extent and value; sometimes connected with their neighbours by affinity of descent, but all equally independent in their own lordships; exercising the privilege of private war, and paying little more than nominal obedience to the paramount sovereign; presenting, in many respects, a resemblance to the kingdoms of Europe during the worst periods of baronial anarchy. The province had been regarded as tributary successively to the Mohammedan Kings of Guzerat, to the Mogul, and to the Mahrattas; but the tribute was never spontaneously paid, and its collection was only to be effected by a military progress amongst the states. Nor was this method always attended by success. The army of the Peshwa, or of the Gaekwar, even when amounting to twenty thousand horse, was not unfrequently resisted. The Rajas shut themselves up in their forts or castles, and from their battlements mocked the movements of cavalry. The villages, fortified by mud walls, impenetrable hedges, and the martial spirit of the population, were equally inaccessible; and the invaders were obliged to content themselves with laying the open country waste. Nor were they suffered to

carry off with impunity such plunder as they might have gathered; hordes of Katti and Rajput horse hovered round their advance and harassed their retreat, and the expedition not unusually terminated in disaster and disgrace.

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The diminished power and impaired resources of the Gaekwar had for several years prevented even such attempts at military coercion, and tribute accordingly had ceased. The spirit that now animated the counsels of the Government, and the means at its disposal, no longer permitted the chiefs of Kattiwar to resist its rightful demands with impunity. Having therefore received the sanction of his superiors, Major Walker marched with a division of the subsidiary force to Gotu, in the district of Murvi, to which place the several chieftains had been previously directed to send their representatives: the greater number complied with the requisition: the right of the Gaekwar's Government to levy a tribute was universally admitted, but it was not until after many attempts at delay and evasion that a settlement was accomplished, and the chiefs consented to pay the amount regularly, without waiting for the Mulk giri process of coercion. The sum of nine lakhs and a half of rupees was promised in perpetuity, and security was given for a term of ten years, renewable at its expiration. The security was characteristic. The sureties were persons boasting neither rank nor wealth, but who derived from the usages of the country inviolable sanctity, and were entitled to implicit trust. They were selected from the tribe of Chárans or Bháts, the hereditary bards, genealogists, and chroniclers of the

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principal Hindu races of the West of India, whose sacredness of person had been received as a substitute for law in a condition of society which, whilst it felt the necessity of social obligations, could submit to none of the human restraints by which they are maintained and enforced. Superstition supplied the defect. The Cháran, if his pledge was violated, murdered himself or some member of his family; and the retribution for blood was believed to fall upon the head of him by whose default he had been impelled to make the sacrifice. The dread of such a destiny was generally of power to deter the least scrupulous from the violation of an engagement so guaranteed.<sup>1</sup> In some instances, additional securities were entered into by chiefs and persons of influence; and the rights of the Gaekwar, then established in Kattiwar, have never since been the subject of any serious contest. At the same time, the chiefs and people of the principal sea-ports of

<sup>1</sup> The following illustration of this usage is narrated by Lient. Macmurdo:—"In the year 1806, a Bhat of Veweingann, named Kunna, had become security on the part of Dossajee, the present chieftain of Mallia in Mnchoo-kanta, for a sum of money payable to the Gaekwar Government: the time specified for payment arrived, and Dossajee refused to fulfill his engagement. Government applied to the snrety, who, after several fruitless attempts to persuade Dossajee to comply with his bond, returned to his house, and, after passing some time in prayer, assembled his family and desired his wife to prepare a daughter, about seven years of age, for *traga*. The innocent child, taught from her earliest infancy to reflect on the sacred character and divine origin of her family, and the necessity which existed for the sacrifice, required no compulsion to follow the path by which the honour of her caste was to be preserved. Having bathed, and dressed herself in her best clothes, she knelt with her head on her father's knee, and, holding aside her long hair, she resigned herself without a struggle to the sword of this unnatural barbarian. The blood of a Bhat being sprinkled on the gate of the chieftain produced an instantaneous payment of the money: presents of land to the father, and a handsome mausoleum or *doree* to the daughter, marked the desire of the Rajput to avert the punishment supposed to await the spiller of a Cháran's blood."—Trans. Literary Society of Bombay, i. 281.

the Peninsula, all of whom were in the habit of committing piratical depredations on native commerce, were called upon to renounce piracy, to relinquish their claim to vessels wrecked on their coasts, to allow the free resort of merchant-ships from the territories of the Company or their allies, and to assent to the permanent residence of a commercial agent at their principal harbours. They generally acceded to these stipulations.<sup>1</sup>

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The only active military operation which it became necessary to undertake was designed to adjust a difference between two chiefs of some consideration, and to demonstrate the ability as well as the determination of the Government of Guzerat to compel obedience. A body of Makránis, or mercenaries, natives of Mekran, in the service of the Raja of Purbandar, mutinying for arrears of pay, seized upon the fort of Kandorna belonging to the Raja, and sold it to a rival chief, the Jam of Noanagar. This transaction occurred after the arrival of the Resident and Gaekwar's minister in the province, and was held to be contempt of the superior authority, as well as disregard of private rights. The Jam was desired to restore the fortress; and, as he refused to comply with the requisition, the detachment marched against the place: batteries were erected, and in the course of a day, two practicable breaches being effected, the troops were drawn out for the assault, when the garrison surrendered. Kandorna had formerly sustained successfully a siege

<sup>1</sup> The sea-ports were Dhangi, Bate, Dwaraka, Amramra, Positra, Jooria, and Noanagar on the north coast, and different parts of Junagerh on the south. For the stipulations with them severally, and with other of the Kattiwar principalities, see Coll. of Treaties, pp. 602, &c.

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of three months by the Gaekwar's army, and was looked upon by the people as impregnable. Its capture on the present occasion in so short a time impressed the native chiefs with a deep conviction of the uselessness of opposition to the British arms, and produced a sensible effect upon the progress of the negociations.

The expedition into Kattiwar was considered as affording a favourable opportunity for asserting authority of a different description, and vindicating the outraged claims of natural affection. The Jhareja Rajputs of the province, and of the neighbouring principality of Cutch, were notorious for the murder of their female infants. Preferring the death of a daughter to a matrimonial alliance with an inferior race, and looking upon most races as inferior, precluded by custom from marrying her to a husband of her own tribe, the Jharejas believed it to be more humane to nip the flower in the bud, than to await the risk of its being blighted in maturer growth. A female child was almost invariably put to death as soon as born. The Government of Bombay had for some time past been anxious to eradicate this cruel and unnatural practice;<sup>1</sup> and Colonel Walker was instructed to endeavour to obtain from the chiefs a declaration of its incompatibility with the Hindu religion as well as with the laws of humanity, and a promise that they

<sup>1</sup> The head of the Bombay Government, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, had encountered, when Governor-General's agent at Benares, a similar custom among the Rajkumars, a Rajput tribe established in that province, and had succeeded in obtaining from them an engagement to abstain from the commission of the crime; this was in 1789.—Papers on Female Infanticide, printed by order of the House of Commons, 17th June, 1824, p. 22; the engagement is also printed, *ibid.* p. 8.

would desist from its perpetration. The negociation was a subject of some delicacy; but the Resident by the weight of his character, and a judicious employment of the influence with which the situation and interests of the several chiefs invested him, overcame all difficulties, and carried the instructions of the Government into effect. An engagement was signed by all the principal chiefs for themselves and their fraternities, by which they pledged themselves to renounce the usage of killing their female children, to expel from their caste any person who should be guilty of the crime, and to submit to any penalties which the Gaekwar's Government and the British Resident should inflict for breach of the obligation.<sup>1</sup> For some time they seem to have adhered to the terms of the engagement, but the Resident and the Government were somewhat too sanguine in their belief that female infanticide was suppressed in Guzerat. It was not possible that the illusions of deep-rooted prejudice and long-established custom should instantly vanish before the voice of humanity and reason; and fear of punishment, the only agent of adequate power to work so sudden a change, could exercise but little controul where the detection of an offence committed in the impenetrable secrecy of domestic privacy was obviously almost impracticable. Accordingly, at a long subsequent date, there were grounds for believing that the crime was almost as common as it had been before the interposition of the British Government.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Report of his proceedings by Colonel Walker, 15th March, 1808.—Parl. Papers, 31.

<sup>2</sup> In 1817, there were but sixty-three Jhareja females living in all Katti-



BOOK I. sentiments of that Government have, however, been  
 CHAP. I. sufficiently made known to insure its marked dis-

1807. favour to any chief suspected of violating the spirit of the original contract; and a sense of individual interest, with improved principles of action, manners softened by the continuance of tranquillity, and extended intellectual cultivation, must ultimately effect the extinction of a practice which is not more inconsistent with reason than repugnant to natural instinct.<sup>1</sup>

The adjustment of the Kattiwar tribute tended materially to facilitate the improvement of the Gaekwar's finances, but their final settlement was retarded by the aversion which the new minister exhibited to the economical measures of the Resident, and the secret counteraction which he countenanced or practised. It became necessary, therefore, to re-model the administration. Sitarám was removed from the office of Dewan, the duties of which were assigned to his uncle, Baba Rao; whilst a general controuling and sanctioning authority was vested in Fatih Sing Gaekwar, the younger brother of the reigning prince, and heir to the throne. These ministers, holding their appointments by the tenure of the Resident's approbation, co-operated cordially with him, and results the most beneficial were speedily attained. In place of the seemingly hopeless condition of the public finances when the process of reform was commenced, when the expenditure nearly

war, born subsequently to the engagement with Colonel Walker.—*Parl. Papers*, 110. In a village called Draffa, containing four hundred families, there was not a single female child.—*Ibid.* 112.

<sup>1</sup> Note by Mr. Elphinstone when Governor of Bombay.—*Ibid.* 116.

doubled the receipts, the revenue of the Gaekwar was raised in the course of six years to sixty-five lakhs of rupees, and his expenses were reduced to fifty lakhs, leaving a surplus of fifteen lakhs applicable to the liquidation of his debts: perseverance in the same system for about a similar period was expected to ensure his liberation from pecuniary embarrassment, and the full command of all his resources.<sup>1</sup> The connexion which the Gaekwar had formed with the British had been attended therefore with unequivocal benefit to that prince, and, at the period at which we have arrived, was distinguished above all the existing subsidiary alliances, by implicit confidence, intimate union, and mutual satisfaction.<sup>2</sup>

The other Mahratta states, although they had acceded to relations of amity, had declined a closer alliance and the engagement of subsidiary troops. The most friendly chief amongst them was the Raja of Berar. A British Resident was admitted at his court, and exercised considerable influence in his counsels. Some of his ministers also were, with his knowledge and concurrence, in the receipt of pensions from the Government of Bengal, as compensation for private losses suffered from the late war. The Raja was, however, not altogether contented with his allies. His dominions had been heavily mulcted for his share in the recent hostilities.<sup>3</sup> He had been compelled to cede part of

<sup>1</sup> MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Walker left Baroda on account of ill-health in the beginning of 1809. He returned for a short time at the pressing solicitation of the Government of Bengal to superintend proceedings relating to the affairs of Cutch, but finally quitted India in 1810.

<sup>3</sup> By the treaty of Deogaum, 17th December, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, 261.

BOOK I. Berar to the Nizam, and the province of Cuttack  
CHAP. I. to the Company, and he contrasted the penalties  
1807. that had been inflicted on him with the undeserved  
forbearance which the British Government had  
shown to Sindhia and Holkar, notwithstanding the  
more prominent part which they had taken in the  
operations of the war, and the more inveterate ani-  
mosity which they had manifested. He claimed,  
therefore, at least equally favourable treatment, and  
a similar restoration of his dismembered territories;  
and in justification of his expectations he pleaded  
an implied promise of Lord Cornwallis, who, in a  
letter addressed to the Raja, had assured him of his  
“intention of compensating his losses to the utmost  
practicable extent consistent with equity and public  
faith.” The letter was unquestionably authentic,  
and the tenor was sufficiently obvious, although the  
expressions were vague: a liberal interpretation of  
them would have replaced the Raja in possession of  
Cuttack, if not of Berar; but, as this would have  
been inconvenient, it was necessary to explain away  
the precipitate generosity of the noble writer. It  
was argued with some plausibility that it would be  
inconsistent with equity and public faith to resume  
the lands ceded to the Nizam, and it was main-  
tained with less show of reason that it would be  
equally incompatible with justice to the British  
Government of India to deprive it of Cuttack. Ra-  
goji Bhonsla’s notions of justice were somewhat at  
variance with those of the Governor-General, and  
he not unnaturally demurred to the decision of a  
judge who sat in judgment on his own cause, and  
pronounced sentence in his own favour. He was

obliged to submit, but he acquiesced unwillingly. To fulfil in some degree the purpose of restitution intimated by Lord Cornwallis, it was proposed to cede to the Raja a tract of little extent or value west of the Wardá river, and the more considerable district of Sambhalpur on the east of Berar. The Raja declined to accept the former: the latter became, after a season, an unwilling and unprofitable dependency of Nágpur. Its cession was scarcely compatible with a strict observance of the obligations contracted with the people of the province when it came into British possession.

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The countries of Sambhalpur and Patna, forming an extensive tract, were, for the greater part, overrun with jungle; but they afforded support to a scanty population scattered about in detached villages, and subject to the authority of a number of petty Rajput chiefs, loosely connected by affinity or allegiance, but not unfrequently disunited and at variance. The Mahratta Rajas of Nagpur had availed themselves of the opportunity offered by the dissensions of the chiefs to interpose, and set up a claim of supremacy and exact payment of tribute; but they had never been able to establish any recognised influence or authority. The principle of the Mulk giri of Kattiwar was therefore here also in practice: a body of troops was sent every third year into the province, which plundered the villages and devastated the fields, until its retreat was purchased by the payment of the sum demanded. This system of extortion, and the cruelty and spoliation with which it was enforced, had rendered the Mahrattas detested alike by chiefs and people, and they cor-



BOOK I. dially welcomed and assisted the British division,  
 CHAP. I. which, in the late war, was sent in their direction.

1807. On that occasion they had readily promised allegiance to the British Government, on condition that they should be permanently retained amongst its subjects. As, however, little advantage to the resources of the Company's dominions was to be expected from so poor a dependency, the pledge given to its inhabitants was disregarded, and it was resolved to consign them again to their Mahratta oppressors. With a show of attention to its engagements, the British Government, at the same time that it announced to the chiefs its determination to relinquish its occupation of the country, pretended to ask their consent to the transfer; offering to grant to those who might prefer the abandonment of their homes to submission to the Mahrattas, waste lands in the adjacent province of Cuttack.

The determination of the British Government to abandon them filled the people of Sambhalpur and Patna with consternation, and they protested against the measure in the most earnest and affecting terms.<sup>1</sup> Their remonstrances were unavailing; and, after some negociation, they were prevailed upon to promise acceptance of the offer of compensation elsewhere, and agreed to quit the country within a given period, for the settlement which was proposed to them in Cuttack. When the time assigned for

<sup>1</sup> A notion prevailed amongst the people that the province was ceded by the British Government in consequence of financial embarrassments. The head men of the villages thereupon assembled, waited upon Captain Roughsedge the commissioner, and offered on the part of their respective communities to make a free gift to him of half, or, if that were insufficient, of a still larger proportion of their property of every description, if the sacrifice would prevent their being abandoned.—MS. Records.

their emigration arrived, natural attachment to their native soil and the homes of their forefathers overcame their hatred and dread of the Mahrattas, and they refused to move, declaring it to be their resolution to remain upon their paternal lands, and defend them as they best might from the grasp of the spoiler. Advantage was immediately taken of their change of purpose: their tergiversation was held to exonerate the Bengal Government from the obligations of perpetual protection or equivalent compensation, and the recusants were abandoned to their fate.<sup>1</sup> One chief alone, Jujar Sing of Raigerh, allowed his allies no such pretext to shuffle off their responsibility: he had consistently refused to be a party to the agreement to leave the country, and declared himself resolved rather to suffer any extremities, leaving to the British Government the odium of a breach of faith. They were, therefore, obliged to except Raigerh from the cessions to

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<sup>1</sup> It is stated in a work which is in general of good authority, the Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. p. 312, "that Sambhalpur and Patna were restored to the Raja of Berar by General Wellesley, in ignorance of the intention of the Bengal Government to keep them as tributary dependencies; that many attempts were made to induce the Raja to forego the concession, and accept an equivalent; and that it was only upon finding him adhere pertinaciously to the promised restoration, that the Government consented at last to relinquish the provinces; at the same time, in order to reconcile the people to the proceeding, they were told, that, should events again bring them under British rule, they should become permanently subject to it." The statement does not seem to be correct. In the treaty of Deogaum, the 10th article confirms all treaties made by the British Government with the feudatories of the Raja; and the stipulation applies especially to the agreements with the Rajas of Sambhalpur and Patna, in which they had conditioned that they should remain permanently under British authority. Their districts were ceded to Nagpur by Sir G. Barlow in August, 1806, by a formal engagement, in the preamble of which it is stated that the Governor-General agrees to restore all the territory of Sambhalpur and Patna which was ceded by the Raja to the Company. It is clear, therefore, that up to the date of this restoration the provinces had been held by the Company; and no claim to them by the Raja, founded on a promise by General Wellesley, could have been preferred or recognised.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 261. 300.

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Nagpur; but they accompanied the exception with strict injunctions to the Raja to avoid giving offence to the Government of Berar, on pain of forfeiting his claim to British support. A Mahratta force was sent against the other Rajas, which, with some trouble, and more by treachery than force of arms, reduced them to obedience.<sup>1</sup> At a subsequent era, and under a different system of policy, Sambhalpur was finally reannexed to the Presidency of Bengal.

Although deeply disappointed and annoyed by the refusal of the Bengal Government to understand the letter of Lord Cornwallis in the sense in which he interpreted it, the Raja of Nagpur was not in a position to resent its conduct or dispense with its friendship. He was pressed for large pecuniary payments by Sindhia and by Holkar: the latter threatened to exact the discharge of his demands, at the head of an army, and the threat was subsequently carried into act by Holkar's colleague, Amir Khan. Instigated also by other Mahratta princes and the Nawab of Bhopal, with whom the Court of Nagpur was at enmity, and impelled by their own habits of plunder, the confederated marauding bands known by the designation of Pindaris committed constant depredations on the

<sup>1</sup> The fort of Sambhalpur was at the time of the cession in the hands of the Rani, the Raja being detained a prisoner at Nagpur. Finding himself unable to carry the place by force, the Mahratta general pledged his Government in the most solemn manner to release the Raja and acknowledge his authority, on the Rani consenting to a moderate tribute. Having thus thrown her off her guard, he took advantage of her confidence, in the course of the negotiations that followed, to surprise the fort before any defence could be offered. The Rani fled with a few followers; and having with great difficulty, and after much fatigue and suffering, escaped into the British territory, protection and a small monthly pension were granted her. She was one of those who at first entertained the proposal to emigrate into Cuttack, but who shrunk from its accomplishment.—MS. Records.

frontiers of Berar, and on more than one occasion pillaged the country even in the vicinity of the capital. Ragoji Bhonsla and his ministers were well aware that his only security against the aggressions of his countrymen was the British alliance, and they were careful, therefore, to maintain it unimpaired. The connexion added to the strength and reputation of the British Government, as it was obvious to all the native states, that the most ancient and respectable branch of the Mahratta confederacy was indebted for all the political consideration which it retained, to the friendly relations established between it and the British power, unincumbered by a subsidiary treaty, and not incompatible with its independence.

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Of all the Mahratta princes engaged in hostilities with the British, Dowlat Rao Sindhia had suffered the severest military and political inflictions. The organised battalions which had rendered him irresistible to the native powers, and formidable to his European adversary, had been almost annihilated;<sup>1</sup> and, although much of the territory conquered from him on the west of the Jumna had been restored, he had been deprived of extensive tracts in Hindustan, and of all the reputation and authority he derived from the guardianship of the Emperor of

<sup>1</sup> The regular infantry brigades in Sindhia's service at the beginning of the war consisted of seventy-two battalions, forming a disciplined force of 43,000 men in a highly respectable state of efficiency, with a large proportion of field artillery.—Malcolm's Central India, i. 138. After the war they were reduced to two brigades, under the commands severally of a Frenchman named Baptiste, and an Armenian of the name of Jacob; their discipline and organisation were greatly impaired.—Letters from a Mahratta Camp. There were other bodies of troops under native leaders, but they were of a still more imperfect and irregular description.—Prinsep, Transactions in India, i. 26.



BOOK I. Delhi. He was precluded by positive engagements,  
CHAP. I. as well as by his fear of the consequences of their  
 1807. infringement, from seeking to re-establish his ascen-  
 dancy in the Mahratta confederation; and the sole  
 object of his now humbled policy was to obtain  
 money, on various pretexts, from the British Go-  
 vernment, and from the neighbouring states.

The equivocal behaviour of Sindhia in the interval that elapsed between the treaty formed with him in 1803, and that with Holkar in 1805, virtually annulled the existing engagements, and rendered their renewal necessary. A new treaty was accordingly entered into with him, by which some of the stipulations of that of Sirji Anjangaum were abrogated, others confirmed.<sup>1</sup> The intercourse that ensued in the period immediately following had principally for its object the fulfilment of the stipulations then provided: it did little credit to either of the contracting parties, turning mainly upon matters of pecuniary interest, in which it was the aim of the Mahratta to get as much, and of the Governor-General to give as little, as possible. The disputes were characteristic.

The treaty of Sirji Anjangaum permitted Sindhia to hold within the British possessions certain districts granted him in Jagir by the King of Delhi;

<sup>1</sup> In the engagement now concluded, no notice was taken of the subsidiary treaty to which Sindhia had acceded in 1804. It might, therefore, be considered as virtually cancelled. It was in fact altogether nugatory. The force to be furnished by the British Government was not to be paid by the Raja, nor was it to be stationed in his territory. The arrangement amounted to no more than an agreement to furnish Sindhia with a body of troops whenever he should require them, if the purpose for which he required them was approved of by the Government of Bengal. It was very little probable that the latter would often give their sanction to Sindhia's military policy, and as little likely therefore that he would apply for troops. He never did make the application, and the treaty was a nullity.

and it secured to members of his family, and to some of his chief officers, compensation for lands held by them in the Doab before the war, either by a grant of similar Jagirs or of equivalent pensions, provided that the whole amount of revenue so alienated did not exceed the annual sum of seventeen lakhs of rupees. By the final treaty, Sindhia agreed to relinquish, from the 1st of January, 1805, pensions to the amount of fifteen lakhs of rupees a year. The Jagirs to individuals were continued, not merely as compensation for loss, but avowedly as bribes to purchase their voices for peace; or, as it was officially expressed, "to secure the support of influential officers in the councils of Sindhia, whose interests being affected by a war, they would oppose its occurrence." The same engagement contracted for a pension to the Maharaja himself of four lakhs of rupees a year, and a Jagir of two lakhs to his wife, and of one to his daughter. The Jagirs were eventually commuted to pensions, which lapsed with the death of the pensioners. These grants and commutations were the subjects of long and sometimes angry discussion.

Another contested item was the balance of an account between Sindhia and the Company, in which the former claimed arrears of pension, and of revenue collections for two years prior to 1805; which the latter admitted to a limited extent, but met with a counter-claim for the public and private property plundered from the British Residency in 1804, and for monies advanced and charges of collection. The sum claimed by Sindhia was nearly twenty-four lakhs of rupees; that demanded by the

BOOK I. Company, nearly twenty-seven lakhs. They agreed,  
CHAP. I. however, to forego a portion of their claim, and  
1307. admitted a balance in favour of Sindhia of 63,000  
rupees (6300*l.*), an amount which was vastly inferior  
to his expectations and his necessities: for the relief  
of the latter he was therefore obliged to look to  
other quarters.

The quarrels of the Rajput princes, which will  
presently be more particularly adverted to, offered  
an ample field for the gratification of Mahratta  
rapacity, of which the Mahratta princes in Malwa  
were not slow to reap the harvest. The exhaus-  
tion of Sindhia's resources, and the impossibility  
of raising a revenue commensurate with his ex-  
penditure from his wasted and depopulated terri-  
tories, crippled his movements, and disabled him  
from appropriating his full share of the spoil. His  
troops, still too numerous for his means, were re-  
peatedly in a state of mutiny for arrears of pay,  
and had degenerated into a lawless horde of plun-  
derers, who, in the realisation of their demands,  
made little difference between the country of friend  
or foe, and pillaged the districts of their own master  
and his allies as remorselessly as those of his ene-  
mies. The only prospect of providing them with an  
equivalent for pay, and of maintaining amongst  
them some degree of subordination, existed in the  
levy of contributions from the neighbouring princes;  
and from time to time considerable sums were  
exactd from the Rana of Udaypur, and the Rajas  
of Jodhpur and Jaypur, as arrears of tribute due  
under former engagements to the Mahrattas, or as  
the price of plighted military service, which was at

best but imperfectly rendered. But Holkar and Amir Khan had taken the disputes of the Rajputs under their management, and Sindhia was unwilling or unable to interfere with effect. After a feeble attempt at interposition, he was contented to allow some of his principal officers to take occasional part in the contest, whilst he directed his attention more especially to the prosecution of designs against the independence of Bhopal.

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1807.

The principality of Bhopal presented the singularity of a petty Mohammedan power in the very heart of the Hindu states. It was founded at the close of the seventeenth century by Dost Mohammed, an Afghan adventurer in the service of the Emperor of Delhi, who, from being the superintendent of the small district of Bersia in Malwa, raised himself, by that mixture of courage, activity, treachery, and political cruelty, which is not uncommon in the character of his countrymen and which in the latter days of the Mogul empire was the usual title to temporary elevation, to the command of a territory of some extent, and the appellation of Nawab of Bhopal. His direct line continued through his three successors. The two last of these devoted their lives to religious meditation and prayer, and left the conduct of public affairs to their ministers, men of various characters and fortunes; whose administration often excited, and sometimes justified, the opposition and violence of the turbulent nobles and officers of the court. At this period the Dewan or minister of the Nawab was his kinsman, Vizir Mohammed, whose father had been slain in an unsuccessful insurrection, and



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1807.

whose youth had been spent in exile and predatory warfare : placed, after many vicissitudes, at the head of affairs, he brought to their administration the qualities of activity, courage, and prudence, which promised to restore the declining prosperity and reputation of Bhopal. He was not suffered to carry his projects to maturity. The son of the Nawab, Ghous Mohammed, jealous of his ascendancy, and apprehensive of his ambition, invited the Raja of Berar, and Dowlat Rao Sindhia, to invade the principality, in order to secure his succession to the throne. The invitation was readily accepted. The capital, Islam-nagar, was captured by the latter ; and the city and fort of Bhopal were occupied by Sadik Ali, the general of the former. Little hope remained that the state would recover from the pressure of such a formidable combination.

In this state of things, the old Nawab, Haiyat Mohammed, died. He was succeeded by his son, who, finding that his allies purposed the dismemberment of his territory, reconciled himself to Vizir Mohammed, and continued him in the office of Dewan, trusting to his talents for the extrication of his country from the grasp of his enemies. His expectations were not disappointed. Vizir Mohammed conciliated Sindhia by promising to discharge the tribute which Ghous Mohammed had engaged to pay ; and, with the assistance of the Pindaris, he repelled the forces of Berar. The ruin of his country was arrested for the time ; but Vizir Mohammed was well aware of the inadequacy of his means to cope with such powerful adversaries, and, anticipating the repetition of their efforts for his

destruction, endeavoured to interest the British Government in his favour. The system of policy then adopted, rendered his application ineffectual, and he was left to his own resources until a more auspicious period arrived, when the debt contracted to the Nawab of Bhopal, Haiyat Mohammed, for the assistance which he gave to General Goddard, and by which alone the British detachment was enabled to march unopposed from the Nerbudda to Surat, was repaid by the seasonable protection afforded to his descendant.

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CHAP. I.

1807.

The counsels of Sindhia were likewise distracted by the conflicting views of his principal officers and advisers, and the struggles that prevailed amongst them for the management of his affairs. Ambaji Inglia, after having been confined, tortured, and plundered, as has been described, was restored to favour, and became the leader of a party opposed to the former ministers. In order to strengthen his influence, he invited Sirji Rao Ghatka, whom the British Government had banished by express stipulation from Sindhia's presence, to return to camp; and although the measure furnished his adversaries with a plea for alarming the prince, and inducing him once more to imprison and pillage Ambaji, yet, when the interdict was withdrawn by those who had pronounced it, and the Government of Calcutta no longer entertained an undignified apprehension of the intrigues of an individual, Sirji Rao resumed his place at Sindhia's durbar, and conducted, conjointly with Ambaji, the duties of the administration. Neither of them long survived the recovery of their authority. Ambaji Inglia died

1809.

BOOK I. early in 1809. Sirji Rao Ghatka was killed in an  
 CHAP. I. affray in the course of the same year.<sup>1</sup> Dowlat Rao,

1809. after Ambaji's death, seized on his fortress of Gwalior, and for the greater part of his life continued encamped in its vicinity, until his camp grew to be a considerable town, which is still the capital of his descendants. No other change ensued: the same pecuniary embarrassments continued to be felt, and the same means of relieving them to be employed: the fruits of robbery and spoliation were dissipated by the wasteful and unprincipled system under which they were gathered, and the hordes of licensed banditti which were let loose upon the surrounding states were a source of weakness, not of strength, to the prince whom they nominally served.

<sup>1</sup> The importance attached to this individual by his special exclusion from Sindhia's presence as an article of treaty, gives interest to the following details of his death, derived from an authority on the spot:—"Sirji Rao had gone to the durbar and was earnestly pressing Sindhia to accede to some of his proposals; to which the Maharaja as usual returned evasive and unsatisfactory replies, and ordered his equipage to be got ready to go to an elephant-fight. As he was about to depart, Sirji Rao repeated his remonstrances, and at length had the temerity to seize the skirt of his robe and endeavoured to detain him forcibly in his seat. Some of the Huzuriyas (personal attendants) present, incensed at such an insult, thrust him back; and Sindhia escaped from the tent, giving an order to secure the minister's person. Sirji Rao drew his sword and resisted the execution of the order: a violent scuffle ensued, in which some individuals of both parties were killed and several wounded. At length Sirji Rao effected his retreat to his own tent, but was followed by the enraged party from the Deüri, headed by Anand Rao and Manaji Phankra, two distant relations of the Maharaja's family. In one minute the ropes of the tent in which the unfortunate minister had taken refuge were cut, and he himself dragged from beneath it; and in the next he fell dead in the public street, pierced with a dozen wounds inflicted by his pitiless enemies. Sindhia is said to have given orders, when he heard of the scuffle, to spare his father-in-law's life, and from the known lenity of his disposition it is probable he did so. His pursuers either wilfully or ignorantly mistook these orders, and in all probability rejoiced at an opportunity of getting rid of a man who was an object of hatred to themselves, of dislike to their master, of terror to the whole army, and apprehension to every court in India."—Letters from a Mahratta Camp, by Captain Broughton, commanding the Resident's escort, 1809, p. 223.

The British Government, unable to rid itself of former impressions, continued to treat Dowlat Rao Sindhia with a guarded and timid policy for some time after his friendship had ceased to be an object of conciliation, or his enmity of fear.

BOOK I.  
CHAP. I.

1809.

The power and resources of Jeswant Rao Holkar were in like manner for some time estimated rather by the mischief which he had inflicted, than any which he retained the ability to commit. The unmerited liberality which the British Government had evinced towards him had replaced him in the actual or prospective possession of an extensive and valuable territory,<sup>1</sup> and its selfish disregard of inconvenient obligations consigned to his rapacity the chieftains of Rajputana, particularly the Rajas of Bundi and Jaypur.<sup>2</sup> The motives of this uncalled for generosity were unintelligible to the native princes, and to Holkar himself; and both ascribed it to dread of his military talents, and incapability of providing longer for the exigencies of war. The necessary consequence of this notion was, the inflation of Holkar's ambition with the hope that he should soon be able to reunite under happier auspices the disjointed members of the Mahratta confederacy, and exact a severe retribution for the mutilation which they had

1806.

<sup>1</sup> The treaty with Holkar of December, 1805, restored to him the possessions of the Holkar family in Mewar, Malwa, Harauti, and the Dekhin. —Coll. of Treaties, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> A declaratory article, added to the treaty by Sir G. Barlow, abrogated the second article, by which Holkar had renounced all right to Tonk-Rampura and the districts north of the Bundi Hills. The abrogation was interpreted by him as a virtual withdrawal of the protection granted to the Bundi Raja. By the eighth article of the treaty Holkar relinquished all claims of every description upon the British Government and its allies, amongst whom the Raja of Jaypur considered himself included: his claim was not admitted, as is subsequently noticed in the text.



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CHAP. I.

1806.

suffered. So far was he from acknowledging the extent of the leniency which had been shown him, that he immediately preferred, in insulting language, new and unreasonable claims; demanding the cession of additional lands in the Dekhin, and of eighteen districts in Hindustan, and the grant of Jagirs for his family and adherents.<sup>1</sup> Protracting his march southwards as long as he could find any one whom he might plunder, he levied contributions on his way from the petty chiefs whom the British Government professed to protect, or to regard as allies;<sup>2</sup> and he made no secret of his purpose to punish the Bundi Raja expressly for the aid which he had given during the war to the British. He had scarcely returned to his own domains when he addressed letters, or dispatched emissaries, to the other Mahratta princes, urging them to renew their ancient connexions, and prepare for another conflict with their common foe. They were suffering, however, too severely from their recent discomfiture

<sup>1</sup> In one of his first letters he declared peremptorily that the districts which he claimed in Hindustan must be restored to him, and he insisted that others should be assigned to Amir Khan. The Bengal Government sheltered its dignity under the plea of an erroneous translation of his expressions having been made by Colonel Malcolm, through whom the letter had been transmitted, but apparently with little reason; and there was no question as to the general tone of the epistle. The Governor-General determined to take no offence, ascribing Holkar's language "to the unbridled violence of his temper." The application was answered by Lord Lake, with an intimation that its repetition might lead to a renewal of hostilities; and, although this intimation did not silence Holkar's pretensions, it induced him to urge them in more decent phraseology.—MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> On his way through Hariana, which had been given to Abdul Samad Khan as a reward for his services in the war, Holkar levied contributions on the villages, and laid waste the lands. The Khan applied for military succour: this was refused him; but in consideration of the recent date of the grant, and the impossibility of his having had time to organise his resources, pecuniary compensation for his losses was awarded to him.—MS. Records.

to venture precipitately upon so dangerous an enterprise;<sup>1</sup> and, whatever the opinion which they might at first have been disposed to entertain of Holkar's courage and conduct, it was speedily effaced by his outrageous behaviour and eventual derangement.

BOOK I.  
CHAP. I.  
1807.

The first object of Holkar's policy after his return to Malwa was, the maintenance of a military force far beyond his own unaided resources. The plunder of his neighbours offered the only means of filling his treasury; and the quarrels of the Rajput princes unhappily afforded to him, even in a greater degree than to Sindhia, an opening for pecuniary exactions. On his return from the Punjab, Holkar halted for about a month in the Jaypur territory; and, whilst his army laid waste its fields, he received eighteen lakhs of rupees from the Raja as the price of his withholding his aid from the Raja of Jodhpur, with whom the Raja of Jaypur was at strife, and who, by giving shelter to Holkar's family when the Mahratta fled from Lord Lake, had established some claim to his gratitude. The money extorted from Jaypur precluded him from giving personal assistance to Jodhpur, but he evaded the strict fulfilment of the bargain by permitting his chief leader and intimate associate, Amir Khan, to carry his mercenary bands to whichever of the contending Rajas should bid most largely for their services. Holkar then occupied himself in the castigation of the Raja of Bundi, exacting from him heavy contributions, and in enforcing demands of a similar

<sup>1</sup> Sindhia, the Peshwa, and the Raja of Nagpur severally communicated these letters to the Residents at their courts.—MS. Records.

BOOK I. nature from Zalim Sing, regent of Kota. He then  
CHAP. I. withdrew to Rampura-Bampura, where his health  
1807. rapidly gave way to habitual intoxication and unrestrained indulgence, the effects of which were exacerbated by the compunctious visitings of conscience.

The animosity borne by the Peshwa to Holkar augmented his dissatisfaction with the favourable terms granted to that chief; and he strongly objected to the treaty which the British Government had concluded, that it conferred upon him rights and possessions to which he had no claim. In truth, Jeswant Rao Holkar had become the head of his house, partly by accident, partly by his own exertions. Tukaji Holkar, his predecessor, left two legitimate sons, Kasi Rao and Malhar Rao. His third son, Jeswant Rao, was his son by a concubine. Kasi Rao, the eldest son, was deformed in body and infirm in mind, and his unfitness for the administration of affairs induced the chief officers of the state to give the preference to his younger brother Malhar Rao. Sindhia took part with Kasi Rao; and, in the contest that ensued, Malhar Rao was killed, and Jeswant Rao, who had upheld his cause, was obliged to seek safety in flight. After encountering many vicissitudes, Jeswant Rao by a course of successful predatory devastation, in which he was deeply indebted to the companionship of Amir Khan, found himself strong enough to drive Sindhia's troops out of the territories of the Holkar family, and establish himself in their government in the name and on behalf of their lawful prince, Kandi Rao, the infant son of the murdered Malhar

Rao, who was at the time in Sindhia's hands, as well as Kasi Rao, his uncle. The latter was allowed his liberty, and gave himself up to Jeswant Rao; and, when the war with the British Government was projected, Sindhia, 'in order to secure Holkar's co-operation, resigned to him the charge of the boy Kandi Rao. At the time of Holkar's return from the Punjab, Kasi Rao was living peaceably at Nimaur, under the charge of Jeswant Rao's Gooroo, or spiritual guide, Chimna Bhao: his nephew, Kandi Rao, had accompanied him on his march.

A body of Mohammedan horse in the service of Jeswant Rao having mutinied for arrears of pay, his nephew was delivered to them as a pledge for the promised liquidation of their demands. As the promises made to the mutineers were slow of accomplishment, it occurred to them to intimidate Holkar into more prompt compliance by proclaiming Kandi Rao the lawful Raja, and threatening to depose Jeswant Rao as a usurper.<sup>1</sup> The danger was imminent; the money was raised; the mutinous soldiers were paid and dismissed: they dispersed to their homes without any concern for the fate of the unhappy youth whom they had used as their instrument of intimidation, and abandoned him to those jealous apprehensions which they seem to have first excited. In a week Kandi Rao was no longer an object of fear. It was given out that he had died suddenly; but it was the universal belief that he had

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Central India, i. 242. According to Amir Khan's account of the affair, this plan of enforcing payment was adopted by his recommendation, not without a suspicion on Holkar's part that the whole was a device of Amir Khan to obtain an adjustment of his own claims.—Mem. of Amir Khan, 290.



BOOK I.  
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been poisoned, if not by the orders, at least with the acquiescence of Holkar.<sup>1</sup>

1803.

To this crime succeeded an event which in current belief was of an equally atrocious character—the death of Kasi Rao. The accounts of this transaction vary in some of the details, although they correspond in the outline. Kasi Rao resided in a stronghold in the province of Nimaur, of which the governor was Chimna Bhao, the Gooroo of Holkar, and known to be his ready counsellor and agent in every deed of infamy and guilt. An insurrection under some military leaders had broken out in the adjoining district of Kandesh, and one of their parties attacked Chimna Bhao with a view to obtain possession of the person of Kasi Rao, and place him at their head. To disappoint their design, and prevent Kasi Rao from falling into their hands, Chimna Bhao caused him to be put to death. There does not appear to be any conclusive evidence that Holkar himself had suggested a pretended attack upon his minister as a pretext for the murder of his brother, or any reason to infer that the act was not solely attributable to the unpremeditated and reckless cruelty of Chimna Bhao.<sup>2</sup> The imputation of

<sup>1</sup> Central India, i. 244. Amir Khan asserts unhesitatingly that Holkar caused poison to be administered to his nephew, and so destroyed him; Mem. 307.

<sup>2</sup> According to Malcolm, on the authority of Bangash Khan, one of the insurgent Patan leaders, a party under his confederate, Dadan Khan, attempted the release of Kasi Rao, who was confined at Kargond, in Nimaur; to prevent which, Chimna Bhao had him murdered in the thicket some distance from the fort. According to the evidence of a Sipahi in the service of Chimna Bhao, present at the murder, Kasi Rao was killed in Bijaygerh, a fort also in Nimaur, from which Dadan Khan had attempted to carry him off. The dispatch from the Resident with Sindhia, reporting the transaction, agrees in making Bijaygerh the seat of the prince's detention; but states that, orders having been sent to bring him for greater security to Holkar's camp, Chimna Bhao was escorting him on the way,

being accessory to the deed was however fixed upon Holkar by common consent, and popular belief regarded his insanity as a just retribution for the murder of a nephew and a brother. He became subject to fits of mental derangement shortly after the death of Kasi Rao: they alternated with intervals of reason for about a twelvemonth, when they subsided into an unintermitted state of moody fatuity, which after a duration of three years terminated in death.

BOOK I.  
CHAP. I.  
1809.

The affairs of Holkar's dominions were conducted during his incapacity by his favourite mistress Tulasī Bhai and her minister Balaram Set; but their hands were too feeble to maintain a steady curb upon the disorderly troops and their aspiring captains, and the country speedily became the scene of plunder and confusion. The party in Kandesh under Dadan Khan and other Patan leaders acquired a

when he was attacked at night by Dadan Khan's men, and, in the affray that followed, Kasi Rao was accidentally shot. Amir Khan's story materially differs from the foregoing. He says, that the Bhils of Kandesh, being in insurrection, had got hold of the wife of Kasi Rao, and, she being pregnant, they declared that if the child were a boy they would make him Raja; that Chimna Bhao, being sent to quell the disturbance, took Kasi Rao along with him from Galna, where he had been detained; that on the march he set some of his own people to make a sham attack by night upon his camp, and, in the confusion thus occasioned, he pretended great alarm lest Kasi Rao should fall into the hands of the Bhils, and, to prevent it, ordered him to be put to death; the whole being in truth the device of Holkar. Although it is true that the Bhils were in a state of insurgency at this period, yet the policy of opposing a rival to Holkar was much more likely to have occurred to the Patans, and it was no doubt to guard against their availing themselves of the name of Kasi Rao that he was murdered by some such contrivance as is imputed to Chimna Bhao. Holkar denied that he had given orders to put his brother to death, and, ascribing it to accident, publicly expressed himself glad that it had occurred at a distance, as it might otherwise have injured his reputation. The varieties of the story afford a striking proof of the difficulty of coming at the circumstances of a fact even upon contemporary testimony. Mr. Prinsep hesitates to affix a date to this transaction; from the official correspondence it appears to have taken place about the middle of February, 1808.—Central India, i. 244; Mem. of Amir Khan, 313; MS. Records.

BOOK I. formidable consistency after the murder of Kasi  
CHAP. I. Rao. They placed at their head Mahipat Rao Hol-  
 1809. kar, first cousin of Jeswant Rao, and proclaimed  
 him sovereign. The troops sent against them either  
 joined their ranks or were defeated; and they had  
 a fair prospect of success, when, unfortunately for  
 their cause, they extended their depredations into  
 the territories of Poona and Hyderabad, and im-  
 posed upon the British Government the duty of pro-  
 tecting its allies. The subsidiary forces of both states  
 took the field. Colonel Wallace marched from Poona  
 with one division, and Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton  
 from Jálna with another. By a rapid cavalry move-  
 ment of one hundred miles in forty-eight hours,  
 Colonel Doveton came unexpectedly upon the in-  
 surgents whilst besieging Amalner, a fort belonging  
 to the Nizam. Most of their horse, and part of  
 their foot, were destroyed. The shattered remains  
 took refuge amongst the hills north of Kandesh:  
 they were vigorously followed thither by Colonel  
 Wallace; and the leaders were seized and delivered  
 to him by the Bhils, the inhabitants of the forests  
 with which the hills are clothed. The Patan chiefs  
 were conducted prisoners to Poona: Mahipat Rao  
 escaped, but, separated from his military associates,  
 he soon fell into obscurity and occasioned no further  
 trouble.<sup>1</sup>

A different destiny awaited another of Holkar's  
 Mohammedan captains, who, by a singular combina-  
 tion of enterprise, craft, and good-luck, rose from  
 the condition of a soldier of fortune to the recog-  
 nised rank of an independent prince. Amir Khan

<sup>1</sup> MS. Records; Central India, i. 284.

was by descent an Afghan, whose grandfather had emigrated from Buner, and settled in Rohilkhand. From his earliest youth he had led the life of a soldier; seeking service, sometimes with a few followers, sometimes with a larger troop, in the armies of the various princes and leaders, who in the last days of the Mogul empire were ever ready to enlist adherents. For a considerable time his fortunes were precarious, and he was not unfrequently in want even of a meal; but he gradually became a captain of some note, and took a conspicuous share in different military and political transactions, of which Malwa and the valley of the Nerbudda were the principal field. He lent good aid to Vizir Mohammed in the defence of Bhopal; but, the resources of that chief being exhausted, he listened to proposals from Holkar, and united himself thenceforth steadily to his interests. Holkar was then making his escape from Nagpur, where he had been detained by the Raja; and had no greater following than a rabble of two or three hundred men, ill armed, undisciplined, and living by plunder. The junction of Amir Khan with a force respectable in numbers and equipment turned the tide of his fortunes, enabled him to possess himself of the territories of his family, and placed him in a position formidable to Sindhia, to the Peshwa, and the English. Amir Khan shared in his prosperity, and did not desert him in adversity. He accompanied Jeswant Rao, as we have seen, in his flight to the Punjab, and returned with him to Malwa. Although professing allegiance to Holkar, and acting in his name, Amir Khan retained the independent



BOOK I. command of his own troops, and held himself at  
 CHAP. I. liberty to provide for their support by contribu-  
 1809. tions levied at his pleasure from the princes in  
 whose dissensions he found it profitable to interfere.  
 After Holkar's insanity he interposed occasionally  
 in the disputes that occurred at court, but large  
 bribes secured his general support of Balaram Set  
 and the Bhai. The necessity of raising funds for  
 the payment of his soldiers after he had drained the  
 coffers of the Rajputs impelled him, shortly after  
 the date at which we have arrived, to turn his steps  
 in the direction of Berar, and brought him, as we  
 shall subsequently have occasion to notice, once  
 more into collision with the Government of British  
 India.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the utter prostration of the Mahratta confederacy upon the close of the war: the Peshwa, chafing secretly under the fetters to which he had rashly submitted, but impotent to break them, and affecting to wear them with cheerfulness; the Gaekwar, saved from insolvency and ruin by the tutelage of his allies; the Raja of Berar, unable without the same assistance to protect his country from Pindari pillage and Afghan arrogance; Sindhia, humbly begging a paltry pittance from the power he had lately encountered with almost equal arms; and Holkar, intoxicated and insane, with his country devastated by his own rebellious soldiery, and his court disgraced by the turbulence and profligacy of

<sup>1</sup> Notices of the career of Amir Khan are to be found in Malcolm's Central India, Prinsep's Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, &c.; but the most authentic account is a kind of autobiography, or Memoirs of Nawab Mohammed Amir Khan, composed in Persian from his own dictation by Munshi Basawan Lal, translated by H. T. Prinsep, Calcutta. 1832.

factionous competitors for the authority which he was no longer in a condition to exercise. Yet, notwithstanding this abject state of the two last-named chieftains, the Bengal Government persisted in its purpose of conciliating their good-will, by leaving them unquestioned licence to prey upon their still more feeble and disunited neighbours, the princes of Rajputana.

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That portion of Hindustan which extends from the districts bordering on the west bank of the Jumna to the desert that skirts the eastern borders of the Indus, and which lies between the Punjab on the north, and Malwa and Guzerat on the south, is collectively known as Rajawara or Rajasthan, as being in an especial degree inhabited by tribes allied by community of origin, institutions, and character, and claiming as Rajputs, or "sons of kings," to represent the military and regal caste of the primitive Hindus. The country was distributed at the period in question amongst a number of princes, some of whom were of comparatively little political importance, from the limited extent of their territory; whilst others, although ruling over more spacious tracts, were equally unimportant, from the sterility of the soil, and the scantiness of the population. Among these, three princes were acknowledged to be pre-eminent in rank and power, the Rana of Udaypur, the Raja of Jodhpur, and the Raja of Jaypur, so entitled from their respective capitals; but, more correctly speaking, the rulers of Mewar, Marwar, and Dhundhár, the names of their several principalities.

The Rana of Udaypur reigned over a rugged but

BOOK I. not wholly sterile territory on the north-west of  
 CHAP. I. Malwa. He pretended to a direct descent from

1807. Ráma, the mytho-historical monarch of Ayodhya, or Oude, through his son Lava, who migrated to the west. The Ranas of Udaypur are therefore regarded as members of the Suryavansa, or Solar dynasty of the Hindus; but, as Rajputs, they belong to the Sisodia branch of the Gahilote tribe. They are admitted to precedence over all other Rajput princes, who accept from their hands, upon succeeding to their principalities, an ornament worn upon the forehead, in confirmation of their accession.<sup>1</sup> From the time of the Mohammedan invasion of India, the Ranas of Udaypur were constantly engaged in warfare with the kings of Delhi, and repeatedly sustained fearful reverses. Driven from their capital, Chitore, they transferred their residence more to the west, where Udaya Raja built a city, named after him Uday-pur, towards the end

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Tod remarks, that, whilst the genealogies of many of the Rajput princes are questioned, the Hindu tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the ruler of Mewar as the legitimate heir of the throne of Rama, and style him Hindua-suraj, the Sun of the Hindus. He subsequently, however, adverts to the curious tradition mentioned by Abulfazl; *Ayin Akbari*, ii. 8, and repeated in fuller detail by Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, ix. 233, of the descent of the Ranas of Udaypur from Naoshirwan, king of Persia, through his son Naoshizad. He is said to have rebelled against his father, and, being defeated, to have fled into Hindustan, whence he returned to Persia with an army of Indians: he was again defeated, and was slain in battle, but his issue remained in India, and from them the Ranas descended. Another legend traces the family to Maha-bhānu, daughter of Yezdegird, the last monarch of Persia.—*Annals of Rajasthan*, i. 233. Tod thinks it not improbable that there may have been a connexion between the Persian and Indian families. The late discovery in the west of India of coins of the general character of those of the Sassanian kings, and blending Indian and Persian portraits and inscriptions, establish the fact that some of those princes exercised authority either directly or through Indian feudatories on the confines of Hindustan, and render it possible that some such intercourse as that which subsequently united the royal house of Timur with the Rajput princes may have subsisted, and given rise to the tradition.—*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 400.

of the sixteenth century; and in the strong country in its vicinity they maintained their independence.

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Separated from Mewar by the Aravali Mountains on the north-west, lies the principality of Marwar, the capital of which is Jodhpur: great part of this country is a sandy desert, but it contains some fertile tracts, especially on its southern boundaries. The Raja of Jodhpur is a member of the Rahtore tribe of Rajputs, and traces his descent from the family that reigned over Kanoj at the period of the Mohammedan conquest; on which occasion two sons of the last prince, Jayadeva, fled to the west, and settled in the almost unpeopled districts of Marwar. From the elder brother descended the reigning dynasty; one of whom, Jodha, was the founder of Jodhpur in A.D. 1459: the younger is claimed as their ancestor by the chief Thakurs, or feudal nobles of the state. The Rahtores of Marwar, like the Gahilotes of Mewar, suffered many vicissitudes in their encounters with the Mohammedans; but, in the reign of Akbar and his two successors, their Rajas submitted to be treated as servants of the Mogul empire, holding high offices both civil and military, and becoming connected with the imperial house by giving their daughters in marriage to the Emperor or his sons. The bigotry of Aurangzeb forced them to take up arms in defence of their religion; and in a war of thirty years' continuance, although frequently defeated in the field, their spirit was unbroken, and their principality unsubdued. After the death of Aurangzeb, their friendly intercourse with Delhi was resumed, and they were seen taking a promi-



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nent part in the disorders that ensued. The decline of the empire freed them from all semblance of vassalage, but their own dissensions and crimes were more fatal to their power and reputation than their subservience to the Emperor.

The country of Dhundhár, or, from its capital, Jaypur, lies on the north and east of Mewar and Marwar, extending towards the Jumna. It is the territory of the Kachwáha Rajputs, who consider themselves to be the posterity of Kusa, another son of Rama. The origin of the principality dates no earlier than the tenth century, and its capital was built only in the beginning of the eighteenth.

From its eastern position, the principality lay exposed to the attacks of the Patán sovereigns of Delhi; but it was not until the accession of the house of Timur that its Rajas became feudatories of the empire. From the reign of Baber they acknowledged the supremacy of the Mogul, and were distinguished as the principal officers and nobles of his camp and court. They were early connected also with the imperial house by marriage, several maidens of the race becoming the brides of the Mohammedan princes.<sup>1</sup> Raja Jaysing, the founder of Jaypur, was actively concerned in all the stormy transactions of the disastrous period which followed the death of Aurangzeb; until, observing the irretrievable ruin of the empire, and the irresistible progress of the Mahrattas, he made terms with

<sup>1</sup> Bhagwan Das is said to have been the first Rajput who submitted to an alliance with a Mohammedan family: his daughter was married to the son of Akbar, Prince Selim, afterwards the Emperor Jehangir. Mán Sing, nephew of Bhagwan Das, was a great favourite with Akbar; and was successively viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, the Dekhin, and Kabul.—Annals of Rajasthan, i. 353.

the latter, and withdrew from the politics of Hindustan, to the cultivation of the arts of peace, and the improvement of his country. He died in 1743. After his death, Dhundhár became a prey to intestine divisions and Mahratta spoliation.

At the close of the war with the Mahrattas, Rana Bhím Sing was reigning at Udaypur; Mán Sing was Raja of Jodhpur; and Jagat Sing, of Jaypur. Neither of them possessed the qualifications which the times demanded; the patriotic sentiments which should have suppressed selfish feelings and leagued them with their fellows, the judgment capable of estimating their own true interests, or the courage and energy necessary to maintain their independence. Listening alone to the dictates of personal enmity, they paralysed by their dissensions the valour of their subjects, and aided and abetted the foreign robber in the work of mutual destruction. The cause of quarrel by which they were at this time exasperated against one another was peculiarly characteristic of the race, and to be paralleled only in the poetical traditions of distant ages.

Krishna Kumari, the daughter of Bhím Sing, Rana of Udaypur, was a maiden of reputed beauty and of undoubted rank, and was consequently an object of desire to the other Rajput princes. Whilst yet a child, the Raja of Jodhpur, named also Bhím Sing, had made overtures for her hand; but the alliance was prevented by his death. She was then solicited in marriage by Jagat Sing of Jaypur, and his proposals were accepted by the Rana. An escort of three thousand troops was sent to Udaypur to convey the princess to Jaypur for the solemnisation of the

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nuptials, when the negotiations were interrupted by the rival pretensions of Mán Sing, the Raja of Jodhpur. He demanded the princess as the affianced bride of his predecessor, and declared that her marriage into any other family would bring indelible disgrace upon him and his tribe. Mán Sing is said to have been instigated to the assertion of his claims by one of his chief Thakurs, Sawai Sing, who, for purposes of his own, sought to involve his liege lord in hostilities with the surrounding states.

Bhím Sing, the preceding Raja of Jodhpur, left at his death his widow pregnant; and it was a condition of Mán Sing's accession, that, if the child should prove to be a boy, he should assign to the infant prince that portion of the royal domains which were regarded as the appanage of the heir-apparent. A boy was born; but, fearing to intrust him to the care of the Raja, the mother kept his birth secret, and the infant was sent privily to Pokarna, the castle of Sawai Sing, where he was concealed. At the expiration of two years his protector, finding the chief feudatories of Jodhpur greatly discontented by the preference given by the Raja to certain of his favourites, communicated to them the birth and existence of the prince, and secured their concurrence in the vindication of his claims. They repaired accordingly in a body to the Raja, and demanded the fulfilment of his engagement. Mán Sing, with some reason, required evidence of the genuineness of the pretended heir; but the Rani when appealed to, fearing, it was affirmed, for her own safety, denied that she had given him birth.

The chiefs were silenced, but not satisfied; and Sawai Sing awaited a more favourable season for advancing the pretensions of the youth whose cause he had espoused. It was with this view that he urged Mán Sing to demand the hand of the princess of Udaypur, anticipating the series of difficulty and danger in which he would be consequently involved. The anticipation was speedily realised. The party sent to Udaypur by Jagat Sing was attacked and routed; and the Rana was compelled to retract his assent, and affianced his daughter to Mán Sing. His rival was furious at the disappointment and the insult; and a war broke out between the two Rajas, which was equally destructive to all the Rajput principalities.

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From the time when the first Baji Rao established the ascendancy of the Mahratta power in Central India, the princes of Rajputana had been forced to pay the Chouth, the fourth part of their annual net revenue, or a sum arbitrarily estimated equivalent to a fourth, as a fixed tribute. The payment was at first made to the Government of Poona; but, as the authority of Sindhia and Holkar came to supersede that of the Peshwa, they claimed it as their right. The indefinite scale by which the tribute was measured, and the relative ability of the parties to enforce or resist the demand, rendered the actual amount payable undetermined; and it was no part of Mahratta policy to admit of a composition, as the vagueness of the sum afforded them a convenient plea for unlimited exaction. There was consequently a constant arrear due by the Rajput states, and a constant pretext for the desolating



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incursions of the Mahratta troops. In the division of the spoil, the Jaypur tribute was appropriated by Holkar; that of Udaypur and Jodhpur by Sindhia: but they had also conflicting pretensions each to a portion of the plunder of the other. The Peshwa had likewise his claims to a share, but his alliance with the British debarred him from their compulsory enforcement.

The Raja of Jodhpur lost no time in influencing the Mahratta chiefs to befriend his cause. Sindhia was already at variance with his rival, the Jaypur Raja having refused to pay some of his extortionate demands; and Holkar was indebted to him for protection which he had given to the family of that chieftain during his campaigns in Hindustan. The Raja of Jaypur disregarded the combination, in reliance upon the British Government, with which he had entered into alliance;<sup>1</sup> and which, in the treaty of peace with Holkar, as concluded by Lord Lake, had cancelled the Mahratta's claims upon its allies, and dispossessed him of all territory north of the Bundi Hills. The declaratory article of Sir G. Barlow, as already noticed, annulled these stipulations, and virtually excluded the Raja of Jaypur from the benefits of the alliance upon which he had depended; and it was not to be wondered at that he should have remonstrated strongly against his desertion. His abandonment was wholly indefensible. It was not to be controverted that a treaty had been contracted with him, by which the enemies of one of the contracting parties were to be considered as the enemies

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<sup>1</sup> The treaty is dated 12 Dec. 1803; the date of its ratification by the Raja is left blank.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 253.

of both; and the Raja, in the event of a dispute with any other prince, was entitled to British mediation and aid. When he required the fulfilment of the stipulations, he was told that "no treaty existed: it had been virtually abrogated by the non-performance of his part of the compact. He had recalled his troops from Monson's detachment during its retreat; he had not sent his forces to join the British army when it moved northwards, but dispatched them to Udaypur; and had not only failed to cut off Holkar's supplies, but allowed him to march through the Jaypur territory. He had no longer, therefore, anything to expect from the British Government." The Raja denied the justice of the charges adduced against him. He affirmed that his troops had separated from Colonel Monson with that officer's consent, and by the orders of Lord Lake; that although his forces were on their march to Udaypur, yet, as soon as their services were required, they suspended their march, and joined the Bombay army under General Jones, and that General Jones and Lord Lake had both furnished him with their written acknowledgments of the promptitude and efficacy of his co-operation. Lord Lake had also given him strong assurance of the stability of the alliance. He represented, that, if the British Government had been dissatisfied with his conduct at any particular time, it should at that time have expressed its displeasure, and at once have declared the alliance annulled. To have continued to employ the services of the Raja until they were no longer needed, and reserved all expression of dissatisfaction until it could be used as a pretext for getting quit of an in-

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convenient obligation, was both disingenuous and dishonourable; to desert an old friend because the tide was setting against him, was ungenerous and unjust; and the powers of India could not but regard the conduct of the Government of Bengal as a departure from that good faith which it had hitherto been its pride to preserve inviolate. The argument was incontrovertibly in the Raja's favour: the Government had continued to exact and receive from him services to which he was bound by treaty after the commission of those acts which they subsequently held to have virtually annulled it. Admitting that the Raja had broken his engagement, the Government, by accepting his aid as if no such breach had occurred, virtually admitted its non-occurrence, and recognised the engagement as still subsisting. It was however the inflexible policy of the Governor-General to abstain from interference, and the remonstrances and reasonings of the Raja of Jaypur were unavailing.<sup>1</sup> He was consigned to the equally inexorable policy of the Malharrattas; and the first-fruits of his desertion were the plunder of his country by

<sup>1</sup> The remonstrances of the Raja were strongly supported by Lord Lake, as noticed in a preceding volume. The Court of Directors also, although they did not enjoin the renewal of the alliance, disapproved of its dissolution, conceiving its justice extremely questionable; "as although the Raja had failed in the performance of his engagements during the war with Holkar, yet he had furnished assistance towards its conclusion at the instance of Lord Lake, and under an expectation held out by his Lordship that the protection of the British Government would be continued to him; and they thought it necessary to enjoin the Government of India to take care, in all its transactions with the native princes, to preserve its character for fidelity to its allies from falling into disrepute, and to evince a strict regard, in the prosecution of its political views, to the principles of justice and generosity." The sincerity of these expressions would have been less liable to question if the policy which they condemned had been countermanded.—Malcolm's Political Hist. of India, i. 390.

the disorderly bands of Holkar as they returned from the Punjab, and the payment to their leader of twenty lakhs of rupees as the price of his withholding assistance from the Raja of Jodhpur.<sup>1</sup>

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In the war that followed, Holkar so far adhered to the bargain he had made as to refrain from joining in person either of the rival Rajas. It did not however prevent him from permitting Amir Khan to enlist his mercenaries in their quarrel.<sup>2</sup> The Patán entered into the service of Jagat Sing: the Raja of Jaypur was also joined by Sawai Sing and the nobles of Jodhpur who supported the claims of the posthumous son of their last Raja, and Mán Sing was deserted at the moment of encountering his enemies by almost all his principal chiefs. He was compelled to fly, and seek refuge in the citadel of Jodhpur; while the confederates overran and ravaged the rest of the country. They then laid siege to the capital: but it suited not the policy of Amir Khan to suffer the Raja's extermination; and taking, or affecting to take, umbrage at want of punctuality in the payment of his troops by the

<sup>1</sup> Holkar's Vakeels expressed their master's acknowledgments to Lord Lake for the abrogation of the treaty with Jaypur as a personal favour intended to conciliate him. The act was viewed in the same light by the Peshwa and Raja of Nagpur.—MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> The Amir and Holkar got up a pretended disagreement as an excuse for the uncontrolled proceedings of the former at the latter's suggestion: according to his own story, he makes Holkar say, "You must now separate from me in public as in quarrel, so that our enemies and the world in general may see that your continuing to raise troops is a source of dissatisfaction and displeasure to me, and not done with my concurrence or sanction. We may still understand one another in case of occasion arising for us to rejoin our forces. When the Amir took formal leave in open durbar, harsh words passed between him and the Maharaj, and so to the time when the Amir mounted his palki, as in high displeasure. The Maharaj, running on foot some paces alongside, took hold of the feet of it, and made a show of endeavouring to soothe and appease the Amir. The Amir, however, pretended not to listen, but returned to his army;" p. 399.



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Raja of Jaypur, he abandoned Jagat Sing, accepted money and promises from Mán Sing,<sup>1</sup> and, marching into the country of Jaypur, commenced a course of depredation which speedily compelled the Raja to break up the siege of Jodhpur, and hasten to the defence of his own dominions.

A double game was in like manner played by Sindhia. In the first instance he befriended the suit of the Jodhpur Raja, and contributed to the defeat of the troops sent to escort the princess to Jaypur;<sup>2</sup> but, having received payment of considerable sums affirmed to be due to him from the Rana, he professed to remain neutral in the contest. His principal captains were, however, allowed to side with either of the competitors. They ranged themselves under the banners of Amir Khan, and assisted to ravage Jodhpur until the harvest was gleaned; when Ambaji Ingolia renewed his connexion with Mán Sing, and Bapu Sindhia and Baptiste extended their marauding expeditions to the districts on the west of the Jumna, with which

<sup>1</sup> The terms of his compact with Mán Sing were, according to Amir Khan's statement, that he should pay four lakhs and fifty thousand rupees (£45,000) per mensem, besides taking a brigade into permanent service; and should further give the Amir a Jagir of four lakhs for kitchen expenses, and confer Jagirs also on his principal officers; p. 324.

<sup>2</sup> Tod has two apparently contradictory accounts of this transaction. In one place he states that Sindhia was encamped in the territory of Udaypur in the course of enforcing pecuniary demands upon the Rana; and that, having at the same time been denied a contribution from Jaypur, he insisted upon the dismissal of the Jaypur embassy. Upon the Rana's refusal he advanced with his brigades, defeated the troops of Udaypur joined by the Jaypur detachment, which he dispersed; and, encamping near Udaypur, compelled the Rana to submit to his conditions.—*Annals of Rajasthan*, i. 461. In another place he says, Mán Sing assembled three thousand horse, and, joining to them the mercenary bands of Heera Sing then on the frontier of Mewar, he intercepted the nuptial gifts of Amber; ii. 142. The first account is probably the more correct, as Tod was in Sindhia's camp; or it may be possible to reconcile the two.

the British Government had purposed to recom-  
pense the attachment of its adherents.

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The services of Amir Khan were not confined to the relief of Jodhpur from the presence of a victorious army, or to the retaliation of the havoc which it had committed. He engaged to rid Mán Sing of an enemy more formidable than his rival Raja, and put an end to the internal divisions that in a still greater degree endangered his security, by the murder of Sawai Sing, and the extinction of the faction of which he was the head. Simulating a quarrel with Mán Sing, Amir Khan quitted him in seeming anger, and marched to Nagore, where Sawai Sing and the pretender had fortified themselves. Here he induced the Rahtore chief to believe that he might be bought over to their cause; and the advantages resulting from his alliance blinded the Rajput to the peril of unguarded intercourse with so perfidious a confederate. With the assumption of entire confidence Amir Khan visited Sawai Sing, and gave him the most solemn assurances of his sincerity: suspicion was completely disarmed, the visit was returned, and the Rajput was received in the tent of Amir Khan with every demonstration of respect and cordiality. Inventing a plausible excuse for a short absence, Amir Khan withdrew; the cords of one side of the tent were immediately let loose, and, whilst all within it were entangled beneath its folds, an indiscriminate fire of musketry and grape was poured upon them; Sawai Sing, his friends and attendants, those of Amir Khan himself, the dancing girls and musicians, all who had been present at the interview, were alike the victims of this mur-

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derous device. The death of his rebellious feudatory put an end to the danger and fears of the Raja of Jodhpur.<sup>1</sup> Nagore was plundered, but Dhokal Sing effected his escape, and found a protector in the Raja of Bikaner; until a superior force besieged the Raja in his capital, and compelled him to withdraw his protection, and pay a heavy fine for his hospitality. The young prince then fled to the British territories and there remained in security.

The state of affairs in Holkar's camp having called Amir Khan thither, the Rajput princes were relieved awhile from his exactions. Jaypur enjoyed but a brief respite, as Sindhia presently demanded compensation for the services rendered by his troops; services which he had pretended not to sanction, and which, in truth, they had never discharged. The claim was not admitted: upon which he led his army across the Chumbal, and sat down before Dhuni, which he fruitlessly besieged. Foiled in this object, he listened to proposals from the Raja, and agreed to accept seventeen lakhs of rupees as the price of his retreat, having inflicted upon the country damage to an infinitely larger amount.

Although the Rana of Udaypur had taken no part in the war, and had therefore given less occasion than his neighbours to any pretext for Mahratta

<sup>1</sup> According to Tod, the price of the crime was ten lakhs of rupees, and the two towns of Mundhiawar and Kuchilavas, each yielding an annual revenue of 30,000 rupees; ii. 150. Amir Khan states the sum at thirty-five lakhs of rupees, of which half was paid at the time. The conditions formerly agreed upon were renewed, with additional specifications; and Jagirs were promised to his son, his father-in-law, and others of his principal leaders. The Amir tells the story himself without any attempt at extenuation, and seems to regard it as an honourable exploit; pp. 347. 360.

extortion, he was obliged to drain his treasures in order to purchase the forbearance of both Sindhia and Amir Khan. The exhaustion of his resources was however less painful to him than the degradation which he felt in being obliged to treat them as equals, and the total want of deference which upstart adventurers and military robbers paid to his exalted rank and ancient descent. In his distress he applied earnestly for the intervention of the British Government, and offered the cession of one half of his territory if it would protect the other half from Mahratta spoliation. The same interposition was solicited by another Rajput prince, Zalim Sing of Kota, who, although he had wisely kept aloof from the contest between the rival Rajas, had nevertheless been repeatedly mulcted by Amir Khan and Sindhia; and the contending princes of Jaypur and Jodhpur made a similar urgent appeal to the Government of Bengal, pledging themselves to abide by its mediation, and to submit to any conditions it should please to impose. They depended upon its interference as an obligation which it was bound to fulfill as inheriting the paramount sovereignty of Hindustan. The dignity and power of the imperial court of Delhi had been appropriated by the Governor-General and the Council of Calcutta; and, along with the authority, the duties which the Emperors were accustomed to discharge had devolved upon them. The weaker states of India, they argued, had a natural right to look up to the British Government for protection against the ambition and rapacity of the stronger; and they denied that there was any valid excuse for its ques-



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tioning the right when it was fully capable of exercising the power. The Mahrattas, who were at that moment spreading terror and desolation from the Setlej to the Nerbudda, were wholly incompetent to offer any opposition to the arms and authority of the Company; and the Governor-General had only to speak the word, and universal tranquillity would be restored. The policy of this course, they maintained, was equally obvious with its justice and humanity; for the British territories would derive security and prosperity from the suppression of disorders, which excluded their population from all amicable intercourse with the surrounding countries, and kept their own frontiers in perpetual disquietude and alarm. To these representations the principle of non-interference was inflexibly opposed; and Central India was allowed to fall into a condition of anarchy and ruin, which was accelerated rather than arrested by the removal of the innocent cause to which its present misery was ascribed.<sup>1</sup>

When all hope of the protection of the British Government was resigned, the Rana of Udaypur was driven to the unpalatable measure of retaining the services of Amir Khan: a fourth of his revenues was assigned to the Mohammedan leader, as the hire of one of his brigades to be employed in collecting the revenues and guarding the frontiers of

<sup>1</sup> So far was adherence to this policy carried, that when the Raja of Macheri, at the solicitation of the Rani of Jaypur, sent a party of horse to escort the women and children of the Raja to a place of safety in his country, he was enjoined by the Resident at Delhi, under the orders of the Government, to forego his purpose and recall his troops; and was told that any interposition whatever would be regarded as a breach of the alliance under which he claimed British protection, September, 1807.—MS. Records.

Mewar.<sup>1</sup> The influence thus obtained by Amir Khan in the counsels of Udaypur afforded an occasion for a new display of his recklessness of human life, and added another victim to the many whom he had unscrupulously sacrificed to his interest or his policy. He instigated the Rana to put his daughter to death. He also hinted, that, as the ally and friend of Mán Sing, he should, if he found an opportunity, carry her off by force and deliver her to the Raja; and he promised, if the Rana followed his advice, to assist him in recovering possession of a district in the hands of Mán Sing which he coveted. The natural reluctance of the father was overcome by the blended motives of policy, fear, and hope, and poison was administered to the princess.<sup>2</sup>

The transactions in which the three principal Raj-

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<sup>1</sup> The Amir relates this arrangement with great self-complacency, remarking that the Rana and he exchanged turbands in pledge of friendship; p. 399. It must have cost the "son of the Sun" many a bitter pang before he could stoop to such an interchange of marks of equality and fraternity with a Mohammedan trooper.

<sup>2</sup> Amir Khan relates this transaction without any reserve. According to his account, the Rana, after reflecting on his recommendation, said, "If you will pledge yourself to get for me Khali-rao from Raja Mán Sing, I will in that case contrive to get rid of my daughter after you shall have gone, using such means as shall create as little odium as possible." The Amir agreed to the condition; and the Rana, after his departure, caused poison to be mixed with his daughter's food, and so administered it to her. It happened that what she took was not sufficient to effect the purpose, and the princess guessed the object of her father; whereupon she sent him a message, that, as it was a matter that concerned the good of the Raja and the honour of his family, and it appeared that her living longer was inconsistent with these in her father's opinion, there was no occasion for him to have gone secretly to work, for that she was prepared to die by her own act. Accordingly, having bathed, and dressed herself in new and gay attire, she drank off the poison, and so gave up her precious life, earning the perpetual praise and admiration of mankind.—Mem. 399. According to Malcolm and Tod, the death of the princess, although suggested by Amir Khan, was pressed on the reluctant Rana by one of the Rajput nobles, Ajit Sing, whose memory on that account is execrated throughout Rajasthan. They both agree in the cheerful submission of the princess to the will of her father, and the grief of her mother, who died shortly afterwards.—Central India, i. 339; Annals of Rajasthan, i. 463.

BOOK I. put states were involved with the Malrattas for  
 CHAP. I. some years subsequently to the restoration of peace  
 1807. between the latter and the English, have been described at some length, not only on account of their importance in the general history of Hindustan, but of their connexion with subsequent events, by which they were brought within the pale of that protection which they now solicited in vain. A brief notice will suffice for the remaining chiefs of the Rajput tribes.

The Raja of Bikaner, Surat Sing, was a member of the family which reigned over Marwar. His ineffective support of the pretender, Dhokal Sing, has been mentioned. After payment of the stipulated contribution he was left unmolested, the desert surface of his country offering little temptation to the marauder. The same circumstance, and the remoteness of its situation, protected the neighbouring state of Jeselmer, lying north-west of Marwar, and inhabited chiefly by the Bhatti tribe of Rajputs. Although secluded from the aggressions of the Malrattas, domestic quarrels did their work as well.

In an angle formed between Jaypur and Malwa, the province of Hárávati, so called from its principal occupants the Hára Rajputs, was divided between Kota and Bundi. Kota was under the management of Zalim Sing, nominally minister, but exercising the authority of Raja; his sovereign being content to lead a life of ease and exemption from responsibility. By a remarkable association of craft, prudence, and resolution, Zalim Sing, although obliged to pay tribute and occasional extraordinary contributions, contrived to remain on friendly terms

with the Mahratta leaders, and to preserve his country from their ravages: he had also established a character for firm and faithful adherence to his engagements, and to his honour and integrity the chiefs of every nation and tribe were accustomed to intrust their families and their wealth.<sup>1</sup> The state of Bundi, which in the reign of Akbar was one of the most considerable Rajput principalities, had been reduced to narrow limits by a series of misfortunes and the enmity of Jaypur. In consequence of the latter, a former Raja had been dispossessed of his patrimony; but he had been reinstated by Malhar Rao Holkar, and had thence become a tributary of the Mahratta. His grandson, the ruling Raja at the time of Colonel Monson's retreat, had given the British detachment a free passage through his territories, and afforded every assistance within his means. Those whom he had befriended, abandoned him to the resentment which his conduct had provoked in their behalf; and for several years he was exposed to every species of insult and extortion, from the vindictive policy of Sindhia and Holkar.<sup>2</sup>

The only other Rajput principality of any consideration was that of Macheri, between the Jumna and Jaypur. Originally a feudatory of Jaypur, the Raja had taken advantage of the enfeebled condition of his liege lord, and had early in the Mahratta war placed his independence under the shield of British protection.<sup>3</sup> The engagement was concluded during

<sup>1</sup> Ambaji Ingolia and Amir Khan both placed their families in the safe keeping of Zalim Sing; and the former deposited at Kota his treasures, which were of considerable amount.—Central India, i. 493.

<sup>2</sup> Annals of Rajasthan, i. 501; Duff's Mahrattas, iii. 281. 311.

<sup>3</sup> Coll. of Treaties, 251. The treaty was a general engagement of de-



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the administration of Lord Wellesley, in conformity to his policy of interposing a chain of independent native princes between the Jumna and the Mahrattas. As this was contrary to the views of his successors, they would have thought it fortunate if the Rajas of Macheri and Bhurtpore, who were similarly circumstanced, could have been induced to seek the dissolution of the alliance: they were obliged to admit however, that, as the engagements had been contracted, it would be inconsistent with the credit of the Government to refrain from granting them protection against the menaced aggressions of Holkar. Notwithstanding reiterated assurances to this effect, the Raja of Macheri, alarmed by the abandonment of Jaypur, continued to apprehend a like desertion, until the obvious change in the counsels of Calcutta dissipated his fears.

It is equally unnecessary to enter at any length upon the condition of the Ját princes of Hindustan. Professing to descend from the illustrious tribe of Yadu, the Játs on the Jumna had been transformed, by the necessity of self-defence, from a race of pacific agriculturists, into a nation of soldiers and conquerors. Forced into martial distinction by the distractions of Hindustan which followed the reign of Aurangzeb, they continued, under a succession of warlike chieftains, to take a prominent and profitable part in all the troubles which ensued, until the establishment of the authority of Sindhia at Delhi. In this interval their leaders acquired extensive

fensive alliance: troops were to be sent to the aid of the Raja when required, after failure of mediation between him and any other prince with whom he might be at enmity. No subsidy or tribute was imposed.

and valuable possessions; and, although their power had been diminished by the superior resources of the Mahrattas, the representative of the original ruling family still retained a country of some extent, guarded by strong-holds, one of which was for many years a monument of British discomfiture. The Raja of Bhurtpore had become subsequently an ally of the British Government, and readily had recourse to its aid in moments of peril.<sup>1</sup> The successful defence of his fortress had, however, impressed him strongly with a mistaken estimate of his own importance, and in his intercourse with the protecting state he displayed equal arrogance and distrust.

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The only other prince of this tribe, the Rana of Gohud, was descended from a Ját leader who rose to distinction in the time of the first Baji Rao in the Peshwa's service. After the defeat of the Mahrattas at the battle of Paniput, he set himself up as independent ruler of the districts which had been intrusted to his charge; and his successor was allowed to retain them on condition of paying tribute to the Peshwa. The chiefs of Gohud were both by tribe and by position the enemies of the Mahrattas; and in this spirit the Rana, during the administration of Warren Hastings, joined the British, and rendered useful service to the detachment under Colonel Camac. After the peace he was left to his own unassisted means of defence, and these were insufficient to save him from the resentment of Madhoji Sindhia. His territory was invaded;

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Játas, see Tod's *Rajasthan*, ii. 370; also a sketch of their history, *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine*, March, 1826.

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the fort of Gwalior, which after its capture from Sindhia by the British had been given to the Rana, was re-taken; and the Rana was compelled to surrender himself a prisoner, upon a verbal assurance of personal immunity. In the late war with the Mahrattas, Ambaji Inglia, who governed Gohud on the part of Dowlat Rao Sindhia, went over to his enemies; and, as the reward of his desertion, a portion of the territory was guaranteed to him by treaty, whilst the Rana was replaced in the occupation of the remainder.<sup>1</sup> The policy of Sir G. Barlow, and his anxiety to conciliate Sindhia, led him to annul the treaty with the Rana of Gohud, upon the plea that he had not fulfilled its conditions, and that the agreement was therefore virtually cancelled. The territory was in consequence restored to Sindhia, and compensation was made to the Rana by the cession to him of Dholpur, which Sindhia had given up.<sup>2</sup> The stipulations of the treaty had pledged the Rana to efforts beyond his means; and his failure, as it proceeded from no defection on his part, was not a sufficient excuse for the violation of positive engagements. At the same time, it is evident that the British Government had formed an erroneous conception of the rights and power of the Rana of Gohud, and that Sindhia had good reason to complain of an arrangement which had converted a dependent of his government into an independent prince. The Rana himself, al-

<sup>1</sup> Ambaji was allowed to retain territory yielding a revenue of nine lakhs of rupees a-year. The portion assigned to the Rana was estimated at twenty-six lakhs.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 256, 258.

<sup>2</sup> Second treaty with Kirat Sing, Rana of Gohud, 1806.—Coll. of Treaties, 298.

though not placed in the position which was at first designed for him, had no little cause for self-gratulation in his transformation from the condition of a prisoner and a fugitive, to that of a prince reigning in absolute sovereignty, under the security of British protection, over a portion of those domains the whole of which were held by his ancestors only through the sufferance of a Mahratta chieftain, subject to his exactions and liable to his resumption.<sup>1</sup>

Although seceders in some respects from the orthodox religion of the Hindus, the Sikhs retain so many essential articles of the Brahmanical faith, that they may be justly classed among the Hindu races. In their original institution, the Sikhs were a religious community, who, in consonance with the benevolent objects of their founder, Nanak Shah, a native of the Punjab, proposed to abolish the distinctions of caste, and to combine Hindus and Mohammedans in a form of theistical devotion, derived from the blended abstractions of Sufyism and the Vedanta, and adapted to popular currency by the dissemination of the tenets which it inculcated, in hymns and songs composed in the vernacular dia-

<sup>1</sup> The conduct of Sir G. Barlow in regard to the Rana of Gohud has been vindicated by high authority. In the debate on the India Budget in the House of Commons, 10th July, 1806, Sir Arthur Wellesley is reported to have asserted that Lord Wellesley had himself taken into consideration the expediency of restoring to Sindhia the territory of Gohud and the fort of Gwalior, and that the cession was not sooner made was owing to a want of confidence in the steadiness and consistency of Sindhia's counsels. Sir A. Wellesley states also that it had always been his opinion that Gohud and Gwalior ought to be restored to Sindhia. "Upon the whole," he concludes, "the committee will observe, that I consider Sir G. Barlow's treaty with Sindhia to have been consistent with the spirit of that which I was the instrument of concluding at the close of the year 1803; and that the late Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, intended to have carried into execution that part of its stipulations which refers to Gwalior and Gohud."—Hansard's Parl. Deb.



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lects. These still constitute the scriptural authority, the Grantha, the book of the Sikhs. The doctrines and the influence of the teachers gave a common faith to the hardy and intrepid population of the upper part of the Punjab, and merged whatever distinctive appellations they previously possessed in the new general designation of "Sikhs," or "disciples," which thenceforth became their national denomination. As their numbers increased, they attracted the notice of the Mohammedan rulers, and were subjected to the ordeal of persecution. They had recourse to arms: under a succession of military leaders, the sword became inseparably associated in their creed with the book; and their ranks were recruited by fugitives from political disorder and fiscal oppression, who readily adopted a faith which made but trifling demands upon their belief, and differed in few material points from that which they professed. Community of danger became the bond of both a religious and a social organization, and a nation grew out of a sect. As the birth-place of their founder Nanak, and of the teacher who in a still greater degree gave to the Sikhs their characteristic peculiarities, Guru Govind Sing, was the Punjab; it was there that they congregated and became organised, in spite of the efforts of the viceroys of Lahore for their suppression, until they had become masters of the whole of the country from the Setlej to the Indus.

The circumstances under which the Sikhs achieved their independence were unfavourable to the consolidation of their power. In their hostilities with the Mohammedans they acted without plan and

without an acknowledged head, and adopted a desultory system of warfare, in which different leaders collected their relations and friends, and unexpectedly fell upon their enemies and laid waste the country. As the means of opposing their incursions declined, they were emboldened to undertake operations of greater importance requiring concert and combination; and, for this purpose, the different Sirdars assembled occasionally at a public diet usually held at Amritsar, the site of their principal shrine. When the Afghans supplanted the Moguls in the government of the Punjab, the Sikhs experienced some severe reverses from the military skill and activity of Ahmed Shah; but after his death they were left at liberty to establish themselves as a political confederacy in the countries which they now occupy. The districts were divided amongst different associations termed Misals, implying assemblies of equals under chiefs of their own selection. The chief was to lead in war, and arbitrate in peace: he was treated with deference by the other Sirdars, but they recognised no obligation to obey his commands. Towards the end of the last century twelve principal Misals were formed, varying considerably in the extent of territory which they governed, and in the number of horse which they could bring into the field.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of time the inherent defects of a military federation of this description began to be manifested, and individual ambition and ability to

<sup>1</sup> An interesting account of the Sikh federation will be found in the "Origin of the Sikh power in the Punjab," compiled by Mr. Prinsep chiefly from the report of Captain William Murray, Political Agent at Ambala; Calcutta, 1834.

BOOK I. assume that ascendancy which they were calculated  
CHAP. I. to attain. Amongst the least considerable of the

1807. Misals was that of Surat-Chak, so called from the lands which the progenitors of the chief, Charat Sing, had originally cultivated. Charat Sing commenced a career of aggrandisement at the expense of his neighbours, which his son Maha Sing pursued with still greater success. The son of the latter, Ranjit Sing, had, however, surpassed both; and by a singular combination of courage and cunning he had brought most of the chiefs on the west of the Setlej under his controul. The chiefs on the east of that river, whose possessions were contiguous to the province of Delhi, professed, after the close of the Mahratta war, an undefined allegiance to the British Government; and some uncertainty with regard to the protection with which it was repaid compelled Ranjit Sing to proceed with caution in his project of extending his supremacy across the Setlej. That he was disappointed in his projects was attributable to the altered policy of the British Government upon the accession of Lord Minto to the office of Governor-General.<sup>1</sup>

From the review that has been thus taken of the political circumstances of India during the administration of Sir G. Barlow, it is evident that the supremacy of the British power was virtually established, although matters were not yet sufficiently ripe for its open avowal. Some

<sup>1</sup> A description of the religious tenets of the Sikhs will be found in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xvii.; and a more general account of their origin and history is published in the eleventh volume of the same collection, by Sir John Malcolm. Mr. Prinsep's work, just referred to, describes their later progress and the rise of Ranjit Sing.

unnecessary forbearance was no doubt exhibited, and some degree of blame deservedly incurred for apprehensions needlessly entertained, and engagements unjustifiably violated; but it may be questioned if the policy of the Government did not, however undesignedly, promote the consummation which it was intended to avoid. It would have been easy, and it would have been generous, to have interposed in defence of the Rajput princes and rescued them from Mahratta rapacity; but, had the tranquillity of Hindustan been restored by a further expenditure of the resources of Bengal, the latter would have required a longer period for the renovation of its exhausted vigour, whilst the former would have been earlier placed in a condition to provoke and defy its resentment. The continued contests of the native princes operated favourably for the extension of British ascendancy: they disposed the weaker to welcome the approach of foreign protection, and they disabled the stronger from offering effective opposition. On the other hand, the suspension of military operations of any magnitude for several years afforded the British Government opportunity to accumulate and improve its resources, and, when again compelled to employ them, to put forth its energies with a might which made resistance to it hopeless, and elevated it to an eminence from which it directed without dispute the destinies of Hindustan.



## CHAPTER II.

*Sir George Barlow, Governor-General.—State of the Finances. — Retrenchments. — Supplies. — Judicial and Revenue Arrangements for Cuttack, the Doab, and Bundelkhand. — Revenue Settlements in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. — Separation of Judicial and Revenue Functions at Madras. — Murder of Europeans at Vellore. — Arrival of the Dragoons. — Fort retaken. — Military Inquiry. — Disposal of the Prisoners. — Causes and circumstances of the Mutiny. — Its Origin in religious panic occasioned by military Orders. — Similar Alarms at Hyderabad, Walajabad, and Nandidrúg allayed or suppressed. — Lord W. Bentinck and Sir John Cradoek recalled. — Ultimate Decision of the Court of Directors.*

BOOK I.  
CHAP. II.

1806.

WHEN the provisional assumption of the government of India by Sir George Barlow, consequent upon the death of Marquis Cornwallis, was known in England, the Court of Directors determined to nominate him permanently Governor-General, and the nomination was acquiesced in by the Board of Controul. The principles of the policy which he pursued towards the native states have been sufficiently explained, and their consequences exhibited in the preceding pages. The other transac-

tions of his administration were for the most part of inferior interest, though scarcely of minor importance.

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1806.

The first cares of the new Governor-General were engaged by the state of the public finances, which had been seriously deranged by the expenses of the war. The charges had for some years past exceeded the revenues by a considerable amount, and the deficit had been supplied by loans contracted at a high rate of interest,<sup>1</sup> or by the application of the Company's commercial remittances to territorial disbursements. Heavy demands still remained for liquidation; the pay of the troops was seven and eight months in arrear; large sums were due on account of pensions to native chiefs and princes, and funds to meet these claims were for some time deficient.<sup>2</sup>

The restoration of tranquillity admitted of economical retrenchments in the principal article of public expenditure, the charges of the military department, and in nothing more than the dismissal of the irregular troops which had been taken into the British service during the war: these were disbanded, in several cases with injudicious haste; and Jagirs were assigned to some of their leaders in commutation of pay or pension. A present inconvenience was thus in a great measure obviated, but the newly acquired districts were burthened with establishments which even in the present day in

<sup>1</sup> A loan was opened in January, 1805, at 10 per cent., by which sicca rupees 2,12,47,000 (£2,640,000) were raised.

<sup>2</sup> The demands payable by the Bengal Government amounted in May, 1806, to ninety lakhs of rupees, to meet which not above forty lakhs were available.

BOOK I. some degree diminish the revenue that might else  
CHAP. II. be raised from them. Extensive reductions of the  
1806. regular forces were at the same time effected.

The economical principles which guided the proceedings of the Government of Bengal were equally impressed upon the attention of the subordinate Governments, and the importance attached to the object by Sir G. Barlow is fully shown by the language in which his views were communicated to Bombay and Madras. He reminded the supreme authorities at both Presidencies that, "the finances of the Company having been involved in extraordinary difficulties by the consequences of the late war, it had become the solemn duty of the different Indian Governments to establish a system of the most rigid economy through every branch of their civil and military expenditure;" and he therefore enjoined them "to abrogate all such charges as were not indispensable to the good government and security of the provinces under their controul. The extraordinary demands upon the public resources had arisen," he observed, "almost exclusively from the enhanced charges of the military departments; but the circumstances of India were now propitious to their retrenchment, as no danger was to be apprehended from French aggression, and the condition of the native states not in alliance with the Company precluded all apprehension of their possessing the means of making any impression upon the British power for a long course of years: that independently of this prospect of future tranquillity, derived from the preponderating power of the latter, the treaties which had been contracted with

Sindhia and other princes had been drawn up with a view to remove all grounds of difference, and to conciliate them by concessions which would render it their interest to preserve the relations of amity so established inviolate." The Governor-General suggested various specifications of retrenchment, and concluded by confidently hoping that in a short time the reductions from those sources would relieve all pressure upon the finances, and restore depreciated public credit, leaving a surplus to pay off the public debt and provide the Company's commercial investment.

This last consideration, the provision of the investment of goods for sale in England, was, in fact, the main-spring of Sir G. Barlow's policy, as it was of that of the Company. It was the pressure upon their commercial credit and resources which the latter were most anxious to relieve; and, as their instructions to that effect found an obedient agent in the Governor-General, the necessary result was the sacrifice of all comprehensive political views to present commercial exigencies. The financial embarrassments of the Indian Governments were merely of a temporary nature: the return of peace necessarily reduced much of the immediate charge; and the revenues were rapidly increasing, from the valuable accessions of territory acquired during the war, and the certainty of their improvement under a regular and efficient system of administration. Nor was there any cause for alarm in the state of public credit, as, although it had been thought necessary to offer a high rate of interest, ten per cent. per annum, on a loan contracted in the



BOOK I. early part of 1805, the rate was not unprecedented  
CHAP. II. or unusual; and in the course of 1806 a loan was

1806. opened at eight per cent. per annum, with such entire success, as in the course of a few years to absorb all preceding and more burthensome obligations.<sup>1</sup> The rate then negotiated commenced a series of reductions of the interest of the public debt, which has for some years past nearly equalised the interest paid in India with that which commonly prevails in the kingdoms of continental Europe.<sup>2</sup>

The exertions made by Sir George Barlow for the diminution of the public expenditure were not in vain; and by the end of April 1807, the close of the Indian official year, shortly after which he relinquished his office to his successor, he had reduced the excess of annual charge to less than a half of its amount in 1805, and had matured a system of economy, which, in the first years of Lord Minto's administration, transformed the deficit into a surplus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sicca rupees 26,65,00,000, or about £30,000,000, were transferred and subscribed to this loan between 1805-6 and 1810-11, when it chiefly merged into a loan at no higher a rate than 6 per cent.

<sup>2</sup> The rates of interest now borne by the public debt of India are 4 and 5 per cent.

<sup>3</sup> The statements appended to the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, printed in May, 1810, present the following comparative view of the relative revenues and charges of India from 1804-5 to 1807-8.

	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Charge.</i>	<i>Excess of Charge.</i>
1804-5 . .	£14,949,395 . .	£16,487,346 . .	£1,537,951
1805-6 . .	15,403,409 . .	17,672,017 . .	2,268,608
1806-7 . .	14,535,729 . .	17,688,061 . .	3,152,322
1807-8 . .	15,669,905 . .	15,979,027 . .	309,122

By a statement in the author's possession, compiled in the office of the accountant-general in Calcutta, the returns of the three first years in Sicca Rupees are as follows :

In order to provide for the most urgent and im-  
mediate demands, funds were raised by a loan in  
1805-6; by which, in the course of that and the fol-  
lowing year, about four millions sterling were sup-  
plied to the treasury: the deficit which remained

BOOK I.  
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1806.

	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Charge.</i>	<i>Excess of Charge.</i>
1804-5 . S. R.	13,06,49,241	S. R. 15,76,18,750	S. R. 2,69,69,509
1805-6 . „	13,58,28,952	„ 16,44,88,747	„ 2,86,49,795
1806-7 . „	12,97,16,627	„ 13,99,23,581	„ 1,02,06,904
and in the fourth year,			<i>Surplus Revenue.</i>
1807-8 . „	13,87,59,682	„ 13,77,19,952	„ 10,39,730

which surplus, calculating the rupee at 2s., which is something less than its intrinsic value, is equal to £103,973. These particulars agree with the statements given by Mr. Tucker; of which he remarks, that, as they were prepared from official and authentic documents, they may be received with confidence.—Review of the Financial Situation of the East India Company, by H. St. George Tucker, p. 13. One source of difference in the two statements is the difference of exchange valuation. The old accounts of the East India Company were converted from Indian into English money at 2s. per current rupee (116 of which were equal to 100 Siccas) for Bengal, 8s. per pagoda for Madras, and 2s. 3d. per Bombay rupee: a valuation which, however correct according to the state of the exchange, was far above the intrinsic value of the coins; the current rupee at par being worth only 1s. 9d. 177, the pagoda 7s. 6d. 386, and the Bombay rupee 2s. 008.—Report of Select Committee on the Finances of the East India Company, August 1832, App. No. 20. In the above comparison of receipts and disbursements, the rate being the same on both does not very materially affect the result, but the excess conveys an exaggerated view of their amount to the extent of about one-seventh of the aggregate sums. Now, although the exchange values of the Indian currencies might be properly taken as the standard for their conversion into English money in regard to all receipts and disbursements, whether commercial or territorial, occurring in England, yet such a standard was wholly inapplicable to revenues and charges beginning and ending in India itself. The intrinsic value of the currencies, as compared with that of the British coinage, was in such case the least variable and most correct measure. The statements in Sica Rupees, converted into Sterling at 2s. the rupee, would therefore be preferable, as nearer the truth; but their use is inconvenient, as affording results different from those given in the Parliamentary and India House accounts, the authorities most readily available: these will therefore generally be followed. In the present case, besides the difference of valuation, there is a discrepancy in the relative statements which is not easily accounted for. The annual accounts must have been made up either on different principles or for somewhat different intervals. The aggregate of the four years, adopting the conversion of the sica into the current rupee, offers a near though not close approximation; the Parliamentary accounts making it £7,268,003, the Calcutta statements sica rupees 6,47,86,478 (equal to current rupees 7,51,52,314, and, at 2s. the current rupee, to) £7,515,231.

BOOK I. was met by remittances from Europe, which, during  
 CHAP. II. the three years from 1804-5 to 1806-7, exceeded  
 1806. ed by two millions sterling the supplies realised  
 in England from the proceeds of the Company's  
 trade.

Besides the measures adopted for the removal of financial difficulties, the Indian Governments were occupied during the interval between the departure of Marquis Wellesley and the arrival of Lord Minto in extending and consolidating the revenue and judicial arrangements in various districts newly taken under their authority. Upon the annexation of the province of Cuttack to the Presidency of Bengal, commissioners were appointed to effect a settlement of the revenue with the landholders; and in September 1804 the latter were apprised that at the expiration of a twelvemonth a fixed assessment would be levied upon their lands, upon a just and moderate consideration of the receipts of former years. This announcement was confirmed by a regulation of the Government;<sup>1</sup> and the same enactment recognised the principle of substituting a quit-rent for a land assessment in respect to certain petty Rajas and Zemindars residing in the mountains and thickets of Orissa. All other sources of revenue which had existed under the Mahratta Government were abolished, with the exception of an excise upon spirituous liquors, and a capitation tax upon pilgrims to the temple of Jagannath. The latter was the subject of a further enactment<sup>2</sup> in the following year, by which the amount of the tax, the mode of levying it, and other circumstances con-

<sup>1</sup> Bengal Regulations. Reg. xii. 1805.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. iv. 1806.

nected with it, were defined, with a view to protect the pilgrims from the unwarranted exactions of the officers of the Government or of the temple, and to maintain order and security in the town of Jagannath-pur and its dependencies. At the same time, provision was made for the administration of justice in civil causes by the institution of a provincial court,<sup>1</sup> and a revision was effected of the system of police which had been previously in force in Cuttack. The duties of the police during the Mahratta Government had been intrusted to a body of armed men, termed Paiks, or foot-men; who were commanded by their own Sirdars or chiefs, and occupied lands exempt from rent, in payment of their services. They were subject to the general controul of the landholders within whose domains they were located, and the landholders were responsible to the Government for the prevention of disorders and robberies within the limits of their respective estates.<sup>2</sup> This system was unchanged; but, in order to fix upon the landholders a better defined authority and more distinct responsibility, they were formally invested with the title and powers of Darogas, or head-officers of police, under the general superintendence of the magistrate of the province.

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<sup>1</sup> Reg. xiv. 1805. A striking instance is afforded by one of the clauses of this regulation of the high value of money under the Mahratta Government, and its anticipated reduction under the British. In all disputes concerning obligations bearing interest which originated before October, 1803, the court was authorised to recognise the following rates: on sums not exceeding 100 rupees, 30 per cent. per annum; on larger sums, 24 per cent. per annum. Subsequently to the date specified, the rate of interest was restricted to 12 per cent. per annum.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. iv. 1804.



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The introduction of the Company's judicial and revenue regulations into the territories lastly acquired in the Doab and in Bundelkhand had been accomplished by previous enactments.<sup>1</sup> Those affecting the revenue were based upon the principle of an ultimate settlement in perpetuity in the Upper provinces as well as in Bengal, but postponing its conclusion to the expiration of certain definite periods. Two successive settlements were to be made for a term of three years each, and a third was to be concluded for a period of four years. On the close of each of the two first periods, the assessment was to be revised and augmented according to the progressive improvement which it was anticipated would have taken place in the value of landed property; and at the end of the three terms, forming an aggregate of ten years, it was proposed to conclude a perpetual settlement for all such lands as might be in a sufficiently improved state of cultivation to warrant the measure, on such terms as the Government should deem fair and equitable. This last stipulation, strictly interpreted, rendered the pledge of little worth; for it reserved to the Government the determination not only of the final rate of assessment, but of the condition of the lands to be assessed. A still more important modification of the original enactment was, however, introduced by Sir George Barlow. On the termination of the first triennial period of the settlement of the Ceded provinces, he added a clause to its renewal, which Lord Wellesley either overlooked or considered superfluous; and enacted, that the proposed settle-

<sup>1</sup> Regs. xxv. 1803; v. viii. ix. 1805.

ment of the revenue in perpetuity in the Ceded and Conquered provinces should depend upon the confirmation of the Court of Directors.<sup>1</sup> Their confirmation was never conceded.

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The principal legislative enactment at Fort St. George had for its object the discontinuance of the judicial powers theretofore given to the collectors of the revenue in the districts which had not been permanently assessed. Distinct courts of civil judicature were established in the several Zillas, and the separation of the judicial from the revenue department was completed in the territories of the Madras Presidency as well as in those of Bengal.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the Supreme Court of Appeal was remodelled. It had hitherto been constituted of the Governor and Members of Council, a board already fully occupied. In their stead three Judges were appointed to the special duty of hearing appeals from the courts below, in addition to a Member of Council not being Governor of Madras, who was to act as Chief Judge.<sup>3</sup> No enactment of any interest was promulgated during this period at Bombay.

In the midst of their pacific occupations the Governments of India were startled by the occurrence of an event unprecedented in the annals of British India, and inspiring fears for the solidity and per-

<sup>1</sup> "The Governor-General in Council hereby notifies to the Zemindars and other actual proprietors of land in the Ceded and Conquered provinces, that the Jumma which may be assessed on their estates in the last year of the settlement immediately ensuing the present settlement shall remain fixed for ever, in case the Zemindars shall now be willing to engage for the payment of the public revenue on those terms in perpetuity, and the arrangement shall receive the sanction of the Court of Directors."—Reg. x. 1807. Sect. v.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. ii. 1806.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. iii. 1807.

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manence of the empire,—the massacre of the European officers and soldiers in the garrison of Vellore by the native regiments on duty along with them. This happened on the morning of the 10th of July, 1806.<sup>1</sup>

The fortress of Vellore, situated eighty-eight miles west from Madras, had been chosen, for the convenience of its position and the strength of its defences, as a safe residence for the family of Tippoo Sultan, which consisted of twelve sons and six daughters. The six elder sons were married, and had children : four of the daughters also were married, and the marriage of the fifth was in course of solemnisation when the mutiny broke out. Their families, with their connexions and followers, formed an assemblage of several hundred persons, all living in the former palace of the Nawabs of the Carnatic, within the fort. The princes had been treated with a degree of distinction and liberality better suited to their former dignity than their fallen fortunes. They were under no other personal restraint than the attendance of a guard when they moved out, and prohibition against going out of the fort without the written authority of the commandant of the garrison and the paymaster of their stipends. Their allowances not only provided amply for their wants, but enabled them to support some show of state, and to collect around them a swarm of needy

<sup>1</sup> The chief authorities for the following narrative and observations are, the MS. Correspondence of the Madras Government; Papers printed for Parliament in 1813; a Memorial addressed to the Court of Directors, and afterwards printed in 1810, by Lord William Bentinck; and Sir J. Cradock's Address to the Court, printed in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1807.

adventurers and vagrant mendicants, the willing instruments of mischief and eager fomenters of discontent.<sup>1</sup> The general charge of the princes and payment of their pensions were consigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Marriott. No other officer was allowed to enter the palace without the permission of the princes, and no European sentinel did duty within its precincts. The native sentries were posted only at the outer doors of the several dwellings. Colonel Marriott discharged also the duties of superintendent of police for the fort and the adjacent town of Vellore, the population of which had largely increased. The garrison of the fort consisted of four companies of his Majesty's 69th regiment, six companies of the first battalion of the 1st regiment of Native Infantry, and the second battalion of the 23rd. The Europeans were about three hundred and seventy in number, the natives fifteen hundred. The whole were commanded by Colonel Fancourt, the colonel of the 69th. Spacious barracks were severally appropriated to the use of the European and native troops. The officers occupied separate, and, for the most part, detached houses.

About three o'clock in the morning of the 10th of July, the tranquillity of repose was broken by the sudden discharge of fire-arms, and the sound was speedily repeated in various directions. The Sipahis had been assembled silently in their quarters under arms by their native officers, and led

<sup>1</sup> The four elder princes were allowed 50,000 rupees a-year each; the three next, 25,000 rupees; the two younger, 8,400 rupees; and the remaining three, 6,000 each. There were above 3000 natives of Mysore in the fort and adjoining Petta or town, and above 500 Mohammedan Fakirs. The whole population of the town was about 8000.



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The few English sentinels on duty at the main-guard and the powder magazine were shot or bayoneted almost before they were aware of their danger, and the possession of the magazine secured to the insurgents the sole supply of ammunition. Their chief body beset the European barracks, firing through the open doors and windows volley after volley, and repelling every attempt of its inmates to sally forth, by a murderous discharge of musketry, and the fire of a field-piece which they had planted opposite to the doorway. As soon as these attacks commenced, detachments were stationed to watch the dwellings of the officers, with instructions to fire upon any one who should come forth : and, in pursuance of the order, Colonel Fancourt, as he descended from his house, received a wound which proved fatal ; and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kerras, commanding the 23rd, was shot as he was hastening to the parade. After the barracks were surrounded, parties of the native soldiers forced their way into the houses of the Europeans, and put to death with unsparing ferocity all whom they could discover. Thirteen officers were killed, besides several European conductors of ordnance. In the barracks, eighty-two privates were killed, and ninety-one were wounded. The mutineers did not venture to enter the building, where they would have had to encounter the bayonets of the soldiers, but contented themselves with pouring their fire into the apartments ; in which the men, unable for want of ammunition to return it, screened themselves against its effects as well as they were able by the beds and

furniture. Early in the morning, a few officers, who had collected in one of the dwellings and had successfully defended themselves, made their way to the barracks, and, placing themselves at the head of the survivors, forced a passage through the mutineers and ascended the ramparts, where they took post in a cavalier. Hence they reached the magazine, but were disappointed in their expectation of supplying themselves with powder, and were obliged to return to the ramparts, where they found cover above the main gateway and in a bastion at the south-east angle of the fort. In these movements they were exposed to a continued fire, by which all the officers were disabled and many of the men were killed; yet they maintained their ground with steadfast courage, and repeatedly drove back their assailants at the point of the bayonet.

During the whole of these transactions an active communication was kept up between the mutineers and the palace, and many of the servants and followers of the princes were conspicuously active in the scenes of bloodshed and plunder which followed the first success. By some of these a flag, which had once belonged to Tippoo and bore his insignia,<sup>1</sup> was brought out of the palace and hoisted on the flagstaff amidst the acclamations of the multitude; but it was speedily pulled down by the men of the 69th as they passed the flagstaff in their way from the barracks to the ramparts. The indications of regularity and conduct which marked the first proceedings of the insurgents soon disappeared: subordination was speedily at an end; the Sipahis and

<sup>1</sup> A sun in the centre, with tiger stripes on a green field.

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followers of the palace dispersed in quest of plunder ; and many who had been reluctant participators in the mutiny, who began to fear its consequences, or who sought to secure the booty they had obtained, availed themselves of the confusion to leave the fort. No arrangements had been made to hold the fortress, or to withdraw to any other position, when the alarm was given that retribution was at hand.

Arcot, the ancient capital of the Carnatic, and the scene of Clive's celebrated defence, was about nine miles distant from Vellore. It was a military station ; and, among the troops cantoned there, was the 19th regiment of dragoons under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie. Information of the insurrection reached Arcot by six in the morning ; and a squadron of the 19th, with a strong troop of the 7th Native Cavalry, with Colonel Gillespie at their head, was immediately on the road to Vellore, the galloper guns and remainder of the cavalry being ordered to follow without delay. By eight o'clock the first party was before the gates of the fortress : the outer two were open, a third was closed ; but it was here that a few of the 69th had effected a lodgement, and some of the men, lowered by their comrades from the wall, opened the gate to the cavalry. There was still a fourth gateway, which was shut, and this was commanded by the mutineers so completely that it was necessary to wait for the guns to blow it open : they arrived about ten. Upon their approach, Colonel Gillespie caused himself to be drawn up to the rampart, where he put himself at the head of the party which had maintained the position, and descended

from the post to charge the insurgents, at the same moment that the gate was blown open and the dragoons rushed into the fort. No resolute resistance was offered: after a feeble and straggling fire, the insurgents scattered in all directions, and were cut down by the cavalry, or bayoneted by the men of the 69th. Between three and four hundred were slain, many were taken, the rest escaped by dropping from the walls. In the course of ten minutes the fort was again in the possession of the British troops, and an unsparing but not undeserved punishment had been inflicted on a great number of the mutineers. There still remained a multitude whose degree of participation in the mutiny and consequent destiny it was necessary to determine, and it was also of importance to discover the causes of so alarming an outbreak.

The number of the prisoners was speedily increased by the apprehension of the fugitives in various parts of the country by the police or by the villagers, and by the spontaneous surrender of many who either were, or wished to be thought, innocent. Some of the latter were allowed to resume their military duties, but there were still above six hundred Sipahis detained in confinement at Trichanopoly and Vellore. A military tribunal had been in the first instance instituted for their trial, by which several of those whose guilt was substantiated were condemned to death.<sup>1</sup> The criminality of the rest was referred to a special commission, upon whose

<sup>1</sup> Three native officers and fourteen non-commissioned officers and privates were executed by sentence of a native court-martial.—General Orders by the Government, Fort St. George, 14th January, 1807.



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proceedings the Government long hesitated to pronounce a final sentence. Although little doubt could be entertained that most of the Sipahis, whether in confinement or at large, were deeply implicated in the mutiny, yet it was impossible to procure satisfactory evidence of individual guilt, and it was incompatible with justice to condemn the whole upon probable imputation. To restore them to their military functions, was to insure impunity to insurrection; to set them at liberty and dismiss them, was to disperse over the country a number of desperate and dangerous men, whose example and instigations might lead to greater mischief. To transport the whole to Penang or the Cape, would be expensive and inconvenient, even if it were just. The opinions of the Governor and the Commander-in-chief were at variance; the former advocating the more lenient, the latter the severer course. The former eventually prevailed. The officers and men who were absent at the time of the mutiny, or who had given proofs of their fidelity on the occasion of its occurrence, remained on the strength of the army: the rest were discharged for ever from the service, with the grant to the officers of small pensions for their support, and the numbers of the regiments were erased from the army list.<sup>1</sup> The disposal of the prisoners remained undecided until the arrival of Lord Minto at Madras on his way to Bengal. It was then resolved that a final investigation should take place, and, with the exception of

<sup>1</sup> Two new regiments were formed in their place, the 24th and 25th, to which the European officers of the 1st and 3rd regiments, and such native officers and men as were not discharged, were respectively transferred.—General Orders, 14th January, 1807.

those against whom proof of plunder and murder could be adduced, and who were to be punished accordingly, the whole should be gradually enlarged, being dismissed from the service and declared incapable of being again enlisted. As by this time the agitation had subsided and the confidence of the native troops was restored, the decision was carried into effect without difficulty, and without being followed by any perceptible mischief. The ascertainment of the causes of the mutiny, and of the principal circumstances attending it, was equally a subject of prolonged deliberation and productive of conflicting opinions.

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Although the storm had burst so suddenly upon the victims of its fury, indications of its approach had not been wanting, and careful and intelligent observation might have anticipated its violence and guarded against its consequences. It was known early in May that deep and dangerous discontent pervaded the troops in garrison upon the subject of orders regarding their dress and accoutrements, and rigorous measures were resorted to for its suppression. They had the usual effects of ill-judged severity. They stifled the utterance but aggravated the feelings, and embittered dissatisfaction by forcing it to assume the mask of acquiescence. Secret associations were formed, not only to resist the obnoxious orders, but to brave the penalty which insubordination incurred, by contracting guilt of a still deeper dye; and the native officers and men were gradually drawn into a conspiracy to murder all the Europeans in the fort, and elevate one of the sons of Tippoo to the sovereignty from which his father

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had been hurled by foreigners and infidels. Notwithstanding the oath of secrecy by which silence was imposed on all who were enrolled amongst the conspirators, intimations of the plot transpired sufficient at least to have put the objects of it on their guard. Not only were dark rumours of an approaching tumult current in the fort and Petta, but in the latter a Mohammedan Fakir repeatedly proclaimed in the Bazar the impending destruction of the Europeans. Little regard was paid to his denunciations, as they were uttered with a wildness of manner and vagueness of language which inspired doubts of his sanity. Information still more positive was equally disregarded. At midnight, on the 17th of June, a Sipahi of the 1st regiment, named Mustafa Beg, had come to Colonel Forbes, the commander of the corps, and communicated to him that a plot was concerted to murder the European part of the garrison. The agitation which the man exhibited, and the imperfectly understood purport of his testimony, induced the Colonel not only to doubt the authenticity of his testimony, but to refer its investigation to a committee of native officers, who, being all more or less implicated in the conspiracy, reported of course that Mustafa Beg was unworthy of credence, and demanded his confinement as the punishment of his calumnious aspersions. He was accordingly placed under arrest, and so remained until the mutiny and murder which he had in vain announced had taken place.<sup>1</sup> The utter neglect of these inti-

<sup>1</sup> Mustafa Beg escaped during the tumult, but returned to the fort a few days afterwards, and was rewarded for his conduct by a pecuniary dona-

mations, and their vagueness and infrequency, might seem extraordinary, if there were not reason to believe that there prevailed at the time a more than even the usual estrangement between the European officers and the native troops, which is too often engendered by the contemptuous indifference entertained by the former for the feelings and opinions of the latter, and by their imperfect acquaintance with the native languages. Had there been any cordiality between the European officers and the native garrison,—had any one of them deserved the confidence and attachment of his men, it is not to be credited that only a single individual should have been found faithful among the many who were privy to the conspiracy, and that Mustafa Beg should have stood alone in his communications. Had there not also been some want of vigilance on the part of the officers of the garrison, it is difficult to conceive that they could have been so wholly unprepared for such a widely extended and desperate insurrection.<sup>1</sup>

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tion of 2000 pagodas and a Subahdar's pension. — G. O. Madras, 7th Aug. 1806. A European woman, who had resided some years in Vellore, also apprised Colonel Fancourt that secret meetings were held by the Sipahis in the Petta, at which seditious language was held. No attention was paid to her testimony, as her character was disreputable.—MS. Proceedings of Court of Inquiry.

<sup>1</sup> Shortly before this transaction, Sir John Cradock, the Commander-in-chief, addressed a letter to the adjutant-general for circulation to the army, in which he stated his regret to find that it was the prevailing practice of the service to withhold from the native commissioned officers that respect and intercourse to which their situation and common opinion entitled them. The Court of Directors also remark, "We have too much reason to apprehend, that, to the neglect and disrespect manifested to the native officers by the European officers, the disposition to foment and conceal the dissatisfaction of the men is principally to be attributed." They also observe, "It has been represented to us that the deficiency in the knowledge of the languages of the country prevalent amongst the officers of the army may have operated as another cause of the absence of confidence between the European officers and the native troops. We are aware of the injurious



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The causes of this alarming occurrence necessarily engaged the attention of the public both in India and in Europe, and an acrimonious controversy ensued, which can scarcely be said even yet to be at rest. Not that there was any sufficient reason for difference of opinion. To an impartial judgment the real cause was liable to no misconception; but its admission involved inferences which were pressed by one party beyond their due limits, and of which the grounds were therefore denied altogether by the other. The question of converting the natives of India to the Christian religion was supposed to depend for its solution upon the origin of the massacre at Vellore. By those who were unfriendly to missionary efforts, as well as those who were apprehensive of their effects upon native feeling, the transac-

effects which this ignorance on the part of the European officers is likely to produce, and which we are informed prevails to a great extent." They proceed to suggest a plan for remedying the defect, but it has never yet been carried into operation. A general order of the Commander-in-chief, issued in August, 1806, announced that he would not recommend, nor would the Government approve of, any officer for a staff appointment who did not possess "means of distinct communication with the native army." A knowledge of Hindustani had previously been required from cadets as a condition of promotion, and from all officers as a qualification for the post of adjutant. Adverting to the disregard of Mustafa Beg's information, the Court observe, "We fear that Colonel Forbes's conduct upon that occasion proceeded from the same laxity of system, which, there is reason to suppose, prevailed at Vellore for a considerable period before the unfortunate mine was sprung."—Letter to Fort St. George, 29th May, 1807, printed for the House of Commons, 13th April, 1813. That the discipline of the garrison was relaxed, is proved by the evidence before the Committee as to a neglect of military duty on the very night of the mutiny; the punctual fulfilment of which might have detected something unusual amongst the native soldiery, and perhaps prevented the mischief. The European officer commanding the main-guard being summoned to go the rounds at midnight, declared himself indisposed, and directed the Subahdar to take his place. The Subahdar, in imitation of his superior, pleaded the same excuse, and delegated the duty to the Jemadar, who was one of the chief leaders of the conspiracy. His report was, of course, that all was well at the very hour when the mutineers were arming for the attack.—Proceedings of Committee of Inquiry; MS. Records.

tion was appealed to as decisive of the reasonableness of their fears, and as justifying their opposition. No better reply could be devised by the friends and supporters of missions than a denial that the Vellore mutiny had any connexion with the propagation of Christianity,—a denial in which they were undoubtedly wide of the truth.<sup>1</sup> The essential and main spring of the mutiny was religious principle, although its occurrence was influenced in the manner and season of its development by incidental and local excitement.

Towards the end of 1805 the new Commander-in-chief at Madras, Sir John Cradock, had been led to adopt the project of reducing the regulations of the army to a systematic code. The article of dress, a favourite subject of consideration with military men, at least in time of peace, received all the attention which its importance demanded; and various regulations were drawn up regarding the regimentals and accoutrements of the native soldiery, with the avowed purpose of assimilating their ap-

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<sup>1</sup> The Reverend Dr. Buchanan thus writes to the Government of Bengal: "I understand that the massacre of Vellore has been unaccountably adduced as some sanction to the principle of opposing the progress of the Christian religion in Bengal. I had opportunities of judging of the causes of that event, which were peculiar. I was in the vicinity of the place at the time. I travelled for two months immediately afterwards in the province adjacent with the sanction of Government, and I heard the evidence of Christians, Mohammedans, and Hindus, on the subject. That the insurrection at Vellore had no connexion with the Christian religion, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, is a truth which is capable of demonstration."—Letter from the Reverend C. Buchanan to the Governor-General, 7th Nov., 1807; Parliamentary Papers relating to Missionaries, &c., 14th April, 1813. Dr. Buchanan undoubtedly believed in what he asserted so roundly, but he was strangely misinformed. The most zealous and able defenders of the cause, Lord Teignmouth in his Considerations on the duty of diffusing Christianity in India, and Mr. Wilberforce in his speeches in 1813, afterwards published by himself, do not go to the same length: they only deny that the Vellore mutiny was connected with any unusual extension or activity of Missionary proceedings.

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pearance to that of the European troops. With this intention, the Sipahis were forbidden to appear on parade with ear-rings, or the coloured marks upon the forehead or face significant of sectarial distinctions; and they were commanded to shave their beards and trim their mustachios according to a standard model. The issue of these orders was suspended in a few instances by the prudence of commanding officers of corps; but they were generally known by the men, and almost universally interpreted to imply a design on the part of the Government to compel the native troops to assume the practices, and eventually the religion, of Europeans.<sup>1</sup> Other innovations in their dress and accoutrements, such as a particular undress jacket, black leather stocks, and a turnscrew, which some susceptible minds identified with a cross,<sup>2</sup> had previously occasioned wide-spread dissatisfaction; and the last drop of the cup was poured forth when a new pattern for a turban was devised, which in the apprehension of the Sipahis resembled a hat.<sup>3</sup> This confirmed their fears, and insubordination was the result.

The first overt exhibition of the spirit thus gene-

<sup>1</sup> It was commonly said by the Sipahis, "We shall next be compelled to eat and drink with the outcast and infidel English, to give them our daughters in marriage, to become one people, and follow one faith."

<sup>2</sup> It appears that Sir J. Cradock was not responsible for the two former; they were certainly, however, in use.—Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> It is not easy for persons unacquainted with the East to understand why so harmless a head-dress as a hat should have excited such horror; but, in the estimation of the natives, the hat is identified with the wearer, and, of itself, denotes a European and a Christian. The term *Topi-wala*, or hat-man, is a term that is commonly used for both. To substitute a hat for the equally national characteristic head-dress, the turban, was therefore considered to be a change of deeply significant import.

rated took place in the second battalion of the 4th regiment of Madras infantry, quartered in Vellore, early in May. The grenadier company refused to make up the turban, stating their repugnance to it honestly, and at first respectfully and with calmness. Their representations were received by the commanding officer of the regiment with extreme intemperance, and his violence<sup>1</sup> provoked some disorderly and unmilitary conduct; in consequence of which nineteen grenadiers were arrested, and sent to Madras for trial, by order of the Commander-in-chief, who announced his resolution to have the turbans made up and worn, and insisted on prompt and unhesitating obedience. Of the prisoners sent to the Presidency, two were sentenced

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<sup>1</sup> According to the official report, the captain of the grenadier company of the second battalion of the 4th regiment informed the lieutenant-colonel commanding the corps, that several of his men had waited upon him and expressed strong objections to the new head-dress on the part of the whole company. The colonel called the men before him and questioned them regarding their repugnance; when they stated firmly, though respectfully, that they were well aware of the consequences of disobedience, but that they could not consent to wear the new turban, as it would disgrace them for ever in the eyes of their countrymen. Some of the superior officers expressed themselves prepared to waive their objections; but, as the non-commissioned officers and privates persisted in their refusal, the former were immediately reduced to the ranks, and the latter placed in arrest. In the evening, when the battalion was mustered for parade, the men attended without their side-arms and refused to put them on: on which, the colonel deprived even the superior officers of their swords, and dismissed the battalion; some of the men of which, as they dispersed, called aloud, "Dhurtt! dhurtt!" meaning "Away! away!" but with a somewhat uncivil import. Upon the occurrence being reported to Colonel Fancourt, the commandant of the garrison, he went to the barracks and expostulated with the men; but they unanimously refused to wear the turban, affirming that it was really a hat. Colonel Fancourt took no further steps in the business beyond ordering their swords to be restored to the native commissioned officers. Some further excitement was manifested on the following day, but, as observed by the Court of Directors in their letter to Fort St. George, above cited, it was so obviously provoked by the injudicious conduct of the commanding officer that they would not have been surprised if a mutiny had immediately followed, attended with all the fatal consequences arising from the offended prejudice occasioned by so capricious and wanton an exertion of authority.—Parliamentary Papers.



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lashes each. The sentence was carried into execution in the two first instances;<sup>1</sup> in the others it was remitted, in consequence of the professed contrition of the culprits. The award showed that there was no hope of redress from temperate representation; especially as the Governor in Council took up the subject in the same unquestioning spirit as the Commander-in-chief, and published his determination to enforce the order, and to employ all possible means of suppressing any act of insubordination. This was the radical error of the whole proceeding: it proved to the native troops that they could expect no countenance from their European officers, no consideration for their feelings from the Commander-in-chief or the Government, and corroborated the suspicion that the latter was inflexibly bent upon the abolition of the distinctions of tribe and caste, and the compulsory introduction of an outward conformity at least to the practices of Christians.

In vindication of the course pursued by the Government, it was maintained that there were no reasonable grounds of objection to the turban; that it had been made up without hesitation in some corps; and that two respectable natives, a Moham-medan Syed and a Hindu Brahman, had given evidence that there was nothing in its construction that was incompatible with their religious faith. This

<sup>1</sup> Lord W. Bentinck says, the two ringleaders only received punishment. —Memorial, p. 3. See also Madras General Orders by the Commander-in-chief, 2nd July, 1806.

was no more than true; but although particular influences might in some cases have overcome the objection felt by the troops, and, as is not at all unusual among the natives of India, a few individuals of acknowledged respectability might have been more free from prejudice than their inferiors, yet it was undeniable that a very strong and widely propagated repugnance to the turban did exist in the army, and it would have been more just and generous in the Government, as well as more politic, to have refrained from rating the shape of a cap at a higher value than the affections of the soldiery.

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With regard to the order abolishing marks of caste on parade, and enjoining a particular cut of the beard and mustachios, it was urged in defence of the Commander-in-chief, that although not a part of the express military code, yet it had been introduced very generally in practice before the code was drawn up, and that similar prohibitions and injunctions had long been in force in several regiments. This also was no doubt true, but it evinced great ignorance of the native character to infer that a positive and universally applicable order to that effect might therefore be promulgated with impunity. The commanding officer of a Sipahi battalion who has acquired the confidence of his men can do much, even in opposition to their inclinations, without exciting that dissatisfaction which may be engendered by a formal order of the Commander-in-chief; and it can scarcely be considered peculiar to the natives of India, although in an especial degree to be predicated of them, that pre-

BOOK I. judices, which soften and dissolve before gentle and  
 CHAP. II. judicious influence, commonly harden into intracta-  
 1806. ble rigidity when abruptly and harshly denounced.

The practice of particular regiments, therefore, afforded no safe principle for universal legislation; and the inference displayed little acquaintance with the character or sentiments of the native army.<sup>1</sup>

That the prejudices thus shocked, and the feelings thus exasperated, should have produced their fatal effects at Vellore, was no doubt attributable to an additional stimulus applied by the presence of the family of Tippoo Sultan. The followers and attendants of the princes, naturally ill-disposed towards the British Government, availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the prevailing discontent, and contributed by all means in their power to confirm the impression which the Sipahis entertained of the ulterior objects of the innovations commanded; taunting them with the badges of Christianity which had been imposed upon them in the turnscrow and the turban, and calling upon them to die rather than apostatise from their faith. It was established by the evidence before the court and commission of inquiry, that some of the confidential servants of one of the princes, Moiz-ad-din, had been present at the secret meetings which had preceded the mutiny, and had brought, or pretended to bring, messages from the palace encouraging the mutineers; promising also, that, if the native troops would master the Europeans and hold the fort for

<sup>1</sup> So much of the order as related to sectarial marks and ear-rings was, in truth, not Sir J. Cradock's. It was circulated by his predecessor, Major-General Sir J. Campbell, 11th January, 1805, shortly before Sir J. Cradock's arrival.

eight days, they would be joined by other regiments, and by many of the principal Poligars, with whose aid the Mohammedan kingdom of Mysore would be re-established. The influence exercised by these instigations was the more immediate, from the circumstance that the first regiment of native infantry, which consisted principally of Musselmans, had been raised chiefly in Mysore, and many of the officers and men had served in the armies of Hyder and Tippoo. Former associations, therefore, as well as community of country and of creed, rendered them in a peculiar degree accessible to the persuasions of designing men, and hurried them into the perpetration of atrocities which the injury offered to their prejudices might not of itself have impelled them to commit. The source of the evil was still, however, the spirit which had been raised by the severity and inconsiderateness of the English authorities. Mischievous hands may have applied a torch, but no explosion would have ensued had not the materials of conflagration been previously accumulated.

That the mutiny of Vellore was of a purely political character, and arose out of a conspiracy to replace a Mohammedan dynasty on the throne of Mysore,—an opinion that was strenuously advocated by those who wished to shut their eyes against the evidence of its religious connexion,—was wholly incapable of demonstration. Even with regard to the sons of Tippoo themselves, no proof could be elicited that they had been concerned in the conspiracy. There was no evidence that the communications made to the conspirators in their name had proceeded from them, and it was clearly established



BOOK I. that prior to the mutiny they had never held personal  
CHAP. II. intercourse with any of the insurgents. Al-

1806. though it appeared that during the tumult some of the Sipahis received refreshments at the houses of two of the princes, Mohi-ad-din and Moiz-ad-din, and that the Mysore flag was brought from the residence of the latter, yet it was also in evidence that they had shrunk from the clamorous invitations of the crowd to come forth and place themselves at their head, and that they had carefully abstained from every word and deed which might implicate them in the riot. No suspicion whatever attached to the elder members of the family; the younger were of too tender an age to be cognizant of such a project; and the utmost criminality that could be charged against some of the intermediate members of the fraternity was the possibility of their being aware of the agitation of a plot against the European part of the garrison, and their omission to give notice of it to the only European officer with whom they were allowed to communicate, Colonel Marriott. Attachment to the Company was not to be expected from them, but there was little to apprehend from their animosity. Their own characters and habits were a sufficient security for their harmlessness. They were bitter enemies to each other,<sup>1</sup> and were uniformly destitute of activity, enterprise, and courage. They had neither the spirit to conceive, nor the daring to execute, a project that demanded both; and, whatever may have been their own wishes or the participation of their adherents,

<sup>1</sup> It was believed in the palace, that, on one occasion, Moiz-ad-din had attempted to poison the eldest of his brothers.

there is ample reason to conclude that the sons of Tippoo were not personally the originators or instigators of the mutiny. As, however, their presence was calculated to keep alive the hopes of their adherents, and furnish a rallying point to the disaffected, they were removed from the Madras Presidency to that of Bengal, and placed under easy surveillance in the vicinity of Calcutta.<sup>1</sup>

Still more untenable were the opinions of those who beheld in the transaction the evidence of a general plot among the Mohammedans of the Dekhin to restore the sovereignty of Islam and expel the unbelievers; yet the Government of Madras was at first inclined to adopt this view, and declared its impression that a widely diffused confederacy had been formed to subvert the British power and raise that of the Mohammedans upon its downfall. The calm and sound judgment of Sir George Barlow saw the business in its true colours, and questioned the reality of any extensive or secret combination of the natives, and Lord William Bentinck retracted his opinion. It was nevertheless persisted in by Sir John Cradock and several officers of the Madras army, although no conclusive proofs were ever adduced, and probabilities were decidedly

<sup>1</sup> They were removed from Vellore, on the 28th of August, 1806, amidst an immense concourse of spectators, who manifested no sympathy in their fate, nor was it apparently any object of anxiety to themselves. They arrived at the Sand-heads on the 12th September, where the second, Abd-ul-Khalik, died: the rest were placed in suitable residences near Calcutta, under official surveillance, but no personal restraint. Moiz-ad-din, against whom circumstances were most unfavourable, was kept for some time in confinement, but was eventually liberated. Some of the brothers, and a multitude of descendants, still survive. One of the brothers, Jami-ad-din Hyder, who at the time of the Vellore mutiny was about ten years of age, spent some years in England, and died here in 1842.

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1806. against them.<sup>1</sup> Of whom was such a confederacy to be composed? The Mohammedan princes of the Dekhin were not likely to feel any great sympathy for the descendants of a military adventurer whom, whilst living, they had despised, even while they feared him. The principal of them, the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Nizam, could not have entered into such an association without its coming to the knowledge of the English authorities; and no grounds, even for suspicion against them, were ever detected. It was still less probable that the Hindu Rajas and Poligars would engage in a scheme, the success of which must have brought back the days of Moslem bigotry, intolerance, and persecution. In short, all the evidence examined tended to show, beyond the possibility of cavil, that there had been no intercourse whatever between the family of Tippoo and any chief or princes out of the fort; and, although some of the mutineers talked vaguely of the support that was expected from one or two insignificant Poligars, yet neither messenger nor letter

<sup>1</sup> Much stress was laid upon information received from a native Subahdar of cavalry, who had been long in the service of the Company, and professed devoted allegiance to the Government; but all that was fairly deducible from his communications was, that the disaffection of the troops was more extensive than had been imagined. All the causes of this disaffection he declared it was difficult to state, but he expressed his belief that it arose principally from the intrigues of Tippoo's family and their adherents: he stated that a number of persons formerly in the Sultan's service, or their relations, were now serving in the native regiments, and that agents and friends of the family were employed all over the country in instigating discontent. That the Company's regiments had enlisted many of Tippoo's soldiers was well known, and that they and the Mohammedans generally were dissatisfied with the change of masters was highly probable; but there was no evidence of any agency set on foot by Tippoo's sons, and the discontent of the Hindu part of the army, much the most numerous, could scarcely be ascribable to intrigues in favour of a Mohammedan dynasty. The Subahdar's information was merely individual belief, unsupported by evidence of facts.—MS. Records; Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, 103.

had ever been interchanged, and no warrant had been given by them for such a misuse of their names.

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A conspiracy of the Mohammedan princes was a mere shadow, created by an alarmist imagination, or by a wish to shift the responsibility from the real cause, the military orders, to one wholly visionary.

But positive proof that the mutiny originated in no political combination, was afforded by occurrences in other quarters. The feelings that instigated the mutiny at Vellore were likewise entertained by the subsidiary force at Hyderabad, and consequences equally serious were apprehended. There, however, the Resident, Captain Sydenham, and Colonel Montresor the commandant, had timely notice of the agitation that prevailed amongst the troops, and justly appreciated the cause. They took upon themselves the responsibility of disobeying the general orders of the Commander-in-chief, and published a cantonment order in which the Sipahis were told that they were wholly mistaken in supposing that any measures enjoined by the supreme authority could be intended in the smallest degree to infringe upon what the Government held so sacred as their religion ; but that, as they had so misconceived the object of the order, the commanding officer of the subsidiary force had no doubt that the Commander-in-chief would countermand the obnoxious regulation, and in the meantime he directed the making up of the new turbans to be suspended. The effect of this judicious procedure was immediate, and calm and confidence at once revived among the troops. In the investigation which succeeded, it was found that some of the disaffected

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nobles of the court of Hyderabad had taken advantage of the existing discontent to foment the irritation, and that one or two of the native officers had so far listened to their own fears and the counsels of pernicious advisers as to declare that they were ready to put the Europeans to death rather than become Christians. No other communion with Vellore could be traced than that of similar desperation, originating simultaneously from similar apprehensions.<sup>1</sup>

At Walajabad, again, a like disposition was discovered, arising from a like cause. The order for the new turban was issued early in June, and was received with expressions of dissatisfaction. These were silenced for a while by the trial and dismissal of one of the ring-leaders; but, at the end of July, reports of a design of the men to murder their European officers excited the alarm of the latter.<sup>2</sup> The 1st battalion of the 23rd regiment of native infantry was marched out of the cantonments until the arrival of a party of dragoons from Arcot, when the corps was disarmed and all the native officers were put under arrest. The men submitted quietly to all that was required of them, and the investigation that took place showed that there had been

<sup>1</sup> Rumours the most extraordinary and incredible spread amongst the troops at this station; it was reported that the Europeans had a design to massacre the natives, that a hundred bodies without heads were lying on the banks of the Mûsa river, and that the Europeans had built a church which the heads of these decapitated trunks had been required to sanctify. There were other stories in circulation equally monstrous.

<sup>2</sup> Their discontent had been first manifested about the 24th July, in consequence of long drills and generally harsh or inconsiderate treatment. On one occasion, after a drill from sun-rise till 7, they were kept in the barracks till 12 cleaning their arms and accoutrements. On being dismissed, some angry and menacing exclamations were uttered.

great exaggeration in the tales which had inspired the panic; and although some of the native officers and a few men of bad character had been active in aggravating the irritation caused by the general order, yet the majority of the men were innocent of any intention to commit violence. The dismissal of the incendiaries, and the revocation of the offensive orders, restored tranquillity, and no further indications of disaffection were displayed.

It was not to be expected that a ferment so violent, and a catastrophe so dreadful, should at once have passed over and been forgotten; and, accordingly, some months elapsed before confidence and security were restored. The Sipahis were slow to credit the sincerity of the Government, and, still suspecting its having entertained sinister designs, attributed their frustration to the mutiny at Vellore; they therefore looked upon those who had fallen in the recapture of the fortress as martyrs for their faith, and in some places secretly solemnised their funeral obsequies. This was the case at Nandidrúg, where part of the 18th N. I., a regiment raised in Mysore, was stationed; and, consequent upon the excitement thus occasioned, some wild and mischievous excesses were in contemplation: timely precautions prevented their commission, and, upon the discharge of some of those most deeply implicated, the rest expressed their contrition, and the agitation subsided. In truth, much of the excitement that prevailed during the latter months of 1806 was the work of the officers themselves: passing from one extreme to the other, they exchanged the supineness of security for the restlessness of

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suspicion, credulously listened to every whisper of insurrection, trembled at every idle tale of intended tumult and massacre, and kept both themselves and their men in a constant fever of aimless apprehension. The tranquillising operation of time, the repeated injunctions of both the local Government and that of Bengal to the officers to abstain from all manifestations of distrust, and the strongest assurances published to the troops that the British Government would ever respect their religious creeds, gradually allayed anxiety and re-established trust.<sup>1</sup>

Upon considering, therefore, the utter improbability of any combined co-operation of the Mohammedian princes of the Dekhin with the sons of Tippoo, the absence of all proof of its existence, the extension of the discontent to places where no political influence in their favour could have been exerted, the prevalence of disaffection among the Hindus as well as the Mohammedans, and, finally, admitting the entire adequacy of the cause to the effect, there can be no reason to seek for any other origin of the mutiny than dread of religious change inspired by the military orders. Here, however, in fairness to the question of the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity, the nature of the panic which spread amongst the Sipahis requires to be candidly appreciated. It is a great error to suppose that the people of India are so sensitive upon the subject of their religion, either Hindu or Mohammedan, as to suffer no approach of controversy, or to encounter

<sup>1</sup> "The panic wore away, the Sepoys forgot their fears of an attack upon their religion, and the officers no longer slept with pistols under their pillows."—Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, p. 40. For the Government proclamation see Appendix.

adverse opinions with no other arguments than insurrection and murder. On the contrary, great latitude of belief and practice has always prevailed amongst them, and especially amongst the troops, in whose ranks will be found seceders of various denominations from the orthodox systems. It was not, therefore, the dissemination of Christian doctrines that excited the angry apprehensions of the Sipahis on the melancholy occasion which has called for these observations, nor does it appear that any unusual activity in the propagation of those doctrines was exercised by Christian missionaries at the period of its occurrence. It was not conversion which the troops dreaded, it was compulsion; it was not the reasoning or the persuasion of the missionary which they feared, but the arbitrary interposition of authority. They believed, of course erroneously, that the Government was about to compel them to become Christians, and they resisted compulsory conversion by violence and bloodshed.<sup>1</sup> The lesson is one of great seriousness, and should never be lost sight of as long as the relative position of the

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<sup>1</sup> The opinion that the Government had some such project in view was not confined to the Sipahis. Mir Alem, the veteran minister of the Nizam, and, as has been seen, the staunch friend of the English, expressed his surprise that the British Government should think it just or safe to compel the troops to wear the semblance of Christians; and a like astonishment was manifested by the ministers of Nagpur.—Letters from the Residents; MS. Records. Of the universality of the feeling, there is also published an impartial testimony. Purnia, the Dewan of Mysore, gave it as his opinion that the Hindus were more alarmed and dissatisfied than the Mohammedans.—Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, 45. And Sir Thomas Munro writes: "However strange it may appear to Europeans, I know that the general opinion of the most intelligent natives in this part of the country is, that it was intended to make the Sepoys Christians."—Letter to Lord W. Bentinck, 11th August, 1806. This letter also shows, that, in a part of the Peninsula where the adherents of the family of Hyder were most numerous, there were no reasons for believing that any intrigues had been at work in their favour.—Life of Sir T. Munro, i. 363.



BOOK I. British Government and its Indian subjects remains  
CHAP. II. unaltered. It is not enough that the authority of

1806. the ruling power should never interpose in matters of religious belief, it should carefully avoid furnishing grounds of suspicion that it intends to interfere.

A subject of minor importance, but one that was agitated with no less vehemence, divided the chief civil and military functionaries at Madras; each endeavouring to get rid of the responsibility of having issued the obnoxious orders. Sir John Cradock urged in his defence that he had acted by the advice of his official military counsellors, the Adjutant-General and Deputy Quarter-Master-General, officers of experience and well acquainted with the temper and character of the native troops, who had seen nothing unusual or exceptionable in the proposed arrangements; and that, before the orders were embodied in the code, they had been submitted to the Governor in Council, and had received his sanction. To this Lord W. Bentinck replied, that it could not be expected that he or the members of Council were to read and comment upon every article of a voluminous code of military regulations compiled under the instructions of the Commander-in-chief, and for which he was responsible; that accordingly they sanctioned the regulations as a matter of form, examining those only which were designated as novel, and passing over those to which their attention was not directed as innovations upon established practice. In this manner they were not aware of the order regarding the marks of sect, and the trimming of the mustachios; although they did notice and authorise the

alteration of the turbans. The Governor of Madras seems to make light of the latter, and attaches most importance to the former; but certainly the shape of the turbans was the most immediate cause of the dissatisfaction of the soldiers, and Lord William Bentinck was as decidedly bent upon insisting on its adoption as was Sir John Cradock. Not only had he declared his determination to enforce obedience to the order, on occasion of the dislike expressed to it in May by the second battalion of the 4th; but late in June, when the Commander-in-chief began to apprehend evil consequences from the measure, and solicited the advice and authority of the Governor in Council, in order to be relieved from the anxiety and embarrassment under which he laboured in consequence of information he had received from several moderate and discreet officers of the almost universal objection which prevailed against the new turban; his willingness to rescind the order was overruled; the Government repeated their conviction that the pattern of the turban did not militate against any religious prejudice, and declared that they could not assent to give way to clamour arising from unfounded prejudice. It was proposed to substitute for the rescission of the order a proclamation, which, while it announced the determination of the authorities to enforce obedience, disclaimed all purpose of religious interference; but in the mean time information of a different tenor from the preceding having reached Sir J. Cradock, he was led to believe that the dissatisfaction had subsided, and that the proclamation was unnecessary. It would have been, no doubt, of little avail, as it ex-

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BOOK I. pressed the obstinacy of the authorities in persisting  
 CHAP. II. in the offensive innovation; but the inaccuracy of  
 1806. the intelligence which suspended its publication  
 was presently afterwards demonstrated by actual  
 occurrences, and a proclamation of a different  
 purport was put forth. The reference of the Com-  
 mander-in-chief, and the manner in which it was  
 received, are decisive of the degree of responsibility  
 which attaches to the local Government; and how-  
 ever injudicious may have been the conduct of Sir  
 John Cradock in originating measures pregnant  
 with such serious mischief, and however averse he  
 may have been to acknowledge his error, the course  
 pursued by Lord William Bentinck evinced an  
 equal blindness to the consequences of the act, a  
 still greater degree of inflexibility in its enforce-  
 ment, and a similar ignorance and disregard of the  
 feelings and prejudices of the native army. The  
 spirit by which both functionaries were animated  
 was the same—military absolutism,—a principle  
 which, however just and necessary in the abstract,  
 requires to be applied to practice with caution and  
 judgment, and not without due consideration for the  
 circumstances which may call for its exercise, the  
 feelings which it may embitter, or the consequences  
 which it may provoke.<sup>1</sup> Herein consisted the error

<sup>1</sup> That the same unbending rigour of discipline which may be necessary in the management of European soldiers, is not needed, or is injurious as applied to natives, we have had the testimony of competent judges: one of the latest, and not the least worthy of credit, says, "We are apt to fall into the error of measuring everything according to the standard of European discipline, forgetting the different characters of the native and the Englishman. There is an Asiatic sensitiveness and propriety in the conduct of the Sepoy, which renders the roughness and severity with which we treat English soldiers offensive and unnecessary towards him."—*Relations of the British Government and Native States*, by J. Sutherland,

of both Sir J. Cradock and Lord W. Bentinck, that they excluded every other view but that of military subordination.<sup>1</sup> The Court of Directors considered their conduct equally unsatisfactory: they were accordingly recalled; and although at a subsequent period, and upon a calmer review of the transaction, they acquitted Lord W. Bentinck and Sir John Cradock of a wanton or needless violation of the religious usages of the natives, yet they retained their opinion that those officers had been defective in not examining with greater caution and care into the real sentiments and dispositions of the Sipahis before they proceeded to enforce the orders for the turban. This decision seems to be fully justified by a dispassionate survey of the transaction. A careful and considerate investigation of the objections to the turban, which were advanced by the Sipahis in May, would in all likelihood have prevented the mutiny of July.

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Captain 3rd Bombay Cavalry, p. 10. It seems extraordinary, that, after so many years' experience, the character of the native army should be imperfectly understood, but recent events have shown that it is not even yet accurately appreciated by the Indian Government.

<sup>1</sup> On receiving advice of the repugnance of the 4th regiment, Sir J. Cradock wrote to Colonel Fancourt to direct that those men whom the colonel had placed in confinement should be sent to Madras for trial, and that the non-commissioned officers of the 4th who had declined to wear the turban, and the commissioned officers, should immediately make it up and wear it, on pain of dismission from the service. The officer commanding the 19th dragoons was ordered to march, if required by Colonel Fancourt, to Vellore, to assist in enforcing obedience. The Commander-in-chief would not admit of hesitation to the orders he had given.—Letter from the Commander-in-chief, 7th May; Memorial of Lord W. Bentinck, p. 92. Lord W. Bentinck justly observes of this letter, that military command never was expressed in higher or more imperious language. His own was something like it. "The opposition which has been experienced in the late change of turbans is destitute of any foundation in the law or usage of the Mohammedan or Hindu religion, and any persons who may persevere in that opposition cannot, in consequence, fail to be subjected to the severest penalties of military discipline."—G. O. by Government, 4th July; Memorial, p. 94.



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It will now be convenient to advert to the proceedings which during this period took place in Great Britain relating to the administration of the affairs of the Indian empire.

### CHAPTER III.

*Proceedings in England.—Refusal of the Directors to concur in the appointment of the Earl of Lauderdale as Governor-General.—Sir George Barlow recalled by the King's sign-manual.—Discussions in Parliament and with the Board of Controul.—Lord Minto appointed Governor-General.—Proceedings in the House of Commons.—Impeachment of Lord Wellesley by Mr. Paull.—Papers moved for.—Charges relating to the Nawab of Oude.—Nawab of Furruckabad.—Zemindar of Sasnee and others.—Proceedings interrupted by dissolution of Parliament.—Renewed by Lord Folkestone.—Impeachment abandoned.—Condemnatory Resolutions negatived.—Merits of the Oude question.—Motion for an Inquiry into the Assumption of the Carnatic negatived.—Censure of Lord Wellesley's Policy by the Court of Proprietors.—Appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons.—Diminished Import Trade of the Company.*

CHAP. III.

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THE embarrassed state of the finances of the East India Company, attributed to the ambition and ex-

travagance of Marquis Wellesley, and the countenance which he had shown to the extension of the private trade, and consequent encroachment on the Company's commercial privileges, had excited a strong feeling of hostility to that nobleman's administration in the Court of Directors, which awakened a corresponding sentiment in the majority of the proprietary body. Weakened in political influence by the secession of many of his adherents, disheartened by the gloomy aspect of affairs in Europe, and broken in physical strength, Mr. Pitt was not inclined to support the measures of Lord Wellesley in opposition to the views which were entertained at the India House; and although he resisted, through the Board of Controul, the expression of the Court's disapprobation, yet he consented to give it full effect by the appointment of Lord Cornwallis, a nobleman of different character and principles. The death of that nobleman threatened to frustrate the purposes of his nomination; but the zeal with which his intentions were carried out by Sir G. Barlow, upon his assuming the government, forcibly recommended to the Court his continuance as Governor-General. They were at first allowed to hope that their wish would be complied with: but they were speedily disappointed, under circumstances which, as involving questions of some importance, merit to be detailed.

Information of the death of Marquis Cornwallis arrived in England at the end of January, 1806, upon the eve of the total change of Ministers which followed the demise of Mr. Pitt. A proposal to pay a public tribute of respect to the memory of Lord

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BOOK I. Cornwallis was one of the last measures of the  
CHAP. III. retiring Administration: it was readily acceded to  
1806. by their opponents, and it was resolved that his  
statue should be erected in St. Paul's cathedral.<sup>1</sup>  
The East India Company voted a grant to his heir  
of £40,000. The appointment of a successor de-  
volved on the new Ministers, amongst whom Lord  
Minto was charged with the superintendence of  
Indian affairs as President of the Board of Controul;  
and by him a communication was made on the 14th  
of February to the Court of Directors, conveying his  
impression of the importance, in the actual state of  
affairs in India, of investing Sir G. Barlow without  
delay with the fullest powers, and recommending  
that he should be at once formally appointed Go-  
vernor-General of India. The recommendation was  
immediately complied with, and the commission  
was made out and signed on the 25th of February.  
It was therefore with no small degree of astonish-  
ment that only ten days afterwards, on the 7th of  
March, the Court was apprised that Ministers had  
determined to supersede Sir G. Barlow in favour of  
the Earl of Lauderdale. It was in vain that the  
Directors remonstrated against so abrupt a change  
of determination, and urged the advantages of ad-  
hering to the original arrangement; until, finding  
that their remonstrances and arguments were inef-  
fectual, they positively refused to cancel the ap-  
pointment. The Ministry retaliated by a warrant  
under the King's sign-manual recalling Sir G. Bar-  
low; and the Court was finally compelled to agree  
to a compromise, by which the Earl of Lauderdale

<sup>1</sup> Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd February, 1806.

ostensibly declined the acceptance of the office, and Lord Minto was nominated Governor-General.

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The difference which had thus arisen between the Directors and the Ministers afforded to the parliamentary adversaries of the latter a reasonable pretext for animadversions upon their conduct; and, in the House of Lords, Viscount Melville moved for copies of the correspondence which had taken place between the Court of Directors and the Board of Controul.<sup>1</sup> The course pursued by the Administration was vindicated by Lord Grenville, and the motion was negatived without a division.

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In the correspondence with the Board, as well as in the debate in the House of Lords, it was manifest that there were two main points of difference between the contending parties; one of a private, one of a public nature. No exceptions to the Earl of Lauderdale were openly advanced by the Court; but, besides the preference of the individual in the instance of Sir G. Barlow, there is no doubt that the Earl of Lauderdale's known opinions in favour of free trade and popular government rendered him unacceptable to many of the members of the Direction.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, although Ministers were profuse in their professions of the high sense which they entertained of the merits of Sir G. Barlow, yet his line of policy was not in accordance with the views of the leading members of the Cabinet; Lord

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Debates, 8th July, 1806.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Lauderdale was a zealous supporter of Mr. Fox's India Bill, and an opposer of the Company's privileges. In politics his opinions were extreme, and led him to advocate the principles of the French Revolution. He made himself conspicuous in the House of Lords by affecting a costume supposed to characterise Jacobinism.—Obituary notice, Gentleman's Magazine, 1839.



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Grenville declaring, that the grounds on which he was ready to admit those merits being Sir G. Barlow's zealous concurrence and effective co-operation in the measures and in the system of Marquis Wellesley, whose government was, in his opinion, the most splendid and glorious that India had ever known. The adoption of a totally opposite system by Sir G. Barlow must consequently have been utterly incompatible with his appointment to the office of Governor-General, in Lord Grenville's estimation. At the same time, the Directors complained with good reason of the inconsistency of the Cabinet in precipitately revoking an appointment which they had recommended, chiefly upon the grounds that it was necessary to arm Sir G. Barlow without delay with full authority to adjust and settle the various important matters which had been left undetermined or doubtful by the death of his predecessor. Intimation of his appointment would be so immediately followed by that of his supersession, that it was impossible he could have derived any additional power or consideration from an elevation so fleeting and delusive, or that in the interval he could have adjusted and settled any doubtful measures of public importance. Lord Minto maintained that he had distinctly apprised the Court that the arrangement was to be regarded as merely temporary, until there should be more leisure to give it that deliberation which its importance demanded. His letter, however, expressly stated that there was no intention of making any immediate change; and the Court, naturally inferring that a much longer period than that of ten

days was contemplated, resented the suddenness of the alteration as indecorous towards themselves, and unfair and unjust towards Sir G. Barlow. Intended disrespect to the Court was of course disclaimed; and, in recognition of the admitted value of Sir G. Barlow's services, a hope was expressed that he would continue to be a member of the Supreme Council. The change of appointment was persisted in. It was evident that the first announcement of the purposes of the Ministry was premature, and that either Lord Minto had acted without consulting his colleagues, or that, in the novel position of the party to which he was attached, they had not been fully aware of the value of the patronage, or of the necessity of securing, by means of it, parliamentary support.<sup>1</sup>

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A question of greater magnitude than the relative fitness of individuals was involved in the dispute, and the result awoke the Directors to the first distinct perception of the virtual power of the Crown to dispose at pleasure of the highest offices in India. It had been hitherto argued, that the clause in the act of 1784<sup>2</sup>—Mr. Pitt's bill—which gave to the Crown authority to recall any of the Company's servants, civil or military, and to compel them to vacate whatever situations they might hold, was intended only to prevent any improper abuse of the patronage of the Court, by enforcing the return of persons whom the partiality of friends in the Direc-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fox admitted that the appointment of Sir G. Barlow was made before the Administration was fully formed.—Parl. Deb. 10th March, 1806.

<sup>2</sup> 24 Geo. III. cap. 25, sec. 22.

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tion, or the vehemence of partisans in the Court of Proprietors, might uphold in office, in spite of notorious incompetency or misconduct. In such an extreme case the Crown was empowered by the act to interpose, but in no other; for the same act had vested the appointment of their servants in India exclusively in the Directors; and, although they had been in the habit of communicating with his Majesty's Ministers, in order to preserve that good understanding which was essential to the conduct of public affairs, yet they denied that they had thereby relinquished a chartered right. "If," they enquired, "the removal of a high public functionary in India were to be combined with the appointment of a particular successor nominated by the King's Ministers, and the choice of the Court were confined to that person alone, then would not the absolute appointment to the important situations of Governor-General, or Governor of the subordinate Presidencies, devolve in fact upon the Crown?" The same arguments were repeated by Lord Melville. He affirmed, that it was alike the intention of the Legislature and the sense of the public, in the act of 1784, that the Court of Directors should continue to enjoy, without interference, the patronage of India; and that the clause which gave to the Crown the power of recall could not be fairly construed as a transfer of the patronage, by enabling the Crown to negative appointments made by the Court; and he appealed to the recollection of Lord Grenville to bear him out in his understanding of the spirit of the act, in conformity to which alone its provisions should be interpreted. In his reply to the Court,

Lord Minto confined himself to the question of right; admitting that of the Court to appoint, asserting that of the Crown to recall. Lord Grenville's answer to Lord Melville was, that laws were to be understood as they were expressed, and not according to the fancies or feelings of individuals; that the same objections which were now started had been made when the clause was enacted; and that it could not be contended, that, because the Crown had the power of negating an appointment, it followed that the whole of the appointments in India fell under the controul of his Majesty's Ministers. He granted, that, if it could be shown that the power had been exercised in the present instance merely for the purpose of procuring the appointment of a person whom Ministers wished to serve, it would be a violation of the law; but, although he denied that the measure originated in favour to Lord Lauderdale, he refused to assign any motives for the removal of Sir G. Barlow. He also denied that his removal was founded upon any systematic exclusion of the Company's servants from places of the highest authority in India; and observed, that such an insinuation came with a peculiarly ill grace from the members of the late Administration, who had exercised their patronage upon the same principle, and had sent out Marquis Wellesley, Marquis Cornwallis, and other noblemen to India. Lord Minto replied in a similar strain to a like representation from the Court of the injustice done to their civil servants by their exclusion from the chief dignities in India; and observed, that no disadvantage had resulted from the nomina-

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tion to the first stations in that country of persons who possessed rank and influence in Great Britain.<sup>1</sup>

He further remarked, that it was indispensable that the Government at home should have at the head of affairs in India an individual in whom they could implicitly confide, and of whose views they could feel assured: a principle which, the Court justly observed, might make the Governor-General the mere creature of a party, taking and leaving office with every change of Ministry, and regulating his proceedings in India less by a disinterested regard for the prosperity of that country, than by anxiety for the retention of power and place by his colleagues in England; and they maintained, with unanswerable justice, that the Governor-General of

<sup>1</sup> The absolute exclusion of the Company's servants from the highest offices in India was never advocated; it was only asserted, that, with regard to the appointment of Governor-General, advantage had resulted from the preference of persons of exalted station in Great Britain,—a proposition to which few of the Company's servants would hesitate to accede. With respect not only to the office of Governor-General, but to those of subordinate Governors, one of the most distinguished and respected of the Civil servants of the Company, the late Mr. Edmonstone, has left on record sentiments to which all who seek the real good of India will be inclined to subscribe. While admitting that there may be, and have been, splendid exceptions, Mr. Edmonstone observes, "My opinion has always been generally adverse to selecting the Governors from among those who have belonged to the service, because I think, that, with very few exceptions, an individual who has passed through the several gradations of the public service, and has consequently been known in the lowest as well as the highest grades, cannot assume that tone of superiority, nor exercise that degree of influence and controul, and attract that degree of deference and respect, which, in my judgment, contribute importantly to the efficient administration of the office of Governor, as regards both the European and native population. A person of eminence and distinction proceeding from England to fill that office, if duly qualified by character and talent, carries with him a greater degree of influence, and inspires more respect, than an individual who has been known in a subordinate capacity in India can usually command."—Evidence, Commons' Committee, 1832; Public Question 1701. There are other obvious advantages from the appointment of a person of rank and connexion to the office of Governor-General in particular, that more than compensate for any want of stimulus to exertion which the possibility of attaining so elevated a station might be thought to afford to the servants of the Company.

India ought to be unfettered by party and Ministerial obligations. The qualification of partisanship for the office of Governor-General of India, although first avowed by the Whigs, is too congenial to the selfishness of that party spirit which governs the national councils of Great Britain to want advocates amongst their opponents also; but it may be stated, in justice to those who succeeded to the short-lived Administration of 1806, that the principle did not regulate their practice. Lord Minto, although selected from the ranks of their adversaries, was allowed to remain undisturbed in the discharge of his Indian duties until he was superseded by the Court of Directors.

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The discussion that thus arose was not without ulterior consequences. Whatever were the ostensible motives of the disputants, however veiled by sophistical reasoning or unmeaning professions, there is no doubt that patronage was the prey contended for, and that which the original clause of the act of 1784 was intended unavowedly to appropriate. The true import of that clause was now brought to the test, and its meaning was proved to be the nomination of the Governor-General by his Majesty's Ministers. It had been proposed to effect this object in a conciliatory manner, by leaving the appointment with the Court of Directors, subject only to its contingent annulment by the Board through the power of recall: but, as on this occasion the Court manifested a disposition to assert a voice potential in the designation of a successor to the Marquis Cornwallis, the intimation was not disregarded; and, on the first subsequent opportunity for the re-

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newal of the charter, a clause was inserted<sup>1</sup> more distinctly enunciatory of the power of the Crown, by which the appointments to the offices of Governor-General, Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Commander-in-chief, which were made by the Directors, were declared thenceforth subject to royal approbation. The patronage has been since exercised upon this arrangement; and, as the Court can appoint no persons save those of whom it has been previously ascertained that the Board approves, the nomination is virtually exercised by the Administration of the day.<sup>2</sup>

The attention of the House of Commons was called to other subjects connected with the Government of India; and many of its deliberations were devoted, with little advantage either to India or to Great Britain, to a futile attempt to impeach the late Governor-General, Marquis Wellesley.

Mr. James Paull had resided some years in the principality of Oude,<sup>3</sup> and had there carried on a lucrative traffic in the cotton manufactures of the country. His residence had necessarily the sanction of the British authorities; and, according to his own account, he enjoyed the favour of the Nawab

<sup>1</sup> 53 Geo. III. cap. 155, sec. 80.

<sup>2</sup> In the examination of Mr. Auber, the Secretary to the Court of Directors, before the Commons' Committee of 1832, the relative share of the Ministers and Directors in the patronage of the highest offices in India was a subject fully discussed. Mr. Auber contended stoutly for the power of the Directors, but was obliged to admit that no Governor-General or Commander-in-chief had ever been named by the Court of whom the Crown had disapproved, being in fact nominated upon a previous communication with the Board, while several instances of disapprobation of inferior appointments and their consequent annulment had occurred. The Directors in fact may be said to exercise a kind of selection, but it must be from individuals who they are assured will be acceptable to the Ministers.

<sup>3</sup> He is noticed as agent for one of the Nawab's creditors in 1796.

until the period of a visit which he paid to England.<sup>1</sup> Upon his return, the Nawab strongly objected to his being again domiciled in Oude; but his objections were withdrawn in consequence of the intercession of the Governor-General,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Paull repaired to Lucknow, "sensibly feeling the obligations he was under to his Excellency, for whom he had only sentiments of gratitude and profound respect."<sup>3</sup> These sentiments were short-lived. Mr. Paull, soon after Lord Wellesley's resignation, returned also to England: his first step was the purchase of a seat in the House of Commons; his second, the institution of charges against his former patron and benefactor.

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In the prosecution of this purpose, Mr. Paull moved, on the 25th June, 1805, for the production of papers intended to illustrate the nature of the connexion established with the Government of Oude under the administration of Sir John Shore, and the changes it had undergone during that of Lord Wellesley; by which the Nawab, in defiance of justice, had been degraded and disgraced in the eyes of the world, and in the face of the most solemn treaties had been dispossessed of a territory which had a population of three millions of attached subjects, and yielded an annual revenue of nearly two millions sterling. Papers were also moved for, relating to the appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley as Commissioner for the affairs of Oude;

<sup>1</sup> Private letter to Major Malcolm, Lucknow, 9th Feb., 1803; printed by Auber, *History of India*, ii. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Persian Secretary to the Nawab Vizir, 17th Sept., 1802.—Papers printed by order of Parliament, 17th July, 1806, No. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Correspondence printed by order of Parliament, 16th June, 1806, No. 20.



BOOK I. which appointment, he not being a servant of the  
 CHAP. III. East India Company, was in defiance of an act of

1806. parliament and a violation of the law. No opposition was made to the production of the papers; and subsequently similar documents were granted relating to Lord Wellesley's treatment of the Raja of Bhurtpore, the Nawab of Surat, and the Nawab of Furruckabad. The first charge was submitted to the House on the 23rd of April, 1806.

The tone of the preliminary proceedings sufficiently indicated their eventual result. The individual who had undertaken to establish the criminality of Lord Wellesley was ill qualified for the task, even if he had been provided with more tenable grounds for his accusations. The intemperance of his language was not redeemed by any powers of eloquence, or extenuated by the nature of his facts, and argued more of personal malignity than public spirit:<sup>1</sup> he stood wholly unsupported in the House, even by the members of the Court of Directors who were present, and who in that character had concurred in the unqualified reprobation of many of those measures of the Governor-General which were now brought under Parliamentary investigation.<sup>2</sup> He was opposed by both the political

<sup>1</sup> He accused, in his charge with respect to Oude, Lord Wellesley and Mr. H. Wellesley of committing murder, when speaking of the employment of a military force against the refractory Zemindars in the Ceded districts; and, on a subsequent occasion, he calls upon the House to consider the situation of India, from the accursed day when Marquis Wellesley set foot there, until the day of his departure, during which interval it exhibited a constant scene of rapine, oppression, cruelty, and fraud which goaded the whole country into a state of revolt.—Hansard's Parl. Debates, 23rd May and 6th July, 1806.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thornton observed, that impeachment was a step much stronger than anything which he was prepared to think the conduct of Marquis Wellesley, improper as he esteemed it, could warrant him in adopting;

parties in the Commons: by the one as participant of Lord Wellesley's measures; by the other on the principle that, although the system might be reprehensible, yet Parliamentary inquiry was neither necessary nor expedient.<sup>1</sup> And he derived no weight from popular interest, as it was engrossed by considerations of nearer and more vital importance.

The first charge brought forward, the prodigal expenditure of Lord Wellesley's government, took the House by surprise, as it was unconnected with any of the papers previously moved for. Even Mr. Fox felt it incumbent upon him to remark upon so irregular a course. He observed, that "the honourable member had not told the House what were the documents to be laid before it in support of the charge, nor when they were to be produced: he understood, in fact, that the mover had really no documents, although he had proposed a day for discussion; and if, when that day should arrive, he should be unprovided with means to substantiate his charge,

and Mr. Grant, although he certainly judged inquiry to be necessary, did not deem it advisable to proceed to impeachment.—Parl. Debates.

<sup>1</sup> The sentiments of Mr. Fox are worthy of note, from the difference of his language on this occasion and that which he used during the proceedings against Warren Hastings. He said, "He, and others who agreed with him, had no wish to disparage the proceeding, or to throw obstacles in the way; but, because he disapproved of a system of measures, it did not follow that it was to be remedied by impeaching the individual. He and his honourable friend (Mr. Francis) had a good deal of experience on the subject: this was certainly not a proper time for inquiry; he might disapprove of, and strongly oppose systems, but he would not always think it necessary to resort to inquiries. Impeachment was a bad mode of proceeding, except in particular cases; and certainly it was not advisable to adopt it with regard to a Governor-General of India merely on account of his system. He could not be said to desert a person whom he never encouraged; but, since the trial of Mr. Hastings, they might say if they pleased, he shrunk from all India impeachments, or flew from them, or any other worse term might be employed, if worse could be found. To this he would make no answer."—Parl. Debates, 13th April, 1806.

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he would find himself in a very awkward and unpleasant predicament." So ill concerted were Mr. Paull's proceedings, that, having moved that the charge be taken into consideration that day three weeks, the motion found no seconder. It was not until after some pause that Sir William Geary rose to second the motion; not, as he observed, from any conviction of the culpability of the accused, but because he thought that the dignity of the House required that the opportunity of proving charges of so grave a tenor should not be denied. The obvious necessity, however, of bringing forward written vouchers enforced an alteration. The motion was withdrawn, and, in its place, papers to show the relative expenditure of successive Indian administrations were moved for, and granted.

A tangible charge was at length elicited. Reverting to the treatment of the Nawab of Oude, and the appropriation of the Ceded districts, it was affirmed that in these proceedings Marquis Wellesley had violated subsisting treaties, and every principle of equity and right; had been regardless of his duty to the East India Company, his Sovereign, and his country; had contemned the Parliament, the King, and the laws; had dishonoured the British nation and name; and had in these respects been guilty of high offences, crimes, and misdemeanours. A second charge was subsequently brought forward, accusing the Governor-General of having unjustly and violently compelled the Nawab of Furruckabad to give up his territory. Evidence was heard on the Oude charge, which closed on the 4th of July. On the 6th Lord Temple moved that

the charge should be taken into consideration; but the motion was resisted on the plea of precipitancy, and, as further papers were requested, the discussion was postponed. On the following day a third charge was adduced, relative to the treatment of the Zemindar of Sasnee and other Zemindars.

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The end of the session put a stop to these proceedings; and, upon the dissolution of Parliament which ensued, Mr. Paull, having canvassed unsuccessfully the borough of Westminster, ceased to be a member of the House of Commons. The attack upon Lord Wellesley, however, was not abandoned: it was resumed by Lord Folkestone, but was urged in a more temperate strain, and for a different object; all purpose of impeachment being disavowed. A series of resolutions was proposed, condemnatory of the demands made upon the Nawab of Oude, in breach of the treaty of 1798, and the consequent sequestration of a considerable part of his dominions; but, after a prolonged discussion, the resolutions were rejected by a considerable majority. It was then moved by Sir John Anstruther, and carried by a majority equally numerous, that the Marquis of Wellesley, in executing the late arrangements in Oude, was actuated by an ardent zeal for the public service, and by the desire of providing more effectually for the prosperity, the defence, and the safety of the British possessions in India.

The character of the measures which were thus subjected to Parliamentary investigation has been explained in a preceding volume.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, unnecessary to do more in this place than to advert

<sup>1</sup> Mill, vol. vi. 193.



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1807. By those who sought to obtain a vote of censure on the Marquis it was maintained, that the Nawab of Oude was an independent prince, with whom, in that capacity, treaties had been contracted: that a treaty had been recently concluded with him (in 1798), by which his authority over his household, his troops, and his subjects, had been recognised; and an amount of subsidy, fully adequate to the expense of the largest force ever raised for the defence of Oude, had been exacted from him: that the Nawab had punctually discharged all demands arising out of this stipulation; and that there was nothing in his domestic circumstances and conduct, or in the aspect of foreign affairs, which called for so violent a measure as that of compelling him to convert a money payment into a territorial concession, and to give up half of his dominions, in order to secure the fulfilment of his pecuniary obligations: that the demand had been submitted to by the Nawab solely through his conscious inability to resist it; and that the injustice thus inflicted upon a native prince, the ally and friend of the Company, was calculated to bring discredit on the British name throughout India: that the acquisition of territory thus obtained was in opposition to the sentiments of the Court of Directors as expressed in a dispatch signed by them all, with one only exception; and was a violation of the declared sense of Parliament, which had expressly denounced territorial extension in India as contrary to the honour and wishes of the nation.

In opposition to these assertions it was affirmed, that the Nawab of Oude was not entitled to be regarded as an independent sovereign; the military defence of his territories having devolved upon the British from their first connexion with Oude, and their interposition in its internal government having been repeatedly exercised. The reigning prince was in fact indebted to that interposition for the rank he held; his predecessor, Vizir Ali, having been deposed, and himself placed on the throne, by the Governor-General. That the treaty of 1798 had reference to the actual position of the Nawab, but did not preclude interference whenever circumstances should urgently call for it. That subsequently circumstances had occurred which demanded strong measures, the Nawab having intimated his apprehensions that the impoverished and declining resources of his principality would not long suffice to pay the stipulated subsidy: that such a failure was to be anticipated from the mal-administration of the Nawab, and his inability to maintain subordination and realise his revenues: that, while the means of keeping up an effective subsidiary force were likely to be thus deficient, the necessity of augmenting its strength had been rendered imperative; first, by the absence of adequate provision for internal defence; and secondly, by the imminence of external danger. The troops of the Nawab were a disorderly and disaffected body, a source rather of peril than of safety, whose reduction was highly advantageous to the state. Repeated menaces of invasion had been put forth by Zeman Shah, the ruler of the Afghans; and the

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presence of Sindhia's disciplined brigades under French officers upon the frontiers of Oude menaced the integrity of the principality, and imperiously enjoined defensive preparations. Under these emergencies, the annexation to the British Indian empire of the districts in the Doab which were most exposed to foreign aggression was indispensably necessary for the security of both the protected and protecting power.

It cannot be denied that the political interests of the British Government strongly recommended the appropriation of the Ceded provinces. Continued punctuality in the payment of the subsidy was an evident impossibility, from the diminishing resources of the Nawab; and the subsidiary force must have been reduced or disbanded, or kept up at the Company's cost. The condition of the districts in the Doab was also a subject of uneasiness, as, in the event of a collision with the Mahrattas, the movements of the British armies would have been embarrassed by the necessity of holding in check a disorganised and turbulent population. The readiest method of preventing such results was the establishment of the British authority in the territories in question, the maintenance of order, and the application of the revenues to the payment of the subsidiary force. That the measure, whilst it strengthened the British Government, would be conducive to the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the country, was to be anticipated; and upon these grounds the appropriation was susceptible of vindication: but that it consulted the dignity and power of the Nawab, or could be acceptable to his

feelings, it was absurd to pretend. He was helpless, and he acquiesced; but he was not so blind to his own interests as to be deceived by the specious plausibility with which the mutilation of his authority was pressed upon him; and there can be little doubt that the feeble efforts made in England to procure him redress had their origin in the fallacious hopes which he had been led to entertain of the reversal of the sentence of spoliation by the justice of the British Parliament.

Notwithstanding the victory gained by the friends of Marquis Wellesley on this occasion, the ordeal which he had to undergo was yet incomplete. The minor charges relating to the Nawab of Furruckabad and the Zemindar of Sasnee were disposed of with the Oude charge, and no further notice was taken of the case of the Nawab of Surat. The charge of prodigal expenditure was also abandoned; as it had all along been admitted that the personal integrity of the late Governor-General was unimpeachable, and that his profusion was exclusively instigated by considerations of public credit or advantage. There remained, however, a topic which had been formerly brought forward by Mr. Sheridan,—the treatment of the Nawab of Arcot. He had moved for papers relating to the inquiry in December, 1802, but had then allowed the matter to drop. He still declined to renew its agitation, but he declared himself prepared to support any member who should introduce the question. Accordingly, on the 17th May, 1808, after an interval of five years and a half, Sir Thomas Turton moved a series of six resolutions, as grounds for the appointment of



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a committee to inquire into the assumption of the Carnatic. After an adjourned debate, the resolutions were rejected; and it was moved and carried, that it was the opinion of the House that the Marquis Wellesley and Lord Powis, in their conduct relative to the Carnatic, appeared to have been influenced solely by motives of anxious zeal and solicitude for the permanent security, welfare, and prosperity of the British possessions in India.<sup>1</sup> Thus ended the discussions in Parliament respecting Lord Wellesley's administration; having had no other effect than that of excluding him from a share in the administration of affairs at home, when his co-operation would have been of value to Ministers and to the country.

A very different result attended the proceedings of the Court of Proprietors. In May, 1806, a motion was there made for the production of the correspondence that had taken place with the Board of Controul on the subject of the late wars in India; the main object being to confirm the condemnation of many of Lord Wellesley's measures which had been expressed by the Court of Directors in the draft of a letter to Bengal, the dispatch of which had been arrested by the Board of Controul. The documents having been printed,<sup>2</sup> a motion was made at a subsequent meeting, that "this Court, having considered the papers laid before it, most highly approve of the zeal manifested and the conduct pursued by the Court of Directors, and regard a firm adherence to the principles maintained by the

<sup>1</sup> The numbers were, for the motion 98, against it 19; majority 79.

<sup>2</sup> Papers printed for the use of the Proprietors, 7th May, 1806.

Court to be indispensably necessary to preserve the salutary authority over the government of India vested by law in the Court of Directors, to restrain a profuse expenditure of the public money, and to prevent all schemes of conquest and extension of dominion,—measures which the Legislature had declared to be repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation; and this Court do assure the Court of Directors of their most cordial and zealous support, with a view to preserve unimpaired the rights and privileges of the East India Company.” After a debate of some length the resolution was submitted to decision by ballot, when a very large majority of the Proprietors expressed their concurrence in the views of the Directors.<sup>1</sup> It will not fall within the limits of this work to describe the proceedings of the Company at a date long subsequent; but it deserves to be noticed, as a remarkable instance of the inconsistency of public bodies, that, thirty years afterwards, the resolution, now so numerously and strenuously supported, was virtually negatived by the unanimous determination of the same Court of Proprietors to make a pecuniary grant to Lord Wellesley in recompense of his great services to the Company, and to erect his statue in the Court-room;<sup>2</sup> thus testifying their approbation of the general policy of his administration, and consequently of the principles of subsidiary alliances and territorial aggrandisement.

<sup>1</sup> The numbers were, in favour of the resolution 928, against it 195. Seven hundred and thirty-three Proprietors recorded their condemnation of Lord Wellesley's policy.—*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1806; *Proceedings*, India House.

<sup>2</sup> *Asiatic Journal*; *Proceedings at the India House*, 1st November, 1837, and 17th March, 1841.

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The only other proceedings of importance at home affecting the Company's interests were partly of a financial character, and partly preliminary to the discussion of a question the determination of which was now not very remote,—the renewal of the charter, which expired in 1813. On the 11th of March, 1808, Mr. Dundas moved the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the present state of the affairs of the East India Company. A committee was appointed accordingly; and to it was referred a petition submitted by the Company, praying that 1,200,000*l.* due to the Company by the Government might be repaid, and a like sum be advanced by way of loan, to enable the Company to provide for the deficiencies of their commercial resources, which had been occasioned by continued remittances of goods and bullion to India, and the suspension of investments in return, in consequence of the political circumstances of India, and the pecuniary wants of the Government of that country. On the 13th of June the report of the committee was presented, admitting a considerable balance to be due to the India Company by his Majesty's Government; and it was accordingly resolved that a sum not exceeding 1,500,000*l.* should be paid to the Company.

It was at the same time shown that a principal source of the diminished profits of the Company's commerce arose from the rapidly decreasing value of their imports, owing to the failing demand for one of those articles which they had hitherto, in great part, successfully inclosed against the trespassing of private trade. The improved and im-

proving cotton manufactures of England were beginning to exercise a sensible effect upon the similar products of Indian industry; and the import value of Piece-goods, which had hitherto formed a main item in the commerce of the Company, had fallen during the last ten years to one-sixth of its amount at the commencement of the term,—from nearly three millions sterling to less than half a million.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Imports, Piece-goods.	1798-9.	1807-8.
From Bengal . . . . .	£1,219,828	260,262
Coast . . . . .	1,560,470	136,177
Anjengo . . . . .	193,292	36,381
	<hr/> £2,993,490	<hr/> £432,820

Report of Select Committee, No. 1, printed by order of the House of Commons, 12th May, 1810.

The trade in piece-goods was deemed of such importance at the renewal of the charter in 1793, that it was stated by the Committee of Correspondence, that without it the Company could not liquidate their political debts, still less furnish the means of participation to the public to the extent which was proposed.—Resolution 8th, April 1st, 1793.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Lord Minto Governor-General.—Sir G. Barlow Governor of Fort St. George.—Character and Policy of the Governor-General.—Determination to establish Order in Bundelkhand.—Description of the Hilly district of the province.—Colonel Martindell sent against Ajaygerh.—Affair of Rajaoli.—Ajaygerh surrendered.—Lakshman Dawa sets off to Calcutta,—leaves it again suddenly.—His Family put to death by his Father-in-law.—Operations*



*against Gopal Sing.—Nature of his Incursions.—His submission.—Storm of Kalinjar,—repulsed.—Fortress surrendered.—Treaties with the Raja of Rewa.—Settlement of Hariana.—The Sikh Chiefs east of the Setlej taken under protection.—Treaty with Ranjit Sing.—Embassy to Peshawar.—Revolutions of Afghanistan.—Disastrous Life of Shah Shuja.—Return of the Embassy.—Mission to Sindh.—Revolutions in the Government of that country.—Failure of Negotiation.—Intercourse between France and Persia.—Ill-concerted measures of the British Authorities.—Sir Harford Jones sent as Ambassador from England,—Sir John Malcolm from India.—Unsatisfactory result of the latter Mission.—Return of the Envoy.—A Military Expedition to the Gulph projected by the Bengal Government.—Sir Harford Jones departs from Bombay,—proceeds to Shiraz.—Prosecution of the Mission prohibited.—He perseveres,—reaches Tehran,—concludes a preliminary Treaty.—Disavowed by the Indian Government.—The Treaty confirmed.—Diplomatic relations with Persia taken under the management of the British Ministry.—Sir Gore Ouseley Ambassador.—Definitive Treaty concluded,—productive of little advantage.*

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1807.

THE nobleman on whom the government of India now devolved had been long engaged in public life, and had been for many years an active member of Parliament. Connected with the Whigs in political principle, and the personal friend of some of their great leaders, Sir Gilbert Elliot had been chosen as one of the managers for the Com-

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mons in the trial of Warren Hastings, and to him had been intrusted the conducting of the proposed impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey.<sup>1</sup> The knowledge he had thus acquired of Indian affairs recommended him, upon the accession of his friends to power, to the office of President of the Board of Controul; and, when it was found impossible to overcome the repugnance of the Court of Directors to the appointment of the Earl of Lauderdale, he was readily acknowledged by both parties as eligible for the situation of Governor-General of India. Lord Minto was accordingly appointed. He left England in the *Modeste* frigate, and arrived at Madras on the 20th June, 1807. There, as has been noticed, he stayed a short time to assist in determining the final disposal of the Vellore prisoners, and, resuming his voyage, reached Calcutta on the 3rd July. Lord William Bentinck having at the same time been recalled, Sir George Barlow was nominated Governor of Fort St. George, and repaired thither in December of the same year.

The sentiments which had been expressed at home, both by the Ministry and the Court of Directors, adverse to the system of policy followed by Lord Wellesley, necessarily imposed upon Lord Minto the obligation of adopting principles of a less ambitious tenor, and of pursuing the measures which had been instituted by Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow for the retrenchment of public expenditure and the preservation of external tranquillity. The general tone of the new Administration was, therefore, moderate and pacific; and the

<sup>1</sup> See vol. v. of Mill's History, p. 83.

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character of the Governor-General, delighting in the milder glories of internal prosperity, the amenities of domestic society, and the cultivation of literature and the arts, accorded with the spirit in which it was expected that his government should be carried on. At the same time, Lord Minto was not of a disposition to shrink from expense or exertion when they were recommended or required by the interests of the state over which he ruled ; and various important transactions, arising out of Indian and of European politics, signalised his career, and exhibited not unfrequent departures from the policy of imperturbable forbearance and scrupulous non-interference which had been followed by his predecessors.

The enforcement of submission to authority, and the final establishment of order in the provinces recently annexed to the British territories, were among the first objects of the Governor-General's attention. The avoidance of interference in the quarrels of the petty Rajas of Bundelkhand, and the attempt to secure their allegiance and good-will by conciliatory means, had entirely failed. The impunity with which some of the most notorious patrons of the bands of free-booters, by whom the province was overrun, were suffered to retain possession of the districts they had usurped, served only to perpetuate depredation ; and the untroubled liberty which had been left to the Rajas, of asserting by arms their own real or pretended rights to each other's lands, was productive of interminable disputes, and a disorganising repetition of internal warfare. It was obviously necessary, if it was worth while to retain the province, to adopt

a different mode of governing it; and a change of measures was resolved on. It was officially announced that the submission which milder means had failed to introduce should be established by force, and that the Government would compel, where necessary, obedience to its commands. The promulgation of these designs went far to effect their fulfilment. The Rajas who had hitherto believed that the interposition of the British Agent would be limited to advice only, which they had therefore ventured to treat with utter disregard, hastened, when they found that something more than mere advice was seriously contemplated, to refer their disputes to the decision of the superior authority; and lands and villages, long and fiercely contested, were awarded to those to whom it appeared upon investigation that they rightfully belonged, in most cases without any necessity for compulsive measures. It was not found possible, however, to exterminate the banditti who roamed through the country, as long as they found shelter and support in its principal fortresses; and it was rendered necessary, by the persevering contumacy of the castellans of the forts of Kalinjar and Ajaygerh, to employ a military force for their humiliation.

The province of Bundelkhand, which is generally a plain where it is contiguous to the Jumna, is encompassed on its southern and south-eastern confines by portions of the great Vindhya chain of hills, which stretches across India from the Ganges to the gulph of Cambay. The portions of the chain which border upon Bundelkhand, or are included within its limits, consist of four nearly



BOOK I. parallel ranges, running obliquely from north-east  
CHAP. IV. to south-west, distinguished as the Vindhya-chal,

1808. Panna, Bhandar, and Thainian or Kaimur hills: they are not of great elevation, but rise one above the other as they extend to the south and west. They are separated by narrow valleys or table-lands of limited extent, which, as well as the hills, are for the most part rendered difficult of access by underwood and thick jungle. From the most northerly range, or Vindhya-chal, isolated elevations are thrown out northwards into the plain, forming a characteristic feature of this part of the country, and affording favourable positions for the construction of hill-forts:<sup>1</sup> two of these had been selected for the site of the forts above named, and Kalinjar and Ajaygerh were regarded by the Bundelas as impregnable, both from the natural difficulties of the approach to them, and the fortifications by which those difficulties had been enhanced.

The Kiladar of Ajaygerh, Lakshman Dawa, originally the captain of a band of plunderers, had become possessed of that strong-hold through the connivance of the officer who had been placed in command of it by Shamsir Bahadur, and who had been directed to give it up to the British authorities. Lakshman was permitted to retain the fort as a temporary arrangement, and to hold in Jagir the adjacent lands, on condition of paying a small annual tribute, and relinquishing the fortress at the expiration of two years, ending in 1808. The tribute was never paid, the term of occupancy had expired,

<sup>1</sup> Memoir on Bundelkhand, by Captain Franklin ; Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, i. 259.

and no intention of giving up the fort was exhibited. A body of troops was therefore assembled, and sent under Colonel Martindell against Ajaygerh.

No opposition was encountered by Colonel Martindell's detachment until they arrived at Rajaoli, a fortified hill about ten miles from Ajaygerh, which was occupied by a select body of Lakshman Dawa's troops. The ascent of the hill was by steep and narrow paths, overhung in many places by projecting rocks; from the shelter of which, parties of the enemy fired upon the slowly advancing troops. Driven from these stations they retreated to the summit of the hill, where they had constructed parapet walls, and behind them they made a resolute stand. As no ladders could be brought up with which to scale the wall, the assailants were recalled, and preparations made for resuming the attack on the following morning: the enemy evacuated the post during the night.<sup>1</sup>

On the following day Colonel Martindell proceeded to Ajaygerh, and batteries were raised against the fort. Operations were, however, suspended by repeated messages from Lakshman Dawa promising to deliver up the fortress, and negotiations were protracted until the 11th of February in this expectation. Further delay was then refused, and the guns opened upon the principal gateways with such effect as in a few hours to lay three of them in ruins. On the two following days the firing was repeated, and early on the 13th a practicable breach was made. The Kiladar anticipated the assault by a

<sup>1</sup> The loss of the assailants was 28 Sipahis killed, and 115 wounded, including three officers, of whom Lieut. Jamieson of the light battalion died of his wounds.

BOOK I. timely surrender, and Ajaygerh was taken possession  
CHAP. IV. of in the course of the day.<sup>1</sup> Lakshman Dawa gave

1309. himself up to Mr. Richardson, the Governor-General's agent, and was allowed to remain at large upon parole. His family removed from the fort, and found a residence in the adjacent town of Nao-sheher, where a tragedy ensued, not unprecedented in the history of the Hindus, and characteristic of native sentiments of personal honour.

Lakshman Dawa, in surrendering himself, cherished a hope that the British authorities would reinstate him in the possession of his fort, and addressed a petition to the agent, praying either that he might be restored, or that he might be blown from the mouth of a gun, as life without reputation was not worth preserving. As Mr. Richardson declined a compliance with either alternative, the chief resolved to make a personal appeal to the Governor-General, and secretly quitted the camp for the purpose of repairing to Calcutta. He managed his flight with so much skill that no traces of him were discovered until his arrival at the Presidency. He was treated with kindness, and left at large under the supervision of the police; but, as no hope was held out to him of recovering a possession to which his only titles were usurpation and fraud, he departed as unceremoniously as he had arrived, and endeavoured to effect his return to Bundelkhand: his flight was intercepted, and he was brought back to Calcutta, where he was detained until his death.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Official Dispatches and Government Orders; As. Annual Register, vol. xi.; Chronicle, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Lakshman Dawa died in the neighbourhood of Calcutta in November, 1828. He had from the first refused to accept any provision in place of

Upon the disappearance of Lakshman Dawa from camp, it was considered advisable to place his family in greater security as hostages for his conduct. They were ordered to prepare for removal into the fort, with assurances that they had nothing to apprehend from their detention; and that one of their male relatives, who had not forfeited the favourable opinion of the British Government, should be intrusted with their guardianship. Bajū Rao, the father-in-law of the absent chief, was instructed to conduct the party to their quarters. He undertook the office with apparent cheerfulness, and repaired for that purpose to the house in which the family resided. When a considerable interval had elapsed after his entrance into the house, and no person seemed to be coming forth, a native officer of the escort entered, and found the old man seated before the door of an inner room with a drawn sword in his hand. As the Subahdar approached, Bajū Rao retired into the chamber, and closed the door. Assistance being obtained, the door was forced; when the mother, the wife, the infant son of Lakshman Dawa, and four female attendants, were discovered lying dead on the floor, having been killed by Bajū Rao, apparently with their own consent, as no cry nor any expression of alarm or suffering had been heard. As soon as the door was

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the lands of which he had been dispossessed, and was for some time under the charge of the police. In 1811 his misfortunes affected his intellects, and he was placed under the care of the Company's medical officer at Aylpore, with whom he continued until 1822, when he appears to have recovered his understanding. He was not released from all restraint for two years longer, when he consented to receive a pension of 600 rupees a month. After his death the surviving members of his family were allowed to return to Bundelkhand.—MS. Records.



BOOK I. opened, Bajū Rao inflicted a fatal wound upon him-  
 CHAP. IV. self. The catastrophe was in entire unison with

1809. native feeling; and several of the Bundela chiefs in camp hesitated not to avow, that, under similar circumstances, they would have perpetrated a similar deed.<sup>1</sup>

A protracted course of desultory and harassing hostilities had some time previously been commenced against Gopal Sing, a military adventurer who had usurped the district of Kotra, the inheritance of Raja Bakht Sing, a descendant of Chatra-sāl. The right of the Raja had been formally recognised by the British Government during the preceding administration, and he had been authorised to recover his lands; but, as he was not allowed to receive the assistance of British troops, the recognition and sanction were mere mockeries.<sup>2</sup> With the altered policy of the Government its grants became realities. A British detachment was sent to place the Raja in possession. The task was easily accomplished, and even Gopal Sing came into camp and professed submission. From motives which are unexplained, or from the instability of purpose which is not unfrequent in the native mind, he seems to have speedily repented of his acquiescence, and, departing abruptly from the British encampment, he retired with a few followers to

<sup>1</sup> MS. Records; also As. Annual Register, vol. vi.; History, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See the Ikrar Nama, or pledge of allegiance, and Sunnud granted to Raja Bakht Sing; Coll. of Treaties, p. 331. The documents are dated 8th June, 1807. The first article of the answer to the Raja's solicitation to be reinstated runs, "Little doubt can be entertained that you will be able to establish your authority, and to settle the Pergummas, independently of the aid and support of the British Government: at the same time, every proper and necessary aid which you may require, *with the exception of troops*, shall be furnished to you."

the thickets above the first range of hills. Sensible that direct resistance to the superior force of the supporters of Bakht Sing would be unavailing, he adopted a course of destructive irruptions; rushing down upon the plains and spreading terror and devastation in all directions whenever an opportunity occurred, and, when pressed by his enemies, taking refuge amongst the entangled and rugged country between the first and second ranges of the mountains. Although his parties were frequently overtaken and dispersed, they immediately re-assembled and renewed their depredations; and it became necessary to provide a permanent check upon their ravages. A cantonment was therefore established at Tiroha, at the foot of the first range, a few miles to the north-east of Kalinjar, from whence detachments were sent occasionally to guard the passes; the unhealthiness of the climate preventing the presence of a force above the ghats throughout the year. The marauding attacks of Gopal Sing were in some measure counteracted by these arrangements, but they continued at intervals to disturb the quiet and delay the pacific settlement of the country.

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1809.

Towards the end of 1809, the concentration of the British force in Bundelkhand under Colonel Martindell, in a different quarter of the province, having drawn off the principal part of the troops opposed to Gopal Sing, the protection of the districts was left to the unaided resources of the Rajas of Panna and Kotra. They proved utterly inadequate to the duty. Their united contingents were defeated in an engagement with their more

BOOK I. warlike adversary; and the country below the hills  
CHAP. IV. laid open to his attacks was remorselessly devas-

1810. tated, until his progress was stopped by a detachment under Major Kelly, which was sent from Colonel Martindell's camp at Chatterpur. As the force advanced, Gopal retired above the third range of ghats; in the vicinity of which the 1st battalion of the 16th native infantry, commanded by Captain Wilson, was stationed to keep him in check, while the rest of the detachment rejoined the main army.

Gopal Sing, finding himself more than a match for the force which remained to oppose him, resumed offensive operations; and being assailed in a strongly stockaded position near Kakarati in the Panna principality, by the detachment under Captain Wilson, repulsed the assailants after they had suffered considerable loss, and compelled them to fall back towards the plains.<sup>1</sup> The junction of Major Delamain, with a squadron of the 2nd native cavalry, restored the superiority to the British; but Gopal, turning to the north amongst the hills, outstripped their pursuit, and coming suddenly down upon Tiroha, which was feebly guarded, he plundered and set fire to the cantonments, before troops, dispatched from Ajaygerh as soon as the movement of Gopal Sing upon Tiroha was known, could arrive for its protection. Major Morgan, who commanded the detachment, followed the retreating enemy; but whilst Gopal Sing, at the head of his horse, manœuvred so as to engross his attention,

<sup>1</sup> On this occasion, Gopal Sing showed that he united humanity with courage and conduct. Several of the wounded Sipahis having fallen into his hands, he had their wounds dressed, and sent them back to rejoin the detachment.

the infantry marched unperceived again upon Tiroha, where they not only completed such part of the work of destruction as they had left unfinished, but laid the adjacent town in ashes, after having first made themselves masters of much valuable booty. The audacity of this enterprise enforced the adoption of more vigorous measures, and Colonel Brown was detached from Colonel Martindell's camp, with the 1st native cavalry and one squadron of the 8th, to command the troops engaged in this harassing warfare. A battalion of native infantry under Major Leslie was also added to the force; and Gopal, unable to encounter such an armament, and having been surprised and roughly handled by Colonel Brown at Bichaund near Ajaygerh, reascended the passes, and took shelter in an entrenched position at Jhargerh above the second range of ghats. Captain Wilson, with a squadron of native cavalry, the 1st battalion of the 16th native infantry, three companies of the 7th, and a company of pioneers, was sent forward in pursuit. After a laborious march he ascended the hills unperceived, and arrived at Jhargerh almost before his approach was discovered. The defences consisted of a rampart and strong stockades situated upon a rocky eminence in a valley overgrown with bamboos and brushwood: they were accessible only on one face, the other sides being covered by almost impenetrable thickets; but the garrison, including Gopal Sing, were so much taken by surprise that their only thought was of escape. Guided by one of his prisoners, Captain Wilson effected his entrance into the main body of the works as they



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were evacuated by the enemy, who plunged into the thickets and disappeared. After burning the stockades, and levelling the fort, the detachment returned to its post at Kakarati. The setting in of the rainy season put a stop to further proceedings. Gopal retired to the south; and the troops were so stationed as to intercept his return to the north and west, and confine him to the rugged valleys between the Bhandar and Kaimur hills, towards the sources of the Sone and Nerbudda rivers.

As soon as the state of the country permitted, active measures were resumed: a division of the force under Captain Watson marched from Amghat on the 17th November, and on the morning of the 19th came upon a strong body of Gopal Sing's troops at the village of Bhamori, commanded by some of his principal Sirdars. The party was posted in two divisions: one in the village, occupying a brick fort; the other and larger in an adjacent grove, protected by a deep ravine. As soon as the ravine was turned by the native cavalry, the enemy's horse fled, and were pursued for some distance: the foot followed their example, and broke upon the first volley from the advancing column. The troops in the fort surrendered at discretion. About two hundred were killed and wounded, and above one hundred taken prisoners, with little loss on the side of the British. At the same time Major Kelly advanced from Lohagong, and Colonel Brown from the neighbourhood of Banda. The latter, after a long and fatiguing march, crossed the upper course of the Sone at Hardi Ghat, and overtook Gopal Sing near the village of Killeri, whither he

had retreated, after declining to accept an asylum offered him by the Raja of Rewa. His followers, consisting entirely of horse, were completely routed; and Gopal Sing escaped, almost unattended, into the jungle. Here he continued, however, to maintain himself and followers for several months, and, notwithstanding his repeated discomfiture, remained unsubdued.

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1811.

In the month of June, Gopal Sing emerged from his retreat at Kshirgaon in the country of the Berar Raja, and once more descended from the hills. His movements were closely watched by the detachments of Colonel Brown's force; and, having been nearly surprised by Captain Watson in the vicinity of Komtara, he retreated to the protection of his former asylum. Having received intelligence of his position, Colonel Brown moved with great secrecy and expedition, and came by surprise upon him on the night of the 26th June. The enemy's camp was pitched at the head of the Dowani pass in the Marao hills, in the dry bed of a swamp, protected by thick wood on every side, and accessible only by steep and narrow defiles. Through one of these the infantry advanced, and first gave intimation of their presence by a volley fired upon the camp. The enemy fled without attempting resistance: many were killed, and much plunder was recovered. The nature of the country and the approach of the monsoon again suspended pursuit; but, on the 7th September, the fortified post of Kshirgaon was attacked and carried by a detachment commanded by Captain Watson. Gopal Sing, once more an almost solitary fugitive, fled

BOOK I. into the district of Sagar; but, becoming now con-  
 CHAP. IV. vinced of the hopelessness of so unequal a contest,

1812. he proffered his submission on the conditions of receiving a full pardon for his opposition, and provision being made for his family. The British Government, equally weary of a troublesome and unprofitable warfare, acceded to the terms, and granted him a Jagir of eighteen villages in the district of Panwari in Bundelkhand, which is still held by his descendants.<sup>1</sup> The transactions are worthy of record as an instance of the success with which personal activity and resolution, aided by a difficult country, but destitute of any other means than plunder and the devotedness of a slender band of adherents, baffled for a period of four years, and ultimately tired out, the resentment and the resources of a powerful antagonist.<sup>2</sup>

The final establishment of order and tranquillity in Bundelkhand was in a still greater degree dependent upon the reduction of Kalinjar; the strength of which fastness, and the vain attempts made in time past for its capture, impressed the natives with a universal belief of its impregnability, and inspired its Kiladar, Dariao Sing, with confidence to persist in his opposition to British authority, and to continue his scarcely covert encouragement of every predatory leader. The mischievous consequences of allowing Dariao Sing<sup>3</sup> to retain possession of Ka-

<sup>1</sup> See the Sunnud granted to Gopal Sing on the 24th Feb., 1812; Report of Select Committee, August, 1832; Political Appendix, p. 561.

<sup>2</sup> For the operations against Gopal Sing, see the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xii.; History, 40: Chronicle, pp. 9, 10, 61, 78: and Calcutta Annual Register, 1821; History, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 18, note.

linjar were vainly pointed out when the British authority was first introduced into Bundelkhand; but the system of endurance having now given place to a policy of a more resolute character, it was determined no longer to overlook his contumacy: a force was accordingly assembled at Banda,<sup>1</sup> the command of which was given to Colonel Martindell, and on the 19th January Kalinjar was invested.

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1812.

The fortified hill of Kalinjar is situated about twenty miles south-east of Banda, and about half that distance from the first range of hills. It rises from a marshy plain as an isolated rock to the height of above nine hundred feet, being at the base ten or twelve miles in circumference, and inclosing on the summit a table-land of more than four miles in circuit. On this plain were situated the residence of the Kiladar, the cantonments of the garrison, and several Hindu temples, apparently ancient:<sup>2</sup> the sides of the hill are abrupt, and are covered with an almost impenetrable jungle of bushes and bamboos, the haunts of beasts of prey

<sup>1</sup> A squadron of the 8th light dragoons, five companies of the 53rd foot, a squadron of the 1st N. C. and three of the 3rd, with six battalions of N. I., three companies of pioneers, a detachment of European artillery, and a battering train of twelve and eighteen pounders.

<sup>2</sup> In some places, mutilated inscriptions were found in characters said to be the same as those on the staff of Firoz Shah at Delhi. They have never been collected or published. Cave temples also are described, one of which is dedicated to Nila-kantha, a form of Siva, as a Linga. Kálanjara, the correct appellation of the mountain, is also a name of Siva—he who sees time itself decay—and all the Hindu traditions relating to this hill connect it with his worship. Kalbhiroop (or correctly, Kála-bhairava), whose colossal image is specified by Abulfazl as existing at Kalanjar, is an attendant of Siva, or one of his minor emanations. See the word Callinger, to which Kálanjara is commonly barbarously metamorphosed, in Hamilton's Gazetteer. A general description of the fort and its antiquities is given in Pogson's History of the Bundelas, but the latter have been but cursorily and imperfectly investigated.



BOOK I. and of innumerable monkeys. The crest of the  
CHAP. IV. hill is formed of a ridge of steep black rock, which

1812. forms the base of a wall with loopholes and embrasures surrounding the whole of the summit. The Petta, or town, lies at the foot of the hill at the south-eastern angle; and the ascent thence to the fort is by a broad winding road cut along the eastern face of the rock, and defended by seven fortified gateways. Opposite to the north-eastern extremity, at the distance of about eight hundred yards, rises another detached elevation, the hill of Kálanjari, nearly as lofty as the main rock, but of much less extent: its sides are equally steep, and covered in like manner with a thick and entangled growth of low shrubs and bamboos.

After reconnoitring the defences of the fort, it was determined to erect batteries on the lesser hill; and, by the 26th of January, a path having been cleared of the jungle, four iron eighteen-pounders and two mortars were hauled up by main force to the top. Another battery of two eighteen-pounders was formed lower down on the shoulder of the hill; and another of two twelve-pounders nearer the foot, opposite to the great gateway of the fort. Negotiations having failed, the batteries opened on the 28th, on which day also possession was taken of the Petta. No attempt was made to disturb the construction of the batteries, and not a shot was fired from the fort until they opened; it being a point of Indian honour, it is said, for a fort not to fire until fired upon. When the firing of the besiegers commenced, that from the fort was feebly maintained and did little execution; and it

was expected, that, as soon as a breach should be made, the fortress would fall an easy conquest: an anticipation that was fatally disappointed.

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By the 1st of February the batteries had effected what was considered to be a practicable breach, and at sunrise on the 2nd the storming party advanced to the assault. The party consisted of the five companies of his Majesty's 53rd, and the flank companies of the native regiments, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Mawbey. As they ascended the hill, they were encountered by a brisk fire of matchlocks and volleys of heavy stones, until they made good their footing to within fifty yards of the breach, where they halted, under cover of an old wall. The top of the breach, and the wall on both sides of it, were crowded with matchlockmen, regardless of the fire to which they were exposed from the destruction of the parapet. Upon a given signal the assailing column rushed forward, in spite of the missiles with which they were saluted, and reached the foot of the parapet. Here they were arrested by the precipitous and mostly perpendicular rock on which the wall had stood, and which it was necessary to scale before they could arrive at the foot of the breach. Ladders were applied, but the irregularity of the surface rendered it difficult to fix them; and, as fast as the men ascended, they were knocked down by heavy stones hurled upon them by the defendants, or were shot by their matchlocks. Equal resolution was displayed on either side; but the disadvantageous position of the assailants rendered the conflict so unequal, that, after an unavailing struggle of about thirty-five

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minutes, the storming party was recalled. The loss they sustained was severe:<sup>1</sup> that suffered by the garrison was not less. The attempt was not un-availing; as the Kiladar, apprehensive of its repetition, signified on the day following his acceptance of the conditions which he had previously rejected. Lands were assigned to him and the members of his family who held a united interest in Kalinjar, and they agreed to cede the fortress. This strong-hold, which had baffled Mahmud of Ghazni,<sup>2</sup> which had seen Shir Shah<sup>3</sup> perish before its walls, and which had sustained a ten years' siege by Ali Bahadur,<sup>4</sup> was thus added to the trophies of British conquest, and ceased to be the rallying point of lawless spoliation. After a brief occupancy as a military post it was dismantled and abandoned. The chiefs who had once bid defiance from its ramparts to the commands of the British Government became peaceable subjects, and their descendants are still enumerated amongst the Jagirdars of the province.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Fraser, Lieut. Rice, one serjeant, and ten men of the 53rd, were killed; ten officers and one hundred and twenty men were wounded. Lieut. Faithful, commanding the pioneers, and nearly half his men, were wounded. The Sipahis had no opportunity of coming into action.

<sup>2</sup> Mahmud besieged it in A.D. 1023, but made peace with Nanda, its Hindu Raja, and left it in his possession.—Briggs's *Ferishta*, i. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Shir Shah laid siege to it in A.D. 1554, and was killed by the bursting of a shell, and consequent explosion of a powder magazine near which he was standing.—Briggs's *Ferishta*, ii. 123.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Villages were assigned in perpetual Jagir, not only to Dariao Sing Chaubé, but to his coparceners, descendants equally of Ramkrishna Chaubé, to the number of eight.—See the separate grants, Report of Select Committee, August, 1832; App. Political, p. 562; also Bengal and Agra Gazetteer for 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 286. The Jagirs thus granted, as well as others of a similar class, to the number of twenty-seven, were exempted by a special regulation, xxii. of 1812, from the operation of the general regulations, and from the jurisdiction of the courts of civil and criminal judicature.

The conduct of Jay Sing Deo, the Raja of Rewa, a small principality situated on the east of Bundelkhand, in countenancing Gopal Sing and other free-booters, had for some time past been unsatisfactory; and, very soon after the reduction of Kalinjar, a party of the plunderers known as Pindaris penetrated by way of Rewa into the British territory of Mirzapur, apparently with the connivance of the Raja. It was obvious that he had either permitted their passage through his country, or that he had not the power to prevent it; and in either case the duty of self-protection suggested interposition. After some hesitation the Raja was compelled to accede to a treaty of friendship and alliance, by which his possessions were guaranteed, and his supremacy in the administration of his government acknowledged; but he was interdicted from communicating with foreign states, obliged to agree to the mutual delivery of enemies and rebels, and to promise co-operation in military affairs. The treaty was concluded in October, 1812.

These arrangements were scarcely concluded when the Raja manifested a disposition to violate them. He objected to the establishment of a military post within his boundary; opposed a communication through his country between the British districts which it separated; treated the British political agents with indignity; and either suffered or instigated the petty chiefs of Singrana, his dependants, to commit various acts of aggression on the adjacent country under British protection. To punish their ravages, and compel the observance of the stipulated treaty, Colonel Martindell marched



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1813.

into Rewa early in 1813. He had advanced near to the capital when the Raja solicited a suspension of hostilities, and consented to enter into a new treaty, confirming the former stipulations, and engaging to pay the expenses of the military operations. He shortly afterwards abdicated in favour of his son.

During the suspension of hostilities with the Rewa Raja, a party of Sipahis escorting military stores, marching to join the main force, and proceeding in the confidence of the armistice which had then been agreed upon, were suddenly surrounded near the village of Sathani by a strong body of horse and foot, by whom some of the men were killed and the baggage was plundered. The Raja disclaimed all participation in this atrocity; and it appeared to have been the unauthorised act of some of his feudatories, particularly the Raja of Sathani and Sarnaid Sing, Raja of Entouri. A force under Colonel Adams took the field immediately after the rains to punish the aggressors. The fort of Entouri was stormed and carried, after an obstinate resistance. Sarnaid Sing, disdaining to survive its capture, strewed a quantity of gunpowder upon a cloth, which he tied round his body, and, setting fire to it, terminated his existence. Some other forts were taken and destroyed; and the chiefs, alarmed, came into camp and submitted. A third treaty was then concluded with the Raja of Rewa; by which, upon his renewing the stipulations previously contracted, he was placed in possession of some of the lands which the contumacious Zemindars had forfeited, with certain reservations, under strict promise that he

would respect whatever guarantees the British Government had granted to any of his chiefs, and would refrain from molesting all such as had evinced towards it a friendly disposition. The Raja necessarily acquiesced, but the resentment felt by this petty court at an interference which it had provoked has perhaps scarcely yet given place to friendly feelings.<sup>1</sup>

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These operations put an end for a time to all serious manifestations of the turbulent spirit by which the Bundelas have been long distinguished. A different race, but of a congenial temperament, in another portion of the western frontier, required, about the same period, similar coercion.

At the termination of the war, the extensive and fertile but thinly peopled district of Haryana, lying immediately west of Delhi, had been taken within the range of British supremacy. The inhabitants of the province, who were of the Ját race, a resolute and high-spirited tribe, had some years before taken advantage of the enfeebled administration of affairs at Delhi to throw off the allegiance which they had previously professed to the Mogul. Collected together in village communities they formed so many petty republics acknowledging no individual head; and, although combining occasionally against a foreign enemy, connected by no common tie of political interest or authority, and not unfrequently at deadly feud with each other. From time to time some Mahratta

<sup>1</sup> See the three treaties of the 5th Oct. 1812, 2nd June 1813, and 21st March 1814, with the Rewa Raja, in the collection of treaties printed by order of Parliament, 27th May 1818; also in a collection printed for the Proprietors, Aug. 1824.—Administration of the Marquis of Hastings. The operations are related in Calcutta Annual Register for 1821, p. 60.

BOOK I. or Mohammedan chieftain, or individual of their  
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own body, established a military ascendancy over them to a limited extent, and for a brief interval; and, in one instance, George Thomas, an Irish adventurer,<sup>1</sup> rendered himself the lord over a part of the province, with Hansi, its chief town, for his capital. His reign was of short duration; but its overthrow was not effected by the discontent of his subjects or the rivalry of his equals, and it demanded the overwhelming force of Sindhia's disciplined brigades, commanded by General Perron, to dispossess him. Haryana was then governed by Perron in the name of Sindhia, and, with the defeat of his troops, passed over to the British. The Government of the day, unwilling to retain the conquest,

<sup>1</sup> George Thomas arrived in India as a sailor about 1781. At Madras he deserted, and entered into the service of some of the southern Poligars; thence he made his way through the heart of India, and reached Delhi in 1787: he there received a commission in the brigade of Begum Sumroo, and rose to high favour; but, being supplanted in the Begum's good graces by some other adventurer, he quitted her service in 1792, and joined Apa Khande Rao, one of Sindhia's discarded captains, who was endeavouring to form an independent state in the country west of Delhi. He succeeded in his project, but, dying in 1797, his power fell to pieces, and George Thomas, thrown on his own resources, determined to conquer Haryana for himself. He succeeded so far as to make himself ruler of a petty principality, extending about 100 miles from N. to S. and in its broadest part about 75 miles from E. to W., comprehending 900 villages and several small towns. Hansi, which Thomas found in ruins, was restored and fortified by him, and, becoming his capital, was soon tenanted by between five and six thousand inhabitants. George Thomas was Raja of Hansi for four years, and had little to fear from any of his neighbours, until Sindhia's authority extended to Delhi, and introduced a power far superior to that of the European potentate. Thomas was besieged in Hansi by Du Perron with a strong and well-organised force, and surrendered on condition of being conveyed to a British station. The stipulation was observed, and he was conducted to the British frontier in January 1802. He thence proceeded towards Calcutta, with the purpose of returning to his native land, but was taken ill, and died at Berhampore in August. His career is a striking illustration of the distracted state of a country in which a common sailor, with no other aid than European energy, personal strength, and intrepid resolution, could raise himself even to ephemeral sovereignty.—See *Life of George Thomas*, by Colonel Francklin.

transferred it to several native chiefs in succession ; but all found it impossible to establish their power without the assistance of British troops, and speedily resigned the unprofitable boon. The last of these, Abd-ul-samad Khan, a military leader of repute, who had joined Lord Lake early in the Malhratta war, and who had latterly received Haryana in recompense of his services, found himself compelled to follow the example of his predecessors, and the province was thrown again upon the hands of the British Government. As Haryana was conterminous with the districts of Delhi under British administration, the danger arising from the predatory and unrestrained habits of its population was not to be disregarded, and it was determined to provide against the evil by undertaking the immediate regulation of the country, and bringing the people under the authority of British functionaries. With this design the Honourable Mr. Gardner, assistant to the Resident at Delhi, proceeded with a strong escort into the province. Little difficulty attended his proceedings : most of the head-men of the villages obeyed his summons, repaired to his camp, professed allegiance, promised the regular payment of a stipulated revenue, and engaged to desist from intestine broils and from the plunder of travellers and merchants. Whatever may have been their sincerity, the prompt display, in two instances, of the determination of the Government to suffer no infringement of the compact awed them into the observance of their engagements. The people of Baliali, a large village of Játs, who professed Mohammedanism, having robbed some traders almost

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in sight of the Commissioner's camp, a military detachment was sent against them. They fled into the adjacent country of Bikaner, and their village was destroyed. A more resolute resistance was encountered at another large village or town, that of Bhawani. The inhabitants of this place, notorious for the audacity of their depredations, carried off the camels and baggage of a party of Sipahis on their march to camp, and fired upon them as they approached the town. Immediate measures were taken to punish the aggressors. A force of four battalions of native infantry, one regiment of cavalry, a corps of irregular horse, with a train of artillery, commanded by Colonel Ball,<sup>1</sup> marched against Bhawani, and appeared before it on the 27th August: batteries were opened, and the walls were breached by noon of the 29th. An assault was made in two columns: the right was met by a sortie of the inhabitants, who fought with courage, but were driven back and followed into the fort; the left column also forced its way into the town, and, after an obstinate conflict, in which severe loss was inflicted on the enemy, the place was carried.<sup>2</sup> The transaction was productive of the good effects expected from it. The lawless and turbulent tribes of Hariana were made to feel that they had now a master. Submitting to a yoke which they could

<sup>1</sup> 1st battn. of the 9th, 2nd of the 18th, 1st of the 22nd, and 2nd of the 23rd, besides some companies of the 1st of the 10th, and 2nd of the 24th, with the 6th regt. N. Cavalry, and Skinner's horse.

<sup>2</sup> One officer, Lieut. O'Brien of the 1st batt. of the 22nd, was killed, six were wounded; eighteen privates were killed, and one hundred and fourteen wounded. The loss of the townsfolk was officially estimated at more than a thousand.—Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xi.; History, p. 7; Chronicle, p. 67.

not shake off, they became in due time an orderly and obedient people, and, devoting themselves to agricultural occupations, rendered the province one of the most valuable districts subject to the British Government.

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A still more important departure from the principle of non-interference occurred in the same direction, and occasioned an extension of British supremacy to the frontier which still forms its north-western boundary,—the left bank of the Setlej. The success with which the Sikh chief, Ranjit Sing, had wrought his own aggrandisement at the expense of all his competitors on the west of the Setlej, encouraged him to pursue the same line of policy with respect to the Rajas on the east of the river, and to attempt to spread his influence and power across it to the Jumna. He was led to believe that he would not be obstructed in the execution of this project by the British; as, although the Government had accepted the proffered submission of the Sikh Rajas, it had required from them no positive stipulation of tribute or allegiance, and had contracted no formal engagement to protect them. He went to work, however, with his usual caution. A violent quarrel having taken place between the Rajas of Patiala and Naba, the latter called Ranjit Sing to his assistance. The call was promptly answered; and in October, 1806, that chief crossed the Setlej with a strong body of horse, and dictated terms of reconciliation to the contending parties. Some apprehension of his ulterior objects was entertained at Delhi; but a letter was received from him expressing his profound respect for the British Govern-

BOOK I. ment, and no notice was taken of his proceedings.  
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The result of this experiment confirmed him in the belief that he had no opposition to dread from his more powerful neighbours in establishing his authority over the states between the Setlej and Jumna ; but, having other designs in view, or not considering matters sufficiently mature for the consummation of his purpose, Ranjit Sing departed, and re-crossed the Setlej in the beginning of 1807.

In the course of that year the wife of the Patiala Raja, who was at variance with her husband on account of her insisting upon an assignment of revenue for the use of her son, yet a minor, had recourse to Ranjit Sing, and he again crossed the Setlej into the Doab. The Sikh chiefs in this quarter now began to be seriously alarmed, and made an earnest application to the Resident at Delhi to defend them against the growing ambition of their countryman ; protesting that they had ever considered themselves to be the subjects of the Company, and entitled to its protection. Before any reply could be received from Calcutta, the Raja and Rani had settled their dispute amicably, and had purchased the withdrawal of Ranjit by a valuable diamond necklace and a celebrated brass gun ; but, before leaving the country, he levied contributions on some other petty Rajas, or seized upon their forts and confiscated their lands. His return was probably hastened by a knowledge of the negotiations going on at Delhi, and by a report, which the chiefs industriously circulated, that their application had been favourably considered. In order to discover the truth of this assertion, Ranjit addressed a

letter to the Governor-General, stating that he had learned that troops were assembling on the Jumna, and requesting to be informed of the cause. He declared his wish to continue on friendly terms, but ventured to add, "The country on this side of the Jumna, except the stations occupied by the English, is subject to my authority. Let it remain so."

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Although Lord Minto was resolved to resist the pretensions of Ranjit Sing to the exercise of any authority on the right bank of the Jumna, yet the policy of securing his concurrence in the scheme of defensive alliance, which it was sought to frame against the hostile designs upon India avowed by the Emperor Napoleon, suspended the announcement of the Governor-General's sentiments; and Ranjit was referred for a reply to Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Metcalfe, whom it had been determined to send on a friendly mission to the Sikh ruler. The envoy set out from Delhi in August 1808, and, crossing the Setlej on the 1st of September, reached the camp of Ranjit, at Kasur, on the 11th: his reception was at first courteous and cordial; but in a few days a different feeling was displayed, and much dissatisfaction was expressed that the British Government should hesitate to acknowledge the Jumna to be the boundary between the two states. Still further to evince his displeasure, and to induce the Rajas on the east of the Setlej to believe that the British envoy acquiesced in his designs, Ranjit broke up his camp, crossed the river with the envoy in his train, dispossessed the chief to whom it belonged of the fort of Farid Koth, seized upon Ambala, and exacted tribute from the Rajas of Shahabad and



BOOK I. Thanesar. As Sir C. Metcalfe had refused to follow  
CHAP. IV. his extended march into the Doab, Ranjit retraced

1808. his steps, and returned to Amritsar, where the mission awaited him. The circumstances which had influenced the Governor-General's external policy had now in some degree ceased, and it was no longer necessary to temporise with the Raja of Lahore. Ranjit was consequently apprised that the Rajas between the two rivers were under British protection; that he might retain such acquisitions as he had made on this side of the Setlej previously to the existence of the relations which had been formed with the protected states, but that he must restore all that had been made subsequently; and that, in order to guard against any future encroachments, a military post would be established on the left bank of the river. The Raja strenuously expostulated against this declaration; arguing, that he had repeatedly exercised acts of authority in the Doab of the Setlej and Jumna, without any objection having been started by the British Government; that appeals made to the British Resident at Delhi by refractory chiefs had, to his certain knowledge, received no countenance or encouragement; that blood had been shed, and treasure expended, in asserting a supremacy which he claimed as his right; and that it was as unfriendly as it was inconsistent to prevent his reaping the fruit of exertions which had been suffered to come to maturity in seeming acquiescence. He, therefore, requested a renewed consideration of the subject; and in the mean time he assembled his troops, and appeared resolved to maintain his pretensions by arms.

Having come to the determination that the Setlej should be the limit of Ranjit Sing's acquisitions in that direction, with the exceptions above intimated, the British Government immediately commanded the advance of a sufficient body of troops to uphold their resolution. A detachment under Colonel Ochterlony crossed the Jumna in the middle of January, and proceeded to Ludiana, whilst an army of reserve under the command of Major-General St. Leger was prepared to support the advance, should protracted operations become necessary. The troops of Ranjit Sing fell back as Colonel Ochterlony's detachment approached ; and an incident took place, under the observation of the Raja, which might have suggested to him their unfitness to encounter disciplined battalions.

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During the stay of the British embassy in the vicinity of Amritsar the anniversary of the Moharram occurred, and the deaths of Ali and his sons, Hasan and Hosain, were commemorated by the Shia Mohammedans of the envoy's escort with the public demonstrations of passionate sorrow and religious fervour usual on the occasion. The celebration gave great offence to the Sikh population of Amritsar, which is the site of their most sacred temple ; and especially to the Akális, a set of Sikh fanatics who combine a religious and martial character. Headed by a party of these men, a numerous and infuriated mob attacked the envoy's camp : they were repulsed by the steadiness of the escort, although it consisted of but two companies of native infantry and sixteen troopers ; but not until several of the assailants were killed, and many of the Sipahis were wounded.

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1809. Ranjit Sing came up at the close of the affray, and assisted in quelling a tumult which it was strongly suspected he had in some degree fomented. The camp was removed to a greater distance from the town, and no further molestation was experienced.

The advance of the troops to the Setlej, and the experience of their quality which the affair at Amritsar afforded him, dissipated Ranjit Sing's dreams of conquest, and rendered him anxious to secure the forbearance and friendship of the British Government. Accordingly, on the 25th April, a treaty was concluded which stipulated that perpetual friendship should subsist between the British Government and the state of Lahore; that the former should have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward of the Setlej; that the Raja should never maintain on the left bank of the river more troops than were necessary for the internal duties of the territory acknowledged to belong to him, nor commit nor suffer any encroachment on the possessions or rights of the chiefs in its vicinity; and that the treaty should be null and void in the event of a violation of either of the preceding articles. Thus terminated all unfriendly discussions with the Sikh chieftain.<sup>1</sup> That he was deeply mortified by the result cannot be doubted; and there was reason to believe, that, if he could have relied upon effective support from Hindustan, he would not have submitted so peaceably to such a diminution of his power and disappointment of his hopes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. Records; Prinsep's *Life of Runjeet Singh*, Calcutta, 1834, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> There was credible evidence, that, during these discussions, a communication was kept up between the Raja and Sindhia, and unavowed agents were resident on either part at Gwalior and Lahore: a correspondence

Nor did he for some time lay aside his distrust of the ulterior designs of his European neighbour. An exaggerated notion of his resources, and suspicion of his ambitious projects, continued also for a considerable period to regulate the policy of the British Government towards him, and to suspend the establishment of a cordial intercourse almost to the term of the Raja's existence. During the last five years of his life, his confidence in British faith, and reliance on the principles of non-interference which had been originally professed, were fully confirmed by the cautious abstinence which had uniformly left him at liberty to extend his power over the independent principalities and states north and west of the Punjab without any interposition or even remark.<sup>1</sup>

The seasonable succour thus given to the petty Sikh chiefs between the Setlej and the Jumna<sup>2</sup> put an end to the vague character of the connexion

with Sarji Rao Ghatka was also detected. Ranjit's sagacity, however, soon discovered the weakness to which the Mahrattas had been reduced.—MS. Records.

<sup>1</sup> Travellers in Ranjit's territories complain, even to a late period, of obstructions to their proceedings thrown in their way by his subordinate functionaries and officers, and ascribe them to private instructions issued by the Raja, whilst ostensibly he gave them permission to go wherever they wished, and institute whatever inquiries they pleased. This might have been the case with some of the first visitors of the Punjab; but, latterly, whatever impediments were experienced were most probably ascribable to the ignorance or impertinence of the subordinates.—See the travels of Moorcroft, Jacquemont, Vigne, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The chief of these were Sahab Sing, Raja of Patiala; Bhye Lal Sing, of Kythal; Jeswant Sing, of Naba; Bhag Sing, of Jhind; Guru-dayal Sing, of Ladüa, Jodh Sing, of Kalasia; Gopal Sing, of Manimajra; Daya Kunwar, Rani of Ambala; Bhanga Sing, Raja of Thanesar; Sodha Sing, of Mahawat; Jawahir Sing, of Bharup. The Patiala Raja had a revenue of six lakhs of rupees, and a force of 2000 horse and 1000 foot. The revenues of the other chiefs varied from one to two lakhs, and their troops from 500 to 1000 horse. There were about twenty others of still inferior importance, but all claiming independent authority over their vassals; presenting in fact a state of things very similar to that of the early feudal anarchy of Europe.—MS. Records.



BOOK I. which had hitherto united them with the British  
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1809. reciprocal relations which were thenceforward to subsist: accordingly, a general declaration was circulated to them, announcing that the territories of Sirhind and Malüa had been taken under British protection; that it was not the intention of the Government to demand tribute from the chiefs, but that they would be expected to furnish every facility in their power to the movements of British troops through their districts, and to join the British armies with their followers whenever called upon. The several chiefs were permitted to exercise, and were guaranteed, the rights and authorities which they possessed in their respective territories; but supplies of European articles for troops, and horses for cavalry passing through them, were to be exempted from transit duties. The declaration conveying these provisions became the charter of rights to which the Sikh chiefs have been accustomed to refer for the settlement of all questions that have arisen between them and the British Government;<sup>1</sup> but the mutual relations of supremacy and subjection, appeals from the inferior to the superior in disputes amongst themselves or in domestic dissensions, and the imperative necessity of maintaining public order and security, speedily multiplied occasions of interposition, and, after no long interval, compelled the British Government to proclaim the right and the resolution to interpose.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Life of Runjeet Singh, 72.

<sup>2</sup> A public proclamation declaratory of the right and determination to interfere between the different Rajas in all cases of disputed territory, and

The regulation of successions was also a subject which from the first demanded the intervention of the protecting power;<sup>1</sup> and political expedience has dictated the enforcement of a principle recognised throughout the fendality of India, the appropriation of a subject territory in failure of lawful heirs by the paramount sovereign.<sup>2</sup>

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There is no satisfactory proof that the Emperor Napoleon ever seriously contemplated the invasion of India. In an early stage of his career, before his path to greatness was distinctly visible, he seems to have entertained some vague and wild dream of founding for himself an empire in the East.<sup>3</sup> The conquest of Egypt, in addition to the purpose of establishing a French colony in that country which should divert the stream of commerce between India and Europe from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Bab-al-mandal, and thus annihilate one of the sources of British prosperity, had, according to Napoleon, for one of its objects, the

at the same time repeating the resolution not to interfere in the internal administration of justice between the chiefs and their subjects, was issued on the 11th August, 1811.—See Report of Select Committee, House of Commons, 1832 ; Appendix Political, p. 560.

<sup>1</sup> In 1812, the Raja of Patiala, having rendered himself insupportable to his subjects by his insane oppression, was deposed in favour of his son, a minor, under the regency of the Rani, by the British Government. The measure was obnoxious to some of the Raja's adherents ; and one of them, an Akali, attacked the Agent, Colonel Ochterlony, in his palanquin, and severely wounded him.—Life of Runjeet, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Commonly to the exclusion of females, except in a few families where a contrary usage has prevailed. Some of the chiefships have so lapsed, the principal of which are Ambala and Thanesar.—Bengal and Agra Guide, 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 268. And, still more recently, Khytal.—Calcutta Journals, April, 1843.

<sup>3</sup> According to his own assertion, if he had taken St. Jean d'Acre, he would have brought about a revolution in the East, would have reached Constantinople and the Indies, and changed the destinies of the world.—Las Cases' Journal, i. 206 ; Scott's Life of Napoleon, ii. 104, 111.

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formation of a basis from which to accomplish the invasion of India; but it is scarcely possible to believe that he could ever have gravely projected so impossible a scheme as that of sending sixty thousand troops upon camels across the deserts of Arabia, and barren wastes of Baluchistan, to the banks of the Indus.<sup>1</sup> The subsequent mission of General Gardanne to Persia, and the influence acquired at Tehran, regarded Russia more immediately than India, and were suggested by the community of political interests, as Persia and France were simultaneously engaged in hostilities with the former empire. Such, however, was the impression produced by these demonstrations, and such the dread of Napoleon's power and resources, that a French invasion of India was reckoned amongst the possible contingencies of the time, and one against which precaution was indispensable. In this conviction, the Governor-General of India deemed it advisable to endeavour to establish amicable relations with the frontier principalities of the Punjab and Afghanistan, and to renew a friendly understanding with the king of Persia. The mission to Ranjit Sing,

<sup>1</sup> L'Expédition d'Egypte avoit trois buts : établir sur le Nil une colonie Française ; ouvrir un débouché à nos manufactures dans l'Afrique, l'Arabie, et la Syrie ; partir d'Egypte comme d'une place d'armes pour porter une armée de 60,000 hommes sur l'Indus soulever les Marattes et les peuples opprimés : 60,000 hommes, moitié Européens, moitié recrues des climats brûlants de l'équateur et du tropique, transportés par 10,000 chevaux et 50,000 chameaux, portant avec eux des vivres pour cinquante ou soixante jours, de l'eau pour cinq ou six jours, et un train d'artillerie de 150 bouches à feu de campagne, avec double approvisionnement, arriveraient en quatre mois sur l'Indus. L'océan a cessé d'être un obstacle depuis qu'on a des vaisseaux, le désert cesse d'en être un pour une armée qui a en abondance des chameaux et des dromedaires.—Mémoires de St. Hélière, ii. 214. Scarcely less insane was his speculation of invading India by sea, and sending round the Cape a force of sixteen thousand troops under convoy of thirty-two ships of the line.—Las Cases' Journal, ii. 248.

which originated in this policy, has been adverted to, and we have now to notice the measures adopted with respect to the two other states.

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The political condition of Afghanistan was almost wholly unknown to the Government of Bengal. No English traveller had crossed the Indus<sup>1</sup> since Foster; and his journey was performed under circumstances of personal disguise and hazard, which restricted him to hasty and superficial observation. Little information was to be gathered from his narrative. It was known from original authorities, that, of the country occupied by the Afghan tribes, the eastern portion, including Kabul and Ghazni, had been usually dependent upon Delhi; and the western, comprising Kandahar and Herat, ordinarily subject to Persia. Upon the murder of Nadir Shah, king of Persia, Ahmed Shah, of the Durani tribe of Afghans, a leader of distinction in the Persian army, took advantage of the distracted condition of both India and Persia to found a kingdom, independent of either, extending from the Indus to Herat, and ultimately including parts of Baluchistan and Sindh. Ahmed Shah was succeeded by his son, Timur Shah, who enjoyed a long and tranquil reign under the shadow of his father's fame. Upon his death the Durani monarchy speedily fell to pieces. He left a number of sons necessarily competitors for the sovereignty.<sup>2</sup> Zeman Shah, although not the eldest

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Foster, a member of the Civil service of Bengal, returned from India to England, through the Punjab, Afghanistan, and Persia: he travelled on foot in the character of a pauper and garb of an Asiatic; and, although he communicates some novel information, yet his notices of the Afghans, amongst whom he was in much danger, are unavoidably meagre.—See his Travels.

<sup>2</sup> They were more than thirty. Humayun, the eldest, after a feeble



BOOK I. of these, made good his pretensions with the aid  
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1808. and support of his younger brother, Shuja-al-mulk, and retained a precarious occupancy of the throne for seven years. The injustice and insolence of his favourite Vizir provoked a conspiracy against him among the principal nobles of his court: it was detected; and one of the conspirators, Sirafraz Khan, chief of the Barikzei clan, to which Shah Zeman had been mainly indebted for his own elevation, was put to death. The act was fatal to the monarch; for Fatih Khan, the eldest son of Sirafraz Khan, immediately devoted his abilities and influence, which were considerable, to the service of Mahmud, a brother and rival of the king. Shah Zeman, deserted by his troops, was taken prisoner, deposed, and blinded, and Mahmud was made Shah.

The character of Mahmud was unequal to the exigencies of his perilous position. Indolent and timid, he transferred the cares of the government to his ministers, and, as long as his own ease and enjoyment were provided for, was wholly indifferent to the prosperity of his kingdom. By his injudicious partiality to his Persian guards, and the unbridled licence in which he suffered them to indulge, he offended both the religious prejudices and the national feelings of his countrymen, and provoked them to insurrection.<sup>1</sup> Shuja-al-mulk was

effort to maintain his right, was taken by Zeman Shah, blinded, and died in captivity. Zeman Shah, Mahmud, and Shuja-al-mulk, in their turns held temporary sway, and perished. Firoz-ad-din for some time occupied Herat, but was dispossessed, and fled to Persia, where he died. Shah Abbas, who was set up as king for a short time, also died in exile. These were the only members of the family who acquired notoriety.

<sup>1</sup> The Gholam Sháhí, or Kazal-bashis, the king's Persian guards, were obnoxious to the Afghans, not only from their insolence and licen-

called to head the insurgents; and, fortune abandoning Mahmud, his adherents were defeated, and he himself was taken prisoner. Shuja ascended the throne: a feeling of fraternal affection induced him to refrain from inflicting upon Mahmud the usual disqualification for sovereignty, loss of sight; and this act of clemency, which was so unusual in Afghan policy, proved ultimately his own destruction.

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During the five succeeding years Shah Shuja was nominal monarch of Afghanistan; but his authority and life were repeatedly endangered by the attempts of one or other of his brothers to supplant him, and by the aid which they received from the turbulent and factious nobles of his court, especially from the powerful family of which Fatih Khan was the head.<sup>1</sup> Towards the close of this period Mahmud escaped from confinement and fled to his son Kamran, who had been able, during his father's detention, to maintain himself at liberty on the western frontier of Afghanistan. Although joined by the Barakzei chief, the confederates were defeated by Shah Shuja, and his power seemed to be finally established on a secure foundation.<sup>2</sup> In-

tiousness, but their professions of the Shia form of Mohammedanism, which considers Ali as the rightful successor of Mohammed, and denounces imprecations on the three first Khalifs, Abu-bekr, Omar, and Othman, as usurpers. The Afghans are bigoted Sunis, and assert with equal zeal the lawfulness of the succession. An insurrection in Kabul, directed in the first instance against the Kazal-bashis, and ultimately against Mahmud as their patron, prepared the way for his deposal.—Elphinstone's Kabul, 8vo., vol. ii. 334.

<sup>1</sup> The sons of Sirafrax Khan, the hereditary chiefs of the Barakzei clan, were twenty-two in number: one of them, Dost Mohammed, the chief who has of late years acquired such extensive European celebrity, was then one of the youngest of the brethren.

<sup>2</sup> In August 1808, the Resident at Delhi reported, that, according to the latest advices from Afghanistan, the authority of Shah Shuja was fully established.—MS. Records.

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stead, however, of following up his success, and extinguishing the last sparks of rebellion by the expulsion or capture of Mahmud, he returned to enjoy his triumph at Peshawar, and with singular imprudence dispatched the principal part of his army to recover the province of Kashmir from the chief by whom the province was governed, and who was in arms against his sovereign.<sup>1</sup> It was at this season that the mission from Bengal arrived at Peshawar.

The embassy to Kabul was fitted out in a manner intended to impress the Afghans with an exalted opinion of the power and dignity of the Company, and was intrusted to a member of the civil service, Mr. Elphinstone, whose conversancy with the language and manners of native princes, and whose abilities, judgment, and personal character ensured its success, as far as the state of affairs permitted. Mr. Elphinstone left Delhi on the 13th of October; and, as it was uncertain whether Ranjit Sing would assent to the passage of the mission through the Punjab, the route followed traversed the hitherto untrodden wastes of Bikaner and Jesselmer to the frontiers of Bahawalpur, then a dependency of Kabul. Proceeding through Multan, the Nawab of which was also at that time, nominally at least, a feudatory of the Afghan monarch, the mission reached the Indus, and on the 7th of January crossed the river at Kaheri ferry. On the 5th of March Mr. Elphinstone entered Peshawar, whither Shah Shuja had recently returned from Kandahar.

<sup>1</sup> For the latter history of the Afghans, see Elphinstone's *Embassy to Kabul*, vol. ii. p. 279, and Conolly's *Overland Journey to India*; *Afghan History*, ii. 233. See also the later accounts of Burnes, Vigne, &c.

Although the envoy met with a courteous reception, and much cordiality prevailed between the members of the mission and the principal persons of the court, yet the objects of the embassy were never fully comprehended, nor was a feeling of distrust towards it ever entirely effaced. An alliance to resist a combined invasion of the French and Persians seemed to the Afghans to be a needless precaution, as the danger was avowedly contingent and remote, and as it was one with which they esteemed themselves competent to cope. The circumstances under which the alliance was sought, showed that British rather than Afghan interests were at stake, and the court not unreasonably desired to know what benefit was to accrue to them from the confederacy. It was shrewdly enough argued by the diplomatists of Peshawar that they could not come to any decision upon an *ex-parte* statement, and that in justice to themselves they ought to hear what an ambassador from France might have to urge before they made common cause with either French or English. To a treaty of defensive and offensive alliance generally they professed themselves to be willing to accede, as such an alliance proposed a reciprocal advantage; but they objected to enter into engagements intended solely for the protection of British India. They saw clearly that the British Government had a point to carry with the court of Kabul for interests of its own; and, when they found that the equivalent demanded was withheld, they concluded that some ulterior and unacknowledged purpose was entertained.

The importance of the object which Shah Shuja



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and his ministers had in view—the assistance of the British—was speedily enhanced by the course of events. The troops sent to Kashmir were so entirely defeated that not more than two thousand men, dismounted, disarmed, and wholly disorganised, escaped. Mahmud immediately resumed the offensive, occupied Kandahar and Kabul, and threatened Peshawar. The army was annihilated, the treasury was empty and the means of levying any considerable force were entirely deficient. In this emergency, a pecuniary grant was urgently solicited from the British Government; and such was the state of popular indifference with regard to the contending parties, and the readiness of the chiefs to sell their services to the highest bidder, that a compliance with the application would in all probability have secured the ascendancy of Shah Shuja, and have seated him firmly and permanently in his dominions.<sup>1</sup> The measure was warmly advocated by the envoy; but unhappily for the Shah, and for the fate of Afghanistan, doomed to a long and still uninterminated course of civil dissension and domestic anarchy, the policy of the British Government had undergone a change. The invasion of Spain by Napoleon, and the commencement of the Peninsular war, had indefinitely suspended the execution

<sup>1</sup> The people of the towns were in general well-affected towards Shah Shuja, who was recommended to them by his moderation and justice. The Hill tribes were indifferent, and followed their own chiefs, most of whom were ready to sell their services to the highest bidder. Ten lakhs of rupees would probably have turned the scale decidedly in favour of Shah Shuja, and have secured him a permanent ascendancy. The grant of pecuniary aid was advocated by Mr. Elphinstone, but the measure was not thought necessary by Lord Minto, expressly on the grounds that the change of affairs in Europe had indefinitely suspended, if not entirely defeated, the projects of France against British India.—MS. Records.

of his designs upon India, and had made it no longer necessary to conciliate the good-will or purchase the co-operation of the native states upon the frontier. It was therefore resolved to decline the grant of pecuniary aid in any form whatever, and to withdraw with unmeaning professions of amity from all intercourse with the Durani sovereign. The consequences of the ambition of the French Emperor thus vibrated to the heart of Asia; and his declaration, that the Bourbons had ceased to reign, precipitated Shah Shuja from his throne, consigned him to a life of exile and to a disastrous death, and ultimately led to the infliction of an indelible stain upon the military reputation of the British in the East.

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Notwithstanding the disappointment of his hopes of realising an equivalent advantage from the proposed connexion, Shah Shuja agreed to the terms of a treaty in which it was stipulated, that if the French and Persians, who were in alliance, should endeavour to cross Afghanistan on their way to India, the Shah should, to the extent of his power, oppose their march; that the expense attending such opposition should be defrayed by the British Government; that friendship and union should continue for ever between the contracting states; that they should in no manner interfere in each other's countries; and that the King of Kabul should permit no individual of the French nation to enter his territories.<sup>1</sup> The treaty was sent for ratification to Calcutta: it was signed there on the 17th of June; but, before it could be returned to Peshawar,

<sup>1</sup> Coll. of Treaties, p. 301.

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CHAP. IV. its authentication. Mr. Elphinstone, who had left

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<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Papers relative to Shah Shuja's expedition into Afghanistan, 1833-34; printed 20th March, 1839.

pices than had ever smiled upon his former efforts, —the avowed co-operation of Ranjit Sing and the Government of British India. The auspices were deceptive. The powerful support upon which he relied crumbled beneath his feet, and left him helpless and alone amidst inexorable foes and treacherous friends. The end of his chequered career followed close upon his abandonment; and the hand of an assassin terminated the life of a prince whose alliance the Government of India had once courted, whose expulsion from his dominions it had pitied and whose distress it had relieved, and whom, as fatally for him as for itself, it at last vainly engaged to replace upon his throne.

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The country of Sindh constitutes the most western limit of India along the southern course of the Indus. It was conquered by the Moham-medans in the commencement of the eighth century, and was retained as a dependency of Persia until its subjugation by Mahmud of Ghazni. Upon the downfall of his dynasty, the Sumras, a race of chiefs of Arab extraction, established themselves as independent rulers of the country, until they were dispossessed by the Sumas, who were Hindus, and who professed a nominal fealty to the Patan sovereigns of Delhi. In the reign of Akber, Sindh became more intimately attached to the Mogul empire; but the government of the province was usually intrusted to native chiefs, whose degree of subordination was regulated by the ability of the court of Delhi to compel obedience. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Kaloras, a race of religious teachers who pretended to derive their origin



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from the Abasside Khalifs, and who converted their reputation for sanctity into an engine of worldly aggrandisement, had become possessed of extensive territory in Sindh, and usurped an ascendancy in its government, which was legalised in the reign of Mohammed Shah of Delhi by the appointment of Nur Mohammed Kalora as Subahdar of Tatta. The vicegerent of Sindh was speedily relieved from his dependence upon Delhi, but was compelled to pay tribute to the conqueror, Nadir Shah. The death of that prince dissolved the connexion with Persia; but the new sovereign of Afghanistan claimed the like supremacy over the country, and Sindh became, nominally at least, subject to Kabul. Although confirmed by Ahmed Shah, the son and successor of Nur Mohammed, Mohammed Murad Khan, was deposed after a reign of a few years by his disaffected nobles; and his brother, Ghulam Shah Khan, was placed on the musnud in his room. After a turbulent and distracted reign he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sirafras Khan,<sup>1</sup> who in a few years was deposed by the heads of the Baluch tribes, who had now acquired a leading influence in the affairs of Sindh, and whose enmity he had incurred by putting Bahram Khan, the chief of Talpura, and one of his sons, Sobhdar Khan, for some offence to death. The confederates first placed a younger brother of Sirafras Khan, and then a cousin, upon the throne; but, dissatisfied with their own choice, successively removed them, and seated Ghulam Nabi Shah, a brother of Ghulam Shah, on the musnud. Shortly after his accession, Bijar Khan Talpura, another son

<sup>1</sup> He founded the present capital, Hyderabad, in 1182.

of Bahram Khan, returned to Sindh from Arabia, whither he had gone on pilgrimage, and undertook to revenge the death of his father. He was joined by his clan, and by their friends. Ghulam Nabi Khan immediately assembled his adherents, and a conflict ensued in which he was killed. Bijar Khan then marched against the capital, Hyderabad, where Abd-un-nabi Khan, the brother of the defeated sovereign, had fortified himself, and had put to death Sirafrax Khan, who had been confined there, and, along with him, other princes whose pretensions he thought likely to interfere with his own. Bijar Khan, unable to reduce Hyderabad, protested his readiness to acknowledge Abd-un-nabi as his sovereign, and faithfully adhered to his professions. The Kalora prince was acknowledged to be the paramount prince, and the head of the Talpura tribe became his hereditary minister. The authority exercised by Bijar Khan was not of long duration. In little more than two years he was assassinated by agents of the Raja of Jodhpur, with the connivance, or at the instigation, it is said, of Abd-un-nabi. The belief that the latter was implicated in the murder of Bijar Khan roused the vengeance of the Talpura tribe; and Abd-ullah Khan, the son of the deceased, expelled Abd-un-nabi from Sindh. Abd-ullah assumed the sovereignty.

Although assisted successively by the chief of Kelat and by the Raja of Jodhpur, Abd-un-nabi Khan was unable to recover his authority, and was obliged to have recourse to the Afghan monarch, Timur Shah, the son of Ahmed Shah. A force was placed at his disposal which his enemies were un-

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able to resist, and an apparent reconciliation was effected by the intermediation of the principal nobles. The reconciliation was insincere. The Talpura chiefs rebelled, were again defeated, and were again received into seeming favour, when either the dread of their renewed machinations, or resentment for the past, induced Abd-un-nabi Khan to perpetrate the murder of their leading men. Inviting Abd-ullah Khan, with two of his principal associates and kinsmen, to an interview on board his boat when upon an excursion on the Indus, he had them seized and immediately put to death. The crime was fatal to his dynasty; for the surviving chiefs of the Talpuras, led by Fatih Ali, the son of Mir Sobhdar Khan, the brother of Bijar Khan, who had been put to death along with their father Bahram Khan, rose in arms, and, assisted by the neighbouring chiefs of Khyrpur, Bahawalpur, and Daudputra, compelled Abd-un-nabi once more to seek an asylum at the court of Kabul. Circumstances were no longer propitious to his cause; and, although assistance was promised him, none of any magnitude was afforded. The representations of the Talpura chiefs, their professions of allegiance, the tribute which they promised, and the bribes which they distributed, retarded and ultimately frustrated the intentions, and baffled the efforts, of Timur Shah, and his successor Zeman Shah. Abd-un-nabi, after residing some years upon Jagirs assigned him, first by the Afghan monarch, and afterwards by the Raja of Jodhpur, died an exile in the states of the former prince, in the reign of Mahmud Shah, and the Talpura chief finally established the authority of his family in Sindh. His personal ele-

vation was not undisputed, even by his own relations; and the forces on either side were drawn out to decide the dispute by the sword. The counsels of the elders of the tribe, and the tears and entreaties of the women, arrested the strife upon the eve of its occurrence;<sup>1</sup> and an accommodation was effected, by which Mir Sohrab of Khyrpur and Mir Thara of Mirpur, both descended from a common ancestor, were acknowledged to be independent in their own districts, while Fatih Ali was recognised as chief ruler of Sindh. This power he shared with his three brothers, Gholam Ali, Karam Ali, and Murad Ali. At the period when a friendly connexion with the country became an object of the policy of the Government of India, Fatih Ali was dead, but the three surviving brothers jointly administered the affairs of Sindh.<sup>2</sup>

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Imperfectly acquainted with the history and the resources of Sindh, and attaching to its commerce and alliance more value than belonged to either, the Government of Bengal had made several attempts to form friendly relations with the court of Hyderabad. Its advances were received with coldness or repelled with insolence, and although a commercial agent was at one time allowed to reside at Tatta and carry on trade there, yet little en-

<sup>1</sup> An interesting account of this transaction is given by Mr. Crow in his report on Sindh, and is extracted in Captain Postans's account of Sindh.

<sup>2</sup> See Macmurdo's account of Sindh, *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, i. 223; *Visit to the Court of Sindh* by Dr. Burnes; *Personal Observations on Sindh* by Captain Postans; and a Persian account, translated by Captain Pogson and published in Calcutta. This latter differs in some details from the narratives of the European writers, and is less favourable to the Talpuras; ascribing to the latter treacherous designs, which provoked, and in some degree justified, the treatment they experienced.



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couragement<sup>1</sup> was given to it by the ruling authorities; and the factory having been attacked and plundered in a popular tumult, for which no reparation or redress was procured, the agency was discontinued. Circumstances now appeared more promising. Alarmed by the menaced interference of Shah Shuja on behalf of the expelled prince, Abd-un-nabi, the Amirs of Sindh had applied to Persia for succour, and a Persian army had been directed to march to their assistance. The death of Abd-un-nabi, and the embarrassments which Shah Shuja experienced at home, removed all ground of fear from Afghanistan, and the Amirs then became most apprehensive of peril from their allies. They thought it prudent, therefore, to oppose one powerful friend to another,—British India to Persia: they therefore began to conciliate the British Government, and sent an agent to Bombay to propose the renewal of the commercial intercourse that had formerly existed. The proposal was favourably entertained, and Captain Seton was sent as envoy to Hyderabad. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded by the envoy with the Amirs; but, as the stipulations pledged the British Government to a reciprocity that was deemed inexpedient, the ratification of the treaty was withheld, and Mr. Nicholas Hankey Smith, a Bombay civil servant, was deputed to explain the cause, and to contract a less comprehensive engagement. After many delays and obstructions opposed to his journey by the ser-

<sup>1</sup> Ghulam Shah Kalora granted perwanas in 1758 to a Mr. Sumption, in the service of the East India Company, exempting the goods he should import from all duties, and authorising him to build a factory at Aurangbunder, or at Tatta.—Coll. of Treaties, 488.

vants of the Amirs,—not, it was suspected, without their secret approval,<sup>1</sup>—Mr. Smith reached Hyderabad on the 8th of August; and on the 23rd of that month a treaty was signed, which engaged that there should be eternal friendship between the two Governments, that vakeels or agents should be always mutually appointed, and that the French should not be permitted to form an establishment in Sindh.<sup>2</sup> The apprehension of a French invasion of India had subsided, and there remained no motive of weight for cultivating the friendship of a semi-barbarous and arrogant court; while the Amirs were equally disinclined to maintain an intimate intercourse with a power which they feared, and with which they thought they had reason to be dissatisfied, not only on account of the annulment of the treaty entered into with Captain Seton, but because they were apprised that any aggression upon the neighbouring state of Cutch, to the affairs of which we shall hereafter have occasion to recur, would be decidedly resisted. No beneficial result consequently followed the connexion formed at this period with the rulers of Sindh.

Negotiations of greater importance and of more durable consequences were at the same period set on foot with the Government of Persia. They opened inauspiciously, but their complexion was changed by the influence of political revolutions in the west; and the course of events in Europe cleared the road from Bushir to Tehran, and sub-

<sup>1</sup> A detailed account of the proceedings of the mission is given by Lieutenant (now Sir Henry Pottinger) in his *Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh*, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> *Coll. of Treaties*, 306.

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verted the influence which the French embassy had obtained at the latter city.

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Napoleon had endeavoured at an early date to establish a connexion with the King of Persia; and, when he projected the invasion of Egypt, the Directory, at his suggestion, sent secret agents to Tehran to prevail upon the reigning monarch Aga Mohammed, to make a simultaneous attack upon the Turkish provinces on the Euphrates. The unavowed character of the French emissaries perplexed the Persian sovereign: his death shortly afterwards, and the accession of Fatih Ali, caused their proposals to meet with but little attention, and no disposition was evinced to adopt the views of France. This disappointment, and the successful mission of Sir John Malcolm to Tehran by Marquis Wellesley, excluded the influence of France at the court of Persia for several years. An accredited agent, who was then sent, died shortly after having had an audience of the King, and all intercourse was again suspended.

In the beginning of 1806, Persia being engaged in hostilities with Russia, and dreading the advance of the Russian arms, gladly welcomed an agent from the French minister at Constantinople, and at his recommendation dispatched one of the nobles of the court to Paris to negotiate a treaty of offensive alliance. A second envoy from Tehran accompanied Monsieur Pontecoulant, who had been dispatched to Persia after the death of his predecessor, and who was now returning to France. This disposition of the Persian court coinciding with the political interests of the French Emperor, met with the most cordial encouragement, and a splendid

embassy was sent to Tehran under General Gardanne, who arrived at the Persian capital towards the end of December 1807. His suite consisted of twenty-five persons, mostly military, besides a number of artillery and engineer officers, and a considerable body of artificers. The draft of a treaty was speedily completed, and sent to Paris for ratification. It was stipulated that France should, either by force or negociation, obtain from Russia, Georgia and other frontier provinces conquered from Persia; that the King of Persia should allow an army to march through his territories to invade India, should provide for its wants, and join it with all his force; that the island of Kharak should be ceded to France, and French factories should be admitted at Gombroon, Bushir, and other places; and that, if the Emperor required it, the King of Persia should exclude all Englishmen from his dominions. During the negociations, and the interval of the ratification of the treaty, many of the French officers attached to the embassy were dispersed through the country, and were actively engaged in making military surveys of it and ascertaining its resources; while those remaining at the capital were as busily employed in drilling the new Persian levies, and instructing them in European discipline.

The war between Persia and Russia originated in the invasion of Georgia by the former power, and consequent recourse to the latter by the princes of Georgia, Heraclius and his successor Gurgein, the second of whom promised perpetual vassalage to Russia as the price of the aid solicited. The Persians had been driven out of the country, and they

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had not only been foiled in every attempt to regain it, but had sustained many disastrous defeats, and had lost extensive tracts in Armenia and Daghestan. In the first moments of distress the court had applied to the Indian Government for aid, under the initiatory article of the treaty concluded in 1801, which pledged the two states to perpetual amity. This interpretation of the article was not concurred in by the Government of India, and armed assistance was declined. The refusal had alienated the court of Persia from the British connexion, and had thrown it into the arms of France. Unfortunately for its hopes, the peace of Tilsit, which was concluded before even the arrival of General Gardanne at Tehran, had united the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander in bonds of personal friendship and projects of mutual aggrandisement. Although not immediately avowed,—although a show of regard was displayed, and offers of mediation were professed,—yet at the very moment when the King of Persia was assured that the strongest intercession in his favour should be addressed to the Czar, his cause had been utterly abandoned, and the integrity of his dominions sacrificed to Russia, in exchange for licence to the French Emperor to pounce without check or hinderance upon Spain.

The presence of a French embassy at the Persian court had so far a beneficial operation, that it roused the authorities both in England and in India to a sense of the necessity of reacquiring some consideration at Tehran. Unluckily, their measures were taken without previous concert, and the result was an undignified and impolitic collision. The

Government of England, in communication with the Court of Directors, resolved to send an ambassador to Persia, in the person of Sir Harford Jones, who had held for several years the office of Company's Resident at Bagdad. He was accordingly nominated his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary; although his allowances and the cost of the mission were to be defrayed by the East India Company, and the envoy was ordered to act under instructions from the Governor-General. The Governor-General had in the mean time determined to dispatch his own representative; and Sir John Malcolm, who had concluded the former treaty, was again sent by Lord Minto in the same capacity to Persia.

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The appointment of an ambassador to Persia was one of the last acts of the administration of Earl Grey; and his departure was delayed by the change of ministry which took place in March, 1807. From this and other circumstances, Sir Harford Jones did not arrive at Bombay until April in the following year, and on his arrival found that Sir John Malcolm had preceded him to Bushir. In compliance with the orders of the Governor-General, he remained at Bombay until it should be ascertained in what manner the mission was received. Sir John Malcolm reached Bushir in May, and announced his arrival to the court, sending his dispatches by one of his officers, Captain Pasley. The letters were forwarded, but the messenger was detained at Shiraz until instructions should arrive from Tehran. After some delay they were received. The King, still clinging to the hope that

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1808. which he was strengthened by the assurances of a Russian agent, and the protestations of the French ambassador,—chose rather to brave the resentment of his former allies than give umbrage to both France and Russia. Affecting, however, an equal unwillingness to displease the British Government, he directed one of his sons, Hosein Ali Mirza, governor of the province, to carry on the negociations with its representative at Shiraz. To this Sir John Malcolm strongly objected, as derogatory to the dignity of his Government. Believing, from the private information he received, that the French embassy had obtained too firm a footing at Tehran to be supplanted, and arguing that the connexion was a breach of existing engagements, and inimical to British interests, he abruptly sailed from Bushir, and repaired at once to Calcutta, where his representations induced the Governor-General to conclude that measures of intimidation or hostility were necessary; and orders were issued for fitting out a military expedition, which should occupy the island of Kharak, and hold the command of the navigation of the Persian Gulph.<sup>1</sup>

The first impression entertained by the Governor-General, founded upon the envoy's dispatches, was, that the proceedings of Sir John Malcolm had been somewhat precipitate, and that no sufficient cause had been assigned for the total abandonment of the objects of the embassy. He had therefore authorised Sir Harford Jones, in the event of his predecessor's

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Political History of India, i. 415.

withdrawal, to prosecute his voyage “without a moment’s delay, should the circumstances render, in his judgment, such a step advisable, without further reference to Bengal.” The information which he subsequently received induced Lord Minto to believe that a representative of the British power would not be admitted to the presence of the King of Persia, and that a repetition of the attempt to obtain an audience would be incompatible with the dignity of the Government, while it would be productive of no advantage. Sir Harford Jones was consequently instructed to await the result of further deliberations. The countermand was too late. Before it reached Bombay, Sir Harford Jones, acting in the spirit of his first instructions, had sailed for Persia. He arrived at Bushir on the 14th of October. The aspect of affairs had changed. No progress had been made towards the restitution of any part of the Persian territory, and the court had begun to lose faith in the professions of the French. In this feeling of disappointment, regret for having given offence to the British Government, and apprehension of the consequences of its displeasure, found easy access to the Persian cabinet, and the arrival of his Majesty’s ambassador at Bushir was regarded as a fortunate means of escaping from its embarrassments. Still, some reluctance seems to have been entertained to break so entirely with France as openly to sanction the advance of the mission to the capital; and, although an invitation to proceed to Shiraz was very soon forwarded, Sir Harford Jones consented to go thither upon no other se-

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curity for his ultimate reception at Tehran than the assurances of a native agent that on his arrival there he would find the official invitation from the King and his ministers to continue his journey to the presence. Upon this information, the envoy accompanied the Mihmandar who was sent to conduct him to Shiraz, and arrived there on the 1st of January. Some faint attempts to inveigle him into negotiations with the local authorities were easily baffled; and, all difficulties being surmounted,<sup>1</sup> the mission departed from Shiraz on the 12th of January. Sir Harford Jones entered Tehran on the 14th of the following month, the French embassy having quitted the city on the preceding day. During the stay of the mission at Shiraz, the dispatches from Bengal arrived, recalling the ambassador, and announcing the military projects of the Government. The information speedily transpired, and excited great alarm; to allay which, Sir Harford Jones assumed, as the representative of the Crown, a power independent of the Governor-General of India, and entered into a solemn pledge that no aggression should be committed upon the dominions of the King of Persia as long as his Majesty displayed a wish to preserve the amicable relations by

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm ascribes this to "the anticipated failure of the French to fulfil their extravagant promises, the alarm excited by the military preparations in India, and the cupidity of the Persian court, which had been strongly excited."—*Pol. Hist.* i. 415. Sir Harford Jones states, that Lord Minto accused him of having found his way to Shiraz by corruption.—*Account of the Mission to Persia*, i. 147. According to the plenipotentiary's own account, the King's willingness to receive him was stimulated by exaggerated descriptions of a valuable diamond included amongst the presents intended for his Majesty, and of which he himself remarks, "I so managed, that, at the expense of £10,000 to the Company, the Shah of Persia considered he had received twenty or twenty-five thousand pounds from his Majesty's envoy."—*Account of the Mission*, i. 144.

which he had been connected with the King of Great Britain.

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The appointment of an ambassador to Persia by the home Government had been regarded by the Governor-General as an injudicious departure from the practice of negotiating with that country through India. He protested against the innovation. Lord Minto argued, that it was inconsistent to expect from the Government of India effective precautions against any dangers on the side of Persia, without leaving to it the power of controuling the minister deputed to the Persian court, and directing the course and character of the negotiations to be carried on with it: that such a minister appointed in England might not only fail to appreciate the interests of British India, but might act in direct opposition to them; and might not only pledge the faith of its Government to measures unsanctioned by it, but even to such as were incompatible with its honour and safety: that the Indian Government was vested with the power of sovereignty within its own limits, and had been recognised in that character by the King of Persia. "It was in that character alone that we had been able to obtain those manifestations of respect, that regard to the claims of dignity, which amongst all nations of the world, but in an especial degree amongst Asiatic states, are essential to the maintenance of real power in the scale of political interest: this acknowledged character, as it constituted the basis, so it must form the cement, of our external relations. To depreciate therefore that estimation of the power and dignity of the British Government

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Notwithstanding the earnestness with which Lord Minto asserted the sovereign prerogatives of the Governor-General of India, the transfer of diplomatic relations with Persia from that officer to the Ministers of the Crown was persevered in, and ambassadors to Persia have ever since been sent directly from Great Britain alone. The destinies of Persia are, in truth, so much more intimately interwoven with the political interests of the parent country than of India, the consequences deprecated by Lord Minto as likely to affect the latter are so much more calculated to exercise an influence upon the former, that the relations established, or to be established, with Persia, can no longer be consistently confided to the arbitrement of a delegated and subordinate functionary, however high his station or absolute his authority.

Until, however, the question was decided against him, Lord Minto showed himself resolved to exercise his power. Highly displeased at the determination of Sir Harford Jones to continue his journey from

<sup>1</sup> Lord Minto's letter to the Secret Committee, as quoted by Malcolm.—*Pol. Hist.* i. 417.

Shiraz, the Governor-General addressed dispatches to the court of Tehran, disavowing the public character of the ambassador; and, to Sir Harford Jones himself, orders were sent commanding him instantly to leave the country, with the intimation, that, on his failing so to do, any bills drawn by him on the Indian Governments after the date of such disobedience would not be discharged. His Majesty's plenipotentiary could not resist the weight of this argument, and signified his readiness to obey; but in the mean time he had pursued his negotiation with great activity, had accomplished the execution of a preliminary treaty, and had prevailed upon the King of Persia to send Abul Hasan Khan as his ambassador, in company with Mr. Morier, to England. The Governor-General consented to ratify the treaty, but peremptorily ordered Sir H. Jones to quit Persia, making over charge of the mission to a medical officer of the Company until the arrival of Sir John Malcolm, whom he still resolved to employ. On the other hand, orders from England directed Sir H. Jones to remain until the arrival of another ambassador in the person of Sir Gore Ouseley; and he continued in the country until after the winter of 1810, although not exercising apparently any ministerial functions. Sir John Malcolm arrived at Tehran in June 1810, — for no purpose apparently except to vindicate the dignity of the Governor-General of India, and put the Company to an unnecessary expense. His presence and services in Persia being speedily rendered unnecessary by the approach of Sir Gore Ouseley as his Majesty's representative at the Persian court, he left Tehran

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BOOK I. in the following month.<sup>1</sup> There were consequently  
CHAP. IV. about the same period three English ambassadors in

1810. Persia, whose relative importance it must have perplexed the Persians to determine, although they were astute enough to take advantage of so much competition for their friendship, and make the better bargain for themselves.

By the preliminary treaty concluded between Sir Harford Jones and the ministers of the King of Persia it was stipulated that the articles should form the basis of a definitive treaty without alteration; that every treaty made by the King of Persia with any one of the powers of Europe should become null and void; and that he would not permit any European force to march through Persia towards India. That, should any European force invade or have invaded the territories of Persia, his Britannic Majesty would afford to the King of Persia a military force, or, in lieu of it, a subsidy and warlike ammunition; the number of the forces and the amount of the subsidy to be regulated by a definitive treaty. Should his Britannic Majesty make peace with the invading power, he should use his efforts to negotiate a peace also between it and Persia;

<sup>1</sup> A full account of the circumstances connected with Sir Harford Jones's embassy has been published by himself,—*An Account of the transactions of his Majesty's mission to the Court of Persia in the years 1807-11*, by Sir Harford Jones Brydges, Bart. A somewhat different view of them is given by Malcolm in his *Political History of India*. Some notice of the proceedings of the mission occurs in Morier's *First Journey through Persia*. Whatever may be the case with respect to the means employed, there is no denying that Sir Harford Jones effected his object; that he made his way to Tehran, and negotiated a treaty which, in substance, was confirmed by the British Government; and that the projected military expedition to the Gulph would have entailed a heavy cost, realised no solid advantage, and deeply, perhaps incurably, wounded the pride of the Persian monarch and the patriotism of his people.

but, in failure of success, the military or pecuniary aid should be still supplied as long as the invading force continued in the Persian territory, or until the conclusion of peace. That, if the Afghans or any other power should attack India, the King of Persia should furnish a force to assist in its defence. That, if any British troops should have landed at Kharak, or in any other Persian port, they should not possess themselves of such places, but be at the disposal of the King of Persia, subject to the alternative of a pecuniary payment in their place. That, if war should take place between the Afghans and the King of Persia, the King of Great Britain should take no part in it, except as a mediator at the desire of both parties. That the object of these articles should be regarded as mutually defensive; and, finally, a hope was expressed that the treaty might be everlasting, and produce “the most beautiful fruits of friendship between the two serene kings.”

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A definitive treaty, in conformity to these stipulations, was entered into by Sir Gore Ouseley; but some of the conditions underwent a modification in England, and the final arrangements were not completed till 1814, when the terms were conclusively agreed upon. The defensive character of the treaty was more explicitly stated, and Russia was specified as the power against which the Persian frontier was to be defended. The amount of the subsidy was fixed at 200,000 tomans, about £125,000 per annum; and it was further agreed that the said subsidy should not be paid in case a war with any European nation should have been produced by an

BOOK I. aggression on the part of Persia. The other modifications little affected the preliminary conditions; and,

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at a subsequent date, the Persian court was compelled to relinquish the stipulated subsidy.<sup>1</sup> Little ultimate advantage accrued to either power from the intercourse which it had been considered so essential to the political interests of both to maintain.

<sup>1</sup> See the several engagements with Persia of 1809, 1814, and 1828, in the treaties printed by order of the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.

## CHAPTER V.

*Appointment of Sir G. Barlow to the Government of Madras,—unacceptable to the settlement.—The state of popular feeling.—Commencement of agitation.—Case of Mr. Sherson.—Proceedings of the Commission for the investigation of the debts of the Nawab of the Carnatic.—Trials of Reddy Rao,—his conviction,—his pardon and death.—Affairs of Travancore.—Disputes between the Raja and the Resident.—Enmity of the Dewan,—sets on foot an insurrection,—abetted by the Dewan of Cochin.—Troops ordered to Travancore.—The Resident's house attacked,—his escape.—Operations of the Subsidiary force.—Murder of Europeans by the Dewan.—Army sent to the Province under Colonel St. Leger.—Storm of the Arambuli Lines.—Defeat of the Nairs at Quilon.—Advance to the Capital.—Submission of the Raja.—Flight of the Dewan.*

— *Sanctuary violated.* — *Death of the Dewan.* — *Seizure and execution of his brother.* — *The body of the Dewan gibbeted.* — *Sentiments of the Bengal Government.* — *Disorganised condition of Travancore.* — *Administration of affairs by the Resident as Dewan under the Raja and his successors.* — *Restoration of prosperity.* — *Similar system and results in Cochin.* — *Disputes between the Governor and Commander-in-chief.* — *The latter refused a seat in Council by the Court,* — *his dissatisfaction and resignation.* — *Discontents of the Officers of the Coast army,* — *their causes.* — *Tent contract abolished.* — *Reasons assigned in the Quarter-Master-General's report offensive to Officers commanding corps,* — *demand a court-martial on Colonel Munro.* — *The Commander-in-chief places Colonel Munro in arrest.* — *Government cancels the arrest.* — *General Macdowall issues a General Order on the subject, and embarks for England.* — *Counter Order by the Government.* — *Subsequent severity.* — *Suspension of Major Boles.* — *Effect upon the Officers.* — *Orders of the 1st of May.* — *Violent proceedings at Hyderabad.* — *Mutinous conduct of the garrison of Masulipatam.* — *Threatened march of the troops to Madras.* — *Firmness of the Government.* — *Consequent arrangements.* — *Test proposed to the European Officers.* — *Appeal to the Native Troops.* — *Their allegiance.* — *The garrison of Serinapatam in open rebellion.* — *Colonel Close sent to Hyderabad.* — *Officers of the Subsidiary force sign the test,* — *their example followed.* — *Arrival of the Governor-General at Madras.* — *Courts-martial.* — *Sir Samuel Achmuty Commander-in-chief and Member of Council.* — *Proceedings in England.* —



*Warm disputes in the Court of Directors.—Officers restored to the service.—Sir G. Barlow finally recalled.*

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To compensate to Sir George Barlow for the dis-  
appointment which had been inflicted upon him  
by his supersession in the high office of Governor-  
General, the Administration in England consented  
to his eventual elevation to that dignity, and in  
the mean while concurred in his nomination to the  
government of Fort St. George.<sup>1</sup> He was accord-  
ingly appointed Governor of Madras, and assumed  
charge of his new duties at the end of December,  
1807.<sup>2</sup>

Various circumstances conspired to render the  
appointment of Sir George Barlow unacceptable to  
the servants of the Company under the Madras  
Presidency. His being a member of a different  
service was one source of his unpopularity, and his  
well-known character as a rigorous advocate and  
unrelenting enforcer of measures of public economy  
and retrenchment produced a still more universal  
and profound impression adverse to his person and

<sup>1</sup> "He (Sir George Barlow) is now subjected to the discredit of being superseded in the Government-General; to the succession of which, after having once actually filled that high office, he stood for the third time appointed."—Protests of Messrs. Parry, Astell, Smith, and Bell, against the recall of Sir G. Barlow in 1812. So Mr. Grant in a separate protest observes, "I come now to speak of the order rescinding the appointment made of Sir G. Barlow, in May 1807, to be Governor-General of Bengal in succession to Lord Minto."—Dissents, &c., published by Sir Robert Barlow. Murray, 1813.

<sup>2</sup> The occurrences of Sir G. Barlow's administration are fully detailed, not only in the numerous pamphlets published both by his friends and enemies, but in the official documents relating to the transactions themselves, and to the discussions which they occasioned in the Court of Directors, which were printed by order of Parliament at the following several dates, 25th May, 1810; 1st April, 1811; 3rd May, 1811; 13th June, 1811; 21st June, 1811, and 15th April, 1812.

his government.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, he does not appear to have been qualified or disposed to dissipate the prejudices which anticipated his presence. His manners were reserved and unconciliating: a stranger at Madras, and of retiring habits, he gave his confidence too exclusively to the knot of civil and military functionaries by whom he was immediately surrounded: his notions of the claims of the executive powers of Government to prompt and unquestioning obedience were lofty and uncompromising; and in the stern exaction of acquiescence he undervalued apparently the necessity, which "every statesman ought to feel, of mutual accommodation and concession in the controversies and contentions of mankind, and was wanting in a liberal consideration for human feelings and infirmities." These defects were not counterbalanced, in the estimation of those whom he was set over, by the acknowledged merits of his public character, his conscientious sense of the importance of his duties, or his industry and ability in their discharge; nor was time allowed for the due appreciation of the excellence which, under an unattractive deportment, distinguished his private life. The state of society also at Madras, and the sentiments which had for some time pervaded the Coast

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<sup>1</sup> "I am under the necessity of avowing, with infinite regret, another very operating principle of these discontents, which have since matured themselves gradually, but without interruption, into the extremes of public disorder. I allude to the unjust but very general and vehement prejudices against the person and character of Sir G. Barlow, which may have been in some degree the unavoidable, but were certainly the unmerited, consequences of his firm and faithful discharge of ungracious and unpopular, but sacred and essential duties, not sought or relished by himself, but cast by circumstances peculiar to the times on the period of his administration in Bengal."—Letter from Lord Minto to the Secret Committee, 5th Feb., 1810; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, p. 346.

BOOK I. army, had accumulated elements of discord which  
 CHAP. V. the slightest breath was sufficient to set in agitation :

1808. dissensions and discontents accordingly immediately burst forth, and rendered the administration of the new Governor of Madras a season of unprecedented private misery, and unexampled public peril and alarm.

The first occasion of offence occurred in the settlement of Madras, and followed closely upon Sir George Barlow's arrival. On assuming the reins of power, he found in progress an inquiry instituted by order of his predecessor, Mr. Petrie, into the conduct of a Mr. Sherson, a civil servant of some standing, of a respectable character, and a person much esteemed in society ; who had held the office of superintendent of the public stores of rice laid in by the Government of Madras, to be retailed in small quantities to the people, as a precaution against the recurrence of those famines which had frequently desolated the Presidency. Charges of fraud in this department were preferred against Mr. Sherson, and a committee was appointed for their investigation. That abuses in an arrangement so liable to be abused seemed probable ; but their nature and extent were undetermined, and the participation or cognizance of the principal unsubstantiated. His accounts submitted to the civil auditor were pronounced correct ; yet, as they did not tally with the native accounts of the office, Mr. Sherson, and Mr. Smith the auditor, were both removed from their situations, and the former was suspended from the service pending the pleasure of the Court of Directors. An opinion generally prevailed that both

these officers had been harshly, if not unjustly, dealt with ; and Sir George Barlow incurred much obloquy from having precipitately believed representations asserted to be interested or malicious.

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That he too hastily adopted a decided opinion in the matter, and, in his intolerance of supposed official peculation, inflicted severe punishment before its justice was undeniably established, was shown by subsequent events. A prosecution was commenced in the Supreme Court of Madras against Mr. Sherson, and after considerable delays, during which a change of Government had taken place, the cause came on for trial. Mr. Sherson was acquitted, not only of legal, but, in the opinion of one of his Judges, of moral criminality.<sup>1</sup> It was accordingly resolved by the Court of Directors, "that the severe measures adopted relative to Mr. Sherson had been founded upon erroneous grounds;" and he was restored by them to the service, with a pecuniary indemnification of 20,000 pagodas for his losses. The resolutions were confirmed in terms still more emphatic by the Court of Proprietors.<sup>2</sup>

Animosities still more violent and extensive were engendered by the part which the Governor of Madras deemed it incumbent upon him to take in support of a committee which had been appointed under an act of parliament for the investigation and adjustment of the debts of the Nawab of the Car-

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Newbolt : the other Judges were Sir Thomas Strange and Sir Francis Macnaghten.

<sup>2</sup> Report of Debate in the Court of Proprietors, 28th April and 5th May, 1815, by Mr. Fraser ; London, 1815. Report of Proceedings in the Supreme Court, Madras, 28th March, 1814 ; Honourable Company v. Sherson and others.



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natic. The principles which had been enjoined by the Board of Controul in 1784 for the settlement of all claims upon the Nawab have already been described;<sup>1</sup> and, under this application, the amount of debt admitted at that date without any scrutiny, and which was known as the Registered debt, had been liquidated by May, 1804. But, besides the amount of debt so discharged, claims to a much greater extent had been advanced. These had been submitted to examination before a committee which was formed at Madras, the operations of which continued from 1785 to 1791. They allowed some of the demands brought before them, but left the far larger number for further investigation; and there the matter rested. When the entire revenues of the Carnatic were assumed by the Company's Government, it was considered but just to take the incumbrances along with them, and to pay off all valid demands upon the former Administration. An engagement to this end was concluded between the Company and the creditors in July 1805, and commissioners to make a settlement were nominated. In the year following, an act of parliament was passed for enabling the commissioners acting in execution of an agreement made between the East India Company and the private creditors of the Nabobs of the Carnatic the better to carry the same into effect.<sup>2</sup>

The engagement thus legalized by the Legisla-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v. p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Parliamentary Debates, April 14th and 16th, 1806. In moving for leave to bring in the bill, Mr. Hobhouse gave a full and perspicuous history of the arrangements which had been made for the liquidation of these debts.

ture provided that a fixed annual sum (3,40,000 pagodas, or £136,000) should be set apart from the revenues of the Carnatic for the payment of all such debts as should be admitted to be just and valid by commissioners appointed in England for their adjudication, assisted by similar commissioners at Madras; whose duty it should be to collect information and evidence, both oral and documentary, for transmission to the commissioners at home, in whom alone the power of final admission or rejection was vested: and, in order that the Indian commissioners might be as free as possible from all motives of local interest or influence, it was agreed that they should be appointed by the Governor-General, and that they should be selected from the Civil service of Bengal. Accordingly, at the period under review, three commissioners, who were members of the Bengal Civil service, were sitting at Madras to investigate the demands of persons claiming to be creditors of the Nawabs of Arcot, and producing bonds and other vouchers asserted to have been originally granted by those princes in acknowledgment of actual loans or real pecuniary obligations.

The long interval which had elapsed since the investigation of the Carnatic debts had been commenced, and the prospect which the present arrangement encouraged of their being ultimately paid, had not only protracted the existence of those vouchers which were of unimpeachable authenticity, but had prompted the fabrication of a vast mass of fictitious documents<sup>1</sup> in evidence of unreal transac-

<sup>1</sup> The extent of these forgeries and fabrications is shown by the result.

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tions. It was not an easy task to discriminate between the false and the true bonds; and the former, having long passed from hand to hand without question, had become, in the ordinary course of transfer, the property of individuals wholly unconnected with the original fraud, and entertaining no doubt of the goodness of the security. Many bonds of large amount had come very honestly into the possession of persons of rank and influence in the society of Madras, who were naturally and excusably interested in establishing the validity of deeds upon which their fortunes mainly depended. When, therefore, the commissioners from Bengal, early in 1808, entered upon their office at Madras, they found the difficulties, inseparable from the nature of their duty and the novelty of their position, aggravated by the opposition which they encountered. In this situation they gladly availed themselves of any assistance which offered a reasonable chance of affording them the information they were appointed to obtain; and they were fully justified in attaching consideration to the advice and opinions of a native named Reddy Rao, as he had been the principal accountant in the financial office of the late Nawab of Arcot, and was fully informed of the extent and character of the claims upon his master, and as he was a man of ability and had always been reputed respectable and honest.

Shortly after this selection had been made, a bond held by Reddy Rao himself came under the

The final report of the Carnatic commissioners, dated March 1830, states the amount originally claimed to have been above thirty millions sterling (£30,404,919 1s. 3½d.) The amount allowed was little more than two millions and a half (£2,686,148 12s. 8¾d.)

inspection of the commissioners. Its authenticity was challenged by Avadanam Papia, another native creditor. The commissioners, upon investigating the charge, pronounced the bond of Reddy Rao genuine, and prosecuted the witnesses Papia had brought forward, for perjury. Papia had the start of them, and carried his accusation of forgery before a magistrate, who committed Reddy Rao for trial. Regarding the prosecution as a mere trick intended to deprive them of essential assistance, the commissioners appealed to the Government of Madras; and upon their representations, and at their request, the law officers of the Company were ordered to conduct the defence of Reddy Rao. This measure and the proceedings against Papia filled all classes of creditors with alarm, inasmuch as the appearance of Government as a party in opposition to their claims, was calculated to deter the natives from giving any testimony which they might think unacceptable to the superior authorities, and might deprive the claimants in many instances of the only means by which they could substantiate their demands. Great excitement spread throughout the settlement; and many individuals, of high rank in the service and much consideration in society, inveighed vehemently against an arrangement which was attributed to the partiality and prejudices of the Governor. The Government persisted, and with reason; for no good cause could be assigned why the commissioners should be debarred from the aid of the legal advisers of the state. But, not satisfied with a calm perseverance in a right course, measures

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of ill-timed and injudicious severity towards individuals were adopted, which had the appearance of a determination to substitute intimidation for inquiry. Indignant at the impediments which had been thrown in the way of the commissioners, the Government dismissed the magistrate, Mr. Maitland, by whom Reddy Rao had been committed; required Mr. Parry, a merchant residing at Madras, who had taken a conspicuous part in the opposition to the acts of the commission, to return immediately to Europe; and removed Mr. Roebuck, a civilian of long standing, from the situation he filled at the Presidency, to an office of inferior rank and emolument in the provinces, where he shortly afterwards died. In these manifestations of the displeasure of the Government undue and unnecessary rigour was exhibited. The opposition may have originated in interested motives, and may have been intemperate and indecorous; but some consideration might have been reasonably entertained for the feelings which the dread of loss of property could not fail to inspire, and the virulence of which would have been corrected by the steady perseverance of the commissioners in the calm and impartial performance of their functions. It was not in the power of any combination to defeat, however it might retard, the objects of the commission; and, although entitled to the support of the Government, it needed not its wrathful and vindictive interposition. The interference of authority also in this stage of the business, whilst proceedings in the highest court of judicature were pending, was, to say the least, exceedingly ill-timed, as it afforded a specious plea for

accusing the Government of a design to obstruct the administration of justice.

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The trial of Reddy Rao took place: the Chief Justice pronounced an elaborate judgment in his favour; the jury found him guilty. A new trial was moved for, but the decision was postponed; and in the mean time an indictment for perjury was preferred against a person named Batley, the English translator and secretary of the Nawab, and one of the witnesses on behalf of Reddy Rao. It was in fact a second trial of Reddy Rao, as it involved the question of the spuriousness of his bond. A verdict unfavourable to his cause was given by a special jury, in the conviction of the defendant.

A third trial was held: Reddy Rao was charged with having paid a debt due to another native with a forged bond, knowing it to be forged; and he was again found guilty by the jury. The Chief Justice, strongly persuaded of his innocence and of that of Batley, suspended delivery of the sentence, and referred the evidence through the Board of Controul to the King, recommending the defendants to his Majesty, "not as the objects of his mercy, but as suitors for his justice; conceiving prosecutions to be the King's, and that a greater evil could scarcely happen to society than that they should be suffered to become, by whatever means, the successful engines of wrong."<sup>1</sup> Necessarily guided by the opinions of the Chief Justice, the pardon of the Crown was granted; but before it reached Madras the chief actor in the scene had ceased to be amenable to

<sup>1</sup> Two letters from Sir Thomas Strange, 27th Feb. and 4th May, 1809, to the Right Honourable R. Dundas.—Parliamentary Papers, Carnatic debts.

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 CHAP. V. little more than a twelvemonth after his last trial.

1808. He had not long continued, after that event, to enjoy the confidence of the commissioners. Suspicion was awakened: it was discovered that he was deeply implicated in the issue of the fabricated securities, and in other frauds upon the Nawab's treasury; and the very bond, the genuineness of which had been so tenaciously upheld by the commissioners, was reported by them to their fellow commissioners in London a forgery. The result was little calculated to gain credit or favour for the Governor of Madras, who, in his eagerness to maintain unimpaired the powers of the commissioners, had thrown the whole weight of his authority into the same scale with an impostor and a cheat; and, in defence of a knave, had inflicted on men of character and honour penury and disgrace, because in protecting valuable interests they had been betrayed into indiscretion and intemperance.<sup>1</sup>

However inveterate the mutual ill-will which was engendered by these proceedings, they were far exceeded in intensity and importance by the dissensions which about the same time broke out between the Governor of Madras and a large division of the army. Before entering upon an account of the lamentable consequences attending them, it will be

<sup>1</sup> The best authenticated accounts of these proceedings are to be found in the papers printed for Parliament, 3rd May and 11th June, 1811, relating to the Carnatic debts. Ex-parte statements, which agree as to the main facts, are to be met with in the Parliamentary papers referred to: also in Marsh's Review of Sir G. Barlow's Administration; London, 1812: Exposure of the Misrepresentations and Calumnies in Marsh's Review; London, 1813: Short Narrative of the Late Trials, &c.; London, 1810: Correspondence of Messrs. Abbott, Parry, and Maitland, with the Court of Directors; London, 1813: and in other pamphlets.

advisable to notice the political occurrences by which they were preceded.

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The mutual dissatisfaction which had long subsisted between the Raja of Travancore and the British Government has been already adverted to. Towards the end of 1808 the subsidy which the Raja was bound to pay had fallen into a long arrear, and the Resident peremptorily demanded its liquidation. The Raja and his principal minister protested that the revenues of Travancore were incapable of supporting so heavy a burthen as the charge of four battalions of Company's troops, and required their reduction. The Resident replied by insisting on the dismissal of an imperfectly disciplined body of infantry in the Raja's service, called the Carnatic Brigade, as a useless and expensive corps, the discontinuance of which would obviate all difficulty regarding the subsidy. The Carnatic Brigade was looked upon by the Raja as an essential part of his dignity, and indispensable to his personal safety; and the proposal to disband it was treated as a preliminary step to the seizure of the Raja's person, and the annihilation of his authority. Appeals were made by the Raja to the Governments of Madras and Bengal, in which he asserted that the treaty of 1805 had been forced upon him; that he had been intimidated into its execution by the menaces of the Resident; and that the expense which it entailed upon the revenues of his principality were beyond their means of defraying it.<sup>1</sup> These assertions were denied by the Resident.

<sup>1</sup> An opinion seems to have prevailed that the difficulty in the realisation of the subsidy arose from the refusal of the Company's Government to



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Besides the cause of discontent arising out of the subsidy, which was common to the Raja and his counsellors, his Dewan or prime minister, Vailu Tambi, had personal grounds for fear and resentment. Considering him to be the chief instigator of the Raja's backwardness in fulfilling his pecuniary engagements, the Resident had insisted upon his removal from his situation, and the appointment of a minister more submissive to British controul. The Dewan professed himself willing to resign whenever a successor should be appointed; but, under cover of his pretended acquiescence in the Resident's will, he set himself to work to organise an insurrection of the Nairs, the martial population of Malabar, and to accomplish the murder of the Resident, whom he hated as the scourge of his country, and his own avowed and inexorable foe.

receive payment in pepper, agreeably to the terms of the original treaty; but, which having fallen in value, a money payment was demanded. In Sir Thomas Munro's examination before the Committee of the House of Commons in April, 1813, he was asked, "Have you not heard that the Raja originally entered into the treaty with great reluctance, and received our troops into his dominions, for the payment of which the pepper was agreed to be delivered?" his reply was, "I have not so heard." The notion may, perhaps, be traced to the Asiatic Annual Register for 1809, in which this account of the alteration from payment in pepper to that in money is assigned as a cause of the discontent of the Raja and subsequent disturbances. The statement is nevertheless erroneous. In the first correspondence with the Raja in 1788, the option of paying the subsidy in pepper or money was offered to him: he chose the latter. In 1793, a contract was entered into with him for the purchase of pepper for eight years, wholly unconnected with the subsidy. In 1795, an article of the treaty provided for the perpetuity of the pepper contract, subject to such modifications as should from time to time be agreed upon; but there was no stipulation that its price should form part payment of the subsidy. No allusion to such payment is contained in the treaty of 1805. The original contract provides that the pepper shall be paid for in goods; and, should they leave a balance, that should be paid in money. The commercial and political engagements were throughout distinct, and no complaint occurs in the correspondence on this account. The main ground of contention was the Carnatic Brigade.

He prevailed upon the Dewan of the Raja of Cochin to join him in the plot; and, giving encouragement to some French adventurers from the Isle of France who had landed from an Arab vessel on the coast of Malabar, spread abroad a report that a large French army was about to come to assist him to expel the English. He also wrote circular letters to the neighbouring Rajas to summon them to combine for the defence of their religion, which he affirmed the English designed to overthrow. His instigations were effectual: arms were collected, and the people were prepared secretly for their use. The popular excitement became known to the Resident, and at his request reinforcements were ordered to Travancore. His Majesty's 12th regiment and two native battalions were directed to move from Malabar; and his Majesty's 69th, and three battalions of native infantry, with artillery, were commanded to march from Trichinopoly to his succour.

Alarmed apparently by these precautionary measures, the Dewan professed his readiness to resign immediately if his personal safety were guaranteed, and arrangements were made for his private removal from Alepi to Calicut on the night of the 28th of December. On that same night a body of armed men surrounded the house of the Resident. He had retired to rest, but was awakened by the indistinct noise of the approaching multitude; and, going to the window to discover the cause, was fired at by the assailants. Before an entrance could be forced, Colonel Macaulay, with a confidential servant, had time to hide themselves in a lower cham-

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ber, the door of which could not be easily distinguished from the exterior wall. The insurgents, having broken into the house, sought for the object of their vengeance throughout the night in vain. At daybreak they beheld a vessel under British colours entering the port, and other ships were discernible at a little distance making for the harbour. They now thought only of their own retreat, and hastily quitted the premises; affording Colonel Ma-caulay an opportunity of making his escape and taking refuge on board the vessel, which proved to be a transport with part of the reinforcement from Malabar. The more important division from Trichinopoly had been countermanded, the Madras Government giving ready credence to the simulated submission of the Dewan. The news of the insurrection obliged them to repeat their first directions, and in the middle of January the Trichinopoly force commenced its advance under the command of the Honourable Colonel St. Leger.

Before he was joined by the principal reinforcements from Malabar, Colonel Chalmers, commanding the subsidiary troops cantoned at Quilon, had commenced offensive operations. On the 30th of December he learnt that great numbers of armed Nairs had collected at a residence belonging to the minister, at no great distance to the north of the cantonments; and that an equally numerous body had assembled at Parúr, about ten miles to the south. His measures were promptly taken. Five companies of the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment of native infantry, with a field-piece, were detached to occupy a low hill commanding the Dewan's resi-

dence. They had scarcely reached the spot when they were attacked by the enemy in numbers greatly superior, but they maintained their ground during the night; and, being strengthened by the two flank companies of the 13th N. I. at day-break, they advanced against the Nairs, defeated them, and took possession of the house, with two brass and four iron guns, with which it had been converted into a temporary battery. Information being received that a body of the enemy above four thousand strong were advancing along the coast from the north, the detachment commanded by Major Hamilton proceeded to meet them. They were encountered at the estuary of the Kaladi river, where some had crossed the bar, while the Carnatic Brigade was drawn up on the other side of the stream. Those who had crossed were attacked and compelled to retreat, but the main body stood firm; while a strong division ascended the river, in order to pass it higher up and get into the rear of the British. At the same time news arrived that the force from the south, estimated at more than ten thousand men, was rapidly advancing, and it was judged prudent to recall the detachment to the cantonment. The retreat of the troops gave courage to the insurgents.

The increasing numbers and confidence of the Nairs obliged Colonel Chalmers to remain on the defensive at Quilon, where he was reinforced early in January by his Majesty's 12th regiment under Colonel Picton. On the other hand, the Dewan, having concentrated his forces, amounting to between twenty and thirty thousand men, with eighteen guns, advanced to Quilon, and on the 15th of

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BOOK I. January attacked the British lines, defended by one  
CHAP. V. European regiment and three battalions of Sipahis.

1809. The action began at six in the morning; the enemy occupying a rising ground, from which their guns opened a fire on the British encampment. Leaving the 4th native infantry to cover the camp, Colonel Chalmers formed the rest of his troops in two columns, the right under Colonel Picton, the left under Major Hamilton, and led them against the Travancore force. A stout resistance was encountered, and a division of the enemy attempted at the same time to storm the camp. They were repulsed, and, after a conflict of five hours' duration, the whole were driven off the field, leaving seven hundred slain, and losing fifteen pieces of artillery. The British loss was comparatively trifling.

Thus foiled in his attempt upon Quilon, the Dewan directed a considerable division of his followers against what promised to be an easier prey,—the post of Cochin, which was held by Major Hewitt with two companies of the 12th regiment, and six of the 1st battalion of the 17th native infantry. The enemy advanced on the 19th of January to the attack in three masses, each a thousand strong: the one on the left was met, charged, and routed. The victors then fell upon the other two bodies, which opposed a more resolute resistance, but were forced to give way. Desisting from further engagements in the field, they spread round Cochin on the side, land and covered the sea with their boats, so as to cut off all supplies. Before this manœuvre had produced serious distress, the Piedmontese frigate, with the Resident on

board, anchored off the town; and her boats, with some small armed vessels belonging to Cochin, quickly drove the enemy's flotilla into the river, pursued, and set it on fire. The blockade was consequently raised; but the enemy still continued in overpowering numbers in the vicinity of Quilon and Cochin, and straitened the resources and checked the movements of the subsidiary force, until they were called off by the approach of danger in other directions. During this interval they disgraced their cause by acts of atrocity, which served no purpose except that of provoking retribution. An assistant-surgeon of the name of Hume, travelling at night on the 30th of January, was seized on his route, and led into the presence of the Dewan; who, although he knew the young man personally, and had benefited by his professional advice, commanded him to be conducted to the sea-side, where he was put to death and buried in the sand. About the same time a small vessel, with some of the soldiers of the 12th regiment on board, having touched at Alepi for supplies, the men were induced to land by the appearance of cordiality among the people, and assurances that part of the subsidiary force was in the neighbourhood. Unaware that hostilities had commenced, the men, thirty in number, disembarked, and as soon as they landed were made prisoners, and shortly afterwards murdered. This was also done by order of the Dewan, who thus effaced, by his perfidy and cruelty, whatever credit he might have claimed for zeal in the cause of his country and his prince.

Finding it no longer possible to avoid the cost of

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BOOK I. military operations, the Government of Fort St.  
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1809. George resolved to act with vigour, especially as the advancing season of the year admitted not of further loss of time. Colonel Cuppage, commanding in Malabar, was ordered to enter the province of Cochin from the north, and join Colonel Chalmers, with his Majesty's 80th regiment and two battalions of native infantry; and Colonel St. Leger was directed to march immediately from Trichinopoly, with a force composed of his Majesty's 69th regiment, a regiment of native cavalry, and three battalions of native infantry,<sup>1</sup> besides a detachment of Royal artillery, and the 3rd Ceylon or Kafri regiment, which was to join from Ceylon. Two divisions, consisting of a European regiment and a battalion of Sipahis, severally commanded by Colonel Wallace and Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs, were stationed in the Tinnivelly district and the vicinity of Wynâd, to keep the Travancoreans in check, and eventually co-operate with Colonel St. Leger's force. A proclamation was issued by the Madras Government, and distributed with Colonel St. Leger's advance, ascribing the necessity of military measures to the intrigues of the minister, and declaring that "the British Government had no other view than to rescue the Raja from the influence of the Dewan, to put an end to the power of that minister, and to re-establish the connexion of the

<sup>1</sup> The force consisted of his Majesty's 69th; both battalions of the 3rd native infantry; 1st battalion and one company of the 2nd battalion of the 13th; five companies of the 2nd battalion of the 10th native infantry; 6th native cavalry; a detachment of artillery and pioneers; a detachment of Royal artillery; and 3rd Kafri regiment from Ceylon. But the last did not join till after the capture of the Arambuli lines.

two Governments on a secure and happy foundation.

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The principality of Travancore is divided from the province of Tinnivelly by the southern portion of the mountain-chain which runs nearly parallel with the coast of Malabar, from the upper part of the Peninsula to Cape Comorin, and is usually known by the appellation of the Western Ghats. The mountains are lofty and covered with jungle, and present in general almost insuperable obstacles to the march of an army with baggage and artillery. The most practicable passes are situated near the southernmost extremity of the chain, where the mountains decline in elevation as they approach the sea; and through one of these, the pass of Arambuli or Aramuni, it was determined on this occasion to force an entrance into Travancore. The Arambuli pass was defended by formidable lines, consisting of a number of small redoubts, each mounting two or three guns, and connected by a strong wall of masonry. The whole extended about two miles along the sides of steep and rugged hills, and terminated at either extremity by a strongly fortified mountain flanked by impenetrable jungle. The high road from Palamkota led through the centre of the works, by a gateway which was commanded by two large circular bastions armed with several pieces of ordnance.<sup>1</sup> Colonel St. Leger arrived at the foot of the lines on the 6th of February; and, as the division was unequipped with a battering train, determined to attempt to carry the pass by surprise. On the night of the 10th, Major Welsh, with two com-

<sup>1</sup> Welsh's Military Reminiscences, vol. i. p. 288.



BOOK I. panies of the 69th, four flank and five battalion  
CHAP. V. companies of the 3rd native infantry, quietly

1809. climbed the hill on which the southern works were erected, and, after six hours' arduous ascent, reached the foot of the wall unperceived. The ladders were planted, and the ramparts scaled, before any effective resistance could be opposed; and although a short stand was made, which was attended with some loss of life,<sup>1</sup> the redoubt was quickly in possession of the assailants. As soon as the day broke, the guns of the bastion were turned upon the defences of the pass, which they enfiladed; and, reinforcements being sent to Major Welsh, he was strong enough to attack the rest of the lines, and the whole of the works were speedily cleared of their defenders.

Having thus secured his entrance into Travancore, Colonel St. Leger advanced on the 17th of February into the interior; and dislodged, after a short action, a body of troops strongly posted, with nine guns, on the bank of a river near the village of Nagarköil. The next march brought the troops to the forts of Udagiri and Papanavaram, which were abandoned: the gates were set open, the garrisons had fled, and ensigns denoting submission were seen flying in every direction. Communications were shortly afterwards received from the Dewan and from the King, breathing a pacific spirit, and deprecating the nearer approach of the troops to Trivandrum, the capital. Having referred the letter of the King to the Resident, who was at Cochin, Colonel St. Leger marched to a position half-way

<sup>1</sup> Captain Cunningham of the 69th was the only officer killed.

between Udagiri and Kalachi on the coast, detaching a part of his force to occupy the latter, and open a communication with Colonel Chalmers at Quilon. This officer had continued to be hemmed in by the enemy during Colonel St. Leger's advance; but, having been reinforced by part of the 19th regiment, had, shortly before the communication now opened, rid himself of his opponents. Marching out of cantonments on the 21st February in two columns, severally commanded by Colonel Picton and Colonel Stuart of the 19th, he attacked the enemy's position in front of his encampment; and although they were five thousand strong, and were defended by batteries and entrenchments, he carried the works, captured their artillery, and dispersed their force. After the action, Colonel Chalmers marched towards the capital, and arrived at the high ground within twelve miles of Trivandrum much about the same time that Colonel St. Leger took up a similar position on the opposite side. About the same period also, the division under Colonel Cuppage crossed the frontier on the north without opposition, and advanced to Parúr. The country was now completely in the possession of the British: the Nairs disbanded, and retired to their homes; the Dewan, despairing of forgiveness, fled into the thickets; and the Raja, left to himself, hastened to tender his submission, and profess his readiness to conform to any conditions which the Resident should please to dictate.

The troops being concentrated round Trivandrum, Colonel Macaulay proceeded to the capital, and concerted with the Raja the conditions on

BOOK I. which tranquillity was to be restored, and the  
 CHAP. V. prince allowed to retain possession of his dominions.

1809. The terms were adjusted by the 1st of March. The Raja consented to pay the arrears of the subsidy and the expenses of the war, and eleven lakhs of rupees were paid on the former account before the expiration of the month.<sup>1</sup> The Carnatic Brigade, and some Nair battalions in the Raja's service, were dismissed, and the defence of the prince and of his country was entrusted exclusively to the subsidiary force. A new Dewan, supposed to be in the interest of the English, and recommended by the Resident, was appointed. The invading forces were withdrawn immediately upon the conclusion of the treaty: a portion of the subsidiary battalions was permanently quartered in the proximity of Trivandrum; the rest returned to their former cantonments.

The zeal of the new minister in the cause of his English friends was promptly evinced by the active measures which were instituted for the capture of his predecessor. Traces of him were discovered among the mountains; and means were devised for preventing his being supplied with the necessaries of life by the peasantry, who had hitherto ministered to his wants. Reduced to extreme distress, the Dewan made his way, as a last resource, to the Pagoda of Bhagwadi, which from ancient usage enjoyed the privileges of a sanctuary. The emis-

<sup>1</sup> The Madras Government proposed that the guns and stores captured by the troops should become public property upon the payment to the army of their value, which should be charged to the Raja. The Government of Bengal justly objected to this double penalty, and directed the stores to be paid for by the Madras Government.—Appendix 43, Second Report of Select Committee, May, 1810; and MS. Records.

saries of the minister, although Hindus, disregarded the sanctity of the temple, forcibly entered it, and broke open the door of the chamber to which Vailu Tambi and his brother had retreated. As they entered the apartment, the Dewan was found expiring of wounds inflicted by his own hand, or, at his entreaty, by the hand of his brother, to save him from falling alive into the power of his unrelenting foes. The brother was seized, taken to Quilon, and hanged in front of the 12th regiment, drawn out to witness his execution, as an accessory in the murder of their comrades. The body of the Dewan was carried to Trivandrum, and exposed upon a gibbet, amidst, it was said, the acclamations of the people.

The vindictive measures which were thus adopted by the Resident were defended by him upon the plea of their being no more than a just retribution for the foul treachery and sanguinary cruelty of the Dewan and his brother.<sup>1</sup> The Government of Bengal admitted the defensibility of the summary execution of the latter, upon the understanding that he had been implicated in the murder of Mr. Hume and the British soldiers; but condemned, in terms of merited reprehension, the vengeance which had pursued the crimes of the Dewan beyond his life. The ends of justice and the purposes of public security were attained, the Governor-General remarked, by the death of the Dewan; and the prosecution of a vindictive policy, when the object of it

<sup>1</sup> Beside Dr. Hume, and the men of the 12th, Vailu Tambi was accused of having put to death three thousand native Christians, charged with no crime but their religion.



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had ceased to exist, was repugnant to the feelings of common humanity and the principles of a civilized Government. He further observed, that although ostensibly the act of the Raja, yet it would not be believed by the public that it had not the Resident's sanction, and did not originate in his advice; and that had it been the Raja's act, with a view to impress upon the British Government the notion that he had not participated in the treachery of his minister, yet a sentiment of just abhorrence of the measure itself, and a regard for the reputation of the British Government, should have induced the Resident to prevent the exposure, or, if anticipated, to have publicly proclaimed his disapprobation.

The proceedings in Travancore were, in truth, among the least justifiable of the many questionable transactions by which the British power in India has been acquired or preserved. The protection of the Raja was, in the first instance, generous and politic; the military command of his country, subsequently, was necessary for objects of British policy, and was not incompatible with the pacific interests of the Raja and prosperity of his limited dominion. To impose upon him the maintenance of a force infinitely more numerous than was necessary for the defence of the country, and the cost of which heavily taxed its resources; to urge the exaction with unrelenting rigour; and to resent with unpitied vengeance the passions excited by a deep sense of national wrong among a semi-barbarous and demoralised race,—were unworthy of the character of the British nation for justice and gene-

rosity, of the civilization it had attained, and the religion it professed.

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Notwithstanding the severities exercised upon the leaders of the late rising, and the submission which the irresistible superiority of the British arms had compelled, the spirit of disaffection after a while revived, and in less than two years the new Dewan was suspected of being concerned in a plot directed against the British authority. He had also suffered the payment of the subsidy again to fall into arrear, and improvement in this respect was not to be expected from the increasing infirmities and imbecility of the Raja. Under these circumstances, the Government of Bengal considered itself empowered by the fifth article of the treaty of 1805 to assume the management of the country, but suspended the final adoption of the arrangement until it should become unavoidable. Its necessity became apparent at last even to the Raja; and the new Resident, Colonel John Munro, at his request and with the authority of the British Government, took upon himself the administration of the principality as the minister of the Raja, or Dewan.<sup>1</sup> The condition of Travancore unquestionably required the intervention of a stronger and wiser controul. The Raja was a cypher: the Dewan usurped the whole power, and

<sup>1</sup> We have Colonel Munro's own statement that he accepted the office of Dewan at the request of the Raja. In answer to questions put to him, he states, "The treaty authorized the general interference of the British Government; but I assumed the charge of the administration at the express request of the Raja, with the authority of the British Government." And to the question, whether it was completely voluntary on the part of the Raja, he replies, "It was at the earnest request of the Raja."—Evidence of Colonel Munro; Select Committee of House of Commons, March, 1832. Hamilton therefore is wrong in stating that the arrangement took place under the Raja's successor.—Description of Hindostan, ii. 317.

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employed it to defraud the prince and oppress the people. Inadequate as were the resources to the public exigencies, the country laboured under the severest fiscal exaction : justice there was none, and a general state of disorganization prevailed. The judicious regulations introduced by Colonel Munro restored order, secured the administration of justice, and, whilst they liquidated the debt, and discharged the stipulated payments with punctuality, they more than doubled the revenues of the Raja, and in a still greater proportion lightened the burthens of his subjects.<sup>1</sup> The Raja died in 1812. He was succeeded by his sister, such being the order of inheritance among the Nairs of Travancore. Under the government of this lady, and the regency of her successor, Colonel Munro officiated as Dewan until the year 1814; when he restored the management of the state to a native Dewan, extricated from its embarrassments, with a greatly augmented revenue, and in a situation of complete internal tranquillity.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evidence above referred to: also Extracts from Colonel Munro's Report to the Madras Government in 1818, quoted by Mr. Jones; App. Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons; Political, 4to. ed., p. 287. In three years, Colonel Munro, beside the current subsidy, "succeeded in paying eighteen lakhs of rupees due to the Company, and nearly six to individuals; in abolishing the most oppressive monopolies and taxes, and in settling the affairs of the country on the principles of justice and humanity." The land revenue was increased from nine to fifteen lakhs; the duty received from the tobacco monopoly, from five to eleven lakhs; and that on salt, from thirty thousand rupees, to two lakhs and thirty thousand: but, to the relief of the people, as many oppressive taxes and all illegal exactions were abolished.

<sup>2</sup> For the military transactions in Travancore, see Secret Letter from Fort St. George printed in the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, App. 43; Madras Papers, 15th March, 1811, p. 15; Letter from the Court, 29th Sept. 1809, printed Parl. Papers, 22nd June, 1813, No. 10; Welsh's Military Reminiscences; the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xi. History, ch. 3; and the General Orders of Government in the

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Although the Raja of Cochin had abstained from actual hostilities and died during their continuance, not without suspicion of having fallen a victim to his unwillingness to engage in them, yet the participation of his minister in the projects of the Dewan of Travancore, which was unequivocally established, subjected the Raja's successor to the displeasure of the British Government. The Raja was accordingly condemned to pay a third of the expenses of the war, and to sign a new treaty, which added to the amount of his tribute the cost of a battalion of Sipahis in the field in place of his own troops, whom he was required to dismiss, beyond such as might be necessary for the collection of the revenue. As the state of his country differed little from that of Travancore, a similar system of reform was extended to Cochin, under the more immediate management of Captain Blacker, the Assistant Resident. Upon his departure Colonel Munro assumed the duty; and, under their joint superintendence, the like improvement was effected in Cochin which had been accomplished at Travancore.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the Company's troops were thus employed in the coercion of refractory allies, and in extending the authority of the Government of Madras, the Governor and the Commander-in-chief engaged in a dispute which speedily involved a large portion of the Coast army in a contest with the civil power,

Chronicle of Madras Occurrences. The MS. Records have also been consulted.

<sup>1</sup> By the treaty of 1791 the Raja of Cochin paid a tribute of 100,000 Arcot rupees per annum. By this of the 6th May, 1809, he was compelled to pay in addition 1,76,037 Arcot rupees; making a total of 2,76,037 Arcot rupees.—Coll. of Treaties, 472.



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and was productive of the most alarming and dangerous results.<sup>1</sup> Sir John Cradock had been succeeded in the command of the Madras army by Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall. The former had held, as Commander-in-chief, a seat in council: the Court of Directors had thought proper to refuse equal rank and emolument to his successors. The appeal of General Macdowall to the Court against this infringement of his dignities had been answered by the appointment of a civil servant to the vacant seat. The Commander-in-chief felt the exclusion as a personal grievance and affront, and, on the final extinction of his hopes, resigned his command; expressing his resignation in terms strongly indicative of the bitterness of his mortification and disappointment.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The East India Company, and, I may add, the British empire in all its parts, never, I believe, was exposed to greater or more imminent danger."—Letter from Lord Minto, 15th Sept. 1809. "The late revolt of the officers of the Madras army is the most remarkable and most important event that has occurred in the history of the British Administration of India since our first acquisition of territory there. It led to the commencement of a civil war in the Carnatic; it threatened to involve the whole Peninsula in anarchy and blood; to encourage the numerous adherents of the fallen families of Tippoo, and Mohammed Ali, to insurrection; to incite the native powers to fall upon us whilst in this state of internal convulsion; and to subvert a Government which had successfully resisted the repeated attacks of the neighbouring states."—Paper accompanying Reply of Messrs. Grant and Astell to the Dissents of several Directors, &c.; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, p. 45. We may be permitted now to think that this language is somewhat exaggerated.

<sup>2</sup> "The decision of the Court of Directors has placed me in so extraordinary, so unexampled, and so humiliating a predicament, that the most painful emotions have been excited; and sixteen months' experience has convinced me that it is impossible to remain with any prospect of performing my duty with credit to the East India Company, of acquiring for myself any reputation, or for doing justice to those over whom I am called to preside; divested of the power of selecting for commands by the restriction of military patronage, or of requiting the meritorious officer; deprived of the respectability which attaches in this country to a seat in council, and abridged in the usual emoluments of office."—Letter to Sir G. Barlow from the Commander-in-chief, 15th Jan. 1809; Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, part i. p. 8.

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It has been mentioned, that, after the close of the Mahratta war, the Government of Bengal urgently pressed upon the subordinate Presidencies the necessity of extensive retrenchments. In conformity to these injunctions, various plans for reducing the military expenditure of the Presidency of Madras were suggested during the command of Sir John Cradock; some of which were acted upon, and deprived officers, in command of regiments or brigades, of different sources of emolument. These measures were naturally unpalatable to the army. The difference of military allowances between the Bengal and Madras services had long been a subject of discontent; and the assignment of commands to officers of his Majesty's regiments, in place of Company's officers, occasioned amongst the latter frequent murmurs. The personal feelings of the Commander-in-chief heightened his sympathy with the grievances of those under his command, and fostered their discontents;<sup>1</sup> and a state of disquietude and dissatisfaction pervaded the minds of the officers, which, as compliance with their expectations

<sup>1</sup> Memorial of the Officers of the Madras Army to the Court of Directors, forwarded by the Commander-in-chief, with a Letter to the Government of Fort St. George, 23rd January, 1809. The Madras Government, viewing the sentiments expressed in the paper with extreme disapprobation, declined to transmit it to the Court until it had been laid before the Governor-General.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, No. i. p. 25. At an earlier date, 1st May, 1808, General Macdowall enumerates, as the seeds of discontent widely disseminated, the abolition of the Bazar Fund; the degradation of the military character, from the Commander-in-chief to the youngest ensign; the late reductions, and especially the abolition of the Tent Contract; and adds, "I much lament the expediency which occasioned these disgusting measures."—Extracts from Lord Minto's Letter to the Secret Committee, 5th Feb. 1810; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, p. 346. The same letter supplies instances, if not of "the deliberate intention of the General to make the army an instrument of opposition and disturbance," as affirmed by Lord Minto, yet of great disposition to foment and heighten the prevailing discontents.

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was little to be looked for, required to be allayed by gentle management, and the avoidance of additional irritation. Unluckily, fresh occasions of excitement did occur, and that excitement was not gently dealt with.

Among the articles of retrenchment put in force by the Government of Madras was the abolition of what was known as the Tent Contract; an arrangement by which officers commanding native corps received a permanent monthly allowance, alike in cantonments as in the field, in peace as in war, on condition of their providing the men with suitable camp equipage whenever it might be required.<sup>1</sup> The retrenchment was originally suggested by Sir John Cradock; and he called upon Colonel John Munro, the Quarter-Master-General of the army, to report whether it was not practicable without detriment to the efficiency of the troops, and how it might best be accomplished. The report advocated the change, and submitted a mode of effecting it. The plan was approved of by Sir John Cradock, by Lord W. Bentinck, and by the Government of Bengal. It merely fell to Sir G. Barlow to carry it into execution. No share of the opprobrium was due to him, even if the measure deserved it; but, in fact, the contract was open to objections of so obvious a character, that no disinterested person could doubt the reasonableness of its abolition. The alteration was to be judged of, however, by those whose interests it affected, and in their esti-

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Sir John Cradock to Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, 7th Feb. 1807; and his reply, 30th June, 1807: Parl. Papers, 3rd May, 1811, p. 94.

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mation it was a grievous wrong; but, unable to deny the defects of the system, or the expediency of its reform, their dissatisfaction found an excuse for its display in some unguarded expressions which occurred in the Quarter-Master-General's official report.

The transaction of public business in India by written statements is not without its inconvenience; and one of these is, the temptation it offers to public functionaries to put upon record more than is always necessary or judicious. Such was the case with Colonel Munro. Not contented with indicating such objections as could not be disputed, he proceeded to specify others, which, although equally true in a general sense, were capable of individual application, and might be construed into an accusation that the officers in command of corps had consulted their own profit at the expense of the public service, and had appropriated the tent allowance without keeping up an adequate tent establishment.<sup>1</sup> The officers resented the impu-

<sup>1</sup> In enumerating the objections to the system, the Report specifies one of them as follows: "By granting the same allowances in peace and war for the equipment of native corps, while the expenses incidental to that charge are unavoidably much greater in war than peace, it places the interest and duty of officers commanding native corps in direct opposition to one another: it makes it their interest that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service, and therefore furnishes strong inducements to neglect their most important duties." It would have been prudent to have omitted at least one half of this paragraph; but still, abstractedly considered, it was scarcely disputable. The measure no doubt, in theory, placed the interest and duty of the officers in opposition; but in practice it left it to be supposed that they did their duty, although their interests suffered. Unfortunately, the objections were preceded by the assertion, that "Six years' experience of the practical effects of the existing system of the camp equipage equipment of the army, and an attentive examination of its operation during that period of time, had suggested the objections." Here, therefore, was an assertion that, practically, the officers had preferred their interest to their duty: an assertion the more objectionable, as no proof was given; for, as the officers in their memorial justly replied, "If such a case



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1808. and integrity of any portion of the officers of the army, they refused to be appeased, and called upon the Commander-in-chief to bring him to a court-martial for aspersions on their characters as officers and gentlemen.

Upon the receipt of the charges against Colonel J. Munro,<sup>1</sup> the Commander-in-chief hesitated whether he should admit them, and referred the question for the opinion of the Judge-Advocate-General, who, after discussing the circumstances of the case, came to the conclusion that the charges were such as the accusers had no right to agitate or prefer.<sup>2</sup> The officers acquiesced in the decision, and solicited a suspension of the direct charge ; substituting in its place a memorial to the Court of Directors, praying them to investigate the subject.<sup>3</sup> Previously, however, to his being apprised of their change of purpose, General Macdowall had also viewed the matter

had occurred, why was it not noticed at the time ?" They had reason to be offended ; but still, as the offence grew out of an indiscreet mode of propounding undeniable generalisations, and was evidently not designed to apply to any particular case, they might have been satisfied with a declaration to that effect, and would no doubt have been so contented, had not an infectious irritability perplexed their sober judgments.—Parl. Papers, 3rd May, 1811, p. 96 ; ditto, 1st April, 1811, p. 65 ; ditto, 25th May, 1810, p. 13.

<sup>1</sup> See the charges, Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Colonel Leith, Judge-Advocate-General, to the Adjutant-General, 7th Nov. 1808 ; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> The memorial is printed, Parl. Papers, 3rd May, 1811, p. 79. The officers say, " Finding the mode (of court-martial) was considered by the Judge-Advocate-General to be irregular and ineffectual, they respectfully abide by that opinion for the present, and have solicited a suspension of the direct charge against the individual, whilst they have appealed to the candour and justice of the Court." The Government refused to forward it, as the question was considered to be settled: the Court disapproved of the refusal to transmit the memorial.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, p. 13.

in a new light, and had determined that the charge should be entertained. On the eve of his quitting Madras, he placed Colonel Munro under arrest, to be brought to trial by the succeeding Commander-in-chief;<sup>1</sup> having, as he declared, received an opinion of much importance, in expectation of which he had suspended his decision. From what quarter this opinion proceeded is nowhere stated.

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It appears, however, that, in the interval that had elapsed since the charge was first brought forward, circumstances had occurred, which, in the state of the Commander-in-chief's feelings, were possibly not without some influence upon his determination. Major Blacker, of the Quarter-Master-General's department, was ordered to join the force in Travancore. Another officer, Captain Macdowall, who had been formerly employed in the province, remonstrated against the arrangement, and urged his own preferable claims. His pretensions were supported by the Commander-in-chief, who requested that the appointment might be reconsidered. This was on the 16th of January. On the 18th the Government of Madras declined to revise the nomination, reprimanded Captain Macdowall for the tone of his application, and threatened to remove him from the office he held. On the 20th Colonel Munro was placed under arrest; the effect of which was to compel the Government to revoke Major Blacker's appointment, as the temporary removal of his superior rendered his presence indispensable at the Presidency.<sup>2</sup> The close concurrence of these

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 9.

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 CHAP. V. and the likelihood that matters of comparative in-

1809. significance, magnified into mischievous importance by the passions of the individuals interested, contributed to occasion the transactions which ensued.

As soon as Colonel Munro was made aware of the decision of the Commander-in-chief, he appealed to the Government, under whose authority he had acted, and by whom the measures he had recommended had been approved and adopted. This appeal was in the first instance forwarded through the Commander-in-chief; but, upon his refusing to be the channel of its transmission, it was addressed direct to the Governor in Council.

The subject of the communication was referred to the chief civil and military advisers of the Government, the Judge-Advocate-General and the Advocate-General, and fortified by their joint opinions that it was bound to protect the advisers of measures which it had made its own, the Government exercised the power with which it was intrusted by the Legislature; and, having first in vain requested, next commanded General Macdowall to release Colonel Munro from his arrest.<sup>1</sup> The tenor of the Commander-in-chief's commission subjected him so explicitly to the authority of the Governor in Council, that he was under the necessity of yielding obedience, protesting against what he designated as an undue interference. Nor was he satisfied with this expression of his indignation: on the eve of his embarkation for England he directed the publication of a General Order, in which he announced that his

<sup>1</sup> See the whole correspondence, Parl. Papers, 25th May, pp. 12—24.

departure alone prevented him from bringing Colonel Munro to trial for disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the power of the Civil Government in defiance of the judgment of the officer at the head of the army, who had placed him under arrest on charges preferred against him by a number of officers commanding native corps; in consequence of which appeal direct to the Honourable the President in Council, Lieutenant-General Macdowall had received a positive order from the chief secretary to liberate Lieutenant-Colonel Munro from arrest: and the order proceeded to stigmatize the conduct of Colonel Munro as destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander-in-chief, and a most dangerous example to the service. General Macdowall therefore thought it incumbent on him, in support of the dignity of the profession, and his own station and character, to express his strong disapprobation of Colonel Munro's unexampled proceedings, and reprimanded him accordingly.<sup>1</sup>

Thus far the Government of Madras had acted with a degree of calmness and forbearance which derived additional lustre from the contrast which it offered to the violence of the Commander-in-chief. Instead of interposing to heal the wounds which the needless sensitiveness of the officers had suffered from the incautious but indefinite language of an official report, and which a few words of explanation

<sup>1</sup> General Orders by the Commander-in-chief, head-quarters, 28th Jan. 1809.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 28.



BOOK I. from the writer, supported by their own good sense  
CHAP. V. and the mediation of their common superior, must

1809. have convinced them were more imaginary than real, General Macdowall echoed and aggravated their complaints, and, mixing up their grievances with his own, employed them as instruments with which to assail the Government in the person of one of its most meritorious and efficient servants. For the Government of Madras to have allowed Colonel Munro to fall a sacrifice to interested clamour or personal resentment on account of its own acts, would have forfeited for ever its claim to the respect of its subordinates. The opinions of Colonel Munro had been called for by those who were entitled to demand them, and so enjoined, it was his duty to state his honest convictions without reserve. These convictions were pronounced by the Commander-in-chief of the day to be his own; and the Madras Government, the Government of Bengal, and the Court of Directors all concurred in their justice and truth, and took them as the principles of their public acts. The responsibility of the subordinate ceased when the supreme power — one acknowledging no responsibility to its own servants — determined to identify his counsels with its own decrees; and its decrees would have been issued in vain, if the counsels which suggested them were to expose any one of its instruments to be degraded and punished by another. There can be no question, therefore, that the Government of Madras was bound to shield the Quarter-Master-General from the anger of the Commander-in-chief; and that it was legally empowered so to interpose, was substantiated by the

enforced submission of the latter. His threats of what he would have done if he had remained, were like the fast-retiring wave of the Madras surf wasting itself in impotent foam and fury upon the beach.

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It happened, unfortunately for the character of the Madras Government and the tranquillity of the settlement, that, departing from the calm assertion of its own powers, and the dignified attitude it had hitherto held, the Government precipitated itself into a career of recriminatory and vindictive acts. Instead of regarding the general order of the Commander-in-chief as the idle ebullition of an angry spirit, the influence of which was neutralised by its own intemperance; instead of taking time to weigh deliberately the probable results of engaging in an angry contest; the Government instantly promulgated a public order<sup>1</sup> of scarcely less exceptionable phraseology, charging General Macdowall with having given utterance to insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the Government, and subversive of military discipline and of the foundations of public authority, and with having on that and other recent occasions been guilty of violent and inflammatory proceedings, and of acts of outrage: accusations not wholly borne out by facts, even if it had been decorous to proclaim them. Taking advantage also of the non-reception of General Macdowall's formal resignation, the order cancelled his appointment, and removed him from the station of Commander-in-chief of the forces of Fort St. George: a somewhat superfluous mode of displeasure, as General Mac-

<sup>1</sup> The Commander-in-chief's order was not published till the 30th of Jan. The order of the Government is dated the 31st.

BOOK I. dowall was on board the ship which was to convey  
CHAP. V. him to England ; a destination he was not permitted  
 1809. to reach, the vessel being lost at sea on the voyage.

If the Madras Government had vindicated its authority in more temperate language, and directed that the offensive order of the General should be expunged from the order-books of the army, it would have better preserved its consistency and secured its triumph. Had its indignation been allowed to expire with the cause which had provoked it, few would have been disposed to call its proceedings seriously into question ; and after a short period the superficial and inconsequential ferment, in the activity of which the Commander-in-chief was so vital an element, would have subsided. Unhappily, it was thought that enough had not been done to vindicate the authority and dignity of the Government. Measures were adopted which irritated the passions of the army more than anything that had yet occurred, and infused into the quarrel feelings of personal rancour, by which it had not yet been generally embittered. The order of the Government, which has been just described, concluded by suspending from the service of the Company Major Boles, the Deputy-Adjutant-General, for having signed and circulated the general order of the departing Commander-in-chief in the absence of his immediate superior, who had accompanied General Macdowall on board ship. Colonel Capper, the Adjutant-General, avowed himself responsible for the circulation of the order, and was included in the same penalty.<sup>1</sup> It was to no

<sup>1</sup> General Orders of the Government of Fort St. George, 31st Jan. and 1st Feb., 1809 ; Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 29.

purpose that these officers pleaded the merely ministerial character of their duties, and the obligation, imposed upon them by military discipline, of executing the orders of the Commander of the forces. It was argued by the Government, that, by giving authenticity and currency to a paper which they could not but be aware was in the highest degree disrespectful to the Government, they were acting in direct violation of their duty to the latter, and thereby knowingly committed an illegal act, connected with views of the most reprehensible nature, which no authority could justify, and that they therefore deserved the punishment they had incurred. Colonel Capper sailed for England, and, like his superior, perished on the passage. To Major Boles it was intimated, that, if he acknowledged his error, the sentence might be mitigated; but he refused to admit that he had done wrong, and the penalty was enforced.

It is very possible that the Adjutant-General and his deputy were more inclined to take part with their military than with their civil superior, that they shared in the prevailing discontent, and that they were not unwilling instruments in the issuing of the offensive order. Still, the plea of military subordination was a plausible excuse, and one which was calculated to find favour with military men. It might be correct, as afterwards argued by the Judge-Advocate-General, that, even in the case of military men, the illegal commands of a superior are invalid; but then comes the question, by whom is the illegality to be determined? Nothing can justify disobedience of orders but the most unequiv-

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vocal and universal recognition of the illegality; and, wherever a doubt is admissible, obedience is the safer course. That General Macdowall's order was illegal is a proposition by no means so self-evident as to obtain immediate and implicit assent, and was little likely to be so esteemed in the actual state of military feeling at Madras. It was possible, therefore, that those who obeyed it did not consider it to be illegal; and, although they saw that it was disrespectful, they did not hold their interpretation of its tenor to that extent only to be a sufficient reason for disobeying the positive commands of the Commander-in-chief.<sup>1</sup> At any rate,

<sup>1</sup> Major Boles avers that he does not consider the order illegal or directed against the Government, and that many officers of rank and experience in the King's and Company's services concurred with him in concluding it to be exclusively applicable to Colonel Munro.—*Parl. Papers*, 25th May, 1810, i. 37. General Maitland, at the time Governor of Ceylon, in an elaborate examination of the subject, maintains that there was no proof of the ministerial officers being aware of the illegality of the order, and that, if Major Boles erred, he erred on the right side; that the military law was completely positive on one side, and perfectly indefinite on the other; and that he followed a course vindicated by many precedents, instead of one for which no precedent could be pleaded.—*Parl. Papers*, 25th May, 1810, No. vi. p. 158. Although the Supreme Government considered the general order of General Macdowall to be of a seditious character, and that the Adjutant-General and his deputy in issuing it had become thereby guilty of sedition, (*Parl. Papers*, 20th May, 1810, No. iii. p. 13,) yet the Governor-General avows that the suspension of those officers gave him great uneasiness, as he anticipated that it would furnish a plausible, and to military minds a captivating, pretence for a more general combination against the Government than any of the circumstances which preceded it: that, although the merits of the question as an abstract point were clear and confident, yet they were not less likely to be questioned; and he felt assured that in the military world, which was the quarter of the greatest authority in such a controversy, the sentiment was likely to be nearly unanimous against the principle adopted by the Government of Fort St. George, whilst other opinions would be much divided.—(*Parl. Papers*, April, 1811, No. vi. p. 138.) The sense of the Court of Directors was still more decidedly expressed; as, immediately after the arrival of the first intelligence of the proceedings of the Madras Government, they ordered that Colonel Capper and Major Boles should be restored to the service. "As those officers were placed in a situation of difficulty, their removal from their respective emoluments on the staff would have been a sufficient mark of your displeasure, and we therefore direct that their suspension from our service be taken off."—*Letter*

the plea was urged in extenuation of the act, and it would have been prudent to have so accepted it; for it might easily have been foreseen, that to visit the offence with extreme punishment would excite general commiseration for the victims and unpopularity for the judge. The consequences were such as should have been anticipated. Addresses were immediately forwarded to Major Boles from all the divisions of the army, approving of his conduct, denouncing his sentence as cruel and undeserved, and proposing to raise by subscription an income equal to that of which the Government had deprived him. The type of the contest was now for the first time durably stamped upon it. Hitherto the officers of the army had felt aggrieved by the public acts of the Government: they now combined in hostility to the Governor. It was henceforward a struggle between men, rather than between principles; between Sir George Barlow and a body of officers, rather than between the Government and the army of Fort St. George.

An interval of three months had elapsed from the suspension of the officers of the Adjutant-General's department, when another general order of the Government, dated the 1st of May, announced a

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from the Court, 15th Sept. 1809. When subsequent advice of the part taken by the officers in favour of Major Boles reached England, they rescinded the order and confirmed the suspension; "as it was to be inferred that he had become a rallying point for dangerous doctrines, with his own consent."—Letter from the Court, 29th Sept.; *Parl. Papers*, May, 1810, p. 13. They afterwards recur to their first view of the case, and state that they cannot discover any such inherent and obvious illegality as could justify the Adjutant or Deputy-Adjutant-General in refusing to obey the command they had received from Lieutenant-General Macdowall that the said order should be circulated to the army. "We therefore continue of opinion that Major Boles ought not to have been suspended from the service."—*Military Letter from the Court of Directors*, 5th February, 1811; *Parl. Papers*, April, 1811, p. 178.

BOOK I. sweeping list of removals, supersessions, and sus-  
 CHAP. V. pensions. Four officers of rank were suspended

1809. the service; an equal number were removed from their commands or staff appointments, and four were superseded in the command of battalions: among them were Colonels St. Leger, Chalmers, and Cuppage, who had recently performed such distinguished services in Travancore.<sup>1</sup> The officers thus punished were accused of having signed, and influenced others to sign, an address to Major Boles of the purport above stated; and of having signed, and influenced others to sign, a memorial which it was proposed to send to the Governor-General, in which the supposed grievances of the Madras army were detailed. Some of the offenders were also charged with having signed a statement in favour of General Macdowall, and forwarded it to him at Ceylon. Copies of these documents had come into the hands of Sir George Barlow, and were communicated by him to his council, with whose concurrence the order of the 1st of May was issued.<sup>2</sup>

Although it could not be denied that the officers of the army had entered into combinations which were as decidedly incompatible with their military obligations as their subordination to the Civil Government, yet it is very questionable if the mea-

<sup>1</sup> General Order, 1st of May, 1809; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. p. 22. The officers suspended were Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Arthur St. Leger, Major John De Morgan, Captain Josiah Marshall, Captain James Grant. Removed: Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Bell, Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Chalmers, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Cuppage, Captain J. M. Coombs. Superseded: Captain Smith, Major Keasberry, Major Muirhead, and Major Haslewood.

<sup>2</sup> Minute of the President in Council, with enclosures, 1st May, 1809; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. 3.

asures adopted were politic or necessary. The statement of General Macdowall's conduct, and the memorial to the Governor-General, had been drawn up under the influence of that excitement which existed at the time of the embarkation of the Commander-in-chief; and the address to Major Boles originated in the occurrences immediately following. The feelings so vivid in the beginning of February had in some degree begun to cool even early in March; for at that time a circular letter was addressed by the new Commander-in-chief, General Gowdie, to the officers commanding the principal divisions of the army, desiring to know whether the memorial had been circulated amongst the officers under their command, and enjoining them to be vigilant in bringing them to a sense of their duty; and it is acknowledged by Sir G. Barlow himself, that, with one exception, the replies were in general perfectly satisfactory.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the memorial never was sent; and it is admitted that all intention of sending it had been abandoned, when it was made the ground of punishing those who were accused of having taken an active share in its signature and circulation.<sup>2</sup>

Another objectionable feature in this proceeding was its being based on private information, a copy of the memorial having been forwarded to Sir G. Barlow through a channel which he did not wish to reveal. Its existence was farther substantiated by the testimony of some of the country-born clerks in the offices of the military department, who had been employed to transcribe various papers by some

<sup>1</sup> Minute last cited.<sup>2</sup> Minute ditto.



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of the officers particularised. Their depositions were taken privately. Their testimony was never communicated to the accused, and might or might not have been true.<sup>1</sup> That papers such as were described had been in circulation, was not improbable; but to what extent some of the individuals condemned were implicated in their distribution, had not been clearly established.<sup>2</sup> Several of them denied the justice of the charge; but denial was useless, and proof would have been too late. Accusation and condemnation were simultaneous; the officers so summarily punished were allowed no opportunity of excuse or justification. They first heard of the charge against them when they read their sentence. No wonder that such treatment should have added fuel to flame.

A further unfortunate circumstance distinguished this general order of the 1st of May. With singular ignorance of the extent to which the same sentiments pervaded the Madras army, and with a strange unconsciousness of the sympathy which fellowship in service and in fortunes is so apt to inspire amongst classes of men and particularly amongst the members of the military class, the Government thought fit to compliment the subsidiary force at Hyderabad for its satisfactory and exemplary conduct in having resisted all participation in

<sup>1</sup> The examinations are appended to the President's minute.

<sup>2</sup> The officers of the artillery, under Colonel Bell's command, made "a solemn and unequivocal declaration that he had neither directly nor indirectly countenanced or influenced the circulation of any paper of the tendency alluded to in the order of Government." Colonel St. Leger and Major De Morgan denied having taken an active part in the circulation of the memorial, or influenced others to sign it. See their memorials in the Parl. Papers.

the improper and dangerous proceedings which the order described. Nothing could have been more mischievous.<sup>1</sup> The officers of the Hyderabad force instantly and indignantly repudiated the distinction, and, in their eagerness to show that it was undeserved, plunged headlong into a career far more violent and indefensible than any which had yet annoyed or alarmed the Government. They immediately published a letter to the army and to the officers suspended, in which they declared their entire disapprobation of the suspension and removal of so many valuable officers from the service and from their commands; their willingness to contribute to the support of those officers; and their determination to co-operate with the army in all legal measures for the removal of the cause of the present discontent, and the restoration of their brother-officers to the honourable situations from which they had been removed.<sup>2</sup> This was followed by an address to the Governor in Council, signed by a hundred and fifty-eight officers of the divisions of Jalna and Hyderabad, urging strenuously the restoration of the removed officers as the only measure likely to prevent the possible and probable consequences which they else apprehended; namely, the separation of the civil and military, the destruction of all discipline and subordination amongst the native troops, the ultimate loss of a large portion of the British possessions in India, and the dreadful blow it would inflict on the mother country.<sup>3</sup> In

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<sup>1</sup> General Orders of the Government; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 B. p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 26.

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 CHAP. V. presented to Colonel Montresor, commanding the  
 1809. Hyderabad force, by his officers, of a still more  
 outrageous description.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time with this manifestation of the growing sentiments of insubordination at Hyderabad, an overt act of mutiny was committed by the Company's European regiment quartered at Masulipatam. The officers of this corps had partaken in the general feelings, and had been further irritated by the indiscreet harshness with which their commanding officer had visited some imprudent expressions of those feelings in a moment of conviviality. The men were also out of humour at being occasionally drafted to serve as marines on board of the ships of war in the Bay of Bengal. A report was current amongst them that the whole corps was to be broken up in this manner; and, when an order was issued for three companies to prepare for marine duty, the men refused to obey, and the officers placed their own colonel under arrest. The command was assumed by the next in rank, a managing committee of officers was instituted, and a correspondence was opened by them with the Hyderabad and other mutinous divisions. Colonel Malcolm, who was at Madras, preparing to

<sup>1</sup> On the 21st of July they presented to Colonel Montresor a paper which they styled their ultimatum, but pledging themselves to remain quiet until a reply from Government should be received. In this they demanded the repeal of the orders of the 1st May, the restoration of the officers suspended or removed, the removal from their staff appointments of the officers who had been the principal advisers of the Government, and the grant of a general amnesty to the discontented. The signatures of all the officers except those on the staff were affixed to the paper, and a joint movement from Jalna and Hyderabad on Madras was projected in case their demands were not complied with.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 C. p. 29.

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proceed on his mission to Persia, was dispatched to Masulipatam to restore order and subordination: he was treated with courtesy, but returned to the Presidency without accomplishing the object of his mission, and strongly impressed with the persuasion that the revocation of the Government order would alone prevent a general and fatal insurrection.<sup>1</sup> In fact, on the 3rd of August garrison orders directed the regiment to hold itself in readiness for field service; a plan having been concerted for the junction of the troops from Masulipatam with those from Jalna and Hyderabad, and their united march to Madras, where they threatened to compel the restoration of the officers, and to depose Sir George Barlow from the post of Governor. Luckily for all concerned, these wild and criminal projects were arrested by the seasonable interposition of the Governor-General, and the return of the most violent and rash to a recollection of their duty.

The Government of Madras had thus, by unquestionable deficiencies in temper and discretion, brought matters to a position from which it was equally dangerous to advance or recede. Several of the most distinguished of its military servants counselled the rescission of the obnoxious orders, and the restoration of the suspended officers to the service.<sup>2</sup> Such a concession might have moderated the violence of the tempest, but its efficacy in pro-

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 B. p. 33, and 2 C. p. 1. Colonel Malcolm subsequently published "Observations on the Disturbances of the Madras Army," in two parts; London, 1812.

<sup>2</sup> By Captain Sydenham, the Resident at Hyderabad; by Colonel Montresor, commanding the subsidiary force; and by Colonel Malcolm.—Parl. Papers.



BOOK I. ducing a continued calm was more than doubtful.  
CHAP. V. It would have been an acknowledgement that the  
1809. Government had acted with inconsiderateness and  
injustice, and possessed neither the strength nor the  
spirit to assert its legitimate rights; and it would  
have established a dangerous precedent, and en-  
couraged, in time to come, those who felt or fan-  
cied a grievance, to resist the will of all future ad-  
ministrations, and seek redress by force and intimi-  
dation. There was an end of all civil government,—  
of all government,—if military combination was al-  
lowed to set aside constituted authority; if the army  
was suffered to dictate its own laws and choose its  
own officers; if the weapons, with which it was in-  
trusted to defend the state against external aggres-  
sion, were aimed against those functionaries who  
had been appointed to guide and govern in India  
the civil and military servants of the Company and  
subjects of the Crown. Justice demands that full  
weight should be given to these considerations in  
appreciating the conduct of Sir George Barlow at  
this crisis. His determination to uphold at every  
risk the rightful claims of the Government to the  
obedience of the army was defensible on the  
grounds of the responsibility, imposed upon him by  
his station, of preserving undisturbed the social re-  
lations of the civil and military power under his  
authority, of asserting the superiority of law over  
force, and of maintaining inviolate the principles of  
the constitution, which had been assigned to the  
various members of the Indian empire by the Le-  
gislation of Great Britain. Nor was the hazard of  
actual collision so imminent or so great as it

seemed to be from the menacing attitude which a part of the army had assumed. It was but a part, and a considerable portion had not yet taken any share in their proceedings. The Commander-in-chief, and the great majority of those officers who were highest in rank and most distinguished in reputation, and whose influence with those under their command was of most importance, were staunch advocates of the principles of order and military subordination; many, who had been involved in the proceedings by the vehemence of those around them, were known to be averse to the extremes to which they were urged; and it was to be expected, that, even of those who were loudest in their denunciations, many would pause before they incurred the guilt of actual rebellion. The Government of Madras was assured of the decided support of the Government of Bengal, and had the command of the resources of that Presidency, as well as of Bombay and Ceylon. The King's regiments steadily adhered to their duty; and there could be little doubt that the native soldiery, when the case was explained to them, would prefer the cause of the Government, from whom they derived their subsistence and hopes of promotion, to that of their officers, whose objects they imperfectly understood, and from whose triumph they could anticipate no advantage. Relying on these considerations, the Government of Madras entered upon the contest with promptitude and vigour.

In order to ascertain its own strength, and discover what proportion of the officers were well-affected, and at the same time to remove the dis-

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BOOK I. affected for a season from situations where they  
 CHAP. V. might exercise influence or authority, the officers

1809. generally were called upon to sign a test pledging themselves to support the measures of the Government. Letters were addressed to the commanding officers of stations, furnishing them with the proposed form of the test, and instructing them to procure to it the signatures of the officers under their command, on penalty of being removed from their regiments to stations on the sea-coast, where they would be required to reside until the situation of affairs and the temper of men's minds should allow of their being again employed.<sup>1</sup> As the removal was avowedly temporary, and the recusant officers were not to forfeit their pay, all appearance of unnecessary harshness was avoided, and a reasonable plea for remaining neutral was supplied to the least violent. At the same time, the commanding officers of corps were ordered to assemble the native officers, and explain to them, and through them to the Sipahis, that the discontents of the European officers were entirely personal; that the Government had no intention to diminish the advantages which the men enjoyed, but, on the contrary, was anxious to improve them, and that it confidently relied upon their attachment and fidelity.<sup>2</sup> A general order to the same effect was also promulgated, and active measures were taken to secure its circulation. The

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 C. p. 41. The test or declaration ran thus : " We, the undersigned officers of the Honourable Company's service, do in the most solemn manner declare, upon our word of honour as British officers, that we will obey the orders and support the authority of the Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of the commissions which we hold from that Government."—*Ibid.* 2 B. p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. p. 30.

Company's troops were also so distributed in connexion with his Majesty's as to render the latter an efficient check upon the former, and all the available corps of the central division of the army were concentrated in the vicinity of the seat of Government.

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The majority of the officers, even of those whose loyalty and moderation had never been doubted, declined to sign the test, and were consequently removed from their stations.<sup>1</sup> The appeal to the native officers and men was very generally successful. Wherever the orders of the Government reached them, they expressed their resolution to remain faithful to their vows of allegiance, and to obey no commands but such as they should receive from Government direct, or from officers whom the Government should set over them. This separation of the men from their officers was calculated to relax the reins of discipline and sow the seeds of disorganization in the native army; but the Indian soldier is of a plastic nature, which, where his own immediate interests or prejudices are not concerned, soon takes and soon parts with impressions. The only situations in which the agitation was not suppressed without recourse to more stringent correctives were Mysore and Hyderabad.

In the former of these districts, the officers of the garrison of Seringapatam, rendered desperate by the measures of the Government for separating the native soldiers from their officers, rushed into un-

<sup>1</sup> Observations of Sir John Malcolm, p. 32. Colonel Bannerman states that the published returns show but one hundred and fifty signatures, out of thirteen hundred officers on the strength of the Madras army.—Dissent, Parl. Papers, April, 1811, 4. 23.



BOOK I. bridled violence and open rebellion. Compelling a  
CHAP. V. small detachment of his Majesty's troops to with-

1809. draw from the fort, they seized upon the public treasure, drew up the bridges, and placed themselves in an attitude of defiance; disobeying the orders of Colonel Davies, commanding in Mysore, and disregarding the remonstrances of the Political Resident, Mr. Cole. A detachment consisting of the 25th dragoons, a regiment of native cavalry, with a regiment of his Majesty's foot, and a native battalion, commanded by Colonel Gibbs, marched to Seringapatam, where they encamped; while a corps of Mysore horse, which had been supplied by the Dewan, was detached to intercept the advance of two battalions which were on their way from Chittledroog to reinforce the garrison. The Mysore horse met the battalions at some distance from Seringapatam about the 7th of August. No forcible opposition was offered until the 11th, when the Chittledroog force was in sight of the walls of Seringapatam, and of the camp of the detachment by which the fortress was observed. Encouraged by the proximity of the latter, the Mysoreans began to harass the march of the battalions, and were fired upon. The resistance was, however, feeble; for, upon the approach of the dragoons, the Chittledroog battalions broke and dispersed. The greater part effected their escape into the fort, the garrison of which had made a demonstration in their favour. The officer who commanded was wounded and taken prisoner; another died of fatigue and anxiety after reaching the fort. More than two hundred Sipahis and followers were said to have been killed

and wounded.<sup>1</sup> Of the dragoons one officer was wounded slightly. During the night the fortress cannonaded the encampment; and, although no great mischief was done, it was necessary to remove the tents to a safer distance. No further hostility was offered by either party.

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Hoping that the personal character of Colonel Close, the Resident at Poona, and his great popularity with the native soldiery, might enable him to exercise a salutary influence over the troops at Hyderabad, the Government called him from his political duties to take the command of the subsidiary force. He arrived at Hyderabad on the 3rd of August; and, notwithstanding some opposition, made his way to the cantonments, where he expostulated with such officers as were present, and with such of the native officers and men as showed a disposition to listen to his observations. Little effect was produced apparently by his intervention; and, having cause to apprehend personal restraint, he thought it more consistent with his own dignity and the intentions of the Government to withdraw from the cantonment to the Residency, and there await further instructions. Immediately upon his departure, the committee of officers summoned the divisions at Jalna, Masulipatam, and in the Northern Circars. The former made two marches in advance, and the

<sup>1</sup> The returns give nine killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, and two hundred and eighty-one missing. The officers of the Chittledroog battalion affirm that the men were ordered not to fire upon the Europeans, but only to defend themselves against the Mysore horse. The absence of all casualties among the dragoons, with the exception of one officer wounded, which was possibly the consequence of a misunderstanding, is a strong corroboration of this assertion.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 O. p. 40; also 2 F. p. 33, &c.; also Trial of Colonel J. Bell; Parl. Papers, April, 1811.

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latter were under orders to take the field, when, fortunately, the determinations of the officers at Hyderabad underwent a change. On the 11th of August they addressed a penitential letter to Lord Minto, who was expected to arrive at Madras; signed the test proposed by the Government of Fort St. George; and circulated to the several stations of the army a paper wherein they stated that imperious circumstances and mature reflection had induced them to sign the declaration, and they earnestly entreated their brother-officers to follow their example.<sup>1</sup> The defection of the Hyderabad force arrested the progress of the mutiny. The Jalna division returned to cantonments. On the 16th of August the garrison at Masulipatam tendered their adhesion, and gave up the fort to General Pater; and on the 23rd the garrison of Seringapatam submitted unconditionally, and evacuated the fortress. The declaratory test was universally signed, and a calm as profound as

<sup>1</sup> The motives which influenced the officers are recapitulated by Lord Minto in his letter of the 12th October, 1809, to the Secret Committee, par. 72. "They represent themselves to have proposed at no period anything beyond intimidation as a means of controuling Government, and exacting the concessions they required: they advanced from faction to sedition, from sedition to revolt, confident that each step they made towards further violence would be sufficient for their purpose. In this course they gradually arrived at the last narrow boundary which they had yet to pass before the commencement of civil war; and, while they yet hesitated on that last decisive step, the measures of Government convinced them that intimidation would fail, and, if they advanced further, the contest was actually to be maintained. They then describe their sense of the public evils incident to such a conflict, and their compunction at becoming the immediate instruments of such calamities; sentiments which terminated in a resolution to sacrifice their own objects and feelings to the public safety, and to submit themselves implicitly to the discretion of Government." Although Lord Minto doubts, to its full extent, this account of their reasons for so suddenly stopping in their course, and ascribes it, in part at least, to a seasonable fear of failure; yet he admits that very many must have been urged onwards, against their own better judgments, by the impulse of example, and that these must have rejoiced at the first overture of retreat.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv. p. 9.

the agitation had been alarming was at once restored.

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The causes which induced this seasonable reaction are sufficiently obvious. The officers had hitherto rushed forward in the blindness of their anger, without seeing whither it was likely to lead them; but they had now arrived at the very verge of the precipice, and another step would have consigned them to irretrievable infamy and ruin. It is impossible to believe that the most daring and desperate did not at this moment wish for an excuse to go no further. The senior officers in almost every command had throughout acted with so much moderation and judgment as to have secured the respect, although they had not been always able to repress the violence, of those subordinate to them; and their representations contributed to awaken in the minds of their younger brethren a truer perception of the perilous situation in which they stood. It is also little to be doubted that the disposition to retract derived confirmation from the apprehension of failure in advancing, and from a general belief that the native soldiery would fall off from their officers if the quarrel with the Government were urged to actual warfare.<sup>1</sup> These reflections had been for some time at work. Even in the almost universal rejection of the test, the indication of a returning sense of duty was manifested; as the chief ground of re-

<sup>1</sup> In several of the pamphlets published by the friends of the officers, it is asserted that "the Sipahis adhered to the officers to the last." Lord Minto observes, that "the officers never allowed themselves to doubt of the adherence of the Sepoy battalions."—Letter, 12th October, par. 16; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, p. 2. In general, however, the native officers and troops manifested little inclination to support their European officers against the Government.



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fusal was not its general purport, but the possibility of its placing those who signed it in open hostility to those with whom they had been so far engaged in a common cause. Most of the officers declared themselves from the first willing to sign it, with the reservation that they should not be required to take up arms against their brother-officers. The readiness with which they acquiesced in their removal from their regiments and stations evinced a similar state of feeling; and it wanted only a beginning, an example of sufficient weight, for the change of sentiment to be universally and unequivocally exhibited. This was supplied by the conduct of the Hyderabad force, which had been foremost and most vehement in its opposition, and, having therefore the greatest sacrifice of personal feeling to make in yielding obedience, was the more deserving of imitation. With regard to the officers of the subsidiary force, they were of course influenced by the same motives as their companions in arms; and there is every likelihood that the arguments and advice and the character of Colonel Close materially affected their feelings, aided their judgment, and decided their determination. Another and very important circumstance came opportunely to alleviate the pain and efface the discredit of such a departure from their previous declarations. It had been known for some time past that it was the intention of the Governor-General to repair to Madras,<sup>1</sup> and assume in person an investigation into the proceedings of the army. It was now ascertained that he was on his way. To his justice and

<sup>1</sup> General Orders, Fort William, 20th July, 1809.

impartiality the officers looked with confidence, and felt assured that they had nothing to apprehend in him from personal resentment. Although they signed the test of the Madras Government, yet it was to Lord Minto, and not to Sir George Barlow, that the officers at Hyderabad, Masulipatam, and Seringapatam addressed their submission.<sup>1</sup>

Not that the officers of the Madras army had any reason to anticipate from the Governor-General a favourable award. His sentiments were known to be in accordance with those of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George. Communication of their proceedings, from the latter to the former, had drawn from the Supreme Government a review of the whole of the discussions, an elaborate vindication of the course pursued by the Government of Madras, and an unqualified condemnation of the insubordinate and seditious spirit which the officers had displayed.<sup>2</sup> The letter had been published at Madras, and circulated to the army; but, notwithstanding its general tenor, there was a calmness in its tone, and a reasonableness in its arguments, which opened a prospect of considerate as well as just decision. Whatever might be the sentence of the Governor-General, the sting of personality was removed; and it was the functionary, not the individual, who was expected to pronounce judgment.

It had been the purpose of Lord Minto to have sailed for Madras before the end of July; but his

<sup>1</sup> Address from the officers at Hyderabad to Lord Minto, 11th August; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 F. 1. Declaration of those at Masulipatam; *ibid.* p. 12. Address of those at Seringapatam, 21st August; *ibid.* p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Supreme Government to the Governor in Council, Fort St. George, 27th May, 1809; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iii.

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departure was delayed by the assurance, which the Madras Government, with that singularly imperfect knowledge which it had on other occasions evinced of the real state of things, conveyed to him, that the agitation was rapidly subsiding, and that a fair prospect existed of the army's returning to a sense of duty.<sup>1</sup> As soon as he ascertained that the information was incorrect, he embarked, and reached Madras on the 11th of September. All parties anxiously awaited his fiat. It was not long delayed.<sup>2</sup> On the 25th of the same month a general order announced to the army the Governor-General's reprobation of their past conduct, and his resolution to inflict such punishment as might be commensurate with the offences committed. This determination was expressed in language designed and calculated to assuage all irritated feeling, and it was too evidently grounded upon the nature of the past transactions for its justice to be called in question. The necessity of vindicating the authority of the Government was based entirely upon abstract and incontrovertible principles, and the manner in which that vindication was to be exercised was qualified with the utmost possible leniency. The decision of the Governor-General was also distinguished by one remarkable peculiarity,—the more remarkable from the contrast which it presented to the whole course of Sir George Barlow's proceedings,—the non-exercise of absolute power; the abeyance of the right of the Governor-General to decree

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 10th October, 1809, par. 37: also Minute of Governor-General, 15th July, 1800; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv.: and MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv. p. 14.

punishment of his own will and pleasure; and the reference of those who were charged with the highest degree of culpability to the judgment of their peers. A few only of the offenders were selected; such as officers in command of stations or of bodies of troops, commandants of corps, and individuals conspicuous for violent and forward behaviour. For the two first, courts-martial were ordered; to the others, the alternative was offered of investigation before the same tribunal, or dismissal from the service. The whole of the officers of the Hyderabad force were pardoned, in consideration of the important example which they had set of submission. Only three officers came under the first class, eighteen only under the latter; a general amnesty tranquillised the rest. The order wound up with expressions of affectionate solicitude for the character and welfare of the Coast army, which sunk deep into minds that had so long been used to the language of unbending sternness and unqualified reproof, and which now laboured under the humiliating consciousness that personal resentment, however provoked, was no excuse for a dereliction of the first principles of military duty,—obedience to constituted authority, and allegiance to the state.

Shortly after the promulgation of this order, the trials commenced. Lieutenant-Colonel John Bell, the commandant of the garrison of Seringapatam, was charged with joining in, and with heading, the mutiny of the troops. The defence set up was, that he had consented to take the command only to prevent excesses; that he exercised no real authority in the fort; that he had signed the test without hesi-



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tation himself, and that it was through his influence the officers also finally signed it, and that the garrison finally surrendered the fort in a peaceable manner. He was pronounced guilty, and sentenced to be cashiered. A like charge and sentence characterised the trial of Major Storey, who had consented to hold the command at Masulipatam, upon the arrest, by his brother-officers, of Colonel Innes, their common superior. A similar defence was offered, and the prisoner was recommended to the mercy of the Commander-in-chief. In both cases the sentences were held to be too lenient, and were sent back for revision; but they were adhered to by the courts, and eventually confirmed. Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton was charged with having moved his detachment from Jalna with a mutinous and seditious design against the Government of Madras. The defence was the same. Colonel Doveton, it was affirmed, had only ostensibly participated in a movement which he could not hinder, with a view so to controul it as to render it inoffensive: he also produced a private letter from the Resident at Hyderabad, sanctioning his accompanying the troops, if he could not prevent their march. He was consequently fully and honourably acquitted. This sentence also was disapproved of by the Commander of the forces, but was confirmed by the court. Colonel Doveton was nevertheless suspended by the Governor-General from the service pending a reference to the pleasure of the Court of Directors. Of the second class of officers, two, Lieutenant-Colonel Munro and Major Kenny, stood a trial, and were cashiered: the rest accepted the

alternative of dismissal.<sup>1</sup> Until the termination of the trials, Lord Minto continued at the Presidency of Madras; and when he quitted it, early in 1810, his authority was in some measure replaced by the presence of General Hewett, the Commander-in-chief of the Bengal army, who assumed the command of the army of Madras. At the end of 1810, General Sir Samuel Auchmuty relieved General Hewett from his duty, and, with the command of the army, took his place as member of Council; the Court of Directors having learnt too late from the recent dissensions how essential was the possession of a dignity, so vainly coveted by General Macdowall, to the cordial co-operation of their chief civil and military functionaries.

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Thus terminated a struggle which at one period was thought to threaten the constitution of the Madras Presidency, and endanger the existence of the British empire in India. The danger, though not visionary, was perhaps exaggerated. The quarrel was less between public bodies than between individuals; and the army readily yielded to Lord Minto the allegiance which it had withheld from, and ultimately conceded with an ill grace to, Sir George Barlow. However unreasonable the aversion thus cherished, and however indefensible the extremities to which it hurried unthinking men, it cannot be affirmed that the feelings so widely spread were wholly without extenuation, or that the measures and character of the Governor were

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Trials; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, No. vii. Letter from Lord Minto to the Secret Committee, 15th April, 1830; *ibid.* No. ix. p. 353.

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CHAP. V. disobedience. The Indian Governments of Sir

1809. George Barlow's day were wholly unaccustomed to have their proceedings canvassed or their wisdom impugned, and they were intolerant of opposition. This had been particularly the case in Bengal, where the imperious rule of Lord Wellesley, relieved by the brilliant results of his public policy, had been long accustomed to demand and receive prompt and unquestioning submission. Brought up in his school, it is not to be wondered at that Sir George Barlow carried with him to Madras the same exalted notions of the authority entrusted to him; and when, from the concurrent causes which have been adverted to, he found, both in the civil and military branches of his government, contravention and resistance, he not unnaturally referred them to unworthy motives, and stigmatised them as personal and factious. That much of the opposition which he encountered was personal was undoubtedly true; but it was not at first personal in a sense relating to him, so much as to the individuals themselves, advocating their own interests, and smarting under mistaken, perhaps, but not the less bitter, feelings of injury and injustice. These feelings might have been soothed, and their mischievous consequences prevented, by kindly consideration and temperate forbearance. General Macdowall had no right to complain of the Government of Madras for his exclusion from the Council; that was the act of the Court of Directors: but he had reason to feel aggrieved when Government gave that exclusion practical effect, constructing the plan of a campaign

without consulting him; or consulting him tardily and reservedly, and encroaching upon his pretensions to military patronage. Had he been treated with the same deference as if he had filled a seat at the council-board, all cause of offence would possibly have been removed; for, although warm and precipitate, his temper does not appear to have been unsusceptible of conciliation. When the season of friendly intercourse had passed, and General Macdowall had placed himself in the wrong by his unjustifiable violence in the case of Colonel Munro, the cancelling of the arrest was so necessary and so sufficient a vindication of the authority of the Government, that it must have ensured, after the first heats were allayed, the concurrence of the whole army. The annulment of the General's parting order was also a measure the propriety of which would have been little questioned, although the language of the order was undignified and intemperate. But the measures that ensued bore a different character, and were hasty and imprudent, and in some respects unjust. The suspension of the officers of the Adjutant-General's department for obeying the commands of their military superior; the condemnation of officers without charge or trial, upon private information; and their severe punishment for an unperpetrated offence—the intended transmission of a memorial which was never sent; all originated in that spirit of official despotism which conceived that its own judgment superseded all need of hesitation, all occasion for inquiry or trial. That Sir George Barlow conscientiously considered the station in which he was placed to be endowed with such prerogatives;

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that it was the dignity, not so much of his own person or power, as of that of the office of Governor in Council of Fort St. George, may be granted: but the removal of Major Boles was regarded even by the Government of Bengal and the Court of Directors as unjust; and no less so were the orders of the 1st of May, which pronounced sentence upon meritorious officers for an uncommitted crime, upon private intelligence and without a trial. That they were most impolitic was proved by the irritation which they excited; and which, from a smouldering fire that might have burnt itself out among its own ashes, was thus fanned into a fierce and formidable flame. In the subsequent transactions, although the army was most deeply to blame, yet the Government was not exempt from fault. The stern unfeeling tone of its general orders, and the absence of all attempts at explanation or conciliation, were preserved in stoical consistency to the last; until the Government of Bengal introduced a new style, and did not disdain to blend the language of affectionate and paternal solicitude with the assertion of authority; and until, which was still more important, it condescended to lay aside the sword of justice, and send the accused to those tribunals to which they acknowledged themselves to be amenable. That a profound sense of public duty was the chief moving principle of Sir George Barlow's conduct it is impossible to doubt, but he trusted too exclusively to one only method of discharging that duty, —the exercise of absolute power.

Although anticipating the course of events, yet, in order to dispose finally of an unpleasant subject,

it will be advisable to advert in this place to the proceedings in England, to which the transactions at Madras gave rise. The public was speedily inundated by the statements of the opposite parties;<sup>1</sup> but the interest excited was inconsiderable, as attention was absorbed by the great interests of European politics. Several motions for papers were made in the House of Commons, and the documents were printed; but no ulterior proceedings were based upon them. It was rather different at the India House. The Court of Directors at first upheld the measures of the Government of Madras, and still more cordially approved of those of the Governor-General; but when the alarm had subsided, and the transactions were more calmly considered, a serious difference of opinion respecting the merits of Sir G. Barlow, urged with no little warmth and acerbity, divided the Court. The first struggle took place upon the appointment of the new Commander-in-chief to a seat in Council, which involved the question of displacing one of the actual members. After several days of debate, on one of which the Court was so equally divided, that, agreeably to law, the Treasurer determined the question by lot, Mr. Petrie, who had been opposed on many important matters to Sir George Barlow, was removed. The

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to the publications of Mr. Marsh, a gentleman of the legal profession, who, while at Madras, had been generally the adviser and advocate of Sir George Barlow's opponents, and of Colonel Malcolm, with the observations and replies which they produced, the principal authorities on either side are the following: 1. A View of the Policy of Sir George Barlow; in a series of Letters by Indus, 1810. 2. Letter from an Officer at Madras. 3. An Accurate and Authentic Narrative of the Dissensions at Madras. 4. Narrative of the late Trials, &c. 5. Account of the Discontents of the Madras Army. The two principal Reviews, also, took different sides of the question.

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1809. dissents of those members of the Court who disapproved of the decision, and the reply of those who supported it, took a review of the whole of the transactions, and with equal ability and earnestness commended or condemned the policy of Sir George Barlow.<sup>1</sup> Similar discussions attended the appeals made by the dismissed or suspended officers; and at different dates their dismissal was both confirmed and cancelled. The milder counsels at last prevailed, and all who had been suspended or dismissed were pardoned and restored to the service.<sup>2</sup> In July, 1811, a motion was made for the recall of Sir George Barlow, but it was defeated under strong protests from some of the Court.<sup>3</sup> The same motion was renewed and carried at the end of the following year, and was equally the subject of a protest by those members of the Court who had uniformly supported his measures and vindicated his reputation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The proceedings and the dissents of Messrs. Bannerman, Baring, Inglis, Huddleston, Elphinstone, and Patterson, with the reply of Messrs. Grant and Astell, are printed in the *Parl. Papers*, 1811, No. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the suspended officers were restored in 1811; those cashiered or dismissed, at subsequent dates.

<sup>3</sup> The dissents of Messrs. Parry, Smith, Astell, Bebb, and Grant were published by Sir Robert Barlow, the brother of Sir George. Murray, 1813.

<sup>4</sup> Little occasion now exists, perhaps, for an appeal to authority to determine the character of the proceedings of the Madras army; but there is very high military authority on the subject, that of the Duke of Wellington, who, amid the anxieties of his position in Spain at the end of 1809, felt a warm interest in the troops whom he had so often led to victory. The following passages occur in a letter, dated Badajoz, 3rd December, 1809, addressed to Colonel Malcolm.

“You cannot conceive how much I have felt for what has passed on the Madras Establishment. I scarcely recognise in those transactions the men for whom I entertained so much respect, and had so much regard, a few years back; and I can only lament that they, and the army, and the affairs of that Presidency in general, have been so much mismanaged. These transactions, and their causes, prove that it is not always the man who has the character of being the best natured, and one of the easiest disposition, who will agree best with those placed in authority over him, or those with whom he is to co-operate. They owe their origin to the disputes of the

persons in authority in India, that is to say, between the Governor and the Commander-in-chief. Both, but principally the latter, looked for partizans and supporters; and these have ended by throwing off all subordination, by relinquishing all habits of obedience, and almost by open resistance. Nothing can be more absurd than the pretext for this conduct.

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“Colonel Munro’s opinion might be erroneous, and might have been harsh towards his brother-officers; but not only he ought not to have been brought to a court-martial for giving that opinion, but he ought to have been brought to a court-martial if he had refrained from giving it, when he was called upon by the Commander-in-chief to make him a report on a subject referred to his official consideration. The officers of the army are equally wrong in the part they have taken in the subsequent part of the question, which is one between the Governor and the Commander-in-chief, whether the former had a right to protect Colonel Munro from the acts of the latter, upon which question no man can have a doubt who has any knowledge of the constitution of Great Britain, and particularly of that of the Indian Governments. I, who have arrived pretty nearly at the top of the tree, should be the last man to give up any point of military right or etiquette. But I have no doubt whatever, not only that it was the right, but that it was the duty, of the Governor in Council to interfere to save Colonel Munro; and that if he had not done so, and the public had sustained any loss or inconvenience from his trial, or if the public attention had been drawn to the injustice of his trial, the Governor would have been severely responsible for the omission to perform his duty.

“So far for my opinion upon the main points of the question. As for the others, the conduct of officers upon the addresses, the orders issued, the resolutions entered into, the resignations of their offices, &c. &c., they are consequences of the first error; that is, of persons in authority making partizans of those placed under them, instead of making all obey the constituted authorities of the state. This conduct in the officers of the army would have been wrong, even if the cause had been just, and the Commander-in-chief had wished to screen Colonel Munro from the persecution of the Government; and it is really not worth while to take up my time in describing, or yours in perusing, a description of the folly, the inconsistency, or the breaches of discipline and subordination contained in all those documents. I have so much regard for the Madras army, to which I owe much, that I would sacrifice a great deal to have it in my power to restore them to that state of discipline, union, and respectability in which I left them in the year 1805; and I assure you that I shall rejoice most sincerely when I shall hear that their good sense and good temper have predominated over their feelings of party and their prejudices.”—*Dispatches of the Duke of Wellington; Supplementary volume to the three first Parts, p. 231.*



## CHAPTER VI.

*Foreign Policy of Lord Minto's Administration.—Invasion of Berar by Amir Khan,—a force sent to the aid of the Raja.—Amir Khan's defeat by the Berar troops,—retires before the British.—Disputes between the Peshwa and the Southern Jagirdars.—Compulsory adjustment.—Suppression of Piracy by the States of Wari and Kolapur.—Expedition against the Pirates of the Persian Gulph.—Joasmis,—their ferocity.—Destruction of Ras-al-Khaima and other Pirate stations.—Expedition to Macao.—Operations against the French and Dutch colonies in the Indian Seas.—Successful depredations of the French cruizers.—Expedition against Rodriguez,—its occupation.—Descent upon Bourbon.—Garrison of Rodriguez reinforced.—Second descent upon Bourbon, and capture.—Naval Transactions at the Isle of France.—French frigates in the harbour of Grand Port attacked by the English squadron.—Destruction of the English vessels.—Naval actions off the Islands between the blockading ships and the French frigates.—Arrival of the Armaments from Bengal and Madras.—Landing of the forces in Grande Baye,—march to Port Louis,—capitulation with the French Governor.—Blockade of the Dutch Islands.—Expedition against the Moluccas.—Capture of Amboyna,—of Banda,—and of Ternate.—Expedition against Java,—accompanied by Lord Minto.—Difficulties of the voyage—overcome.—Former operations.—Destruction of Dutch vessels at Gresik.—*

*Measures of General Daendels and of his successor, General Jansens.—Arrival of the fleet in the Roads of Batavia,—landing of the troops.—Occupation of Batavia.—Advance to Weltevreden.—Strength of Fort Cornelis.—Assault.—March of Colonel Gillespie's column,—surprise of the outwork,—defences forced,—explosion of a redoubt,—the fort taken,—the pursuit and dispersion of the Enemy.—Churbon and Madura occupied.—Final defeat of General Jansens.—Surrender of Java and its dependencies.—Mr. Raffles appointed Governor.—Colonel Gillespie Commander of the Forces.—Capture of Yodhyakarta.—Expedition against Palembang.—Sultan deposed.—Views of the Court of Directors.—Beneficial results of the British Administration in Java.*

No events of any great political importance took place on the continent of India, the occurrence of which was likely to aggravate the anxiety experienced by the British Government from the dissensions that prevailed at Madras; but, during the same period, various occasions of minor moment had arisen for the exercise of its interference and the manifestation of its power. Of this character were the proceedings consequent upon the conduct of Amir Khan, of whom mention has been made in our preceding pages, and who provoked at this time the hostility of the Government of Bengal. Left without controul by the insanity of Holkar, and keeping together a numerous body of troops, for the payment of which he possessed no means of his own, Amir Khan, after exhausting the resources of the Rajput princes, was compelled to look abroad for

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In the commencement of his political career Jeswant Rao Holkar had been detained for some time as a prisoner at Nagpore, and, according to his own assertions, was pillaged by the Raja of jewels of very great value. Amir Khan now demanded, in the name of Holkar, the restitution of the jewels<sup>1</sup> or their price; and, as the demand was not complied with, he moved, in January 1809, to the frontiers of Berar with all his force, swelled to a large amount by the accession of the predatory or Pindari bands,<sup>2</sup> who had long spread terror through the dominions of the Bhonsla Raja by their daring and devastating incursions. No serious opposition was offered to Amir Khan's advance: he crossed the Nerbudda and proceeded to Jubbulpore, a considerable city of Berar, of which and of the surrounding country he took possession.

Although not bound by the terms of the existing treaty to give military aid to the Raja of Nagpore against his enemies, yet the aggression of Amir Khan was considered by the Bengal Government to demand its vigorous interposition. There were grounds for suspecting that his movements were not unconnected with the discontent of the Subahdar of Hyderabad; and although the assertions of his envoys at Nagpore, that their master had been induced

<sup>1</sup> MS. Records. Amir Khan mentions the manner in which Holkar became possessed of these jewels; but states that they were sold, and the produce was expended in raising troops, when he was seized by the Bhonsla Raja.—Life, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> He states his force at 40,000 horse and 24,000 Pindaris.

to invade the country by the invitation of the Nizam, who had offered to defray the cost of a still more formidable armament, might not be deserving of implicit credit, yet the known sympathies of the parties rendered such a league between them far from improbable. The interests of the British power were therefore implicated with those of the Raja of Berar. "The question was not," as Lord Minto observed, "whether it was just and expedient to aid the Raja in the defence and recovery of his dominions, although in point of policy the essential change in the political state of India which would be occasioned by the extinction of one of the substantive powers of the Dekhin might warrant and require our interference; but whether an enterprising and ambitious Musselman chief, at the head of a numerous army irresistible by any power except that of the Company, should be permitted to establish his authority on the ruins of the Raja's dominions, over territories contiguous to those of the Nizam, with whom community of religion, combined with local power and resources, might lead to the formation of projects probably not uncongenial to the mind of the Nizam himself, and certainly consistent with the views and hopes of a powerful party in his court, for the subversion of the British alliance. Of such a question there could be but one solution;"<sup>1</sup> this was, the determination to defend the Raja of Nagpore: and Colonel Close was ordered to march with a competent division to expel Amir Khan from the Berar terri-

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<sup>1</sup> Minute of Governor-General, Oct. 1809; Malcolm's Political History, i. 402.



BOOK I. tory. As the objects of the expedition were in an  
 CHAP. VI. essential degree British, the assistance was wholly

1809. gratuitous, no compensation being demanded from the Raja. Amir Khan protested vehemently against the interposition; and appealed with unanswerable justice, although with no avail, to the stipulations of the existing treaty with Holkar, on whose behalf he pretended to act, which engaged that the British Government would not in any manner whatever interfere in his affairs: and, in a letter addressed by him to Colonel Close, he argued that the conduct of the Government was a manifest infraction of the treaty, and a breach of the solemn promises made to Jeswant Rao, that it would not meddle with his claims upon the Raja of Berar, nor oppose his exaction of contributions from any princes not in alliance with it. These representations were no longer likely to be of any weight. It was not at present a matter of deliberation whether a helpless Raja of Jaypur should be abandoned to the grasp of the spoiler, rather than a passing inconvenience should be encountered; but whether the desertion of a friendly power might not involve an injury to British interests, and a still greater injury to British reputation.

An army was accordingly assembled towards the end of 1809 on the eastern frontier of Berar, composed chiefly of the subsidiary troops from Jalna and Hyderabad; and another, of sufficient strength not only to protect the province from danger, but to undertake offensive operations if necessary, was collected in Bundelkhand. Before either force, however, could be fully formed and brought into

action, the invader had been checked by the un-aided troops of Nagpore. Whilst yet halting at Jubbulpore, Amir Khan was threatened by the approach of a considerable force, under Sadik Ali Khan, to Srinagar, within twenty miles of his encampment. Placing more confidence in intrigue than in arms, the Nagpore general entered into a negotiation with Amir Khan, and engaged to pay him thirteen lakhs of rupees as the price of his retreat. The Raja, emboldened by the promised support of the British Government, refused to ratify the disgraceful bargain, and commanded Sadik Ali forcibly to compel Amir Khan's departure. And at the same time a letter was delivered to that chief from the Governor-General, announcing his purpose of dispatching an army against him unless he immediately quitted Berar. Although not disposed to relinquish his prey without a struggle, yet Amir Khan found himself unable to contend with the Berar force brought against him. The Pindaris, who had been dismissed for the rainy season, had not rejoined; and part of his troops had been sent to the rear, under the impression that a pacific arrangement was about to be made. Hostages had been given him as a security for the payment of the stipulated contribution; and it was so confidently believed by several of his principal captains that part of the money also had been paid, that they insisted upon their shares, and refused to fight unless they obtained a portion of the spoil. Weakened by their defection and the reduction of his force, Amir Khan attempted to retreat to Bhopal. He was pursued by Sadik Ali, and overtaken, on the 17th

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BOOK I. of November, in a disadvantageous position at  
 CHAP. VI. Jabra Ghat, when an engagement of several hours'  
 1809. duration took place; in which, after the loss of several of his best officers, and exposure to imminent personal peril, Amir Khan was completely defeated. He effected, however, his escape to Bhopal.

Being joined by Vizir Mohammed, and reinforced by the Pindaris, Amir Khan was soon in a condition to resume the offensive: he accordingly marched against Sadik Ali, who had fallen back to the strong post of Chouragerh, one stage to the south-west of Jubbulpore. The Berar troops were drawn up, with the fort of Chouragerh in their rear and a rivulet in their front, the approach to which was rendered difficult by deep ravines and much thorny jungle. Disregarding the advice of Vizir Mohammed to turn the position, Amir Khan attacked the enemy in front. Their line was defended by a numerous artillery, the fire of which told heavily upon the assailants as they slowly toiled to make good their way over the rough and broken ground. After suffering severely from this cause, Amir Khan was compelled to desist from the attack, and to retire once more into the friendly territory of Bhopal. Sadik Ali refrained from following up his advantage, being probably little desirous of its prosecution.<sup>1</sup> This was of no consequence, as the contest was virtually at an end. Foes more for-

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Amir Khan, p. 368. According to his own showing, he returned to Chouragerh after his second defeat; and so closely blockaded the Hyderabad force in its entrenchments there, "that the enemy could not breathe or scratch his head:" at the same time the Pindaris scoured the country in all directions. The descriptions of the different actions are animated, and, with some allowance for Amir Khan's personal exploits and perils, are in the main apparently accurate.

midable were now approaching the scene of action ;  
 Colonel Close had arrived at Amrawati on the 1st of  
 December, and Colonel Martindell had moved to  
 the confines of Bundelkhand : the former crossed the  
 Nerbudda early in January. Well aware of his in-  
 ability to cope with such enemies, Amir Khan divided  
 his army, and, sending off his main body by a differ-  
 ent route, marched from Bhopal to Bhilsa and Se-  
 ronj. He was followed to the latter town by Colonel  
 Close, but to no purpose. Pretending that his pre-  
 sence was urgently required by Tulasi Bai, Amir  
 Khan abandoned his troops and set off hastily for  
 Indore. All danger of a further invasion of Berar  
 had therefore evidently ceased; and although for a  
 season it was in contemplation to continue military  
 operations until the complete destruction of Amir  
 Khan's power should have been effected, yet the pro-  
 bability that the prosecution of this policy might  
 lead to a protracted and expensive series of hostili-  
 ties induced the Governor-General to depart from  
 his original design, and content himself with the ac-  
 complishment of the main object of the armament.  
 The troops were therefore recalled to their several  
 stations in the Company's territories or those of their  
 allies;<sup>1</sup> the campaign having served to display the  
 power and the spirit of the Government, and the  
 necessity of its interference for the preservation of a  
 state, once held to be of primary consideration in

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Close was invested with a discretionary power of acting upon his first instructions, but he was not disposed to take upon himself a responsibility from which the Governor-General shrunk. The Court of Directors were "not satisfied with the expediency of abstaining from disabling any power, against whom we may have been compelled to take up arms, from renewing its aggressions."—Letter from Secret Committee; Malcolm, Pol. Hist. i. 405.



BOOK I. the political scale of Indian potentates, against the  
 CHAP. VI. attacks of a mere soldier of fortune and his pre-  
 1810. datory cohorts.

The state of affairs at Poona demanded also about the same period the demonstration of the military power of the British Government. A spirit of reciprocal aversion had long subsisted between the Peshwa Bajī Rao and the members of the Putwurdun family, who held extensive Jagirs in the southern portion of the Mahratta country on the frontiers of Mysore. These Jagirdars were the sons or relatives of Parushram Bhao, the distinguished officer who commanded the Mahratta army in the first war with Tippoo; and who, as the friend and colleague of Nana Furnavese, had borne a leading part in the expulsion of Bajī Rao's father, Raghunath Rao, from the Peshwaship, and had been an active agent in a plot for the exclusion of Bajī Rao himself from the succession.<sup>1</sup> A reconciliation had been effected, but little cordiality had been restored; and, after the death of Parushram, his descendants, engaged in constant and destructive hostilities with their neighbours, ascribed their sufferings to the continued animosity and intrigues of the Peshwa.<sup>2</sup> On the advance of the British army to reinstate Bajī Rao, the

<sup>1</sup> In 1796; Grant Duff's *Mahratta History*, iii. 134.

<sup>2</sup> "Since 1800, when I was in this country before, it has been one continued contest for power and plunder between the different chiefs who have armies under their command: between the Putwurdun family and Gokla in the countries bordering on the Toombuddra, the Werda, and Malpoorba; between the Putwurduns and the Raja of Kolapore in those bordering on the Gutpurba and the Kishna."—Wellington Dispatches, i. 124. At this time, the beginning of 1803, the heads of the family were three brothers, sons of Parushram, Appa Saheb, Baba Saheb, and Dada Saheb, and their cousin, Chintaman Rao; each of whom commanded a force of about seven thousand horse and foot, with some guns.—*Ibid.* i. 93.

elder brother Apa Saheb was induced, by his regard for General Wellesley, to accompany him to Poona, and to contribute to the Peshwa's re-establishment.<sup>1</sup>

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A seeming renewal of friendly intercourse was in consequence effected under Sir Arthur Wellesley's mediation, but the reconciliation was as insincere as before. It was not in the nature of Baji Rao to forgive an injury, and the Putwurduns were too well acquainted with his character to place any faith in his professions. They accordingly remained neutral in the following war, declining to send their contingents upon the Peshwa's requisition; but their neutrality was considered by General Wellesley to have been an important object for the Company's possessions, and to have been capable of extenuation by natural and excusable sentiments of nationality. This omission was made one ground of an application from the Peshwa after the war for the assistance of the British troops to dispossess the Putwurduns, and transfer their lands to one of his own officers, Bapooji Gokla; but Sir Arthur Wellesley firmly opposed the application, not only on account of the claims of the family to the regard of the British Government for the many proofs of attachment which they had exhibited, but on account of its manifest impolicy and injustice.<sup>2</sup> In conformity to his suggestions, the principles to be followed in adjusting the differences between the Putwurduns and the Peshwa were, to interfere in a certain degree, to

<sup>1</sup> Wellington Dispatches, i. 145, 173, 174.

<sup>2</sup> See the conference with Bapooji Gokla; Wellington Dispatches, ii. 121; and afterwards with the Peshwa's ministers, on the 1st March, 1804; ii. 140.

BOOK I. ascertain the extent of the service to which the  
CHAP. VI. Peshwa was entitled from the southern Jagirdars,

1810. to oblige them to afford it; and, on the other hand, to protect them from the oppression of the Peshwa's government, and to guarantee to them their possessions as long as they should continue to serve the Peshwa with fidelity.<sup>1</sup> Both parties were interested in preventing the practical adoption of these principles, and the final adjustment of the differences between them was long delayed.

1811. The interposition of the British Government had at once been effectual in arresting the attempts of the Peshwa to crush the Jagirdars: the subsidiary force afforded his only hope of accomplishing his purpose; and, its employment as the mere instrument of his revenge being prohibited, his power was paralyzed. It was not so easy to bring the Jagirdars to reason; especially as they were required to surrender certain lands which were not comprised in their original grants, and to which they were not legally entitled. Their obstinacy was only overcome by the movement of the subsidiary force to the Krishna; when, finding that the British Government was determined to uphold the rightful claims of the Peshwa, the chiefs consented to meet the Resident and Baji Rao at Punderpur, and attended them to Poona, where everything was definitively settled. The result was less satisfactory to Baji Rao than to the Putwurduns, as he had long hesitated to accede to any proposition which did not comprehend the entire resumption of their Jagirs,

1812.

<sup>1</sup> Wellington Dispatches, ii. 149.

and the annihilation of a powerful and obnoxious family.<sup>1</sup>

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The presence of the troops in the field afforded a favourable occasion for the suppression of the piratical practices of the two petty Mahratta states, Wari and Kolapur, both possessing ports on the coast of the Concan, from which their vessels were accustomed to commit depredations on native commerce. Their lawless proceedings had been imperfectly repressed by the occasional presence of one of the Company's ships of war; but it was now resolved to put an end to the system, by depriving their rulers of the harbours which gave shelter to the pirates. The approach of the British troops soon awed them, however turbulently disposed, to submission; and the Desai of Wari was compelled to cede the fort of Vingorla, with its port and limits; while the harbour of Malwan, which included the forts and island of Severndroog and its dependencies, was given up by the Raja of Kolapur. Both states were bound to renounce piracy, and to permit no armed vessels to issue from their ports.<sup>2</sup>

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It had been found necessary at a previous period to undertake operations for the suppression of piracy of a more formidable description, and in the year 1809 an armament was dispatched from the western side of India to the Persian Gulph. Oman, the south-eastern province of Arabia, forms a triangle, the base of which borders upon the deserts; whilst one arm extends along the Indian ocean to Cape

1809.

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Political History of India, i. 396.

<sup>2</sup> Grant Duff's Mahratta History, iii. 350: also Treaties with the Rajas of Kolapore and Sawant Waree; Collection of Treaties, 27th May, 1818.



BOOK I. Musendom, and is met at that point by the other,  
CHAP. VI. which lies within the gulph. The former or eastern  
1809. coast is subject to the Imam of Muscat, and is occupied by a well-disposed and commercial people. The inhabitants of the latter or western shore, thinly scattered from Cape Musendom through a distance of nearly four hundred miles, had, from a remote period, been so notorious for piratical habits as to have secured for their territory the denomination of the Pirate coast. Among these tribes the Joasmis were distinguished by their audacity and cruelty. They had recently embraced the reformation which Abd-ul-wahab had some years before introduced into Mohammedanism, and united to the fierceness of their lawless trade the ferocity of fanaticism. Profession of the faith of Islam, or instant death, was the fate of their captives. Their vessels, known as daos or bugalas, varying from one hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty tons' burthen, and carrying from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men, were clumsily built, with a single mast, and mounted but a few guns. Singly, they were little formidable; but they usually sailed together in small fleets, from which a merchant-vessel was rarely able to extricate herself. For a considerable period they refrained from molesting English ships. The Company's armed vessels were instructed to exercise similar forbearance, and to confine themselves to repelling aggression. Emboldened by this policy, and impelled by their religious ardour, the Joasmis departed from the caution they had hitherto preserved, and no longer paid any respect to the British flag. In 1808 the Sylph, a small ship of only one hundred

tons, having on board the native Persian secretary of Sir Harford Jones, was attacked and captured in sight of the *Nereide* frigate; by which she was retaken, and the pirate vessels were sunk. In the next year the *Minerva*, a large merchant-ship, fell in with a fleet of *daos*, and, after a running fight of two days, was carried by boarding. The resistance and loss they had suffered had so exasperated the pirates, that every male Christian on board was murdered. It was no longer possible to permit the perpetration of such outrages, and it was determined to seek the *Joasmis* in their chief port, *Ras-al-Khaima*, inflict upon them a deserved punishment for their past crimes, and impair, if not annihilate, the means of future mischief.<sup>1</sup>

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The expedition consisted of two of his Majesty's frigates, the *Chiffonne* and *Clorinde*, and six of the Company's armed vessels, in which nine hundred European soldiers and five hundred *Sipahis* were embarked. The flotilla was commanded by Captain Wainwright of the *Chiffonne*; the land division by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, of his Majesty's 65th. The armament left Bombay on the 4th September. Off Cape Musendom it fell in with a fleet of twenty-seven *daos*: one was sunk, the others were dispersed. The force then proceeded to Muscat, the Imam of which, equally hostile to the *Joasmis* as pirates and

<sup>1</sup> Account of the Wahabis, by Sir Harford Jones, p. 211; Travels in Arabia, by Lieutenant Wellsted of the Indian navy, i. 243. Both mention that the prisoners, not Mohammedans, were brought singly to the gangway, where one of the pirates cut their throats, with the exclamation, *Allah Akbar!* God is great! According to Lieutenant Wellsted, the name, properly *Johasmis*, was derived from *Johasm*, a Mohammedan saint, who had pitched his tent on the promontory where their chief port was built, hence called *Ras-al-Khaima*, the Cape of Tents, i. 256.

BOOK I. as Wahabis, gave prompt assistance to the objects of  
CHAP. VI. the expedition. The squadron arrived off Ras-al-

1809. Khaima on the 12th of November. Notwithstanding its designation of Ras or head-land, the town was found to be situated on a low sandy peninsula, nearly a mile in length. The neck of the isthmus was defended by a wall, and the sea-face by batteries and entrenchments. It was also secure from the near approach of vessels of war by the shallowness of the water.

In consequence of this difficulty the bombardment of the town was impracticable, and it was determined to carry it by assault. By a skilful disposition the landing of the troops on the neck of the isthmus was effected at daybreak on the 13th of November; and, in spite of a vigorous resistance, the wall was escalated. Guns were then brought up; and, under the cover of their fire, the troops penetrated into the town. All the principal houses, as usual in Asiatic cities, were flat-roofed; and from their roofs, and loop-holes in their walls, a murderous fire of matchlocks checked for a while the progress of the assailants. Their perseverance, however, triumphed: the town was abandoned by its surviving defenders, and by two o'clock Ras-al-Khaima was in the possession of the British. Although the place was filled with valuable merchandize, the spoil of piratical expeditions, no plunder was permitted: the dwellings and magazines were set on fire, and the whole was consumed, together with forty-eight large daos and a number of smaller vessels. Several towns of inferior note along the pirate coast shared the same fortune. Some escaped it by the sacrifice of their

boats, but in general the Arabs exhibited striking proofs of their national spirit. At the attack of the castle of Shinas, in particular, the most determined resistance was encountered. After a breach had been made, and the place was carried, the garrison retiring into two of the towers refused to surrender. Offers of quarter were made repeatedly to them in vain. They maintained an unceasing fire upon their enemies, and tossed back with the most deliberate resolution the hand-grenades and fire-balls showered upon them without giving them time to explode. Guns were brought to bear upon their defences, and the towers soon became a mass of ruins. At length one of the number gave himself up, and through his agency his companions were induced to believe that their lives would be spared, and to desist from a resistance which had been animated by a notion that no more mercy would be shown to them than they were accustomed to exercise towards their captives.<sup>1</sup> Above four hundred were killed. The others were protected with difficulty from the fury of the troops of the Imam of Muscat, of whom four thousand had joined the detachment, and who mostly belonged to a tribe which was at deadly feud with the Joas-mis. The place was delivered to the Imam. At Luft, also, on the island of Kishme, a desperate opposition was experienced, by which an officer and ten men were killed, and many of the men were wounded.

<sup>1</sup> "After the destruction of one of their forts, several of the Arabs were brought on board our ships as prisoners: while uncertain of their fate, and before their wounds were dressed, they were asked what fate they anticipated. 'The same immediate death as we should have inflicted on you had your fortune been ours,' was the stern and characteristic reply."—Wellsted's Travels, i. 219.



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The success of these operations struck a salutary terror into the pirate tribes of the coast of Oman, and procured for some years security for the commerce of the Persian Gulph. The habits, the native daring, and the fanaticism of these barbarians, gradually, however, resumed their influence, and impelled them to the revival of their predatory courses, which provoked a severer chastisement and more effectual suppression. This will be the subject of a future narrative. The armament employed on the present occasion returned to Bombay, and received the merited acknowledgments of the local and supreme Governments.<sup>1</sup>

While thus busily and anxiously engaged in appeasing internal dissension, and in asserting the ascendancy of the British empire of India over the nations of Asia, the attention of Lord Minto was earnestly fixed upon objects of European as well as of Indian interest growing out of the war which raged in the Western hemisphere. Upon the occupation of Portugal by the French, and the flight of the Prince Regent to Brazil, the Bengal Government received orders from England to take military occupation of the Portuguese settlements in the East, to prevent their following the fate of the parent country. Goa had some time previously been partly under the protection of the British troops, the civil administration being left entirely to the Portuguese authorities; and it was deemed expedient to provide in a similar manner for the security of

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Annual Registers, vol. xi. Chron. 161, and vol. xii. Chron. 122; Account of the Expedition against the Pirates of the Gulph of Persia in 1809; Asiatic Monthly Journal, vol. ii. 341.

Macao. A small expedition was accordingly embarked in June and July from Madras and Calcutta, the troops of which were commanded by Major Weguelin of the Bengal European regiment, and the ships by Rear-Admiral Drury.<sup>1</sup> The Madras division, with the Admiral, arrived off Macao on the 11th September. Their coming was unexpected, and by no means acceptable to their allies. Reluctant to part with any portion of their brief authority, and fearful of giving offence to the Chinese, the Portuguese authorities availed themselves of the absence of instructions from their own Court to resist as long as they could the disembarkation of the troops. Fortified with the sanction of the Viceroy of Goa, and determined to execute the instructions of the Government of Bengal, Admiral Drury disregarded the remonstrances and procrastination of the Governor of Macao; and, by landing the troops without his acquiescence, extorted from him a reluctant assent to the military possession of the defences of the town.

There was, however, a still more potential voice to be consulted—that of the Chinese. In some measure instigated by the intrigues of the Portuguese, but still more by becoming feelings of national dignity, the provincial Mandarins immediately objected in the strongest terms to the landing of the British troops. The Select Committee of Supra-

<sup>1</sup> The troops from Madras consisted of two companies of his Majesty's 30th regiment, and were embarked on the Russell and Greyhound ships of war: the former of which carried the Admiral. From Bengal, two companies of the European regiment and six hundred Sipahis were embarked in transports, and his Majesty's vessels Dover, Phaeton, Jaseur, and De-daigneux.

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cargoes had induced the Governor-General to believe that the Chinese would be indifferent to the temporary occupation of Macao, and would consider it immaterial whether it was guarded by the troops of Portugal or Great Britain. They had not, however, ascertained the sentiments of the Chinese, and their conjectures were erroneous. The local officers were still more vigorously upheld by their principals at Canton; and the Viceroy, declaring that the unlicensed entrance of foreign soldiers into the territories of the Celestial dynasty was a violation of the laws of the empire, commanded their immediate withdrawal. It was in vain urged that Macao had been ceded to the Portuguese, that the English came as their allies, and that their only purpose was to defend it against the attacks of their common enemy the French. The Viceroy replied; that Macao was in all respects a part of the empire, that the British should have applied for permission to the Emperor before they landed their troops, and that it was as absurd as it was disrespectful to presume that their aid was required to protect any part of the Emperor's dominions from foreign aggression. He repeated his orders for the re-embarkation of the troops; and, finding that obedience was delayed, first put a stop to the trade with the Company's ships, several of which were at the time taking in cargoes, and then prohibited their being furnished with provisions and supplies.

Thinking that the objections of the Government might be overcome by persisting in the course pursued, the supracargoes prevailed upon the Admiral, against his own judgment, to repeat his applications,

and to repair in person to Canton, and demand an interview with the Viceroy. That functionary, though he declined to receive the Admiral, sent some Mandarins of rank to confer with his officers, and wrote a reply to his letters. The tenor of his declarations was unchanged : the withdrawal of the troops was insisted on as preliminary to all other discussion. The Admiral returned indignantly to his ships, and, still acting upon the suggestions of the supracargoes, threatened to blockade the port, and commanded all the Europeans to leave Canton. These measures were unavailing. An order arrived from Peking, whither information of the transaction had been dispatched, approving of the Viceroy's conduct, and commanding him, if necessary, to expel the intruders by force. The imperial commands were communicated to the Admiral : troops began to collect in considerable numbers along the shores of the Canton river, boats passing to the ships were fired upon, and everything indicated hostile proceedings unless the armament was withdrawn. Major Weguelin, who, with the Bengal detachment, had joined on the 20th October, concurred with the Admiral in conceiving that they were not warranted in carrying their instructions into effect, in direct contravention of the commands of the Emperor ; and the supracargoes, sensible that further obstinacy might lead to more serious consequences than they had anticipated, at last counselled acquiescence. The troops were accordingly re-embarked on the 23rd December, after three months had been expended in the vain attempt to overcome the reasonable opposition of the Chinese to the unauthorized



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1809. The reason of the case was not only clearly on their side, but their conduct exhibited a remarkable combination of firmness and forbearance. However unyielding in their resolution, no violence was resorted to; and, as soon as the ships and troops had departed, the trade was resumed, and carried on as quietly as if no interruption had occurred.

The failure of the expedition to Macao was more than redeemed by the success which attended the employment of the resources of British India in the furtherance of other objects of greater national importance; and it was reserved for Lord Minto's administration to accomplish the extirpation of those remains of the colonial possessions of France in the Eastern hemisphere that had so long been suffered to inflict humiliation and injury upon the subjects of a power which had only to will their extinction, and they ceased to be. The measures which led to the conquest of the Isles of France and of Java have now to be described.

It has been already noticed, that, notwithstanding the presence of a powerful naval armament in the Indian ocean,<sup>1</sup> armed vessels issuing from the French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon had throughout the war preyed upon the maritime trade of India almost with impunity: occasionally, indeed, they fell victims to their audacity,<sup>2</sup> and were made to

<sup>1</sup> In 1807, Admiral Pellew had under his orders, in different parts of the Indian seas, six ships of the line, sixteen frigates, and six sloops.

<sup>2</sup> Among the most gallant actions was one fought in the Balasore Roads in February, 1798, between *La Forte*, a frigate of the largest class, and the *Sybill* of forty-four guns, Captain Cooke, which ended in the capture of the former, although Captain Cooke was killed; and one between *La Piedmontaise* and *San Fiorenzo*, of about equal force, in March, 1808. In

feel the superiority of British skill and prowess ; but although they swept the seas from Madagascar to Java, and sometimes carried their depredations to the immediate vicinity of the British harbours,<sup>1</sup> they were for the most part singularly fortunate in avoiding the track of English frigates and men-of-war.<sup>2</sup> Their principal spoil arose from the capture of the merchant-ships employed in the trade of the Eastern seas, whose cargoes, often of considerable value, they carried for sale to the ports from which they had sallied ; but they also inflicted serious damage upon the Company's commerce, and from time to time valuable Indiamen fell into their hands.<sup>3</sup> The equipments of these vessels, which were well armed, and on the outward-bound voyage well manned, enabled them sometimes to resist successfully the attacks of their enemies ; and, on one memorable occasion, a fleet of merchant-ships returning from China, under its senior captain, Cap-

this also, which was a desperately contested engagement, renewed for three days successively, and terminating in the capture of *La Piedmontaise*, the commander of the English frigate, Captain Hardinge, fell.—*Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. ii. Chron. 87, and vol. x. Chron. 191. The official reports are given in both.

<sup>1</sup> The *Kent East-Indiaman*, Captain Rivington, was captured at the mouth of the Hoogly river by the *Confiance* privateer, M. Surcouf, in October, 1800, after an action of an hour and forty-seven minutes : her captain was killed. M. Surcouf for several years was distinguished for his intrepidity and successful enterprise : most of his prizes, and they were numerous, were taken in the upper part of the bay and along the Madras coast.—*Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. ii. Chron. 141.

<sup>2</sup> The merchants of Calcutta presented a petition to his Majesty's Government, imputing to the navy some degree of disinclination to exert themselves for the protection of the trade.

<sup>3</sup> It was computed in October, 1807, that in the course of six weeks the losses by capture to the port of Calcutta alone exceeded thirty lakhs of rupees (£300,000). Between 1792 and 1810, the Company lost thirty vessels by capture : the cargoes of twenty-four of the number are stated to have been worth above £800,000.—*Commons' Committee*, 1830 ; *First Report*, App. vi.

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tain Dance,<sup>1</sup> beat off a French squadron of vessels of war commanded by Admiral Linois. In some actions between single vessels a similar result reflected honour upon the Company's officers: but in general the merchantmen were unequal to contend with a French cruizer of respectable force; especially on their homeward voyage, when they had been weakened by the impressment of many of their best men on board his Majesty's ships of war. Latterly cases of this nature had become more frequent. In 1809 the Company's regular Indiamen, *Europe* and *Streatham*, were taken on their homeward voyage by the French frigate *La Caroline*; and the *Charlton* and *United Kingdom*, by *La Venus*. In the following year the *Windham*, *Ceylon*, and *Astell*, outward bound, were met off the island of *Johanna* by the French frigates *Bellone* and *Minerve*, and *Victor* corvette, and after an action which lasted from 2 P.M. until dark the two former struck. The *Astell* escaped under cover of the night. It was high time to rescue the commerce of India from the risk and peril to which it was exposed, and to vindicate the pretensions of the British navy to the undisputed sovereignty of the ocean.

The most obvious means of paralysing the energies of the naval power of France, which still lingered in the East, was to take from her ships those places in

<sup>1</sup> The China fleet, consisting of sixteen ships, on the 14th of February, 1804, off *Palo Aor*, in the Straits of *Malacca*, fell in with the French squadron under Admiral Linois, consisting of the *Marengo* of seventy-four guns, two frigates of forty-four guns each, and two brigs. On the 15th, after some manœuvring and the exchange of a short fire between the French line and the headmost ships, Admiral Linois stood off under all sail, deterred from a closer contest by the gallant bearing of the China ships.—*Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. vi. Chron. 102; *Brenton's Naval History*, iii. 336.

the Indian ocean where they found a shelter and obtained supplies. This might have been effected at a much earlier date ; but, for reasons not easily comprehensible, the Company's Governments had been interdicted from engaging in any expedition against the islands, as involving a certain expense both for their reduction and maintenance :<sup>1</sup> a piece of parsimonious prodigality, in which even the pecuniary saving bore no ratio to the pecuniary loss ; as the value of the captured ships, and the charges of their convoy and equipments, far outbalanced in the end the cost which in the beginning would have been incurred by the conquest of the colonies. The views of the home Administration at this period underwent a change, and the Government of Bengal and the chief naval officers in the Eastern seas were authorized to adopt arrangements of a more enterprising description. It was at first proposed to attempt nothing more than a rigorous blockade of the Isle of France and Bourbon by the squadron at the Cape of Good Hope under Admiral Bertie ; but, as this was impracticable as long as the blockading ships depended upon the distant settlements of the Cape or of Bombay for their supplies, it was determined to occupy the small island of Rodriguez, lying about one hundred leagues east of the Isle of France, and establish upon it magazines, with stores and provisions for the refitting and revictualling of the blockading squadron. A small force of two hundred Europeans and an equal number of natives,

<sup>1</sup> "At the commencement of the present war, intimation had been given to the East India Company to guard them against expending large sums in expeditions against the French islands."—Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 10th January, 1812 ; Hansard's Debates.



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1809. commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, was dispatched from Bombay under convoy of his Majesty's ship *Belliqueux*, Commodore Byng. They arrived off the island on the 4th of August, and found upon it only three Frenchmen, engaged in growing vegetables for the use of the larger islands. Rodriguez was about fifteen miles long from east to west, and seven from north to south. Wood and water were plentiful, and various vegetables were raised. The stores were landed, and additional supplies were sent for; and Colonel Keating adopted all necessary precautions in order to strengthen himself in his position. The captures made in 1809 and 1810, however, showed that, whatever benefits might ultimately result from the occupation of Rodriguez, it was not followed by that of an effectual blockade of the French islands. French frigates had continued to sail from their ports, and returned to them with splendid and valuable trophies of victory.

Although the position thus taken up proved inadequate to the entire prevention of maritime depredation, yet it had the advantage of enabling the English men of war to remain more steadily and continuously in those seas, cramping the enemy's operations, occasioning frequent distress in the islands for want of supplies, and affording a salient point from which to harass and annoy them by occasional demonstrations or actual inroads. With this purpose, as well as to determine how far ulterior and more definite measures were practicable, the forces at Rodriguez, both military and naval, were strengthened, and in September 1809 an ex-

pedition proceeded from Rodriguez to the Isle de Bourbon.

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A body of four hundred European and native troops were embarked in his Majesty's ships *Nereide* and *Otter*, and the Company's cruizer *Wasp*. Off Port Louis, in the Isle of France, they were joined by his Majesty's ships the *Raisonnable*, *Commodore Rowley*, and the *Sirius*, Captain Pym. The whole proceeded to Bourbon, off the eastern extremity of which they arrived on the morning of the 20th of September. In the evening a detachment, raised to six hundred men by the addition of seamen and marines, was disembarked to the southward of Point de Galotte, about seven miles from St. Paul, the chief town on the western side of the island. The disembarkation was unperceived by the enemy; and the troops had marched, and were in possession of two of the principal batteries on the east of the town, commanding the shipping, before their approach was apprehended. On the advance of a column to storm a third battery, they came upon the garrison, now collected, and reinforced by a hundred men of the troops of the line serving on board the frigate *La Caroline*, then lying in the bay with her prizes. The position of the enemy was strong, and was supported by eight pieces of artillery. Their defence was resolute, and it was not until the main body of the assailants was concentrated that they gave way. By half-past eight, the whole of the batteries, and the town and magazines, were in the hands of the English; and, the escape of the ships being prevented by the squadron, they were obliged to surrender. The French ships taken

BOOK I. were the Caroline frigate, of forty-six guns, and  
 CHAP. VI. some small trading vessels; but, besides a gun-brig

1809. and some small traders, two Indiamen, the Streatham and Europe, were recovered: the troops were then re-embarked.

Upon hearing of this attack, a body of troops under the command of General Des Bruslys, the governor of Bourbon, marched from St. Denis, and made their appearance on the hills on the evening of the 23rd. Finding St. Paul in possession of the English, they retired during the night, rendering it useless to continue the preparations which had been made for the relanding of the troops. A convention was then concluded between the English commander and the commandant of St. Paul for a suspension of hostilities for three days, during which the English were to remain unmolested in the occupation of the town. The death of Des Bruslys, who destroyed himself,<sup>1</sup> occasioned the prolongation of the armistice; during which the public property was, agreeably to the stipulated convention, put on board the ships; and, the objects of the expedition having been accomplished, the squadron with the captured vessels returned to Rodriguez.<sup>2</sup>

The success which had attended the proceedings of so feeble an armament confirmed the determination of the Government of Bengal to attempt, without waiting for specific instructions from home, the

<sup>1</sup> He left a paper intimating his having committed suicide, to avoid death on the scaffold; and recommending his wife and children to Providence, and those who could feel for them. His family, at the request of his widow, was sent with a cartel to the Mauritius.

<sup>2</sup> Official report, and other details; Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xi. Chron. 155.

complete reduction of the French islands; and in the beginning of 1810 a reinforcement of sixteen hundred European and as many native troops was dispatched to Colonel Keating, to enable him to undertake the complete subjugation of the Isle de Bourbon. The expedition arrived at Rodriguez on the 20th of June, but from the unfavourable state of the weather they were unable to proceed to their destination until the 3rd of July. They were then conveyed to Bourbon under convoy of a strong squadron of his Majesty's navy, consisting of the *Sirius*, the *Iphigenia*, the *Magicienne*, and the *Nereide*, commanded by Commodore Rowley, in the *Boadicea*, and arrived off the point of debarkation on the 6th. Colonel Keating on this occasion had determined to proceed at once against St. Denis, the capital, in the hope of preventing protracted operations in the interior of the country, consisting chiefly of rugged, and in part inaccessible, mountains. The squadron accordingly sailed to the northern coast, where the forces, previously distributed into four brigades, were appointed to land at two different points: the first brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, being directed to debark at Grande Chaloupe, and proceed by the mountains against the west side of the town; whilst the other three brigades, under Colonel Keating himself, were intended to land on the east of it, at Rivière de Pluies, and to cross the rear of the town to the river St. Denis.

About two o'clock on the 7th of July, the ships having reached their stations, the landing of the principal divisions was commenced, and about three



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hundred men of the 3rd and 4th brigades, under Colonels Campbell and Macleod, with a party of seamen under Captain Willoughby of the *Nereide*, were put on shore. The weather, which had hitherto been moderate, became suddenly tempestuous: the surf rose with such violence that the boats were stove in pieces on nearing the shore, and the disembarkation of the rest of the troops became impracticable. The division on shore was necessarily left without support; but, after a communication from the commander-in-chief,<sup>1</sup> Colonel Macleod advanced to a battery on the Breton river at Ste. Marie, which he carried, and where he was unmolested during the night.

The attempt to land at this spot was seen from the town, but the debarkation was considered to be impossible, from the fury of the surf, and the principal attention of the enemy was directed to the division under Colonel Fraser. His brigade, which was composed of his Majesty's 86th regiment and part of the 6th regiment of Madras native infantry, with a small detail of artillery and pioneers, on board of his Majesty's ship *Sirius*, had been more fortunate. They reached their destination off Grande Chaloupe early on the forenoon of the 7th July, and immediately effected a landing without loss, although exposed to a harassing fire from the light troops of the enemy. As soon as the landing was accomplished, Colonel Fraser pushed on with his Europeans alone to the vicinity of the town, and

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Foulstone, of his Majesty's 69th, volunteered to be the bearer of Colonel Keating's orders: he was carried in a boat to the edge of the surf, and then swam through it to the shore.

occupied the heights above it to the westward, so as to cut off all communication between the capital and St. Paul. In the mean time the Magicienne and Boadicea, with the 2nd and 4th brigades, and the chief military stores and artillery, finding little chance of effecting a landing at Rivière, sailed to Grande Chaloupe in the night, and early on the 8th landed the troops on board. Before they could move forward in force, the business had been decided. The courage and activity of Colonel Fraser's division had reaped the full harvest of that good fortune which had given them the lead in the attack upon St. Denis.

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Having been joined during the night of the 7th by the rest of his force, Colonel Fraser on the morning of the 8th, leaving the Sipahis to protect his rear, descended from the hill with the Europeans, and soon fell in with the enemy, drawn up in two columns, each with a field-piece, on the plain, supported by the heavy cannon of a strong redoubt upon their flank. On reaching the plain, the regiment was ordered to charge, when they immediately rushed upon the enemy with the bayonet, and broke them. The French attempted to form behind the parapet of the redoubt, but they were pushed so closely that they were unable to make good their footing, and left the redoubt in the possession of the British, who turned some of the guns found in it against the town, and were enabled more effectually to reply to the batteries by which the latter was defended. At four o'clock in the afternoon a flag of truce was sent out from the town to negotiate for its surrender. By that time

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the bulk of the expedition, which had been sent on to Grande Chaloupe, had arrived, and advanced to St. Denis, whilst the 3rd brigade had also come up from the east to take its part in the assault.<sup>1</sup> Dispositions for storming were made, when it was prevented by the submission of the commandant, Colonel St. Susanne. By the terms of the capitulation which ensued, the whole of the island was ceded to the British with all public property: the troops of the line surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to be sent to the Cape or to England. Colonel St. Susanne was allowed to proceed to the Isle of France on parole; and Mr. Farquhar, of the Bengal Civil service, who had been appointed by Lord Minto in the confidence of success to the government of the island, assumed charge of its administration. Proclamations were issued by him, assuring to the inhabitants the secure possession of their property on their remaining peaceable and obedient, and promising them the provisional observance of the established forms of law and government, and the maintenance of the established religion of the colony. This important acquisition was effected with little loss; or eighteen killed and fifty-nine wounded. One officer only, Lieutenant J. S. Munro, of his Majesty's 56th, was amongst the former.<sup>2</sup>

The capture of Bourbon, so creditable to both the military and naval forces employed, for the

<sup>1</sup> There is a slight difference between the report of Colonel Keating and that of Colonel Fraser: the latter says that Colonel Drummond joined him at four with the 2nd brigade; the former, that he himself arrived at that time, and commanded dispositions to be made for a general attack.

<sup>2</sup> Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xii; Official details, Chron. pp. 27, 117.

judgment by which it had been planned and the spirit by which it had been accomplished, was followed by a series of singular disasters suffered by the navy, ascribable to no deficiency of courage or conduct, but to an imperfect acquaintance with the scene of action, and the want of sufficiently experienced pilotage. The achievements which were projected would no doubt have been successful, could they have been executed with the promptitude with which they were conceived.

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The operations against Bourbon had been carried on without any attempt at interruption from the Isle of France, in consequence of the absence of the principal naval strength of the French. On the 20th of August the *Bellone*, *Minerve*, and *Victor* returned, bringing with them the captured *Indiamen*, the *Windham* and *Ceylon*. Finding *Port St. Louis* blockaded, they made for the harbour of *Grand Port*, also called *Port Impérial*, on the south-eastern or windward side of the island. On nearing the *Isle de la Passe*,<sup>1</sup> a small islet with a fort lying off the mouth of the harbour about three miles from the land, which had been taken, and was now occupied by a small detachment from Bourbon, the French squadron was surprised by a hostile fire from the guns of the fort, and of the *Nereide* frigate, which had been stationed off the island. With some loss the French vessels made their way into the harbour; but their prize, the *Windham*, not keeping up with the rest, was recaptured by Captain Pym with the boats of the *Sirius*,

<sup>1</sup> It had been taken on the 14th of August by the boats of the *Sirius* and *Iphigenia*, and was garrisoned by one hundred and thirty men from Bourbon.



BOOK I. which was cruising in the neighbourhood in main-  
CHAP. VI. tenance of the blockade. Sending off his prize to

1810. Bourbon, Captain Pym, in communication with Captain Willoughby of the *Nereide*, determined to attack the French ships in the harbour, and on the 22nd of August the two frigates stood in for that purpose. Unfortunately the *Sirius* grounded, and could not be got off until the next day, when the *Iphigenia* and *Magicienne*, under Captains Lambert and Curtis, arrived to take part in the engagement. The delay that had occurred had afforded the governor, General Decaen, time to reinforce the crews of the vessels with seamen and soldiers, and to strengthen the batteries which had been erected on this part of the coast since the capture of the *Isle de la Passe*, and which mounted sixty guns. These were fully manned, and were supported by all the troops that could be assembled, and a numerous body of militia and volunteers.

The firing commenced at a little after 5 P.M. on the 23rd. The *Nereide* anchored within half pistol-shot of the *Bellone* and *Victor*. The *Magicienne*, in following her, grounded in such an attitude that very few of her guns could bear upon the *Minerve*, to whom she was opposed; but the *Iphigenia* anchored on her larboard quarter, and relieved her of her antagonist. The *Sirius* again unluckily took the ground nearly out of gun-shot, and was disabled from rendering effectual aid. The French ships were soon driven out of their line, but into a position which enabled them to work their guns with advantage. Their loss of men was constantly repaired by troops from the shore; and the batteries

and musketry on land poured a galling fire upon the British vessels, which were incapable of management.

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The contest was nevertheless continued until after dark. At ten o'clock, the *Nereide*, which also had previously grounded, having most of her guns disabled, the greater part of her crew killed or wounded, and being exposed to the fire of the land-batteries as well as of the shipping, struck her colours;<sup>1</sup> but the French, not noticing or not perceiving that this was the case, continued firing upon her for some hours, until not a man on board remained unhurt. The firing continued with occasional interruption through the night. On the morning of the 24th, all hope of success being necessarily abandoned, it was determined to endeavour to retreat. The *Magicienne* being unmanageable, and on the point of sinking, was quitted by her crew, who set her on fire and retired on board the *Iphigenia*. On the 25th the *Iphigenia* warped out of the action, and attempted to extricate the *Sirius*; but, finding this impracticable, she also was set on fire in the evening, and exploded. The *Iphigenia*, the sole remaining ship, contrived by extraordinary exertion to get back to the *Isle de la Passe*, where she landed the surviving crews of the other vessels. In this situation, without provisions, and surrounded by a vastly supe-

<sup>1</sup> The report published by order of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta Government Gazette, 18th Oct. 1810, states that the *Nereide* drifted on shore, and was taken possession of by the enemy: the account in the text is from the *Nereide's* log.—Brenton's *Naval History*, iv. 468. The French account asserts that her colours were flying at daybreak, but that information of her helpless situation had been previously received from a French prisoner on board, who made his escape and swam to the *Minerve*, and that from that time she was not fired on.

BOOK I. rior force of the enemy,—the *Astrea*, *Venus*, and  
 CHAP. VI. *La Manche* frigates, with the *Entreprenant* sloop,

1810. having on the 27th come round from Port Louis, whilst those recently engaged were rapidly refitting, —Captain Lambert found himself under the necessity of capitulating, and surrendered to Captain Hamelin, the commodore of the French squadron. It was stipulated that the crews should be prisoners of war, but to be sent immediately on parole or in exchange to one of his Britannic Majesty's forts. The convention was ratified by General Decaen, the governor of the Isle of France, so far, that he consented to send the prisoners, after the expiration of a month, to England or the Cape of Good Hope upon condition of their not serving again until exchanged.<sup>1</sup>

The only British ship of war now left of the blockading squadron was the *Boadicea*; and Commodore Rowley was unable to prevent the blockade of the Isle de Bourbon, which was established by the French frigates *Astrea* and *Iphigenia*, who intercepted several of the transports arriving with troops and stores for the destined expedition against the Isle of France. On the 12th of September, however, the *Africaine* frigate, Captain Corbett, arrived from England; and Commodore Rowley, thus reinforced, immediately put to sea. The French fri-

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xii; History, p. 8, Chron. 65: Brenton's Naval History, iv. 465. A translation of General Decaen's official proclamation after the action is published in the Calcutta Government Gazette Extraordinary, 25th November, 1810. Some gasconading was excusable on such an occasion, but in the main the account is candid and temperate: the loss of the French is probably undervalued at four officers and thirty-three men killed, and one hundred and twelve wounded; the latter included M. Du Perrée, the captain of the *Bellone*. In the *Nereide* alone one hundred and sixteen were killed, and many of the wounded died on landing. Captain Willoughby was wounded, but recovered with the loss of an eye.

gates fled, and the English gave chase. The Boadicea being a heavy sailer, the French vessels soon shot far a-head, followed closely by the *Africaine*. Captain Corbett, apprehending the escape of the enemy, brought them to action, whilst the Boadicea was five miles astern. The wind died away. The *Africaine* was overpowered: the captain was killed, and the senior lieutenant was obliged to strike his colours. The balance of strength again turned in favour of the French; but the Boadicea, being joined by the *Otter* sloop and *Staunch* gun-brig, continued the chase. The enemy's frigates were little inclined to renew the contest; and, having taken out such of her crew as were unhurt, they abandoned the *Africaine* in a crippled condition. Rowley returned with her to St. Paul on the 18th of September.

Commodore Rowley had not been many hours at anchor when three sail appeared in the offing, two of which had suffered in their masts and rigging. He immediately made sail in pursuit of them, attended by the *Otter* and *Staunch*. The vessel that appeared not to be disabled had another ship in tow, which she cast off, to save herself by flight. The third, having no top-masts, bore up to assist her consort, but was soon obliged to strike to the superior force of the Boadicea; whilst the crippled vessel yielded at once to the *Otter*. The former proved to be the French frigate *Venus*; the latter, the *Ceylon*, an armed Indiaman from Madras, which had been captured that morning, after a smart engagement, by the *Venus* and the *Victor* corvette, the vessel that had escaped. The resolute resistance made by



BOOK I. the Ceylon, and the damage she had inflicted upon  
CHAP. VI. the Venus, were the main causes of her own re-  
1810. covery, and of the capture of the Venus. On board  
the Ceylon was Major-General Abercrombie, who  
commanded the expedition now on its way from  
India.

The struggle thus far honourably maintained by the French was now soon to terminate, and an effort proportioned to the object was about to put an end to their maritime depredations in the seas of India. Shortly after the action last noticed, or early in October, Vice-Admiral Bertie in the *Nisus* frigate arrived from the Cape of Good Hope in the bay of St. Paul. Great exertions had been made to refit and equip the vessels which had been captured; and eleven days after the Vice-Admiral's arrival he was able to put to sea with the *Boadicea*, *Nisus*, *Africaine*, *Venus*, now named the *Nereide*, and the *Ceylon*, well manned and supplied. With this squadron he proceeded to Port Louis, off which he arrived on the 19th October. Finding that of the enemy's vessels lying in the harbour not more than two were ready for sea, he left the *Boadicea*, *Nisus*, and *Nereide* to maintain the blockade, and resumed his voyage to Rodriguez, to join the expedition which had been directed to rendezvous at that island. On his way he fell in with the squadron from India under Rear-Admiral Drury, proceeding to the same destination, and in company with them arrived at Rodriguez on the 3rd of November. The division from Bombay was already present, and that from Madras made its appearance three days afterwards. It was not until the 21st October that the

armament from Bengal arrived. As the season was far advanced, and the period was approaching when the winds in these latitudes become variable and violent hurricanes occur, the commander of the expedition considered it of the utmost importance that no further time should be lost ; and accordingly preparations had been made for the embarkation of the troops that had previously arrived, and for the supply of the vessels from Bengal with such stores as they might require without their dropping anchor. As soon as this operation was effected, the whole of the fleet was under weigh, and early on the 29th November came to anchor off the point selected for debarkation in Grande Baye, near the north-east extremity of the island, about fifteen miles north from the capital, where it had been previously ascertained that a fleet might be anchored in the narrow passage between a small island called from its outline Gunner's Quoin, and the main-land, and where openings in the reefs allowed many boats to enter abreast. A landing in force at this place had been deemed impracticable, as it was supposed that vessels of burthen could neither make their way through the reefs of rocks which formed the exterior barrier of the bay, nor find anchorage outside, from the great depth of water close to the rocks. It had been, however, ascertained by the officers of the navy, that a passage between the rocks could be accomplished, and that a fleet might lie at anchor in the situation to which it had been actually conducted. No opposition was experienced, and the whole of the force was landed by three o'clock in the afternoon. The troops had been distributed into

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five brigades.<sup>1</sup> The first, under Colonel Picton, consisted of his Majesty's 12th and 22nd regiments, and the right wing of the Madras volunteer battalion; the second, under Colonel Gibbs, of his Majesty's 59th, with three hundred of the 89th and a company of the 87th, and of the left wing of the Madras volunteers; the third brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Kelso, was formed of the 14th regiment and the second battalion of the Bengal volunteers; and the fourth, commanded by Colonel Macleod, of the 69th regiment, of the Madras native flank battalion, with three hundred marines; the fifth brigade was composed of his Majesty's 65th, a troop of the 26th dragoons, and the first battalion of the Bengal native volunteers. There was also a reserve division, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, comprising the 84th regiment, the flank companies of some other corps, and the Bombay native troops. These, with the artillery and a large body of seamen, formed a force of about eleven thousand men. To oppose them General Decaen had not more than two thousand Europeans, including the crews of the ships of war, a considerable number of colonists, and a body of African slaves, without discipline, and badly armed.

As soon as the troops could be formed, the force

<sup>1</sup> The European force was composed of his Majesty's regiments, the 12th, 14th, 22nd, 56th, 59th, 65th, 69th, 84th, and 89th, the Bengal and Madras artillery, and a company of the 26th dragoons; six thousand three hundred strong; and two thousand seamen and marines. The native troops from Bengal and Madras consisted of four volunteer battalions and a party of Madras pioneers, three thousand men: altogether, eleven thousand three hundred. The squadron consisted of the *Illustrious* 74, and the frigates *Cornwallis*, *Africaine*, *Boadicea*, *Nisus*, *Clorinde*, *Cornelia*, *Menelaus*, *Psyche*, *Ceylon*, *Nereide*, *Phoebe*, *Doris*, and *Vesper*, besides sloops and gun-brigs.

moved towards Port Louis. The road followed the direction of the coast for the first five miles, passing through a thick wood much entangled with brush-wood, through which the men made their way with great difficulty and fatigue. No enemy was seen until, on clearing the wood, the heads of the columns were fired upon by a small picquet, by which Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, Lieutenant Ashe, and some men of the advance, were wounded. The enemy were quickly dispersed, and greater injury was inflicted by the excessive heat of the weather and want of water. Several of the officers and men employed in the laborious duty of bringing on the artillery and stores sunk under their exertions, and fell dead on the march.<sup>1</sup> After clearing the wood, the army bivouacked for the night.

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On the following morning the march was resumed, with the purpose of reaching the capital; but the excessive heat and scanty supply of water compelled General Abercrombie to halt, about five miles short of Port Louis upon the bed of the Pamplémousse river. On the 31st the force again advanced, and, soon after it had moved, came upon the enemy, who had taken up an advantageous position in front with several field-pieces. The European flank battalion, which formed the advance, was led against them by Colonel Campbell of the 33rd; and, by a spirited charge, put them to flight, with the loss of their guns. The success was dearly purchased; Colonel Campbell, and Major O'Keefe of the 12th regiment, being killed whilst gallantly leading their men to

<sup>1</sup> Among those who perished from heat and fatigue were Lieutenant Dove of his Majesty's 14th, and Captain Yates of the City of London Indiaman.



BOOK I. the charge. After the repulse of the enemy, the  
 CHAP. VI. army resumed its march, and drew up in front of the  
 1810. lines defending Port Louis, preparatory to an assault  
 on the following morning, whilst the ships of war,  
 which had now come round to the harbour, should  
 cannonade the town from the sea. This catastrophe  
 was prevented by the offer of General Decaen to  
 capitulate; and, the terms of his surrender being  
 agreed upon, the Isle of France became subject to  
 the British crown. The advanced period of the  
 season rendering it unadvisable to protract the con-  
 test, terms more favourable than were merited, al-  
 though less so than those demanded,<sup>1</sup> were granted.  
 The troops of the garrison and crews of the ships of  
 war were to be conveyed in English ships to Euro-  
 pean France, instead of becoming prisoners of war;  
 taking with them all property declared to be private.  
 The ships in the harbour, with all stores and public  
 property, fell to the captors. The inhabitants were  
 secured in the continuance of their religion, laws,  
 and customs.<sup>2</sup> Thus instantaneously disappeared the  
 fancied strength of the Isle of France when once  
 the vigour of British India emancipated itself from  
 the visionary obstacles which the selfish fears of the  
 British Cabinet had opposed, and the imperfect in-  
 formation of the Indian Government had encouraged.

<sup>1</sup> Decaen had the effrontery to demand that the French frigates, with all their crews and appointments, should be relinquished for the conveyance of the troops to France. "Que pour ce transport je conserverai les quatre frégates de S. M. l'Empereur, La Manche, La Bellone, L'Astrée, et La Minerve, ainsi que les corvettes La Victoire et L'Entreprenante, avec leurs officiers et équipages, armements et munitions, et approvisionnement." He must have expected the reply, "Altogether inadmissible."—Calcutta Government Gazette, February 9, 1811.

<sup>2</sup> Asiatic Annual Register, xii.; History, p. 15: Calcutta Government Gazette, February 9th, 1811: London Gazette Extraordinary, February 13, 1811.

The very effort that was ultimately made evinced the strength of the misconception that had invested the capture of the Mauritius with such unreal danger; and the conquest, although creditable to the spirit with which it was undertaken, reflected but little honour on the British arms. The Isle of Bourbon was restored to France at the peace. The Isle of France, or the Mauritius, as it was originally designated, is still subject to Great Britain.

The settlements of Holland in the Eastern Archipelago had never, even after their enforced submission in common with the parent country to France, afforded to any great extent the means of harassing the trade of India. French privateers only occasionally haunted the roads of Batavia or cruized amongst the islands of the Archipelago. Still, however, they constituted a rallying point, which was likely to become of more consideration after the destruction of those asylums which lay more in the route of the Indian trade; and it was incompatible with the interests of India and the policy of England longer to permit the presence of an enemy in any part of the Eastern hemisphere. The first measures for this purpose that were sanctioned contemplated only a rigorous blockade of Java and the Spice islands; but it was soon found that the instructions of the home authorities, issued in ignorance both of the localities of the islands and political relations of India with the principalities on the east of the bay of Bengal, were impracticable and mischievous. The numerous and intricate channels among the islands of the Archipelago could be effectually blocked up only by the employment of the whole of

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the naval armament in the Indian seas; and the enforcement of laws so unintelligible to the plain sense of the Burmese and Malays as those of blockade, could have no other effect than that of irritating and alarming them, and interrupting their traffic with our own settlements, even if it did not lead to a piratical warfare against the country trade. It was judged, therefore, by Lord Minto and Admiral Drury to be the more safe as well as more honourable plan to adopt a decided course, and, instead of confining their attempts to an unavailing blockade of the Dutch islands, attempt their annexation to the Crown of England. No great difficulty in accomplishing this object was anticipated; as, although reinforcements had arrived at Java from Europe, and the island was commanded by an officer in the interest of France, yet the Moluccas it was known were indifferently prepared for resistance, and among the Dutch colonists at Batavia there existed a strong party who preferred open conquest by Britain to their insidious subjugation by the Emperor of France.

In conformity to these views, an expedition on a small scale was fitted out from Madras against the Molucca islands, consisting of his Majesty's ships *Dover*, *Cornwallis*, and *Samarang*, having on board part of the Madras European regiment and a small body of artillery: the troops were commanded by Captain Court, the squadron by Captain Tucker of the *Dover*. They left Madras on the 9th October, 1809, and by the middle of the following February arrived off the island of Amboyna, the most considerable of the Dutch Spice islands and seat of government. The vessels anchored off the town, situated

at the bottom of a small bay, beneath a line of low hills, and defended by batteries along the beach as well as on some of the neighbouring heights, and by Fort Victoria, mounting a number of heavy ordnance. As the elevations on the left and in the rear of the town commanded its defences, it was determined to carry them; and, whilst the squadron occupied the attention of the enemy by a vigorous cannonade, the troops, aided by seamen and marines, were landed on the right of the bay unnoticed. The party consisted of about four hundred men, and were divided into two bodies; one led by Captain Phillips, the other by Captain Court. The first stormed a battery erected upon an elevation near at hand, the hill of Wanitu, and carried it after a resolute resistance, in which the Dutch officer commanding the post was killed. Captain Court's party had to make a circuitous *détour* to the south of the town, and were further delayed by the rugged surface of the country. By sunset they reached their destination, a height above Fort Victoria, surmounted by a redoubt, which was abandoned as they entered it from the rear. During these operations the ships had kept up a brisk cannonade on the sea-face of the town, and had been exposed to a cross-fire from the batteries in front, or on either side of it, from which the evening land-breeze enabled them to draw off. On the following morning, the batteries in the possession of the British opened on the town and fort, and soon silenced their fire. A summons to surrender was thereupon sent to the Dutch governor, and was promptly obeyed. A capitulation was entered into, by which the garrison, composed

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BOOK I. of more than thirteen hundred Europeans and Ma-  
 CHAP. VI. lays, laid down their arms to a third of their number.

1810. The Dutch troops were sent to Java, where the commandant was tried and shot by order of General Daendels. The Malays were taken into the British service, and were advantageously employed in some of the succeeding operations. Amboyna, once the scene of British disgrace and suffering, acknowledged their authority during the remainder of the war.<sup>1</sup>

During the winter and spring months succeeding the conquest of Amboyna, Captain Tucker reduced the smaller islands in its vicinity. In the commencement of the year, the *Caroline* and *Piedmontaise* frigates, and *Baracouta* brig, under the command of Captain Cole of the *Caroline*, with additional details of the Madras European regiment, commanded by Captain Nixon, were dispatched to reinforce the troops at Amboyna, and provide for its security. Captain Cole was authorised, if he saw a reasonable prospect of success, to make a descent upon the *Bandas*, a cluster of small volcanic islands south-east of Amboyna; the principal of which were Great Banda, or Banda proper, and Banda Neira, separated by a narrow strait. The latter was selected for attack, although defended by two forts—Forts *Belgica* and *Nassau*, by batteries mounting one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, and by a force of above seven hundred regular troops besides militia. These were stationed towards the northern extremity of the island, where a landing had been effected in 1801, when the place

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Annual Register, xii.; History, p. 21.

was taken by Admiral Rainier, and where it was expected the disembarkation would be repeated ; but Captain Cole landed, with a party of two hundred seamen and soldiers, on the eastern side during the night, in a heavy squall of wind and rain, which effectually concealed his movements. A battery close to the landing-place was surprised, and its defenders made prisoners, without firing a shot ; and, a guide having been procured, Captain Cole directed his march to Fort Belgica, about half a mile distant. The men advanced in profound silence, reached the foot of the ramparts unperceived, applied their scaling-ladders, and cleared the wall. The greater part of the garrison had been drawn off to strengthen the main body of the troops of the island, and but few men with the Governor had been left in the fortress. These, after a feeble resistance, endeavoured to escape by the gate, but they were met by a party of sailors ; and, in the conflict which ensued, the Governor and several of his men were killed. When the day dawned, the British flag waved over Fort Belgica, which completely commanded the town and its defences. Upon the threat of Captain Cole to lay the former in ashes, the officer who was second in command agreed to surrender the island. A valuable booty rewarded the intrepidity and conduct which had so brilliantly achieved a valuable acquisition without suffering any loss.

At the same time Ternate was taken by Captain Tucker with a detachment of Europeans, the seamen and marines of the *Dover*, and some of the newly enlisted Amboyna corps. Captain Tucker arrived off the island on the 25th August ; but light and baffling

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winds kept him off the shore, and a landing was not practicable before the 28th. A hundred and seventy men were landed in the night with intent to surprise the forts and batteries which guarded the bay. The difficulties of the approach frustrated the scheme, and the men were re-embarked. Early in the morning they were again put on shore; and, whilst the frigate engrossed the attention of the enemy, they proceeded unobserved to an eminence supposed to command the fort of Kayomaira, the principal Dutch post. They arrived on the hill at noon, but to their great vexation they found that the fort was screened from their view by an intervening forest. They then endeavoured to proceed by an inland route, but, after incessant exertion throughout the day, it was found impossible to disencumber the path of the immense trees which had been cut down and piled across it. Turning to the right, they followed the course of a rivulet which led to the beach, and brought them about ten o'clock within eight hundred yards of the fort before they were discovered. Disregarding a smart fire of grape and musketry, they rushed forward, escaladed the walls, and carried the fort. On the following morning the combined operations of the detachment and frigate overpowered the other defences of the bay, and by the evening the town and island were surrendered. Few casualties impaired the exultation of the victors. Their conquest completed the reduction of the Moluccas, and Java with its dependencies alone remained in the possession of the Dutch.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Annual Register, xii.; History, 27; Chronicle, 80; Official Dispatches.

Prior to the departure of Lord Minto for Madras the practicability of the subjugation of Java had been brought under his consideration by Mr. Raffles, originally a member of the Penang Government, but who had attracted the notice of the Governor-General by his acquaintance with the languages and political circumstances of the tribes of the Archipelago, and had been in consequence appointed the Governor-General's agent at Malacca. After Lord Minto's return to Bengal, the subject was resumed: Mr. Raffles came round to Calcutta for the sake of its more commodious investigation, and his statements so entirely satisfied the Governor-General of the feasibility of the measure, that he determined to undertake it upon his own responsibility. Its execution was, however, deferred until the result of the expedition against the French islands should be known; and in the interval the design received the prospective sanction of the authorities in England. No time was lost in preparing for the expedition. The King's regiments, which had returned to Madras<sup>1</sup> from the Mauritius, were immediately re-embarked, with the addition of the 78th regiment of foot and a portion of the 22nd dragoons; whilst in Bengal his Majesty's 59th, four battalions of Sipahi volunteers, the 20th, or marine regiment, details of pioneers, and artillery, horse and foot, with the Governor-General's body-guard, were assembled under the command of Colonel Wood. The command of the whole was vested in Sir Samuel Auchmuty, the Commander-in-chief at Madras. The Bengal troops sailed early in March, and reached

<sup>1</sup> The 14th, 69th, and 89th: the Madras pioneers were also re-embarked.



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the appointed rendezvous at Malacca by the end of April. Lord Minto accompanied them in the *Modeste* frigate, in the capacity, as he expressed himself, of a volunteer. The Madras force sailed in two divisions: the first, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, on the 18th of April; and the second, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs, on the 29th. At the same time Sir Samuel Auchmuty embarked in the *Akbar* frigate, and Commodore Broughton commanding the fleet sailed in the *Illustrious*. It was fortunate that their departure had not been delayed, for on the 3rd of May a tremendous hurricane set in at Madras, in which a great number of vessels, including the *Dover* frigate, were driven ashore and lost. The fleet had reached the outer edge of the vortex, and felt but little of the violence of the storm. The whole of the expedition was collected at Malacca by the 1st of June: but this was much later than had been intended, the period having been delayed by the necessity of awaiting the return of the troops and transports from the Mauritius; and it now became a question of some anxiety whether and by what route the fleet could proceed.

The setting-in of the south-west monsoon rendered it highly inexpedient to attempt the usual navigation through the Straits of Banca. Besides the danger to which the ships might be exposed from tempestuous weather, it was certain that the passage would be tedious, and the commencement of military operations in Java could not take place earlier than the rainy season of October and November, when the climate would become unhealthy,

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and the troops be disabled by sickness. The same objections applied to the track round the north-east of Borneo; and there remained only the passage along the south-west coast of that island, in which the fleet would be sheltered from the fury of the monsoon, and would be assisted on their way by the breezes from the land. This route was accordingly strongly recommended by Mr. Raffles, upon the authority of Captain Greigh, of the *Minto* brig, by whom it had been surveyed. It was as strongly objected to by the chief naval authorities, who pronounced it to be impracticable; but Lord Minto, confiding in the information of Mr. Raffles, decided the controversy in favour of the inner passage, and led the way in the *Modeste*. The difficulties were easily surmounted under Mr. Greigh's skilful pilotage. In six weeks the fleet cleared the intricate channels, through which it had passed without a single accident, crossed the sea from the point of Sambas, and anchored on the 2nd of August off the north coast of Java. Had not the presence of the Governor-General decided the question, we have his own testimony that the enterprise must have been suspended until the following year.<sup>1</sup>

The island of Java had for some time been almost lost sight of amid the convulsive revolutions which had shaken the parent country. The last of these pretended to extinguish the national integrity of Holland, and reduce it to an integral department

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Debates, 10th January, 1812; Thanks to the army and navy, and to Lord Minto. Life of Sir Thomas S. Raffles, p. 90. Lord Minto remarks in a letter to the Court, "The attempt must have been abandoned for the present year if I had yielded to the predicted difficulties of the passage."

BOOK I. of France. Such a degradation could not fail to  
CHAP. VI. excite deep dissatisfaction both at home and abroad ;

1811. and the inhabitants of the Dutch colonies, more removed from the influence of the French Government than their countrymen in Europe, were in general more abhorrent of the alteration. Apprised of the prevalence of these feelings, and of the weakness of the administration of Java, Sir Edward Pellew had, in 1807, urgently pressed Sir George Barlow to sanction an expedition against the island ; for the reduction of which he required no more than a thousand Europeans, and as many native troops, in addition to the resources of the vessels under his own command. The economical policy of the Bengal Government was, however, averse to any undertaking which involved expense ; and the disinclination was fortified by the prohibitory orders of the Court of Directors against embarking in enterprises which possibly they regarded as affecting the interests of the nation more immediately than those of the Company. The Admiral was permitted, however, to amuse himself with a simple demonstration. Taking on board five hundred men and some artillery at Madras, Sir E. Pellew sailed on the 20th of October, 1807, with his squadron,<sup>1</sup> for Gresik, a harbour on the east coast of Java, where it was known that several Dutch vessels of war were laid up. He arrived off Point Parko on the 5th of December, and pursued his course with little opposition to Gresik, where he burnt three

<sup>1</sup> The squadron consisted of the *Culloden* and *Powerful* seventy-fours, *Caroline* and *Fox* frigates, and *Victoria*, *Samarang*, *Seaflower*, and *Jaseur* sloops.

line-of-battle ships and an Indiaman, and destroyed the fort and batteries. By a convention with the Council of Surabaya the fleet abstained from doing further damage, on condition of being furnished with supplies, which were accordingly provided. The facility with which this success was achieved demonstrated the feebleness of the Dutch force in Java, and the favourable disposition of the inhabitants.

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The impunity with which the demonstration had been followed, awakened the attention of the French Emperor to the condition of Java; and he immediately ordered arrangements to be instituted, in order to place it in a state of greater security. Reinforcements were sent out; and General Daendels, an officer of tried activity and resolution, was appointed governor. Unchecked by any respect for private rights, and unscrupulous in the means by which his ends were attained, General Daendels studied only how to improve the military attitude of the island, and prepare it for a contest of which he anticipated the approach. Every consideration gave way to this design, and the inhabitants were compelled to submit to enormous exactions, in order to raise funds by which the army might be reorganised and recruited, the existing fortresses repaired, new and formidable works erected in the vicinity of the capital, and ample provision made for a vigorous defence against future invasion. He was not, however, allowed to test the efficiency of his foresight: on the eve of the arrival of the expedition he had been recalled to France, and was succeeded by General Jansens, who had been go-



BOOK I. vernor of the Cape of Good Hope when it was  
 CHAP. VI. taken by the English, and had recently arrived at

1811. Batavia with a reinforcement of several frigates and a body of one thousand European troops.<sup>1</sup> The whole of the troops on the island were estimated at seventeen thousand men, natives and Europeans, of whom thirteen thousand were concentrated in the lines of Cornelis, a position strong both by nature and art, about eight miles from Batavia.

The fleet, the command of which had been assumed by Rear-Admiral Stopford, in the *Scipio*, and which with transports and brigs mustered above ninety sail, having on board about twelve thousand troops, European and Indian, in nearly equal proportions, anchored in the bay of Batavia on the 4th of August. A landing was immediately effected at Chilingyi, a village ten miles east of Batavia. No opposition was met with, disembarkation at this point not having been anticipated. The army was moved forwards two miles, in two divisions; one on the road to Cornelis, the other fronting that to Batavia. No effort of any importance was made to disturb them; and, the horses and guns having been landed on the 5th, a general advance was ordered towards the capital. On the night of the 7th, the van, commanded by Colonel Gillespie, crossed the Anjole river by a bridge of

<sup>1</sup> The removal of Daendels was a source of great mortification to him, and he was urgent with his successor to abstain from the assumption of authority until after the expedition should have arrived, and been, as he confidently asserted, defeated. Although it is possible that his military talents might have enhanced the difficulty of the conquest, and delayed its accomplishment, yet the number and equipment of the invading force, and the resources at the command of the Government of India, ensured ultimate success.

boats, and by dawn butted near the suburbs. In the course of the day a small detachment was sent into the city; by whose presence the work of plunder commenced by the Malays and Javanese was arrested, and large stores of colonial goods were saved from the flames. Many of the principal inhabitants had been compelled by General Jansens to quit Batavia; but those who remained, readily submitted. In the evening, a large part of the advance was quartered in the town. During the night an attempt at surprise was made by the enemy; but, finding the place occupied in greater force than they expected, they speedily retired.

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On the morning of the 10th of August, the advanced division marched out of Batavia towards the cantonments of Weltevreden, which they reached by daybreak. The cantonments were abandoned; but a division of the Dutch army, under General Jumel, the second in command, had taken up a strong position about a mile from Weltevreden, on the road to Cornelis. Their right was protected by a canal called the Slokan: their left was exposed; but the approach both in front and on the flank was embarrassed by pepper plantations and marshy ground, as well as defended by an abatis, with which the enemy had blocked up the road. From behind this entrenchment they opened a fire of four horse-artillery guns with grape; whilst the infantry, posted in two villages, kept up a brisk fire of musketry on the advancing columns. The guns were answered with effect by those of the British artillery, and the musketry was replied to by the skirmishers, whilst an attempt was made to

BOOK I. turn the enemy's left flank. After some delay,  
CHAP. VI. arising from the nature of the ground, the attempt

1811. succeeded. The villages were set in flames, and the British troops rushed forward to the charge. The enemy broke, and were pursued with vigour until they took shelter under the guns of Cornelis.<sup>1</sup> The main body of the army came up towards the close of the engagement, and took post at Weltevreden; having secured a free communication with the town and shipping, a healthy and commodious station for the troops, and the command of the resources of the country. Three hundred guns were found in the arsenal at Weltevreden, besides great quantities of ammunition and military stores.

Preparations were immediately made for an attack upon Cornelis, which General Jansens expected to be able to maintain against all assaults until the rainy season should set in, and sickness should compel the retreat of the invaders. His post was an entrenched camp between two rivers, the Slokan on the east, and the river of Batavia on the west. The latter was unfordable and the banks were steep and overrun with jungle: the former was more practicable, but it was defended by powerful batteries and redoubts; one of which was on the near side of the river, for the protection of the only bridge that had been left standing. The space between the rivers in front, above six hundred yards, was guarded by strong entrenchments and redoubts, and was difficult of access from the ruggedness of

<sup>1</sup> Their loss was severe; that of the British was inconsiderable: but several officers were wounded; of whom Lieutenant Duffield of the horse artillery died of his wounds. Lieutenant Munro of his Majesty's 78th was killed.

the ground. A like space in the rear of the works was still more strongly fortified. The whole circumference of the lines extended nearly five miles, and was defended by two hundred and eighty pieces of cannon.

Although the necessity of an ultimate assault was anticipated by the Commander-in-chief, yet he thought it expedient to try the effect of regular approaches; and a battering train having been landed, and batteries constructed, the army broke ground on the night of the 20th of August. It was not till the morning of the 24th that the batteries could be opened with effect, and during the interval a furious cannonade was kept upon the works by the enemy, by which some loss was sustained. On the 24th the guns opened upon the enemy's lines, and, notwithstanding the greater number of their ordnance, with much more decided effect. The principal redoubt was repeatedly silenced, and many of the guns in their batteries were dismounted. On the 25th the cannonade was resumed, and returned with spirit: but although the enemy suffered severely both in men and guns, yet it was evident that no practicable breach could be made until the batteries were considerably advanced; an operation involving delay, and demanding from the seamen and troops an amount of exertion to which, from the heat of the weather and the excessive labour they would have to undergo, they were unequal. In the mean time the enemy were daily adding to their defences, and using every means to render them impregnable. The period therefore had arrived at which the place must be carried by storm,



BOOK I. or a protracted and exhausting course of warfare  
CHAP. VI. would become inevitable.

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The comparative facility of an approach on the enemy's right by the Slokan, and the possibility of carrying by a *coup de main* both the redoubt which was on this side of the river, and the bridge by which the river was crossed, recommended the principal attack to be made in that direction. The assault was intrusted to Colonel Gillespie, having under his orders the infantry of the advance, and a part of the right brigade of the line commanded by Colonel Gibbs. At the same time two other attacks were to be made upon the enemy's lines; one, under Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, against the principal redoubt in the angle of the enemy's front and left; and the other, under Major Yule, upon the bridge leading to the rear: whilst the main body of the army threatened the front.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Gillespie's column marched soon after midnight on the 26th. The troops had to make a considerable *détour* through a difficult country, intersected by ravines, and parcelled out in pepper plantations and betel gardens. The darkness of the night aggravated the intricacy of the path; and when, towards morning, the head of the column had ap-

<sup>1</sup> The troops under Colonel Gillespie were the two flank battalions, consisting of the grenadiers of the 78th regiment, and of the 5th and 6th native volunteer battalions, the light companies of the 14th, 59th, 69th, 78th, and of the light infantry battalion and 4th native volunteers, the rifle companies of the 14th, 59th, and 78th, five companies of the 89th, dismounted dragoons and body-guard, a body of marines, and Madras pioneers. Colonel Gibbs' column was formed of the grenadiers of the 14th, 59th, and 69th, first battalion of the 59th, and 4th and light infantry volunteer battalions. Colonel Macleod led the 69th regiment. Major Yule had under his orders the grenadiers of the 20th native infantry, two companies of his Majesty's 69th, the flank battalion of the reserve, with a detachment of the Madras pioneers and artillery, and a troop of the 22nd dragoons.

proached near to the works, information was brought to Colonel Gillespie that the rear division had fallen behind. A short halt was ordered; but as it was impossible to remain unobserved after daybreak, and a retreat in the presence of the enemy might hazard the success of the expedition, Colonel Gillespie determined to make the assault at once, trusting that the strayed column would be guided aright by the firing, and would be in time to support him before he was seriously engaged.

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The morning dawn showed the enemy's videttes at hand, and the column was challenged. The men, as commanded, reserving their fire, rushed forward with the bayonet; and the picquets were destroyed, and the advanced redoubt was carried almost as soon as the alarm was given. At the same moment the grenadiers of the 78th, under a heavy fire from the enemy, carried the bridge over the Slokan, a slight structure which might with ease have been demolished. As soon as the passage was effected, Colonel Gillespie, turning to the left, stormed a second redoubt, which was within the lines; and notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy, and a spirited resistance, which caused the loss of many brave officers and men, carried it at the point of the bayonet. Each of these redoubts mounted twenty eighteen pounders, besides several twenty-four and thirty-two pounders.

The division of Colonel Gibbs having, as was anticipated, been guided to the scene of action by the cannonade, had hastened on to take their share in the conflict; and, having crossed the Slokan, the grenadiers of the 14th, 59th, and 69th regiments

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moved against a redoubt on the right, which they stormed, and carried with the bayonet in the most gallant manner. They had scarcely gained possession when the powder magazine<sup>1</sup> attached to it exploded with a stunning sound, and scattered piecemeal the mutilated limbs of both defenders and assailants. This awful occurrence was followed by a momentary pause; but the batteries of the enemy soon opened again upon the attacking column. The assailants had, however, now gained a firm footing within the lines, and proceeded with renewed spirit to storm the remaining redoubts to their right and left.

In the mean time an active cannonade had been maintained on the front, where the enemy had erroneously expected the main attack would have been made, and under this persuasion had refrained from reinforcing their troops on the right. The column directed to the rear was unable to cross the river, as the bridge was burnt, and was obliged to remain contented with firing upon the enemy from the opposite bank. The detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod carried the redoubt against which they had been sent, but, unfortunately, with the loss of their commander. The success of the assault on the right, however, soon opened a free access to the entrenchment, and the British entered Cornelis in every direction.

When most of the redoubts had been stormed, and daylight rendered objects distinct, the enemy's reserve, composed of several battalions, with twenty

<sup>1</sup> It was said to have been purposely fired by some of the enemy's officers, who perished in the explosion. No advantage accrued to the enemy from the catastrophe.

pieces of horse artillery, besides heavy guns, and a large body of cavalry, was seen drawn up on the plain in front of the barracks and lesser fort of Cornelis, the guns of which commanded the approach. The duty of dispersing these was consigned to the 59th, and was gallantly effected by that corps, who not only drove them from their position, but captured the fort. The dragoons and horse artillery then coming up, Colonel Gillespie placed himself at their head, and pursued the fugitives for ten miles, cutting off great numbers, and completing the disorganization of their army. Those who sought refuge in the thickets were killed or dispersed by the 14th regiment and detachments of the Bengal volunteers. The efforts of their officers to keep them together as far as Beutenzorg, where entrenchments had been thrown up, and a second stand was to have been made, entirely failed, and the fate of Java was decided. Six thousand prisoners were taken, mostly European troops, including a regiment of voltigeurs recently arrived from France. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was likewise very considerable. The victory was not won without loss also to the assailants. In the previous operations, and in the assault of Cornelis, the killed and wounded amounted to nearly nine hundred, of whom eighty-five were officers.<sup>1</sup>

Although the dispositions of the Commander-in-chief rendered the fall of Cornelis little doubtful,

<sup>1</sup> The officers who were killed, or who died of their wounds, were, Lieutenant-Colonel C. Macleod, his Majesty's 69th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, 78th : Captains Kennedy, 14th ; Oliphant, 59th ; and Ross, 69th : Lieutenants Hutchins, 22nd dragoons ; Waring, Lloyd, Litton, and Macpherson, 59th ; Hipkins, 69th ; Coghlan, 14th ; Macdonald, 5th battalion volunteers ; and Murrall, ditto 6th : and Ensign Wolfe of his Majesty's 59th.



BOOK I. yet that it was accomplished so quickly, and with a  
CHAP. VI. loss which, though severe, was disproportionate to

1811. the strength of the position and the importance of the capture, was mainly attributable to the decision and activity of Colonel Gillespie. Had he paused for the junction of the rear division, had he delayed an instant to attack the exterior redoubt, and make good his passage over the Slokan, the difficulties of the attempt would have been immeasurably enhanced, and success would have demanded infinitely greater sacrifices. The same promptitude and courage characterised his subsequent movements. The defeat of the reserve and the pursuit of the flying foe; the final dispersion of the enemy's troops, and the impossibility of again concentrating a force of any consideration, were mainly attributable to his exertions. That the troops he commanded were worthy of their leader is an additional proof of his military merit.

After the annihilation of his army, General Jansens, with a small body of horse, retired to the eastern districts of Java. A squadron of frigates, with the marines and a Bengal battalion under Colonel Wood, was immediately dispatched to Cheribon, and arrived there two days after General Jansens had passed. The place was immediately surrendered. Another expedition proceeded to Madura, off the north-eastern extremity of Java, and occupied that island. On the 5th of September Sir S. Auchmuty proceeded against General Jansens, who had assembled a force consisting chiefly of native horse, and taken up a strong and fortified position at Jatu, about six miles from Samarang. The vessels arrived

off the latter port on the 12th, and the troops were landed on the following day, the town being abandoned. On the 16th they came in sight of the enemy, about eight thousand strong, principally natives, with twenty pieces of cannon, drawn up on some high and rugged hills forming the southern boundary of a valley across which lay the road. The troops with Sir S. Auchmuty were not above one thousand in number, consisting of the 14th and 78th regiments, with the grenadier company of the 3rd volunteer native battalion, and details of artillery and pioneers, with six field-pieces. Having established his guns on the heights facing the enemy, so as to keep down their fire, Sir S. Auchmuty directed the troops to cross the valley and ascend the hills opposite. The advance was made with the greatest alacrity and firmness; the valley was traversed with little loss; and, as soon as the heights were ascended, the enemy retreated in confusion. As they consisted chiefly of cavalry, they easily outstripped pursuit; but on learning that they showed an inclination to rally under the cannon of the small fort of Onarang, about four miles from the field of battle, Sir S. Auchmuty marched thither without halting, again put them to flight, and occupied the fort. This was the last effort made by General Jansens. Finding that no dependence could be placed on the only troops he was now able to collect, he proposed immediately after the action to treat for a capitulation. A cessation of arms for twenty-four hours was allowed him; and, after some hesitation on the part of General Jansens, a treaty was signed. By this it was stipulated that

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BOOK I. Java and its dependencies should be surrendered to  
 CHAP. VI. Great Britain; that all the military should be pri-

1811. soners of war; and that the British governor should be left unfettered in regard to the future administration of the island, the guarantee of the public debt, and the liquidation of the paper money.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, as Lord Minto observed, an empire, which for three centuries had contributed greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected states of Europe, had been wrested from the short usurpation of France and added to the dominion of the British crown, and converted from a seat of hostile machination and commercial competition into an augmentation of British power and prosperity. The reduction of Java left the Eastern seas without an enemy, and the merchant-vessels of Great Britain and of British India were at liberty to pursue their peaceful and beneficent course without dread of molestation or fear of plunder. The value of the conquest was perhaps inadequately appreciated in England, but the acknowledgments of the Prince Regent were conveyed to the army and navy.<sup>2</sup> Medals were bestowed upon the King's and Company's officers who had distinguished themselves in the expedition, and

<sup>1</sup> General Jansens had been formerly governor of the Cape of Good Hope when it was taken by the English. Adverting to this disaster, the French Emperor, on his departure for the government of Java, significantly remarked, "*Souvenez-vous, Monsieur, qu'un Général François ne se laisse pas prendre une seconde fois.*" He had little reason to look for much favourable consideration on his return to France.

<sup>2</sup> In the debate in the Commons on the vote of thanks to Lord Minto and the army and navy for the reduction of the Isles of France and Java, Sheridan and Whitbread professed to doubt if the acquisitions were worth the cost of money and life by which they had been made. These doubts were clearly the mere effusions of party spleen.

Lord Minto was raised to the dignity of Earl of Minto.

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After the reduction of Java, the government of the island was placed in the hands of Mr. Raffles, with the designation of Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its dependencies, and the command of the troops left on the island was conferred upon Colonel Gillespie. Some time elapsed before the authority of the new government was established. The Dutch colonists, who could have no particular affection for the French, and who had experienced the overbearing and extortionary spirit of that military rule which was modelled upon the despotism to which France was subject, were for the most part well pleased with the change; but some of the native chiefs, deeming the season propitious for the subversion of all European ascendancy, manifested a hostile disposition which it became necessary to suppress. Among these chiefs, one of the most powerful was the Sultan of Yodhyakarta, who declared open war against the British, and called upon his countrymen to join him for their expulsion. Having in vain attempted to come to a friendly understanding with the Sultan, Colonel Gillespie conducted a force against his capital, and carried it by storm. The Sultan was taken prisoner and exiled to Penang, and his son was placed on the throne. The capture of Yodhyakarta, a place of great extent and some strength, defended by one hundred thousand troops, who, although defective in arms and discipline, were not wanting in intrepidity and fierceness, added another laurel to the wreath won by British valour, and intimidated the native princes



BOOK I. into a peaceable submission to a government whose  
CHAP. VI. conciliatory policy they had subsequently occasion to  
1812. compare with the oppression which they had been  
accustomed to suffer from the Dutch.

Previously to the contest with the Sultan of Yodhyakarta, it had been found advisable to dispatch an expedition against the Sultan of Palembang, a state on the north-east coast of Sumatra. Shortly after the conquest of Java, commissioners had been sent to the Sultan to renew the engagements in which he was held by the Dutch. They had been obliged to return without effecting their object: the Sultan denied that any such engagements had ever existed, and asserted that the Dutch factory had been abandoned before the reduction of Java. To remove living evidence of the falsehood of this assertion, he razed the Dutch fort and factory, and caused the members of the factory at Palembang, now become the subjects of the British Government of Java, to be murdered. To punish this atrocity, and enforce the stipulation which had long been maintained in regard to the trade with Banca especially, a force was sent against the Sultan in March, 1812, commanded by Colonel Gillespie. He arrived off the Palembang river on the 18th of April, and the troops ascended the river in boats. No resistance was offered; and, upon the approach of the detachment to Palembang, the Sultan fled, leaving his capital and principality at the disposal of the victors. Colonel Gillespie with a small party landed on the night of the 25th of April; and, being joined by the principal part of his force on the following morning, commenced an in-

vestigation into the character and behaviour of the fugitive prince. The process seems to have been summary. Upon the depositions of two natives who had been sent to Palembang by the British Government of Java, and who accused the Sultan of the murder of the Dutch, he was declared to have forfeited his sovereignty by various acts of rapine, treachery, and barbarity, contrary to the laws of nations and his existing engagements with the Dutch, to whose right the English Company had succeeded in virtue of the cession of Java and its dependencies. A proclamation to this effect in the Malay language was read. At the same time it was announced that the Commander of the forces had selected Pangerang Adipati, the Sultan's brother, in consideration of his virtues, and the love, esteem, and veneration with which he was regarded by the people of the country, to fill the vacant throne. This person was accordingly declared true and lawful Sultan of Palembang and its dependencies, under the title of Sultan Ratu Ahmed Najam-ud-din. The first use made of his power by the new Sultan was to enter into a treaty by which he ceded the island of Banca, a dependency of Palembang valuable for its mines of tin, in absolute and perpetual sovereignty and possession to the English. On the 18th of May, Colonel Gillespie, leaving with the prince whom he had crowned a hundred men for his defence, returned to Java, taking possession of Banca on his way. The measures thus adopted by Mr. Raffles were approved of by the Governor of Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Most of the particulars given in the text are derived from Thorn's

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1812. Although the Court of Directors had sanctioned the expedition against Java, their views did not go beyond the expulsion or reduction of the Dutch power, the destruction of their fortifications, the distribution of their arms and stores to the natives, and the evacuation of the island. Lord Minto, however, was not prepared to expose the Dutch colonists without a government or without arms to the vindictive passions of the Javanese;<sup>1</sup> to consign a rich and prosperous island to an indefinite perpetuation of the elements of disorder and bloodshed; or to throw away the advantages, both commercial and political, which the occupation of Java ensured to British India and to Great Britain. He therefore recommended to the Court a reconsideration of their orders; and, upon the conquest of the island, committed it to a government composed partly of the civil and military officers of the Company, and partly of respectable colonists well affected to the English. Under their combined administration Java soon came to enjoy an unprecedented amount of tranquillity and prosperity. The country was divided into districts, each of which was placed under the management of a European Resident, who was charged with the general collection of the revenue, and the distribution of justice according to such laws as were in force, and which were unexceptionable in principle. The infliction of torture and mutilation was at once abolished; and natives were admitted to juries, from

Conquest of Java. Major Thorn served as Deputy Quarter-Master-General to the forces in Java.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Lord Minto to Mr. Raffles, February, 1811; *Life of Raffles*, p. 23.

which they had under the Dutch regime been excluded. The farming of the revenues and imposts was abandoned, and the collections were made directly by the officers of the Government according to fixed rates. The arbitrary exaction of an undefined proportion of the crops was discontinued, and a settlement of a specified amount for a given period entered into with the occupants of the land. All forced requisitions of labour were prohibited, transit duties were abrogated, and the duties on external trade equalised. It were foreign to the scope of this work to dwell longer upon the improvements effected in Java whilst under British authority; but the prevalence of undisturbed internal order and peace, concurrently with the improving resources of the state, evidenced a material advance in the productive industry of the people, and an amelioration of their condition.<sup>1</sup>

The question of retaining Java as a colony of the Crown, or of leaving it under the government of the East India Company, had been left undetermined by the British Administration, amid the mighty transactions which at this period involved the destinies of the world. One of their results was the re-establishment of the Netherlands as an independent monarchy, and the revival of those relations of amity which had at various intervals united Great Britain and Holland. In the spirit of the connexion thus re-established, the British Go-

<sup>1</sup> The revenues of Java realised, in 1805-6, rupees 492,128. General Daendels, in 1809, raised them to 800,000. In 1814 they amounted to 5,368,065. For this and other facts, see "Substance of a Minute recorded by Sir Thomas S. Raffles, with Appendix; printed (not published) by Black and Co., London, 1814: also his *Life, and History of Java*.



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1814. vernment, without weighing with sufficient deliberation the circumstances which the altered political condition of Europe had created, and with a dereliction more liberal than politic of its own interests, hastened to replace the Dutch in their ancient Eastern possessions; and by a convention with the United Netherlands, dated 13th of August, 1814, engaged to restore all the colonies, with exception of the Cape of Good Hope and some places in the West Indies. Java was consequently among the cessions. The more pressing calls at home upon the attention of the Batavian Government delayed its availing itself immediately of the generosity of its ally; and Java did not reassume the character of a Dutch colony until the end of 1816, five years after it had been conquered by the armament from Bengal. Sir T. Raffles was spared the pain of resigning his power to the Dutch commissioners, by the appointment of Mr. Fendall, of the Bengal service, to the government of Java in the beginning of the same year.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some measures of the administration of Mr. Raffles had been disapproved of by the Court of Directors, particularly his alienation of the public domains in order to raise funds, in place of re-issuing a greatly depreciated paper currency, under an emergent demand for money, and the inexpediency of drawing on Bengal. Charges implicating his integrity had also been preferred against him; which, although acknowledged in most unqualified terms by the Court to be utterly unfounded, seem to have produced a bias unfavourable to him in the mind of Lord Moira, and to have had some influence in his supersession. His provisional appointment, by Lord Minto, to be Resident at Bencoolen was confirmed, and he repaired thither after a visit to England, where he received the honour of knighthood in the end of 1817.—*Life*, p. 290.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Return of the Governor-General from Java.—Internal Administration.—Indications of future Hostilities.—Relations with Hyderabad and Nagpore.—Misgovernment of Oude.—Interference of the Government of Bengal.—Differences between the Nawab and the Resident.—The latter supported by Lord Minto.—Defects in the Judicial and Revenue Systems of the British Government.—Mohammedan and latter Hindu Systems.—Concentration of Functions.—Judicial officers.—Circumstances counteracting defective Administration.—State of Civil and Criminal Justice.—Consequences of establishing Civil Courts,—multiplication of Suits,—arrears of Decisions,—no effective remedy applied.—State of Criminal Judicature,—similar arrears.—State of Police.—Classes of Robbers,—prevalence of Dakoiti, or Gang robbery,—atrocities perpetrated,—difficulty of detection and conviction.—Evils of excluding Native co-operation,—attempts to recover it,—failures. Superintendents of Police and Special Magistrates appointed.—Employment of Informers.—Diminution of Dakoiti.—Revenue System,—review of.—Proprietary right of the Sovereign not of Hindu but of Mohammedan origin.—Doctrines of the latter.—Notions of the people.—Nature and extent of public demand under the Hindus and Mohammedans in earlier and later times,—from whom demanded.—Variety of Proprietary rights.—Village communities,—their origin,—legislation,—colonisation,—*

*conquest.—Traces of property extinguished by the exactions of the Government, and Village communities destroyed,—in some provinces,—not in all.—Variety of Organization,—different rights of the members,—peculiarities of constitution,—general identity.—Classes of tenants,—perpetual,—temporary.—The Public Revenue how realised.—Revenue officers.—Head-men of villages,—modifications of the office.—Function of Zemindar,—degree of his proprietary right,—contingent advantages,—consideration among the people.—Course adopted by the British Government.—Permanent Zemindari settlement ordered for Madras.—Commencement of Ryotwar settlement.—Principles of assessment urged by Lord W. Bentinck,—abandoned by the Government of Madras.—Village settlements formed.—Perpetual settlement at Madras prohibited by the Court of Directors.—Settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces of Bengal.—Commission of Inquiry,—recommend delay of a permanent assessment,—recommendation disregarded by the Government.—Expected advantages of permanency,—not realisable,—illusory nature of the provision,—moderate assessment all that is essential,—principle discountenanced in England.—Permanent settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces forbidden.—Regulations for the protection of the Ryots.—House-tax,—resistance at Benares,—repealed.—Religious riot at Benares.—Missionaries in Bengal,—established at Serampore,—checked by the Government.—Lord Minto's encouragement of Oriental Literature,—interest in the College of Fort William.—Financial operations.—Close of Lord Minto's Administration.*

THE Governor-General returned from Java to Calcutta towards the end of 1811; and the remaining period of his administration was occupied with the resumption and prosecution of measures affecting the welfare of British India in its amicable relations with the neighbouring states and its allies, and in the promotion of its internal prosperity.

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The peace of India remained undisturbed; but various indications occurred of an approaching necessity for departing from the pacific principles which had generally regulated the policy of the Government. On the north, the Court of Nepal had asserted claims to territory within the Company's boundaries which were questioned or denied; and had instigated, or allowed its subjects to commit, encroachments and outrages which demanded serious notice. In the south, the style assumed by the officers of the King of Burma in their intercourse with the English functionaries at Chittagong, arising out of insurrections in the intermediate province of Aracan lately conquered by the Burmese, revealed an arrogant and usurping spirit which it would probably require force to repress. On the western frontier, the banditti known as Pindaris were becoming daily more confident and daring; and in 1812 a party of them violated the integrity of the British dominions, broke through the boundaries, and advanced to the wealthy commercial city of Mirzapore, which they threatened to plunder. The approach of troops saved it from destruction, and the Pindaris retired. To prevent the repetition of a similar irruption, treaties were formed with the



BOOK I. Rajas of Tehri and Rewa,<sup>1</sup> by which they were bound  
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1812. to close the passes in their several principalities against the Pindari incursions, and a cordon of troops was stationed along the frontier from Bundelkhand to Midnapore. At the same time that these precautions were taken, it was foreseen that they would be mere palliatives; and a time was contemplated when it would be necessary to undertake a system of military and political operations calculated to strike at the root of this great and increasing evil.<sup>2</sup> The period was not long deferred; but the arrangements adopted belong to a different administration. The same was the case with the course that was ultimately pursued with respect to Nepal and Burma; and we may therefore suspend their consideration until the power of the British Government was exerted to place its rights beyond dispute, to secure its confines from aggression, and to eradicate the predatory pestilence which had so long preyed upon the strength, and wasted the energies, of Central India.

The subsidiary alliance with Hyderabad had undergone no material alteration since the interference of the Government of Bengal in the appointment of a minister. The Nizam, discontented and sullen, took little concern in public business, and sought consolation for wounded pride in sensual indulgence. His minister, Munir-al-Mulk, equally indolent and incapable, followed his sovereign's ex-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with Raja Bikramajit of Tehri, 23rd December, 1812. The treaties with the Rewa Raja have been previously referred to.—Treaties with Native Chiefs, xlix.

<sup>2</sup> Secret Letter from Bengal, 2nd October, 1812; Papers, Pindari War, p. 14.

ample; and all the labour, but with it much of the authority, devolved upon the Hindu subordinate, Chandu Lal. Strong also in the assured support of the Resident, the Dewan made but an indifferent use of his responsibility, and to his own purposes and emolument sacrificed the interests of the prince and the prosperity of the people. At the recommendation of the Resident, Chandu Lal consented to the reorganisation of the military contingent which the Nizam was bound by treaty to furnish, and, instead of a body of irregulars, to maintain a standing disciplined force under British officers. This was gradually increased to above twelve thousand men, horse and foot, and proved itself of eminent service in the subsequent war. Its chief value in the estimation of the minister was the weight which it gave him in his dealings with the Court, and the coercive means it enabled him to employ against refractory landholders, and farmers of the revenue, on occasions when the aid of the subsidiary brigades was withheld. The sanction of the Government was given to the arrangement. A similar plan was recommended to the Peshwa, and he also assented to the formation of a disciplined brigade under British officers.<sup>1</sup>

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The necessity which has been described of interfering for the defence of the Raja of Nagpore naturally directed the attention of the Government to the permanent maintenance at his expense of a military force. Negotiations with this view were opened; but the objections of the Raja to a sub-

<sup>1</sup> Report, Select Committee, 1832; Political Appendix, pp. 133, 266.

BOOK I. subsidiary alliance were not to be overcome, and the  
CHAP. VII. arrangement was deferred.<sup>1</sup>

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A long, and occasionally an uneasy, discussion with the Nawab of Oude engaged at this time in an especial manner the deliberations of the Government and of the Court of Directors. The frequent applications made by the Nawab for the services of the subsidiary force in the compulsive collection of the revenues of Oude had occasioned extreme dissatisfaction in the minds of both the local and the home authorities, as they were well aware that the troops were in this manner often employed on duties incompatible with their military character, and were converted into instruments of extortion and oppression. Supported by the sanction and injunctions of the Court of Directors, the Governor-General determined, towards the close of 1810, to express to the Nawab in an unqualified manner the sentiments with which his fiscal administration was regarded, and the conclusions of the Bengal Government that a change of system was indispensably necessary. A letter was accordingly addressed to him by Lord Minto, earnestly recommending to him to institute a reform which should be based upon the fundamental principles of a moderate assessment, to be made by the officers of Government immediately with the landholders, without the intervention of a contractor or farmer of the revenue. The settlements were to be made for a fixed term of years, and the occupants of the land were to be guaranteed in their occupancy as long as the amount of the assessment

<sup>1</sup> Report, Select Committee, 1832; Political Appendix, p. 227.

was regularly discharged. Other reforms, relating to the police and the administration of justice, were suggested at the same time; and the Resident was instructed to use an urgent and decided tone in pressing these recommendations upon the consideration of the Nawab.

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The interference which was thus exercised by the Government of Bengal in the internal regulation of the affairs of Oude was grounded upon the article of the treaty of 1801, in which the Nawab “engaged to establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and that his Excellency would always advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsel of the officers of the Honourable Company.” The explanation subsequently given by Lord Wellesley to the Nawab of the principles which were to regulate the intercourse between the two states amplified the expressions of this article; and whilst it declared that the Resident was to be the representative of the Governor-General, and the channel by which the sentiments and counsels of the British Government were to be communicated, enjoined that functionary to treat the Nawab with the utmost degree of respect, conciliation, and attention, and to maintain cordial union and harmony in all transactions.

How this was to be accomplished when the sentiments of the Nawab differed from those of the Resident? what security was provided for the acquiescence of the former in the counsels of the



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latter? who was to determine whether the counsels of the British Government and of its representative were really calculated to promote the interests of the prince and his people? and by what means compliance was to be enforced consistently with the degree of independence which the Nawab was allowed to retain? were questions which the vague and indefinite phraseology of both treaty and explanation left for the embarrassment of Lord Wellesley's successors.

On the present occasion all these sources of perplexity occurred. Professing himself willing and desirous to defer to the advice of the British Government, the Nawab entertained insuperable and not unreasonable objections to the propositions submitted to him. It was recommended to him to take as a model, the arrangements introduced into the Ceded provinces with, it was affirmed, entire success; to relinquish the practice of farming the revenues; to institute an inquiry into the productiveness of the lands; and, upon a determination of their value, to settle with the proprietors a moderate rate of assessment for a period of three years. To these recommendations the Nawab at first gave his general assent; but he started doubts as to the practicability of their execution, the delays and difficulties which would attend the valuation of the lands, and the impossibility of finding functionaries qualified and fit to form settlements with the landholders. On the other hand, the Resident, Major Baillie, sanguine in his expectations of success, treated the Nawab's doubts as evasive, and, instead of observing the conciliatory course prescribed by Lord Welles-

ley, pressed the reform with a degree of positiveness and importunity which furnished the Nawab with a fresh cause of alarm, and led him to apprehend that the Resident's objects were to take into his own hands the nomination of the revenue officers and an inquisitorial scrutiny into his revenues. Each charged the other with a virtual infraction of the treaty; the Resident accusing the Nawab of disregarding the advice of the British Government, and the Nawab complaining that he was not permitted to judge what measures were conducive to the prosperity of his people, or carry them into effect through the agency of his own servants. There were several other sources of disagreement, arising chiefly out of the advocacy by the Resident of the rights and claims of the members of the Nawab's family, or of individuals taken under his especial protection, in opposition to the wishes of the Nawab. In most of these cases the conduct of the Resident might be defended, either by existing or implied engagements with the British Government; but it necessarily reminded the Nawab of the unreality of the independence with which Lord Wellesley had pretended to invest him in all matters of a private and domestic nature.

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After much lengthy correspondence and various personal conferences, in which the Nawab under the operation of fluctuating feelings repeatedly promised acquiescence, and as often evaded the fulfilment of his promises, the Government of Bengal, then administered by General Hewett as Vice-President during Lord Minto's absence at Java, determined to refrain from urging the question of

BOOK I. reform further. They argued that it would be of  
 CHAP. VII. little avail to enforce the Nawab's adoption of a plan

1812. the execution of which he could easily, and would most certainly, frustrate; that his objections to any particular scheme of reform could not be construed into a systematic disregard of the counsels of the British Government, for which, on the contrary, he professed the utmost deference; and that, consequently, to have recourse to the only method of compulsion which could be contemplated, that of denying him the services of the subsidiary force for the suppression of insubordination and resistance to his authority, would be an unjustifiable departure from the conditions of the alliance. Whilst expressing therefore extreme dissatisfaction with the Nawab for the insincerity and prevarication which he had displayed, the Resident was instructed to relinquish for the time all further efforts to obtain his consent to the proposed reform.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the employment of British troops against refractory Zemindars at the requisition of the Nawab's collectors, the Government confirmed a resolution to which they had previously come, of not allowing their employment without an investigation by the Resident of the occasion which demanded it.

The question of reform remained unagitated during part of 1812, but causes of disagreement were not wanting. In the commencement of the year an

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors, 15th October, 1811, in which the negotiations with the Nawab are detailed: Report, Select Committee, 1832; Political Appendix, 414. The correspondence between the Nawab, the Resident, and the Government, are printed also in the "Oude Papers," printed for the Proprietors of East India Stock, June, 1824.

application was made by the Nawab for troops to put down an insurrection; but the Resident, ascertaining that the disturbance was of no importance, and was connected, as usual, with the exactions of the farmers of the revenue, insisted on the prior investigation of the merits of the case, or the deputation of his own agents for the purpose. The Nawab declined compliance, and no troops were sent. Shortly afterwards, some of the Nawab's proceedings encroaching on the rights of the Bhao Begum of Fyzabad, the widow of his father, were opposed by the Resident, as these rights had been guaranteed by treaty. This interference in his domestic concerns was a source of severe mortification to the Nawab, and he strenuously denied the right of the Resident to interpose. Towards the close of the same year, the Government of Bengal had its attention called to outrages and robberies committed on the British frontiers by marauding gangs from Oude, whom the Nawab's officers were either unable or unwilling to restrain. As this evil had been the frequent topic of unavailing representation, it was now announced to the Nawab that the plunderers would be pursued into his country by the British troops without his permission if his acquiescence were withheld. All these sources of vexation produced a formal complaint of the Nawab against the Resident for insolent and arrogant behaviour: the charge was met by the Resident's denial, and a recriminatory accusation of an improper want of respect to the British representative in the tone and style of the Nawab's correspondence. The Government pronounced their entire approbation of the



BOOK I. Resident's conduct, and required the Nawab to  
CHAP. VII. adopt a more deferential style of address.

1813. These proceedings for a while intimidated the Nawab into professing his resolution to conform to the wishes of the Government in all things: but the imperfect execution of his promise drew from Lord Minto,<sup>1</sup> in July, 1813, an address of remonstrance and expostulation, reminding him that the British Government had a right, founded upon the basis of the subsidiary treaty, to propose such reforms in his internal government as it deemed essential, and that he was held by the same treaty under an obligation to follow such advice; that he had admitted the necessity, and both verbally and in writing had given assurances of his acquiescence in a manner little less authentic and formal than if they had been reduced to the form of a treaty, and equally binding on his honour and good-faith; notwithstanding which, he had retracted his consent, and opposed the most determined resistance to the efforts made by the Resident, acting under the positive orders of the Government, to induce him to abide by the terms of his engagements. Lord Minto declared also, that, upon receiving the Nawab's acquiescence, the British Government would have been entitled, and was perhaps required, to insist on his carrying the proposed plan into effect at once; and instances the patience and respect with which his objections had been listened to and refuted, as undeniable proofs of its forbearance and moderation. Not a single argument against the

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Governor-General to the Nawab Vizir, 2nd July, 1813; Oude Papers, p. 506.

plan had been adduced but had been respectfully entertained, deliberately examined, and successfully combated; and the doubts and fears still professed by the Nawab could be ascribed to no other motives than a decided resolution to oppose the introduction of reform altogether, in the vain hope that the Government would ultimately abandon the question in despair. The Nawab was assured that no lapse of time, no change of circumstances, would ever induce the British Government to relinquish a measure which it considered essential to the happiness and prosperity of Oude, the ease and reputation of the Nawab, and the best interests of both states. He was also warned, that, if he persisted in his refusal, he would violate an express stipulation of the treaty; and he was requested seriously to consider the consequences in which he might involve himself by such a course of conduct. Lord Minto therefore expressed his confident expectation that the reform recommended would be carried into effect without further opposition or delay. The Governor-General explained his views upon the other points under discussion in a like peremptory strain.

Fortified with the decision of the Government, the Resident proceeded to insist upon the Nawab's immediate adoption of the measures proposed, and, in his ardour and impatience, demanded for the British Government a degree of participation in the ordinary administration of Oude scarcely warranted by the spirit or letter of the existing engagements, when he maintained that every act whatsoever—the lease of a district in farm, the institution of a court of justice in the capital, the change of any police

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regulation,—without the previous concurrence of the Governor-General, was a direct violation of the treaty, for which the Nawab might be made responsible; or, in other words, might be divested of all authority whenever it pleased the Government to call him to account. That such minute and vexatious interference was intended by the original contract, may be reasonably questioned; but the present discussions showed the extreme difficulty of defining the just limits of interposition, and the unavoidable tendency of all such political associations to render the will of the controuling power the sole standard of the necessity of its interference. The Nawab became alarmed, and, in the month of September, he announced his final determination to give immediate operation to the project of reform, by dispatching officers to adjust an equitable assessment; and he instituted arrangements for affording satisfaction on the minor topics of dispute. Before any important results could be realised from these preliminary measures, the Government of India passed into other hands, and different views influenced the counsels of Lord Moira.

Although the countries which had been brought under British sway had derived from it the benefits of exemption from foreign invasion and internal disorder for some years, yet the progressive amelioration of the condition of the people had failed to keep pace with the expectations and hopes of their rulers. This was and is still to be ascribed to radical defects in the systems of judicature and revenue which had been introduced; and which, although they were based upon just and benevolent principles,

were too entirely of a European complexion to be readily identifiable with the very different aspects of society which existed in Hindustan. They had been framed upon insufficient inquiry, and had been brought in abruptly, without having been suffered to grow up gradually and spontaneously with the continuance of the new and anomalous constitution of things to which they owed their origin. They were still only in the course of adaptation to circumstances; and it was, and has since continued to be, the anxious object of both the local and home authorities to provide a remedy for those defects which their developement displays.<sup>1</sup> The subject has been already treated of at some length; but as the observations made in a former volume were in some degree anticipatory, and the facts on which they were founded belong to the period now under review, as also they were restricted to the Bengal provinces, some further notice of them here may not be superfluous or out of place.

Whatever may have been the case when the Mohammedan and Hindu governments were in full vigour, it was undeniable that, for a considerable time before the establishment of British supremacy, the people of India had been unaccustomed to any regularly organised and administered system of law or justice. In Upper India, Mohammedan domination had left few and obscure traces of Hindu institutions; and those which they had substituted,

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<sup>1</sup> In 1813 the Court of Directors circulated queries regarding the working of the Judicial system in India, to several of their most distinguished servants then in England. The questions and replies are printed in the Selections from the Records at the East India House printed by order of the Court, vol. ii.



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CHAP. VII. appeared in the anarchy by which Hindustan had  
1813. long been distracted. The same was very much  
the case with the territories under the Madras  
Presidency that had been subject to the Moham-  
medans; and, if Hindu usages lingered in the  
Mahratta states, they had lost much of their pri-  
mary character amid the irregular and arbitrary  
practices of the ruling authorities. The main prin-  
ciple that everywhere regulated the administration  
was the concentration of absolute authority; and  
the same individual was charged with the superin-  
tendence of revenue, justice, and police, with little  
to guide or restrain him except his own perceptions  
and sentiments of equity, and a prudent considera-  
tion for his own safety and advantage. Even in  
the best of times the sovereign, whether King or  
Raja, was the fountain of law and justice; and the  
Subahdar, the Nawab, the Jagirdar, all holding de-  
legated or usurped authority, claimed the same pre-  
rogative. The Kazi, or Nyayadhipati, Mohammedan  
and Hindu expounders of the law, were sometimes  
retained in principal towns as judges of civil and  
criminal law; but their authority was ill defined,  
their labours were ill paid, and justice received  
little profit from their nomination. The police of  
cities was also in some places under the authority of  
an appointed officer, the Fojdar or Kotwal, who was  
responsible to the governor of the district or city;  
but in the villages and in the country the village  
head-men, or Patéls, where such existed, and in other  
parts the Zemindar, who combined the character  
of landholder and collector of the revenue, claimed

the charge of the police, and the decision of civil and criminal suits. The leading object of the native governments was the realisation of the largest possible amount of revenue; and all persons engaged in this duty, whether as fiscal officers or as farmers and contractors, were armed with plenary powers both as magistrates and judges: a pertinacious appeal from those whom they oppressed might sometimes reach the ears of their superiors, but in general this resource was imperfectly available, and the people were left to the uncontrolled will of individuals.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All the Bengal civilians concur in stating, that, according to their belief, no remains of ancient institutions existed in Bengal. Of the state of law and justice among the people, the following are some of the results of their observations: "The people had no idea of being protected by law against abuses of power. When an Aumil (a native revenue or executive officer) was guilty of gross injustice and oppression, they might endeavour to get rid of him by a clamorous remonstrance in a body to the authority to which he was accountable for his conduct; but, generally speaking, they were quite at his mercy. Probably they had no conception of a more safe and rational system until they saw the effects of the judicial regulations of 1793. The spirit of the old institutions of Hindustan survived their formal abolition as long as the Company's servants united the offices of collector, judge, and magistrate."—Ernst, *Records*, i. p. 27. "During the Mohammedan government in Bengal, in the large Zemindaris, consisting of several pergunnas, it was usual to have pergunna Cutcheris (courts), and the Tehsildar (collector) of the pergunna, who was the Zemindar's agent, decided in civil suits; village Gomashas (agents) also exercised the same authority, and recourse was frequently had to arbitration by their orders. The Zemindars and their Dewans also decided civil suits according to the ancient Hindu custom. In cities and large towns, and in each pergunna, Kazis were appointed, who decided in civil suits. They appear to have been the judicial officers on the part of the Nawabs, but the Zemindars never gave up their right of deciding in civil suits."—Cox, *ibid.* p. 47. "Every province in India is divided into small tracts called villages: the affairs of every village are managed by two head-men, the Potail and the Curnum; the Potail is the chief of the village, and acts in it as judge, magistrate, and collector."—Munro, *ibid.* 106. "The authorities by whom civil justice was administered were the following: in the country, the Potail; over him the Mamlutdar (district collector), and Sirsubahdar (head of a large division); and above all, the Peshwa, or his minister. Jagirdars administered justice in their own lands; the great ones with little or no interference on the part of the Governments. In some towns there was a judicial officer called the Nyáyádesi, (the same as Nyáyádhpati, superintendent of Nyáya—justice,) who tried causes under the Peshwa's authority; and any person whom the Peshwa pleased to authorise might conduct

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Incompatible as such a state of things must be with the feelings and principles of Europeans, its effects upon the condition of the inhabitants of India were not wholly subversive of their happiness. The persons placed over them belonged to themselves, were assimilated in religion and language, conversant with their usages, and not regardless of their good opinion. Their decisions, although not guided by a code of laws, were founded upon an accurate knowledge of persons and things; and, when not distorted by sinister influences, were commonly conformable to equity and good-sense. The proceedings of these self-constituted courts were simple, and their sentences summary; they were not embarrassed or retarded by complicated forms and technical pleadings; and the people escaped the tax upon their money and time, which more elaborate judicature imposes. Another advantage contributed to counteract the defects of the system. In the absence of courts of justice provided by the state, the people learned to abstain from litigation; and, when disputes among them arose, submitted them to the arbitrement of judges chosen among themselves.<sup>1</sup> This expedient had probably descended from ancient times, in which it had been a recognised element of Hindu judiciary administration under the denomination

an investigation, subject to his highness's confirmation."—Elphinstone's Report on the Mahratta Provinces; Selections from the Records, iv. p. 188.

<sup>1</sup> "With all these defects, the Mahratta country flourished, and the people seem to have been exempt from some of the evils which exist under our more perfect government: there must, therefore, have been some advantages in the system to counterbalance its obvious defects, and most of them appear to me to have originated in one fact; that the Government, although it did little to obtain justice for the people, left them the means of procuring it for themselves."—Elphinstone; Selections, iv. 194.

of Panchayat;<sup>1</sup> but it had fallen into desuetude in most parts of India, and subsisted, in any degree of efficiency, only in the south.<sup>2</sup> Although the Panchayats were not inaccessible to personal bias or corruption, and their proceedings were occasionally irregular and tedious, yet they were suited to the circumstances and congenial to the feelings of the people, and supplied the place of better organised and more solemn tribunals.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> From the Sanscrit word pancha, or puncha; πεντε, quinque, five: the court being originally, perhaps, formed of that number, but in common practice it was exceeded. Mr. Elphinstone says, "The number was never less than five, but it has been known to be as great as fifty."—Elphinstone; Selections, 189.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Strachey says, "I do not recollect any remains of ancient Hindu institutions, not even the Panchayet; but, the term being well known in Bengal, it is probable that the thing exists in some parts of the Bengal provinces, and that it is occasionally resorted to voluntarily by the Hindus in disputes concerning caste, and perhaps in matters of village accounts and boundary disputes. I remember no instance of parties in a suit proposing a reference to the Panchayet. Our civil courts never discourage any kind of arbitration; they constantly recommend it to the parties, who will never agree to it."—Answers; Selections, p. 53. All the Bengal civilians state the same. Mr. J. A. Grant, of Bombay, says of the Panchayats on that side of India, "They direct their attention chiefly, I believe, to matters of discipline and ceremonial observance, connected with the customs and usages of their several sects. They exercise no judicial authority."—Selections, ii. 192.

<sup>3</sup> It was especially in the Mahratta provinces that "the Panchayet might be considered as the great instrument in the administration of justice."—Elphinstone. Mr. Elphinstone, Colonel Muuro, and Colonel Walker speak favourably of their operations, although from the details specified they seem to have been clumsy instruments. The members were selected by the parties, and were not uninfluenced by the hope of presents from one or both: the attendance of the members was very irregular, and there seem to have been no efficient means of compelling punctuality; "it was generally effected by the intreaties of the party interested." Proceedings were seldom recorded: "in villages the Panchayet was often conducted in the way of conversation, and nothing was written but the decision, and not always that." "Throughout the whole proceedings the Panchayets appear to have been guided by their own notions of justice; they consulted no books, and it was only on particular points of Hindu law that they referred to a Sastri (one learned in the law) for his opinion." The Panchayat had no power to enforce its decrees; they required to be confirmed and executed by an officer of Government, to whom "for this cause frequent references were required, and he exercised a considerable influence on the progress of the trial." Notwithstanding these imperfections, the Panchayat must have exercised a be-



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Upon the establishment of regular courts of justice under the government of the East India Company, the novelty of a channel exclusively dedicated to the hearing and determining of complaints, and a belief that they would be investigated in an upright and impartial spirit, produced inconveniences which had not been foreseen. Every one who had, or fancied he had, a wrong to redress, resorted to the courts; and the numbers of the suitors speedily became so numerous, that the means of hearing and adjudicating their cases were wholly insufficient.<sup>1</sup> The jurisdiction of each court comprehended an extent of country and an amount of population vastly beyond the powers of a single establishment. The very qualities which constituted the peculiar recommendations of the new courts added to their insufficiency.<sup>2</sup> As little as possible was left to individual discretion. Deliberate forms and prescribed modes of procedure, whilst they secured exactness, impeded dispatch. Reference to the regulations of the Government, and to the written authorities of Hindu and Mohammedan law, retarded decision; and the multiplication of opportunities of appeal

neficial influence, as it enjoyed great popularity; as is proved by the current phrase, "Panch-Parameswara," Panchayet is God Almighty.—Elphinstone; Selections, iv. 191.

<sup>1</sup> In 1797, the number of suits instituted was 330,977, although the western provinces had not been acquired: they began to decrease from 1803, and in 1813 were only 184,790.—Selections from the Records, iv. 34.

<sup>2</sup> In the Bengal Presidency the population subject to a Zilla court was generally about a million. The Zilla of Midnapore was one hundred and thirty miles long by forty to fifty broad.—Sir Henry Strachey and others. At Madras the Zillas were more compact, and generally contained about half a million inhabitants.—Cockburn. "The Ceded districts, at first divided into three, since into two, Zillas, contain about twenty-nine thousand square miles,—about the extent of Scotland, but more populous."—Thackeray; Answers to Queries; Selections.

from one tribunal to another encouraged and perpetuated litigation. The unavoidable deficiencies of laws, which, whether Hindu, Mohammedan, or English, were devised for wholly different conditions of society, and had not yet become adapted to the changes still in progress, with the unfitness of some of the European judges, from their imperfect knowledge of the languages of the country and the habits of the people,<sup>1</sup> as well as their ignorance of the principles of law and their occasional negligence, contributed to aggravate the defects of the system, and to obstruct the course of judgment. Arrears became in consequence so numerous, and decisions were so long delayed, as to amount to a virtual denial of justice. Attempts were made from time to time to remedy these imperfections: charges and fees were imposed, in order to render justice more expensive and discourage litigation; additional courts were established, at a cost which became burthensome to the state; additional powers were given to the judges, and the privilege of appeal was subjected to new limitations;—measures in some respects exceptionable, and in all inoperative; and the accumulation of arrears, although to a less extent, still continued to constitute a serious evil.<sup>2</sup> To the most obvious remedy, the multiplication of courts and judicial functionaries in an equally pro-

<sup>1</sup> “There is a want of something like professional knowledge, that is, knowledge of the general principles of law, in both the Zilla and provincial judges; and part of the persons in the judicial line are not fit for that part of the service.”—Dorin; Selections.

<sup>2</sup> The suits depending in Bengal at the end of 1802 were 170,706; at the end of 1813, 145,168: for the clearance of which it was estimated that three years would be required in the Zilla, and four in the provincial courts.—Commons’ Committee, 1832; Judicial; Appendix, vii. 479.

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CHAP. VII. adding to the number of European magistrates.<sup>1</sup>

1813. Any considerable augmentation of native judges, who were employed to a limited extent, and whose services were much more economical, was resisted by a violent prejudice against their agency. Their fitness for the office, as far as it required ability and knowledge, was generally admitted; but it was maintained that their notorious want of integrity rendered it impossible that justice could be distributed to the people through so corrupt and impure a channel.<sup>2</sup> The imputation was not perhaps

<sup>1</sup> The annual expense of the judicial establishment in Bengal was calculated by Lord Cornwallis at £306,000. In 1809-10 it had risen to £806,000. The whole cost at the three Presidencies was at that time £1,260,840. In 1813 it was £1,572,492.

<sup>2</sup> "I think it quite out of the question to trust the natives with any principal part in the administration of justice. I am not aware that they want the ability sufficient to decide ordinary questions with tolerable skill, but even the better sort of them are notoriously open to corruption; there is scarcely any thing like principle among them. I know there are some who think these native judges do more harm than good, and should be dispensed with altogether."—Dorin. "The natives can rarely, I fear, be exclusively trusted with the administration of justice; and, in any part of the judicial system allotted to their execution, they must be superintended by Europeans."—Falconar. Sir Henry Strachey, Colonel Munro, and Colonel Walker entertain different views. "It is my opinion that all the judicial functions of Bengal might gradually be thrown into the hands of natives, and that the business would be as well conducted under our regulations by the natives as by Europeans; in some respects better, and at one tenth of the expense." And again: "I am of opinion that, with respect to integrity and diligence, the natives may be trusted with the administration of justice. I think no superintendence of Europeans necessary." "We place the European beyond the reach of temptation; to the native we assign some ministerial office with a poor stipend of twenty to thirty rupees a month: then we pronounce that the Indians are corrupt, and that no race of men but the Company's servants are fit to govern them."—Sir H. Strachey. "In a civilized populous country like India, justice can be well dispensed only through the natives themselves. It is absurd to suppose that they are so corrupt as to be altogether unfit to be entrusted with the discharge of this important duty: if they were so, there would be no remedy for the evil; their place could never be supplied by a few foreigners imperfectly acquainted with their customs and language." Again: "Give a native judge from five hundred to one thousand rupees a month, he will decide thrice as many causes as a European. He might be corrupt; turn him out and try another,

wholly unmerited, but the charge was much too unqualified, and the evils anticipated were greatly exaggerated. Nor was it sufficiently considered by what means they might be remedied: whether they might not be checked, if not prevented, by better pay, higher dignity, vigilant superintendence, and occasional disgrace; whether natives might not be influenced as well as Europeans by the hope of reward and fear of punishment. Corruption could not be universal. The temptation could not in every case outweigh the risk; and no account was made of the force of public opinion, to which the natives of India are not insensible. It seems also to have been forgotten, that, for centuries prior to the introduction of European agency, law and justice had been administered solely by natives; yet society had been held together: and there had been times when, according to the testimony of travellers and historians, India had been populous and flourishing, the people thriving and happy. This was still the case in some parts of the country; and, if it was not so more generally, the cause was to be found in the absence of good government and the prevalence of internal disorder, in which all institutions had been overturned, and the principles as well as the practice of justice had disappeared. It was taking a narrow and ungenerous view of the question to draw a con-

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and another. Make it worth his while to retain his post, and he will cease to risk its forfeiture. If we pay the same price for integrity, we shall find it as readily amongst natives as Europeans."—Munro. "The aim of the preceding observations has been to show that the natives of India may, in respect to integrity, be trusted with the administration of justice; and that some of the civil offices of government may be confided to them with safety and advantage."—Walker; *Answers to Queries; Selections*, vol. ii. There will be subsequently occasion to advert to later opinions on this subject.



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clusion unfavourable to the native character from the state in which it had been left by the recent times of trouble, and, overlooking what it had been in better days, deny the probability of its amelioration under more propitious circumstances. The truth was beginning to be discerned; and, amid the prevalence of a contrary opinion, some few of the Company's servants warmly advocated the extended employment of the natives in the administration of justice as the only practicable means of proportioning the supply to the demand. The question continued in suspense, and little advance was made in the improvement of the judicial system in Bengal during Lord Minto's government. Measures were, however, in progress which were brought to maturity under his successor. Changes of more considerable magnitude took place at Madras, but they also underwent important modifications at a shortly subsequent period.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bengal Regulation xiii. of 1808 enacted that the origination of civil suits of five thousand rupees and upwards should be transferred from the Zilla to the provincial courts; and Regulation xiii. of 1810 provided that decrees might be passed by one judge in sundry cases where two had been necessary, and that the fees on the institution of suits should be partly or wholly returned when the parties settled the cause by arbitration. At Madras, in 1808, Regulation v. enacted the payment of fees on the institution and trial of suits. Regulation vi. empowered the senior judge of the courts of circuit and appeal to take his tour of circuit duty. Regulations viii. to xiii. effected a new arrangement of the jurisdiction of the Zilla courts in the different divisions of the Madras provinces, and established four courts of appeal and circuit. In 1809, Regulation vii. provided for the occasional appointment of Zilla judges, extended the jurisdiction of the registers, limited appeals, and provided head native commissioners in certain cases. Regulation viii. defined the duties and powers of judges of the provincial courts acting singly. Regulation x. increased the number and powers of native commissioners; and Regulation xii. limited and regulated the right of appeal. Up to the year 1808, the Regulations of the Bombay Presidency were framed as nearly conformable to those of Bengal as circumstances would admit, with exception that, while the Mohammedan law was there alone applicable to the decision of criminal trials, the Hindus under the Bombay Presidency were allowed the benefit of the laws

Delays of a similar nature, although not to a like extent, were found to prevail in the administration of criminal justice ; and, in a great measure from a like cause, the inadequacy of the provision made for its distribution. An evil of a still more pernicious tendency originated in the assignment of the duty of magistrate to the city or district judge. If as judge he devoted his attention to the civil suits in arrear, the business of the magistrate was necessarily interrupted, and an interval might intervene between the apprehension of a prisoner and his commitment, which sometimes subjected the innocent to the punishment of the guilty, and detained for an indefinite period a person in confinement against whom no charge could be substantiated.<sup>1</sup> The same remedy that was applicable to the former case was here also obvious, and the separation of incompatible duties was a necessary preliminary to their effective discharge. For this purpose the Bengal Government associated the Zilla and city judges in some instances with magistrates having a special or joint jurisdiction in criminal matters only, or gave them the aid of assistant magistrates, acting in general subordinately to, but upon emergencies independently of, the judges. Other enactments were passed for the more effective conduct of previous investigation by the local officers, for admission to bail upon charges not

of their religion in all trials, of whatsoever description, wherein they were the defendant or accused parties. At this period the Government of Bombay exercised the right, with which it was invested by the 47th of George III. sect. iii. chap. 68, of making Regulations of its own authority ; and in this and subsequent years the following Regulations provided for the more effective administration of civil and criminal justice : 1808, Regulation ii. ; 1812, Regulations iii. to xi. ; 1813, Regulations ii. iv. vii. ix.

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Report, p. 69.

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1813. of a heinous nature, for the dismissal of frivolous complaints, and the avoidance of all unnecessary delay between the apprehension of a person accused and his examination before the magistrate.<sup>1</sup> The criminal, as well as the civil judicature, was the object of progressive legislation.<sup>2</sup>

The state of the police formed in Bengal a more immediate subject of solicitude than even the defects of the administration of civil or criminal justice. The Lower provinces of the Presidency were infested by the increasing numbers and audacity of various classes of robbers, who, under the designations of Dakoits, Choars, Kuzzaks, Budhuks, or Thugs, infested the country, and not unfrequently added murder to robbery. The Kuzzaks were mounted robbers, who occasionally singly beset the high roads, or, having collected in parties, attacked and plundered whole villages. The Budhuks and Thugs were distinguished by their practice of strangling unsuspecting travellers, with whom they contrived to fall in upon a journey. The Dakoits and Choars were robbers who assembled in gangs, and, entering the villages by night, attacked the house of some one person reputed to possess valuables or money. These last were the

<sup>1</sup> Regulation xvi. of 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Regulations ix. 1807, and iii. 1812. Madras Regulation i. 1810 provided for the apprehension and punishment of persons resisting or evading the processes of the courts: Reg. i. of 1811 directed quarterly jail deliveries to be held in certain Zillas: Reg. iv. of 1811 had for its general scope the objects of the Bengal Regulations: Regs. iv. of 1807, and iii. of 1812, the more speedy trial and punishment, or acquittal, of persons charged with offences not of a heinous nature; this also enjoined the Zilla magistrates to furnish an annual report of all cases depending on the 31st of December before them or their assistants. The Bombay Regulations are cited above.

most formidable. Their depredations were first noticed in 1772, when they were described by the Committee of Circuit as individuals not driven to such courses by want, but robbers by profession, and even by birth, following the profession from father to son. But, however true this may have been at the period of the report, there was no doubt that latterly many of the members of the several gangs were not professional banditti, but were urged by necessity to enlist in the gangs, or sometimes were compelled by force or fear to join them.<sup>1</sup> Aided by such recruits from the peasantry, the Dakoits acquired greater strength and confidence, and from 1800 to 1810 kept the country in perpetual alarm.<sup>2</sup> Extraordinary efforts became necessary for their suppression.

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<sup>1</sup> "In accounting for Decoity or robbery in a Zilla, our first step ought to be to examine the condition of the Ryots, and we shall always find in their poverty and oppression the chief cause of this evil."—Tytler, *Considerations on the State of India*, i. 374. "A gang of Decoits does not consist entirely of professed robbers: many of the party are poor honest industrious people who are seized for the service of the night."—Letter from E. Strachey, Judge of Rajshahi; Fifth Report, App. 588.

<sup>2</sup> In the language of Lord Minto, "a monstrous and disorganised state of society existed under the eye of the supreme British authorities, and almost at the very seat of that Government to which the country might justly look for safety and protection. The mischief could not wait for a slow remedy; the people were perishing almost in our sight; every week's delay was a doom of slaughter and torture against the defenceless inhabitants of very populous countries."—Minute, 24th Nov. 1810; *Parl. Papers*, 1st July, 1819, p. 23. His lordship's language, and that which was generally employed on this occasion by the members of the Government and by the judges, is liable to the charge of exaggeration. At this very time, when it was said by the judicial secretary that "there was no protection of person or property to the people of India," it was very possible for an individual unconnected with the judicial department to be scarcely aware that such a crime as gang-robbery existed. In dwelling upon the absolute amount of crime, its proportional ratio to the population is imperfectly adverted to. According to official returns, the total number of murders, including those committed by Dakoits, in the Lower provinces, was in the year 1813 two hundred and ten, the population being above thirty-seven millions.—Commons' Committee, 1832; App. Judicial, p. 506.



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1813. The Dakoits, although in their aggregation and in their following acknowledged leaders or Sirdars they bore an analogy to the brigands of the south of Europe, or the banditti of the middle ages, yet resembled more nearly some of the illegal confederations which have been organised in modern days and more civilised communities in Europe, in their assembling by night only, and dispersing and following peaceable occupations during the day, most of them being engaged in the cultivation of the soil or following mechanical trades. Individuals among them were well known as Sirdars, by whom their expeditions were projected, and by whose orders the gang was assembled at an appointed spot, generally a grove near the village to be attacked. The members of the gang, who were secretly known to the Sirdars, and sometimes to each other, repaired to the place variously armed, chiefly with swords, clubs, and pikes, and some with matchlocks. Their numbers varied from ten or fifteen to fifty or sixty. When collected, their marauding excursion was usually preluded by a religious ceremony, the worship of the goddess Durgá, the patroness of thieves, typified by a water-pot or a few blades of grass. The ceremony was conducted by a Brahman of degraded condition and dissolute life. Having propitiated the goddess by the promise of a portion of their spoil, they marched with lighted torches, and little attempt at concealment beyond disguising their faces by pigment, or covering them with masks, to the object of their expedition, usually the dwelling of some shop-keeper or money-changer, in which it was expected to discover treasure. Occasionally the

motive of the attack was vengeance; and information given by the householder, or some of his family, against any of the members of the gang, brought upon him the resentment of the whole fraternity.<sup>1</sup> Upon entering the village, it was customary to fire a gun, as a signal to the inhabitants to keep within their dwellings: the house against which the operation was designed was then surrounded; and, whilst some of the gang forced an entrance, others remained as a guard without. Unless exasperated by resistance, or instigated by revenge, the Dakoits did not commonly proceed to murder; but they perpetrated atrocious cruelties upon such persons as refused to give them, or were unable to give them, information regarding property which they suspected of having been concealed, burning them with lighted torches or blazing straw, or wrapping cloth or flax steeped in oil round their limbs and setting it on fire, or inflicting various tortures, which caused immediate or speedy death.<sup>2</sup> The object being accomplished, and the booty secured, the gang retired before daylight, and the in-

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell's Report, Sept. 1809. Of the three cases of which he gives the trials in abstract, one of which has been cited by Mr. Mill, v. 553, two originated in revenge.—Fifth Report, App. 604.

<sup>2</sup> In one hundred and four houses attacked by Dakoits in the course of thirteen months, eight persons were wounded, three were tortured, and five killed.—Dowdeswell's Report, *ibid.* 606. In 1813, the whole number of Dakoitis under the Bengal Presidency was six hundred and ninety; in which seventy-one persons were killed, two hundred and forty-six tortured and wounded. The returns show characteristic differences between the Lower and Upper provinces:

	<i>Dakoitis.</i>	<i>Murdered.</i>	<i>Tortured and Wounded.</i>
Lower provinces . . .	505	31	149
Upper provinces . . .	185	40	97

In the latter more were murdered and fewer wounded in little more than one third of the robberies; proofs of more fierceness but less cruelty.—Commons' Committee, 1832; App. p. 506.

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dividuals resumed their daily occupations. Such was the terror inspired by their atrocities, and such the dread of their revenge, that few of their neighbours ventured to inform or give evidence against them, although well aware of their real character and proceedings. The police, intimidated or corrupt, rarely interfered until the robbery was completed and the perpetrators had disappeared; and their interposition was far from welcome to the people, as their unprofitable and vexatious inquiries had frequently no other purpose in view than the extortion of money as the price of forbearing to drag the villagers, unwilling witnesses, before the European magistrate, or even of falsely accusing them of being accessory to the crime.<sup>1</sup>

The Zilla judge, who according to the existing system administered, as has been mentioned, both the criminal as well as the civil law, and was charged also with the duty of police magistrate, necessarily resided in the capital town of his jurisdiction, which might be a hundred miles remote from the scene of a robbery. Fully occupied with his other duties, it was impossible for him to pay frequent visits to places at any considerable distance from his station; and not only was local investigation therefore impracticable, but it was impossible for him to exercise a vigilant personal supervision over the officers of the police. The police jurisdictions were originally intended to include tracts of about twenty miles square; but they were of greater or less extent, according to circumstances, and usually embraced a numerous popu-

<sup>1</sup> Dowdeswell's Report, and Letters of the Judges preceding.

lation. Each of these was under a head officer or Daroga, who had at his disposal from twenty to fifty armed men, a very inadequate force in many cases to maintain order amongst the inhabitants of the district. To render them still more ineffective, the pay of the whole, the Daroga included, was barely sufficient for their support, and they were almost of necessity corrupt. Little or no assistance was to be expected from the people. Their ancient institutions had been broken up either directly or indirectly by the regulations of the Government. The Zemindars had been formerly charged with the management of the police, and were held accountable for all acts of robbery or violence committed within their Zemindaris. They abused their power and neglected their duty in some cases; and they were relieved of the one, and deprived of the other, in a summary manner,<sup>1</sup> and they were little inclined to interest themselves in a troublesome and thankless office. The instruments employed under them had been of two classes: one, under the term Paiks and Chokidars, attached to them and their agents personally; the other, known as Pasbans, Nigahbans, or Hâris, connected with the villages: the former were the police of the whole district, the latter the watchmen of their respective hamlets. Both were paid chiefly by allotments of land rent-free, or held at a low quit-rent under the Zemindar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By Reg. xxii. of 1793: on the grounds that the clause in their engagements which had formerly invested them with the authority had not only been found nugatory, but in numerous instances proved the means of multiplying robberies and other disorders, from the collusion which subsisted between the perpetrators of them and the police-officers entertained by the Zemindars and farmers of the land.

<sup>2</sup> Their numbers may be estimated from those of one district. In Burd-



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When he ceased or was forbidden to have any concern with the police, he had no inducement to keep up a police establishment; and, when it was intimated that the allowances formerly made to him for the expense were withdrawn, he either levied the same rent upon the allotments of the watchmen and Paiks as on any other of his Ryots, or he resumed the land. The Paiks were generally dismissed: the village watchmen lingered, but in a state of poverty and inefficiency which rendered them worse than useless. It was of little avail, therefore, to place them by law under the authority of the new Darogas, and to enact that they should be kept up and duly registered: the enactments were disregarded, and the native police establishments ceased to exist, or were in no condition to give effectual aid in preserving the public peace. They were much more likely to be in concert with its disturbers.<sup>1</sup>

The evil consequences of having so completely excluded native co-operation had long been urged upon the consideration of the Government by many of its ablest officers, and one of its first remedial measures was to reinvest the Zemindars with a portion of their former authority. Regulations were accordingly enacted, by which respectable inhabitants of

wan, in 1788, there were two thousand four hundred Pasbans or village constables, and nineteen thousand Paiks.—Judicial Letter from the Court of Directors, Nov. 1814; Parl. Papers, 1 July, 1819, p. 48.

<sup>1</sup> Reg. i. 1793 reserved the option of resuming the whole or part of such allowances as had been made to the Zemindars for keeping up police thanas, or the produce of any lands which they might have been permitted to appropriate for the same purpose. "Extensive resumptions were made under this clause; resumptions were also made by the Zemindars; and the effect of both was to reduce the native police to a state of want, which drove them to a life of robbery and plunder for a subsistence."—Letter from the Court; Parl. Papers, 1819, p. 50.

the several provinces were commissioned to act as Amins or superintendents of police: they were authorised to receive written charges of all offences of a heinous nature, issue warrants for the apprehension of offenders, and send the persons so apprehended to the police Darogas; to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, without warrant, persons engaged in the actual commission of a heinous crime or flagrant breach of the peace, and have them conveyed to the nearest police thanna; they were enjoined to assist the Darogas on all occasions; to send them information, and see that the village watchmen did their duty; to obey the magistrate's orders in instituting any inquiry, and to furnish him with a monthly report of the persons whom they had apprehended; and they were declared liable to prosecution in the criminal court for any act of corruption, extortion, or oppression done by themselves or any person acting under their authority.<sup>1</sup>

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In these regulations for enlisting persons of credit and influence in the preservation of the public peace, there were several radical defects which ensured their failure. These police Amins were not only to give their services without pay, but, "considering the description of persons from whom they were to be selected, it was not expected that they would require any distinct establishment of public officers at the charge of Government to enable them to perform the duties required of them." They were, in fact, to pay a police as well as perform its functions. It is not surprising that few should have been willing to accept the office. Even had

<sup>1</sup> Bengal Regs. xii. and xiv. 1807.

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these unreasonable stipulations been omitted, it was not to be expected that many persons of respectability would have been ambitious of a post which made them subordinate to the police Darogas. The regulations were rescinded in a few years;<sup>1</sup> and the penalties of fine and imprisonment were then imposed upon the Zemindars, and all holders of land, if they failed to give early and punctual information of the commission of any public offences, or the resort of robbers in any place within their estates; and if they afforded to such offenders food, or shelter, or concealment, they were liable to forfeit their lands to the Government.<sup>2</sup> Similar penalties had been previously denounced; but to so little purpose, that it was doubted if a single instance was known of their having been enforced.<sup>3</sup> With respect to the inferior agents, Paiks, Chokidars, and the like, they were made liable to corporal punishment by the magistrate if proved guilty of misconduct or neglect:<sup>4</sup> no provisions were enacted at this time for replacing them in the occupancy of their lands, to obviate the necessity which made them, according to Mr. Dowdeswell, alternately watchmen and robbers.

Actuated by that spirit of exclusive reliance upon European agency which had been engendered by the institutions of Marquis Cornwallis, the Government of Bengal strengthened the department of the police by the appointment of two superintendents of police, one for the Lower and one for the Western provinces.

<sup>1</sup> Bengal Reg. v. 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Bengal Regs. ix. 1808; iii. 1812.

<sup>3</sup> Dowdeswell's Report; Fifth Report, App. 614.

<sup>4</sup> Reg. iii. 1812.

These officers, acting in concert with the magistrates, or, as occasion required, independently of them, were not restricted to any particular station or defined district, and were enabled to exercise a more immediate supervision over the Darogas and police establishments, and to apprehend and punish offenders in a more prompt and vigorous manner.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement was beneficial. But, besides these officers, magistrates were appointed with special powers to suppress the crime of gang-robbery in the districts adjacent to Calcutta, which were its principal seats. Selected for their personal intelligence and activity, and for their knowledge of the languages and customs of the people, at liberty to devote their whole energies to their particular duties, and armed with large discretionary powers, they speedily arrested the mischief; but in their zeal they had recourse to unjustifiable rigour, and were almost as severe a scourge to the country as the Dakoits themselves. The inhabitants of the villages were indiscriminately apprehended upon insufficient evidence: many of them were acquitted upon trial after having been long detained in prison: some died in confinement.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Regs. x. 1808; viii. 1810.

<sup>2</sup> At Muddenpore, some treasure having been plundered by Dakoits, one hundred and ninety-two persons were apprehended upon the charge of an informer: one hundred and forty-two were released upon examination, forty-six were committed, six were pardoned upon a pretended confession; for it turned out on the trial of those committed, who were detained in prison above a year, that the whole were innocent, the charge having been a fabrication. Three of the prisoners died in jail.—Sir H. Strachey; Answers to Queries; Judicial Records, ii. 70. At Nadiya, two thousand and seventy-one persons were apprehended as Dakoits from the 20th of May, 1808, to the 31st of May, 1809; of whom no less than one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight had been taken up as men of bad character and on vague suspicion, forty-four only had been convicted before the Court of Circuit during two sessions, three hundred and sixty-nine had been released by the magistrate, two hundred and sixty-eight acquitted by



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It was argued in defence of this procedure, that, although the acquitted persons might not have been concerned in the actual offence, yet they were cognisant of its perpetration, and neither took any steps to prevent it, nor to bring the perpetrators to justice; that violent diseases required strong remedies; and that it was better that a few innocent persons should suffer than the whole community live in alarm and danger. Equally exceptionable was the subordinate agency by which the objects of the magistrates were in most instances obtained—the employment of hired spies or Goyendas: it was admitted that the system was liable to abuse; that the Goyendas were unprincipled miscreants, who made their power the means of extortion, and who hesitated not to sacrifice innocent individuals to their cupidity or their revenge. But it was maintained that their instrumentality was absolutely necessary; that no efficient police could be established in any country except upon the basis of espionage; that without the aid of hired informers the most notorious leaders of the Dakoits would not have been apprehended at all; and that the improvement manifested in the districts round Calcutta was proportionate to the skill with which this

the court. Of those who remained in jail after the first sessions of 1809, the greater part had not been brought up for trial at the two sessions which followed, but still remained in confinement. On the 31st of May, 1809, there were no less than one thousand four hundred and seventy-seven prisoners in the Nadiya jail who had not been examined. Besides the two thousand and seventy-one prisoners above specified, a considerable number of persons had been apprehended as Dakoits during the same period by Messrs. Blacquiere and Leyden, the magistrates of the twenty-four Pergunnas and joint magistrates of Nadiya, and by their Goyendas, who, instead of being examined and tried, were sent down to the Presidency and there kept in confinement.—Judicial Letter from the Court, 1st Oct. 1814; Parl. Papers, June, 1819, p. 25.

powerful engine had been wielded.<sup>1</sup> These were the sentiments of many of the most confidential advisers of the Government, and they predominated in its counsels. Notwithstanding this view of the case, and admitting the efficacy of the Goyenda system in the districts which were most disorganised, and in hands better adapted to a harsh than delicate handling of a public nuisance, it was shown by contemporary experience that such extreme and mischievous methods were not indispensable, and that the evil was susceptible of alleviation by a milder treatment. In one district at least, that of Burdwan, gang-robbery, once as prevalent there as in other places, was nearly extinguished in the course of a twelvemonth by very different measures. The instruments employed were the neglected and undervalued institutions of the country animated by skilful superintendence and encouragement: the landholders and head-men of the villages and of various trades were called upon to enter into engagements for the performance of those duties, which it was personally explained to them they were expected to fulfil; and the village watchmen were punished for neglect or connivance, and rewarded for courage and good conduct. Attempts to deprive them of their service-lands were sedulously resisted, and the villagers were encouraged to give them more liberal subsistence. In this instance it was unequivocally shown that the co-operation of the people was to be had, and that when had it was efficacious.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dowdeswell's Report, p. 615.

<sup>2</sup> In the year 1810, Mr. Butterworth Bayley was appointed to the office

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Notwithstanding this evidence of the feasibility of a different system, no attempt was made to act upon it on a more extensive scale; and the only enactments of the Government, in addition to those already adverted to, placed the rewards which had been given for the apprehension of Dakoits upon safer principles. The amount payable upon conviction was augmented: it was made payable wholly, or in part, where conviction could not be established, if circumstances justified the apprehension of the prisoner; and it was to be withheld, even where conviction ensued, if it appeared that improper means had been pursued by the informer. Rewards for meritorious exertions, and remuneration for expense incurred in cases not specified, connected with the discovery and apprehension of offenders, were also authorised. The combined operation of the measures of the Government was not without effect:

of magistrate of Burdwan. In Feb. 1811, the Circuit judge reports that "gang-robbery, formerly so prevalent, had become nearly extinct; and a regular system had been introduced which promised fair to secure the co-operation of the community in the detection and apprehension of offenders." The causes of improvement are thus detailed by Mr. Bayley; "The uniform punishment and dismission from office of the village watchmen wherever there was any appearance of neglect or connivance on their part in robberies, and the rewards which were constantly given to them for any proof of bravery, activity, or good conduct in opposing or apprehending Dakoits; the exertions made by him for obtaining a more adequate subsistence for the village watchmen, by carefully preventing all attempts on the part of the Talookdars to resume any part of the Chakeran lands, and by encouraging the head villagers to subscribe a more liberal remuneration for the support of their Chokidars than had before been customary." The Mandals, who were the principal fixed residents, and were vested by long usage with considerable local authority and immunities, and the Chokidars under them, were the chief classes upon whom Mr. Bayley relied for information and aid in the improvement of the police. He however took Moochulkas not only from them, but also from the landholders, gomashas, venders of spirituous liquor, pawnbrokers, gold and silversmiths, &c., explaining to them personally the duties they were enjoined to perform, and the practices from which they were expected to refrain.—Letter of Court, 9th Nov. 1814; Parl. Papers, June, 1819, p. 53. In this letter the Court take a general review of the past and actual state of the police in Bengal.

the crime of gang-robbery, although not wholly eradicated, was materially checked, and during the latter part of Lord Minto's administration it became much less frequent, and was less marked by cruelty and bloodshed.

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Shortly prior to the appointment of Lord Minto, a controversy had commenced between the authorities in England and in India respecting the course to be pursued with respect to the final settlement of the revenue from the land in those parts of the British territory where a settlement was yet to be effected, comprising the Ceded and Conquered provinces under the Presidency of Bengal, and the provinces in the south of India which had been annexed to the Madras Presidency by the humiliation and downfall of the Mohammedan Government of Mysore. Opinions at home had undergone a material change. Principles, which but a few years before had met with universal assent, were now called in question; and measures, which had received the sanction and commendation of the Court of Directors, the Board of Controul, and of successive administrations, and which had been eulogised by high authorities as the results of consummate wisdom and enlightened disinterestedness,<sup>1</sup> were now stig-

<sup>1</sup> "The distinguished character of Lord Cornwallis, and the authority which the permanent settlement derived from the approbation of Mr. Pitt, of Mr. now Lord Grenville, and the late Lord Melville, justly clothed it with an awful veneration, which for many years precluded the agitation of any question as to its merits."—Commons' Committee, App. p. 67; Observations on the Revenue System of India, by the Right Hon. John Sullivan. In the Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, 9th April, 1813, Lord Wellesley observed, "Every Governor of India had acknowledged the justice and policy of the principle of the permanent settlement, and he was satisfied that every person qualified to be a Governor of India must do the same. It formed the corner-stone of the Government of India, and the extension of the principle to the Conquered provinces would found a solid basis



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matized as improvident and precipitate, as originating in defective knowledge and erroneous analogies, and as equally detrimental to the prosperity of the state and the happiness of the people. The leading members of the Bengal and Madras Governments, trained in the school of Lord Cornwallis, and, with the exception of the Governor-General himself, the instruments and coadjutors of that nobleman in framing the perpetual settlement of Bengal, and in extending its provisions to Madras, tenaciously adhered to the principles of that settlement, and strenuously urged its universal adoption. The principal authorities of England, on the contrary, influenced by the proceedings and sentiments of some distinguished revenue officers of the Presidency of Madras, first suspended, and finally prohibited, the conclusion of an assessment in perpetuity in those provinces to which it had not been extended.<sup>1</sup> To render this change of purpose intel-

for that Government to rest upon." On the same occasion Lord Grenville urged the insertion of a clause in any charter to be granted to the Company declaratory of the adherence of the Indian Government to the principle of permanency.

<sup>1</sup>The Select Committee of the House of Commons, in their celebrated Fifth Report, printed July, 1812, first publicly called the principle in question, employing what Marquis Wellesley termed ambiguous words, tending, according to Lord Grenville, if not to discredit the original measure, at least to discountenance its proposed extension. This Report is known to have been the composition of Mr. Cumming, at that time superintendent of the revenue and judicial department in the office of the Board of Controul, who was an implicit believer in the excellence of the Ryotwar settlement as advocated by Sir Thomas Munro.—Commons' Committee, 1832, App.; Revenue remarks by Mr. Sullivan. We have also the testimony of Mr. Courtenay, between fifteen and sixteen years secretary to the Board of Controul, that the opposition to the permanent Zemindari settlement originated in the Board, not in the Court: "I may here mention, that the system known by the name of Sir T. Munro's system was the work of the Board, and in many parts of it was opposed by the Court. The same observation applies to many matters concerning the revival or maintenance of ancient native institutions, and the employment of natives in public functions." And again:

ligible, it will be necessary to take a brief survey of the condition of the agricultural population of India, and the principles upon which the realisation of the revenue derived from land was founded, previously to the establishment of the British Government, as well as of the proceedings of the British Government subsequently to those which have been already described in connexion with the permanent settlements made by Lord Cornwallis.

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Land is the main source of the revenue of the British Government of India. That Government follows in this respect the principles and practice of its predecessors, both Mohammedan and Hindu; and, while it avails itself of a convenient and profitable means of making provision for the public charges, it consults the advantage, and conforms to the notions and feelings, of the people.<sup>1</sup>

“When I said that Sir T. Munro’s system was the work of the Board, I meant that it was taken up and countenanced by the Board rather than by the Court.”—Commons’ Com. 1832, App.; Public answers, 292. 1585.

<sup>1</sup> “In India the land has always furnished the chief revenue of the state, and taxes are immediately imposed upon it.”—Minute of Lord Teignmouth, Fifth Report, App. 205. “By the ancient law of the country the ruling power is entitled to a certain proportion of the produce of every begga of land, demandable in money or kind, according to local custom, unless it transfers its right thereto for a time, or in perpetuity.”—Preamble to Reg. xix. 1793. “Any change from established custom in India gives rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction. The land-rent is what the people readily pay; and, although it may appear exorbitant, it is a revenue that is paid without much difficulty. A tax in any other shape, however small, is comparatively disliked.”—Christian, Evidence, Lords’ Committee, 1830; Question 848. “Nine-tenths probably of the revenue of the Government of India is derived from the rent of land, never appropriated to individuals, and always considered to be the property of Government: and to me that appears to be one of the most fortunate circumstances that can occur in any country; because, in consequence of this, the wants of the state are supplied really and truly without taxation. As far as this source goes, the people of the country remain untaxed.”—Mill, Evid., Select Committee of House of Commons, 1831; Question 3134. The proportion was overrated, as was subsequently remarked by the Committee; it was about six-tenths; nor, as there will be occasion to remark, was it quite correct to say that the rent of land was never appropriated to individuals.

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But, this fact being stated, there occur sundry questions, which, although repeatedly and laboriously investigated, have not yet been answered in such a manner as to secure universal acceptance. They may be briefly resolved into the following: 1. In what character did the native Governments claim a revenue from the land? 2. What were the nature and extent of their demands? 3. By what class or classes of the people were those demands discharged? 4. Upon what principles were the demands of the British Government regulated? We shall endeavour to elicit a reply to these queries from the mass of conflicting statements by which the subject has been obscured; but, as the space which can be devoted to the inquiry is unavoidably disproportionate to the quantity of unmethodised materials which have been accumulated with a view to its elucidation, it will be necessary to select for description only a few of the most important points, omitting many of less moment, though of scarcely inferior interest.<sup>1</sup>

I. The demand made by the Sovereign has been commonly referred to his character of proprietor of the soil. It has been maintained that it is by his

<sup>1</sup> The principal authorities consulted for the following passages in the text are, *The Fifth Report of the Select Committee of 1810*, printed 1812, 1 vol. folio; *Selections from the Revenue and Judicial Records at the India House*, printed by order of the Court of Directors, 1820-1826, 4 vols. folio; *Reports of the Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament in 1830, 1831, and 1832*, with evidence and appendices, reprinted by order of the Court of Directors, 16 vols. 4to; *Colonel Wilks's History of the South of India*; *Sir J. Malcolm's Central India*; *Mr. Elphinstone's History of India*; *Rouse on the Land Tenures of India*; *General Briggs on the Land-tax of India*; *General Galloway on the Law and Constitution of India*; *Mr. Tucker on the Financial Situation of the East India Company*; *Colonel Sykes on the Land Tenures of the Dekhin*; *Mr. Thomason on the Revenue Settlement of Azinghur*; and a variety of tracts and papers.

permission only, and with his sanction, that the land is occupied, and that the occupant sows his seed and reaps his crops; that whatever produce is in excess of the bare subsistence of the cultivator and cost of cultivation, is the property of the king; that it is rent, not revenue, to which he is entitled, for he is the one universal landlord; that this is the character in which the sovereign appears in the laws and institutions of the Hindus, in the laws of the Mohammedan conquerors of India, and in the practice of all modern native governments, and in which he is recognised universally by the people.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the positiveness with which it has been affirmed that the proprietary right of the sovereign is indissolubly connected with the ancient laws and institutions of the Hindus, the accuracy of the assertion may be reasonably disputed. In adducing the authority of Hindu writers in favour of the doctrine, two sources of fallacy are discernible. No discrimination has been exercised in distinguishing ancient from modern authorities; and isolated passages have been quoted, without regard to others by which they have been qualified or ex-

<sup>1</sup> See Mill, *History of India*, i. 305, and notes; also Grant's Reports on the Northern Circars and the Revenues of Bengal; and the Minute of Lord Cornwallis, Fifth Report, App. 473. Colonel Munro says, "Nothing can be plainer than that private landed property has never existed in India except on the Malabar coast."—*Revenue Sel.* i. 94. And the Board of Revenue observe, "We concur with Colonel Munro in thinking that Government is virtually the proprietor of the soil."—*Ibid.* 486. Such also is Mr. Fortescue's opinion with respect to the Western provinces; and at a long subsequent date, "As to the proprietorship, my belief is, that the Government is the proprietor of the land, and that the person occupying it is well satisfied with the occupation, paying the rent."—*Lords' Committee*, 1830, *Evid.*, Question 511. And on the opposite side of India Colonel Barnewall asserts that the people in Guzerat claim no property in the soil. Government is vested with the property in the lands; and, as landlord, entitled to the rent, or a share of the produce equal to it.—*Commons' Committee*, 1832, *Evid.* 1755.



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1813. plained.<sup>1</sup> If due attention had been paid to these considerations, it would have been found that the supposed proprietary right of the sovereign is not warranted by ancient writers; and that, while those of later date seem to incline to its admission, they do not acknowledge an exclusive right, but one concurrent with the right of the occupant; they acknowledge a property in the soil, not the property of the soil. In the older jurists we find, indeed, the right of kingly power over the whole earth asserted; and the right is based, with every semblance of historical truth, upon conquest: but there is no attribution of ownership to the king, nor is there any trace of a royal property or estate.<sup>2</sup> Proprietary

<sup>1</sup> As observed by Mr. Mill, i. 307 and note, the Digest of Hindu law compiled by the desire of Sir William Jones, and translated by Mr. Colebrooke, favours the proprietary right of the sovereign, particularly in stating, that, if no special engagement for a term of occupancy has been made, the occupant may at any time be dispossessed by the Raja in favour of a person offering a higher revenue.—i. 461. Colonel Wilks accuses the Pundits, who compiled the Digest, of falsifying the law; but the charge is undeserved. The original passages of the Digest are not the law, they are the opinions of the compiler as to the meaning of the law; and it is open to any one to contest or admit the interpretation according to the purport of the ancient texts, which are also given. It is also necessary to collate this passage with what follows; it will then be found that Tarka-Panchánana, the compiler, does not deny proprietary right in the subject, he only infers the co-existence of concurrent rights: "There is property," he says, "of a hundred various kinds in land:" and, when treating of sale without ownership, he observes, "The property is his who uses the land where he resides, and while he uses it; and thus, when land belonging to any person is sold by the king, it is sale without ownership."—i. 475. The sale is illegal.

<sup>2</sup> The texts of Menu, which have been cited in proof of the proprietary right of the Raja, have been misunderstood. In B. viii. v. 39, the phrase rendered by Sir W. Jones "lord paramount of the soil," is *Blumer-adhipati*, supreme ruler of the earth: the title *Adhipati*, "over-lord," no more implies ownership in this text than when it is used to denote the head-man of a village, *Grámádhipati*; or governor of a district, *Désádhipati*. In another text, in which the authority of a king is intimated to be analogous to that of a husband over a wife, the sources of property in subjects are also enunciated: "Ancient sages have called this earth (*Prithivi*) the wife of *Prithu*; they have called the field his who has cut down the thicket; the wild beast his whose shaft has slain it."—B. ix. v. 44. The subjection

right is vested in the individual who first clears and cultivates the land: it is therefore referred to colonisation; a source which, as regards India and the Hindus, is probably in a great degree historical. The king may occupy unclaimed or uncultivated lands, as well as a subject; he has no preference: if he appropriates them, he must give away half to the Brahmans; if they are appropriated by a subject, the king claims only the share of the produce assigned to him by law. Concurrent and not incompatible rights and claims are thus clearly recognised; and the king's dues are based, not upon any indefeasible right of property, but in the first instance upon conquest, and in the second upon protection.

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The notion of the proprietary right of the sovereign is rather of Mohammedan than Hindu origin. The doctrines of the Mohammedan jurists are somewhat at variance on this matter. Those who belong

of the earth by Prithu is clearly an allegory of its conquest by the military caste; see Vishnu Purana, p. 103. The compiler of the Digest expressly states that the king's proprietary right is "denied by some, because Menu has only declared that subjects shall be protected by the king."—i. 471. Menu then, even according to the Pundits, is not authority for this doctrine. Another ancient lawgiver, Yajñawalkya, is quoted in the Digest to show that the king has no particular property even in unclaimed or uncultivated ground; if a subject choose, he may occupy it without leave, giving the Raja his due.—i. 461. Another writer of antiquity, Jaimini, the author of the Mimamsa, also denies the king's ownership: "The kingly power is for the government of the realm and the extirpation of wrong, and for that purpose he receives taxes from husbandmen and levies fines from offenders; but the right of property is not thereby vested in him, else he would have property in house and land appertaining to the subjects abiding in his dominions. The earth is not the king's, but is common to all beings enjoying the fruit of their own labour."—Colebrooke on the Mimāṃsā Philosophy, Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, i. 458. Mr. Elphinstone justly concludes, from the Hindu laws on this subject, that as the king's share was limited to one-sixth, or at most to one-fourth, there must have been a proprietor for the other five-sixths, or three-fourths, who must obviously have had the greatest interest of the two in the whole property shared.—History of India, i. 42.

BOOK I. to the school which has been chiefly followed in  
 CHAP. VII. India, maintain the right of individual ownership:

1813. yet they do so with considerable reservation, for they restrict the appropriation of all uncultivated land to the king; assign to him the property of all except arable land; authorise him to dispossess any occupant who neglects to cultivate his land, and transfer it to another;<sup>1</sup> and entitle him to claim the whole of the net produce of cultivation. Other Mohammedan lawyers assert unequivocally, that in all conquered countries, and India is in their estimation a conquered country, although the inhabitants may be suffered to retain the occupancy of their lands, the property of them is vested in the sovereign.<sup>2</sup> It is apparently to these doctrines, to the long continuance of Mohammedan domination over a large portion of India, and to the influence which it indirectly exercised over the states that remained subject to Hindu princes, that the notion of the proprietary right of the sovereign owed its general and popular acceptance.

For upon whatever system of law that impression

<sup>1</sup> The Hindu law, as it appears in Menu, does not go this length: it provides only, that, in case of neglect to cultivate, the owner shall be fined ten times the amount of the king's share, if his own fault; five times, if that of his servants.—B. viii. v. 243. There is not a word of confiscation or transfer.

<sup>2</sup> Galloway on the Law and Constitution of India, p. 101. According to this writer, a high authority in matters of Mohammedan law, the school of Abu Hanifa was that which was chiefly followed in Hindustan; and this jurist affirms that in conquered countries the people paying the legal impost preserved their proprietary rights. General Galloway also states that this is denied by the Shafia and Malikia schools; according to which the lands, although retained by the people, become the property of the sovereign.—Ibid. 45. It is worth observing, that all the authorities cited by Mill, i. 308 note, with exception of Diodorus and Strabo, whose testimony is not entitled to very great deference, derive their opinions from their observation of the state of things under the Mohammedan governments.

was founded, and whether erroneous or just, there is little reason to doubt that in later times at least it has prevailed very widely amongst the people,<sup>1</sup> and regulated the practice of the native governments. This gives the question its importance. Abstractedly considered, it signifies but little whether the king be called the lord of the soil, or by any other title; but, when in this capacity he superseded all other rights, it became no longer a matter of mere speculation. Acting upon this principle, the native rulers required that a formal grant should legalise the occupation of all waste land, and sequestered estates of which the cultivation was neglected or the revenues unpaid; fixed at their pleasure from time to time the proportion of the produce which the occupant was to pay, claiming indeed the whole of the net produce as the rent; and turned out actual occupants in favour of others offering a higher amount of payment. The almost universal practice of recent times transferred these rights and powers to contractors and farmers of the revenue, from whom the prince exacted as much as he could obtain, and then left them at liberty to extort all they could, and by whatever means they could, from the people. His right to do so was not questioned, but its

<sup>1</sup> The belief of Mr. Fortescue with regard to the opinions of the people of the Western provinces has been already cited, note, p. 413. The Abbé Dubois is a good representative of the popular notions prevailing in the Dekhin, and he says, "The lands which the Hindus cultivate are the domain of the prince, who is sole proprietor: he can resume them at pleasure, and give them to another to cultivate."—Description of the People of India, p. 496. The author has heard the same sentiment expressed repeatedly by well-informed Hindus from the Upper provinces. They have admitted the full right of the Government to dispossess any occupants whatever, although, if the customary demands were paid, such act would be considered harsh and oppressive. In Bengal the notion has probably been effaced by the Company's regulations: the Zemindars have been taught a different lesson.



BOOK I. exercise through such instrumentality was resisted  
CHAP. VII. where resistance was thought likely to succeed; and

1813. the consequences of the system were such as might have been anticipated—the decline and disorganisation of the country.

The proprietary right of the sovereign derives then no warrant from the ancient laws or institutions of the Hindus, and is not recognised by modern Hindu lawyers as exclusive, or incompatible with individual ownership. It is the doctrine of one of the schools of Mohammedan law; it has influenced the practice of the later native governments, and it had obtained a very general belief among the people. The popular belief was however modified by the remembrance of original rights and the remains of primitive institutions; and while in theory the people admitted the right of the prince to the lands they tilled, yet in practice they very commonly regarded them as their own as long as they paid to the sovereign his undisputed share of the produce. Unhappily for them, this share was of late rarely regulated by any other standard than their ability to comply with the exactions of their rulers.

II. The ancient Hindu law enacts that the demand of the Raja shall be levied in kind. The king is to have a proportion of the grain; a twelfth, an eighth, or a sixth.<sup>1</sup> It is also declared, that in time of war, if he should take one-fourth, he would

<sup>1</sup> Menu, B. vii. v. 30. The commentator explains the several rates to depend upon the quality of the land, and the labour required to bring it into cultivation; the highest rate being levied on the best, the lowest on the worst sort of land: the assessment was therefore irrespective of the actual crops.

commit no sin.<sup>1</sup> A fourth of the actual crop constituted therefore the utmost limit of demand, and that only in time of war, under the ancient Hindu system; and this proportion evidently left such a share to the cultivator as was equivalent to a profit upon his cultivation, or to a rent, enabling him at his will to transfer the task of cultivation to tenant farmers, and placing him in the position of a landed proprietor as far as ownership of rent is evidence of such a tenure.<sup>2</sup> The Mohammedan law established a totally different proportion. It extended the claim of the Crown to the whole of the net produce; assigned to the cultivator only so much of the crop as would suffice for one year's subsistence of himself and his family, and for seed; and reduced him to the condition of a mere labourer on his own land. The whole of the profit or the rent went to the sovereign, who thus became the universal landlord.<sup>3</sup> The more equitable spirit and sounder judg-

<sup>1</sup> It has been argued that this law would furnish a plea to the Raja to exact a fourth at all times, as a case of necessity could always be made out; but this is not possible consistently with a due regard to the language and obvious intention of the law. The passage should be thus rendered: "A Kshatriya, in time of calamity, protecting his subjects to the utmost of his power, is liberated from sin although taking a fourth part." The verse occurs in the section which treats of the conduct of the different castes in times of distress, and is detached from the passages concerning revenue. That the distress here indicated means time of war is clear enough from the passage that immediately follows: "for battle is his duty; he should never turn his face from fight: protecting the cultivators with his sword, let him levy taxes in a lawful manner."—v. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Such Mr. Mill considered it, and remarked, that there was no ownership of rent in India as in Europe.—Commons' Committee, 1831; 3288. The assertion was incorrect: there was ownership of rent as long as the native Governments suffered it to continue; and there still is such ownership under the British Government, where the assessment is light.

<sup>3</sup> "When the Imam conquers a country, if he permits the inhabitants to remain on it, imposing the Kharāj on their lands and the Jezia on their heads, the land is their property." Not very valuable property it should seem, for "Imam Mohammed has said, regard shall be had to the culti-

BOOK I. ment of Akbar limited the demand of the sovereign  
CHAP. VII. to one-third of the average produce of different sorts

1813. of land; the amount to be paid preferably in money, but not to be increased for a definite term of years.<sup>1</sup> Under more modern Governments, whether Hindu or Mohammedan, the demand seems to have fluctuated from a third or half of the gross produce, to the whole of the net produce, or even to have exceeded those proportions;<sup>2</sup> leaving to the cultivator in-

vator: there shall be left for every one who cultivates his land as much as he requires for his own support till the next crop be reaped, and for that of his family, and for seed. This much shall be left him; what remains is Kharāj, and shall go to the public treasury." This is the dictum of a great lawyer of the Hanifīa school, Shams-ul-Aima of Sarakhs; and a firman of Aurangzeb directs his officers to levy the Kharāj according to the holy law and the tenets of Abu Hanifa.—Galloway, 40, 43. Here is evidently the origin of the sovereign's claim to the whole of the rent. The unhappy "infidel" cultivator had to pay a capitation tax besides.

<sup>1</sup> Ayin Akbari, i. 306, 314. The term was fixed, in the 24th year of the reign, for ten years; but the general assessment, or Jama-bandi, of Toral-Mal was apparently intended to last for an indefinite period.—Ibid. Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> In the south of India, Harihara Rai, of Bijnagar, one of the latest independent Hindu principalities, fixed the rate at one-fourth of the gross produce, fixing it on each field, and requiring a money-payment. The Mohammedan Governments exacted half the gross produce of the irrigated lands, and a money-rate equal to from thirty to forty per cent. of the value of the unirrigated and garden produce.—Revenue Selections, i. 895. According to the Parāsara Madhaviya, a work on law by the minister of Harihara, the king's share was one-sixth.—Wilks, i. 154. In the Western provinces the Government share was considered to be half the net produce.—Fortescue; Lords' Committee, Evidence, Question 531. Or even half the gross produce.—Ibid. 532. "But the rule authorizing the exchequer to take as revenue one-half of the produce in the hands of Government is in a great manner nominal; for in the unsettled districts we do not, I believe, on an average, get more than one-fourth."—Mackenzie; Commons' Committee, 1832, Evid., Question 2671. Mr. Mill also thinks it impossible that such a proportion should ever have been taken.—Commons' Committee, 1831, Question 3887. But he observes, correctly enough, with regard to the practice of later times, "According to all I can gather from the practice of former Governments, the Government demand was never less than the full rent, in many instances probably more; not unfrequently as much more as could be raised without diminishing the number of inhabitants and desolating the country."—Ibid., Question 3114. The state of many parts of India, when first reduced to British authority, showed that these checks had not always operated; and that the exactions of improvident and arbitrary princes, enforced through the agency of farmers of the

sufficient means of subsistence, and not unfrequently compelling him to abandon in despair the cultivation of the lands which his forefathers had tilled, and to which his strongest affections chained him, extortion being thus punished by dearth and depopulation.

III. According to the principles of the Mohammedan law, and the consequences to which they led, the classification of the parties interested in the produce of the soil was exceedingly simple. Two only were recognised, the Ryot or cultivating tenant, and the Raja, or rent-owning landlord;<sup>1</sup> the first earning a scanty support by his labour, the second claiming the whole of the surplus return on his property. Such were the conclusions of the first inquirers into the tenure of lands in India. There were found, indeed, persons intervening between the state and the cultivators, but these it was affirmed were in every case persons to whom the state had delegated its powers or transferred its rights: they were not—and this was in some important respects quite true—proprieters of the soil: there were no such persons,—at least, there were no persons who had a right to intercept, without a special grant to that effect, any portion of the rent or profit of cultivation. Further investigation showed that the

revenue, had thinned the population, and consigned extensive and fertile districts to the denizens of the forest.

<sup>1</sup> So General Galloway: "The truth is, that between the sovereign and the Reb-ul-arz, (master of the ground,) who is properly the cultivator, no one intervenes who is not a servant of the sovereign,"—p. 42. "The land has been considered the property of the Circar and the Ryots; the interest in the soil has been divided between these two, but the Ryots have possessed little more interest than that of being hereditary tenants."—Thackeray, Fifth Report, App. 992.



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latter propositions were not altogether accurate: the structure of agricultural society in India was not so exceedingly simple; a variety of proprietary rights and privileges had survived the disintegrating operations of foreign conquest, foreign laws, oppressive government, and popular misconception, and required to be carefully studied and correctly understood before it could be safe or just to come to any unalterable conclusion. Traces of individual proprietary rights, of personal ownership of rent, were extensively discoverable; and, where they were faint or extinct, it was because the rapacity of the ruling power had dimmed or extinguished them.

A peculiarity in the disposition of landed property in India, which was early observable, was its distribution among communities rather than among individuals. The earliest records describe the agricultural population as collected into groupés, villages, or townships, having attached to the particular village or town in which they resided an extent of land the cultivateable portion of which was sufficient for their support, and which was apparently cultivated in common.<sup>1</sup> The internal administration of the affairs of the village was left, in a great measure, to the people themselves, under the general superintendence of an officer appointed by the

<sup>1</sup> Menu, vii. 120, and viii. 237. The Madras Revenue Board affirm the village system is as old as Menu: "That venerable legislator alludes to disputes about boundaries just as they occur at present, and directs a space of four hundred cubits wide, round small villages, and twelve hundred round large ones, to be left for pasture. This could not have been done if the land had been exclusive private property, for in that case the owner would have made the most of his land, and not left it waste for the public use of the inhabitants; and boundaries of fields and farms, rather than of villages, would have been disputed."—Revenue Selections, i. 487.

Raja, by whom the police was regulated, the government revenue was collected, and justice was administered, in communication with the principal persons of the village. The general scheme of these village corporations has been repeatedly described.<sup>1</sup> Besides the officers of the government, and the individuals who composed the community strictly so called, the village comprised a varying number of persons who received small portions of the crops as the hire of services rendered to the whole, and persons also not members of the original establishment, but who were allowed to reside within the village as independent artificers and tradesmen, or even as cultivators of the lands bought or rented from the proprietors. Establishments of this nature were found in their greatest completeness in different parts of the south of India, where Hindu principalities had been longest preserved: but they were also met with in the western provinces of Hindustan, where their organisation had assumed something of a military character; and vestiges of them were not wholly obliterated even in Bengal.

The circumstances which led originally to this distribution of the lands among detached communities are now beyond the reach of history. It may have been the result of a legislative provision, devised for the ready realisation of the revenue and

<sup>1</sup> See the description in the first volume of Mill, p. 313, from the Fifth Report; Elphinstone, *History of India*, i. 120, and App. 476; and Wilks, *Southern India*, i. 117. In a deed of gift by the minister of Bukka Raya, king of Vijayanagar, dated 1109, Saka (A.D. 1187), the following list of village officers is given:—1. Reddi, or Pedda Reddi, head-man. 2. Karnam, accountant. 3. Purohit, priest. 4. Blacksmith. 5. Carpenter. 6. Money-changer. 7. Kavel, village watcher or police officer. 8. Potmaker. 9.

BOOK I. convenient administration of the civil government ;  
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1813. but there is no record of its institution or its author. Tradition ascribes it to the spontaneous agreement of mankind in an early stage of society,<sup>1</sup> and it may have been suggested to the first Hindu settlers in India by the necessities of their situation. Whatever may have been its origin or antiquity, there is no reason to believe that the village communities now in existence can boast of any remote date or legislative creation. They represent with differing degrees of fidelity the primitive forms from which they are copied ; but they have deviated in various respects from the original type, and are in many instances, probably in all, of comparatively recent date. They are most commonly the growth of modern colonisation or conquest, and the peculiar features which they present have been modelled by the occurrences from which they have sprung.

The political revolutions of later times, and probably of earlier days also, have occasioned frequent migrations of the people of India from one part of the country to another. Centuries have elapsed since the region was fully peopled ; perhaps it never was wholly occupied : at any rate, abundance of waste land has for a long time past been available, and parties from the neighbouring or from distant tracts have located themselves upon unoccupied spots, with

Washerman. 10. Barber. 11. Barikudu, messenger or menial. 12. Chek-  
 ári, shoemaker or worker in skins and leather. These are essentially the  
 same as the Bara-ballowati of other authorities, though some of the names  
 differ ; and, in place of the leather-worker, some places have a water-car-  
 rier.—Ellis on Mirasi right, App. p. 36. Traces of village institutions were  
 found by General Briggs in Bengal ; Land-tax, Supplement : although  
 there, as in other places, the corporation, or association of persons con-  
 stituting the proprietary and governing body, had disappeared.

<sup>1</sup> Vishnu Purana, p. 45.

or without the cognisance of the ruling power, not likely to throw obstacles in the way of those who purposed to convert an unproductive wilderness into a source of revenue.<sup>1</sup> The settlers would of course be either of the same family, the same caste, or the same tribe; and would be linked together through succeeding generations by community of origin, as well as of property. There is an active spirit of aggregation at work in Hindu society: the very institution of caste, which disjoins the people as a whole, combines them in their subdivisions; like the process of crystallisation, which destroys the uniformity of the mass by the condensation of the particles. But this is not the only source of reintegration; there prevail other combinations of tribe or avocation, some of which would be sure to influence the movements of a body of settlers on a new soil, and unite them into a village community or corporation. The necessity of combination, in order to protect themselves against the financial oppressions of the state, or against unauthorised plunderers and assailants, would further contribute to cement their union, and would give it consistency and duration.<sup>2</sup>

In like manner, where the occupation of the new country was an act of violence and aggression com-

<sup>1</sup> See the instructions of Aurangzeb to his collectors, as cited by General Galloway, 55.

<sup>2</sup> Instances of recent colonisation are specified by Mr Thomason. "A family of Chandel Rajputs emigrated from the Jonpur district, and settled at Purgunna Natherpur, where they acquired much land." "The rise of some Ahir (shepherd) communities illustrates the formation of such bodies by sufferance. Familiar with the forest (in the Azimghur district), they fixed their residence in some favourable spot, and began to cultivate; and, when a settlement (of the revenue) came to be made, appeared to be the most convenient persons with whom to enter into engagements for the land."—Account of the Settlement of Azimghur, by J. Thomason, Esq.; Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. viii. p. 96.



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mitted against their neighbours, or against the barbarous tribes inhabiting extensive tracts in different parts of India, identity of kindred, caste, or tribe, as well as of interest, would unite the first assailants, and would extend a bond of union to their successors. Such transactions are known to have occurred within very recent periods.<sup>1</sup> In some instances one village community has fallen upon another, and ousted it from its possessions: in others, a military adventurer has assembled his kinsmen and followers; and, having conquered an extensive tract, has parcelled it out amongst his chiefs, very much upon the plan of a military fief. Time, the fiscal measures of the Government, and the partition of inheritance among the descendants of the conquerors, have loosened the original compact; and the village, once held by an individual upon condition of military service to a chief, may have assumed the form of a village municipality, or it may still retain many features of its original feudal character.<sup>2</sup> In some places the original occupants have

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thomason supposes the original conquest of Azimghur by Rajputs, some time prior to the twelfth century, to have been the general foundation of the existing proprietary right of the soil; and recently, "Achar and its dependent villages was held by a tribe of Kaut Rajputs. The Dhunwars, (another Rajput clan,) of the neighbouring estate of Khulsa, were more powerful: they attacked and massacred most of the Kauts. This took place only a few years before the cession. Some of the family fled into the neighbouring district of Ghazipur, then in British possession, and have since in vain attempted to recover their rights."—J. B. As. Society, viii. 96. During the course of the inquiry preceding the permanent settlement, it was found that the Pergunna of Mongir was divided among the descendants of two Rajputs, to whom the family tradition ascribed the first settlement of the country under grants from the Emperor Humayun, having taken it from the wild inhabitants of the wilderness, which it then was, without the smallest vestige of cultivation.—Letter from Mr. Davis, Assistant Collector on Deputation, 11th August, 1790; Fifth Report, 238.

<sup>2</sup> Such is the case with the greater part of the Zemindaris along the western frontier of Bengal, where, while the peasantry are mostly of the

been driven away or exterminated: in others they appear as serfs or slaves attached to the soil and accompanying its transfers, or being sold independently of the land.<sup>1</sup>

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From these sources, — legislation, colonisation, and conquest,—and from the two latter especially in modern times, may be derived the origin of the village communities of India, or confederations of a definite number of individuals claiming a certain extent of land as their common property, and a right to all advantages and privileges inherent in such property, subject to the payment of a proportion of the produce to the state. When that proportion absorbed all the profits of cultivation, the members of the commune who claimed the ownership of the lands were reduced to the condition — which has

wild forest tribes, Koles, or Gonds, the proprietors of the villages are Rajputs. That these latter came as conquerors as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is well known amongst themselves, and the origin of their possessions by allotment from the chief on the tenure of military service is also admitted. The relation between the holders of the several lots, and the representatives of the first leader, or the Rajas, is more or less perfectly preserved, but it retains almost universally some impress of its origin. See the remarks on tenures in Sambhalpur, Mill, i. p. 309, note. A similar state of things prevails in the Pergunnas of Palamú, Sirguja, Chota Nagpur, and others in the same direction. An interesting account of the origin and progress of the feudal Zemindari of Palamú was printed, but not published, by the late Mr. Augustus Prinsep, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Prinsep was disposed to find similar feudal institutions in many of the Zemindaris of Bengal and Behar.

<sup>1</sup> In Malabar and Canara, where the land was very generally divided and occupied as separate and distinct properties, the labourer was the personal slave of the proprietor, and was sold and mortgaged by him independently of the land. In the Tamil country, where land belonged more to communities than individuals, the labourer was understood to be the slave of the soil rather than of any particular person. In Telingana, where it was difficult to trace the remains of private property in the land, the labourers, usually of the degraded or outcast tribes, were free.—Minute, Board of Revenue, Madras, Jan. 1818; Revenue Sel. i. 887. Mr. Thomason, describing the agricultural labourers of Azimghur, speaks of them as having been, under former Governments, predial slaves, who were beaten without mercy for misconduct, and were liable to be pursued and brought back if they attempted to escape.—J. B. Asiatic Soc. viii. 115.

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been ascribed, incorrectly it may be thought, to all the agricultural population of India—of persons cultivating the ground with their own hands and by their own means.<sup>1</sup> When the further exactions of the officers of the state, and the usurpations which in the absence of all government they perpetrated, reduced the proprietors to extreme distress and insignificance, the village corporations were broken up, and the traces of proprietary right so completely obliterated as to suggest a belief that it had never existed. Such seems to have been the state of the peasantry in Bengal and Telingana. In other places, in Canara, in the Dekhin, in Bundelkhand, and the Western provinces,<sup>2</sup> the right of property was better preserved. Where either the demands of the Government had been more moderate, or the villagers by union and courage, or combination and craft, had resisted or evaded extortion, they retained their character of proprietors, living upon the profits of their own lands.<sup>3</sup> The state of the coun-

<sup>1</sup> Mill; Commons' Committee, 1831, Evid. 3114.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in Canara and Sonda, where the lands had, until a late date, been lightly assessed, the Government demand having been as low as one-tenth of the produce, and never more than a third, the lands were generally sublet, the proprietors sometimes cultivating a portion: none of them held any large estates; few averaging, in the best of times, a rent of more than fifty pagodas (or about twenty pounds) a-year. The respective rights of the Government to the land revenue, and of the proprietor to the land, were well known: an ancient grant to a temple specified the grant to be the Government share of the rent, because the land belonged to the proprietor, and could not therefore be given away by the state.—Fifth Report, 803; Life of Sir Thomas Munro, iii. 161.

<sup>3</sup> The term village Zemindars has been generally applied to these proprietors in Hindustan.—Fortescue; Thomason, &c. Janamkars, or birthright holders, is their name in Malabar.—Board of Revenue, Madras. Amongst the Mahrattas they were called Thalkaris, holders of the Thal, (Sthal, or land,) or Watan-dars (holders of the country); Coates on the Township of Lony; Trans. Literary Society of Bombay, iii. 226: and in the Tamil countries of the Peninsula, Mirásis, or Mirásdars (inheritors). Of the latter

try, the habits of the people, and the subdivision of property by the laws of inheritance, prevented the aggregation of large estates, or the formation of a landed aristocracy; and the agricultural proprietors were therefore little else than petty farmers, employing, superintending, and not unfrequently assisting the labourers: but they were in a position to preserve their hereditary rights, and to perpetuate the organisation of the village communities. Much variety, however, prevailed in that organisation, not only in proportion to the degree of entireness in which it had been preserved, but from circumstances

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Mr. Ellis observes, "Miras, originally signifying inheritance, is employed to designate a variety of rights differing in nature or degree, but all more or less connected with the proprietary possession or usufruct of the soil or of its produce."—Ellis on Mirasi right; Selections, 810. The Selections have injudiciously omitted the Appendices of this valuable document, full of important historical illustration, which no one but Mr. Ellis was competent, from a profound knowledge of the languages and literature of the South of India, and from enlightened experience, to furnish. In the Appendix, which with the text was printed at Madras in 1818, we find the following concluding view of Mirasi tenure. "The Cani-sudantram, or proper Mirasi right, though founded on the principles of the general law, implies peculiar privileges and an independent enjoyment of landed property by the actual cultivator, unknown in other parts of India, and confined, in fact, to those provinces of the South which formerly constituted the dominions of the ancient Tamil princes: this mode of holding landed property, and several of the incidents appertaining to it, are not in resemblance only, but in fact, the same as those which prevailed among our ancestors previously to the introduction of feudal tenures into Europe, and which is usually designated by the term *allodium*, with which the word *Canyatchi* (entire and absolute possession) in derivative meaning intimately corresponds. One of the most remarkable incidents in Mirasi is, the periodical interchange of lands, which, in Tonda-mandalam at least, was anciently universal; the holding of them in severalty being a modern practice. Now this was also a practice common to the nations among whom the allodial possession of land primarily obtained, and from whom it passed to their Frankish and Saxon descendants; as Tacitus observes, 'The fields are occupied, in proportion to the number of cultivators, in turns by all, and are then divided among them according to the rank of each: the extent of the plains facilitates this partition. The cultivated fields are interchanged every year, and yet land remains.'—*De Mor. Germanorum*, c. 26. Were I to endeavour to describe the mode of periodical repartition practised in every Arudicadei village in Southern India, I could not convey my meaning in more appropriate or precise terms."—p. 85.



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connected with its history which were no longer to be verified. A village or villages had sometimes a single proprietor, more commonly a greater number; but these were associated under a variety of conditions. Sometimes they held in common, sometimes in severalty; and the rights which they claimed were of various descriptions. They were mostly reducible to two chief classes, the rights of property and the rights of privilege: they were both hereditary, but the latter only were indefeasible, and subsisted where the former had been lost. In their capacity of joint proprietors of village land the members of the association generally inherited rather a definite proportion of the whole than any specific spot of ground. Sometimes the same family cultivated the same fields for successive generations; but it was more usual to arrange amongst themselves for fresh allotments from time to time, and to distribute different parcels of land in distant parts of the village estate to the same individual, according to the qualities of the soil, and in conformity to regulations sanctified by prescription. In their character of parties responsible to the Government for a portion of its demands they sometimes paid it individually, in proportion to their shares; but it was more usual to make the apportionment amongst themselves, and pay the whole collectively through their head-man or head-men. The shares, or the land where the land was cultivated separately, might be mortgaged, or let, or sold; but the act ordinarily required the concurrence of the other members of the community, in whom also the right of pre-emption was vested. The alienation of the land to a stranger

did not carry with it of necessity his admission to the municipality, or give him any voice in the management of the affairs of the village; neither did it divest the person to whom the share or land had belonged, of his right to interfere in the counsels of the community, to assist in auditing the village accounts, or to receive his portion of any emoluments which were derivable from the fees paid for permission to exercise any trade or calling in the village by persons not originally belonging to it, or from any other source. Should he at any time become able to resume his land, he was at liberty to do so. A variety of minor regulations diversified the village constitution in different parts of India; but the general plan and most characteristic features were everywhere essentially alike, and established the virtual existence of a proprietary right in the soil, enjoyed by certain classes of the people, wherever it had not been infringed or abrogated by the usurpations or exactions of arbitrary rule.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Occasionally an entire village might have become the property of a single individual; Minute, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Selections, iii. : but in general the lands were divided into an indeterminate number of subdivisions amongst the descendants of the original stock, or those holding in right of them. Their right to a certain number of shares was fixed, but adjustments took place from time to time according to the pleasure and convenience of the parties interested: the divisions were effected either by integral allotment, or by fractional parts of each description of the land, to be divided according to its quality. By the former method the shares were compact; by the latter they consisted of many particular spots situated in different quarters. In some villages, although comparatively few, the lands are undivided; yet this circumstance neither alters nor affects in any way the right of property in them. When the lands are undivided, each sharer usually continues to cultivate the same fields. A proprietary share is considered large at two hundred and fifty bégas, an ordinary one about seven bégas; some are as small as two bégas.—Fortescue on Tenures in the District of Delhi; Selections, iii. 404. The proprietary right may rest either in a single individual or in a community: the latter may divide among themselves the profits of the estate, either according to their ancestral shares, or some arbitrary rule having reference to the quantity of land which each

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The existence of proprietors of the soil not depending upon manual labour involved of necessity the existence also of a class or classes of persons willing to undertake the task of cultivating the land, paying a rent for the occupancy transferred to them for that purpose. Such persons accordingly were found in all places where the proprietors themselves had not been reduced to the level of a labouring peasantry; as was the case in much of the territory of the Peninsula, in the Mahratta provinces, and in Hindustan. They were not wholly wanting even in Bengal.<sup>1</sup> It would occupy too

member cultivates.—Thomason; J. B. Asiatic Soc. viii. 98. In various places, what was considered the original number of shares remained unaltered; but the distribution came to the same thing as their multiplication, it being in fractional parts: thus, some members might have a whole share, some a half, or some a hundredth part. This was the case in the Tamil countries; and the Thals of the Mahratta villages, and Péns and Thokas of the Western provinces, seem also to have represented the original shares, and indicated the number of persons among whom the land was first divided.—Colebrooke, Sykes, &c. In the South of India the lands are of two kinds, privilege and proprietary: the former belong to the whole village, and a member can sell his share only; the latter may be cultivated collectively or separately. In the former case shares only are subjects of sale, in the latter the land is saleable.—Minute, Board of Revenue, Madras; Selections, i. 904. The other statements of the text rest also upon these authorities.

<sup>1</sup> In the Western provinces there were the Kudeem, or ancient Ryot; the Páhi, the itinerant or temporary Ryot; and the Kumera, or labourer: there was also the Kamín, or partial cultivator, an artizan or the like, cultivating a few bigas at his leisure.—Fortescue; Selections, i. 406. In Azimghur there were the three classes, but generally resolved into two: Ashraf, respectable; and Arzal, low.—Thomason; J. B. As. Society, viii. 112. In Bengal the cultivators were long since distinguished as holding Khud-kasht and Pai-kasht lands; the former cultivated by a permanent and resident, the latter by a temporary and migratory, tenant.—Harrington, Analysis B. Regulations; Introduction. The Zemindari Regulations have merged the proprietor into the Khud-kasht cultivator, who was probably the permanent tenant. But there are other designations, less known, which preserve the distinctions; the Praja, (or subject,) having the right to sell; the Kalpa, paying him rent, and, while so doing, having the right of occupancy; and the Patti-dar, holding of the same by annual lease.—Briggs, Land-tax of India, Supplement, 500. In the South of India, in the Tamil countries, tenants are termed Paya-karis, cultivating persons: the permanent, Ul-kudi Paya-karis; the temporary, Para-kudi Paya-karis: in Malabar, Patom-karis, rent-payers: in Canara, Gahinis, literally tenentes; Múla-

much space to specify the various tenures by which they hold, and it will be sufficient to advert to them as distinguishable into two principal classes: the one possessing a right of perpetual occupancy as long as the stipulated rent was paid; the other having only a temporary possession, either for a definite number of years, or being tenants at will. The former might have tenants under them, and sublet the land, remaining themselves responsible to the individual or community of whom the land was held; they were also allowed to mortgage, but not to sell. The tenants for a term were bound of course by the tenor of their agreements: the tenants at will were often little better than mere labourers, and sometimes were degraded to the condition of slaves.

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From this sketch of the distribution of landed property in India it follows, that, whatever might have been the law or the theory, individual proprietary right, identifiable with ownership of rent, had a very extensive existence even to the latest periods of native administration. The precise nature of the title under which it was enjoyed was not always the same, nor was it always perhaps easy of verification; but, whether originating in ancient institutions, in colonisation, or in conquest, it had a real and substantial vitality, and animated the exertions of the

gahinis, radical or permanent tenants; Chali-gahinis, moveable tenants.—Madras Revenue Board; Selections. In the Mahratta countries the tenant is termed Upari, an “over” or “outer” man, an alien; Sukhwas, an abider at ease; a Mahiman, or guest: but the only tenure here known seems to be that of a tenant by agreement or lease.—Sykes, Land Tenures of the Dekhin. Of these denominations, some are Sanscrit, some Arabic, some vernacular, but they are all significant; and, had their significations been properly understood, little doubt could ever have been entertained as to the character of the persons to whom they were applied.



BOOK I. great body of the cultivating population, until it was  
 CHAP. VII. destroyed or wrested from them, partially at least,

1813. by the progress of events, and by the extortion, injustice, and ignorance of their rulers.

IV. The produce of cultivation being divided between the proprietor or cultivator and the sovereign, it was necessary that the latter should provide agents to determine and realise his share. With this view, under the Hindu system an officer was placed, as has been noticed, at the head of every village or township, who was accountable to a superior in charge of ten villages; he again was responsible to the superintendent of one hundred villages, and he to the head of a thousand villages.<sup>1</sup> This last, the governor in fact of a province, paid the revenue into the royal treasury. The Mohammedan Governments adopted divisions, corresponding in a great measure with those of the Hindus, but the organisation was less definite:<sup>2</sup> and in the anarchy of the declining empire, and in the general employment of the agency of revenue contractors, little trace was left of the primitive institutions beyond the head-man of the village, and the chiefs of one or two large but undefined portions of territory; the former designated in various parts of India as *Mo-kaddam*, *Mandal*, or *Patel*, the latter known chiefly in Bengal and Hindustan as *Talukdar* or *Zemindar*.

The head-man of a village was the only func-

<sup>1</sup> Menu, vii. 119, 123; Elphinstone's History of India, i. 39.

<sup>2</sup> In Bengal we have the *Grāma* or *Gaon*, the village; the *Taraf*, the *Parganna*, and the *Taluk* or *Zemindari*, for the larger divisions.—Harington's Analysis, ii. 67. Among the *Mahrattas*, the *Patel*, the *Désmukh*, and *Sir-dés-mukh*, for the gradation of officers.—Sykes; Journal Royal As. Society, ii. 208.

tionary that was identified with the primitive institution, and who had lived on with it through all the revolutions which India had experienced.<sup>1</sup> Although, however, the office subsisted, it had not escaped alteration. The tendency of all public employment in India, from the office of the prime-minister to the function of village watchman, to become hereditary, is familiarly known. The station of head of a village followed the prevailing bias. From being an officer nominated by the sovereign,<sup>2</sup> he came to claim the post in virtue of his descent: the family became permanently grafted upon the village, and the representative of it regarded the superintendence of its affairs as his right. It is not unlikely that from the first the duty was entrusted to a leading member of the community, who, while he was acceptable to his townsmen, would be most competent to promote the interests of the state by his influence and responsibility. Time wrought other changes: the family decayed or disappeared; new men usurped the authority, or were elected by different portions of the community. The notion of

<sup>1</sup> "In every village, according to its extent, there are one or more headmen, known by a variety of names in various parts of the country, who have in some degree the superintendence and direction of the rest. I shall confine myself to the term 'Mandal:' he assists in fixing the rent, directing the cultivation, and making the collections."—Minute by Lord Teignmouth; Fifth Report, 193. He particularises the Mandals of Birbhûm, Purnia, and Rajshahi, districts of Bengal. "Amongst the crowd of proprietors, the managers and leaders of the villages are the Mocuddims. These have been from time immemorial the persons through whom the rents of the village have been settled and collected, and who have adjusted the quota of each sharer."—Fortescue; Selections, i. 408.

<sup>2</sup> In the Mahratta countries the confirmation of the head of the state continued to be regarded essential to the validity of the Patel's authority. "The Patels about Poona say they hold their Patelships of the Emperor of Delhi, or one of the Sattara kings; but many of them must hold of the Peshwa."—Township of Lony; Bombay Trans. iii. 183.

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property as well as privilege became attached to the succession; and the person holding the office sold or mortgaged it, or a part of it, and introduced a colleague.<sup>1</sup> Different castes found admission into the village society, each having its own head; or different branches of the same family chose to be severally represented.<sup>2</sup> The headship was thus divided amongst fewer or more individuals. Nor was this a partition of a barren title or a post of honour: it was an apportionment of shares in certain fees, perquisites, and profits attached to the situation, founded upon the provision made originally for the remuneration of the head-man, but extended to a variety of objects not contemplated in the primary institution. From these and other sources of pecuniary benefit, the office became in some parts of India a means of acquiring wealth, and an object of competition.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Patelship is hereditary and saleable, but the office is looked upon as so respectable, and the property attached to it is considered so permanent, that there are few or no instances of its being wholly sold, although part of it has been so transferred. This has given rise to there being two Patels in many villages, and in some three or four.—Bombay Trans. iii. 184.

<sup>2</sup> General Briggs found in a village near Calcutta, peopled by Mohammedans and Hindus, four Mandals; three for the former, one for the latter.—Supplement, Land-tax. And in a village near Madras, three Pedda-kars, or head-men; one for each caste of the population.—Supplement; Coll., &c. Colonel Sykes gives an amusing and instructive account of the solemn arbitration of a dispute in which two Patels of a village had sold a third of the office to a third party, for money wherewith to pay the public revenue. They subsequently contested the full advantages which the transfer was maintained to convey: a verdict was given against them in a Panchayat of Patels, who apportioned to each his separate share of precedence and emolument. Among other things it was decreed that each was to have a pair of shoes a-year from the village shoemaker, two bundles of fire-wood on festival-days from the village menials, three pots of water daily from the watchmen, and a third of all sheeps' heads offered to the goddess Bhaváni. What was still more valuable, a similar partition was enacted of the rent-free lands attached to the office, and of all lands that might lapse from families becoming extinct.—Tenures of the Dekhin; Journal Royal Asiatic Society.

<sup>3</sup> The founder of the family of Sindhia was a Patel: Madhaji affected

The officers to whom the Mohammedan designations of Talukdars and Zemindars applied, indicated less distinctly their Hindu original. They differed in little except in a greater extent of authority and amount of collection, and not always in that; and it will be sufficient in this place to confine our inquiries to the latter.<sup>1</sup> Conflicting speculation has confounded our conceptions of the character of the Zemindar: some of the perplexity has arisen from the application of the term to different classes of persons, and some to the combination of different characters in the same class of persons. In some places the title Zemindar signifies the proprietor of the soil, either as landlord or cultivator, in his individual capacity, or as a member of a village community: in some places it denotes a sort of feudal proprietor, either paramount or subordinate: and in others, an individual responsible to the Government for its share of the revenue of a district of greater or less extent; deriving this responsibility from inheritance, and claiming also as a hereditary right an allowance out of the Government share for maintenance, and as compensation for the trouble and responsibility of collection.<sup>2</sup> It was in this latter capacity that

the title, whence the popular saying, "Madhaji Sindhia made himself master of India by calling himself a Patel."—Malcolm, *Central India*, i. 124. Holkar, the Bhonsla Raja, and others, took not only the title, but claimed the office and its emoluments in particular villages.—Sykes, *Land Tenures*.

<sup>1</sup> A Talook comprehended only a few villages or a small tract of ground. The Talook-dar, or holder of a 'dependancy,' sometimes held under a Zemindar, sometimes immediately under the Government, to whom his collections were paid. In the language of the Company's Regulations the latter is called an independent Talookdar. The Hindu name, Choudri, (a word of uncertain etymology, but apparently derived from Chaturtha dhari, the receiver of a fourth part,) was sometimes applied to a Zemindar.—Harington's *Analysis*, ii. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Of the first class are the Zemindars of the Western provinces, as already



BOOK I. the Zemindar became first conspicuous in the fiscal  
 CHAP. VII. arrangements of the Governments of British India,  
 1813. and was regarded as having a claim to property in  
 the soil.

Nor was this notion altogether without foundation. The whole of the district for the revenues of which a Zemindar was accountable, or any very considerable part of it, might not be his absolute property; but there is reason to believe that he was rarely a mere functionary of the Government, having no property nor interest whatever in the soil. In his case, as well as in that of the head of a village, individuals were no doubt appointed to represent the Government in a particular locality because they had extensive possessions in it, which conferred upon them local authority and influence on the one hand, and on the other afforded to the state a substantial security for the realisation of its demands. The additional power which his relation to the Government placed in his hands was liable to be used by the Zemindar for his own advantage, and oppor-

noticed; and of the second, the Zemindars of the border districts of Bengal, also adverted to. The Zemindars of Orissa, according to Mr. Stirling, are also the representatives of feudal chiefs, holding their lands by the tenure of military service; *Asiatic Researches*, xv. 229: So are the ancient Zemindars of the Northern Circars, and the Poligars of the Dekhin appear to have had the same origin. The last class were found chiefly in Bengal, but also in Hindustan. Their claim to a portion of the Government revenue only is clearly expressed in various *Sunnuds* or grants of the Mogul Government. One of these, quoted in the original by Mr. Thomason, dated 1609, is a grant made by Jehangir to a converted Hindu, and his descendants for ever, of twenty-four *Purgannas* in the province of Allahabad; from the *Jumma* or annual revenue of which he is to deduct one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees for his *Nankar* or subsistence, and one per cent. for Zemindari dues (*Abwáb-i-zemindari*).—*J. Bengal Asiatic Society*, viii. 91. Mr. Shore (Lord Teignmouth) refused to admit a *Sunnud* to be a foundation of Zemindari tenure; *Fifth Report*, 204: but that was because he maintained the Zemindars to be proprietors of the land. Mr. Grant refers their origin to the time of Akbar.—*Ibid.* 632.

tunities were not likely to be wanting which enabled him to appropriate to his own uses the rights both of individuals and the state. The latter not unfrequently waived its own claims in his favour by grants of waste land, or by the assignment to him of the rent of different places in perpetuity for his subsistence; the right to the hereditary possession of which was admitted even when the Zemindar was relieved from all share in the collection of the revenue, was incapable by reason of age or sex of performing the duty, or when he declined to engage for the amount of the Government claim.<sup>1</sup> Besides this assignment, the Zemindar received a

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<sup>1</sup> For this the term is Nánkár, literally, source of bread; General Galloway explains it "bread for work;" it is much the same thing, meaning subsistence-money. In the Sunnud last referred to it was a specified sum to be deducted from the whole rent, but it was more usually the rent or Government share of the produce of certain tracts of land within the Zemindari set apart for the support of the Zemindar.—Harington, ii. 65; and Fifth Report, 633. Mr. Trant identifies Nankar with Nijot, the own proper cultivated land of the Zemindar.—Evid. Com. Committee, 1832; Question 2037. Agreeably to the tenor of the Sunnud quoted in the preceding note, the Nankar was a pension assigned upon the revenue without specifying any obligation to collect the revenue, and hence the foundation, probably, of all such claims. It was rather a special grant to individuals than to the Zemindars as a class, and consequently was retainable where the duty of collecting the revenue was resumed or declined. There was another allowance, the Malikana, the origin of which is not so obvious: properly, it denotes the right of the Malik or owner; but, until the Zemindars were acknowledged to be owners by the British Government, it did not belong to them. It not improbably originated (as General Galloway supposes) in the reservation to the owner of a part of his proper share, amounting to ten per cent. of the estimated rent where the whole land had been oppressively assigned away from him.—p. 91. In the course of time it seems to have been appropriated by the Zemindars, and to have been converted by them into an hereditary claim for ten per cent. on the Government collections; and finally it was secured to them professedly in the capacity of proprietors of the soil, and therefore independently of official function, by the imperfect knowledge of the British Government.—Regulation viii. 1793, clause xliv. The same Regulation secured to recusant Zemindars their Nankar lands also, as long as the joint amount of Malikana and Nankar did not exceed ten per cent.—Cl. xxxvi. Certainly the Zemindars had no right to Malikana independently of employment in fiscal duties; and their right to Nankar depended upon the nature of the original assignment under which it was held, or the degree in which it was their Nij or own property.

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per-centage upon the actual collections, or what were understood to be the actual collections; and he was authorised to impose, for his own benefit, taxes upon the industry of the people,—an authority of which he amply availed himself.<sup>1</sup> The distracted state of public affairs, and the imbecility of the native Governments, left the Zemindars still more at liberty to pursue schemes of personal aggrandisement and profit, to encroach upon the rights of the people, and withhold the dues of the Government; until, in some instances at least, they raised themselves to the station of petty princes, levied troops and built forts, and defied the sovereign and his immediate representatives. To the people the encroachments of the Zemindars upon the Government claims were either acceptable or indifferent, and they were not without equivalent advantages, which reconciled them to a curtailment of their own rights. As long as they were allowed to remain upon their lands, it made no difference to

<sup>1</sup> The unwarrantable exactions of the Zemindars are alluded to in the instructions of the Bengal Government of 1769; and some striking illustrations are given by Mr. Sisson in his report, dated April, 1815. "One man buys a house, and celebrates his occupation of it by a religious ceremony; more than double the cost is exacted from his Ryots: the birth of a grandson costs him twelve hundred rupees; he collects from them on this account five thousand. Another has his house burnt; he not only extorts more than the value, but makes it an annual permanent charge to the Ryots. A third makes an annual progress through his estate, travelling in great state; the Ryots are taxed with the cost. A Zemindar buys an elephant; the Ryots pay for it. Every public or private religious ceremonial is an occasion of taxation: not a child can be born, not a head shaved, not a son married, not a daughter given in marriage, not a member of the family dies, but it is a plea for extortion."—Sisson, Report on Rungpore; Selections, i. 390. This was the state of things in Rungpore so late as 1815, and under the British Government: it could not have been much worse under the native Governments. It was the same in the South of India, although there these extra cesses are said to have been brought to the credit of the Government, no doubt very imperfectly.—Comm. Committee, 1832; Col. Sykes, 1957.

them whether the rent they paid went to the Zemindars or the viceroys of the Sultan. The former lived and died among them, generation after generation; they mixed with them on a variety of occasions; they expended money upon public festivals, and supported public institutions; they kept up a large following and an expensive household, and, through many different channels, refunded to the peasantry of the country the money which had been extorted from them. The revenue was spent among those from whom it was raised. When, therefore, the Zemindar was not more than usually oppressive and extortionate; when he was satisfied with the proportion of the produce which usage had established to be his due, and with the occasional imposts or cesses which experience had taught the cultivators to anticipate; he was looked up to with respect, or even with affection, and the people were ever ready to take up arms in defence of his person and possessions. It was not surprising, therefore, that he should have been confounded, by those who first contemplated him in this condition, as the hereditary landlord of a large estate and the proprietor of the soil; although, had they duly considered the limited amount of his acknowledged share of the proceeds of that estate, it might justly have inspired doubts of the validity of his claims to the produce of the whole. It had that result with some; and hence arose one argument in favour of the proprietary right of the sovereign, upon which the measures of the British authorities in 1793 were founded.

V. The proceedings of the Marquis Cornwallis,



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recognising the Zemindars of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa as proprietors, and fixing for ever the amount to be paid by them, have been already detailed; their results also, as far as they had been then ascertained, have been described.<sup>1</sup> The early arrangements adopted for the settlement of the revenue of the Ceded and Conquered provinces have also been adverted to; and it only remains to notice the course of proceedings which had been followed at Madras. The territory subject to Bombay was still too circumscribed to require separate notice.

Immediately after the conclusion of the perpetual settlement in Bengal, the home authorities directed its extension to the Presidency of Madras: its introduction was delayed by the difficulty of discover-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v. 517. It may be convenient here to refer to the following authorities. The proprietary right of the Zemindars was advocated at an early date by Mr. Francis, in opposition to Warren Hastings, who urged in favour of a proposed commission of inquiry, that it would tend to secure to the Ryots the perpetual and undisturbed possession of their lands. Mr. Francis replied, "The state does not consist of nothing but the ruler and the Ryot; nor is it true that the Ryot is the proprietor of the land. The true landlord is the Zemindar."—Minutes of Hastings and Francis, Nov. 1776. Mr. Shore says: "I consider the Zemindars as proprietors of the soil, to the property of which they succeed by right of inheritance."—Fifth Rep. 203. The doctrine was next advocated by Mr. Rouse, in a dissertation on landed property in Bengal, 1791. On the other hand, it was stoutly contested by Mr. Grant: "There is not in the northern Circars, any more than within the rest of the wide circle of the British dominions in India, with exception of a few instances, a single individual among the native Hindoos, calling themselves Rajas or Zemindars, who have the smallest pretension, in form, right, or fact, to an inch of territorial property."—Fifth Rep. 633. But he erred in confining the right of property exclusively to the sovereign. Mr. Place, at a somewhat later date, 1799, took up the claim of the Ryots or husbandmen, at least, in the neighbourhood of Madras.—Fifth Report, 714. Most recent evidence is adverse to the claim of the Zemindars in any other character than that of hereditary collectors or farmers of the public revenue; but, inasmuch as it is exclusive, it is just as erroneous as all that has preceded it. Mr. Tucker's definition is also applicable in many instances, though not universally: "The Zemindar was the hereditary administrator, I should say, of the revenue, with a beneficial interest in the land."—Commons' Committee, 1832; Evid. 1813.

ing individuals with whom the engagements were to be concluded, for the intervention of persons analogous to the Zemindars of Bengal between the cultivating population and the Government was generally unknown. The reiterated injunctions of the Court of Directors, and the positive orders of the Bengal Government, caused Zemindars to be discovered or created; and several regulations were passed in the course of 1802, declaratory of their proprietary right, and announcing the principles of a perpetual settlement, which, after some interval, was effected in the districts that had been longest subject to the authority of the Madras Government.<sup>1</sup>

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Whilst these arrangements were in progress, a settlement on entirely different principles had been commenced in the territories latterly conquered from Mysore. As their circumstances and resources were imperfectly known, it was deemed prudent, before forming any assessment in perpetuity, to institute a detailed survey with a view to the determination of its amount, and in the interval to conclude temporary arrangements with the actual occupants of the lands. These proceedings, undertaken for the ultimate purpose of effecting a permanent Zemindari assessment, gave rise to a new system of revenue administration, since designated Ryotwar, or a settlement individually and immediately with the Ryots, meaning by the term the actual cultivators of the soil. The survey was conducted by Colonel Reade, having for his assistants Lieutenants Munro, Macleod, and Graham; the former of whom, afterwards Sir Thomas Munro,

<sup>1</sup> The northern Circars, the Jagir, part of Salem, Madura, and Tinevelly.

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became subsequently more especially identified with the system.<sup>1</sup> The objects they were directed to determine were, the extent of the land in cultivation, the quality of the different sorts of land, the tenure by which it was held, the value of the different crops, and the share of the produce to which the Government could justly lay claim. An annual adjustment was to be made with each cultivator for the land he cultivated, at a maximum money rent for each field, according to the circumstances and capability of the land, whatever might be the produce: the amount to admit of reduction where the necessity of reduction was shown, and to vary from year to year, until the inquiry should be sufficiently matured to allow of its being determined for ever.<sup>2</sup>

The proceedings of the revenue survey were first directed to the districts of the Baramahal and Salem. They were extended to the Ceded Provinces above the Ghats, after the capture of Seringapatam, under the conduct of different officers who had been mostly trained under Colonel Reade. There was some variety in their methods of discharging the duty,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Military collectors were appointed to this duty by Lord Cornwallis expressly because "few of the civil servants were acquainted with the country languages, and were therefore obliged, both from habit and necessity, to fall into the hands of Dubashes (interpreters).—Letter to the Court of Directors, May, 1792; Fifth Report, 744. It appears that the implied rebuke was not without effect, as in the subsequent settlements several civilians were employed; although this was the effect of positive orders from Marquis Wellesley, repeatedly confirmed by the Court of Directors, that civilians only should be so employed.—Commons' Committee, 1832. Public. App. (M.)

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Colonel Munro to the Board of Revenue, 30th Nov. 1806, with instructions to the surveyors, &c.—Fifth Report, 783.

<sup>3</sup> "The revenue surveys under the Madras Presidency were not regulated by any uniform rule, and in some respects were, perhaps, defective in principle. The most ample discretion was vested in the local officer on whom this duty was imposed in each district; and the details naturally

still more in the rate of their assessments: but their operations were equally based upon the measurement of the lands, both cultivated and waste; the determination of their fitness for particular crops;<sup>1</sup> the money valuation of the estimated produce of the land in cultivation, and its partition between the cultivator and the Government; the rate varying from one-third of the supposed value of the gross produce to little less than a half, or forty-five per cent.<sup>2</sup> The measurements and valuations were made in the first instance by native surveyors, but the final assessment by the head collector himself in personal conference with the Patels and principal Ryots of every village. Reference was also had to the recorded collections of the native Governments; and, where the total of the survey assessment exceeded it materially, some remission was granted.

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varied with the particular views of the individual.”—Campbell on the Land Revenues of India; Commons’ Committee, 1832, App. 44. See also the Reports from the collectors Munro, Ravenshaw, Hurdis, Garrow, Wallace, &c.; Fifth Report, 745.

<sup>1</sup> In the first instance the land was distinguished into three sorts: Nanja, wet, or that which was supplied with water by irrigation; Panja, which depended wholly upon rain: in these, rice and various other grains were reared. The third kind of land was that fit for miscellaneous products other than grain—tobacco, pepper, cotton, and vegetables. Each of these was subdivided into a variety of species, according to their fertility: as many as twenty distinctions of each class are enumerated in Colonel Munro’s instructions to his assessors; but they were directed to restrict their specifications to ten kinds of dry land, eight of wet, and six of garden ground.—Instructions, &c. as above cited.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Munro observes of the Ceded districts, and of the Dekhin, that the mode of assessment in force there limits the Ryot to two-thirds of the gross produce, but reduces it in fact nearly to a half. His own assessment was forty-five per cent., but as a permanent rate he proposed to reduce it by one-fourth; so that the total being . . . 100

Deduct Government share . . . . .	45
Less one-fourth . . . . .	11½

Final deduction . . . . .	33¾
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Leaving to the Ryot per cent. . . 66½.—Fifth Report, 342.



BOOK I. Remissions were also made upon the realisation  
CHAP. VII. of the year's revenue, if the season had proved unfavourable or the crops defective.

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The incidents of the Ryotwar settlement attracted the attention of Lord William Bentinck during his administration of the government of Madras, and led him to the conclusion that the Zemindari system was incompatible with the true interests of the Government and the community at large. The right of private property in the soil, ascertained by Colonel Munro to exist in Canara, satisfied him that, although similar rights might elsewhere have been trodden down by the oppression and avarice of despotic authority, yet they still existed, and were to be discovered in every village. To create Zemindars, and invest them with a property to which they could have no claim but the arbitrary will of the state, was neither calculated to improve the condition of the people, nor provide for the future security of the Government.<sup>1</sup> The Zemindari settlements were in consequence arrested, and the principle of the formation of a permanent settlement with the Ryots was thenceforth to regulate the revenue arrangements at Madras. The determination was of short duration.

The survey assessment of the Ceded provinces above the Ghats was scarcely completed<sup>2</sup> when the Government of Madras was induced to entertain a doubt whether it was not desirable to relinquish the Ryotwar system, and substitute for it some plan of

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Lord W. Bentinck, and Memoir of Mr. Thackeray ; Fifth Report, 912.

<sup>2</sup> It commenced in 1802, and was finished in 1807.

settlement approximating more nearly to that of estates permanently assessed. The Board of Revenue, to whom the subject was referred, adopted a view unfavourable to the continuance of the Ryotwar system, chiefly on the grounds of its incompatibility with the judicial regulations recently introduced at Madras, by which all questions of revenue were removed from the cognizance of the revenue authorities to regular courts of justice.<sup>1</sup> As long as a country was unsettled, and great discretionary authority was vested in the collector, the Board admitted that a survey settlement with the Ryots was well calculated to develop the capabilities of the country, and detect and remedy abuses; but when the settlement was effected, and regular courts of law were established, the power of discretionary and summary decision was necessarily withdrawn from the collector, and all disputes were referable to legal tribunals, which could not possibly provide for the numerous cases that so many and such minute disputes, as must arise under the Ryotwar system, would bring under their cognizance. The permanence of the Ryotwar system depended also upon the reduction of the assessment, as proposed by Colonel Munro, by one-fourth of its amount; a sacrifice

<sup>1</sup> The question was first brought forward and was fully treated by Mr. Hodgson, who had been a member of a committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the failure of the permanent settlement in Dindignul.—*Selections*, i. 581. It is also worthy of remark, that at this date Colonel Munro had gone to England, and Sir George Barlow had succeeded Lord W. Bentinck at Madras. The great advocate of the Ryotwar system was absent, and the head of the Government was naturally biassed in favour of a system, “a large portion of which had engaged his attention for twenty years, and which he had deliberately resolved on accelerating in the Ceded and Conquered provinces” of the Bengal Presidency.—*Minute of Mr. Colebrooke*, *Sel.* i. 45.

BOOK I. which the exigencies of the Government did not  
 CHAP. VII. allow it to contemplate. The Board therefore re-

1813. commended, and the Government resolved, that the Ryotwar plan should be abandoned,<sup>1</sup> and that of village leases substituted; the villages being let to the head of the village, or principal cultivator, for a term of three years, for the annual payment of a sum determined by the aggregate collections of former years, or the survey rent where it could be depended on. The regulations of the Government, it was asserted, were fully adequate to protect the Ryots against the oppression of the renter. The course thus pursued was sanctioned by the Court of Directors, who at this period seem to have been persuaded that no advantage was to be expected from the further prosecution of the Ryotwar assessments.<sup>2</sup> In finally approving of the arrangement, however, they intimated that they were not anxious for the early extension of the principle of permanency into any of the territories into which it had not been introduced, and restricted the Madras Government from concluding such a settlement in any district without the previous sanction of the Court.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Revenue Letter from Fort St. George, 24th Oct. 1808; Selections, i. 483.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts of Dispatches from the Court, 30th August 1809. The Court also dwell upon the obvious defects of the system,—the minuteness of investigation which it involves, the necessary employment of countless native agents, the impossibility of effectually preventing their malpractices, and the difficulty of adjusting the rents to all the varieties of seasons and public events; and conclude, that, “although the plan intelligently followed up might be well calculated to discover the resources of a country, yet it was not to be preferred for constant practice; and the doubt which Lieut.-Col. Munro has properly stated, whether it be equally well fitted for the improvement of a country as for the discovery of its resources, would, they were strongly inclined to believe, be resolved in the negative.”—Selec. i. 598.

<sup>3</sup> The date of this letter, Dec. 1811, accounts for the change of opinion which it expresses.—Selections, i. 600.

The prohibition against concluding a settlement in perpetuity in any of the Madras territories was announced scarcely in time to prevent the Government of Fort St. George from pledging itself to the measure. The results of the triennial settlement, although in several instances unfavourable, were considered sufficient guides to the determination of the utmost capabilities of the land, and the consequent limitation of the Government demand. The benefits of the measure required, it was affirmed, no discussion; and the only points for consideration were the time and mode of carrying it into operation. With regard to the former, it was concluded that the period had arrived at which the Government might proceed to a final settlement of the land revenue without any risk of compromising the public interests; and, with regard to the latter, that the preferable method was that of the Mouzawar or village settlement. It was resolved, therefore, to proceed at once to conclude a settlement for ten years with heads of the villages singly, or with any respectable inhabitants of the village or district, or, in the event of their refusal, with any responsible individuals, conditioning that the amount of revenue to be paid by them should become a permanent settlement at the end of the ten years if approved of by the Court.<sup>1</sup> Their approval was not to be expected: and, in the reply of the Court, the grant of the proposed decennial leases was prohibited, or, if already granted, they were to be declared terminable at the end of the ten years: the principle of permanency was discarded, and positive orders

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from Fort St. George, 29th Feb. 1812; Sel. i. 513.



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were given for an immediate return in all possible cases to annual and individual settlements with the cultivators—to the Ryotwar assessments. The orders were complied with. Sir George Barlow was presently afterwards removed from the government of Madras, and the revenue discussions terminated for the present at that Presidency.<sup>1</sup>

The discussions in Bengal turned principally upon the question of permanency. With whom the settlement should be made had scarcely yet become a subject of consideration with the Government, which looked everywhere for Zemindars; but among its functionaries, and particularly in the unsettled districts, a conviction had begun to spread that the question of tenure was still to be investigated. The fact was brought to the notice of the Government more distinctly than it had hitherto been by the members of a special commission which had been appointed to superintend the engagements that were to be concluded with the landholders in the Ceded and Conquered provinces upon the approaching expiration of those which were in force.<sup>2</sup> It was at the same time announced to the Zemindars and other actual proprietors of land in the Ceded and Conquered provinces that the revenue which might be assessed on their estates in the last year of the settlement which was now to be made should remain fixed for ever, in case the Zemindars were willing to engage for the payment of the public revenue on those terms in perpetuity, and the arrange-

<sup>1</sup> The letter of the Court is dated 16th December, 1812; *Sel.* i. 525. In the following August a long and able minute of the Board of Revenue is recorded in vindication of their views and proceedings.—*Ibid.* 577.

<sup>2</sup> Regulations x. 1807; vi. 1808.

ment should receive the sanction of the Court of Directors.

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The commissioners, Messrs. Cox and Tucker, entered upon their duties at the end of 1807. Early in the following year they submitted a report of their proceedings,<sup>1</sup> and a description of the several collectorates in the districts which they had visited ; and they came to the conclusion that a permanent settlement of the revenue of the Western provinces was at that moment premature, and might be injurious to the people, while it would be necessarily attended by a material sacrifice of the public resources. The right of property in the cultivated lands was in many cases contested. It remained to be determined with what parties a settlement should be effected. Lands were held free upon tenures the validity of which required proof, and there were extensive waste lands of which the rightful appropriation was to be ascertained. At least a fourth of the arable land was yet uncultivated, and neither the resources of the provinces nor their means of improvement were known. Although, therefore, professing to be fully aware of the advantages which might be expected from a perpetual limitation of the Government demand, the commissioners recommended that the announcement of a permanent settlement should be suspended, and that the period for which the engagements were to be renewed should be devoted to the diligent accumulation of the information essential to its establishment on safe and equitable principles. Their recommendations were at variance with the established opinions

<sup>1</sup> Selections, i. 45.

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of the Supreme Council. Mr. Colebrooke, one of the members, objected to their reasonings, that they were the same which had been overruled or refuted in the discussions preceding the permanent settlement of Bengal; and that experience had confirmed their fallacy, as the design of the permanent settlement of 1793 had been fully accomplished in that part of India. The same advantages were therefore to be expected from the application of a like measure to other places; and the Government was pledged, by the terms of the preceding regulations, to its immediate adoption in the Ceded and Conquered provinces.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lumsden, the other member of Council, although differing in some respects from his colleague, came to the same conclusion; and Lord Minto, after a deliberate consideration of all the proceedings, declared himself satisfied of the sound policy, or rather the urgent necessity, of no longer delaying to settle the revenue assessment of the Western provinces in perpetuity.<sup>2</sup> The determination of the Government was disapproved of in England. The Court of Directors declared, indeed, that they neither meant to undervalue the advantage of the permanent settlement in Bengal, nor to desert the principle on which it was formed; but it was evident that the principle was reluctantly entertained, and that doubts began to be suggested whether its consequences were not embarrassing to the Government, without yielding an equivalent benefit to the people.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the purport of the regulations referred to in a former place, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Revenue Letter from Bengal, September, 1808.

<sup>3</sup> Revenue Letters to Bengal, 1st Feb. and 27th Nov. 1811; Sel. iii. 5.

The expense of any scheme of administration must be proportionate to the advance of a state in wealth and power. The more numerous the people, the more extensive the territory, the more complicated the internal and external relations, the more costly must be the machinery of the Government. The golden age has not yet come back; and from time to time all countries must be placed in situations in which an unusual application of all available resources is indispensable for their safety. It were most impolitic, therefore, if it were possible, to fix for ever impassable bounds to the public revenues, in ignorance of the possible extent of future exigencies. Such a limit was of course never in contemplation: but it was anticipated that the restriction of the Government demand upon the land would be followed by a proportionate improvement of the estates of the landholders; that capital would accumulate, expenditure increase, and the people be placed in circumstances favourable to an augmented consumption of articles both of necessity and luxury; that a system of indirect taxation, like that which is the main source of revenue in Europe, might be introduced into India; and that in the end the revenue of the Government would augment with the augmented affluence and prosperity of the country. These anticipations had been indulged in without a due consideration of the obstacles which impeded their realisation; without a due regard for

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These and similar dispatches are referred to as the letters of the Court of Directors, as they are so designated in the Records. Agreeably to the evidence cited in a former note, they would with more propriety be termed the letters of the Board of Controul.



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the manners, the wants, and the feelings of the people. It would be scarcely prudent to predict that those obstacles will never be overcome; but many and great changes must take place before they can be so far surmounted as to justify a Government of India in ceasing to look to the land as the principal feeder of the public exchequer. It were an act of suicidal improvidence prematurely to divest itself of so commodious and productive a source of revenue to any extent which may not be in excess of the fair claims and reasonable expectations of the agricultural population, and which is consistent with their own usages and opinions.

With respect also to the interests of the agricultural population, the advantages of a permanent settlement are in a great measure illusory. The basis upon which it rests is a proportion of the produce, a third or a half; and this is then determined to be a definite and unvarying quantity. But it is universally admitted that it is almost impossible to ascertain with precision the absolute total produce of any given portion of land; and the proportional produce must be fixed therefore in most cases by conjecture, involving one of the well-known evils of the permanent settlement—great inequality of assessment. The total produce indeed cannot be fixed by regulation: it must vary both in quantity and quality with the amount of labour and skill bestowed upon its production, and upon the recurrence of favourable or unfavourable seasons. The proportion, however, being a fixed unvariable amount, does not fluctuate with the causes of fluctuation; and, in the event of peculiarly unpropitious circumstances,

this amount may be equal in quantity, not to a half, but to the whole of the crop. In answer to this it may be said, that in favourable times the fixed rate may bear a lower proportion to the whole, and that a bad year consequently is compensated for by a good one; but what then becomes of the principle of permanency, for the cultivator pays at different periods a different rate of rent? To have to make provision, whilst he prospers, against a possible reverse, subjects him to uncertainty as much as if his payments varied from year to year: and to suppose that the Indian cultivator will exercise such foresight, is to expect a total revolution in his character and habits. The futility of such an expectation was shown in the immediate effects of the permanent settlement,—the ruin of the greater number of the Zemindars, and the sale of those lands of which they had been constituted proprietors, for arrears of revenue.

If a variable ratio is unavoidable when calculated upon the produce in kind, it is still more obviously inevitable where, as in the case of the permanent settlement, the Government demand has been calculated upon the estimated money value of that produce. That this value should remain unaltered for ever is as impossible as that society should stand still; a stagnation less to be looked for in India than in any other part of the world amid the elements of incessant change that are daily springing up from the novel ascendancy of European principles and forms of civilization. A fall in the price of silver, and augmentation in the prices of labour and commodities, are a virtual abatement of the re-

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- venue assessment : a rise in the value of silver, and fall in the price of grain, are a virtual enhancement.
1813. The same might be the result of an extraordinarily abundant harvest, and consequent diminution of demand ; by which prices might be so depreciated, that the sale of a farmer's whole produce might fail to realise the fixed money value of the Government share.<sup>1</sup> It is evident, therefore, that a permanent settlement, or an unvarying amount of revenue derivable from a money valuation of an unchanging quantity of produce, is invariable or permanent only in terms.

It does not follow that because a Government refrains from declaring that it will at no time, and on no occasion, raise its demand, that it is therefore to discourage the industry of the agricultural population, or obstruct the accumulation of capital, by constantly keeping up its demands at a maximum rate. There is a principle of permanency which is more essential to the prosperity of the country than

<sup>1</sup> In the assessment made by Colonel Briggs in Kandesh, the people were at first highly pleased with the settlement, which was formed with the villages upon the average collections of ten years. At first it fell lightly ; but, the assessment being paid in money, it became heavy when the price of grain declined. When the country was first taken under British management, the price of grain was about four shillings a bushel ; in four years, in consequence of increased cultivation and diminished demand, from the absence of troops and other circumstances, it had fallen to sixteen pence the bushel : it was quite impossible, therefore, the villagers could pay the same amount in money in the fourth year as they had done in the first. The public revenue of Kandesh, notwithstanding increased cultivation, therefore, was reduced from sixteen lakhs of rupees to eleven, and eventually to six lakhs.—Lords' Committee, 1830 ; Evidence, Question 4049. So also Colonel Barnewall, speaking of Guzerat, observes, that in consequence of the continuation of tranquillity, and the reduction of public establishments, the bulk of the population has become agricultural, and the supply of grain so far exceeds the consumption, that agricultural produce is no longer saleable at its former prices : the profits of the farmer are consequently diminished, and he is unable to pay the revenue demand of the Government.—Commons' Committee, 1832 ; Evid. Political, 151.

that of a nominally perpetual assessment,—the invariable recognition of the right of the proprietor of the soil to a rent from his estate. As long as the Government constitutes itself sole landlord, and appropriates the whole, or nearly the whole, of the rent, there can be no accumulation of capital, no advance in wealth, no creation of collateral resources among the mass of the population, for whatever period the assessment may be fixed. A moderate rather than a perpetual settlement is the real want of the people. Speculators in revenue, middlemen, Zemindars, may be anxious for a permanently definite amount of the Government demand; which, while it limits what they are to pay, permits them, as did the settlement of Lord Cornwallis, to crush the cultivator under exorbitant exactions: but there is every reason to believe that the actual occupants and cultivators think and care little about the question of permanency.<sup>1</sup> It may be convenient to all parties to adjust the assessment for a term of years; but as long as the amount is not extortionate,

<sup>1</sup> The evidence of Mr. Fortescue on this subject, as regards the people of the Upper provinces, is conclusive. According to him, the Ryots or cultivators know little or nothing about a permanent settlement, and have no desire for its introduction: some dislike the notion from fear of its affecting their local interests, and such as are desirous of it are so from the representations which interested persons have made to them of its advantages; that is, Zemindars of the village engaging for the revenue as landholders, and who expect to derive from it the authority which they are told that it confers upon the Zemindars of the Lower provinces.—Commons' Committee, 1832; Questions 2330-2340. Mr. Mackenzie observes: "If not hated by the people (of the Upper provinces), we are without the slightest hold on their affections. This seems, it may be proper to remark, to have no connexion with the permanent settlement, on which the very few who were interested never probably relied, and of which the great body of the landholders never heard. Of some thousand petitions which I received when in the Western provinces, and of many tens of thousands of petitioners whom I saw and talked with, not one touched upon this point."—Commons' Committee, 1832; General App. 212.



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and a persuasion exists that it will not be increased without an adequate cause, the agricultural population of India will be contented; for they will be as prosperous as they can become under the universal institution of infant marriages, the equal partition of inheritance, the few wants which the nature of the climate and the condition of society impose, and the entire absence of the countless objects of needless expenditure which in part disgrace and in part dignify society in Europe. Upon these and similar grounds the authorities in England had learned to question the advantages of a permanent settlement as affecting the interests either of the people or the state.

In addition to the objections which might be urged to the measure generally, there was undoubtedly ample reason to question the propriety of its immediate adoption in the particular case of the Ceded and Conquered provinces. The experience acquired in Bengal had established the mischievous consequences of precipitancy. Even Mr. Colebrooke, who asserted that it had answered the objects proposed by it, was obliged to admit that the persons whose benefit it was intended to promote,—the Zemindars, whom it was designed to enrich,—had not profited by the beneficence of the Government; the greater number of them were in fact utterly ruined. Wholly unaccustomed to punctuality in their payments to the state, and bred up in habits of prodigality and improvidence, they speedily fell into arrears; for the recovery of which, under the stringent enactments of the Government, their estates were immediately and absolutely dis-

posed of by public sale. In the course of a few years, many of the Zemindars whom the settlement of 1793 had proposed to transform into a landed aristocracy had been reduced to indigence, or had utterly disappeared; and families, which had survived the successive revolutions of the native Governments, vanished before the inflexibility of the Company's regulations.<sup>1</sup> Nor was the situation of the Ryots bettered by the change. Originally left to the arbitrary will of the Zemindars, the exactions to which they were exposed were tempered by the beneficial influence of a long-established intercourse with their ancient landlords. To the new purchasers of the Zemindaris, who were mostly men who had grown rich in the service of the English, and were residents of Calcutta or other commercial towns, their tenantry were merely objects of speculation, from whom they proceeded to extort the largest possible return for the capital which had been invested in the purchase. Under such task-masters the cultivators were soon reduced to the state of a pauper peasantry, scarcely gleanng a subsistence from the soil, and in no con-

<sup>1</sup> "My impression is, that a very small proportion of those with whom the permanent settlement was made are now owners of the land, very great alienations of the land being made in the first year of the settlement." —Mill, Commons' Committee, 1831; Question 3210. In Question 3997 allusion is made to the statement of the Fifth Report, that in 1796 one-tenth of the whole of the lands in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa were put up to sale. Mr. Tucker and several other well-informed officers of the Company affirm, that the number of estates put up for sale is no evidence of the number of sales; but Mr. Tucker admits, that of the three largest Zemindaris, those of Rajshahi, Nadiya, and Burdwan, the whole of the first, and part of the second, had been sold prior to 1799, and that a very considerable number of estates passed into the hands of the merchants and bankers of Calcutta.—Evid. Commons' Committee, 1832; Revenue. Question 1861. Even as late as 1821-2, when the sales were much fewer than in the years immediately following the settlement, the number of estates sold for arrears of revenue was 396.—Ibid. Q. 2603.

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dition to swell the coffers of the state by their consumption of taxable commodities.<sup>1</sup> To disregard the lesson, and repeat the same errors elsewhere, would have been wholly indefensible; and it was so obviously the duty of the Government to guard against the evils which could not fail to follow the conclusion of a perpetual settlement upon imperfect information, that it is difficult to comprehend how the measure should have found advocates among men of tried ability and mature knowledge. Their advocacy was fruitless. The Court of Directors persisted in their prohibitions;<sup>2</sup> and the Government of Bengal was compelled to rescind a regulation which had enacted that the amount of revenue levied in the last year of the temporary settlement then subsisting should be fixed for ever.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, in conformity to previous enactments, it was provided, that, with respect to those estates which the commissioners should think sufficiently improved to justify such an arrangement, the assessment on them should be revised, and a rate be fixed in perpetuity. The provision was inoperative, as was probably expected. No estates

<sup>1</sup> The injurious operations of the permanent settlement of Bengal upon both the old Zemindars and the Ryots are detailed in the Fifth Report, 60; see also Mill, v. 518, 522. Sir Charles Metcalfe observes of the Bengal permanent settlement, that it was an experiment, in the results of which he can discern no benefit that should induce its repetition. It not only sacrificed the prospective rights of the Government for ever, but, by declaring those to be proprietors who were not proprietors, it in effect destroyed the rights of all the proprietors and cultivators.—Commons' Committee, 1832; App. 469. Mr. Mackenzie states, that the Bengal assessment led to the greatest possible inequality, and left everything in a state of utter darkness and confusion.—*Ibid.* Evidence; Q. 2581.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Government of Bengal, 11th July 1812.—*Selec. i.* 134.

<sup>3</sup> Regulations x. 1807; and ix. and x. 1812.—*Selec. i.* 162.

were found that had reached the utmost limit of improvement.<sup>1</sup>

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A difference of opinion also prevailed with respect to the method by which the resources of the unsettled provinces were to be ascertained. To the suggestions of the Court that the scheme of the Ryotwar assessment followed at Madras should be applied to them, the Government of Bengal justly objected its inapplicability to a territory where the lands were jointly occupied and cultivated by numerous owners, held together by a community of tenures imperfectly understood. To form engagements with individual occupants was quite as likely to invade and overturn the rights and privileges of the landed proprietary as the Zemindari settlement had done; and to deal separately with individual cultivators tended to disorganise and dissolve the village communities,—thereby depriving the people of the salutary habit of regulating their own concerns, and the Government of a ready and economical channel by which the revenue might be realised.<sup>2</sup> Instead of forming engagements with the associated proprietors, represented by respectable persons of their own election, it would be necessary to let loose upon the land a swarm of locusts in the shape of

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Court, 16th March, 1813; Sel. i. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Sir C. Metcalfe, although friendly to the principle of Ryotwar assessment, objected to its introduction into the Western provinces, because it appeared to him that it must tend to loosen and ultimately dissolve the ties which bind the village communities together. Instead of all acting in union with a common interest as regards the Government, and adjusting their own separate interests among themselves according to established usage, each would have his separate independent arrangement directly with the Government, and could hardly fail to be thereby less linked with his fellows. The village constitution, which could survive all outward shocks, might be easily subverted with the aid of the Government regulations and the courts of justice.—Commons' Com. 1832; App. p. 471.



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1813. possible to check, and whose frauds upon the state it would be equally impossible to discover. Whether, therefore, the interests of the Government or its subjects were considered, a Ryotwar assessment was regarded, and with reason, as alike objectionable.<sup>1</sup> There was less reason in the objections urged against the preliminary measure of a survey of the lands to be assessed. It was affirmed that the plan had been repeatedly tried, and had been attended with so much inconvenience and such unsatisfactory results, that the Government felt satisfied the most experienced and capable of its revenue officers would deem the revival of it an evil burthensome and oppressive to the people, and unproductive of any substantial benefit to the pecuniary interests of the state. In preference to such a mode of obtaining a knowledge of the resources of the country it would be advisable to rely upon the Zemindari and village accounts, although it was admitted that they were not unfrequently false or fabricated. Such a preference was evidently dictated by strong and unfounded prejudice. Revenue surveys may very possibly be conducted in such a manner as to be vexatious to the people and unprofitable to the Government: the conclusions to which they lead may not be entitled to unqualified credit: but experience has demonstrated that they can be carried on without giving any offence to the people; while, although they may not be exempt from error, they furnish

<sup>1</sup> Revenue Letter from Bengal, 17th July, 1813; and Second Minute of Mr. Colebrooke; Sel. i. 179.

the only safe means of making an approach to accuracy in determining the productive value of the land.<sup>1</sup> At this point the discussion ceased. Different views influenced the measures of the succeeding Administration.

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Some attempts were instituted by the Government of Bengal to repair the evil which had been occasioned by the long neglect of the Government to exercise that interference which at the time of the permanent settlement it had avowedly retained the right to exert in protection of the equitable claims of the Ryots.<sup>2</sup> At first some intention was manifested of acting upon the power so reserved; and the Zemindars had been in the same year prohibited from imposing any new imposts, from cancelling leases legally obtained, or refusing to grant others for a specific amount of rent.<sup>3</sup> The main object of the Government in the regulations then and subsequently passed was, however, evidently its own security, originating in an apprehension that the Zemindars might plead the difficulty of realising their demands from the Ryots in extenuation of

<sup>1</sup> The exceedingly defective sources of information on which, prior to the establishment of surveys, assessments were based, are thus enumerated by Mr. Mackenzie: "Our settlements were made in haste, on general estimates or surmises, on accounts never believed to be accurate, and never brought to any clear test of accuracy, on the offers of speculators, on the biddings of rivals, on the statements of candidates for employment seeking credit with Government by discoveries against the people, on information of all kinds generally worthless."—Letter to Mr. Villiers, Commons' Committee, 1832; Evidence, 417.

<sup>2</sup> Section 8, Reg. i. of 1793, declares, that "it being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of the people, and more particularly those who from situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent Talookdars, Ryots, and other cultivators of the soil."

<sup>3</sup> Reg. viii. 1793.

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1813. Under these impressions, it was enacted that no leases should be granted for a period longer than ten years; and that, when a Zemindari was sold for arrears of revenue, all existing engagements should be void from the day of sale, the purchasers being entitled to collect from the renters according to the undefined rates and usages of the country.<sup>1</sup> Finally, a power was vested in the landholders of summarily distraining for rent.<sup>2</sup> The result of these measures was to place the Ryot completely in the hands of the Zemindar, and to enable the latter to raise his rents at pleasure. It was therefore found necessary to interpose, and a regulation was subsequently enacted<sup>3</sup> by which the limitation of the leases was abrogated: they were authorised to be granted for any period, and on any terms to which the parties should mutually agree, in the hope that they would thus be obliged to come to some definite understanding, instead of leaving the door open to oppressive fraud and endless litigation, which the appeal to so vague a standard as that of usage rendered perpetual. It was also decreed, that, in the event of an attachment or sale of a Zemindari, the leases should not be annulled within the year in which the attachment or sale should have taken place; that where the collections were regulated by pergunna or district rates, and those rates were not fixed by anything more precise than custom, they should be of the same amount as those which were actually paid in the neighbourhood upon lands

<sup>1</sup> Regs. xlv. 1793, and iii. of 1796.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. vii. 1799.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. v. 1812.

of like quality, or they should not exceed the maximum rate paid upon the same land during any one of the three preceding years. No enhancement of existing rates was to take place, except under an engagement to that effect, or a formal and written notice of the specific amount to be required during the ensuing year being served upon the tenant. Process of distraint was prohibited, except after due notification in writing having been given; and agricultural implements and cattle were exempted from seizure. Process was also to be suspended where the defaulter engaged by bond or sufficient security to institute a suit for the trial of a contested demand within a reasonable period. The latter clauses of this enactment were beneficial; but the liberty given to the Zemindar to frame engagements for an indefinite period, and on such conditions as the parties might agree to, was speedily interpreted into an authority to dispossess even the Ryots claiming hereditary occupancy if they refused to accede to his demands, however exorbitant.<sup>1</sup> The limitation of the Government assessment in the Western provinces rendered it necessary to limit also the engagements between individuals in those provinces;<sup>2</sup> and in the same districts the collectors were authorised, under the Board of Commissioners, to investigate the titles by which *la-kharāj* or rent-free lands were held. Rules were also passed for the occasional subdivision of estates held in common, so that the holder of a joint undivided property might have his share verified and separately assessed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Government of Bengal, 15th Jan. 1819; Selections, i. 360.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. xiv. 1812.

<sup>3</sup> Regs. viii. and ix. 1811.



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In order to extend the public resources of the Government, it was thought advisable to impose a tax upon houses in the several towns and cities of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares :<sup>1</sup> religious buildings were exempted. Such a tax had been levied for some years without any difficulty or obstruction in Calcutta, and it was not expected that any serious opposition would be offered to it in other cities. The Government was mistaken. The measure was regarded as an innovation, and was vehemently opposed. At Benares especially the resistance was most violent, and was curiously characteristic of the peculiarities both of the place and the people.

As soon as the intentions of the Government became known, great excitement prevailed throughout the city, and meetings of the different castes and trades were held to determine upon the course to be pursued. No obstruction was offered to the persons employed to assess the houses; but the shops were closed, every kind of occupation was abandoned, and such numerous crowds assembled on the outskirts of the town, that it was judged expedient by the magistrate to call to the assistance of the police a detachment of troops from the neighbouring cantonments. Their services were not needed, as the people quietly dispersed; but on the same day a solemn engagement was taken by all the inhabitants to carry on no manner of work or business until the tax was repealed. Everything was at a stand: the dead bodies were cast unceremoniously into the river, because there were none to

<sup>1</sup> Reg. xv. 1810.

perform the obsequial rites; and the very thieves refrained from the exercise of their vocation, although the shops and houses were left without protection, — the people deserting the city in a body, and taking up their station halfway between Benares and Secrole, the residence of the European functionaries, about three miles distant. A petition was presented to the magistrate, praying him to withdraw the odious impost, and declaring that the petitioners would never return to their homes until their application was complied with: a reference to Calcutta was all that was in the magistrate's power.

Whilst awaiting for a reply from the Government, the people of Benares continued assembled, and were joined by many persons from the surrounding districts: the number was computed at more than two hundred thousand, comprehending the aged and infirm, women and children. They were supplied with food regularly at the expense of the opulent classes, and were actively enjoined to unanimity and perseverance by their religious guides and teachers. Their conduct was uniformly peaceable; passive resistance was the only weapon to which they trusted. They continued in the open air throughout the day, but many returned at night to their homes.

In this manner about a fortnight passed.<sup>1</sup> The Government somewhat misconceiving the character of the assemblage, and at any rate deeming it impolitic to yield to any semblance of intimidation, ordered the enforcement of the tax, and the dispersion of the multitude, if necessary, by force. A sufficient strength had been collected for the pur-

<sup>1</sup> From the 26th December, 1810, to the 8th January, 1811.

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pose; but, before the receipt of the orders, time, reflexion, and discomfort had enfeebled the vigour of the opposition, and the people had for the most part returned to their dwellings. The determination of the Government caused them to reassemble, with the avowed determination of marching in a body to Calcutta to petition the Governor-General personally for redress; but this was a much more arduous undertaking than a bivouac in the immediate vicinity of Benares, and could not be prosecuted with the same unity of purpose. Every householder engaged, indeed, either to go himself, to send a representative, or contribute his quota to the expense of the journey; and a number of persons met, and made one march towards Calcutta: but the defaulters were so numerous, and so many of those who had set out deserted by the way, that the leaders were sensible of the futility of the scheme, and wanted only a decent excuse for its relinquishment. This was furnished by the interposition of the Raja of Benares, who, at the desire of the Government officers, repaired to the party, overtook them, and counselled them to turn back, and rest contented with the renewed representation of their grievances through the usual official channel in a quiet and respectful manner. His advice was followed, and a second petition was presented, to which in due time attention was paid.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Personal information and MS. Records. The public petitions proceeding from native communities in India which are much intermixed with Europeans are rarely of a genuine native character. They betray more or less European, and particularly professional, prompting. At Benares there were few Europeans, no lawyers; and the petition of the inhabitants was most probably of their own unaided dictation. It is a document not without interest, as it not only expresses the sentiments of the people on the

In consequence of this opposition, and the universal unpopularity of the tax, it was repealed.<sup>1</sup> In the following year it was revived in a modified form, and limited in its application to the cities of Dacca, Patna, and Murshedabad. In those towns it was to be applied to the payment of a municipal police, to be appointed and maintained by a committee of natives chosen by the inhabitants of each ward in the presence of the magistrate: to these committees also was intrusted the office of assessing the different shops and dwellings of their respective wards, the whole not to exceed a maximum average rate.<sup>2</sup> Some opposition was made to the arrangement at Dacca, but it was finally carried into operation.

Although not connected with any of the financial measures of the Government of Bengal, nor resulting from any of its acts, yet it may be useful to advert in this place to a formidable tumult by which the tranquillity of the city of Benares was interrupted in the year preceding that in which the house-tax excited the discontent of its inhabitants; as the disturbance was characteristically illustrative of the peculiarities of one of the most remarkable towns in India, and of the discordant elements of Indian society, which are alone restrained from frequent and destructive conflict by the vigilance, vigour, and impartiality of the ruling power.

Benares is *the* holy city of the Hindus: it is

occasion on which it was presented, but shows that they were well informed of the proceedings and views of their rulers. It is therefore given in the Appendix.

<sup>1</sup> Reg. vii. 1812.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. xiii. 1813.



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1813. crowded with celebrated shrines : pilgrimage to it is an atonement for all sin : to die within its precincts is a certain passage to eternal felicity. Such advantages ensure it a large resident population, and attract to it a numerous resort of Hindu pilgrims. The character of both classes is in general accordance with the reputed sanctity of the place : its efficacy in expiating crime, and purifying from iniquity, could be of little benefit to any but the wicked and the profligate, and those who tenant or frequent the city are for the greater part such as stand most in need of its expiatory virtues. The population is, however, not wholly Hindu. Benares is a town of extensive commercial and manufacturing activity, and has always comprised a considerable body of Mohammedans engaged principally in manufactures. Its convenient situation had also, at the period under review, recommended it as the residence of several Mohammedans of high rank, members of the reigning family of Oude, or the Imperial house of Delhi ; and their servants and retainers were numerous and disorderly. Religious differences could not fail to find in such a mixed multitude ready instruments of quarrel, and the mutual animosity which at all times animated the followers of Brahmá and Mohammed was at this time more than usually inveterate. It had unfortunately happened that some of the moveable feasts of the Mohammedans had occurred simultaneously with some of the most popular Hindu festivals ; and the multitudes which were collected, and the feelings which were excited, threatened a violent collision. The precautions of the English functionaries suspended the season of

its occurrence, but were unable to prevent it from eventually taking place, and towards the close of 1809 an open rupture could no longer be delayed.

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During the sovereignty of the Mohammedans, Aurangzeb and other bigoted princes had forcibly taken from the Hindus of Benares several of their temples to transform them into mosques, and had allowed and encouraged the Mohammedans of the city to erect religious edifices in the immediate neighbourhood of those places which were esteemed most sacred by the Hindus. In this manner, in one part of the city an Imam-bara, a building for the occasional devotions of the Musselmans, was built in immediate proximity to a Lât or stone column typical of Bhairava, one of their subordinate deities, but held by the Hindus in peculiar veneration. As the Lât and its neighbour were both much frequented by the followers of the different religions, their encounters gave frequent rise to angry feeling and reciprocal objurgation. On the morning of the 21st of October, a number of both parties having been assembled, they proceeded from abuse to blows; and, in an interchange of missiles which ensued, part of the ornamental architecture of the Imam-bara was injured, and a hut serving as a temporary temple to the deified monkey Hanumán was demolished, and the idol was knocked over. The intervention of the police prevented further mischief on the spot; but the affray was renewed in another part of the town, and, swords and clubs being had recourse to, several persons were killed or wounded before the disturbance could be suppressed.

The presence of the magistrate and a small de-

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tachment of Sipahis restored the appearance of tranquillity; but they were no sooner withdrawn than the tumult recommenced. The Mohammedan weavers assembled in the evening in great numbers, and, repairing quietly to the Hindu Lât, heaped a quantity of combustibles round it and set them on fire, and, when the stone was hot, threw cold water upon it, by which it was split to pieces.<sup>1</sup> Intelligence of this profanation reached the Hindus late in the evening, and filled them with horror and fury. Measures were taken to prevent the effects of their resentment on the following morning; but, before a sufficient force could arrive, an enraged multitude had set fire to the Imam-bara, killed four or five of the persons attached to it, and sprinkled with the blood of a hog the tombs of those who had been interred in its consecrated vicinity. From thence they moved to destroy the Mohammedan tombs at a burial-ground of reputed extraordinary sanctity, adjacent to a shrine dedicated to Fatima the wife of Ali; and, although defended by a Sipahi guard and a number of Mohammedans, the mob partly effected their purpose before reinforcements arrived in sufficient strength to render their attempts unavailing. Other armed bands of Hindus had at the same time assailed the quarters of the town occupied chiefly by the Mohammedans, murdering all

<sup>1</sup> In the memorial addressed by the Hindus to the magistrate, extenuating their own conduct and calling for redress against the Mohammedans, they gravely averred that the Lât resisted every effort for its demolition, until the Mohammedans killed a cow and a calf, and threw the blood upon the column. It then trembled and broke. Some of the fragments were afterwards collected, purified by immersion in the Ganges, and enshrined in a hollow copper cylinder which was set up where the stone column formerly stood.

who came in their way, and plundering and setting fire to their houses, until their excesses were arrested by the military dispositions which the magistrate and the commander of the troops were able to effect. The Sipahis, although of both persuasions, discharged their duties with perfect impartiality and military steadiness: the police, equally mixed, had early taken part in the conflict according to their respective creeds. The extent of the mischief inflicted, or of the loss of life, was imperfectly ascertained; but the disturbance was not suppressed until about twenty Mohammedans had been killed and seventy wounded. The principal actors in the tumult were the Rajputs and Gosains: the Brahmans and principal inhabitants sat fasting upon the steps by the river-side, night and day, during the continuance of the disorder, and were with some difficulty prevailed upon to return to their dwellings on the afternoon of the 23rd. On the following day the temples which had been closed were reopened, and this event was followed by the opening of the shops and the bazars, and the restoration of tranquillity. Some of the most active and violent of the ringleaders were apprehended and punished, and arrangements were adopted to prevent the recurrence of a like popular commotion. The resort of persons of all descriptions from every part of India, and the dissolute and riotous conduct of a large proportion of its inhabitants or visitors, rendered the maintenance of order and tranquillity in the sacred city of Benares, for some time at least, a troublesome and imperfectly accomplished task; but the unrelaxing firmness of British rule, a better knowledge of the



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British character, and the improving intelligence of the people, gradually lightened the labour, and, ten years after the transactions described, Benares was regulated with as much facility as any other city in the territories of the Company.<sup>1</sup>

Among the various objects of internal administration at this season which deserve notice as marking the first steps of important changes still in progress, and likely at some future period to exercise a momentous influence upon the destiny of the British Indian empire, must be comprehended the efforts which were made in Bengal to promulgate the truths of Christianity. The South of India had for many years been the field of missionary labours. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the church of Rome had sent thither men of extraordinary ability and energy, who, by completely discarding all the indulgences of European civilisation, living among the natives as natives, applying themselves with intense diligence to the study of the languages and literature of the country, and acquiring a mastery over the vernacular dialects which has perpetuated the writings of several European authors as standard Tamil and Telugu compositions, obtained a widely extended influence over the people, and formed a numerous body of professed believers in Christianity.<sup>2</sup> The political agitations of Europe

<sup>1</sup> In 1820 the writer was in the habit of traversing every part of Benares without fear of molestation or insult. The materials for the beautiful map of Benares, executed not long afterwards by his lamented friend, Mr. James Prinsep, were collected by him in the city, in fearless reliance upon the good disposition of the people, which he invariably experienced.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres Edifiantes*; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv.; Hough's *Christianity in India*, ii. 400. See also his evidence, Commons' Committee, 1832, Public. He estimates the Roman Catholics in 1823 at between three and four hundred thousand.—Question 1352.

severed the teachers from their congregations, and the latter remained Christians in little except the name. To the Jesuit missionaries succeeded those of the Lutheran church : they were sent to India, in the first instance, not by Great Britain, but by Denmark ;<sup>1</sup> but the example was not lost upon the former, although it was for some time but feebly imitated. Some pecuniary assistance was granted to the Danish mission ; and at last missionaries were sent direct, at the expense of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. One or two individuals found their way to Bengal,<sup>2</sup> and instituted missionary operations there ; but the chief field was long confined to Madras, and other stations on the Coromandel coast. The persons employed were natives either of Denmark or Germany. They were for the most part men of learning and talent, of simple habits, and kindly temperaments ; and, although their success in the conversion of the heathen was not very encouraging, they were objects of general esteem and respect to both natives and Europeans, and wrought an impression favourable to the ultimate reception of the doctrines which they taught.

At length, at the close of the eighteenth century,

<sup>1</sup> Pearson's *Life of Swartz*, i. 12.

<sup>2</sup> A Mr. Kiernander went from Madras in 1758, and, notwithstanding many difficulties and discouragements, he laboured there for some years with exemplary piety and diligence, and with considerable success.—*Life of Swartz*, i. 126. It was to him that Dr. Buchanan probably alluded when he stated that the Protestant mission in Bengal commenced in 1758. Before 1770, religious tracts were translated into the Bengali language ; and Hindu converts preached to their countrymen in the time of Hastings, in the town of Calcutta. This mission continued its labours till about the year 1790, when the supply of missionaries from Europe failed.—*Letter to the Government of Bengal*, printed in *Parliamentary Papers*, 14th April, 1813.

BOOK I. a private individual, a member of the Baptist communion, with zeal as fervent as that of the German missionaries of the South, and inferior to them

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1813. only in a less scholastic education, William Carey, the son of the master of a small free-school at Paulerspury, a village in Northamptonshire, by trade a shoemaker, and subsequently a preacher in the chapels of the society of which he was a member, early conceived the project of undertaking a mission to Bengal ; and, in the face of the most disheartening difficulties, succeeded in its execution. Being unable to obtain permission to proceed to India in a Company's vessel, he procured a passage in a Danish ship, and arrived in Bengal destitute of money and friends at the end of 1793. After a short interval of want and anxiety, he obtained employment as superintendent of an indigo factory in Dinajpur, and remained in that situation for some years ; pursuing, as far as circumstances permitted, his missionary calling, labouring assiduously in the study of the Sanscrit and Bengali languages, and applying his acquirements to the translation into them of the Holy Scriptures. The sufferance of the Government permitted his unauthorised residence in the country, averse as was the policy of the day to the admission of Europeans ; and his diligence, his learning, and piety secured him friends. His communications with his correspondents in England, the prospects of success which his hopes rather than his experience dictated, and the example of his ardour and his perseverance, animated their zeal ; and a society was formed, and funds were raised, for the purpose of sending other missionaries to his assistance.

They arrived in 1799 ; but, having come to Bengal without the licence of the Court, were not suffered to remain in Calcutta. The Danish settlement of Serampore offered them an asylum ; and there they fixed themselves, with the permission of the Governor, and subsequently with the express sanction of the King of Denmark. They were immediately joined by Mr. Carey, and a fraternity was organised which set to work upon a definite system ; and by preaching in the native languages, by forming schools for native children, by the composition of tracts and translations of the Scriptures, commenced a pious warfare against the false doctrines of the Mohamiedan and Hindu religions, which has been carried on ever since with unrelaxed vigour, and with improving prospects of eventual triumph.<sup>1</sup>

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The administration of Lord Wellesley, although it avoided giving direct encouragement to the Baptist missionaries, or recognising them in that capacity, was upon the whole propitious to their exertions. The learning of their principal was one of their chief recommendations to the favour of the Marquis, and Mr. Carey was appointed one of the professors of the College of Fort William soon after its institution ; thus obtaining a place of distinction in the recognition of the Government, and a certain and liberal means of subsistence. The establishment of schools for European children, and of a printing-press and paper-manufactory at Serampore, evinced the industry, and added to the resources of the missionaries: they were further aided, not only by the funds of their own community, but

<sup>1</sup> Memoir of William Carey, D.D., by Eustace Carey ; London, 1836.



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by those of other religious bodies, at whose expense, especially at that of the British and Foreign Bible Society, versions of the Scriptures into a great variety of the Indian dialects were executed; and they grew daily in wealth, consideration, and confidence under the countenance of the Government.

The immediate successor of Lord Wellesley, Sir George Barlow, looked upon the proceedings of the Serampore missionaries with a less favourable regard. Entertaining, in common with most of the Company's servants of that day, a dread of the multiplication of uncovenanted European residents in India, he was disinclined to relax any of the restraints which the Legislature had imposed, and refused to sanction the continued presence of any new arrivals who had not provided themselves with a licence from the Court. The teaching of the missionaries had also begun to excite some uneasiness among the natives of Calcutta, and the connexion of the mutiny at Vellore with their religious apprehensions imposed upon the Government the obligation of setting the minds of their native subjects at ease with respect to the designs of their rulers, by the public prohibition of those expedients resorted to by the missionaries which were most likely to offend the religious sentiments and exasperate the feelings of the people.<sup>1</sup> The missionaries were allowed to retain the dwelling which they occupied as a chapel in Calcutta, and perform divine service in it in the Bengali language

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Buchanan acquits the Governor-General of any hostility to the dissemination of Christianity: on the contrary, he says of him, "Sir G. Barlow has often expressed his approbation of the means used for the diffusion of Christianity in India, and sincerely desires its success."—Letter to Government; Parl. Papers.

as usual, and no restriction was imposed on their private instructions or scriptural translations; but they were forbidden to preach in the public streets, to send itinerant native preachers through the villages, or to distribute gratuitously controversial and religious tracts. They considered it prudent to yield to the storm, and promised to conform to the wishes of the Government in all respects in which they could conscientiously acquiesce.<sup>1</sup>

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The degree of the conformity rendered did not, however, satisfy the Government of Bengal; as one of the first acts of Lord Minto's Government was a renewal of the injunctions which Sir G. Barlow had been obliged to adopt, and the menace of still more rigorous restrictions.

Pamphlets in Bengali and Persian had been published, which, in the judgment of the Governor-General in Council, were calculated to excite among the native subjects of the Company a spirit of religious jealousy and alarm, which might eventually be productive of the most serious evils. The distribution of such publications, and the public preaching of the missionaries and their converts at the very seat of Government, might be supposed to have received the sanction and approval of the supreme authority; and the prevalence of such an impression would both augment the danger, and render more difficult the application of a remedy. Whatever might be the propriety of exposing the errors of the Hindu or Musselman religion to persons of those persuasions who sought instruction in the Christian faith, it was contrary to the system of protection,

<sup>1</sup> Memoir of Dr. Carey, 483.

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which the Government was pledged to afford to the undisturbed exercise of the religion of the country, to obtrude upon the great body of the people, by means of printed works, exhortations involving an interference with their religious tenets. The obligation, therefore, to suppress within the limits of the Company's authority in India treatises and public preachings offensive to the religious persuasions of the people, was founded on considerations of necessary caution, of general safety, and national faith and honour. Accordingly, it was deemed necessary to direct that public preaching in the mission-house of Calcutta should be discontinued, and to renew the prohibition of the issue of religious tracts; and, in order to bring the missionary press more immediately under the controul of the officers of the Government, the missionaries were commanded to remove it from Serampore to Calcutta.<sup>1</sup>

To the orders and injunctions of the Government the missionaries proffered a temperate and judicious reply. They disowned and condemned the language of a pamphlet which had given the greatest offence, —a scurrilous account of Mohammed, which had called forth the remonstrances of the most respectable Mohammedan inhabitants of Calcutta,—and attributed it to the intemperance of one of their converts, who had translated it into Persian: they pledged themselves for greater caution in future, but deprecated the removal of their press, as subjecting them to great inconvenience and ruinous expense. The tone of their representations disarmed

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Bengal to the Secret Committee, 2nd Nov. 1807, with its enclosures ; Parl. Papers, 14th April, 1813.

the Government of its rigour; and they were allowed to continue their preaching in their chapel, and to remain at Serampore, on condition that every work that issued from the press should be submitted to the inspection of the secretary to Government. The condition was acceded to; and, as the general conduct of the missionaries was more guarded, no further interference with them ensued. The alarm of the Government was perhaps more violent than the occasion called for, but the check opposed to precipitate and indiscreet zeal was not detrimental to the ultimate extension of Christianity. Little benefit had accrued or was likely to accrue from street preaching, and virulent language was ill calculated to convey conviction. The attention of the Serampore missionaries was thenceforth more entirely given to the establishment of schools and the translation of the Scriptures; means more safe and certain, although their fruits might more slowly come to maturity.<sup>1</sup>

Although a sense of public duty imposed upon the Governor-General the obligation of checking the over-zealous haste of the missionaries of Serampore, his personal feelings ensured to their literary efforts his constant and warmest encouragement. The associate in early life of some of the most distinguished ornaments of the literary society of Great Britain, Lord Minto brought with him to India an enlightened and cultivated taste, and a generous

<sup>1</sup> In the representation to the Government made by the missionaries, which is dated in September, 1807, they state that they had baptized upwards of one hundred natives.—Parl. Papers. No great number in eight years, reckoning from 1799 only: if from 1794, a still more inconsiderable proportion.



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sympathy with every indication of intellectual excellence. His liberal aid was therefore given to the works published at Serampore, whether translations of the Scriptures, or publications tending to make the language and literature of India more generally known and more easily acquired.<sup>1</sup> The same feelings led him to befriend those natives of India who professed the literature of their country; and the first printing-press, established and conducted solely by native enterprise and skill, and for the purpose of substituting the productions of the press for the manuscripts hitherto in use, owed its existence to his patronage. But it was in his connexion with the College of Fort William that his sentiments were most especially manifested; and one great object of his administration was to carry into full operation, as far as the orders of the home authorities allowed, the views of the illustrious founder of the institution.<sup>2</sup> The result was highly beneficial: the junior servants of the Company were animated to honourable exertions, which formed the foundation of their future distinction; their seniors were induced to apply their knowledge and acquirements to the instruction of their younger brethren; and a number of natives of talent, exer-

<sup>1</sup> Several Grammars and Dictionaries, and other rudimental books, in Bengali, Telinga, Mahratta, and Sanscrit, were printed at Serampore, chiefly at the cost of the Government. Pecuniary assistance (ten thousand rupees) was afforded to the Malay translation of the Scriptures; and aid was liberally given to the Serampore translation of the Ramayana, the works of Confucius, and other literary publications.—Roebuck's *Annals of the College of Fort William*.

<sup>2</sup> It was not mere official phraseology, for Lord Minto was not addicted to its use, when in his last annual address he observed, "No part of my public duties have excited in my mind a more cordial concern or more lively interest than those which are attached to the office of Visitor of this College."—*Annals of the College of Fort William*, p. 376.

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cising over their countrymen the combined influence of learning and religion, who were engaged in the service of the college, derived from their employment some compensation for that neglect to which the decay and extinction of native patrons of rank had subjected them, and learned to identify their interests with those of a foreign and intrusive race. To them, and to their European associates, were owing a variety of useful works in the languages and literature of the East, intended to facilitate their acquirement, and bring within the reach of the Oriental student the means of becoming familiar with the laws and institutions, the religion and the character, of the people. Every attempt so directed was encouraged and aided by Lord Minto.<sup>1</sup>

The last class of measures to which we shall advert, regard the financial condition of India during Lord Minto's administration.

The necessity of as rigid a pursuance of the system of economy commenced by Sir G. Barlow as was consistent with the interests and honour of the empire was equally impressed upon his successor; and during the whole term of his government a careful avoidance of expenditure was adhered to, carried in some cases perhaps to a hurtful excess. The occasions which called for military demonstrations, the extraordinary embassies which were fitted out, and

<sup>1</sup> Amongst other arrangements, a plan was proposed by the Governor-General for the foundation of Hindu colleges at Nadiya and Tirhoot, to counteract the want of public encouragement afforded to native literature by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native Governments, and who had lost both the means and the inducement to continue their patronage under the British Government. He had also in contemplation to found similar institutions for the cultivation of Mohammedan literature.—Minute by Lord Minto, 6th March, 1811: Commons' Committee, 1832; Public; App. p. 325.

BOOK I. the expeditions undertaken against the maritime  
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 1813. of financial retrenchment, and involved unusual demands upon the public treasury: but these interruptions were only temporary; and the general result was an augmented amount of the revenues of British India, a diminution of its burthens, and no enhanced rate of charge.

It has been already mentioned that the arrangements effected by Sir G. Barlow secured for the first year of Lord Minto's administration, according to one system of computation, a surplus receipt, or, according to a different set of accounts, reduced the excess of charge to an inconsiderable sum: the same diversity of result, arising from the same cause, prevails in the following year; but from thence to the close of the period both statements agree in showing a considerable net local revenue after providing for the interest of the public debt: the surplus of the last year amounted to little less than two millions sterling.<sup>1</sup> A considerable proportion of this arose from the improved revenues of the unsettled provinces under the Presidency of Bengal, and the imposition of new taxes at Madras: the rest, from the reduction of the rate of interest which the Government was enabled, by the flourishing state of its finances, to effect.

The history of the Indian debt presents a singular picture of the growth of public credit along

<sup>1</sup> According to the statements furnished to the Committee of the House of Lords, the surplus was £1,988,000. In Sicca rupees it was S. R. 1,45,33,190, which, at two shillings to the rupee, is £1,453,319. For a more particular comparison between the two periods as expressed in the home accounts, see Appendix.

with the increase of financial embarrassment, and of the increase of embarrassment with the augmentation of the public resources. In proportion as the British Indian empire has extended its boundaries, and added to its revenues, so have the means at its command been found inadequate to extraordinary emergencies, and it has been obliged from time to time to apply for aid to the funds of individuals; and, notwithstanding the additions thus made to its incumbrances, its credit has never failed to procure the assistance that was needed, on terms much lower than the ordinary profits of capital, or the rates of interest prevailing in transactions between individuals. In fact, the amount of the public debt is far from burthensome on the state; and the inconvenience which it occasions is fully compensated by the connexion which it maintains between the Government and the fundholders, a large proportion of whom are natives of the country, and who are thus interested in the stability of the ruling power.<sup>1</sup>

In 1792 the Indian debt, bearing interest, little exceeded seven millions sterling: the interest exceeded six hundred thousand pounds, bearing a proportion of eight and six tenths per cent.<sup>2</sup> In 1799 the debt had risen to ten millions; and in the short interval of five years, the season of Lord Wellesley's conquests, it was more than doubled, amounting in 1805 to nearly twenty-one millions, with an annual

<sup>1</sup> Calcutta Annual Register, 1821; Historical Sketch, 18.

<sup>2</sup> This was the average rate. Loans opened in 1790-1, 1796-7, and 1798-9, bore twelve per cent.—Government Notices; Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. part ii. 459.



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interest of £1,791,000. During the two following years the continued effects of the previous period of prodigality were still felt, and the debt went on increasing; so that in 1807 it amounted to more than twenty-six millions, bearing an interest of £2,228,000. In 1813-14 the amount of debt remained much the same, being twenty-seven millions; but the interest amounted to £1,636,000, being a permanent diminution annually of £592,000.<sup>1</sup> This was effected by the successful opening of loans in August and December, 1810, at an interest of six per cent., to which the whole of the outstanding obligations were transferred; the capital of British India, and the credit of the Government, having thus gone on improving, so that in about twenty years the rate of interest on public securities was reduced from twelve per cent. to half that proportion.

Another important change followed the flourishing state of the finances, and the payment in England of the principal as well as of the interest of loans contracted in India ceased to form one of their conditions. When this provision was first introduced, it was thought likely to lead to the transfer of the whole of the Indian debt to Europe, where it might either be discharged out of the profits of the Company's trade, or by money borrowed at a much lower rate of interest. For these purposes the Indian Government of 1785 was au-

<sup>1</sup> Second Report, Commons' Committee, 1810, App. 8. It must be borne in mind that these sums are higher by one-seventh than they should be, according to the intrinsic value of the Indian currencies. The real debt of 1806-7, in Sicca rupees, was 23,15,30,125, say £23,153,000; and the amount of interest, Sa. rs. 1,97,13,929, or £1,971,900.—Official Documents; Lords' Committee, 1830, App. C. No. 3.

thorised to grant bills at eighteen months' date on the Court of Directors, for the principal of the debt then owing, to the extent of six crores of rupees, at the exchange of 1s. 8*d.* the current rupee, at the option of the lenders; and in the first year they took advantage of it to the extent of about a fourth of the principal sum. In the following year the amount applied for was so trifling, that the arrangement was looked upon as a failure; a result ascribed by the Government to the low rate of exchange, the remote date at which the bills were payable, the advantages made in India by holding Government securities, and the more advantageous means of remittance through foreign channels.

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On the renewal of the charter in 1793 the principle of the plan was recognised, and it was provided that the Indian debt should be in this manner gradually transferred to England, until it was reduced to two millions sterling, the exchange being fixed at 1s. 11*d.* the current rupee. For some time the amount transferred reached the prescribed limit of the bills to be drawn, or £500,000; but it ultimately diminished, and in 1803-4 ceased altogether. The demand for funds in India, the existence of profitable means of remittance by the extension of the private trade, and the conditions of new loans granting for the interest, bills at 2s. 6*d.* the Sicca rupee, payable six months after sight, and ensuring similar payment of the principal when due, held out inducements even to the European fundholders to leave their capital in the Indian treasury. With the return of peace in India capital was less in demand there; while the political state of Europe,

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the high price of bullion, and the depression of the public funds, rendered its transmission to England highly advantageous. The consequence was a run upon the home treasury, which was productive of much embarrassment; and the pressure was aggravated temporarily by the measures adopted under the orders of the Court for its relief,—the resolution of the local Governments to pay off all the debts the principal of which was demandable in England, in the event of the lenders declining to transfer the security to a new loan opened in 1810, which offered no such condition. The arrangement was so far successful that of twenty-three millions, to which the home treasury was liable, more than thirteen were transferred to the new loan; rather more than three were paid in cash by the local Governments; and six millions and a half remained to be discharged by bills upon the Court. It was for the purpose of meeting this demand that the Company had recourse to Parliament for aid. The inconvenience was gradually surmounted; and, although in 1812 under the terms of a new six per cent. loan the option of demanding payment of the principal by bills on England was partially restored, the home funds were not again exposed to so severe a demand.<sup>1</sup>

Nor had the resources at home been subjected to these heavy demands without corresponding efforts having been made in India to provide for them.

<sup>1</sup> Petition of the Company to Parliament; Second Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, May 1810, App. 6-10; Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. part ii. 454; Details of Public Loans; Report of the Commons' Committee, 1832, article Finance.

During the three concluding years of Lord Minto's administration, the supplies remitted from India exceeded the value of the Company's investments to the extent of nearly ten millions sterling.<sup>1</sup> Of the amount so remitted nearly two millions were in bullion;<sup>2</sup> a circumstance which was unprecedented in the history of the commerce of India, and intimated an approaching change in the terms of its intercourse with Europe. The transaction was also of peculiar importance at the season of its occurrence: the movements of the vast armies which were working out the deliverance of Europe from military despotism depended in a great measure upon the wealth of England. The occasion called for and deserved the application of all her resources; and, although bearing but a small proportion to the extent of her efforts, the treasuries of her Indian empire furnished a not inconsiderable nor unimportant contribution.<sup>3</sup>

The close of Lord Minto's honourable and successful labours was now approaching. The influence

<sup>1</sup> Excess of supply to London :

in 1811-12	Sa. rs. 3,46,49,832 at 2s. 6d.	£4,331,229
1812-13	2,71,49,075	3,393,634
1813-14	1,60,00,000	2,000,000

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£9,724,863

—Financial Letter from Bengal ; Papers relating to Finances of India, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, March, 1824, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Bullion remitted to England :

in 1811-12	Sa. rs. 40,42,407 at 2s. 6d.	£ 505,301
1812-13	85,44,983	1,068,123
1813-14	22,82,359	285,295

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£1,858,719

As the price of bullion was high in England, the remittances realised more than even the exchange value.

<sup>3</sup> Alison's History of Europe, viii. 63, ix. 701.



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of party spirit, so long suspended, was at length allowed to operate; and the continuance in office of an administration based upon principles opposed to those of the ministers by whom the Governor-General had been nominated was found incompatible with the longer duration of his power. Circumstances had also imposed upon the ministers the duty of conferring office upon another distinguished personage; and the endeavours of the Earl of Moira to carry into effect the wishes of the Prince Regent for the formation of a ministry which should connect the actual servants of the Crown with his early friends, however unsuccessful, entitled him to the consideration both of the Prince and of his advisers. It was consequently proposed to reward his exertions by his appointment to the government of India, and to make way for him by the removal of the Governor-General. A resolution was accordingly moved by the Chairman, under the dictation no doubt of the Board of Controul, that Lord Minto should be recalled. No reason for the measure was assigned; but it was adopted in opposition to the tenor of a letter received from Lord Minto's friends, expressing his wish to be relieved in January 1814. This letter was assigned as the reason for the immediate appointment of Earl Moira; but, as objected by one of the opponents of the arrangement, Mr. Charles Grant, the plea was delusive, as no one could pretend to assign it as a sufficient reason for proceeding to the choice of a Governor-General in November 1811, whose presence at Fort William could only be necessary in January 1814. On the same occasion it was deter-

mined to supersede Sir George Nugent as Commander-in-chief, Lord Moira uniting both the civil and supreme authority; and not only to rescind the conditional appointment of Sir G. Barlow as Governor-General, but to remove him from the government of Fort St. George. These several measures were made the subject of strong protests by several leading members of the Direction;<sup>1</sup> but the objections were overruled by the predominating spirit of ministerial obligations, and the change took place. Earl Moira was appointed Governor-General of India and Commander-in-chief; and General Abercromby, the commander of the forces at Fort St. George, was nominated for a time Governor of Madras. Lord Minto survived but a short time his return to his native country; he died in the course of the same year. Few Governors-General have stronger claims upon the gratitude of those over whom or for whom they ruled. No one ever more conscientiously or disinterestedly laboured for the happiness of the people of India, for the prosperity of the East India Company, or the honour and advantage of Great Britain. Other administrations may have been signalised by more stirring events and more splendid triumphs; but British India never enjoyed a more healthy and contented condition, never made a more sure and steady though an unpretending advance in social improvement, than during the government of Lord Minto.

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<sup>1</sup> See Dissents of Edward Parry, W. Astell, George Smith, and John Bebb, Esqrs., 20th Dec.; and separate Dissent of Mr. Charles Grant, 30th Dec. 1812: published by Sir Robert Barlow, 1813.

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The term of Lord Minto's government was coeval with a material change in the character of the superior authorities under whom the power of himself and his predecessors had been immediately held. The East India Company ceased to retain the monopoly of the East India trade. The circumstances which led to this event we shall now proceed to detail.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

*Embarrassed finances of the Company.—Application to Parliament for assistance.—A Loan granted.—Inquiry into abuse of patronage.—Renewal of the Charter.—Previous Correspondence with the Board.—Demands of the Court.—Propositions of Mr. Dundas—objections of the Court—communication suspended—revived.—Determination of Ministers to open the Trade with India resisted, but finally acceded to by the Company.—Claims of the Outports.—Change of the Ministry.—Lord Buckinghamshire President of the Board.—Consequences of delay.—Resistance to the claims of the Outports.—Appeal to Parliament.—Resolutions proposed by Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons; by Lord Buckinghamshire in the House of Lords.—Application of the Company to be heard by counsel granted.—Questions at issue—political—commercial.—Trade with India and with China, peculiarities of*

*the latter—secured to the Company.—Struggle for the Trade with India.—Arguments of the Company—of the Merchants.—Company consent to take off restrictions from the Export, not from the Import trade.—Financial and political evils anticipated and denied—attempt to substantiate them by evidence.—Opinions of Warren Hastings and others respecting the unrestricted admission of Europeans—extension of Trade—independent resort of Missionaries, &c.—Debates in the House of Commons—first and second Resolution carried—debate on the third.—Debates on the Report of the Committee.—Thirteenth Resolution adjourned—debate on it resumed—carried.—Other clauses suggested.—Bill finally passed in the Commons.—Debates in the House of Lords—previous discussions—Bill passed.—Proceedings in the Court of Proprietors.—Charter accepted.—Remarks.*

THE appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1808 to inquire into the state of the affairs of the East India Company has already been adverted to; as have the measures which, in compliance with their recommendation, were adopted by the Parliament for the relief of the financial embarrassments of the Company, by the discharge of a portion of the debt due to them by the public. The Committee continued, with occasional modifications, to sit through the four succeeding years, and presented to the House in that period different reports, which were drawn up with remarkable diligence and ability, and furnished a mass of authentic information upon every im-

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BOOK I. portant subject relating to the internal administra-  
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The relief afforded to the Company in 1808 by the sum of £1,500,000 received from the Government, together with more than usually favourable sales of merchandise, enabled the Court of Directors to provide for the wants of that and the following year without requiring further assistance. This state of prosperity was of no long duration, and in the beginning of the session of 1810 the Company were again obliged to apply to Parliament for pecuniary aid.<sup>1</sup> A deficit of two millions was anticipated in the receipts of the year ending March, 1811, as compared with the receipts; arising from the excessive and unexampled drafts made upon the Court, amounting to nearly five millions, from India, in discharge of the Indian debt, and from the unexpected losses sustained in the Company's shipping;<sup>2</sup> many of their vessels having, in the course of the last two years, been taken by the enemy, or perished at sea. As the state of the money market rendered it unadvisable to increase the Company's capital stock, as empowered by law, the Court applied to the House for such aid as it should see fit to grant, the property of the Company being offered as ample security for the repayment of a loan from the public. The petition was referred to the Committee, by whom the correctness of its purport was confirmed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See petition of the East India Company for relief; Parl. Debates, 13th April, 1810.

<sup>2</sup> In the years 1808-9 and 1809-10, fourteen large vessels, chartered by or belonging to the Company, were captured or were lost at sea: their cargoes alone were valued at more than a million sterling.—First Report, Commons' Committee, 1830, App. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Report from Select Committee, ordered to be printed 11th May, 1810.

Shortly afterwards, a second petition was presented,<sup>1</sup> praying for a further settlement of the amount due by the public to the Company: it was also referred to the Committee, but does not seem to have been made the subject of any special report. The time was unpropitious to the Company's applications, as the Government was straining the resources of the country to the utmost to provide for the magnitude of the national expenditure, and was floundering amidst the intricacies of the Bullion question. The urgency of the case, and the vital importance of maintaining unimpaired every form of public credit, gave irresistible weight to the appeal; and, after some discussions, a bill was passed on the 14th of June, 1811, for a loan of one million and a half to the Company.<sup>2</sup> In the following year the Company petitioned the House of Commons for permission to raise two millions upon bond; and a bill was brought in for the purpose, which, after some slight opposition, was passed. In June, 1812, a second application for a loan of two millions and a half was made to the House of Commons, and, although strenuously opposed by Mr. Creevy, complied with.<sup>3</sup>

Transactions affecting the moral credit of the Court of Directors had also, shortly before this period, been brought under the consideration of Parliament, and an alleged abuse of patronage was made the subject of inquiry. It was brought forward by the members of the Court themselves, in consequence of a report having prevailed that ap-

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Debates, 14th May, 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Debates, 10th May, 1811.

<sup>3</sup> Parl. Debates, 9th and 15th June, and 3rd and 7th July, 1812.

BOOK I. pointments in the service of the Company in India  
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1813. was moved by Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Grant, that a Committee of the House of Commons should be nominated to inquire into the existence of any corrupt practices in the distribution of the patronage of the Court of Directors. A Committee was accordingly appointed, which, in the course of a few weeks, reported the result of the investigation. The report exonerated the members of the Court from any imputation of a violation of the oath by which they were solemnly pledged, neither directly nor indirectly to accept any pecuniary consideration whatever on account of the appointment or nomination of any person or persons to any place or office in the service of the Company:<sup>1</sup> but it appeared in evidence that the persons to whom they had given appointments had, in some instances, sold them to third parties; and that a traffic had been carried on for situations in their India service without their participation or knowledge.<sup>2</sup> Three civil and twenty military appointments were traced as having been sold. The obtaining of such situations by purchase being prohibited under penalty of their forfeiture, the appointments were cancelled; but, as the punishment fell heaviest on those who were not the offending parties,—the young men holding the appointments,—much sympathy was excited for their situation, and other appointments

<sup>1</sup> This formed part of the general oath to be taken by each Director according to clause 160 of the 33rd of George III.

<sup>2</sup> It appeared that the price of a writership was about £3,500; that of a cadetship varied from £150 to £500.—Report of Committee, p. 2 to 8; and Evidence.

were given to them by different members of the Court.<sup>1</sup>

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The main question, however, which occupied the attention of the Court of Directors and his Majesty's Ministers was the renewal of the Company's charter. The term for which this had been granted in 1793 expired on the 10th April, 1814. It had been provided that notice of the cessation of the charter should be given to the Company three years before it expired; and accordingly, on the 4th of March, 1811, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, and it was ordered, that the Speaker should signify in writing to the Directors of the East India Company that the Company's commercial privileges would cease and determine on the date above specified.

The renewal of the charter had for some time previously been the subject of a correspondence between the Board of Controul and the Crown.<sup>2</sup> On the 30th of September 1808 Mr. Dundas addressed a letter to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, suggesting that it was now advisable to ascertain whether the Court of Directors were desirous to agitate the question, and submit it to the early consideration of Parliament. Early in the month following, the Chairs, after consulting with the Secret Com-

<sup>1</sup> Report of Committee appointed to inquire into the existence of abuses in the disposal of the patronage of the East India Company; printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, March 1809. See also *Parl. Debates*, vol. xiii.; and *Asiatic Annual Register, Proceedings India House*, vol. xii.

<sup>2</sup> The several communications with the Board, and various documents connected with the discussion, from 1808 to July 1813, were printed by order of the Court of Directors, for the information of the Proprietors, in a series of fifteen papers, entitled "Papers respecting the Negotiation for a Renewal of the East India Company's exclusive Privileges," London, 1812-1813.



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mittee of Correspondence, expressed their concurrence, considering that the interests of the public and the Company would be best consulted by an early renewal of the charter: they professed at the same time the readiness of the Court to pay due attention to any modifications that might be proposed, if they were compatible with the main principles of the existing system, for the conduct of the trade and the political administration of the Government of India. The views of the Directors were more fully developed in a letter addressed to Mr. Dundas on the 16th December, consequent on a personal conference which had been held with him. In this document they asserted the right of the Company to their territorial possessions, and stated their expectation that in a new charter the Proprietors would be permitted to benefit by an enhanced rate of dividends on their stock proportioned to the improvement of the revenues of India; that the aid of the British public would be contributed towards the liquidation of the Indian debt; and that arrangements would be devised for an equitable apportionment of the military expenditure incurred in the prosecution of interests of purely British origin, and not fairly chargeable to India. Twenty years were required for the term of the new charter. The tone of the address was bold, particularly at a moment when the Company was a suppliant for pecuniary aid; and the eagerness to extract an augmented dividend out of the anticipated improvement of revenue, instead of proposing to apply such additional revenues either to the reduction of the public debt or the benefit of the

people of India, savoured more strongly of the little selfishness of a trading company than of the liberal-  
ity becoming a great and enlightened Government.

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In his reply, dated the 13th Jan. 1809, Mr. Dundas, although admitting in substance the advantage of adhering to the system of commerce and administration which had been sanctioned by the existing charter, declined to acknowledge the claim of the Company to a right to the territory of India, and considered it premature to discuss the proportion of benefit that was to be derived by the Company or the public from any improvement in the finances of India until the debt should be discharged. In like manner, the liquidation of the debt must be contingent on the appropriation of the revenues; as, if the disposal of them should be assumed by the public, it would be impossible to disregard the fair claims of the Company, or their creditors, to a reimbursement of the expenses incurred in the acquirement of the territory. He admitted that the Company had also a right to expect that the public should defray the cost of all hostile operations growing out of a state of war in Europe, whether India became the scene of them or was likely to be their aim.

In the letter from the Chairs of the 16th Dec. all specific allusion to the Company's exclusive commercial privilege had been carefully avoided. The phrase employed, "a regulated monopoly of the trade,"<sup>1</sup> implied of course that the commerce was to be left

<sup>1</sup> "The system by which the Legislature has continued to the Company the government of the territories acquired by it in the East, with a regulated monopoly of the trade, has been held by the most eminent persons conversant with that quarter and its affairs to be the most expedient both for the foreign and domestic interests of this country."—Letter from the Chairs to the Right Honourable Robert Dundas, 16th December, 1808; Papers, p. 9.

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on its actual footing,—the assignment of a certain amount of tonnage to private merchandise in ships taken up by the Company, and the sale of private import goods through the Company's establishments. Mr. Dundas was more explicit : he announced to the Court that his Majesty's Ministers would not concur in an application to Parliament for the renewal of any privileges which should prevent the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain from trading to and from India, and the countries within the limits of the Company's exclusive trade, the dominions of the Emperor of China excepted, in ships and vessels hired or freighted by themselves. He also intimated that it was thought advisable to adopt some plan for the consolidation of the Indian army with the troops of the Crown serving in India, in order to put an end to the jealousies and divisions which had so repeatedly occurred between the two branches of the military service in that country, and to the divided responsibility which had hitherto impaired the efficiency of both. He thought this would be found practicable without interfering with actual arrangements, or weakening the authority of the local Governments or of the Court over his Majesty's regiments employed in the Company's possessions. These intimations were anything but acceptable to the Court ; and they replied, that, if the suggestions were acted upon to the extent which the terms seemed to convey, they would effectually supersede and destroy not merely the rights of the Company, but the whole scheme of Indian administration established by the previous acts of the Legislature, and consequences fatal to the Company and most detri-

mental to the nation would infallibly ensue. Although, therefore, willing to take into consideration the means of supplying the trade of private merchants with more beneficial and extensive accommodation as far as was consistent with the preservation of the Company's rights, the Court declared that they could not recommend to their constituents to seek a renewal of the charter upon conditions which would despoil it of all its solid advantages, deprive the Company of their most valuable privileges, and incapacitate them from performing for themselves and the nation the part hitherto allotted to them in the Indian system.

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The negotiation here came to a pause, and the Ministers, unwilling to engage in a contest with the Company whilst heavily embarrassed by the state of public affairs, and finding that the notice of the House was not likely to be yet attracted to the question of the Company's charter, determined not to press the subject. At the end of 1809 the Court announced their readiness to resume the discussion; but no notice seems to have been taken of their challenge until the end of 1811, when the President of the Board, now Lord Melville, apprised the Directors that his Majesty's Ministers could not recommend to Parliament the continuance of the existing system, unless they were prepared to assent that the ships as well as goods of private merchants should be admitted into the trade with India under such restrictions as might be deemed necessary. If the Court would agree to the enlargement of the trade, he was prepared to discuss the measures it might be necessary to devise.



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In their reply to Lord Melville the Court consented, however reluctantly, to propose to the Proprietors the opening of the trade; repeating their opinion, that, whilst it would be productive of serious inconvenience to the political administration of India, it would not realise to the nation the benefits which were expected from it. In support of their assertions, they referred to the accounts of the trade which had been submitted to the Select Committee. Influenced too, no doubt, by the measures which they understood to be in contemplation by the merchants of the commercial and maritime towns in various parts of the British islands, they expressed their confident belief that no intention was entertained by his Majesty's Ministers of trying the hazardous experiment of dispersing over all the ports of England and Ireland a trade now brought with so much advantage, both to the Company and the public, to the single port of London. The letter also entered into details exhibiting the magnitude of the Company's transactions, and vindicating the Company from the accusations which had been urged against it, and from the objections to the continuance of a system which they believed to rest, not upon the grounds of individual interest, but upon the firm basis of national advantage.

On the day preceding the date of this letter, a paper of propositions to be submitted to Lord Melville had been approved of by the Court of Directors, and was accordingly communicated to him on the 6th of March, 1812. To these propositions, or hints, as they were denominated, his lordship replied on the 12th; and as the main object of the propositions

had been to secure the continuance of the arrangements of the act of 1793, proposing only to adopt such modifications as should give greater facilities to the private trader, but no greater extension to the trade, they met with no favourable reception. The President of the Board of Controul told the Court plainly, that, as far as related to the India trade, they did not appear to have succeeded in showing that any detriment would accrue to the public interests either in this country or India, or ultimately even to the interests of the Company, from the introduction of private adventure; and he refused to acquiesce in any arrangements which imposed a restriction upon an improved commercial intercourse with India, approving of such only as were intended to restrain unauthorised settlements in that country, and to secure a strict monopoly of the trade with China. A petition, framed in consonance with the views of the Board, was accordingly prepared, and, being concurred in by a Court of Proprietors held on the 2nd of April, was presented on the 7th to the House of Commons, praying for a renewal of the charter.

The announcement of the cessation of the East India Company's exclusive privileges was, we have contemporary evidence, received at first with very little interest. Men's minds were engaged with mighty events, by which the interests of commerce were overshadowed; and it seemed scarcely worth while to dispute for the profit of any particular branch of trade, when the independence of nations was at stake. By degrees, however, attention was drawn to the topic; and the Parliament had no

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sooner met than a deluge of petitions poured upon the House, assailing the principle of monopoly, condemning the career of the India Company, calumniating the motives of the Directors, and advocating the abstract right of all British subjects to a participation in every branch of external commerce. The language of the petitions was prompted by the same spirit against which it was levelled. The petitioners looked only to their own anticipated advantages, and in their selfish eagerness would have trampled upon all prudent precaution and opposing claims. A quarrel speedily sprung up amongst themselves for the spoils at which they grasped; and the merchants and ship-owners of London found, with no small dismay, that the unavowed monopoly which they had enjoyed under the protection of the Company's privileges, of a portion of the trade and the whole of the shipping, was no longer to remain uninvaded. Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and many other outports had merchants, vessels, docks, and warehouses; and demanded not merely to be permitted to send goods to India, but to bring back its products to their own doors in their own ships, and to be liberated from all dependence whatever upon the metropolis.<sup>1</sup> Not only were petitions to this effect presented, but delegates from the outports were sent up to London and formed into a committee empowered to act for the mercan-

<sup>1</sup> Resolutions of the Buyers of Piece-goods, 21st April, 1812; Merchants, Manufacturers, Traders of London, 25th ditto; Petition ditto; Papers respecting the negociation, p. 133, &c. See also petitions to the House of Commons from the Merchants, Shipowners, &c. of London, and others, interested in the trade with India, and in the tea-trade; Parl. Debates, 6th May, 1812.

tile communities of the several places, and watch over their interests. Besides the outports, almost every trading and manufacturing town of any consideration joined in petitioning against the renewal of the Company's charter.<sup>1</sup>

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Up to the beginning of 1812, the pretensions of the outports had excited apparently but little attention, and had received little countenance from the Ministers. Although Lord Melville had resisted the attempt of the Court to restrict the export trade to the port of London, he had nowhere intimated any inclination to extend the imports in a similar manner. On the contrary, he had concurred in the sixth proposition of the Court, which provided that the whole of the Indian trade should be brought to London, and that the goods should be sold at the Company's sales and under the Company's management, as likely to secure and facilitate the collection of the duties upon articles imported from India and China. Had, therefore, his propositions been acceded to in the first instance, it seems not unlikely that the Ministers would have been pledged to support the sale and warehousing system of the Company, and the advantages realised therefrom would have been preserved. The delay which the repugnance of the Court had caused, had given the opponents of the Company an opportunity to advocate the claims of the outports; and the change of Administration which occurred at this season, and which placed the Earl of Buckinghamshire at the head of the Board

<sup>1</sup> See Parliamentary Debates, Session of 1812; Petitions from Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Nottingham, Blackburn, Paisley, Dundee, Perth, Belfast, and many other places in the three kingdoms.



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The conferences and correspondence with the Board still continued; and, as the opinions of the new President of the Board of Controul were in favour of the claims of the merchants of the outports, the proceedings that had taken place were reported to the Proprietors at large. The sentiments of the Directors could not fail to find an echo in such an assembly, and a series of resolutions was moved and carried in a General Court, held on the 5th May, to the following purport:—That the measure of opening the outports to vessels of all descriptions from India was fraught with consequences ruinous to the Company, and to the long train of interests connected with it: the removal of the trade from London would render large and important establishments useless, and throw many thousand persons out of bread. That a departure from the course of public sales would be injurious to the trade; and, by dispensing with the interposition of the Company, smuggling to an unlimited extent would be uncontrollable, to the great detriment of the public revenue. That the consequences must be, the destruction of the Company's China trade, the

<sup>1</sup> This nobleman, as Lord Hobart, had been Governor of Madras from 1794 to 1798. He had experienced the inconvenience to which the Indian Governments had been exposed in having to provide, amidst the financial embarrassments resulting from expensive warfare, for the Company's investments.—See Memoir of the late Earl of Buckinghamshire, *Monthly Asiatic Journal*, January 1817.

failure of their dividends, the depreciation of their stock, and their inability to perform the functions assigned to them in the government of British India.

That, if the constitution of the British Indian empire were subverted, the civil and military services would be broken down; the tranquillity and happiness of the people of India, the interests of Britain in Asia, and the constitution at home, would be imminently endangered. That the object for which these evils were to be risked, the increase of the commerce, was illusory; as all experience had shown that it was not capable of increase. That the cause of the Company had been deeply injured by prejudice, ignorance, erroneous assumption, and, latterly, by extensive combinations, and by unfair representation, canvass, and intimidation. And finally, the Court, trusting that Parliament would decide, not on the suggestions of private interests, but considerations of national policy, approved of the firmness with which the Directors had maintained the interests of the Company, and enjoined them to persevere in the negociation with his Majesty's Ministers on the same principles.

Although unappalled by the dark catalogue of imaginary terrors which the interested fears of the East India Company had conjured up for the salvation of their monopoly, yet the obvious evils attending the transfer of the details of an extensive trade from one class of persons to others, and the confidence with which disappointment and ruin were predicted to those who sought to benefit by the transfer, compelled the Government to proceed with deliberation and caution, and prevented them from bringing the decision of

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the question before Parliament during this session, notwithstanding it was one of the topics adverted to at the opening of the session in the speech from the throne. Previously to its introduction, another attempt was made by the Ministers to obtain the acquiescence of the Company in the proposed extension of the import trade, as preliminary to any other arrangements; and, as the attempt was unsuccessful, they intimated that it would be for Parliament to determine whether, if the Company still thought the extension of the commerce incompatible with their administration of the government of India, measures might not be devised that would effect the opening of the trade, and at the same time provide for the administration of the government of India by some other means than the intervention of the Company, upon principles consistent with the interests of the country and the integrity of the British constitution.<sup>1</sup> This intimation closed the discussion on the part of the Administration. The Court of Directors were equally resolute, and they were supported by the great body of the Proprietors. After a meeting of the latter, which was repeatedly adjourned, a series of resolutions was adopted,<sup>2</sup> which recapitulated the principal arguments in favour of the continuance of the present system, approved entirely of the firmness of the Direction in regard to the vital question of admitting the outports to share in the import trade of India, expressed their opinion that on no consideration whatever should this point be conceded,

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Earl of Buckinghamshire, 4th Jan. 1813; Papers, 181.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings of a General Court of Proprietors, 26th Jan. 1813; Papers, 194.

and declared their conviction that they might approach Parliament with confidence, persuaded that the wisdom of that enlightened body would never consent to the sacrifice of the clear and positive interests of one class of men to the contingent advantages of another, nor demolish a mighty practical system which had been raised by such immense exertions, in order to place its materials at the disposal of interested speculation. Conformably to these resolutions, a petition was presented to the House of Commons on the 22nd February, 1813, in which the Company prayed for the renewal of the privileges granted in 1793, and deprecated any interference with the China trade, or any extension of the import trade from India to the outports of Great Britain. Another petition was submitted at the same time, soliciting from the nation payment of a debt claimed by the Company of £2,294,426.<sup>1</sup> A similar petition was presented to the House of Lords.

On the 22nd of March, 1813, the subject was introduced into the House of Commons, in a Committee of the whole house, by Lord Castlereagh, who, after some general observations in which he bore testimony to the excellence of the Company's Indian government, declared it to be the wish of the Government not to interfere with the political system unless compelled so to do, although circumstances imperiously demanded the relaxation of their commercial privileges. He accordingly submitted to the House a series of resolutions, which proposed to renew the charter of the Company for a further period, to continue to them during that

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Debates, 22nd Feb. 1813; see also Papers, p. 252.



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term the exclusive right of trading with China, but admitting to the trade with India, under certain restrictions, the mercantile community of Great Britain. Some general discussion of the principles on which the resolutions were founded ensued, but the Committee agreed that the resolutions should be read *pro formâ*, and taken into consideration at an early date. In the House of Lords similar resolutions were laid on the table by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and on the motion of the Earl of Liverpool they were referred to a Select Committee. It was agreed by the Lords that the petitioners should be heard by their counsel, with permission to examine evidence, should it be deemed necessary, in compliance with an application to that effect from the Company. The same indulgence was accorded by the House of Commons, and evidence was heard at the bars of both Houses in support of the Company's objections to the measures proposed by the Administration.<sup>1</sup> In order to form an accurate notion of the tenor and character of the testimony thus adduced, it will be convenient here to offer a summary recapitulation of the objects and arguments of the conflicting parties.

In the first instance, two great questions were involved in the consideration of the renewal of the charter—first the political, and secondly the commercial claims of the Company. The Court of Directors claimed the territory of India in the Company's possession as theirs by right of conquest, achieved originally with money derived from the profits of their trade: they had paid for it, and it was theirs. But

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of Court of Proprietors, 24th March, 1813; Papers, p. 305.

then came the question, What was the Company? of whom was it composed? and the answer was necessarily that it consisted of the dutiful and loyal subjects of the King of Great Britain: and a further doubt inevitably followed, how they could reconcile the duties of obedience to their sovereign with the regal powers which they pretended to exercise in India. This anomalous position was a sufficient confutation of their claims, without advertng to the conditions and circumstances under which an association of merchants had been permitted to acquire extensive dominions. Waiving the question of right, however, the Administration was not only disinclined to put down the Company's authority, but was anxious to leave them in the undisturbed enjoyment of the privileges and advantages which it conferred. The public was either indifferent to this branch of the discussion, or preferred that the territory of India should be administered through the Company; as the distribution of the patronage which it secured to those that had the nomination to the greater portion of the Indian appointments was safer in their hands than in those of the Ministers, more likely to be innocuously distributed, and not in danger of being used as an instrument of parliamentary corruption—an article of barter exchangeable for a vote.

The second question, the commercial privileges of the Company, was also distinguishable under two heads—the trade with China, and the trade with India. Both of these their mercantile antagonists sought to wrest from them; but the Ministers came to their rescue, and were disposed to listen to the

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BOOK I. arguments of the Court in defence of the monopoly  
CHAP. VIII. of the trade with China. This trade was carried on

1813. under peculiar circumstances. The Chinese Government entertained a violent jealousy of foreign intercourse, and confined the trade not only to a single port, but to a single society,—to a certain number of native merchants of Canton incorporated under the designation of Hong,—interdicting the rest of its subjects from trafficking with strangers. There was no field, therefore, for competition; no possibility of multiplying demand by reduced prices, as the people at large were excluded from the market; and the only effect of the increased resort of English merchants would be to place them more entirely at the mercy of the Chinese Hong. Prompt to take offence, and affecting, possibly entertaining, utter indifference for foreign trade, the Government of Canton upon every petty disturbance or cause of alarm was ready to place an embargo upon all shipments whatever; and it had often required the experienced judgment, local knowledge, and personal influence of the members of the Company's factory at Canton to prevent or remedy occasions of umbrage, and preserve the trade from suspension, or restore it when interrupted. There was great reason to apprehend that from the ignorance or incaution of British traders and sailors, subject to no national controul, and setting the Chinese authorities at defiance, frequent interruption, if not a total stop to the trade, would occur; to the serious discontent of the people of England, to whom tea had become a necessary of life, and to the irreparable injury of the revenue, which realised nearly four millions a

year of duty upon this article of import.<sup>1</sup> It was maintained, indeed, that there were no just grounds for apprehending such a catastrophe. The Americans had traded largely with China without supracargoes or factory, yet had never given offence; and the appointment of a British consul would provide sufficiently a local authority, to which the resident merchants and the crews of British vessels might be made amenable. The salutary effects of this latter measure were regarded, however, as doubtful; and it seemed not improbable that the immunity of the American trade from obstruction was in part attributable to the Company's establishment, which without actual authority exercised an influence over all the foreign trade at Canton favourable to its prosperity. It was also argued, that, if an unlimited intercourse with China were permitted, it would be impossible to prevent smuggling, by which the revenue would be injuriously affected; and although the impossibility was denied, yet undoubtedly this argument had great weight with the Administration, who were unwilling, amidst the enormous pressure upon the finances of the country during the momentous transactions of this period upon the Continent, to hazard the diminution of a resource so valuable and so easily realised as the duty upon tea paid by the Company. Accordingly from the first they declared their determination to uphold this part of the monopoly, and to exclude private traders from the China seas.

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<sup>1</sup> Considerations on the China Trade, by Sir G. Staunton, Bart., communicated in the first instance to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and subsequently to the Court of Directors; Papers, &c. p. 281.



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The struggle therefore was for the India trade. The advocates of the mercantile interest assailed the Company with 'the anti-monopoly doctrines, which, started by Adam Smith, were now received as axioms in the new and growing school of political economists: and although it was undeniable, that, had not the Company possessed originally an exclusive trade with India, that trade would never have been established on a secure and permanent footing, and not a rood of land in India would have owned the rule of Great Britain; yet the necessities which fully justified the monopoly for many years had gradually disappeared before its continuance, and no sufficient reasons could now be assigned for excluding the merchants of Britain from a commercial intercourse with British India, especially as that intercourse was open to the people of America and to all foreign nations. The Court of Directors were unable to offer any valid objections of a commercial nature. Their only argument was, that admission to the trade would end in disappointment; that the merchants who so eagerly sought to be allowed to engage in the commerce would find they had miscalculated the benefits they derived from it. The experience of two centuries, they affirmed, had fully determined the nature and extent of the trade with India; and proved past questioning that it could not be carried beyond the bounds to which it had attained, and which yielded so little profit, that the trade was scarcely worth the Company's retaining. The imports from India were of a limited description, and were either on the decline in competition with the raw produce of

America, as cotton; or with the products of home manufacture, as cotton goods; or they were incapable of more than a fixed and circumscribed consumption, as was the case with indigo and various drugs and spices. The same applied to the exports: they could not be increased; the climate, the religion, and the usages of the people were all opposed to the consumption of British goods and manufactures; and nothing English that could be sent to India was likely to find a sale, except among the few British residents in the country. The interval that had elapsed since the renewal of the last charter had given to these conclusions the sanction of experience; as the amount of tonnage then provided for the private trade had never been fully occupied, and not a single new article of export had suggested itself to the interested enterprise of the individual trader.

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The more ardent of the advocates of free trade denied the justice of the conclusions drawn by the Court. The little profit attending the Company's trade they ascribed to the prodigal expense of the Company's operations, the want of good management, and the absence of judicious speculation. The delays and expenses to which the private trade was subjected under the Company's controul sufficiently accounted for the limited demand that had been made for the tonnage: yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, the Court's own returns showed that the private trade was on the increase; and, notwithstanding the assertion that no new article had been introduced, it had been found profitable to send out cotton manufactures to India. "They treated

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as monstrous and untenable the assertion that no extension of trade was possible amongst the millions of the Indian population.<sup>1</sup> The more moderate argued, that, although it was very possible that such an extension as was sometimes anticipated, might not be effected in India itself, or amongst the Hindus, yet that there was a considerable body of Mohammedans whose habits were less unpromising; and in the Indian Ocean, the Gulph of Persia, and the Eastern Archipelago, new channels of trade might and would no doubt be opened out by the activity and enterprise of the private trader: that, at any rate, the experiment was worth trying, as it could only leave the trade as it found it; and if, as was pretended, it yielded little or no profit to the Company, that was a reason the more why they should not be unwilling to part with it. The exigencies of the commerce of Great Britain probably weighed more with the Ministers than the arguments and assertions of either party. Excluded from the Continent by the decrees of Napoleon, the merchants and manufacturers were labouring under alarming difficulties; and the country was menaced with severe distress unless some new vent for the issue of its industrial products could be discovered, some new hopes could be held out to animate and encourage the drooping energies of manufacture and

<sup>1</sup> It was stated by Lord Castlereagh, that in the last twenty years the export of cotton manufactures to India had increased from £2000 to £108,000, and was clearly a growing trade.—Debates, June 2, 1813. See also Evidence of Mr. Brown and Sir Robert Peel, App. First Report. Mr. Sullivan, 3rd June, says, the average export of manufactured cottons from 1792 to 1796 was £730, whilst between 1807 and 1811 it was £96,989: the amount of the exports of private trade had doubled within the period of the charter.

trade. To this great state necessity the interests of a single corporation were bound to yield; and the Company, with however bad a grace, were compelled to consent that vessels from any of the ports of Great Britain should be allowed to export British produce and fabrics to the territories of India under their authority. They still, however, insisted on the condition that the cargoes which the merchants imported from India should be brought to London, deposited in the Company's warehouses, and sold at the Company's sales. Upon this point they resolutely resisted the wishes of the Government.

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The arguments with which they opposed the extension of the imports from India to the out-ports of Great Britain were, the injury that it would inflict both upon the Company and the metropolis, rendering the extensive and valuable docks and warehouses appropriated during many years to the India trade no longer available, and throwing out of employment thousands of persons hitherto dependent upon their establishments; the impossibility it would involve of regulating the supplies by the demand, which was the effect of the Company's sales,—the Company keeping back, even to their own loss, the goods they imported, when they found that the market was overstocked. But the chief points upon which they rested their objections were, the impossibility of preventing smuggling in Britain, and checking the unlicensed and unlawful navigation in the Indian seas, which must result from extending the trade to other ports than that of London. The replies of the representatives of the out-ports were, either of a general tenor, the same with



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which the principle of the Company's monopoly had been assailed; or they were specially urged against the limitation of the import trade to the port of London, which they denounced as unnecessary, unjust, and impolitic. It was not necessary for the protection of the revenue, for experience had shown that the Government duties could be levied elsewhere with as much regularity and security as in London: it was unjust, because every mercantile place was entitled to the same protection as the capital; and it would be only a transfer of the monopoly from the East India Company to the merchants of London, to give to them alone the privilege of importing goods from India: and it was impolitic, because the superior dispatch and economy of the outports were requisite to secure an equality in the market with foreign nations. With regard to the duties, the Ministers also took the care of them upon themselves, their realisation being more the business of the State than of the Company; and they would not admit that any greater danger could accrue to the Company's authority in India from the homeward than the outward trade, as the increased resort of Europeans to India was quite as likely to be the consequence of the one as of the other. The Court of Directors had also impaired the force of their own objections on this ground, by acceding to the unlimited extension of the outward-bound trade to any of the ports of the United Kingdom. Notwithstanding this palpable objection to the arguments of the Court, the dangers resulting from the opening of the trade to their political interests were pressed upon the Ministers with still more urgency

than the peril of their commercial; and their tenure of the sovereignty of India was declared to be contingent upon the preservation of their mercantile privileges. The dangers were of two kinds,—one financial, one political.

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The revenues of British India, it was affirmed, had never been equal to the territorial charges: the deficit had been made good partly by money borrowed either in India or in England, and partly by the profits of the Company's trade. Large payments on account of Indian loans, and of expenses growing out of the Indian system,—such as, the supplies of stores and the pensions of retired officers, civil and military,—had also to be made in England; for which the commercial capital of the Company was wholly insufficient, and for which the sums required were raised by remittances of goods from India or China, and the proceeds of the sales at the India House. Should these sources of supply fail in consequence of the diversion of the trade to private hands, money would be wanting for current disbursements: and, should the profits of the trade be taken away, the excess of the charge of the Indian territory, the interest of the debt, and the dividends on the stock could no longer be provided for; in which case the Company's stock would be valueless, and their obligations could not be discharged. The business of the Indian administration could no longer be carried on by them, and the rescission of their commercial privileges was therefore equivalent to the annihilation of their political existence,—to the subversion of that system which the sense of the nation, the testimony of all preceding Administrations, and the professions

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of the present Ministers, agreed to recognise as that which was best fitted to maintain the British dominion in India. These arguments were, however, disposed of in a great measure by the continuance to the Company of the monopoly of the tea-trade, from which it was admitted that their commercial profits were principally, if not wholly, derived. How far their territorial expenses had been defrayed by their commercial gains, was also a matter of some uncertainty, as the accounts of both had been hitherto blended in such a manner as to render it difficult to distinguish to which head many of the charges correctly appertained. According to the Company's adversaries, the Company's investments were largely indebted to the territorial revenue.

Thus driven from all the disputed posts,—most of which, to say the truth, were utterly untenable,—the Company had recourse to their last great stay, the danger of an unlimited resort of Europeans to India. It was asserted that merchants and agents would of necessity follow the trade, and that great numbers of persons would settle in the country, upon whose steps craftsmen and labourers would necessarily follow; and European colonization, however slowly, would surely take place. Once established, it would, after the example of the American colonies, lead to independence, and India would be lost to Great Britain. Even before this consummation took place, extreme embarrassment and no small peril would be encountered. The weak and timid natives of India would be the victims of European fierceness and brute force. If they failed to resist, they would be subject to cruelty and

oppression, which the Company's functionaries would be unable to prevent: if, taking courage from their numbers, they ventured at resistance, scenes of tumult and bloodshed must follow, which could not fail to menace the stability of British rule. In either case there was an immediate or a remote danger that the loss of India would follow the opening of the trade.

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These apprehensions had, as above remarked, been partly neutralized by the assent which the Court had actually given to the extension of the trade to India, and it was not difficult to show that they were exaggerated and visionary. The resort of Europeans growing out of the agency of commerce could neither be numerous nor mischievous. It would be necessarily confined to the principal settlements, where alone trade could be largely and profitably carried on, and where the persons engaged in it would be immediately under the eye of the most efficient and powerful officers of the state. The class of persons who would take up their abode there would be peaceable merchants, factors, and agents; not classes amongst whom matter deep and dangerous to the Government was likely to be fostered. Labour in India was too plentiful and too cheap to hold out any inducement to the most numerous and disorderly classes of the community at home to emigrate, and all danger of popular commotion from such a source was therefore imaginary. But, it was argued, some of the settlers would attach themselves to the soil, and a class of agricultural as well as commercial colonists would be formed, by whom ultimate independence would be achieved. To the objection, that



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and the phantoms had so far an influence upon the determinations of the Government, that it was thought advisable to take precautions to prevent their substantial existence. It was agreed that no persons, except those in the Company's employ, should be allowed to go to India as residents, without a licence either from the Company or the Board of Controul; and that the Indian Governments should retain authority to send out of the country any individual from whom they might think it advisable to withdraw the licence to reside in India. This was considered a sufficient concession to the real or affected panic of the Court. And with regard to any embarrassments that might arise from the diminished remittances from India to meet the demands upon the Company, the Ministers engaged that, if it should arise without any fault of the Company, they would use their influence with Parliament to afford the necessary relief, as far as equivalent means might exist in India.<sup>1</sup>

The improbability of the extension of the trade, and the great risk attending the attempt to effect its extension, were the especial points which the Company endeavoured, by the witnesses whom they called, to impress upon the Parliament; and with

<sup>1</sup> The arguments in favour of the continuance of the Company's exclusive privileges are to be chiefly found in the letters from the Chairs to the Board of Controul, and the petitions of the Company to Parliament, printed in the Papers respecting the negotiations, &c. Those of the advocates of free trade, in the petitions of the several towns, and in a shoal of contemporary pamphlets: among which may be noticed *Considerations on the Trade with India*, London, 1807; and *Letters on the East India Company's Monopoly*, published at Glasgow. Nor was the Company without its supporters; amongst whom one of the most respectable was Mr. Robert Grant, the author of the "*Expediency of continuing the system of the Trade and Government of India, 1813.*"

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this view several of their most distinguished servants were interrogated before the House. The first person called was Warren Hastings; and, as if impelled by a sudden conviction of the undeserved severity with which he had been treated by a former House of Commons, and by a spontaneous wish to offer him such atonement as a unanimous tribute of personal respect could render, the members rose, as one body, upon his entrance into the House, and stood until he had assumed his seat within the bar. Similar indications of veneration accompanied his withdrawal. The House of Lords received him also with marked courtesy and attention. The contrast between his position now, and that which he held in the same presence twenty-seven years before, when he was arraigned of atrocious crimes and misdemeanors before both Houses, must have been some, though a tardy and insufficient, compensation for the unmerited neglect in which he had since passed his unobtrusive life.<sup>1</sup> His evidence was confirmatory of the assertions of the Company. He expressed it as his opinion, that if Europeans were admitted generally to go into the country, to mix with the inhabitants or form establishments amongst them, the consequence would certainly and inevitably be the ruin of the country: they would insult, plunder, and oppress the natives, and no laws enacted from home could prevent them from committing acts of licentiousness of every kind with impunity. A general feeling of hostility to the Government would be excited; and

<sup>1</sup> Of his reception he merely remarks, in a letter to a young friend, "I have lately received two most convincing and affecting proofs of my having outlived all the prejudices which have during so many past years prevailed against me."—*Life of Warren Hastings*, iii. 458.

although the armed force might be of sufficient strength to suppress any overt acts of insurrection, yet the stability of the empire must be endangered by universal discontent. The opinions of Lord Teignmouth, Colonel Malcolm, Colonel Munro, and other distinguished servants of the Company were of a similar tendency, and deprecated strongly the unrestricted admission of Europeans to the interior of the country. Experience had proved, they affirmed, that it was difficult to impress even upon the servants of the Company, whilst in their noviciate, a due regard for the feelings and habits of the people; and Englishmen of classes less under the observation of the superior authorities were notorious for the contempt with which, in their national arrogance and ignorance, they contemplated the usages and institutions of the natives, and for their frequent disregard of the dictates of humanity and justice in their dealings with the people of India. The natives, although timid and feeble in some places, were not without strength and resolution in others; and instances had occurred where their resentment had proved formidable to their oppressors. It was difficult, if not impossible, to afford them protection, for the Englishman was amenable only to the courts of British law established at the Presidencies; and although the local magistrate had the power of sending him thither for trial, yet, to impose upon the native complainants and witnesses the obligation of repairing many hundred miles to obtain redress, was to subject them to delay, fatigue, and expense, which would be more intolerable than the injury they had suffered. There was in fact,

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therefore, no redress; and the only security that the natives enjoyed was the power vested in the Government of removing a troublesome and mischievous European from the provinces to the Presidency, or even, if necessary, of sending him altogether out of India. As long as those powers continued to be vested in the local Governments, and as long as the resort of Europeans to India was regulated by licences granted by the authorities either in England or in India, it was thought by some of the witnesses that no great danger was to be apprehended. According to Colonel Malcolm, however, the restrictions could not be too stringent or severe.<sup>1</sup>

In all the questions, however, to which these replies were given, it was assumed that not only an unrestricted but an unlimited and numerous influx of Europeans would follow the opening of the trade, and that the Europeans would settle as colonists. Admitting the inferences to be legitimate, the premises did not appear to all the witnesses to be equally indisputable. Thus Colonel Munro, in particular, stated his opinion that, although in the first instance the number of Europeans might be considerably augmented, yet by degrees that number would be limited by the amount of the trade, for the regulation of which alone their residence would be advantageous. They would not become manufacturers, on account of the superior skill and economy of the natives; they could not hold land, as that was prohibited by the Company's regulations:

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament in 1813, printed by order of the Court of Directors for the information of the Proprietors.

and, supposing it to be desirable that the law were repealed, it was not likely that Europeans could colonize to any extent; they would be borne down by the superior population of the natives, more industrious and economical than themselves.

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The several witnesses agreed also as to the improbability of the trade with India being susceptible of any material extension. The simple habits of the people, taught them by the nature of the climate and the condition of society, rendered them, even where able to purchase superfluities, little inclined to provide them. A few opulent natives at the chief cities occasionally purchased articles of European furniture and apparel, in compliment to their European friends, but commonly put them aside and made no use of them.<sup>1</sup> Their superfluous wealth was expended in the marriages of their children or at religious festivals, in domestic indulgences or on the ornaments of their women. The vast majority of the people were, however, devoid of the means of buying European manufactures, even if there existed amongst them any propensity to make use of them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A fourth of the second share of the prize-money of Seringapatam was to be paid to the Nizam, and, with a prudent regard for the interests of British trade, the Government of Madras thought it expedient to convert the amount into broad-cloth, plate, china, glass and the like, in order to initiate his Highness and his Court into a taste for the elegant superfluities of European living. The articles were graciously received; but all were consigned to the Toshak-khana, or magazine of rare and valuable commodities. On visiting this magazine, the Resident found many rooms filled from the floor to the ceiling with European articles, most of which had been presented to the Nizam and his father by the Governors of the French and English settlements; some as old as the time of Duplessy and Bussy, sent direct from the court of Louis XV. Of course the greater portion had become the nests of the white ant and the moth.—Evidence of T. Sydenham, Esq. before the House of Commons; Minutes, p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> Various testimonies were given of the cheapness of labour and the trifling amount sufficient for the maintenance of the natives. According to returns obtained by Colonel Munro whilst in India, upon a population of

BOOK I. Here, again, the same sagacious officer, Colonel  
CHAP. VIII. Munro, placed the question in its true light. Al-

1813. though he admitted that the Hindu was as unalterable in his habits as it was possible to be, and had in all probability adhered to them ever since he was first known to the Greek invaders of his country, yet he denied that the people of India entertained any invincible prejudices against foreign fabrics: it was entirely a question of price: whenever we could undersell the Hindus in any article which they required, it would find its way into the interior of the country without much help from the British merchant, and in spite of all regulations to prevent it. At the same time, he did not conceive it likely that there would be such a reduction of price as could bring British manufactures into competition with those the natives required and could produce in their own country. He was not aware what elements were even then at work to raise the British manufacture of one of the necessities of life, cotton cloth, upon the ruin of the fabrics of India.

A question of still graver importance, although not affecting the continuance of the Company's privileges, was the expedience of adopting measures for the dissemination of Christianity amongst the natives of India. The advantages of placing the Company's chaplains under episcopal authority had been pressed upon the attention of the Company and the public

two millions of inhabitants, the average annual expenditure of each individual for clothes, food, furniture, and all the necessities of life, did not exceed 25s.: the average expenditure of the rich being 40s.; that of the middling classes, comprising the whole of the agricultural and manufacturing classes, 27s.; and that of the poorest, 18s. It was not likely that any of these classes should furnish consumers of European commodities.—Min. of Evidence p. 204.

some years before,<sup>1</sup> and the Administration was willing to give effect, in part, to the arrangements so suggested. The appointment of a bishop and archdeacons was calculated to give consistency and vigour to the clerical establishment of British India, and was not likely to excite any hostile feelings amongst the natives, as long as they had no cause to suspect that it was the purpose of the Government to employ such agency as instruments of their conversion. To this extent, therefore, the Ministers and the Company were disposed to go: but there were not wanting a number of zealous persons who endeavoured to force upon them the adoption of provisions in the new charter for the communication of the light of Christianity to the benighted heathens of India, and for affording sufficient opportunities to the benevolent persons who should be desirous of going to India for that purpose; or, in other words, to authorise and assist the exertions of the missionaries. Petitions to this effect had been presented to both Houses of Parliament, and the members naturally therefore wished to hear the sentiments of those who were best qualified to judge of the probable consequences of any attempt of the Government to introduce the Christian religion. There was no hesitation or disagreement in the reply. All concurred in asserting that not only the attempt, but any notion amongst the natives that such an attempt would be made, was pregnant with the most fatal consequences: it would not only defeat the object for which it was made, and prevent the diffusion of that religion it was intended to establish,

<sup>1</sup> In a memoir on the expediency of an Ecclesiastical establishment for British India, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, 1805.



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1813. British empire. Divided as were the people of the country by religious differences and distinctions of caste, any dread of violence to their several forms of belief would unite them in a common cause; would convert timidity into desperation, and subordination into defiance; and would kindle a flame which, in its progress, would destroy not only the British Government, but all who professed the faith it was designed to propagate. Even Lord Teignmouth, although connected with the religious party, admitted that considerable peril might be apprehended from indiscreet zeal; that, from the experience which the natives had had of the disposition of the Government during very many years to pay every attention to their civil and religious prejudices, they never could be brought to believe that it meant to impose upon them the religion of this country; that any enactment for the conversion of the natives, having the appearance of a compulsory law upon their consciences, would be attended with very great danger; and that it would be advisable to leave in the hands of the local Government the controul to be exercised over persons professing to teach Christianity in India.<sup>1</sup>

A variety of conflicting evidence relating to the

<sup>1</sup> See the Resolutions of a meeting of the Protestant Society for the protection of Religious Liberty, 2nd March, 1813; Papers, &c. 276: of a special meeting of the Church Missionary Society, 24th April, 1813; of the meetings of the members of the Church of Scotland, the Wesleyans, Baptists, and others, in March and April, 1813; in the Missionary Register for April of that year. The subject was also warmly discussed in various pamphlets: Lord Teignmouth and Mr. Fuller taking the lead on the side of missionary encouragement; and Messrs. Scott Waring, and T. Twining, among those who denied its expedience or safety.

difficulty of repressing smuggling, and the expedience of continuing the China monopoly, was also heard. The officers of the outports generally maintained that there existed as much security for the realisation of the duties at the several harbours as in London. The weight of authority, however, was against them; and difficulty was anticipated, although it might not be insuperable. The evidence of the Company's officers who had resided in China was also of a character more entitled to credit than that of the merchants, who attempted to qualify or deny the descriptions which were given by Sir G. Staunton and Mr. Davies of the peculiarities under which the trade with the Chinese was conducted, and the danger of its being lost should an indiscriminate traffic be allowed.

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On the 25th of May the subject was again brought before the House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh, presuming that the members were now in possession of the evidence, was desirous of entering upon the discussion, and coming to a conclusion without further delay. Some opposition was made to an early day, on the ground of there not being time to read over the minutes of evidence; but it was overruled, and on the 31st the House went into a Committee on the Resolutions. The first resolution purported that the privileges, authorities, and immunities granted to the East India Company by any acts of parliament then in force, should be continued for a further period of time to be limited, except as far as hereafter modified and repealed. In objecting to this, Mr. Bruce, the Company's historiographer, recapitulated the history of the Com-

BOOK I. pany, the attempts that had been made to interfere  
 CHAP. VIII. with their exclusive rights, the little success with

1813. which they had been attended, and the services rendered to the trade, and the prosperity of the state, by the Company; and he argued that any deviation from the existing system would be productive of dangers and losses both commercial and political, of the destruction of the Company's trade both with India and China, and of the subversion of their Indian empire. It would be a melancholy reflection, he concluded, to have lived to see one political and financial error lose to the country its American colonies; and to be convinced that the proposed resolutions, if passed into a law in opposition to a most full and complete body of evidence, would in a short time probably lose its Indian empire to Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> He was followed by Mr. Charles Grant junior, who impressed upon the House the peril of disturbing a system of administration under which the people of India were prosperous and happy, for the sake of imaginary commercial advantages which never could be realised. The good of the people of India was the real point at issue; and this could not be promoted by letting loose amongst them a host of desperate, needy adventurers, whose atrocious conduct in America and in Africa afforded sufficient indication of the evils they would inflict upon India. The Company had been charged with having excited wars in India, and furnished an exception to the general rule that peace and tranquillity were the insepa-

<sup>1</sup> Substance of the Speech of J. Bruce, Esq.; Black, Parry, & Co., 1813 : also Hansard's Debates, 31st May, 1813.

rable attendants of commerce: and by whom was  
 this charge made? by the advocates of the slave-  
 trade, the people of Liverpool. The natives of India  
 deprecated all change: he gave utterance to their  
 prayers when he conjured the House not to make  
 them the subjects of perilous speculation, and, for  
 the sake of local insignificant interests, barter away  
 their happiness. The commercial merits of the  
 question were more particularly dwelt upon by the  
 father of this speaker, Mr. Charles Grant senior,  
 who, as Chairman and member of the Court of Di-  
 rectors, and a gentleman of great ability and expe-  
 rience, had taken the lead in the defence of the  
 Company's privileges. He urged the arguments al-  
 ready adverted to, of the impossibility of materially  
 extending the trade, which he was satisfied to ob-  
 serve was now generally admitted. He denied that  
 the union of the character of merchant and sove-  
 reign was prejudicial to the country over which the  
 Company ruled; that any loss had attended their  
 commercial transactions, the commerce having not  
 only supported itself, but contributed to the ex-  
 penses of the administration of the territory: he as-  
 serted that the remittances made to England were  
 necessary for territorial charges in that country; and  
 that they were better effected through goods than  
 the bills of private merchants, of whose solvency  
 they could not always feel secure. He maintained  
 the right of the Company to their territorial posses-  
 sions, having been acquired at their own hazard and  
 expense. In reply to the inconsistency of appre-  
 hending a dangerous resort of Europeans to India if  
 merchandise were brought from thence to the out-

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ports, and not anticipating the same from vessels fitted out by them for the export trade, he observed that, if ships were not allowed to carry their return cargoes to the outports, the ships fitted out from those ports would be comparatively few. Of the reality of the danger, the whole body of the evidence was full. The transfer of the trade from London to the outports would yield no advantages to the kingdom at large; whilst it would be injurious to the metropolis, and dangerous to India.

Amongst the speakers on the opposite side, Mr. Canning was principally distinguished. He very justly observed, that, of all the questions ever discussed in the House of Commons, the present was one in which on both sides the greatest exaggeration prevailed. He bore no enmity to the Company, and was desirous of supporting all their just claims: but he could not admit their claim to the rightful sovereignty of India; or that the anomaly of their position should impair the principle, that, whenever British subjects acquired dominion, it was comprehended within the permanent dominion of the empire. When Parliament were legislating on the government and commerce of India, it was as clearly competent to do so, as to enact laws respecting any other British possessions properly denominated colonies. He would admit, however, the Company to retain their sovereign capacity as a concession, not as a right; but, if it should seem good to take it away, it was the right of the Parliament so to legislate, and not in the right of the East India Company to plead their possession. With regard to the objections offered to the open-

ing of the trade on account of the anticipated misconduct of those who would engage in it, he thought it was rather hard and unprecedented language for the advocates of the Company to say to the merchants, "You are a pack of piratical ragamuffins, who want to lay our villages in ruins and blood, and to carry away our children into captivity: we have heard of the horrible traffic you carried on for the slave-trade a century without shame, and would not abandon without a struggle." Fortunately for the private trader, the right and power of interference did exist in Parliament, who would consider the question in all its bearings, without heeding the exaggerated pretensions of those commercial lords of Asia to dominions acquired by British enterprise, and yet held by British arms.

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After witnessing the changes in the systems of judicature and revenue, and in the military organisation, which had been effected by the Company's Governments, he could not believe in the alleged immutability of the native character and habit, which was to render impracticable any extension of the trade with them; and still less could he imagine that a people, who had been quiet and submissive for three thousand years, should lose those qualities all of a sudden if a few pedlars were allowed to travel in the country with a pack of scissors or other hardware at their backs. The question was, not the admission of British merchants to trade without restrictions, but their trading subject to restrictions and regulations. He conceived the general principle to be pretty well disposed of, except between the classes who went to the extreme

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length of contending, on the one side, that the Company should be abolished, and those who, on the other, maintained that not a single feather should be taken from their plume of sovereignty; but whilst he did not apprehend any insuperable difficulty in providing for the government of India independent of the Company, yet he was ready to admit that the system had many advantages, and was desirous to continue it in their hands as long as it did not degenerate into a system of exclusion. The first resolution was carried without a division.

The second resolution, proposing to continue the monopoly of the tea-trade with the Company, was discussed on the succeeding day. It encountered some opposition from Mr. Marryatt, Mr. Ponsonby, and Sir J. Newport; who argued that it was impolitic and unjust to exclude British subjects from a trade to which foreigners were admitted, and that, by opening the trade, the public would be supplied with better tea at a lower price, the prices of teas in America being much lower than those at the Company's sales. In reply it was asserted, that the Company put up their teas at little more than cost price; and that, if the rates were enhanced by the buyers, it was their act, not the Company's. Whilst also it was not denied that the American prices were lower, it was asserted by Mr. Grant that the comparison was fallacious; as the articles, although bearing similar appellations, were entirely different, and the American teas were of inferior quality. This was contradicted; but the arguments which had influenced the Select Committee—the fear of exciting the jealousy and provoking the opposition

of the Chinese Government, and the inexpediency of hazarding valuable and readily realisable revenue which the duty on tea under the present system secured,—proved successful; and this resolution was also carried without a division. The other resolutions, with reservation of the third, seventh, eighth, and thirteenth, were also agreed to.

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On the 2nd of June the discussion of the third resolution took place. This resolution, which gave permission to the ships of private merchants to sail from any port in Great Britain to any port within the limits of the Company's charter, and to return to certain of the outports, had been qualified by various clauses, having for their object both the security of the Company and individuals; the most important of them making it necessary for vessels trading with India to have licences from the Company, but empowering the Board of Controul to issue licences when refused by the Court of Directors, if not satisfied with the grounds of the refusal. The debate was opened with a speech from Mr. Rickards, objecting altogether to the continuance of the Company's privileges, and denying the existence of that prosperity amongst the people of India which they had been described as enjoying under the Company's administration; attributing much of the misery that existed to the pressure upon the national industry arising from the Company's monopoly, and looking for its relief only to the extension of a demand for the produce of the country through the enterprise of the private trader. He was replied to by Mr. Grant. The singularity of the debate was a long and elaborate speech



BOOK I. from Mr. Tierney, who, in opposition to the senti-  
 CHAP. VIII. ments of his colleagues, maintained that, looking

1813. to the distinguished character and generally con-  
 curring tenor of the evidence adduced in favour of  
 the Company, and the total absence of any evi-  
 dence on the opposite part, the existing system  
 ought not to be interfered with. In fact, there was  
 a gross inconsistency in the resolution: a Court  
 of Directors, that could not be trusted with the  
 commerce of India, was to be confirmed in the go-  
 vernment,—twenty-four execrable merchants were  
 to make excellent political governors! But there  
 was no charge against the Company: the main object  
 of the act of 1793, the happiness of sixty millions,  
 had been attained. The government of India, he  
 asserted, was well and ably administered, and was  
 not to be subverted for the sake of a little more  
 trade. Amongst all the arguments in favour of the  
 benefits that were to accrue to the people of India  
 from a free trade, he had never heard it proposed to  
 allow one manufacture of India to be freely import-  
 ed into Great Britain. It was true that they would  
 allow cotton-twist: but then, having found out that  
 they could weave by means of machinery cheaper  
 than the Indians, they said to them, “Leave off  
 weaving; supply us with the raw material, and we  
 will weave for you.”<sup>1</sup> Now, although this was a na-

<sup>1</sup> The history of the trade of cotton cloths with India affords a singular exemplification of the inapplicability to all times and circumstances of that principle of free trade which advocates the unrestricted admission of a cheap article, in place of protecting by heavy duties a dearer one of home manufacture. It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she had become dependent. It was stated in evidence that the cotton and silk goods of India up to this period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from fifty to sixty per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary

tural principle enough for merchants and manufacturers, it was rather too much to talk of the philanthropy of it, or to rank the supporters of it as in a peculiar degree the friends of India. If, instead of calling themselves the friends of that country, they should profess themselves its enemies, what more could they do than advise the endeavour to crush all Indian manufacture? What would be said of the East India Company if they were to show as decided a preference to the manufactures of the natives of India under their protection as we did to the manufactures of England? It appeared to him that the alterations in the resolutions had been proposed for no other purpose than to conciliate the clamour of the merchants, and he would defy any man to point out anything like the good of India being the object of any of the resolutions. In conclusion, he expressed his opinion that either the present system must be maintained, or the Company set aside altogether. Lord Castlereagh, in reply to Mr. Tierney, urged adherence to the middle course which had been proposed by the Ministers. In the adjourned debate on the following day, Mr. Sullivan recapitulated the circumstances which had

to protect the latter by duties of seventy and eighty per cent. on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and of Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the powers of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated; would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods, and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty; and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms.

BOOK I. taken place on the renewal of the charter of 1793,  
CHAP. VIII. and the measures advocated in 1800 by Mr. Dundas

1813. for the extension of private trade, by the admission of India-built shipping belonging to merchants in India at that time, and observed that all the arguments brought forward against the propositions now before the House were then urged with greater force and ability than was now evinced in the discussion: the result of a compromise made with the Company had demonstrated the futility of all objections against the private trade, which had largely increased during the period of the charter. Mr. Prothero vindicated the merchants of the outports from the sarcastic observations of Mr. Tierney, and maintained that they had shown their moderation in not insisting upon larger concessions than it had been deemed expedient to grant. Mr. Baring denied the advantages, and expatiated on the dangers of augmenting the facilities already given to private trade. Several other members took part in the debate; but the discussion turned chiefly upon the general merits of the measure, and went over the grounds previously exhausted. The resolution was carried without a division; and the remaining resolutions being agreed to, with a reservation that some of them would be considered more fully on the bringing up of the report, the House was resumed, and the report of the Committee, consisting of the resolutions in detail, was received.<sup>1</sup>

On the 14th, when the report was taken into consideration, Sir J. Newport moved that it should be postponed to that day three months, expressly

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

with a view of inducing the House in the next session to abolish the monopoly altogether. Lord Castlereagh expressed his opinion that such an abolition would be a serious calamity, and that Ministers would be guilty of a dereliction of duty if they agreed to any postponement of the question. Mr. Whitbread passed some severe strictures on the Ministers for culpable delay in bringing the question forward, and then hurrying it to a decision: he accused Lord Castlereagh of inconsistency, who, when President of the Board of Control nine years before, had declared that the Company was unable, and ought not, to exist longer; and yet now argued that it ought to be supported. He completely agreed with the sentiments which had been expressed by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, disputed the eulogium which had been passed upon the Company's administration, considered the evidence given in their behalf as prejudiced and contradictory, and declared that the information was insufficient: one thing only was clear, there should be no compromise; if the Company ought to be destroyed, destroy it; if it ought to be maintained, maintain it: he voted for further delay. Mr. Tierney also urged delay, which Mr. Canning opposed; and, upon a division, the amendment was rejected by a considerable majority. The debate on the resolutions was adjourned.

On resuming the discussion on the 14th June, Mr. Howorth argued the necessity of asserting in the preamble a declaration of the sovereignty of India residing in the Crown; and Sir J. Newport proposed a motion to that effect. Lord Castlereagh objected to the amendment, that it was unnecessary;



BOOK I. that it was raising a doubt where none had been  
CHAP. VIII. suggested; and that it would be well to consider

1813. what Parliament had done on a former occasion, when the charter was renewed, and when it had not been thought advisable to accompany resolutions of a practical and specific character with principles of universal applicability. Mr. Grant said that the East India Company had never laid claim to the sovereignty of the country; they had only asserted that right in the soil which they conceived to be given them by the charter. The amendment was negatived. Lord Castlereagh then moved that the term for the duration of the charter should be twenty years, which Mr. Ponsonby proposed should be shortened to ten; in which he was supported by Mr. Creevey, who, however, gave a decided negative to the whole of the resolution. Lord Castlereagh maintained that a period of less than twenty years would be insufficient to enable Parliament to judge of the merits or defects of the system about to be established, and reminded the House that they retained the power of superintending and controuling the proceedings both of the Company and the Ministers. Mr. Canning voted for the shorter period; and Mr. Whitbread declared that, from what he had heard in the course of the debate, he should vote against the resolution. The Company had governed India badly, and had no right to the monopoly of the trade with either India or China. The amendment was rejected, but the minority was considerable. On the duration of the exclusive trade to China Mr. Canning also divided the House, proposing to limit it to ten years; a motion intended, no doubt,

to propitiate his Liverpool constituents. It was carried against him. An attempt was made, upon the third reading of the resolution, by Mr. Baring, to restrict the return trade to the port of London at least for a period of five years: but it was vigorously opposed by the representatives of the maritime towns, and especially by Mr. Canning, who denounced the proposition as an insidious attempt to destroy the whole scheme which Parliament had devised; for the outports, thwarted, crippled, and confined by such a regulation, would abandon the trade, and then the Company would again possess its monopoly undisturbed. The resolution was carried. Some further discussion ensued upon other clauses and resolutions, but they were agreed to; except the thirteenth, the debate on which was adjourned: it being understood that a bill should be, in the mean time, brought in on the other resolutions, and that they should be sent to the Lords.

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The thirteenth resolution, the object of which professed to be the affording of facilities and encouragement to missionaries to India, was the subject of a separate discussion on the 22nd June. In opening the debate, Lord Castlereagh felt it necessary to correct an erroneous impression that had gone abroad, that the resolution was intended to encourage an unrestrained and unregulated resort of persons to India for religious purposes: this was not the case. It was never conceived by the authors of the resolution that an unrestrained resort of persons with religious views would be consonant with the tranquillity and security of the British possessions in India; although they thought that no danger could

BOOK I. arise from allowing a certain number of persons, un-  
CHAP. VIII.  
1813. der the cognizance of the Court of Directors, who  
were again controuled by the Board of Commis-  
sioners, to proceed as missionaries to India: with  
this impression he proposed the adoption of the re-  
solution.

The principal speaker on this occasion was Mr. Wilberforce, who gave utterance to the sentiments of the whole religious party of the kingdom. He denied that the only object of the resolution was to secure to such missionaries as the Board of Controul should sanction, permission to go to India, and to remain there as long as they should continue to exercise the duties of their office in an orderly and peaceable manner. Another, perhaps a principal object, as expressed in the words of the resolution, was to enlighten and inform the minds of our Indian subjects, by which he understood their education; and from the diffusion of knowledge, the progress of science, and the circulation of the Scriptures in the native languages, he anticipated even more than from direct missionary exertion. He also disclaimed, as preliminary to the discussion, all intention to advocate for the conversion of the natives the influence of Government. With regard to the inveteracy and unalterableness of the prejudices and superstitions of the Hindus, Mr. Wilberforce argued, from their submission to so many changes in the constitution of the government and the administration of the laws, that they were not so incapable of adopting new opinions as had been represented: nor were they incapable of change, even in their religious sentiments; as was evinced by the multitude

of Mohammedans who formed part of the population, and who must have originated from conversion; by the formation of a whole nation, that of the Sikhs, who within a few centuries had thrown off the restrictions of the Hindu religion; and by the prevalence of numerous sectarial divisions amongst the Hindus themselves: nay, the work of conversion to Christianity had been going on for the last century with signal success, and there were at that moment hundreds of thousands of native Christians in the East Indies. So little were the Hindus indisposed towards the doctrines of the Gospel, that the most zealous, laborious, and successful missionaries, such as Swartz and others, had been the most esteemed and beloved of all Europeans among all classes of natives. In answer to the assertions of those witnesses who had vindicated the moral character of the Hindus, and affirmed that, if practicable, it was not desirable to effect their conversion, he quoted largely from a memoir on the Moral State of India by Mr. Grant, from the opinions of the judges and magistrates given in answer to a call from Lord Wellesley to report upon the moral condition of the people, and from the Appendix to the Fifth Report, to establish the general depravity of the people of Hindustan; and intimated that the opinions which had been expressed to the contrary only proved the justice of Burke's sarcasm, that Europeans were commonly unbaptized on the passage to India. The charge that he was bringing an indictment against the whole population of India, who had done nothing to deserve his enmity, he indignantly repelled; and accused those of being the worst enemies of the

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people of India who would keep those miserable beings bowed down under the yoke which oppressed them. The course he was recommending tended as much to their temporal as to their spiritual advantage; for the evils consequent upon the institutions and superstitions of the Hindus pervaded the whole mass of the population, and embittered the domestic cup in almost every family. Such were the effects of the distinctions of caste, which were more degrading and intolerable than the fetters of West Indian slavery; of the practice of polygamy; of infanticide; of the burning of widows, of whom ten thousand were annually sacrificed in Bengal alone; of the obscene and bloody rites of their idolatrous ceremonies; and of the destruction of human life, as instanced in the worship of Jagannath in Orissa, in whose service it had been computed, taking in all the various modes and forms of destruction connected with it, that one hundred thousand human beings were annually expended. Mr. Wilberforce then vindicated the character of Dr. Buchanan, and maintained the accuracy of his statements; and he defended the conduct of the Baptist missionaries in Bengal,<sup>1</sup> and claimed for them the merits of discretion and moderation, as much as for piety and learning. The statements and reasonings of Mr. Wilberforce were contradicted by a few of the members; but no serious opposition was made to the resolution, and it passed the House.

On the 28th June the resolutions were presented to the House in the form of a Bill, which, however, was not to be suffered to pass without further discus-

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding chapter.

sion, although little of novelty could be adduced by the speakers. On this occasion Mr. Grant entered into a long defence of the Company's government of India, in reply to the censures pronounced upon it by Mr. Rickards; and Mr. Lushington vindicated the moral character and the religious practices of the people of India from the unqualified and exaggerated assertions of Mr. Wilberforce. On the 1st July several clauses again underwent examination, but the thirteenth clause was the principal topic of debate. Sir J. Sutton, although friendly to the principle of the clause, objected to the open avowal that persons were to be sent to India for the propagation of Christianity, as its only effect would be to alarm and irritate the feelings of the people of India; and he therefore moved as an amendment, that, instead of the expression in the clause "for the above purposes,"—the propagation of Christianity,—it should be declared "expedient to send persons to India for various lawful purposes." Lord Castlereagh objected to the amendment, although in the wording of the clause he had endeavoured to satisfy other feelings than his own. But the clause enacted nothing; it declared nothing; it made no provisions for enforcing our religion, or abolishing that of the natives of India: it simply gave the weight and sanction of Parliament to the principle; but, so far from taking away or doing anything to interrupt or abolish the religion of the natives, its free exercise was in this very bill secured to them. Mr. Marsh then at great length replied to the former address of Mr. Wilberforce. He considered the provision as a most portentous

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novelty in Indian legislation. In all former modes of policy for the government of India, the inviolability of the religious feelings and customs of the natives was considered a sacred and undisputed axiom: a departure from that policy would shake our empire in that part of the world to its centre. The natives of India could not distinguish between the projects of those who had worked themselves up to a morbid enthusiasm on the subject, from plans countenanced by the authority and intended to be effectuated by the power of the state. They were too tremblingly sensitive on the subject of their religion, and too little versed in the nature of parliamentary proceedings, to be able to separate the acts and opinions of a large portion of the country acting permissively under the state, from the authentic and solemn act of the state itself. To give a licence to a missionary to go out to India, was to impair the authority of the Government abroad to send him back if he misconducted himself; and the probability of his so doing was sufficiently evinced by the dispatch from the Governor-General of the 2nd November, 1807, which stated several alarming instances of misguided and intemperate zeal, and of low and scurrilous invective circulated in the native languages against the feelings, prejudices, and belief of the people. Mr. Marsh then entered into a detailed argument to prove that the mutiny at Vellore, and the dangerous plots which were concerted in other parts of the Peninsula, originated in an alarm excited amongst the natives of their enforced conversion; which fears were confirmed by the activity of the missionaries in the Madras set-

tlement, instigated by the unusual countenance which they had received for some time previous to the massacre. Was it possible, he asked, that the House would fall into such a fit of absurdity and fanaticism, or be visited with so fatal a fatuity, as not to keep so awful an event before them in the grave discussion of matters affecting the religion of the country? Mr. Marsh then proceeded to question the practicability of converting the people of India to Christianity in spite of the existing institutions, and particularly that of caste; the loss of which, consequent upon the adoption of a new creed, subjected the neophyte to the most cruel of all martyrdoms—to separation from all the sweets of social communion, the ties of friendship, the charities of kindred, and all that life contains to support and adorn existence. He denied that the missionaries were fit engines to accomplish the greatest revolution that had yet taken place in the history of the world. He could not, he observed, sufficiently admire the inconsistencies and contradictions of some of the most ardent advocates of the clause; of those who would most jealously exclude from India persons invited thither by commercial enterprise, and having an obvious interest in carrying on a quiet, prudent, and conciliatory intercourse with the natives; and yet would throw open every port in the dominion to swarms of individuals whose nature and character it is to consider themselves absolved from all human restraints, and free from all human motives, in effecting the objects of their calling. Nay, the same reasoners, who would persuade us that the Hindus were unsuscepti-



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ble of change in regard to the use of European manufactures, would have us believe that they were ready eagerly to welcome whatever articles of spiritual novelty might be imported. The doctrine, that the people of India were so brutalized by the grossness of their superstition as to be incapable of any redeeming virtue, he denounced as founded on the falsest assumption; and vindicated their moral and intellectual worth from the calumnies with which it had been assailed by partial and prejudiced testimony. The moral obligation to diffuse Christianity, binding and authoritative as he admitted it to be, vanished when placed against the ills and mischiefs which were likely to follow its application to India. There never was a moral obligation to produce war and bloodshed and civil disorder; such an obligation would not exist, were the wildest barbarians the subjects of the experiment: but when, in addition to considerations sanctioned by justice and policy, it was remembered that the people we were so anxious to convert were in the main a moral and virtuous people, not uninfluenced by those principles of religion which give security to life and impart consolation in death, the obligation assumed a contrary character, and common sense, reason, and even religion itself cried out aloud against our interference.<sup>1</sup> The support given to the amendment proposed by Mr. Marsh necessarily produced a reply from Mr. Wilberforce. He defended the missionaries from the opprobrious terms which had been applied

<sup>1</sup> Substance of the Speech of C. Marsh, Esq., in a Committee of the House of Commons on the 11th July, 1813, revised by the speaker: London, 1813.

to them by Mr. Marsh, and denied that the transactions at Vellore were in any degree connected with their proceedings. He had the authority of the Governor of Madras and the Court of Directors for ascribing it to the military regulations which had been issued, and the extreme severity with which the manifestation of reluctance to obey them had been punished. The unsoundness of the conclusion drawn from this affair might inspire a reasonable distrust of the correctness of the persuasions entertained by the opponents of the measure with regard to the extreme sensitiveness of the people of India in regard to their religion, when the attempt to convert them was made in a spirit of conciliation, and when no other means were thought of but argument and persuasion. In fact, there were two remarkable instances on record of successful endeavours to root out inveterate and pernicious practices in India: the prohibition of sacrificing at the change of every moon many victims, chiefly children, to the river Ganges, which had been enacted by Lord Wellesley; and the suppression of infanticide in Guzerat, by the interposition of Colonel Walker. The law had been obeyed without a murmur; the interposition had brought down on Colonel Walker the benedictions of the people. One such instance as either of these was a sufficient encouragement to go forward, prudently and cautiously indeed, but with firmness and resolution.

It was not enough, however, to question the reality of the danger with which it had been endeavoured to intimidate the friends of the missionary exertions. It was time, Mr. Wilberforce added,

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for him to speak out, and to avow that he went much further than he had yet gone; he maintained not only that it was safe to attempt by reasonable and prudent methods to introduce into India the blessings of Christian truth, but that true imperious and urgent policy prescribed the same course. He could not think that the British empire in India rested on a secure foundation; on the contrary, as long as the people and their rulers were separated from each other by such total differences of sentiment and opinion as now existed, it was impossible that the two should be united, or that the Government could depend upon the permanent attachment of its subjects, whatever benefits its administration might confer. Would we deserve their affection and secure our power, we should endeavour to perpetuate our influence by the gradual introduction and establishment of our own principles and opinions; of our own laws, institutions, and manners; and above all, as the source of every other improvement, of our religion, and consequently of our morals. The illustrious Albuquerque, when governor of Goa, forbade the burning of widows; and, so far was this from exciting popular discontent, that no governor was ever so much beloved. Long after his death, when a Moor or a Hindu had suffered wrong and could obtain no redress, he would go to Albuquerque's tomb and make an offering of oil at the lamp which burned before it, and call upon him for justice.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These statements rest upon the authority of the Commentaries of the son of Albuquerque, and were furnished to Mr. Wilberforce by Mr. Southey. —Substance of Speeches, &c., p. 93.

But, after all, what was demanded? not that the Legislature should immediately devise and proceed without delay to execute the great and necessary work, but that it should not substantially and in effect prevent others from engaging in it; or rather that the Government should not be prevented from having it in its power to grant licences to proper persons to proceed to India, and continue there, with a view to disseminate Christianity. The commonest principle of toleration would grant much more than this: it was toleration only that was asked for; the advocates of the measure disclaimed all idea of proceeding by methods of compulsion or authority. The amendment that was now proposed came under a plausible and specious appearance, which only rendered it more dangerous. It proceeded from a spirit professedly favourable to the clause, and objecting only to its publicity. On this head, however, nothing was really to be apprehended, as it was in evidence that the greatest difficulty existed in making matters of the utmost interest known amongst the people: news and information of all kinds were slowly and inaccurately circulated in India. If the people should read the clause, which was extremely improbable, they would find in it expressed, for the first time Mr. Wilberforce believed, a clear recognition, an effectual security, of their right to preserve their religious principles and institutions sacred and inviolate; the clause would, therefore, produce satisfaction rather than discontent on that very subject of religion. Nor would the object of the enactment be effected merely by securing the power of licensing mission-

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CHAP. VIII. minds and improving the morals of our East Indian

1813. fellow-subjects, it established the principle, and laid the ground for promoting education and diffusing useful knowledge of all kinds among them. When truth and reason should obtain access to the understanding of the natives, they would reject the profane absurdities of their theological, and the depraving defects of their moral, system: they would thus be prepared for the reception of Christianity. To omit the clause would be to omit from the act all mention whatever of religion or morals, and would leave the case as it was left by the charter of 1793, when, although the resolutions of both Houses of Parliament fully recognised the obligation of endeavouring to communicate to the natives of India the blessings of Christianity, yet, as it formed no part of the act of the Legislature, the body whose business it was to carry the provisions of that act into execution could not be chargeable with neglecting any duty which that statute ordained; when, so far from favouring, they rather thwarted and hindered the attempts of the missionaries. The neglect which was imputable to the former House of Commons would be still more glaring on the present occasion, as the subject had been brought so fully to its notice: and if, after all that had been urged, the same omission took place, it would be necessarily inferred that the Parliament upon due deliberation had disapproved of the project which had been offered by the advocates of Christianity; and the whole question had come to this, that, as Christianity was the religion of the British empire in Europe,

the religion of Brahma and Vishnu was to be the acknowledged system of our Asiatic opinions.<sup>1</sup>

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Some further discussion ensued upon the subject of the proposed amendment, but it was rejected upon a division. Another attempt was made to get rid of the clause, upon a motion made by Mr. A. Robinson on the 12th June, when the report of the bill was received from the Committee. It was supported by Mr. Forbes and Mr. Tierney, and opposed by Mr. Stephen and Mr. Wilberforce, and rejected. 1813.

The main provisions of the bill having thus been carried, no opposition of any importance was made to the remaining clauses. Some additional provisions were suggested: one by Mr. R. Smith, for the appropriation of a sum of money for the promotion of native literature in the East, and the establishment of a native college or colleges; and Mr. W. Dundas proposed the appointment of a Scotch clergyman to each of the Presidencies, the majority of the British resident in India being Scotch, and of the Presbyterian communion. The latter proposition was withdrawn, upon the assurances of Mr. Thornton and Mr. Grant, members of the Direction, that the East India Company would do not only what was necessary, but all that could be required for the maintenance in India of clergymen of the Church of Scotland. A clause was proposed by Mr. P. Moore to enable the servants of the Company who had resided ten years in India to come to England

<sup>1</sup> Substance of the Speeches of W. Wilberforce, Esq., on the clause in the East India Bill for promoting the religious instruction of the natives of India, on the 22nd of June, and 1st and 12th of July, 1813, published by the speaker: London, 1813.

BOOK I. and return to India, retaining their rank in the ser-  
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1813. mission from the Proprietors; but this was objected to by Lord Castlereagh, on the ground that it was not the policy of the Government to multiply facilities for the return of the Company's most experienced servants to England. An attempt was made to delay the third reading of the report until the Proprietors of East India stock should have had time to read and consider the bill in its amended shape. Lord Castlereagh, however, considered that any delay would subject the House to inconvenience at so advanced a period of the season, and the bill accordingly was read and passed.

The resolutions adopted by the House of Commons were communicated to the House of Lords on the 17th June, and went through similar stages. They were introduced by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and supported principally by Lords Liverpool and Melville; and opposed by Lord Grenville, Earl Grey, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Earl of Lauderdale, the latter of whom recorded a strong protest against the passing of the bill. The subject had undergone a fuller discussion at an earlier period of the session, on the 9th April, upon the motion of Marquis Wellesley for various papers, chiefly illustrative of the financial and commercial condition of the Company prior to 1812. On this occasion the Marquis regretted that the matter had not been submitted to Parliament at a time and under circumstances more fitted to its magnitude, before passion and prejudice had perplexed and interrupted the course of calm deliberation; before,

on the one hand, an idea had gone forth that the Government of the East India Company was incapable of improvement, or, on the other, a wild and frantic notion had been set afloat of throwing open the whole trade to India. The principles of political economy, however true in the abstract, were inapplicable to a case so complex as that of the Company, in which commercial and sovereign interests were intimately blended by the manner in which they had grown up together. Such a combination might be anomalous, but it was practically good: it ought not to be altered merely on account of its anomalous character.

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Lord Wellesley then advocated the continuation of the Company's commercial privilege of exclusive trade to India as well as to China. It might be true, although he did not admit the fact to the extent to which it had been asserted, that the former was attended with loss; but it did not therefore follow that it ought to be taken away: it was very possible for one branch of an extensive commerce to be less profitable than others, and yet the connexion between them be so intimate that its discontinuance would expose the whole to ruin. This was the case with the Company; and the Indian trade was equally essential to the maintenance of their commerce with China, and of the political administration of the government of India. Nor was it less essential to the interests of Great Britain that the trade with India should be subject to restriction; as, if it were thrown open, he was certain the products of the Indian loom would supplant the cotton manufactures of the country in all the



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foreign markets, and would essentially interfere even with their domestic consumption. The questions then were, What had been the effects of the combination of powers? were they so mischievous as to require a total change, or so beneficial as to deserve careful and considerate improvement? In his opinion, there never was an organ of Government so administered as to demand more of estimation than the East India Company: that administration had been productive of strength, tranquillity, and happiness; the arts of peace and agriculture now flourished where ruin and desolation had prevailed; the situation of the natives had been ameliorated, and the rights of property secured, by the permanent settlement, the extension of which, in due season, to other provinces than those in which it had been established was alone wanting to its entire success. No Government had better fulfilled its duties towards its subjects than that of India.

Lord Wellesley then criticised the several resolutions *seriatim*. Of the first he remarked, that the exceptions it provided for, not only impaired, but destroyed, the whole benefit of the grant: of the third, that allowing British subjects to trade with India, was of a similar tendency; and that the unrestricted influx of Europeans involved great danger to the stability of the Government and the happiness of the people. The power of sending back unlicensed persons, now exercised by the Government, could not co-exist with a free trade; nor could individuals engaged in the trade be limited to the Presidencies. They would have a right to seek for a market in the interior; and, once scattered over

the country, they would endanger the efficacy of the Government, and outrage the prejudices and habits of the natives.<sup>1</sup>

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The extension of the import trade to the out-ports, Lord Wellesley insisted, was objectionable on various grounds: the danger of interference with the national manufactures, the additional expense and difficulty of guarding against illicit speculation, and the injuries it would produce upon the commerce and the shipping of the port of London. If the question were one of a free trade in the true sense of the word, he would not oppose it; but if the House could not give freedom of trade without injuring great political rights, and without destroying vast capitals which had been expended on the undoubted understanding and good-faith of the existing system, they could not be justified in acceding to the measure.

His lordship then proceeded to notice what he

<sup>1</sup> Lord Wellesley's advocacy of the Company's retention of their Indian trade was, in spirit at least, a wide departure from the sentiments he had formerly expressed, when he affirmed "that the interests of the Company and of the British nation were undivided and inseparable with relation to this important question, and that every principle of justice and policy demanded the utmost possible facility to the British merchants in India for the export of Indian merchandise beyond the amount of the investment which the Company's capital was able to provide for; and for which branch of commerce, if capital did not exist in India, no dangerous consequences could result from applying to it funds derived from Great Britain." Beneficial consequences, he affirmed, would certainly result to the British empire in India from any considerable increase of its active capital. The extension of the trade would not, he argued, necessarily produce a proportional augmentation in the number of British agents resorting to India; and, if it should, the local Government would controul their operations with more ease than it could those of foreign agents to whom the trade was then open. The noble writer was obliged, by his position, to insert some saving clauses regarding the preservation of the Company's exclusive privileges, but his main object was decidedly to vindicate at that period the policy of giving ample space and verge enough to private commerce.—Letter from the Marquis Wellesley to the Court of Directors, 30th Sept. 1800; printed London, 1812.

BOOK I. regarded as omissions in the resolutions. He had  
CHAP. VIII. never advocated the separation of the royal authority from that of the Company, but he thought that  
1813. some improvement was required: a most essential point was, that the local Governments should know to whom they were responsible. The instructions sent out to them, however important, were now liable to be disavowed at pleasure; there was no provision for this purpose. Not a word was said of the army, except as regarded the quota of King's troops; but he thought it highly essential to define a limit between civil and military duties, by which all difficulties and disputes might be avoided; and he considered also that it was the duty of the Government to devise some means of conferring honours on the Company's officers, who were now held forward to the public much less frequently than officers in other parts of the world, and felt that honours and distinctions conferred for services not more meritorious than their own were withheld from them. Whilst approving of the proposed addition to the ecclesiastical establishment, he thought it important to take care that there should be no collision between the Government and the Church establishment with regard to their respective powers; and he was surprised to find that nothing had been said regarding the education of either the civil or military servants of the Company. He thought it would be the most dignified and proper mode of combining religion with learning in India, as we were accustomed to see the association in England, by connecting the proposed Church establishment with the College of Fort William.

With respect to extending Christianity to the natives of the East, Lord Wellesley declared there was no person less willing than himself to throw a shade over so bright a prospect; but, if success was to be expected, it must proceed from temperate and gradual proceedings: the measure should not appear to be recommended by the authority of the Government, because in the East the recommendation of the ruler is supposed to be almost equivalent to a mandate. He never heard when in India of any danger from the missionaries: he had always considered those who were there in his time as a quiet, orderly, discreet, and learned body; and he had employed many of them in the education of youth, and in translating the Scriptures into the languages of the East. He had regarded it as his duty to have the Scriptures translated, to give the natives access to the fountains of divine truth. He thought that a Christian Governor could not have done less, and he knew that a British Governor ought not to do more. In conclusion, he observed, that if a project had been formed for the complete demolition of the Company, and the creation of an entirely new system, the plan might have been called bold and decisive; but in the scheme now proposed no such vigour was to be traced. The Company was to be continued as the organ and instrument, without any power or authority, and was to be called upon to discharge duties which it was incapacitated from performing: no commensurate advantage was offered to the country; the revenues would be endangered, the manufactures be perhaps ruined, and no additional benefit could be derived from an open trade. He

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1813. therefore felt it his duty to resist any general alteration of the system; and in order to place his views in the clearest light, and support them by facts, he called for various documents necessary to elucidate the subject.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire, in reply to Lord Wellesley's objections to a free trade, quoted the dispatch written by the latter as Governor-General in 1800, when he had strenuously urged the enlargement of the private trade, and denied that any great influx of Europeans was likely to arise from it, or the impossibility of maintaining an effectual controul over their proceedings even if their number should increase. If such were the opinions of the noble lord when he was Governor-General of India, he could scarcely expect to excite in the minds of the members of that House an apprehension of dangers which did not alarm him in the responsible situation he then held. Lord Buckinghamshire then repeated the arguments used in the other House, maintaining the probable increase of the import trade from India, the practicability of providing against smuggling; and concluded by anticipating no results injurious to the Company, but substantial benefits to the great interests of the commerce of the United Kingdom.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire was followed by Lord Grenville, who took a view of the subject differing from those of both the preceding speakers. The present deliberations of the House embraced the whole question of our future relations with India, the government of a vast empire, and the regulation of the British commerce with every port

and country between the southern promontories of Africa and America. It was a deception to speak of any existing rights by which a consideration so immense and momentous could be circumscribed. The charter of the East India Company was originally granted, and had since been renewed, for limited periods. On their lapse the trusts and duties of that great corporation, its commercial and political monopolies, expired together. All public right, all public interest in the subject, thenceforth devolved on British legislature, bound by no previous grant, fettered by no existing law, and having regard only to the principles of moral duty, and to the rules of a wise policy and enlightened government.

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The measures that had been heretofore adopted Lord Grenville considered as experiments which had not always been successful, and which furnished no precedent for the course now to be pursued. Whatever was to be done was not therefore to be placed out of the reach of revisal, even for the period proposed: twenty years would at any time be too long a period for farming out the commerce of half the globe, and the sovereignty of sixty millions of men; and it was still more so at a season when the events, not of twenty years, but of the next twenty months, might be decisive of the whole fate and fortunes of the British empire. He therefore thought that the continuance of any plan that might be devised should be limited to the return of peace.

Lord Grenville then proceeded to assert that the primary object to be regarded in the present arrangement was, not the confirmation of the Com-

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pany's privileges, but the distinct avowal of the principle that the sovereignty of India resided in the sovereign of Great Britain. To ask whether any territory, dominion, or political authority in any quarter of the globe could be conquered by British arms, or acquired by British negociation, otherwise than to the British Crown, were to ask whether we lived under a monarchy or a republic. The assertion, because it was undeniable, was not indifferent. A manly avowal of the sovereignty of the Crown would have prevented many of the evils experienced in India from conflicting and ambiguous authority, was necessary for the effective controul of British subjects in India, and still more for the restraints to which, upon the restoration of peace, foreign nations would be exposed in their intercourse with that country, as they would never submit to be excluded from free access at the will of a trading company, claiming despotic power over that vast empire, not as the delegates of their own king, but as the pretended ministers of a deposed Mogul, a feigned authority derived from an extinct dominion.

The sovereignty which we had hesitated to assert, we were now compelled to exercise; and Parliament was once more called upon to give laws to India. And what was the plan pursued? the very reverse of that which should have been followed. The interests of the people of India, their security, their happiness, their improvement, were first to have been provided for; and then, but far below them, the interests of Great Britain. Instead of this, the plan of the Ministers and the recommendations of

Lord Wellesley had in view the entire or partial perpetuation of the privileges of the East India Company. To neither of these would he give his concurrence.

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The existence of the blended character of merchant and sovereign, on which the whole of the Indian system was based, was, in Lord Grenville's opinion, an anomaly inconsistent with all sound principles of commerce and of government: no sovereign ever traded for a profit; no trading company ever yet administered government for the happiness of its subjects. The unerring principles of political economy had never been so fully illustrated as in the history of the East India Company. For fifty years they had exercised dominion over a country the commerce with which had from the earliest ages enriched all who had engaged in it, and in the last few years since the renewal of the charter they had lost by their trade four millions sterling. With the country which they governed they lost by the commerce which they monopolised; and they traded with profit only to China, where they had neither sovereignty nor monopoly, —not even the common benefit of free access, being condemned to a commercial quarantine in the solitary emporium of Canton.

But it was not so much for its own sake, it was asserted, that the commerce of the Company was not to be interfered with; but because its preservation was absolutely necessary to enable the Company to conduct the government of India, and this government could only be beneficially administered through their instrumentality. This Lord Grenville denied.



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If it was true that British India was in the happy and prosperous state in which it was described to be, the merit was not due to the Company's administration: as long as that continued uncontrouled, scarcely an interval of three years could be found in which the inherent vices of the system did not forcibly compel the interposition of Parliament. The law of 1784 was the source of whatever benefits India had enjoyed: it was the line of demarcation between the bad and good government of that country. It was a delusion, therefore, to relinquish any just hopes of extending the commerce of the country, from the fear of embarrassing the Company's political function. He was ready to admit, however, that, if the patronage of the Company were transferred to the Crown, it must weigh down the balance of the constitution; but he thought it very possible to devise a middle course. The highest offices of the Government of India were already in the gift of the Crown. For all the servants of the Company, civil or military, below the Council, the regulations actually in force might still be continued; and all that remained for disposal was the appointment of writers and cadets. The former might be chosen by competition from the great public schools and universities: the latter might be nominated, by some fixed course of succession, from the families of officers who had fallen in the discharge of their duties. These were mere suggestions; but he entertained no doubt that, if the occasion should call for such provisions, they might be so contrived as to preserve the integrity and efficacy of the Indian services, without adding in the slightest degree to ministerial influence.

Lord Grenville next maintained that the continuance of the Company's trade was not expedient for the sake of effecting remittances to meet the demands payable in England on account of the Government in India. If a subsidy were wanted for the Continent, the Ministers would never think of sending their agents to the ports and manufactories to purchase the goods in which the remittances would really be made: they would contract as cheaply as they could; probably by open competition with merchants for their bills, through which their whole purpose would be at once effected. A similar course might be pursued in India. No doubt, all such remittances must be in some degree detrimental to the prosperity of India, constituting a drain for which no return was made but in protection and good government; yet, if conducted through an open trade, and regulated by a due consideration of the state of the country, he saw no reason to believe them incompatible with its rapid and permanent improvement. One obvious compensation, however, to India, was to throw her markets open to British capital and enterprise; and secure to her, as far as legislation could secure it, the fullest benefit of the most unqualified commercial freedom.

The arguments against opening the trade, on the grounds that it was unsusceptible of profit or extension, were then combated by the noble earl. The skill and vigilance of the private trade would realise a profit, where the Company's management entailed a loss: the private trade, under all the disadvantages under which it laboured, had augmented; and the

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Americans had carried on a lucrative and growing commerce with India until it was interrupted by hostilities. All history showed that commerce would increase by commerce, and industry by industry. India was no exception to the universal law; and her people would derive from the extension of trade, as every other people had done, new comforts and new conveniences of life, new incitements to industry, and new enjoyments, in just reward of increased activity and enterprise. The same principles applied to the trade with China, the exclusive possession of which by the Company he should as deeply lament.

Alluding to the tone adopted in the Fifth Report when speaking of the permanent settlement, Lord Grenville expressed his entire concurrence with Lord Wellesley in the wisdom and benevolence of the arrangement, and his dread of the disposition intimated by the language of the report, if not to discredit the original measure, at least to discountenance its proposed extension. He thought it, therefore, highly necessary to insert in the new act a declaration of the principle, such as it was declared in 1784; and to place the Government of India under the obligation of applying, at a convenient season, to the Ceded and Conquered provinces the system of settlement effected in Bengal. Above all he wished, by a solemn and authoritative declaration of this purpose, to prove to the natives the permanency of the principle of right, and to impress them with a conviction that a British Legislature estimated the security of their property far above the possible increase of its own revenue.

Lord Grenville then briefly adverted to the diffi-

culties attending the military part of the Indian system; the only remedy for which he conceived to be the open establishment of the King's authority over that, as well as other parts of his dominion: to the defects of the administration of justice, the state of the present internal legislation and police, and the unauthorised power of taxation in the local Governments, all of which required deliberate consideration: and he concluded by pronouncing an unqualified encomium on Marquis Wellesley's collegiate institution, the plan of which was limited and mutilated, and existed only as a wreck of its first noble design. Of the establishment by which it was partially replaced in England he spoke with strong disapprobation and regret: not that he objected to any degree of attention that could be given to the earliest instruction and discipline of those who are destined for the Indian service; but he objected decidedly to their separation in education from youths of their own age and station in life, and to the formation of them into a separate class. Instead of rejecting, they should, he thought, have eagerly embraced the advantages which the great public seminaries afforded; not only for what they professed to teach, but for what was there only to be found, that best of all education to a public man, which forms the mind to manly exertion and honourable feeling,—the education which young men receive from each other in the numerous and mixed society of their equals, collected from various classes of society, and destined to various ways of life.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Speech of Lord Grenville on the Marquis of Wellesley's motion in the House of Lords on Friday the 9th of April, 1813; published under the revision of the speaker, London, 1813.



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The Earl of Liverpool briefly replied in defence of the resolutions, and the House agreed to the motion for papers made by Marquis Wellesley.<sup>1</sup>

The passing of the bill by the House of Commons, and the certainty that it would suffer no material, if any, changes in the House of Lords, imposed upon the Court of Directors the necessity of submitting to their constituents the alternative of either accepting or refusing the charter now offered. They resolved to recommend its acceptance; as, although it involved changes which they had firmly opposed, and which could not but be injurious to the Company's trade with India, yet, in the retention of the exclusive trade with China, and the provisions made for the payment of the Company's dividends, it presented sources of profit and security which might in some degree compensate for the losses which it inflicted. The wild and sanguine expectations of an indefinite extension of the trade had been so far subdued by the arguments of the Court and the general voice of men of Indian experience, that the merchants were likely to embark in it with caution and moderation: consequently there was less reason than at first to apprehend a sudden and numerous influx of Europeans into India, by which its tranquillity would be endangered; or of a great resort of vessels to the Eastern seas, by which a mischievous and illicit trade with China might be carried on. The regulations respecting the size of the ships admissible into the trade, the licensing of persons to proceed to India, and the additional powers of controul over them when in India, vested in the local Govern-

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Debates in the House of Lords, 9th April, 1813.

ments, were further calculated to alleviate these apprehensions. The fears of the Court for the security of the dividend, on which, as had been repeatedly urged, the Company's efficiency for the discharge of their political functions depended, had been proportionably abated: on this latter subject the first views of the Ministers had been materially modified by the representations of the Court.

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By the engagements finally adopted the commercial profits of the Company were not to be liable for any territorial payment until the dividend was first satisfied; and, if in any year the fund for the dividend should fall short, the surplus of territorial income for the year preceding was to be liable for the deficiency. By the last charter a million sterling per annum was to be reserved from the surplus revenue as a provision for the Company's investment; a condition wholly nugatory, as no surplus existed. By the present it was stipulated that a sum equal to the disbursements at home on territorial account should be paid yearly out of the revenues for investment; and this secured to the Company commercial capital in India to an equal amount, in addition to the proceeds of goods and stores exported from England. With regard, also, to the amount of Indian debt transferred home, the bill contained an important provision; that, in case sufficient funds should not remain after payment of the dividend to discharge all such bills as should be drawn for the interest of loans contracted in India before the 10th April, 1814, the residue of those bills should be discharged in such manner as Parliament should from time to time direct. In all

BOOK I. these respects, therefore, the security of the divi-  
CHAP. VIII. dend, of the home funds, and of annual advances in

1813. India for the investment, the new charter might be considered an improvement on that which the Company held.

The additional powers of controul vested in the Board of Commissioners by the bill were no doubt mortifying to the Court of Directors ; but they mostly fell within the scope of the general powers given to the Board by former acts, and their operation would depend upon the spirit in which they were exercised. If that spirit were temperate and just, it would be practicable to carry on the Company's business : if they were used in a way which men of character and liberal feeling could not brook, the issue might be serious to the system of the Company.

Upon a careful consideration then of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the bill, the Court, although they deeply felt the loss of power and privilege which it inflicted upon the Company, recommended to the Proprietors to accept the charter ; trusting that if obstacles to its execution should arise, and the Company be unable, after a fair trial should have been given to it, to act under its provisions, the Parliament which had prescribed the terms would be disposed to relieve them of the burthen. Should such relief not be given, the Company would have the time and the means of making a more deliberate and safe bargain with the public than if they threw up their privileges at the present moment ; whilst there would then be a better opportunity of providing also for the future govern-

ment of those immense possessions which the Com-  
 pany had acquired for the country; possessions of  
 which the interests must ever be dear to them,  
 and the most powerful of the motives for continu-  
 ing as long as they could with safety in the manage-  
 ment of that empire which had so much flourished  
 under their care, and for the prosperity of which  
 their system appeared to be peculiarly calculated.<sup>1</sup>

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The recommendations of the Court of Directors were communicated to the Court of Proprietors held on the 16th and adjourned to the 21st July; and it was finally resolved, that although the Court could not contemplate the bill with satisfaction, yet, deferring to the sense of the Legislature, and relying on its wisdom and justice in the event of the expectations held out by the act being disappointed, they determined to accept the charter. The thanks of the Proprietors were voted to the late and present Directors for the talent, zeal, and perseverance with which they had struggled to maintain the rights and support the interests of the Company.<sup>2</sup>

Thus closed a contest in which the first serious blow was inflicted on the monopoly of the East India Company, after it had been enjoyed by them for two centuries. During this period a mighty empire had been raised upon the narrow foundations of exclusive commerce. Upon no other basis could the edifice have been reared. An indiscriminate resort of individual, unconnected, and often

<sup>1</sup> Minute of a Committee of the whole Court of Directors, 15th July, 1813; Papers, &c. p. 492.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings of a General Court of Proprietors, 21st July, 1813; Papers, &c. 521. See also the Debates on the Charter at the India House during the first six months of 1813; separately published, London, 1813.



BOOK I. hostile competitors could not have been attended  
CHAP. VIII. with a consistent or enduring course of operations;  
1813. and must have subjected the trade with India to a feeble and precarious existence, dependent upon the caprice and venality of the subordinate officers of the native governments, and momentarily menaced with extinction by the follies and passions, the avarice and the ignorance of Asiatic despots. Adventurers isolated and at variance with each other would have been in no situation to resist injustice, repel aggression, or avenge wrong: much less would they have been able to place their commerce in an attitude not merely of defence but of defiance, and to apply the resources which it furnished to the acquirement of political power. In the struggle for sufferance which they would have had to maintain in their limited ambition of effecting a successful trading speculation, it could never have dwelt within their imaginations to gain a firm and lasting footing on the soil of India, to put down and set up princes, to seize upon and hold amidst difficulty and danger masterdom and sway. The oneness of the Company for so long a period consolidated their commercial system, enabled them to baffle and defeat rivalry and opposition, to exact retribution for injury, and, as the field expanded, to extend their views beyond the circumscribed horizon of purely commercial profit. At the same time, this result, although inseparable from the system, was neither projected nor foreseen by its authors, and was brought to maturity in spite of their repeated disapproval, or at best with their reluctant and unwilling confirmation. The East India Company's territorial

dominion was not the acquisition of the Company so much as of the Company's servants, who, often in disregard of the wishes of their masters, and sometimes in disobedience of their positive commands, entered with no common audacity, determination, and foresight, in the promising path which the distracted state of Indian politics laid open to their ambition; and, with energies and talents of more than ordinary natures, applied the superior resources of civilisation to secure rich fragments of the scattered reliques of native misrule, and remodelled them into the rudiments of power, of infallible future expansion. This was not the work of the Company, although it never could have been brought to pass by any other instrumentality than that of the Company's Indian servants. It was the work of Clive, of Hastings, of Cornwallis, and of Wellesley, aided and impelled by the irresistible force of circumstances, by the inconsiderateness and temerity of the native princes of India, and by the superior energy of the European character.

Whatever its origin, however, the system was now mature; and, whatever the assertions of the Company's advocates, it was no longer in need of national commercial sacrifices for its continuance or development. On the contrary, the longer duration of the connexion was mischievous. As sovereigns of India, it was the duty of the Company to look alone to the interests of the people whom they governed; as a trading body, it was their interest to secure to themselves as large a pecuniary profit as such a capacity justified. An exclusive privilege of trade, that barred all competition, necessarily pre-

BOOK I.  
CHAP. VIII.

1813. cluded the people of India from purchasing foreign commodities at the lowest price, and from realising the fullest value for the proceeds of their own industry. To the people of India the Company's monopoly was as injurious as it was to individual enterprise in Great Britain; and the period had undoubtedly arrived when the best interests of both countries demanded its extinction.

Although extraordinary talents, zeal, and perseverance were displayed in the discussion on both sides, yet we are now able to decide from events that there was little of sound judgment or prophetic prescience in any of the contending parties. The twenty years of the renewed charter rolled away; and colonisation, which was so confidently predicted as its unavoidable consequence, was as little probable at its close as at its commencement.<sup>1</sup> Neither had it been found more difficult than before to protect the native population from the turbulence or violence of European settlers. The predictions, equally confident, that the trade was unsusceptible of extension, and that no new article of export could be introduced,—predictions in which the most intelligent officers of the Company concurred, and to which even the advocates of free trade, however reluctantly, assented,—were signally falsified. The trade, both export and import, did obtain a considerable augmentation under the new system; and articles entirely unknown in the annals of Indian

<sup>1</sup> The whole number of applications for licences between 1814 and 1832 was but 1547: of these, 1253 were complied with by the Court, and 71 by the Board; making the whole number of persons, not in the service, who proceeded to India with leave in the course of eighteen years, 1324.—Commons' Committee, 1831; General Appendix, p. 368.

imports were exported thither from Great Britain to an immense amount, to the extinction of several similar products of domestic labour.<sup>1</sup> This effect was prepared for, as has been noticed, by an iniquitous abuse of the power of Great Britain in excluding from her own consumption the principal manufactures of India, and in opening the ports of India to those of Britain free of charge; but its actual occurrence was little anticipated by any of those who urged or resisted the removal of the restrictions on the trade.<sup>2</sup>

BOOK I.  
CHAP. VIII.

1813.

The proceedings that took place on this occasion have been detailed at length, because it is of import-

<sup>1</sup> The value of the whole of the private trade with India was, in 1814-15, Rupees 13,54,19,460, or £13,549,146; in 1826-7 it was, Rupees 14,83,33,640, or £14,833,364: being an increase of £1,284,218. The latter period affords an unfavourable view of the state of the trade, as it was one of commercial depression. The average value of the whole private trade for fifteen years subsequently to 1814-15 was more than seventeen crores or seventeen millions sterling per annum, being an advance of nearly four millions a year.—Lords' Committee, 1830, App. B. 5, and C. 40. In 1813-14 the value of cotton goods imported into Bengal was £47,000. In 1827-8 it was £561,000. In the former year cotton yarn was unknown: in the latter the value imported was £188,000. Spelter was another article of import not known at the earlier date. At the latter it was imported to the value of nearly £120,000.—Wilson's External Commerce of Bengal. These articles were permanent innovations; for in 1843-44 the value of yarn imported into Bengal alone is reported to be £515,000, of piece-goods £1,516,667, and spelter £68,000.—Wilkinson, Report External Commerce of Bengal, 1843-4.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to have been but one person connected with the trade to India who distinctly anticipated the possibility of such a revolution; and this was not on the present, but on a former occasion. In a debate on a motion for papers to illustrate the comparative value of private British and foreign trade with India, in the House of Commons on the 14th March, 1806, Mr. Alderman Prinsep, speaking of the probable substitution of raw cotton for cotton goods in the ships of private traders, made the remarkable observation, that a sufficient supply of the raw material would accelerate the period which he saw approaching, when the natives of India should be supplied with cloth made in England of their own cotton, leaving to the mother country all the profits of freight, agency, commission, insurance, and manufacture: all these and many other beneficial results would follow an extension of the private trade.—Hans. Parl. Debates, 14th March, 1806.



BOOK I.  
CHAP. VIII.

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1813.

ance that a readily accessible record should be preserved of the sentiments of the many very eminent persons who, both in Parliament and in the Direction, took a principal part in the discussions, and because the nature of the connexion which united the trade of the East India Company with the sovereignty of India now first underwent a fundamental change. It may also be of use to contemplate the spirit by which the opinions of wise and good men were unconsciously inspired, and to observe how personal interests and cherished prejudices distorted principle and darkened judgment. With few exceptions, and those exercising little or no influence, the charter of 1793 was discussed upon no widely or liberally comprehensive views, upon no distinct perception of the advantages which it might realise for Great Britain, upon no generous purpose of providing India with a compensation for the evils inseparable from the sovereignty of strangers. Professions of a concern for the interests of India were, it is true, not unsparingly uttered, but it would be difficult to show that the majority of the parties who engaged in the discussion were solely instigated by a disinterested regard for the welfare of the Indian subjects of the Crown. The Ministers, it was evident, had mainly in view the extension of their own influence; and, as the bill proceeded, made obvious sacrifices to party, and adopted clauses to which they were themselves indifferent or opposed, in subservience to particular interests, in order to conciliate parliamentary support. In their original correspondence with the Court no mention was made of the outports, and the extension to them of the import trade from India

was extorted by their clamour and perseverance. The legislative encouragement yielded to missionary labours was also a graft upon the original design, with the purpose of propitiating a numerous and influential party. Nor were they negligent of their own advantages; and in the provisions made for the nomination to the episcopal see, and for the confirmation of the appointments to the highest temporal situations, extended, as far as they were then prepared to extend it, the patronage of the Crown. The advocates for the authorised extension of missionary efforts, although they might claim the merit of disinterestedness, were little entitled to credit for candour or discretion. Placing implicit and indiscriminating reliance upon exaggerated and erroneous descriptions of the condition and character of the Hindu and Mohammedan population of India, they disregarded the danger of precipitately attempting their reform, and overlooked the possible peril, that, where a state withholds its protection from the national faith, the people may exercise the right, as they have the power, of protecting it for themselves. The merchants and manufacturers of the United Kingdom avowedly looked only to their own profits; and, in the struggle between London and the out-ports, was re-acted the battle for exclusiveness which had previously been fought between the London merchants and the Company. Deprived of the monopoly of the trade, the Company made a stand for warehouses and sale-rooms; and, despoiled of these, sought consolation in the security of their dividends. All these motives and considerations were appropriate and venial as regarded the indivi-

BOOK I.  
CHAP. VIII.

1813.

BOOK I. dual and peculiar interests and feelings of the per-  
CHAP. VIII. sons concerned, but they were little worthy of their  
1813. collective capacity of arbiters of the destinies of  
India.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

# APPENDIX.

## I.

PAGE 38.

### CLAIMS OF THE PESHWA UPON THE GAEKWAR.

*Schedule of the Sums due to the Poona State from  
the Gaekwar's Government.*

	<i>Rupees.</i>	<i>No. I.</i>
Balance of an account settled in 1798 . .	39,82,789	
On account of presents . . . . .	7,79,000	
On account of troops (3000) not maintained . . . . .	6,75,000	
	<u>14,54,000</u>	

N.B. These sums have been accumulating for  
ten years . . . . . 1,45,40,000

Damaji Gaekwar conquered the country of the Babi, upon condition of assuming half, and delivering the other half to the Peshwa; and that a karkoon on the part of the Government should settle this: and a memorandum be given in of the division, and that the places were to be given up in the year 1740, and whatsoever was due before this period was to be remitted. This was never carried into effect. In the year 1771 the Gaekwar paid one lakh of rupees, and in the next agreed to pay 25,000;

Carried forward . . . . 1,85,22,789



No. I.

*Rupees.*

Brought forward . . .	1,85,22,789
and, when Fateh Sing Gaekwar should come, then it should be executed. This was settled in 1765, but has never been carried into effect; therefore a lakh of rupees per year is due for thirty-seven years . . . . .	37,00,000
In the year 1794 the dignity of Sena-khaskhel-Shamshir Bahadur was granted to Govind Rao Gaekwar, besides lands, for which 56,38,001 rupees were given. He died; and the same honours and lands were granted to his son, for which he is to pay . . . . .	56,38,001

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The whole amounting to . Rees 2,78,60,790

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In the year 1796 it was agreed that 3000 horsemen should be furnished, and upon a requisition 4000; and that one of the Gaekwar's relations should remain at court; and that the troops should at all periods be in readiness, and, if not necessary, that a sum of money should be given in lieu.

Ahmedabad is under two authorities, but the same arrangements continue as under Madhu Rao; and, if any deviation should have been admitted, let it be abolished.

You agreed, in the year 1792, to give the Sirkar three of your best elephants and five horses; but it has not been done: therefore fail not to do it now.

In the year 1793 you borrowed, through our intervention, the sum of one lakh of rupees, for which we were securities, and agreed to pay the bills drawn upon you; but this has not been done: therefore do so now, and pay the interest.

You were also bound to present a lakh of rupees' worth of jewels; but this has not been done: do so now, and adhere to the engagements which were concluded in the time of Madhu Rao.

You owe Balaji Naik Bhora Soukar a sum of money, for which Government became security. Liquidate this at the rate of one lakh of rupees per annum, and so treat Mulhar Rao and his family as to prevent his complaints reaching Government. No. I.

In addition to this, engagements were also made in which you admitted the sum of . . . . Rees 78,33,212  
but only paid . . . . . 28,13,325

So that there is still a balance of . . Rees 50,19,887  
Let this be settled.

You have held the village of Rani, in the Pergunna of Sandi, for these thirteen years, which was worth 2000 rupees per annum. Pay this money, and deliver up the village to the Kamavisdar . . . . . 26,000

50,45,887

and wherever the villages have been assessed let the money be returned.

Several of the papers having been destroyed or laid aside during the irruption of Holkar, the accounts cannot be completely made out; but, as the records are found, other items shall be inserted.

In the year 1796 bills were drawn upon you: let an account be furnished.

## II.

PAGE 70.

*Holkar's Proposition, 11th Dec. 1807, to Sindhia.*

1. His highness the Peshwa is our sovereign, and we are his servants. Let us therefore, like our ancestors, continue to obey his orders. No. II.

No. II.

2. Let us keep on friendly terms with the Bhonsla and other Sirdars of the Peshwa, and let us consult with them on all occasions.

3. Let the agreements which passed between us at Subbulgerh under the sanction of our oaths be abided by, and let not the terms of friendship which existed between our ancestors be departed from.

4. Any Aumils or officers of either party, who may proceed into the country of the other with a force, will take the greatest care to preserve the country. Should they, contrary to the orders of their master, exact any money from the country, their master will account for it.

5. Should any new enterprise be contemplated, it shall be carried on by mutual consultation.

6. That our friendship may be preserved, and doubts between us be done away, let neither endeavour to tamper with the army of the other; and, should any Sirdar quit the service of either party, let him not be retained by the other.

7. The money collected by Meer Khan from the Mahauls of Sadourah and others, the five Mahauls, shall be repaid to Maharaja Dowlat Rao Sindhia.

8. Let the money which may have been collected by the Soobahdars of one party from the Mahauls of the other since the settlement of differences at Subbulgerh be accounted for mutually.

9. Let a respectable Vakeel from each party attend the Durbar of the other. Let the tribute from the other Rajas and wealthy chiefs unconnected with us, as the Gaekwar and others, remain in the hands of those who have been accustomed to collect them. In this we have no concern. Should, however, it so happen that any new arrangement in regard to them should be proposed, let it be prosecuted by our joint counsels and consent.

10. If any of the ministers or Aumils of either part should treacherously seek the protection of the other, let him not be protected, but delivered over to the state he

belongs to; but, if he be a man of rank, let the matter of dispute be fairly inquired into and adjusted. No. II.

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11. Let the tributes for Jaypore and Joudhpore continue to be collected as they were in the time of our ancestors. You (Sindhia) will not create any disturbance in the country of Jaypore, nor will I (Holkar) interfere in the country of Marwar (Joudhpore).

Let these eleven propositions be well considered, and an answer returned to them.

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### III.

PAGE 140.

#### *Proclamation.*

THE Right Honourable the Governor in Council No. III.  
 having observed that in some late instances an extraordinary degree of agitation has prevailed among several corps of the native army of this coast, it has been his Lordship's particular endeavour to ascertain the motives which may have led to conduct so different from that which formerly distinguished the native army. From this inquiry it has appeared that many persons of evil intentions have endeavoured, for malicious purposes, to impress upon the native troops a belief that it is the wish of the British Government to convert them by forcible means to Christianity; and his Lordship in Council has observed with concern, that such malicious reports have been believed by many of the native corps.

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council deems it therefore proper in this public manner to repeat to the native troops his assurance that the same respect which has been invariably shown by the British Govern-



No. III. — ment for their religion and for their customs will be always continued; and that no interruption will be given to any native, whether Hindu or Musselman, in the practice of his religious ceremonies.

His Lordship in Council desires that the native troops will not give belief to the idle rumours which are circulated by enemies of their happiness, who endeavour with the basest designs to weaken the confidence of the troops in the British Government. His Lordship in Council desires that the native troops will remember the constant attention and humanity which have been shown by the British Government in providing for their comfort, by augmenting the pay of the native officers and Sepoys, by allowing liberal pensions to those who have done their duty faithfully, by making ample provision for the families of those who may have died in battle, and by receiving their children into the service of the Honourable Company, to be treated with the same care and bounty as their fathers had experienced.

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council trusts that the native troops, remembering these circumstances, will be sensible of the happiness of their situation, which is greater than that which the troops of any other part of the world enjoy; and that they will continue to observe the same good conduct for which they were distinguished in the days of General Lawrence, of Sir Eyre Coote, and of other renowned heroes.

The native troops must at the same time be sensible, that if they should fail in the duties of their allegiance, and should show themselves disobedient to their officers, their conduct will not fail to receive merited punishment; as the British Government is not less prepared to punish the guilty than to protect and distinguish those who are deserving of its favour.

It is directed that this paper be translated with care into the Tamul, Telinga, and Hindoostanee languages, and that copies of it be circulated to each native battalion; of which

the European officers are enjoined and ordered to be careful in making it known to every native officer and Sepoy under their command. No. III. —

It is also directed that copies of the paper be circulated to the magistrates and collectors under the Government, for the purpose of being fully understood in all parts of the country.

Dated in Fort St. George, the 3rd December, 1806.

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#### IV.

#### PAGE 176.

*Extract from Lakshman Dawa's Petition to the Agent of the Governor-General in Bundelkhand, 27th March, 1809.*

You, Sir, told me that you would say everything you could for me to the Governor-General, and do all in your power for me. You also desired me to continue near you: accordingly, I remained in your presence. My condition and case is this:—For some years I have kept an army, with which I have plundered a number of Brahmans, villagers, and peasants; and also fought against your forces, and destroyed a great number of your people. I entertained twelve hundred men for these six years, seven or eight hundred of whom have perished in these transactions. I have behaved in an unparalleled, ungrateful, and rebellious manner to your Government; so as no one in this country never behaved, nor ever will. I did not give up the fort of Ajaygerh, as I promised to do, within two years; neither did I pay the money which I promised to pay. The greatest ingratitude and faithlessness appear against me. I have become infamous all over Bundelkhand. All the peasantry are in expectation of my death. All the Brahmans, Mahájans, servants, Sipahis, Hindus, Muts- No. IV. —

No. IV. eddis, brothers, connexions of my own father far off or near, all the Rajas, Fojdars, Amils, religious, educated, Gods, Jagirdars, Pádárthis, Byragis, Fakirs, the whole of the inhabitants, great and small, are wishing every instant to be my last. I would that their wishes were fulfilled. If I continue to exist, I had better not remain in this country; my death were preferable. I have four or five people sitting under the fort of Ajaygerh. Having called them to you, you will advise them respecting me, and blow me and my family away from the mouth of a cannon. This will be well for me, and it will accord with the wishes of all. They will be pleased, and I wish it. If I consent not to this, I am a liar, and agree to be regarded as hateful to God.

If I hesitate, I call upon God to bear witness. Favour me with this punishment, and it will be well for me. I beg you to reflect upon it, and order it to be done; and I beg of you to give my brothers and connexions two villages each for their support. If what I have requested be not agreeable to you, I beg you will exalt me as you have done other Rajas, or still more. The way to exalt me is to give me a lakh of rupees in money, and all my own country, as well as what is mentioned in the Sunnud given to me by Captain Baillie. If this, Sir, should please you, it is well; if not, pray blow me from a cannon's mouth. The last is honour; the first a mere nothing. Do whichever you please, I shall be content. I cannot be content with anything else. I pray you, consider it well. May the sun of your fortune perpetually shine!

## V.

PAGE 268.

## GENERAL ORDERS.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, 28 Jan. 1809.

*General Order. By the Commander-in-chief.*

THE immediate departure of Lieutenant-General Macdowall from Madras will prevent his design of bringing Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, Quartermaster-General, to trial for disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the power of the Civil Government in defiance of the judgment of the officer at the head of the army, who had placed him under an arrest on charges preferred against him by a number of officers commanding native corps; in consequence of which appeal direct to the Honourable the President in Council, Lieutenant-General Macdowall has received a positive order from the Chief Secretary to liberate Lieutenant-Colonel Munro from arrest.

No. V.

Such conduct on the part of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro being destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander-in-chief, and holding out a most dangerous example to the service, Lieutenant-General Macdowall, in support of the dignity of the profession and his own station and character, feels it incumbent on him to express his strong disapprobation of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro's unexampled proceedings, and considers it a solemn duty imposed upon him to reprimand Lieutenant-Colonel Munro in general orders; and he is hereby reprimanded accordingly.

(Signed)

T. BOLES,  
Adjutant-General.



## VI.

PAGE 272.

Fort St. George, 31st Jan. 1809.

*General Order. By Government.*

No. VI. — IT has recently come to the knowledge of the Honourable the Governor in Council that Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall did, previous to his embarkation from the Presidency, leave to be published to the army a general order, dated the 28th instant, in the highest degree disrespectful to the Government; in which that officer has presumed to found a public censure on an act adopted under the immediate authority of the Governor in Council, and to convey insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the Government, and subversive of military discipline and of the foundation of public authority.

The resignation of Lieutenant-General Macdowall of the command of the army of Fort St. George not having been yet received, it becomes the duty of the Governor in Council, in consideration of the violent and inflammatory proceedings of that officer on the present and on other recent occasions, and for the purpose of preventing the possible repetition of farther acts of outrage, to anticipate the period of his expected resignation, and to annul the appointment of Lieutenant-General Macdowall to the command of the army of this Presidency.

The Governor in Council must lament, with the deepest regret, the necessity of resorting to an extreme measure of this nature: but, when a manifest endeavour has been made to bring into degradation the supreme public authority, it is essential that the vindication should not be less signal than the offence; and that a memorable example should be given, that proceedings subversive of established

order can find no security under the sanction of rank No. VI.  
however high, or of station however exalted.

The general order in question having been circulated under the signature of the Deputy Adjutant-General of the army, it must have been known to that officer, that, in giving currency to a paper of this offensive description, he was acting in direct violation of his duty to the Government. As no authority can justify the execution of an illegal act, connected, as that act obviously in the present case has been, with views of the most reprehensible nature, the Governor in Council thinks it proper to mark his highest displeasure at the conduct of Major Boles, by directing that he shall be suspended from the service of the Honourable Company.

The general order left by the Commander-in-chief for publication, under date the 28th instant, is directed to be expunged from every public record; and the Adjutant-General of the army will immediately circulate the necessary orders for this purpose.

By order of the Honourable the Governor in Council.

(Signed)

G. BUCHAN,

Chief Secretary to Government.

## VII.

PAGE 438.

### *Zemindari Sunnud granted by Jehangir.*

IT has happened in this propitious time that Abhiman No. VII.  
Sing, Zemindar of Mahanagar in Nizamabad, has embraced Islamism, and been honoured with the title of Raja Nadir Dowlat Khan. We have therefore bestowed upon him twenty-two Pergunnas in Soobah Allahabad, from the commencement of the Khuneef crop, and according to the specification below. Our illustrious sons and rulers of the

No. VII. provinces and Mootsuddies must ever use their strongest endeavours perpetually to maintain this grant, and confirm the Zemindari of the above Pergunnas to the afore-mentioned person and his descendants for ever. They will deduct 1,25,000 rupees as his Nankar from the total Jumma payable to the Government, in order that he may spend it; and the fixed allowance per village and per-centage in the Jumma and other Zemindari dues from his support. This Sunnud will not require renewal. Dated Rubbee ool Akhir 15th, in the 4th year of the reign. (Specification on the reverse.) Pergunnas twenty-two (then follow their names). Nankar 1,25,000 rupees. Zemindari dues per village two rupees, per-cent. one rupee.—J. Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. viii. p. 93.

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### VIII.

PAGE 469.

*The Petition of all the Inhabitants of the City of Benares, etc. etc.*

SHEWETH,

No. VIII. That we, your humble petitioners, have been nourished from our infancy by the fostering care of the British Government, and have been protected from every evil. During the government of Mr. Hastings especially we enjoyed ease and tranquillity, when, by the abolition of the tax on pilgrims, the fame of the Government was extended from one end of India to the other. In like manner, in the time of the Marquis Cornwallis we enjoyed various advantages: the Sayer and town duties, and other descriptions of oppressive duties, were abolished. The affairs of this province were committed to the administration of Mr. Duncan; and such was the indulgence extended to us, that, for the first time, Vakeels were appointed in the courts of justice

on the part of Government, and the claims of Government No. VIII.  
 were henceforward judged and determined in common with the claims of other people. A considerable sum of money was also appropriated for the expense of the Hindoo college, and hundreds of people obtained Jageers, pensions, and donations: the people of all descriptions were secured in the enjoyment of their laws and their religion, together with the customs and usages to which they had been long habituated. The fame of the Government extended itself throughout the world; everything submitted to its will, and the population of the country increased with its prosperity.

When the court of justice was originally established at Benares, the fees payable on the institution of suits were fixed at the rate of five per cent.; but the people claimed the interposition of the Governor-General's agent at this place, and the fees were reduced in consequence to the rate of one per cent. We fully expected that in a short time these also would be abolished, but after that gentleman went away they were again increased; and by the introduction of the stamp duties, transit and town duties, by the Phatuckbundee and other new institutions, your petitioners were reduced to distress and wretchedness.

During the last five years the seasons have proved unfavourable; the harvests have been injured by drought, hail, and frost; and the price of every article of consumption has increased twofold. In this state of things, Regulation xv., 1810, is introduced; and the tax it imposes, by affecting all ranks of people, has thrown the subjects of your Government into consternation. Accordingly, a number of people, in the confident expectation of obtaining that indulgence which Government has always been accustomed to extend to its subjects, exposed themselves to the inclemency of the season, and, with nothing to cover them but the heavens, bowed their faces to the earth in supplication: in this state of calamity several of them perished. We presented some petitions, setting forth our distresses to



No. VIII. the magistrate; and, as we did not obtain our object, we petitioned the provincial court, but from our untoward fate we were again unsuccessful. In this state of trouble the proclamation of the 13th of Jan. 1811 was issued, under the impression that your petitioners were in a state of disobedience to the Government; which we humbly represent was never even within our imagination. In implicit obedience to this proclamation, as to the decree of fate, we got up, and returned to our homes, in full dependence upon the indulgence of the Government. We set forth our distresses as below stated: we hope that you, under the authority vested by Government in its officers, upon the exercise of which the welfare of the country depends, will be pleased to translate this our petition, and forward it to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, that, under the provision contained in clause 1st, Regulation xli., 1793, we may obtain relief. The indulgent disposition which is invariably manifested by the Government induces us to entertain a confident hope that the petition of its afflicted subjects will be complied with.

[The following representation relates to Regulation xv., 1810, and the proclamation of the 13th of January 1811.]

First. By Regulation xxiii., 1793, the expense of the police establishments was to be defrayed by a tax levied from the merchants, traders, and shopkeepers, who were considered one of the most opulent classes of the people; but, by the rules in Regulation vi., 1797, the Regulation above mentioned was rescinded, and it was declared that the tax was a source of vexation to the contributors. The Vice-President in Council accordingly resolved to abolish this tax, and to substitute the duties on stamp paper in the room of it. Sire, when the vexations to which the people were exposed by being subjected to the tax are so fully known to you, there can be no necessity for us to employ much detail in representing them; and let it be understood that the persons who then were affected by

Regulation xxiii., 1793, are not now in a condition better calculated to submit to it. In the new Regulation the tax includes every one; thousands who have not wherewithal to subsist are affected by it: hence to extend the tax to everybody will be the cause of general ruin. No. VIII.

Secondly. The protection of the people is the duty of the Government. The Governments to which we were formerly subjected established the transit and other duties upon traders to defray the expenses of protecting us; in other words, for the support of the police. Expenses of other descriptions were defrayed by the produce of the Baitoolmaul; and, although these duties still continue to be levied in Benares, the expense of the roads and the general protection of the country, such as the establishment of police and so forth, was also provided for at the settlement of the province: besides this, the stamp duties were established to defray the expense of the police, as well as the Phatuckbundee, which has, however, been abolished by the proclamation of the 13th January. These various resources for the support of the police well merit the attention of the Government.

Thirdly. In Regulation xv., 1810, it is stated, that, as the tax had been introduced into Calcutta, it should be also introduced into Benares. Sire, the ground of Calcutta is the particular property of Government: it was originally Government property, and became inhabited according to the usages established in England: all consented to pay the tax on the same principle as if it were a ground-rent; and every one, according to his means or pleasure, took ground and built upon it. But it is otherwise in Benares, where the ground is the property of its inhabitants, who have held it by purchase or other means from time immemorial.

Fourthly. In Regulation xv., 1810, it is declared, that all places of worship are to be exempted from the tax; and the whole extent of the city of Benares as contained within the Punchkos is, in fact, a place of worship, there positively is not a point of ground within it which is other-

No. VIII. wise. Let this be ascertained by a reference to the Shaster. Besides this, former Governments, on all occasions of exercising their authority, treated this city with peculiar indulgence; and the British Government also has done the same, as is instanced in the exemption of Bralunnins from capital punishment: hence the city of Benares should be especially exempted from the tax on houses.

Fifthly. The means of procuring subsistence in these times, such as they are, are well known to Government. From the annihilation of the profits of our labour, from the increase of the taxes, from calamities which have raised the price of every article of consumption, from the abolition of the Tehseeldarree system, and from the bankruptcy of the merchants, your petitioners are reduced to such a state, that multitudes are unable to clothe and feed themselves, or support and educate their families: hence numbers, who supported themselves in a respectable manner, have been robbed of their respectability by distress. Had it not been for the native colleges of Calcutta and Benares, there would not have been an educated or well-bred man to be found throughout the country. How, then, is it possible to pay the tax?

Sixthly. Thousands of people in these times have not a kouree in the world; and if, in order to realise the tax, their household property shall be sold, as is prescribed in the Regulation, to what extremities will they not be reduced?

Seventhly. Since the commencement of the English Government the rules contained in the Shera and Shaster, together with the customs of Hindostan, have invariably been observed: it will be found in the Shera and Shaster that houses are reckoned one of the principal necessities of life, and are not accounted disposable property. Even creditors cannot claim them from us in satisfaction of their dues; and in this country, in the times of the Mahomedan and Hindoo princes, houses were never rendered liable to contributions for the service of the state.

Eighthly. Men of business possess no ostensible property but their houses. Houses are the foundation of all worldly affairs, whether in the collector's office, or in the courts, or in mercantile transactions. If the tax is enforced, what with providing the means of paying it on the one hand, and what with the apprehension of future innovations from the interference of Government on the other, such general distrust will be excited, that there will no longer be any reliance on the security of property: all mercantile transactions, all worldly affairs, will be overturned, and the public at large will become distracted. No. VIII.

Ninthly. By the usages of this country, the rights of the Government as they were exercised in the times of the Mahomedan and Hindoo princes do not weigh heavy upon its subjects: hence it is that under the English Government, in the sale of estates to realise the public revenue, the houses of the landholders are exempted. If the tax is enforced, the public mind will, for many reasons, be filled with apprehensions.

Tenthly. Although Government certainly devotes particular care and expense to the protection of the inhabitants of the cities, yet the town and transit duties, the mint and stamp duties, the registry of deeds, the duties arising from the quarries and the Abkarree, &c. &c., all of which multiply in proportion to the extent of the population, are levied in a greater degree from the inhabitants of cities than from those who live in the interior.

Eleventhly. If the tax is enforced, the rent of houses will increase; and many of the people, who are come from distant places to reside in this city and rent the houses they occupy, will no longer continue to remain in it. People will build no more stone houses; and in that case many classes of workmen, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, &c. will be left without employment, and the city will be depopulated.

Twelfthly. Those who, from the fame of the justice and protection to be found under the English Government,



No. VIII. are come from distant countries to reside in the city of Benares, and whose residence in it adds to the population of the place and benefits thousands, will by the introduction of the tax be disheartened. They will go away, and multitudes will be ruined.

Thirteenthly. The Regulations enacted by the Marquis Cornwallis were extended to Benares, and we your petitioners, satisfied with those Regulations, lived happy and contented: the whole country increased in fertility and population, and the resources of Government were improved, at least so it appeared to us, though we know not if it appears so to the wisdom of the Government.

Fourteenthly. As a number of persons continued for some time assembled together to complain, Government conceived there was a disturbance, and it was so declared in the proclamation of the 13th of January, 1811. Sire, if an order be passed relating particularly to one individual, and other persons combine to support him, it might in that case be denominated a disturbance. As the introduction of the tax affected every individual of every class, every one presented himself to obtain justice. Thousands of men and women, all the old and the infirm, Brahmins, devotees, and Pundits, who have no occupation but prayer and penance, abandoned their houses and were among them. None were armed, even with a stick. The manner and custom in this country from time immemorial is this: that, whenever any act affecting every one generally is committed by the Government, the poor, the aged, the infirm, the women, all forsake their families and their homes, expose themselves to the inclemency of the seasons and to other kinds of inconveniences, and make known their affliction and distress, that the Government, which is more considerate than our parents, may observe their condition and extend indulgence to its subjects. Besides this, when the Brahmins in general are involved in distress, it is incumbent on all Hindoos to abstain from receiving sustenance, and any one who presumes to deviate from this

custom must incur general opprobrium. If your petitioners, by assembling together in this manner, can be considered to have created a disturbance, it is our misfortune. No. VIII.

[The next representation respects the houses of Benares.]

First. Many Mohullahs are upon ground which pays revenue to Government, and ought accordingly to be exempted.

Secondly. Many houses and several parts of the city are held by grants from the native princes and from the Honourable East India Company, and these are of the same nature as Ultungah: besides which, thousands of people subsist on the bounty of Government.

Thirdly. Many of the Seraies and other public places were built by the Mahomedan princes or by their principal officers, and ought to be exempted.

Fourthly. There are hundreds of houses in this city the proprietors of which pay rent for the ground they are built upon, while the owner of the ground receives the rent as his right; which right has never been disputed by any Government. The house having been built by its proprietor, he holds it like household furniture, exempt from taxation; the materials of which it is built are liable to town and transit duties, and to the quarry duties, which are of course paid upon requisition. Many pieces of ground, and several of the houses above mentioned, are let to Government by the proprietors, and such proprietors cannot in consequence be called upon to pay the tax.

Fifthly. Many houses have been purchased by their present proprietors at public auction, with the permission of Government.

Sixthly. Many houses which belonged to the Baitoolmaul have been purchased by their present proprietors from the Government, who, on paying the value of them to Government, were put into possession.

Seventhly. Many houses are still in the Baitoolmaul, and the occupants pay rent for them to Government.

No. VIII. Eighthly. Many houses have been bestowed upon Brahmins and Fucqueers; and these houses, like Kishnapun, and according to established rules, must be exempted.

Ninthly. Many benevolent and humane people lend their houses for the accommodation of pilgrims and travellers, in the hope by so doing to obtain the blessing of Providence: many lend them out of civility to their friends. If the tax is enforced, civility and benevolence will be excluded from the world.

Tenthly. Many houses have been built by persons of rank in former times; these houses are deserted and fallen to ruin. Those to whom these houses have lineally descended are unable to repair them; they inhabit, perhaps, but one room, without even the means of subsistence: such persons surely deserve indulgence.

Eleventhly. Many houses are mortgaged, and in the possession of the mortgagee. The tax cannot be paid by the mortgager, because he is without the means of paying it; nor can it be paid by the mortgagee without diminishing the legal profit derivable from the established rate of interest.

Twelfthly. Many houses belong to the Nawaub Vizier and other persons of distinction, such as Manmundil and Rajmundil.

Thirteenthly. Several men of rank, such as the Moghul princes, reside in Benares by order of Government: they have either received their houses from Government, or have built them themselves.

Fourteenthly. Many of the buildings of this city are either Hindoo or Mahomedan places of worship, or pious bequests. After exempting buildings of these descriptions and the houses above mentioned, it will appear upon inquiry that the produce of the tax will not be worth the consideration of Government, which expends laks of rupees for the welfare of its subjects and for the general prosperity of the country.

Our existence and everything we possess have been bestowed upon us by the liberality of Government. Your humble petitioners feel themselves totally unable to contend, even in litigation, with a Government so powerful; but, perceiving that the Government is always disposed to be kind and indulgent, we have presumed to represent what our imperfect understandings have suggested to us. The indulgence of Government has given us the power to make this our representation; and, at all events, we hope for its indulgence and the forgiveness of our offences.

(Translated.)

## IX.

## PAGE 484, NOTE.

*Comparative Statement of the Revenues and Charges of  
British India in the Years 1807-8 and 1813-14.*

1807.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	No. IX.
Receipts	£9,972,000	4,928,000	770,000	15,670,000	
Charges	£6,372,000	5,194,000	2,059,000	13,625,000	
			Surplus Revenue	£2,045,000	
			Deduct Interest on Debt	£2,226,000	
			Supplies to England	128,000	
				£2,354,000	
			Deficit in 1807-8	£309,000	
1813-14.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	
Receipts	£11,172,000	5,297,000	759,000	17,228,000	
Charges	£ 7,135,000	4,893,000	1,589,000	13,617,000	
			Surplus Revenue	3,611,000	
			Deduct Interest on Debt	£1,537,000	
			Supplies to England	116,000	
				£1,653,000	
			Surplus in 1813-14	£1,958,000	



## No. IX.

## ITEMS OF AUGMENTED RECEIPT.

	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.	
	1807-8.	1813-14.	1807-8.	1813-14.	1807-8.	1813-14.
Mint	£17,000	9,000	„	16,000	„	6,000
Post-Office	35,000	43,000	17,000	20,000	„	6,000
Stamps	„	16,000	„	31,000	„	„
Judicial	113,000	104,000	„	26,000	„	6,000
Customs	511,000	322,000	114,000	190,000	167,000	108,000
Land Rev <sup>e</sup> .	3,729,000	3,928,000	1,040,000	893,000	417,000	37,000
Do. Ced <sup>d</sup> . P.	1,718,000	2,271,000	„	„	„	206,000
Do. Ced <sup>d</sup> . & Conq. do. }	1,013,000	1,664,000	„	„	„	291,000
Salt	1,895,000	1,779,000	„	155,000	„	„
Opium	801,000	964,000	„	„	„	„
Marine	„	31,000	„	9,000	„	46,000
Carnatic	„	„	1,027,000	1,131,000	„	„
Tanjore	„	„	502,000	436,000	„	„
Mysore	„	„	1,399,000	1,519,000	„	„
Nizam	„	„	718,000	685,000	„	„
Travancore	„	„	46,000	91,000	43,000	„
Cochin	„	„	„	32,000	„	„
Farms and }						
Licences }	„	„	57,000	62,000	143,000	53,000
Dutch Settle- }						
ments }	„	„	7,000	„	„	„

## TOTAL INCREASE OF REVENUE.

1813-14	.	.	.	£17,228,000
1807-8	.	.	.	15,670,000
Increase	.	.	.	£ 1,558,000

Of which the Increase in Bengal was £1,200,000  
 ----- Madras . 369,000

The Deficit in Bombay . . 1,569,000  
 ----- 11,000

Net Increase . . . . £1,558,000

## INCREASE OF LAND REVENUE IN BENGAL.

Lower Provinces	.	.	£199,000
Ceded ditto	.	.	553,000
Conquered ditto	.	.	651,000
			£1,403,000

These particulars are compiled from the Revenue statements of the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1810, and the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, 1830. The smaller sums, below a thousand, are purposely omitted. It must be borne in mind also, that, at the valuation of the rupee adopted in the Reports, all the sums are about one-seventh too high.

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X.

PAGE 540.

*Resolutions (communicated by the Honourable the House of Commons to the Right Honourable the House of Lords at a Conference) respecting the Affairs of the East India Company.*

1. RESOLVED, That it is expedient that all the privileges, authorities, and immunities, granted to the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies by virtue of any act or acts of parliament now in force, and all rules, regulations, and clauses affecting the same, shall continue and be in force for a further term of twenty years ; except as far as the same may hereinafter be modified and repealed.

2. Resolved, That the existing restraints respecting the commercial intercourse with China shall be continued, and that the exclusive trade in tea shall be preserved to the said Company during the period aforesaid.

3. Resolved, That, subject to the provisions contained in the preceding Resolution, it shall be lawful for any of his Majesty's subjects to export any goods, wares, or merchandize, which can now, or may hereafter, be legally exported from any port in the United Kingdom to any port within the limits of the charter of the said Company,

No. X. as hereinafter provided; and that all ships navigated according to law, proceeding from any port within the limits of the Company's charter, and being provided with regular manifests from the last port of clearance, shall respectively be permitted to import any goods, wares, or merchandize, the product and manufacture of any countries within the said limits, into any ports in the United Kingdom which may be provided with warehouses, together with wet docks or basins, or such other securities as shall, in the judgment of the Commissioners of the Treasury in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, be fit and proper for the deposit and safe custody of all such goods, wares, and merchandize, as well as for the collection of all duties payable thereon, and shall have been so declared by the Orders of his Majesty in Council in Great Britain, or by the Order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council in Ireland: Provided always, that copies of all such Orders in Council shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament in the session next ensuing.

4. Resolved, That as long as the Government of India shall be administered under the authority of the said Company according to the provisions, limitations, and regulations hereafter to be enacted, the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the territorial acquisitions in India shall, after defraying the expenses of collecting the same, with the several charges and stipulated payments to which the revenues are subject, be applied and disposed of according to the following order of preference:

In the first place, in defraying all the charges and expenses of raising and maintaining the forces, as well European as native, artillery and marine, on the establishments in India, and of maintaining the forts and garrisons there, and providing warlike and naval stores: Secondly, in the payment of the interest accruing on the debts owing, or which may hereafter be incurred, by the said Company in India: Thirdly, in defraying the civil and

commercial establishments at the several settlements there: Fourthly, that the whole or any part of any surplus that may remain of the above-described rents, revenues, and profits, after providing for the several appropriations, and defraying the several charges before mentioned, shall be applied to the provision of the Company's investment in India, in remittances to China for the provision of investments there, or towards the liquidation of debts in India, or such other purposes as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

5. Resolved, That the receipts into the Company's treasury in England from the proceeds of the sales of their goods, and from the profits arising from private and privileged trade, or in any other manner, shall be applied and disposed of as follows:—First, in payment of bills of exchange already accepted by the Company, as the same shall become due: Secondly, for the current payment of debts (the principal of the bond debt in England always excepted) as well as interest, and the commercial charges and expenses of the said Company: Thirdly, in payment of a dividend of ten pounds per cent. on the present or any future amount of the capital stock of the said Company; also in the payment of a further dividend of ten shillings per cent. upon such capital stock, after the separate fund upon which the same was originally charged by the 124th clause of the 33rd Geo. III. cap. 52, shall have been exhausted; the said payments respectively to be made half-yearly: Fourthly, in the reduction of the principal of the debt in India, or of the bond debt at home, as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

6. Resolved, That when the principal of the debt bearing interest in India shall have been reduced to the sum of ten millions of pounds sterling, calculated at the exchange of 2s. the Bengal current rupee, 3s. the Madras pagoda, and 2s. 3d. the Bombay rupee, and the bonded debt in



No. X. England shall have been reduced to the sum of three millions of pounds sterling, then and thereafter the surplus proceeds which shall be found to arise from the revenues of India, and the profits upon the trade, after providing for the payments aforesaid, shall be applied to the more speedy repayment of the capital of any public funds or securities which have been or may be created for the use of the said Company, the charges of which have been or may be directed to be borne by the said Company, in virtue of any act or acts of parliament; and that any further surplus that may arise shall be set apart, and from time to time paid into the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, to be applied as Parliament shall direct, without any interest to be paid to the Company in respect or for the use thereof; but nevertheless to be considered and declared as an effectual security to the said Company for the capital stock of the said Company, and for the dividend of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum in respect thereof, not exceeding the sum of twelve millions of pounds sterling; and that of the excess of such payments, if any, beyond the said amount of twelve millions, one-sixth part shall, from time to time, be reserved and retained by the said Company for their own use and benefit, and the remaining five-sixths shall be deemed and declared the property of the public, and at the disposal of Parliament.

7. Resolved, That the said Company shall direct and order their books of account, at their several Presidencies and settlements in India, at their factory in China, at the island of St. Helena or elsewhere, and also in England, to be so kept and arranged as that the same shall contain and exhibit the receipts, disbursements, debts and assets, appertaining to, or connected with, the territorial, political, and commercial branches of their affairs; and that the same shall be made up in such manner that the said books shall contain and exhibit the accounts of the territorial and political departments separately and distinctly from such as appertain to, or are connected with, the commer-

cial branch of their affairs; and that the arrangement of accounts so to be made shall be submitted to the ap-  
probation and sanction of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India. No. X.

8. Resolved, That it is expedient to make provision for further limiting the granting of gratuities and pensions to officers, civil and military, or increasing the same, or creating any new establishments at home, in such manner as may effectually protect the funds of the said Company.

9. Resolved, That all vacancies happening in the office of Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, or of Governor of either of the Company's Presidencies or settlements of Fort St. George or Bombay, or of Governor of the forts and garrisons of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or of Commander-in-chief of all the forces in India, or of any provincial Commander-in-chief of the forces there, shall continue to be filled up and supplied by the Court of Directors of the said United Company, subject nevertheless to the approbation of his Majesty, to be signified in writing under his royal sign manual, countersigned by the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

10. Resolved, That the number of his Majesty's troops in India to be in future maintained by the said Company be limited; and that any augmentation of force exceeding the number so to be limited shall, unless employed at the express requisition of the said Company, be at the public charge.

11. Resolved, That it is expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East Indies should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons; and that adequate provision should be made, from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance.

12. Resolved, That it is expedient that the statutes and regulations framed, or to be framed, by the Court of Directors for the good government of the College esta-

No. X. 

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blished by the East India Company in the county of Hertford, and of the Military Seminary of the said Company in the county of Surrey, as well as the establishment of offices connected therewith, or the appointment of persons to fill such offices, be subject to the controul and regulation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India; and that the power and authority of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India shall be construed to extend to the issuing or sending orders or instructions to the Court of Directors, for the purpose of their being transmitted to India, respecting the rules and regulations and establishments of the respective colleges at Calcutta and Fort St. George, or any other seminaries which may be hereafter established under the authority of the local Governments.

13. Resolved, That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction amongst them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That, in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs: provided always, that the authority of the local Governments, respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country, be preserved; and that the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained.



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# HISTORY

OF

# BRITISH INDIA

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## BOOK II.

FROM THE RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S  
CHARTER, 1813, TO THE CLOSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, 1823.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Appointment of the Earl of Moira as Governor-General. — Entrance upon his office. — Financial embarrassments of the Indian Government. — Indications of hostility. — Situation and Extent of Nepal. — Sketch of its history. — Rise of the Gorkhas. — Succession of their Princes. — Their Conquests in the Mountains. — Aggressions on the British frontier. — Causes of the War. — Claims on Bhotwal in Gorakhpur. — Commissioners appointed. — Aggressions on the Saran frontier. — Villages in Bettia attached and annexed to Nepal. — Right of the British Government to Bhotwal established. — Lord Minto's Letter to the Raja. — Military preparations. — Right to Lands of Bettia determined. — Return to Nepal of Gorkha Commissioners. — Disputed Lands occupied. — Outrage of the Nepalese. — War proclaimed. — Mode of warfare to be adopted. — Plan*



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BOOK II.  
CHAP. I.

1813.

THE circumstances which recommended the Earl of Moira to the appointment of Governor-General of India have already been adverted to. 'After the death of Mr. Perceval, he had been authorised by the Prince Regent to attempt the formation of a cabinet which should combine the leading members of both parties in the state; and, although the negotiation was unsuccessful, its failure was not imputed to any want of ability or zeal in the negociator. His long and close intimacy with the Prince, his distinguished rank and high personal character, were also considerations which duly weighed with the Administration; and he was accordingly entrusted

with the government of the British Indian empire. BOOK II.  
 The office of Commander-in-chief was combined CHAP. I.  
 with that of Governor-General. Lord Moira 1813.  
 arrived in Calcutta in the first days of October, 1813, and on the fourth of that month assumed charge of his important functions.

Although the economical system pursued by the Earl of Minto had permanently lightened the burthen on the public finances, yet the means by which much of the alleviation was effected were not unattended by temporary inconvenience. The establishments in general, and particularly those of the military department, had been reduced below the scale which the public security demanded; and the great exertions which had been made to pay off the remittable loan and supply the home treasury with funds for that purpose, as well as the necessity of furnishing the Governments of the new colonial conquests with pecuniary aid to enable them to defray the excess of their charges over their receipts, had drawn deeply upon the resources of Bengal. The new Governor-General consequently found the treasury exhausted, and presenting a balance scarcely equal to provide for the current expenditure. He was urgently pressed by the Court of Directors to continue the remittance of bullion to England, and was at the same time called upon to discharge bills to a large amount drawn upon Bengal by the Company's supracargoes at Canton for money which they had received from private merchants for application to the purchase of investments to Europe.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Financial Letter from Bengal, 30th October and 18th December, 1813. Papers relative to the Finances of India during the administration

BOOK II. The prospect of preserving tranquillity began also to  
CHAP. I. be overclouded. It was evident that contests, which

1813. had been threatening for many years, and which it had been the policy of the preceding administrations to evade or to defer, could not be delayed much longer with a prudent regard for the integrity of the British dominions and the reputation of the Government. Lord Moira was therefore called upon to engage in actual warfare while the immediate resources of his administration were in an extraordinary condition of inefficiency. The embarrassments were, however, merely temporary, and they were speedily surmounted by the activity and energy which the character and example of the Governor-General diffused throughout the Company's establishments.

1814. Omitting, for the present, any further notice of the financial difficulties, we shall proceed to describe the origin and object of the impending hostilities.

The territories of the kingdom of Nepal extended for a distance of more than seven hundred miles along the northern frontier of the British possessions. Stretching in an oblique direction from north-west to south-east, they skirted the provinces of Delhi, Rohilkhand, Gorakhpur, Saran, Tirhut, and Purnia, and included districts partly of ancient, partly of recent acquisition. Between Rohilkhand and Gorakhpur, a portion of the principality of Oude, continuous with Nepal, completed the boundary line. The name, Nepal, was properly applicable to a valley of circumscribed extent embosomed in the Himalaya mountains, having on its south the first

of the Marquis of Hastings, printed for the Proprietors of East India Stock, March, 1824.



and lowest ranges of the chain, but girdled on the north by some of its loftiest and most majestic elevations; amid which, through passes scarcely lower than the limits of eternal congelation, a communication during the summer months lay open with Tibet. The people are mostly of the Bhot or Tibetan family; but they are intermixed with Hindus, colonies of whom immigrated from the plains at periods within the memory of tradition.<sup>1</sup> The leaders of the colonists seem to have been Rajputs, and, with their ordinary superiority in energy and courage, they soon established themselves as petty princes, or Rajas, in various parts of the valley. In the course of time, the number of independent chiefs decreased, the stronger devoured the weaker; and in the middle of the eighteenth century (1765) the valley of Nepal was partitioned among the three Hindu Rajas of Khatmandu, Lalita-patan, and Bhatgaon. Taking advantage of the feuds which arrayed these petty potentates against each other, Prithi Narayan, chief of a mountain tribe termed Gorkha, overpowered the triumvirate and made himself sole master of Nepal. He transmitted his sovereignty to his descendants, and they still reign over the country. The designation of the tribe of which the prince was a member came to be regarded as the national denomination, and

BOOK II.  
CHAP. I.

1814.

<sup>1</sup> According to local traditions, the Hindu Parbatiyas, or mountaineers, came originally from Chitore in the beginning of the 14th century. Probably the reigning family of Rajputs may have arrived about that date, but Nepal (Naipala) was a Hindu state in much more remote times. The Parbatiyas are more likely to be the relics of a primitive population, or immigrants from the adjacent low-lands of Oude: their language belongs to the Sanscrit family of dialects; but their physical conformation differs much from that of the Hindus of the contiguous plains, who are mostly tall, whilst the Nepalese, although robust, are below the average stature.



BOOK II. the term Gorkha was applied to the government and  
 CHAP. I. the military population of Nepal.<sup>1</sup>

1814. Prithi Narayan died in 1771. He was succeeded by his son, Pratáp Sing, who reigned but four years. He died in 1775, and left an infant son, Rana Bahadur, under the care of his widow Rajendra Lakshmi, and his brother Bahadur Sah. During the regency, the system of aggression and conquest commenced by Prithi Narayan was vigorously pursued; and many Rajas, whose countries lay east and west of Nepal, were forced to acknowledge allegiance to the Gorkha Raja. An army was sent across the northern mountains against Lhasa, and the living type of Buddha was compelled to pay tribute to the Brahmanical ruler of Nepal. The enterprise nearly proved fatal to the nascent power of the invaders. The Emperor of China, incensed by the sacrilegious indignity offered to a religion of which he is the secular head, dispatched a large army to Nepal, which defeated the Raja's troops, and advanced to within a few miles of his capital, Khatmandu. The Gorkha prince averted the subjugation of his country by seasonable submission, by engaging to furnish the retiring army with pro-

<sup>1</sup> The name is generally said to be the name of a district in the mountains, as in Padre Giuseppe's account of Nepal, *Asiatic Researches*, ix. 307; so also Kirkpatrick, p. 123, and Hamilton. "The town of Gorkha is situated in the district of the same name."—Account of Nepal, p. 244. The latter also enumerates it as one of the Chaubisi or twenty-four hill states between the Gandi and Mursiangdi rivulets, the Rajas of which pretended to be members of the Pramara tribe of Rajputs; but he considers them to be of an inferior tribe, called Magars. Gorkha, correctly Gorakhsha or Gorakh, denotes a cow-herd; and the ancestors of the Gorkhas were not improbably of that caste, from the district below the hills known as Gorakhpur. The tutelary deity of Nepal is a form of Siva, denominated Gorakhnath, whose priests are Yogis; and the same sect and the same worship had formerly equal predominance in Gorakhpur.—*As. Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 189.

visions, and by promising payment of a yearly tribute to the Emperor of China. The Chinese army withdrew, the country of the Grand Lama was taken under the political protection of the Court of Peking, and the Gorkhas were left to efface their discredit and compensate for their discomfiture by prosecuting schemes of aggrandisement at the expense of the Rajas of the mountains. Shortly after the Chinese invasion, an attempt was made by the British Government of India to establish a friendly intercourse with that of Nepal, and Captain Kirkpatrick was sent as envoy to Khatmandu. The mission was frustrated of all political benefits by the insuperable jealousy of the Gorkha ministers, but much interesting information was then for the first time made public respecting the topography and institutions of Nepal.

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In 1795, Rana Bahadur took upon himself the authority to which his maturity entitled him, and avenged the thralldom in which he had been held, by commanding his uncle to be put to death. Becoming odious to his subjects through his dissolute habits and ferocious cruelty, he was obliged to abdicate in favour of his infant son, and withdraw from the country. He retired to Benares. After an exile of two years he recovered his station ; but, relapsing into his former atrocious conduct, he provoked a conspiracy of many of his principal nobles, and was murdered by the conspirators, headed by his half-brother Shir Bahadur, in open Durbar. The murderers were immediately attacked and killed by Bhim Sah, of the tribe of Thápa, a faithful adherent of the Raja, who placed an illegitimate son of Rana Bahadur, still in

BOOK II: his minority, upon the throne, and assumed the office  
CHAP. I. of Regent. Notwithstanding these internal convul-

1814. sions, the tide of external conquest had continued to spread to the westward, and it received fresh impetus from the warlike propensities and ability of the Regent. Under his administration the Gorkhas extended their authority over the hill Rajas as far west as to the Setlej; they crossed the river, and were upon the eve of a contest with Ranjit Sing for the spoils of the Rajput princes<sup>1</sup> established in the hill country of the Punjab, when their ambitious projects in a different direction exhausted the forbearance of a more formidable antagonist, and brought upon Nepal the resentment and arms of the Government of British India.

A spirit of aggrandisement, which had been fostered by success, had long influenced the conduct of the Court of Nepal towards its neighbours of the plains; and its officers on the frontier had for many years been privately countenanced in a system of aggression and encroachment on the territories subject to the Presidency of Bengal. Their encroachments commenced as far back as 1787, and were persisted in, with occasional intervals, until 1813; being perpetrated along the whole of the borders from the frontier of Tirhut to that of the districts between the Setlej and the Jumna. They had given occasion to repeated representations and remonstrances on the part of the Government of Bengal, and had sometimes been suspended or disavowed by the Court of Khatmandu. They were in some instances, however, avowed and

<sup>1</sup> The Rajas of Mundi and Kotoch.—See Moorcroft's Travels, i. 129, 174.



justified, on the plea that they were directed to the re-occupation of tracts which had originally belonged to Nepal, or to chiefs whom the Gorkhas had subdued, and whose possessions they claimed by right of conquest. No case had hitherto occurred which was considered of sufficient magnitude to warrant forcible resistance or retaliation; although as early as 1807 the Governor-General intimated to the Raja, that, unless redress were granted for outrages committed on the frontier of Purnea, and lands which had been violently usurped were restored, "the British Government would be compelled to employ the means at its disposal for protecting the rights and persons of its subjects." The threat was carried into execution in 1809; a military force was then employed to expel the Gorkha officers from the disputed lands, and to replace the dispossessed Zemindar of Bhimnagar, whom the Company acknowledged as a subject, in his Zemindari.

The more immediate causes of the war which now took place were disputed claims to lands included within the limits of the British provinces of Saran and Gorakhpur. We shall first notice the latter of these, as they were made the earlier subject of authorised investigation. Gorakhpur, of which the northern boundary is contiguous to the lower range of hills, came into the hands of the British in 1801-2 as included in the cessions exacted from the Nawab-Vizir of Oude. The district in dispute had formed part of the landed possessions of the Raja of Palpa, a hill chieftain of consideration in the kingdom of Nepal; it being not unusual for the Rajas of the first ranges of the hills to hold lands along the borders of the ad-

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BOOK II. jacent low country of Oude, either from immemorial  
CHAP. L

1814. rupt servants of the Oude Government. When the transfer of his lands was made, the Palpa Raja acknowledged his tenancy under the new authorities, and consented to pay a stipulated amount of revenue to the Collectorate of Gorakhpur. He was afterwards implicated in the conspiracy which ended in the murder of Rana Bahadur, and was seized and put to death by order of the Regent. His lands in the hills were confiscated to the state; and the Nepal Government, extending the sentence of confiscation to the district of Bhotwal, part of the Raja's possessions within the British boundary, made a grant of it to another hill chief, the father of the Regent, who, in order to secure his realisation of the benefaction, assembled a considerable body of troops upon the borders in 1804, and prepared to take forcible occupation. The pretensions of the Court of Nepal were resisted by Lord Wellesley; but, unwilling to involve the Government in a state of warfare upon the eve of his departure to England, he professed his readiness to enter into an amicable discussion of the claims in question, and proposed that Commissioners should be deputed on either side to investigate and adjust them. He also suggested that the Commissioners should at the same time determine other claims preferred by the Nepalese to the revenues of the district of Sheoraj, which was likewise situated within the limits of the Ceded Provinces, but had been usurped by the Gorkhas before the date of the cession. The Court of Nepal refused to entertain the latter proposition, but proposed that the chief to

whom Bhotwal had been granted should continue to hold it on the same conditions as the Palpa Raja, and pay the assessed revenue to the British authorities,—virtually recognising, therefore, the right of the Bengal Government to the sovereign property of the land. A Vakîl was sent with these replies to Calcutta, but no disposition was evinced to await the result of his mission, and a body of Gorkha troops took possession at once of more than two-thirds of the contested territory. They were unopposed. The negociation, which had been suspended by Lord Wellesley's relinquishment of office, was resumed by Sir G. Barlow, who offered to forego the claims of the Company on Sheoraj, on condition that the Gorkhas would relinquish theirs on Bhotwal. The disposition thus indicated to compromise the pretensions of the British, served only to confirm those of their opponents. Their proposal to farm the revenues of Bhotwal was declined, but no steps were taken to recover possession of the district, and the Nepalese remained in undisturbed occupation of the lands into which they had intruded, from 1806 to 1809. At the latter date, a remonstrance against the retention of the territory was addressed by Lord Minto to the Raja of Nepal, which was met by an evasive and unsatisfactory reply; but the Raja expressed a willingness to agree to the appointment of Commissioners to investigate the claims of both parties on the spot. The attention of the Governor-General being directed at this period to the disturbances at Madras, and the expeditions against the French and Dutch Islands, the communication was not immediately acted upon; but towards the

BOOK II. end of 1811, fresh encroachments having taken  
 CHAP. I. place, it became indispensably necessary to consider

1814. seriously how much longer they were to be endured. The Governor-General having accordingly deliberately reviewed the whole question, determined to accede to the proposed arrangement, although he anticipated little benefit from the result. He had in the first instance repeated the offer made by Sir G. Barlow, to permit the Nepalese to retain Sheoraj on the condition of their withdrawing from Bhotwal; but their persevering disinclination to assent to any compromise determined him to retract the offer, and to leave the right to both districts to be the subject of investigation. Major Bradshaw was nominated on the part of the British Government to confer with Commissioners appointed by the Court of Khatmandu with regard to the disputed lands on the Gorakhpur frontier, and conferences for the adjustment of the rights of the respective claimants were carried on through the greater part of the two following years.

While matters were thus circumstanced in Gorakhpur, aggressions of a like origin were committed on the British territory of Saran, lying to the east of Gorakhpur, and, like it, contiguous on its northern division, which constituted the district of Bettia, to the hills throughout the state of Makwanpur. Border disputes had always subsisted between the Raja of Bettia and his neighbour the Raja of Makwanpur. The former had become a subject of the British Government in 1765; the latter was conquered by the Gorkhas shortly before that date, and, adopting his quarrels, they descended into the low-lands and



seized upon part of the Bettia boundary. The aggression was promptly and vigorously repelled. In 1767 a military force under Major Kinloch drove the Gorkhas out of the province, and, following them into the hills, took possession of Makwanpur. When a good understanding with the Court of Khatmandu was restored, Mr. Hastings gave up that part of Makwanpur which was situated in the hills, but retained the low-lands on the Bettia frontier as a compensation for the cost of the military expedition which the Bengal Government had been compelled in self-defence to undertake. From that period the conquered tract had formed a portion of the Bettia Zemindari, and had paid revenue to the British Government without any question of its right having been agitated by Nepal. In 1811, however, emboldened by the obvious reluctance of the Government of Bengal to engage in hostilities,—a reluctance which, agreeably to the maxims of Gorkha policy, could only be accounted for by conscious weakness,—the Nepalese advanced a claim to the division of Nanore in Bettia; and the Gorkha governor of the adjacent hill district crossed the border with an armed force, burnt and plundered several villages, levied contributions on several, and called upon others, to the number of twenty-two in the aggregate, to acknowledge allegiance to his government. His incursion provoked resistance: the people of the country took up arms, and, as the Gorkha party was weak, defeated and expelled them. Their leader was killed in the affray. A stronger force was immediately dispatched from Nepal, against which no adequate means of resistance were at hand; and the whole of the lands



BOOK II. originally separated from Makwanpur were forcibly  
 CHAP. I. reoccupied by the Gorkhas, without their conde-  
 1814. scending to give previous intimation of their pre-  
 tensions or their purposes.<sup>1</sup>

After long and protracted discussions, the right of the British Government to the disputed lands on the frontier of Gorakhpur was established by documentary evidence, to rebut which no satisfactory testimony was brought forward by the Commissioners from Nepal. They nevertheless declined to recognise the claim of the British, or to direct the removal of the Gorkha officers from the usurped districts, without authority from Khatmandu, to which they required to refer. A suggestion was, however, made to Major Bradshaw, that the Raja of Nepal should cede the disputed lands in exchange for a tract, six miles broad, along the skirts of the hills, to be given up by the British Government. To this compromise Lord Minto refused his concurrence; he considered the proposal to be equivalent to an admission that the right of his Government to Sheoraj and Bhotwal was substantiated, as was truly the case, and that the Court of Nepal was not entitled to any compensation for the abandonment of unjust and violent usurpations. He regarded the proposition also as evasive and temporising, and as unlikely, even if ac-

<sup>1</sup> Besides the districts more particularly specified in the text, various encroachments had occurred almost throughout the whole of the border, from the Tista to the Setlej. In Tirhut, between 1787 and 1812, more than two hundred villages had, at different times, been appropriated by the Nepalese. In Bareilly, they had occupied five out of eight divisions of the Pergunna of Khyrapur. They claimed an extensive tract in the Zilla of Moradabad; and in 1813 they attempted to occupy several villages in the territory of the protected Sikh chiefs, but were prevented by the interference of the British Political Agent.—Nepal Papers, printed for the Court of Proprietors, Narrative of the War, by the Marquis of Hastings, 677.

quiesced in, to put a stop to the unfounded claims of the Gorkha Government. He consequently insisted on the unqualified restoration of the usurped territory; and, as the Commissioners pleaded want of powers, he addressed a letter to the Raja, reminding him of his promise to abide by the result of the inquiry, and calling upon him to fulfil his promise by ordering his officers to retire from the disputed districts,—expressing his earnest wish to remain upon terms of amity with the Nepal state, but declaring his intention of occupying the lands in question by force if they were not peaceably resigned. Military preparations were set on foot for carrying the menace into effect when the season should permit, as little expectation was entertained that the Court of Khatmandu would be induced by conciliatory representations to recede from its pretensions. Before a definitive answer was received from the Raja, the Earl of Moira had succeeded to the government of India.

When the aggressions on the Saran frontier were committed, strong remonstrances were addressed to the Court of Khatmandu, and a demand was made that the lands which had been seized should be immediately restored. It was conceded, however, that the right to them should nevertheless be investigated by the magistrate of Saran and the officers of Nepal; and it was promised, that, if the Gorkha claim to any of the villages should be made good, they should be restored. An investigation accordingly took place, the result of which was to disprove the Gorkha pretensions;<sup>1</sup> but a final decision was not insisted on un-

<sup>1</sup> A different story is, however, told by the Government of Nepal. In

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til the Commissioners in Gorakhpur should be able to extend their inquiries to Saran. It appeared, however, to the new Governor-General that the question of right had been so unequivocally decided by the previous proceedings, that it needed no further deliberation; and Lieut.-Colonel Bradshaw was authorised to proceed to the spot in company with the Gorkha Commissioners, for the purpose only of adjusting any minor points which might remain to be set at rest. The villages had in the mean time been conditionally evacuated by the Nepalese. Their own Commissioners disapproved of the temporary transfer, and, making their disapproval a plea for closing the conference, refused to hold any further communication with the British representative, and returned abruptly to Nepal.<sup>1</sup>

their instructions to an accredited agent who was to have been dispatched to Calcutta, and which document fell into the hands of Lieut.-Col. Bradshaw, they accuse Bir Kishore Sing (the Raja of Bettia) of having originated the encroachments, taken possession of a large portion of land, and committed an atrocious murder in the Nepal territories (referring to the death of the Gorkha officer mentioned in the text). The Raja proceeds: "You will state that in consequence of a letter which I received from Mr. Hawkins of Patna, assuring me that Bir Kishore Sing would be punished by the British Government, I did not punish him as I should otherwise have done; I, however, recovered possession of the twenty-two villages which he had seized. Mr. Young was afterwards sent to investigate the question respecting these villages. By his inquiries the right of this Government, and aggression of the Zemindar of Bettia, were fully established; the Bettia man could produce no documents whatever in support of his claim. Mr. Young has probably reported this to Government. You will state these observations in a proper manner."—Nepal Papers, 383.

<sup>1</sup> The abrupt departure of the Commissioners is referred by Mr. Prinsep to the receipt, by the Raja of Nepal, of the letter of the Governor-General declaring his resolution to occupy the disputed lands by force, if not given up within a specified period. According to the document last quoted, it arose from personal dissatisfaction with the British Commissioner. "They had an interview with the Major, who made use of improper language towards them; in consequence of which they remained silent, and, seeing no business brought forward, they came away."—Nepal Papers, p. 384. The state papers of Nepal appear to be no more veracious than those of more civilized nations.



It was evident, from the conduct of the Gorkha Commissioners, that the Court of Khatmandu had no serious intention to concur in any amicable settlement; but, unwilling to precipitate a quarrel, the Governor-General renewed in an address to the Raja the remonstrances and arguments that had been hitherto urged in vain, requiring him to acquiesce in the conclusions which had been established by the conferences of the Commissioners both in Gorakhpur and Saran, and to accede to the peaceable occupation of the lands by the civil officers of the British Government. A refusal to acknowledge the Company's rights was, after some delay, received. No alternative, therefore, remained but the relinquishment of the claims which had been substantiated, or their resolute vindication. The latter was adopted. The villages on the Saran frontier were retained, and a detachment was sent into Bhotwal and Sheoraj, before which the Nepalese authorities retired without attempting to offer any resistance.<sup>1</sup>

The promptitude and decision which characterized the measures of the British Government convinced the Court of Khatmandu that the crisis which it must have contemplated had now arrived, and that disputes respecting border lands had terminated in the alternative of peace or war. The question was deliberately considered in a council of the principal chiefs, and a summary of their opinions was transmitted to the military governors of the frontier. In deference to the sentiments of the Raja, or rather of the Regent minister, who advocated hostilities, the

<sup>1</sup> These details are taken chiefly from the Narrative of the War, by the Marquis of Hastings.—Nepal Papers, 673.



BOOK II. conclusion of the council was for war; but several of  
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1814. the chiefs entertained sounder views of its probable consequences, urged perseverance in the course of policy hitherto pursued, and recommended, if unavoidable, the ultimate concession of the disputed territory below the hills. To these prudent recommendations were opposed the uniform success which had hitherto attended the arms of Nepal, the powerful military force of the principality, and the natural strength of the country, which constituted an impregnable barrier against an English invasion. The small fort of Bhurtpore, argued the minister, was the work of man, yet the British were defeated in their attempts against it. How little, then, was it likely that they should storm the mountain fastnesses constructed by the hand of God!<sup>1</sup> The determination, however unwise, indicated a lofty and patriotic spirit; but the mode in which it was announced was characteristic of a barbarous court.

The approach of the rainy season and the unhealthiness of the country at that period, as well as the seeming acquiescence of the Nepalese in the occupation of the disputed lands, induced the Government to withdraw the troops, leaving a civil force of arm-

<sup>1</sup> The opinions of the council, as communicated to the Raja of Palpa, fell into the hands of the English, and are printed by Mr. Prinsep. The Raja proposes war, and is seconded by Bhim Sen Thapa, the Regent; the strength of the country, and military power and reputation of Nepal, are the chief topics of reliance. On the other hand, some fear is expressed of the defection of the Hill Rajas, by which an opening into the mountains may be afforded to the enemy; and some of the chiefs do not hesitate to declare their opinion of the superiority of the British forces. We have hitherto, say they, but hunted deer; if we engage in this war, we must prepare to fight tigers. It is clear that the war was disapproved of by the most judicious of the Raja's advisers, and that it originated chiefly in the presumption and ignorance of the Regent.—Prinsep's Transactions in India, 8vo ed. vol. i. App. 457.

ed police at the frontier thanas or stations of Bhotwal and Sheoraj. On the morning of the 29th May, a party of Gorkhas, under the command of the late Governor of the district, attacked the post at Bhotwal. The police were overpowered, eighteen men were killed, and the head officer, or Thannadar, who surrendered himself, was tied to a tree and killed with arrows. The stations of Sheoraj were abandoned by the police, but not until one had been surprised and several lives had been lost. The lands were immediately taken possession of by the Gorkhas. Although this outrage demanded instant punishment, the season of the year delayed its infliction, and an opportunity was afforded to the Raja of disavowing the perpetrators of the offence. A letter from the Governor-General required him to fulfil the obligation, but it received an evasive and menacing reply. Hostilities were therefore evidently unavoidable; and, after an interval diligently devoted to preliminary arrangements, and the collection of information regarding a country but little known, war with Nepal was announced, in a manifesto detailing its causes and vindicating its necessity.<sup>1</sup>

War having been resolved upon, it became necessary to determine the principles upon which it should be carried on—whether a defensive or offensive system should be adopted, and in either case what course should be pursued. The former was open to weighty objections. It was clearly impossible adequately to guard a line of open frontier,

<sup>1</sup> It is dated Lucknow, 1st of November, 1814; and is addressed to the Powers in alliance and friendship with the Company.—Nepal Papers, 443.

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extending seven hundred miles, at every assailable point; and the Nepalese would have it in their power to inflict injury and loss upon their enemy with little hazard of suffering retaliation. To maintain large bodies of troops in the field would be attended with the same expense, in whatever manner they might be employed; and the cost was likely to be heaviest in the end, if their inactivity was productive of a tedious and harassing prolongation of hostilities. It was also obviously advisable, not merely to defend the British territory against actual aggression, but to deprive the Gorkha Government of the means of repeating their incursions, by contracting the limits of their possessions, reducing their power, and humbling their ambition. The defensive system was therefore discarded, and it only remained to determine the plan of offensive operations—an advance to Khatmandu with a concentrated force; or a simultaneous attack on different points of the long line of the Gorkha conquests, throughout which the recently subjugated people and chiefs were ready to fall off from their oppressive rulers, and welcome and facilitate the approach of the British troops. To this political advantage was to be added the difficulty of moving large bodies of troops in so rugged a country, of providing them with supplies where the soil was so unproductive, and of keeping up a communication with the lowlands in consequence of the deadly miasmata which render the forests on the skirts of the hills utterly impassable during a considerable portion of the year. It was therefore determined by Lord Moira to prefer the latter plan, and operating upon



the Kali river, which severed the Gorkha possessions nearly in two, as a centre, to direct his first efforts against the western portion, whilst other divisions were to move against the eastern half, and advance into the valley of Nepal.<sup>1</sup> With these views four separate divisions were formed which were to ascend the hills at as many places as soon as the rains had sufficiently subsided to allow of their forward movement.

The first of the divisions, comprising about 6,000 men, under the command of Major-General Ochterlony, was destined to attack the Gorkha positions at the western extremity of their line. The second, 3,500 strong, commanded by Major-General Gillespie, was intended to occupy the Dehra Dún, a valley above the first range of hills, and besiege Jytak, the principal fortress of the enemy in the province of Gerhwal. The third division, of about 4,500 troops, was placed under the orders of Major-General John Sullivan Wood, and was to march from the Gorakhpur frontier through the long-disputed districts of Bhotwal and Sheoraj to Palpa. The fourth and most considerable divi-

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Moira's Letter to the Chairman, 6th August, 1816.—Nepal Papers, 994. The military policy of the Court of Directors differed from that of his Lordship. In their estimation, the preservation of British honour and the integrity of the territories might have been secured "by the employment of one concentrated body of troops;" meaning, apparently in this place, their employment on the defensive. In a subsequent paragraph they advocate a similar mode of conducting offensive operations. "We are inclined to the opinion, from the nature of the resistance opposed by the enemy, that if, instead of dividing our force into so many detachments, a concentrated attack had been made, it might possibly have been the means of bringing the war to a successful conclusion, without looking to the issue of a second campaign."—Political Letter to Bengal, 13th Oct., 1815. At a later date, the Court profess their acknowledgment of the "wisdom of the plan on which Lord Moira had acted."—Political Letter to Bengal, 5th March, 1817; *Ibid.* 998.



BOOK II. sion, comprehending nearly 8,000 men, commanded  
 CHAP. I. by Major-General Marley, was to make the most  
 1814. effectual impression on the enemy, and was to  
 march through Makwanpur directly to Khat-  
 mandu. Arrangements were made at the same  
 time for the defence of the interjacent parts of the  
 British frontier by local corps; and at the south-  
 eastern end of the line east of the Kusi river,  
 Captain Latter, commanding the Rangpur local  
 battalion and a battalion of regular Native infantry,  
 was directed to convert a defensive into an offensive  
 attitude, should circumstances be favourable to the  
 change. The whole force amounted to more than  
 30,000 men, with sixty guns.<sup>1</sup> To oppose so

<sup>1</sup> The details of the several divisions were as follows:—

1st Div. Artillery, European and Native	950	
Native infantry—(2nd battalion 1st, 2nd bat- talion 6th, 2nd battalion 3rd, 1st battalion 19th, and six companies of the 2nd bat- talion 19th)	4778	
Pioneers	265	
Ordnance, two 18-pounders, ten 6-pounders, four mortars and howitzers.	—	5,993
2nd Div. Artillery	247	
H.M. 53rd Reg.	785	
Native infantry—(1st battalion 6th, 1st bat- talion 17th, 1st battalion 7th)	2348	
Pioneers	133	
Ordnance, two 12-pounders, eight 6-pounders, four howitzers.	—	3,513
3rd Div. 8th Native cavalry	114	
Artillery	457	
H.M. 17th Reg.	958	
Native infantry—(left wings of both battalions of the 14th, 2nd battalion 17th, four com- panies 2nd battalion, 8th and 2nd battalion 12th)	2875	
Pioneers	90	
Ordnance, four 6-pounders, three 3-pounders, four mortars and howitzers.	—	4,494

formidable an armament, the Gorkhas in the beginning of the war could not muster more than 12,000 regular troops, which were scattered along the extended length of their frontier. They were augmented during the war by levies of local militia; but these were without discipline, imperfectly equipped, and were not always well-affected to their rulers, as they were often raised from the subjects of the conquered hill states. A few forts, strongly situated, but in other respects of little importance, commanded the principal passes of the mountains. The main strength of the Gorkhas consisted in the spirit of the Government, the bravery and devotedness of the regular troops, the impracticability of the country, the inexperience of their adversaries in mountain warfare, and their ignorance of the ground on which they were to move, and of the character of the people with whom they were to contend.

Major-General Gillespie's division was assembled at Saharanpur on the 18th of October. On the following day the advance, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Carpenter, proceeded by the Timli pass into the valley of the Dún. On the 22d, Lieut.-Colonel

4th Div. Artillery . . . . .	868	
H.M. 24th Reg. . . . .	907	
Native infantry—(1st battalion 18th, left wing 2nd battalion 22d, 2nd battalion 15th, 2nd battalion 25th, Ramgerh local battalion, Chamiparan L. infantry) . . . . .	5988	
Pioneers . . . . .	276	
Ordnance, four 18-pounders, four 6-pounders, four 3-pounders, twelve mortars and howitzers.	—	7,989
Total sixty-eight guns, and men . . . . .		21,989

Considerable reinforcements joined the two first divisions, besides irregular troops and Native contingents, to the extent of above 12,000 men.—Nepal Papers, 197, 432.

BOOK II. Mawbey followed with the main body, and occupied  
CHAP. I. the town of Dehra, which gives the valley its appel-

1814. lation. The Gorkhas fell back, as the British advanced, to the fort of Nalapani, or Kalanga, a small fort about five miles from Dehra, strongly posted on a steep detached hill, six hundred feet high, covered with jungle. The summit was a table-land above half a mile in length; and at the further extremity stood the fort, a stone quadrangular building of no great extent, but enlarged and strengthened by stockades. It was garrisoned by a body of six hundred Gorkhas, commanded by Balbhadra Sing, whom Amar Sing Thapa, the military governor of the western districts, had selected for his intrepidity to encounter the first onset of the enemy.

Lieut.-Colonel Mawbey, having marched upon Kalanga, summoned the garrison to surrender. An answer of defiance was returned to the summons,<sup>1</sup> and an attack was in consequence made upon the fort on the 24th October. With infinite labour guns were carried up the hill, and a battery was constructed; but, the place appearing to be too strong to be taken by these means, Colonel Mawbey suspended proceedings and awaited the orders of his superior. General Gillespie immediately moved with the remainder of the force, and joined the advance on the 26th. Heavy guns were brought up, a battery was erected, and preparations were made to carry the fort by storm. The assault took place on the 31st.

<sup>1</sup> The letter was delivered to Balbhadra Sing late at night; he observed, that it was not his habit to carry on a correspondence at such an unreasonable hour, but that he should shortly pay the writer a visit in his camp.

The troops had been distributed in four columns of attack and a reserve; and it was intended that the former should move against the several faces of the fort at the same moment, upon a signal being fired from the battery. Three of the columns, having to make a circuit of some distance over very rugged ground, marched before daybreak, but had not reached their appointed destinations at 8 A.M., when the signal-gun was fired. It was not heard by them.<sup>1</sup> In the mean time a sortie was made by the garrison, which was repelled by the remaining column; and General Gillespie, thinking that the retreating enemy might be followed into their own entrenchments by a brisk and vigorous pursuit, ordered the column, together with the reserve and a company of the 8th, or Royal Irish dismounted dragoons, to hasten forward and carry the place by escalade. The troops advanced steadily to the foot of the wall: but the commandant, besides manning the ramparts, had placed a gun in an out-work protecting the gateway in such a position as to enfilade the wall upon that side; the fire from which beat down the pioneers before the ladders could be applied, and destroyed the leading files of the assailants. Foiled in their attempt to scale the wall,

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<sup>1</sup> According to Prinsep, (History of the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, i. 88.) Gillespie's impatience anticipated the time proposed for the joint assault, which was ten o'clock. Major Thorn, in his Memoir of General Gillespie, says the time was to have been two hours after the signal, which was fired at seven. Mr. Fraser says that the signal was given some hours before the time intended, and was not heard, probably because it was unexpected.—Travels in the Himalaya. In Colonel Mawbey's official report it is said that the signal was fired at eight o'clock, two hours after which was the time for the assault. He also states that it was not heard by Major Kelly, Captain Fast, or Captain Campbell, commanding the other columns of attack.—Nepal Papers, 439.



BOOK II. which had sustained no damage from the previous  
CHAP. I. fire of the battery, the men attempted to force the

1814. outwork and carry the gate. They were received with such a heavy fire, and suffered so severely, that it was found necessary to draw them off to the shelter of some huts at a little distance from the fort. Although the other columns had not yet come into action, General Gillespie, irritated by the repulse which had been sustained, persisted in renewing the attempt, declaring aloud his determination to carry the fort or lose his life. Accordingly, he placed himself at the head of three fresh companies of the 53rd regiment and of the dragoons, and led them again towards the gate of the fort. When within range of the enemy's matchlocks, the men of the 53rd hung back.<sup>1</sup> The General, in advance of the line, in vain called on them to follow him; and, while waving his sword to encourage them to come on, he was shot through the heart, and immediately expired. His aide-de-camp, Lieut. O'Hara, was killed by his side; Captain Byers, the Brigade-Major, was wounded; and many of the dragoons, by whom the General had been bravely seconded, were killed or wounded.<sup>2</sup> The fall of General Gillespie completed the discouragement of the men, and a retreat was ordered. One of the other columns, that which was commanded by Captain Campbell, arrived

<sup>1</sup> The men of this regiment were in a discontented and sullen mood, conceiving themselves to have been overworked by the unnecessary repetition of parade exercise.

<sup>2</sup> The total loss was five officers and twenty-seven privates killed, fifteen officers and two hundred and thirteen privates wounded. Besides General Gillespie and Lieutenant O'Hara, the officers killed were Lieutenant Gosling, Light Battalion, Ensign Fothergill, 17th N. I.; and Ensign Ellis, Pioncers. Of the hundred dragoons, four were killed and fifty wounded.

in time to cover the retreat. The loss had been, for the duration of the service, considerable: the temper of the men was unfavourable; little prospect existed of carrying the fort by assault; and, as the guns were insufficient to effect a breach, Colonel Mawbey, on whom the command devolved, deemed it prudent to return to Dehra, and there await the arrival of a battering-train from Delhi.

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The requisite ordnance having been received on the 24th of November, the army moved on the following day once more against Kalanga. A battery of 18-pounders was constructed, and a practicable breach was effected by noon of the 27th. The storming party, consisting of the grenadier company and one battalion company of the 53rd, and the grenadier companies of the 6th, 7th, and 13th Native infantry regiments, covered by the light infantry of the 53rd, and supported by the rest of the force, was commanded to advance. The assailants were ordered to move with their muskets unloaded, and to carry the breach by the bayonet alone; — an order which seems to have been ill-timed, as after the previous repulse, and in the prevailing disposition of the soldiery, confidence in their display of that calm courage and desperate determination which such a method of attack implies, could scarcely have been warranted. Either from the discouraging influence of this order, or from causes unexplained, the troops, although they moved without hesitation to the breach, manifested little resolution or perseverance in their attempts to force an entrance into the fort. They suffered considerable loss on their approach; and, on arriving at the breach,

BOOK II. they found that within it was a precipitous descent  
 CHAP. I. of about fourteen feet, at the foot of which stood  
 1814. a part of the garrison, armed with spears and sharp-pointed arrows, supported by another portion provided with matchlocks and various missiles. After a feeble effort the assailants recoiled, and drew off to a short distance from the wall; where they remained for two hours, exposed to a heavy fire and an unceasing shower of arrows and stones. The example and instigations of their officers were in vain exerted to animate them to a second attack; and, finding that their backwardness was insurmountable, it became necessary to withdraw them from their position. They were accordingly recalled, after sustaining serious loss.<sup>1</sup>

The project of carrying the fort of Kalanga by assault was now relinquished, and recourse was had to a bombardment, which was attended with almost immediate success. The fortress, which was little more than an open enclosure within stone walls, afforded no shelter to the besieged, and speedily became untenable. In the course of three days the place was strewn over with the killed, the stench from whose unburied bodies became intolerable; and the commandant abandoned the place with no more than seventy survivors out of the six hundred of whom his garrison had been composed. Balbhadra Sing effected his escape unperceived, and joined a detachment of three hundred fresh troops which

<sup>1</sup> Four officers and thirty-three privates were killed, seven officers and six hundred and thirty-six privates were wounded. The officers killed were Captain Campbell, 6th N.I.; Lieutenant Harrington, his Majesty's 53rd; and Lieutenant Luxford, Horse Artillery. As observed by Prinsep, the British loss exceeded the number of the Gorkha garrison.

had been sent to his relief, but had been unable to make their way through the British posts. The party was pursued by Major Ludlow, who, by great activity, came upon them suddenly on the night of the 1st of December. A brief but smart action took place, in which the Sipahis in some degree redeemed their reputation, and put the Gorkhas to the rout. The enemy disappeared among the recesses of the mountains, and their pursuers returned to camp. The fort of Kalanga was demolished.<sup>1</sup>

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The repeated checks and the heavy loss suffered at Kalanga gave an entirely new aspect to the war. The assailants had been unprepared for such resolute resistance, and, from the evidence which the siege had afforded of the extraordinary gallantry of the enemy, learned to look forward with diminished confidence to the result of subsequent conflicts. On the other hand, the Gorkhas were highly elated by the glory of having, with a mere handful of men, so long kept at bay a well-appointed and numerous body of their foes, and of having made them purchase an insignificant entrenchment with the death of many distinguished officers, and the fall of a celebrated commander. The moral effect on the minds of both parties was a principal cause of the protracted continuance of the war. Nor was the loss of time, considered in itself, an evil of slight moment, as it had deranged the whole plan of the campaign. The result was the more to be regretted, as it was obvious that it might have been easily avoided, and that, had the assailants condescended at first to

<sup>1</sup> For the official reports of the occurrences before Kalanga, see Nepal Papers, pp. 460, 490.



BOOK II. employ the powerful means which European science

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placed in their hands, and, instead of rushing head-long against stone walls, effectively demolished them, or driven out those whom they sheltered, reputation and life would not have been unprofitably sacrificed. The impetuosity of General Gillespie frustrated his own designs; and his daring courage, failing to awaken a corresponding ardour in his followers, proved fatal to himself, and mischievous to his country. His death was, however, in harmony with the whole course of his life; and, if he exhibited some want of the prudent foresight and steady self-possession required in a commander, he displayed that disdain of danger in the discharge of his duty which constitutes one of the highest qualifications of a soldier.<sup>1</sup>

During the interval that elapsed before the repetition of the attack on Kalanga, Colonel Mawbey detached Lieut.-Colonel Carpenter with his division to a position on the right bank of the Jumna, where he might command the fords of the river, and intercept the communication between the Gorkha commanders in the east and west. The same position was favourable for his giving aid to the hill tribes, should any of them show a disposition to rise and throw off the Gorkha yoke. The people of Jounsar in consequence took up arms, and so much alarmed the Gorkha garrison of Barat, a stronghold in the mountains, that they hastily

<sup>1</sup> A monument to the memory of General Gillespie was erected at Meerut by the officers who had served under him; and a public monument, voted by Parliament, was placed in St. Paul's Cathedral. Two obelisks on the hill of Nalapani mark the spot where he and his companions fell; no vestige of the fort remains. — *Memoir of General Gillespie*, 240; *Mundy's Sketches of India*, i. 192; *Moorcroft's Travels*, i. 26.

evacuated a fort which could not have been reduced without trouble and loss. After the capture of Kalanga, Colonel Mawbey was directed to march to the westward into the adjacent Dún, or valley, of Karda, in order to carry out so much of the original plan as to effect the co-operation of the division with that under the command of Colonel Ochterlony. The force descended into the lowlands, to avoid the ridge separating the Dehra from the Karda Dún, and returning northwards entered the latter by the pass of Moganand. On the 19th of December the division was within seven miles of Náhan, the capital of the small state of Sirmor, the Raja of which had been dispossessed by the Gorkhas. Their army in this quarter was commanded by Ranjor Sing Thapa, the son of Amar Sing, whose head-quarters were at Jytak, a fort on the top of a mountain lying north from the town, strongly situated in an angle where two mountain ridges met, and perched at the height of five thousand feet above the sea. On the 20th of December, the force was joined by Major-General Martindell, who had been appointed to the command.<sup>1</sup>

After occupying the town of Náhan, General Martindell moved to the foot of the range, on the highest peak of which the fort of Jytak was placed; the approach to it was defended by stockades at various heights; the ascent was rough and difficult, as the hills rose throughout the whole acclivity by steep and abrupt elevations, separated by loose crumbling soil, and deep and precipitous ravines, and afforded no level ground for the evolutions of

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 498.

BOOK II. regular troops. The position having been carefully  
CHAP. I. reconnoitred, it appeared that the garrison depend-

1814. ed for their supply of water upon wells situated exteriorly to the fort, and some way below it; and the General consequently resolved to make an attempt to cut off the supply, and at the same time dispossess the enemy of a strongly stockaded post, erected for its defence about a mile to the west of the fortress. With this intention two columns were formed: one, under Major Ludlow, to move against the post on the left and nearest side; the other, under Major Richards, to make a *détour*, and assail the stockade in the rear. The effect of the combined attack was disappointed; and the two columns, being successively overpowered by a superior force, were compelled to retreat.

The party under Major Richards left the camp at midnight.<sup>1</sup> They had a march to make of sixteen miles, by paths rarely admitting two men abreast. It was eight o'clock in the morning before they reached the foot of the hill on which they were to establish themselves; and they halted till ten, to allow the whole of the men to join and rest. They then ascended the mountain, and, having gained the summit, advanced to within three hundred yards of the fort of Jytak. The enemy offered no opposition, being at the time engaged with their other assailants.

The division commanded by Major Ludlow<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It consisted of the 1st battalion of the 13th N. I., the light companies of his Majesty's 53rd, and 7th, 26th, and 27th N. I., and of a company of pioneers. The companies were weak, and the whole mustered little more than six hundred strong.—Nepal Papers, 504.

<sup>2</sup> It was formed of the grenadier company of the 53rd, three companies

marched an hour later than the column under Major Richards, but, having a much shorter interval to traverse, came earlier in contact with the Gorkhas. Their picquets were encountered about three in the morning, and driven back. The column advanced to the summit of a hill, on which stood the ruined village and temple of Jamta, from which the leading files, consisting of the grenadiers of his Majesty's 53rd, dislodged a small Gorkha post. Elated by their success, and attributing the retreat of the enemy to fear, the grenadiers insisted upon being led against a stockade at no great distance, and apparently of no formidable strength. Conceiving that it might be carried by a vigorous attack, Major Ludlow permitted the attempt to be made, and the advance rushed onward without waiting till the whole of the detachment had come up and could be formed. The Gorkha commander, Jaspao Thapa, was prepared for their reception. As soon as the first firing was heard, he had been detached from Jytak with the main body of the garrison, and had stationed them not only behind the stockade, but on the commanding points of the hills on either flank; so that, when the assailants reached the foot of the stockade, a sudden and destructive fire was poured upon them from every quarter. Before they could recover from the disorder thus occasioned, they were charged by superior numbers, sword in hand, and driven back in confusion to the point at Jamta, whence they had so confidently advanced. The Native troops were still in disarray, and, having

of the light battalion, and nine of the 6th N. I., with a company of pioneers, mustering about nine hundred.—Ibid.



BOOK II. but few European officers to keep them steady,<sup>1</sup> they  
 CHAP. I. gave the fugitives no support; on the contrary,  
 1814. sharing in the disorder, and struck with panic, they fled precipitately down the hill, closely chased by the Gorkhas, who inflicted severe loss with their semicircular and heavy swords. The pursuit was, however, arrested by the necessity of returning to encounter the more successful advance of Major Richards. The British detachment, completely disorganized, regained the camp by ten o'clock.<sup>2</sup>

The garrison of Jytak, having thus so easily disposed of one attack, proceeded with augmented confidence and courage to get rid of the other; but some interval elapsed before they were in a condition to resume offensive operations. In the mean time, Major Richards had accomplished the duty entrusted to him, and had taken up a station which, approaching the fort and commanding the wells, must soon have straitened the garrison and accelerated their surrender. It was therefore of vital importance to Ranjor Sing to dislodge the English before they should be strengthened sufficiently to render the attempt hopeless. At one o'clock he descended from the fort with all his available force, and with intrepid resolution. The detachment stood its ground bravely, and the Gorkhas were repulsed. They renewed their attacks and displayed the greatest courage, advancing to the very muzzles of the muskets, and endeavouring to

<sup>1</sup> There were but three officers with the nine companies of the 13th N. I.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Munt of the 1st N. I. was killed, three officers were wounded; thirty-one Europeans and one hundred and twenty Natives were killed and wounded.

hew down their opponents with their swords. The struggle was continued for six hours, until it grew dark, and the ammunition of the Sipahis began to fail—so that they were obliged at last to defend themselves with stones. At seven in the evening a message was received from General Martindell, commanding the detachment to retreat. Previous messages of the same tenor had been dispatched, but the messengers had been intercepted. Although confident, if furnished with supplies, of being able to maintain his position, Major Richards found himself obliged to comply with the General's positive orders, and commenced a retreat under the most unpropitious circumstances, from the nature of the ground and the exhaustion of the men. Moving slowly in single file along narrow, rough, and precipitous paths, the whole must have fallen a sacrifice to an enemy familiar with the locality, and experienced in mountain warfare, had not the retreat been covered with singular devotedness by Lieut. Thackeray and the light company of the 26th N.I. The whole Gorkha force was kept in check and repeatedly repulsed by this officer and his small party, until he and his next in command, Ensign Wilson, and many of the men, were killed. The retreating body were then overtaken by the Gorkhas, but they had nearly cleared the most difficult and exposed portions of their path; and although much confusion ensued, and many of the officers and men were separated from the column, yet most of them subsequently found their way to camp, and the loss proved less serious than there was reason at first to apprehend. The darkness of

BOOK II.  
CHAP. I.  
1814.

BOOK II. the night and the ruggedness of the surface were  
CHAP. I. as unfavourable for pursuit as for flight, and the  
 1814. Gorkha general did not care to commit his men too far beyond the vicinity of the fortress.<sup>1</sup>

It was admitted by the Governor-General that the object proposed by General Martindell was highly important, and justified an effort for its attainment; and the judiciousness of the plan was proved by its partial success. It is evident, however, that serious mistakes were committed in its execution. The movements of the divisions must have been ill concerted to have allowed an interval of so many hours between attacks intended to have been simultaneous; and the omission of any arrangements to succour or support Major Richards—the absence apparently of all knowledge of his proceedings—indicated a want of common activity and precaution. The failure of the entire project was, however, mainly owing to the unsteadiness of the Native troops of Major Ludlow's division, and that may in a great degree be ascribed to a deficiency of European officers.<sup>2</sup> This repulse, also,

<sup>1</sup> Three officers were killed—Lieutenant Thackeray, and Ensigns Wilson and Stalkart; five were wounded. Of the men, seventy were killed, two hundred and twenty-eight wounded; forty of the light company of the 26th and a Subahdar were taken, but were released by Ranjor Sing on condition of not serving again during the war.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep says, the disasters of the day were owing solely to the irretrievable error of Major Ludlow, in allowing himself to attempt the stockade before he had formed his men and secured the post he was intended to occupy. He admits, however, that Jamta might have been held if the force had been adequately officered. i. 103. Mr. Fraser and General Martindell, in his report, affirm that the officer in command did all in his power to restrain the impetuosity of the men and prevent their rushing against the stockade in advance. Both Prinsep and Fraser intimate that Richards might have been reinforced, and that he would then have been able to maintain the advantageous position he had gained. According to General Martindell's report, Major Ludlow was to have been accompanied by some artillery for the purpose of throwing shot and



had a most mischievous effect upon the progress of the campaign, as General Martindell did not think himself competent to resume offensive measures until he was reinforced; and military operations in this quarter were consequently arrested.

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The campaign further to the west, where General Ochterlony was opposed by the most celebrated of the Gorkha leaders, Amar Sing Thapa, although not unchequered by disaster, was unsullied by disgrace, and was equally honourable to both the combatants. The scene of action was a rugged country, inclosed in the angle which is traced by the Setlej river, where it turns abruptly from a westerly to a southerly course. From the left bank of the southern arm of the stream rises a succession of lofty mountains, which run in an oblique direction towards the south-east, and are separated into nearly parallel ranges by rivers, which, springing from their summits, work themselves a passage at their base into the bed of the Setlej. On three of the ranges the Gorkha general had constructed the forts of Nalagerh, Ramgerh, and Malaun,—stone structures, the approaches to which, sufficiently arduous by the steepness and irregularity of the hills, were rendered still more difficult by strong timber stockades. Beyond the third range, and upon the bank of the Setlej, stood Bilaspur, the capital of the Bilaspur Raja, who remained faithful to the Gorkha cause, and kept Amar Sing well supplied with both provisions and

shells into the stockade; but the guns as well as the spare ammunition were left behind, not being ready to move with the detachment. "Had I known this," he adds, "I should have certainly countermanded the march."—Nepal Papers, 504. It was fortunate that the guns were not carried up the hill, to have served as trophies to the victors.



BOOK II. men. On this side of the mountains lay the petty  
 CHAP. I. Ráj of Hindur, and its capital Palási. The Raja  
 1814. of Hindur was the hereditary enemy of the Raja  
 of Bilaspur, and had suffered much oppression from  
 the Nepalese. He, therefore, became the willing ally  
 of the British, and rendered them valuable service.  
 North-east from Malaun, about thirty miles, was si-  
 tuated the town of Arki, the head-quarters of Amar  
 Sing.

General Ochterlony's division ascended the hills  
 at the end of October, and on the 2nd of November  
 arrived before the first and lowest of the mountain  
 ridges occupied by the Gorkhas. Here stood the  
 fort of Nalagerh, with the outwork of Taragerh,  
 higher up the hill, commanding the entrance into  
 the mountains. The posts were inconsiderable,  
 both as to extent and strength, and were not nume-  
 rously garrisoned. With much labour the guns  
 were raised to an elevation whence they could be  
 brought to play effectively upon the walls of the  
 fort; and, by the 4th, batteries were opened, which  
 did such execution, that, on the 6th, the garrison,  
 despairing of successful resistance, surrendered.  
 Taragerh was at the same time given up.<sup>1</sup>

From the summit of the pass of Nalagerh, but  
 towering far above it, rising to an elevation of four  
 thousand six hundred feet above the sea, appeared  
 the mountain on which the fort of Ramgerh was  
 situated. As soon as Amar Sing was apprised of  
 General Ochterlony's advance, he had marched  
 thither, from Arki, with a force of about three  
 thousand regular troops, and had encamped on the

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 452.

ridge. The Gorkha right rested upon the fort; the left about two miles distant, upon a strongly stockaded hill; and stockades protected the intervals along their front. After a careful examination of the position of the Gorkhas, it appeared to the cautious and experienced judgment of the British commander that the nature of the ground precluded an attack in front; and, having received information that the northern face of the range was less broken and precipitous, he resolved to turn the left of the enemy, and assail their position from the rear. He, therefore, moved to the heights of Nahar, an eminence seven miles north-east from Ramgerh, commanding a complete view of the Gorkha lines. As this seemed to be the most assailable point of their defences, General Ochterlony determined to erect batteries against it. A road over the hills for the conveyance of the heavy ordnance from Nalagerh was constructed with great labour; in accomplishing which, twenty days were consumed. When the battery opened, it was found to be too distant to fire with effect, and a position more within the range of the guns was therefore to be sought for. A small party under the engineer officer, Lieutenant Lawtie, sent to explore the ground nearer to the stockade, had selected an elevation fit for their purpose, and were on their return to camp, when they were surrounded by a numerous body of Gorkhas, by whom their movements had been observed, and who came down in great strength to intercept their retreat. Availing themselves of a small stone enclosure, the party defended themselves with steady resolution until

BOOK II.  
CHAP. I.

1814.

BOOK II. the failure of their ammunition compelled them to  
CHAP. I. give way: some reinforcements, sent from the bat-

1814. tery, shared in their discomfiture; and the whole were routed with much loss before their retreat was covered by a strong detachment dispatched to their succour from the camp.<sup>1</sup> The affair was of little moment, except from its tendency to confirm the confidence, and animate the courage, of the enemy.

Notwithstanding the check thus sustained, General Ochterlony persisted in his plan of carrying the stockaded works of Ramgerh, when news of the second repulse at Kalanga arrived; and anticipating the moral effects of this disaster, both upon his own troops and those of his antagonist, he considered it prudent to suspend offensive operations until his

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Williams commanding the reinforcement was killed; seventy Sipahis were killed and wounded.—Nepal Papers. Prinsep says the whole party was surrounded, and obliged to cut their way through the enemy.—Transactions, &c., i. 107. According to Fraser, the chief cause of the disaster was the defective construction of the cartouch-boxes, by which they could not be turned so as to render the cartridges in the under part of the box available when those in the upper part were expended. A cessation of the firing being thus caused, the Gorkhas rushed in and put the Sipahis to the rout.—Tour in the Himalayas, 18. The author of Military Sketches of the Gorkha War, an eyewitness, attributes the defeat to the misconduct of the troops. According to him, the party, having reached a neighbouring eminence without molestation, came suddenly upon a breastwork, from which a heavy fire was opened upon them. The men, in obedience to the commands of their officer, rushed forward and dislodged the Gorkhas with great gallantry; but when the latter were reinforced, and “came back in superior numbers, the Sipahis could not be prevented from wasting their ammunition by keeping up a useless fire. The upper layer of their cartridges being expended, some voices called out for a retreat, alleging that they would not have time to turn their boxes. The place appeared tenable with the bayonet; the Gorkhas were, however, now at hand, and arguments, threats, and entreaties proved equally vain; our men broke in confusion, and turned their backs; the enemy, plunging among the fugitives, cut to pieces all whom their swords could reach. At this time a small reinforcement, all that could be spared from the battery, was ascending the hill, under Lieutenant Williams of the 3rd N. I. It appeared the intention of that young officer to throw his party between Lawtie’s and their pursuers, but he had the mortification to see his Seapoys turn about and join the flight, just before he perished himself.”—Sketches, &c., p. 9.



strength should preclude the possibility of failure. He therefore applied for reinforcements, and, while awaiting their arrival, employed himself in extending his information, and improving his means of offence. The mountain countries forming the first steps of the Himalaya range, had hitherto been unvisited by Europeans; and scenes, destined at no remote period to become their peaceable and familiar haunts, were now for the first time to be explored by them for the purposes of war. It was of indispensable necessity to ascertain the topography of the adjacent regions, the base on which the movements of the Gorkha general rested, the sources whence his supplies were drawn, and the expedients by which the latter might be cut off. Roads were also to be made practicable for artillery, as well as for troops; and something like organisation was to be given to the irregular levies of the adherents to the British cause. In these occupations a month was advantageously spent; when, the force being joined by the 2nd battalion of the 7th N. I., with a train of field artillery, and by a Sikh levy, General Ochterlony immediately resumed active operations. On the day following their junction, Colonel Thompson was dispatched to prosecute the plan of spreading along the enemy's rear, and intercepting his communications with Arki and Bilaspur, by occupying the Dibu hills, a low range on the north-east of Ramgerh. A lodgement was effected; the consequences of which being distinctly comprehended by the Gorkha general, he made a desperate but a fruitless effort to drive the detachment from its new position.

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27 Dec.



BOOK II. The division was attacked at dawn of the 28th with  
CHAP. I.  
1814. so much impetuosity, that some of the enemy forced their way into the camp. The difficulties of the ground, however, impeded their concentration; and the resolution with which the attack was received, completed their discomfiture. They returned to their position in connection with the fort of Ramgerh, but changed their front so as to oppose the British, now upon their north; their right, as before, resting upon the fort. On the other hand, General Ochterlony, leaving a division under Brigadier Arnold to watch the enemy's movements, marched in a direction which was to place him on the north of the last range of hills between Malaun and the Setlej. On the 6th of January he ascended the bed of the Gambhira river, and, crossing the mountains on which Malaun was situated, took post at Battoh, on the north bank of another mountain stream, the Gamrora, nearly opposite to the centre of the range, sending forward two thousand Hinduris under Captain Ross to occupy the heights above Bilaspur. This movement effected his object. Amar Sing, alarmed for the security of the communications upon which his being able to maintain his mountain posts depended, withdrew his main body from Ramgerh, and, leaving a garrison in the fort, concentrated his force on the ridge of Malaun. Colonel Arnold, in consequence of his retreat, moved round the opposite extremity of the ridge to co-operate with General Ochterlony on its northern base; and after marching through a very rough country, in which he was further delayed by a heavy fall of snow, he turned the north-west-

ern extremity of the line, and there received the submission of the Government of Bilaspur, as well as possession of the fort of Ratangerh, divided only by a deep and extensive hollow from Malaun. A detachment, under Lieut.-Colonel Cooper, dislodged the Gorkhas from Ramgerh and other posts which they had continued to hold to the south, and then advanced to co-operate with the main body. These subsidiary movements, with the state of the country, and the severity of the season, prevented the completion of the investment of Malaun until the 1st of April. In the mean time, the armies acting at the eastern extremity of the line of operations had been engaged with the enemy, but had made little progress towards accomplishing the objects of the campaign.

BOOK II.  
CHAP. I.

1814.

1815.

## CHAPTER II.

*Operations of the Third Division. — March from Gorakhpur. — Stockade of Jitpur, — attacked, — attack repulsed. — General Wood falls back, — remains on the defensive. — Frontier harassed on both sides. — Return of force to cantonments. — Operations of the Fourth Division. — Advanced detachment under Major Bradshaw. — Gorkha posts surprised. — Parsuram Thapa killed. — Tirai conquered. — March of main body delayed. — Outposts at Samanpur and Parsa, — surprised by the Gorkhas, — great alarm among the troops. — General Marley retreats, —*

*reinforced,—leaves his camp.—General G. Wood appointed to the command.—Defeat of a Gorkha detachment.—Gorkhas abandon the Tirai.—Division broken up,—troops cantoned on the frontier.—Success of Major Latter's detachment.—Alliance with the Raja of Sikim.—Invasion of Kamaon.—Colonel Gardner's success.—Captain Hearsay defeated and taken.—Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolls sent to Kamaon.—Gorkhas under Hasti-dal defeated.—Stockaded hill of Sitauli carried.—Almora surrendered.—Kamaon and Gerwhal ceded.—Fort of Jytak blockaded.—Operations against Malaun.—Positions of Ryla and Deothal carried,—the latter strengthened,—attacked by Amar Sing.—Valour of the Gorkhas,—their repulse.—Bhakti Sing Thapa killed.—Garrison evacuate Malaun.—Amar Sing capitulates.—The country west of the Jumna ceded to the British.—Negotiations for peace,—conditions imposed.—Delays of the Gorkha Envoys.—Insincerity of the Court.—Hostilities renewed.—General Ochterlony commands.—Operations.—Churia-ghati pass ascended.—Action of Makwanpur.—Nepal Envoys arrive.—Peace concluded,—conditions.—Objections to the War,—to the mode of carrying it on,—considered.—Votes of thanks.—Results of the War.*

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THE third division of the British forces, commanded by Major-General J. S. Wood, was assembled at Gorakhpur early in November, but was not ready to take the field before the middle of December. The destination of the division was the district of Palpa, lying beyond Bhotwal, and acces-

sible by a difficult mountain pass. Being informed that the pass was strongly stockaded, but that it might be turned by a different route, General Wood marched on the 3d of January to reconnoitre the stockade of Jitpur, which was situated at the foot of the Majkote hills, one mile west of Bhotwal, which it would be necessary to carry. Detaching Major Comyn with seven companies to turn the left flank of the position, the General himself proceeded with twenty-one companies to attack it in front and on the right. The latter detachment had expected, on clearing a wood through which lay their march, to come out upon an open plain at some distance from the stockade; but the information was either erroneous or deceptive, as the General, with his staff and part of the advance, found themselves, upon emerging from the thicket, unexpectedly within fifty paces of the defences. A heavy and galling fire was at once opened upon them, which was followed by a sortie of the garrison. The arrival of the head of the column preserved them from destruction, and the Gorkhas were driven back. The main body then attacked the works in front, while one company of H. M.'s 17th, under Captain Croker, carried a hill to the right which commanded the enemy's stockade. Major Comyn meanwhile effected a passage between the stockade and Bhotwal, and approached the eminence on which the latter was situated. There appeared to be every reasonable probability of success, when General Wood, apprehensive that it would be impossible to drive the Gorkhas from the thickets at the back of the stockade, the possession of which rendered the

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CHAP. II. sidered a fruitless waste of lives, by commanding

1815. a retreat.<sup>1</sup> Nor did his distrust of his chances of success here terminate. Conceiving his force to be inadequate to offensive operations, he confined his measures to arrangements for the defence of the frontier, concentrating his force at Lautan, covering the road to Gorakhpur. The border line was, however, too extensive and too vulnerable to be thus protected; and the Gorkhas penetrated repeatedly at various points, inflicting serious injury, and spreading alarm throughout the whole tract. As the division moved to repress incursions in one direction, they took place in another. The town of Nichoul was burnt to ashes, and at one time Gorakhpur was scarcely considered to be safe. Reinforcements were supplied, but no better plan could be devised for counteracting the irruptions of the enemy than the retributive destruction of the crops in the low-lands belonging to them, and the removal of the population of the British territory to a greater distance from the hills.

After harassing his troops by unavailing marches against an enemy whose activity eluded pursuit, and retaliating upon the Gorkhas by wasting their fields and burning their villages, General Wood was compelled by the injunctions of the Commander-in-chief to undertake a forward movement, and attempt the occupation of the town of Bhotwal. Having advanced to that place in the middle of April, he made some ineffectual demonstrations against it, and then returned to the plains. As exposure to the

<sup>1</sup> In this affair several officers were wounded, of whom Lieutenant Morrison, of the Engineers, died of his wounds.

insalubrity of the climate had begun to affect the health of the troops, they were withdrawn in the beginning of May into cantonments at Gorakhpur.

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The chief reliance of Lord Moira for the success of the entire plan of the campaign rested upon the division which was to be directed against the Gorkha capital. The troops were assembled at Dinapore, and commenced their march towards Bettia on the 23d of November. A local corps, the Ramgerh battalion, had been previously detached under Major Roughsedge, to join Major Bradshaw, commanding on the frontier of Saran. Thus reinforced, Major Bradshaw proceeded to clear the frontier forests of the Gorkha posts. He moved on the night of the 24th of November, with three companies of the 15th N.I., two companies of the Champaran light infantry, and a troop of Gardner's irregular horse, to Barharwa, a plain on the west bank of the Bhagmati river, where Parsuram Thapa, the governor of the district, was encamped with four hundred men. The surprise was complete ; and, although the Nepalese behaved with their usual intrepidity, they were entirely routed. Their commander was killed, with fifty of his men, and many were drowned in the Bhagmati. One officer, Lieutenant Boileau, commanding the Commissioners' escort, was wounded in a personal encounter with a Gorkha chief, who fell by his hand. Detachments under Captain Hay and Lieutenant Smith took possession of the posts of Baragerhi and Parsa, in advance of Barharwa, without opposition, and the tract known as the Tirai was occupied, and annexed by proclamation to the British territories.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 307.

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The main army arrived at Pachraota on the frontier on the 12th of December, and the remainder of the month was spent in preliminary arrangements for ascending the hills, and in waiting for the junction of the battering-train; a delay which was contrary to the tenor of General Marley's instructions, as it was intended that he should leave the guns in the rear until he had established a solid footing in advance. This suspension of operations allowed the Gorkhas time to recover from the alarm which had been spread among them by the defeat and death of Parsuram Thapa; and they were emboldened to undertake an enterprise, the successful execution of which had a material influence in paralysing the movements of the division, and frustrating the purposes of its equipment.

With a view to preserve the occupation of the Tirai until the arrival of the main body, Major Bradshaw had stationed Captain Hay, with the head-quarters of the Champaran light infantry, at Baragerhi; Captain Blackney, with the left wing of the second battalion of the 22nd light infantry, at Samanpur, about twenty miles on his right; and Captain Sibley, with about five hundred men, at Parsa, about as many miles on Captain Hay's left. General Marley encamped near Lautan, two miles west of Baragerhi. The outposts at Samanpur and Parsa were unsupported, and no precautions were taken to secure either position by temporary defences, although they were situated in the immediate proximity of the enemy, who, as the month advanced, began to exhibit signs of increasing activity. This negligence, originating in an undue contempt

of the Gorkha detachments, was signally punished. Both posts were attacked by the Gorkhas in force on the 1st of January. Captain Blackney was taken completely by surprise, and, with his second in command, was slain at the first onset. The tents were set on fire, and the troops were killed or dispersed, with the exception of a few, who were kept together by Lieut. Strettell, and conducted to Gorasahan. At Parsa, Capt. Sibley had suspected an approaching attack, and applied for reinforcements. Four companies of the 15th N.I. were consequently detached on the evening of the 31st, but they arrived only in time to cover the retreat of the fugitives. That any of the party effected their escape was owing to the Gorkhas having been engaged in plundering the tents, as the camp had been surrounded before day-break by an overpowering force. Capt. Sibley and more than half his detachment were killed, and the whole of the stores and magazines were in possession of the enemy. The result of these two affairs seems to have struck the men and their commander with unreasonable panic. Desertions were numerous; doubts were felt if much dependance could be placed on those who stood by their colours; and General Marley, impressed with the opinion that the Gorkhas were both so numerous and so daring, that, in place of advancing against them, it would be difficult to maintain a defensive attitude and protect the borders, made a retrograde movement to the westward, in order to guard the dépôt at Bettia, and provide for the security of the Saran frontier, leaving a strong division with Major Roughsedge at Baragerhi. The same feeling of alarm infected the

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BOOK II. authorities of Gorakhpur and Tirhut; and the ap-  
 CHAP. II. proach of a Gorkha army, of irresistible strength  
 1815. and valour, was universally apprehended. The  
 Gorkhas, however, were neither sufficiently numer-  
 ous, nor sufficiently well apprised of the pusillanimity  
 of their opponents, to follow up and improve their  
 success; although they recovered the whole of the  
 Tirai, with the exception of the country immediately  
 protected by the military posts, and made various  
 predatory and destructive incursions into the British  
 territories.

Great exertions were made to add to the strength  
 of General Marley's division; and reinforcements of  
 troops and artillery, the former comprising his Ma-  
 jesty's 17th and 14th regiments, were immediately  
 dispatched to the frontier, raising the amount of the  
 division to thirteen thousand men, a force more than  
 adequate to encounter the whole Gorkha army, even  
 if its numbers had approximated to the exaggerated  
 estimates to which they had been raised by vague  
 report and loose computation.<sup>1</sup> The General, never-  
 theless, hesitated to move; and, after spending the  
 month of January in mischievous indecision, sud-  
 denly quitted his camp.<sup>2</sup> Colonel Dick assumed  
 temporary command, until the arrival of Major-  
 General George Wood, towards the end of February.

<sup>1</sup> The Gorkhas were calculated by General Marley to be twelve thou-  
 sand or even eighteen thousand strong.—Nepal Papers, 540. The real  
 number seems to have been seven or eight thousand, of which the greater  
 part were new and ill-armed militia. The whole regular force of the  
 Gorkhas was computed, upon authentic information, not to exceed twelve  
 thousand, of which one-half at least was in the Western provinces.—Lord  
 Moira's Narrative; Nepal Papers, 724.

<sup>2</sup> He left in a rather singular manner. "He set off before daylight  
 in the morning, without publishing any notification of his intention to the  
 troops, and without taking any means of providing for the conduct of the

On the 20th of that month a smart affair with the enemy took place, which redeemed the character and revived the spirit of the Native troops. Lieut. Pickersgill, while surveying, and attended by a small escort, came unexpectedly upon a party of four hundred Gorkhas. By skilful manœuvring he drew them from the cover of the forest towards the camp, from whence, as soon as the firing was heard, a troop of one hundred irregular horse was dispatched to his succour, while Colonel Dick followed with all the picquets. Before the infantry could come up, the cavalry, joined by a number of mounted officers, charged the Gorkha detachment, when the commander, a chief of some note, and a hundred of his men, were killed; fifty were taken, and the rest fled across a rivulet, in which many were drowned. The action struck so much terror into the Nepalese, that they hastily fell back from their forward positions, and again abandoned the Tirai. The road to Makwanpur was now open. A month remained for military operations before the unhealthy season commenced, the army was reinforced with European troops and artillery, and the confidence of the Native soldiery was beginning to revive. General Wood, however affected by the same spirit of caution and procrastination which had retarded the operations of his predecessor, and entertaining similar notions of the difficulties opposed to offensive movements, pleaded the advanced season of the year as an

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ordinary routine of command."—Prinsep, i. 129. He was, no doubt, influenced by the unqualified disapprobation expressed by Lord Moira; first, of his unnecessary delay for his battering-train; and next, of his neglect in leaving distant and exposed outposts without support or reinforcements.—Lord Moira's Narrative; Nepal Papers, 745.

BOOK II. excuse for confining his operations to the plains;  
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1815. and after a march to Janakpur, on the Tirhut frontier, and back, by which it was ascertained that the Gorkhas had entirely evacuated the low-lands, the army was broken up and distributed in cantonments, in convenient situations along the borders, from the Gandak river to the Kusi.<sup>1</sup>

While the two divisions in Gorakhpur and Saran disappointed the calculations upon which they had been organised, the smaller body, under Major Latter, in the same direction, had surpassed expectation, and accomplished more than it was destined to attempt. Not only had the boundary east of the Kusi river been protected from insult, but the Gorkhas had been driven from all their positions: occupation had been taken of the province of Morang, and an alliance had been formed with a hill chief, the Raja of Sikim, a small state east of Nepal; which, while it rescued him from the risk of being crushed by his ambitious neighbour, gave the British a useful confederate, and additional means of acting upon the resources of the enemy.<sup>2</sup>

Another element in the plan of the campaign, intended to take but a subordinate and contingent share, was equally attended with success, and was productive of highly important consequences. The province of Kamaon, forming the central part of

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 560. As Captain Sutherland observes, "the results of the first campaign must have confounded the calculations of the noble Marquis and every one else. That portion of the army with which it was meant to make an impression on the enemy in the seat of his power remained inactive, whilst the skirmishes on the left flank, which could have been only intended to produce a diversion, succeeded to an extent that shook the Gorkha on his throne." *Pol. Relations*, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Nepal Papers, 560.



the Gorkha conquests, was under the authority of a chief, Chautra Bam Sah, who was known to be dis-affected to the ruling dynasty of Nepal; while the people of Kamaon, and the adjacent province of Gerhwal, who had been subject to the Raja of Srinagar, but had been alienated by his tyrannical conduct, and had consequently facilitated the Gorkha invasion, were now as hostile to their new and not less oppressive rulers, and were anxious to transfer their allegiance to the British. No serious obstacles were thought likely, therefore, to impede the British possession of the country, and its occupation was strongly recommended by its central situation. The want of a disposable force delayed for some time any attempt to enter the district, and it was at length determined to commence operations with a body of irregulars, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, an officer of merit, who had risen to notice and distinction in the service of the Raja of Jaypur. On the 15th of February, Colonel Gardner ascended the hills; the Gorkhas fell back, occasionally skirmishing with the detachment, but offering no resolute resistance. The gallant bearing of the irregulars, consisting chiefly of natives of Rohilkhand, and the judicious dispositions of their leader, dislodged the enemy from every position, until they had concentrated their force upon the ridge on which stands the town of Almora.

During the advance of Colonel Gardner, another body of irregular troops, commanded by Captain Hearsay, entered the province by the Timli pass, near the Gagra river, in order to create a diversion

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BOOK II. in Colonel Gardner's favour, and prevent Gorkha  
CHAP. II. reinforcements from crossing the river. This move-

1815. ment, also, was at first successful. Captain Hearsay took possession of the chief town of the district, and laid siege to a hill-fort in its vicinity: here, however, he was attacked by Hasti Dal Chautra, the Gorkha commander of the adjoining district of Duti, and was defeated and taken prisoner. He was conducted to Almora, to which the Gorkhas repaired to assist in its defence.

The importance of securing and extending the advantages obtained in Kamaon determined the Governor-General to send a regular force into that quarter; and Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolls, of his Majesty's 14th regiment, was dispatched thither to take the command, with three battalions of Native infantry and a proportion of field artillery.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Nicolls joined the troops before Almora on the 8th of April. The Gorkhas were nothing daunted by his arrival; and, whatever inclination Bam Sah had originally manifested to join the invaders, no indication of any disposition to surrender the fortress entrusted to his charge was exhibited: he had been taught, no doubt, by the little progress which the British arms had yet made, to question the probability of their ultimate triumph, and to adhere to the safer path of fidelity to his sovereign. Almora was resolutely defended, and measures were taken to render the position of the besiegers untenable. On the 21st, Hasti Dal marched from Almora to occupy a mountain pass on the north of the British

<sup>1</sup> The 2nd battalion of the 14th, 2nd of the 5th, flank battalion from the Dún; four 6-pounders, two 12-pounders, and four mortars.

camp. He was immediately followed by Major Paton, with five companies of the 2nd battalion of the 5th, as many companies of the light battalion, and a company of irregulars: the enemy were overtaken on the evening of the 22nd of April, and, after a spirited action, put to flight with the loss of their commander. No time was suffered to efface the effects of this discomfiture. On the 25th a general attack was made on the stockaded defences of the hill of Sitauli, in front of Almora, which were all carried after a short resistance, and the troops, following up their success, established themselves within the town: a vigorous effort was made at night by the garrison to recover possession of the posts, and, for a time, a part was regained, but the Gorkhas were finally repulsed. On the following morning the troops were advanced to within seventy yards of the fort, and mortars were opened upon the works; the effect of which was soon discernible in the desertion of great numbers of the defenders. A flag of truce was sent out by the commandant, and, after a short negotiation, the Gorkhas were allowed to retire across the Kali, with their arms and personal property; and the fort of Almora, with the provinces of Kamaon and Gerhwal, were ceded to the British. They were permanently annexed to the British territories.<sup>1</sup>

The conquest thus achieved was the first blow of importance suffered by the Government of Nepal, and intimated to it, in intelligible terms, the con-

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 570. The total loss in the Kamaon campaign was one hundred and eighty killed and wounded. The only officer killed was Lieutenant Tapley of the 27th N.I., doing duty with the flank battalion, who was shot on the night of the 26th of April.

BOOK II. sequences to be anticipated from a prolongation of  
CHAP. II. the contest. The celerity with which it was ef-  
1815. fected, although ascribable in some degree to the fa-  
vourable temper of the inhabitants, was still more to  
be attributed to the gallantry and activity of Colonel  
Gardner, and the vigour and judgment of his suc-  
cessor in the command. The moral influence of  
character in the leaders, upon the courage of the  
troops, was strikingly exemplified in this short cam-  
paign: the victory was won by Native troops alone:  
and the same men, who had in other places behaved  
with unsteadiness or cowardice, here, almost in-  
variably, displayed personal firmness and intrepidity.

While these transactions occurred upon the east-  
ern line of operations, others, of varying influence  
upon the objects of the campaign, took place in the  
west. Little progress had been made by the di-  
vision of General Martindell. This division had con-  
tinued to be encamped against the fort of Jytak, but  
no serious impression had been effected. Heavy  
ordnance had been carried up the mountain with  
prodigious labour and protracted delay; and, on the  
20th of March, a battery, having been opened upon  
the first of the stockades, levelled it, in the course  
of one day, with the ground. No attempt was  
made to advance the batteries sufficiently near to  
bear upon the remaining defences, the General  
being apprehensive that it would bring down the  
whole garrison upon his positions. He therefore  
decided to try the result of a blockade. In further-  
ance of this project, Major Richards was sent on the  
1st of April to occupy a station on the ridge east  
of the fort. He accomplished the duty assigned

him, and, pursuing his advantage, drove the Gorkhas from several stockades, until he reached the point which he judged best adapted to intercept all communication in that direction with the fort. Other advantageous stations were occupied with equal success; and Jytak would probably have been reduced by famine, had not its fall been accelerated by the brilliant results of General Ochterlony's contest with Amar Sing.

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Having reduced all the detached Gorkha posts, and confined them to the heights of Malaun, and having all his force disposable, General Ochterlony judged that the time had arrived to straiten the enemy still further by breaking through his defences, and taking such positions in the line as should cut off the communication between the two forts on which it rested, Surajgerh and Malaun. The British camp was pitched at Battoh, on the northern bank of the Gamrora, a small stream running immediately at the foot of the Malaun range. Looking southward from the encampment, the Gorkha posts were descried stretching along the summit of the mountain, having the fort of Malaun on the extreme right, that of Surajgerh on the extreme left: most of the intermediate peaks being occupied, and stockaded. The stockades were strongest in the vicinity of Malaun; and directly below the fort, on the slope of the hill, lay the Gorkha cantonments, similarly protected. On the right of Malaun, upon an eminence of somewhat less altitude, and separated from it by deep ravines, was situated the fort of Rattangerh, which had been occupied, as has been mentioned, by Colonel Arnold. The fort of Surajgerh



BOOK II. was observed by a detachment under Captain Stewart, stockaded upon a contiguous elevation. In the

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1815. course of the works upon the top of the ridge there appeared to be two assailable points : one of them, named Ryla, was unprotected, except by the posts on the adjacent peaks ; the other, termed Deothal, lying more to the right and nearer to Malaun, was defended by a stockade, but not in great strength. As the possession of these two points would separate Malaun from most of its dependent outworks, General Ochterlony determined to attempt their capture, distracting at the same time the attention of the enemy by an attack upon the cantonments.

For the occupation of Ryla, a detachment of two companies of light infantry, and a considerable body of irregulars, under Lieutenants Fleming and Grant, ascended the mountain on the night of the 14th of April, and effected a lodgement. Before they could be attacked, they were joined by a division under Captain Hamilton, and a grenadier battalion from head-quarters ; and the whole, under Major Innis, established themselves firmly in their position. At the same time, day-break of the 15th, Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, with two battalions of the 3rd N. I. and two field-pieces, left the camp for Deothal ; and Major Lawrie, with the 2nd battalion of the 7th and a body of irregulars, moved in the same direction from the village of Kali, on the right of the camp. From the latter column, a detachment under Captain Bowyer, of two hundred and sixty regular and five hundred picked irregular troops, diverged to the right towards the Gorkha cantonments, to co-operate with Captain Showers,

who was to march upon the same point from Ra-  
 tangerh, with a force of equal strength, similarly  
 composed.

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The columns under Colonel Thompson and Major Lawrie ascending the hill united about ten o'clock, and, moving briskly to Deothal, quickly carried the post. Colonel Thompson, leaving Major Lawrie at Deothal with the rest of the force, put himself at the head of the light infantry, and advanced to the right with the intention of seizing a stockade within battering distance of the fort of Malaun. The Gorkhas, lurking behind rocks and bushes, kept up an annoying fire upon the column, but failed to arrest its progress until it had neared the stockade, when a small but resolute body of the enemy rushed suddenly from their lurking-places among the leading files, and, attacking them with their heavy swords, cut down many, and filled the rest with so much terror, that, in spite of the exertions of their officers, they fell back in confusion to the point they had recently quitted. Fortunately, the men left with Major Lawrie stood firm; and, the foremost of the pursuers falling under their fire, the pursuit was checked, and the fugitives were rallied. The Gorkhas then retired: defences were immediately thrown up, and this post also was secured.

The attack upon the cantonments, although it completely answered the object for which it was undertaken, and, by the powerful diversion which it created, materially facilitated the occupation of Ryla and Deothal, was repulsed by the Gorkhas with some loss both of life and credit to the assailants. The division under Captain Showers had

BOOK II. nearly reached the Gorkha stockades when it was  
CHAP. II. encountered by the enemy, whose resolute charge  
1815. shook the steadiness of the men. The officer commanding the hostile party being in advance, Captain Showers hastened to meet him; and a single combat took place, in which the Gorkha champion fell. His troops immediately fired a volley, by which Captain Showers was killed: his detachment fled in irrecoverable confusion, and were followed by the victors, who destroyed all whom they overtook, until they were checked by a party under Lieutenant Roughsedge, which had been sent by Colonel Arnold from Ratangerh. The fugitives also rallied, and the Gorkhas were compelled to retrace their steps up the hill. The party under Captain Bowyer met with better fortune. He had made some way towards his destination, and taken up a position in the village of Malaun, before he was attacked by the Gorkhas. The irregulars fled upon the approach of the enemy, but the regular troops were steady, and made good their footing: but, observing the discomfiture of the detachment which was to have joined him, Captain Bowyer confined himself to a defensive attitude until the evening, when he was withdrawn; no further benefit being attainable from his advance.

As the British position at Deothal was not likely to be long held with impunity, great exertions were made during the 15th to render it as strong as possible: reinforcements were dispatched; defences of the nature of a stockade, as strong as circumstances permitted, were constructed; and two field-pieces were sent up, and planted in the embrasures. On



the other hand, Amar Sing, anticipating the fall of Malaun from so near an approach of the British, resolved to make a desperate attempt to drive them down the mountain again; and for this purpose placed his whole force under the command of Bhakti Sing Thapa, the commandant of Surajgerh, a leader of known intrepidity, whilst he supported the attack in person. At day-break on the 16th, the Gorkhas advanced to the assault in a semicircle along the ridge and the declivity on either hand, so as to turn both flanks of the position. Bhakti Sing headed the charge; while Amar Sing with his youngest son took his station within musket-shot with the Gorkha standard, urging the backward, and animating the bold. The Gorkhas displayed the most undaunted resolution, advancing to the very muzzles of the guns, and endeavouring to strike down their opponents over their bayonets. Although repeatedly swept away by the discharge of grape from the two field-pieces which commanded the approach, they returned to the attack with such obstinacy, and kept up so close and destructive a fire upon them, that all by whom the guns were served were either killed or disabled, except three privates and as many officers, by whom alone they at last were worked.<sup>1</sup> The action had lasted two hours, when reinforcements from the post of Ryla having joined, and it being evident that the spirit of the enemy was beginning to fail, while that of the Sipahis rose with the continuance of successful resistance, Colonel Thompson commanded a charge

<sup>1</sup> The officers were Lieutenant Cartwright of the Artillery, Lieutenant Armstrong of the Pioneers, and Lieutenant Hutchinson of the Engineers.



BOOK II. with the bayonet to be made by the regular  
CHAP. II. troops, and the irregulars to fall on, sword in hand.

1815. The charge was led by Major Lawrie. The Gorkhas gave way and fled, leaving their brave commander, Bhakti Thapa, dead on the field. Amar Sing collected the fugitives, and retired into the fort.<sup>1</sup> The body of Bhakti Sing, when found, was decently wrapped in shawls, and sent to his countrymen. On the following day, two of his wives burnt themselves with his corpse in the sight of both armies.

The repulse of their attack upon the post of Deothal so completely depressed the courage of the Gorkha army, that little opposition was offered to the subsequent arrangements of General Ochterlony for the closer investment of Malaun. Most of the exterior works had fallen during the last half of April. On the 8th of May a battery of heavy guns had opened upon the principal redoubt, and preparations for storming were commenced, when the main body of the garrison quitted Malaun without arms, and gave themselves up to the nearest British post,—unable longer to endure the hardships which

<sup>1</sup> The slain of the enemy exceeded five hundred. The loss of the British was two hundred and thirteen killed and wounded: Lieutenant Bagot, of the Pioneers, died of his wounds. Although not included in the loss on this occasion, a short subsequent period deprived the army of one its most efficient officers, in the death of Lieutenant Lawtie, the field-engineer, whose public deserts were thus recorded by the Commander-in-chief: "It is painful to think that an individual, whose skill, whose judgment, and whose animated devotion materially forwarded the proud result, should not have survived to share in the triumph; but the grateful recollection of his fellow-soldiers and of Government will associate the memory of Lieutenant Lawtie with all the trophies which he so eminently contributed to raise." Lieutenant Lawtie died at the early age of twenty-four of fever, brought on by the fatigues and exposure he had undergone. The army went into mourning, and afterwards erected a monument to his memory in the Cathedral Church of Calcutta.—Nepal Papers, 581; Military Sketches of the Gorkha War, p. 33.

they suffered from the blockade, seeing no prospect of being relieved, and being unsuccessful in their endeavours to prevail on Amar Sing to surrender. As the chief with a few of his adherents still maintained a show of resistance, guns were opened on the 10th of May upon the fort, and their fire continued during the day. On the following morning Amar Sing sent his son to intimate his father's desire to negotiate; and a convention was finally concluded with him, by which he consented to give up all the possessions of the Gorkhas on the west of the Jumna, and to send orders for the evacuation of Gerhwal. Amar Sing with the garrison of Malaun, Ranjor Sing with part of that of Jytak, and all members of the Thapa family, were allowed to return to Nepal with their private property and military equipments. The men were left the choice of departing for Nepal, or taking service with the British; and, most of them having preferred the latter alternative, they were formed into battalions for duty in the hills, for which they were peculiarly fit.

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The discomfiture of their most distinguished officers, and the loss of their most valuable conquests, lowered the confident tone of the Government of Nepal, and induced it to sue for peace. Bam Sah Chautra was authorised to communicate with the British Commissioner in Kamaon; and Gaj Raj Misr, the spiritual teacher or Guru of the late Raja, was summoned from his retirement at Benares, and sent as a more formal envoy to treat with Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, who had been empowered by the Governor-General to conclude a pacification on prescribed conditions. These were, 1, the relinquish-

BOOK II. ment of all claims on the hill Rajas<sup>1</sup> west of the  
 CHAP. II. Kali river; 2, the cession of the whole of the Tirai,  
 1815. or low-lands, at the foot of the hills along the  
 Gorkha frontier; 3, the restoration to the Sikim  
 Raja of all territory wrested from him, with the  
 cession of two stockaded forts, and, 4, the admission  
 of a Resident at Khatmandu. The first and third  
 conditions were submitted to, and the mission of a  
 Resident reluctantly acquiesced in; but the ces-  
 sion of the Tirai was a demand which the Court of  
 Nepal pertinaciously resisted.

The Tirai, or low-lands of Nepal, extends from the Tista river on the east, to the Ganges on the west. It forms a grassy plain at the foot of the hills, which are fringed by a belt of forest, and divided into various irregular portions by the numerous and large rivers which cross it, from north to south, on their way from the mountains to the main stream of the Ganges. It is in general not above twenty miles in breadth, but is, with local intervals, above five hundred in length. From the copiousness of its natural irrigation, the soil is peculiarly fertile, is clothed throughout the year with a rich carpet of verdure, and, where cultivated, is productive of abundant crops of rice: and although from the same cause it is at different seasons of the year especially insalubrious, yet during the healthy months much cultivation is carried on, and grain is raised for exportation;<sup>2</sup> while spots least favourable for agriculture afford a coarse but

<sup>1</sup> They were the Rajas of Kahlur, Hindur, Sirmor, Bisahar, Keonthal, Bagul, Jubal, and Gerhwal.—Prinsep, 177.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton's (Buchanan) Account of Nepal.



exuberant pasture for the herds and flocks from the adjacent hills. From these circumstances the Tirai yielded a valuable revenue to the Court of Nepal, of which it could not afford to endure the deprivation; and the interests of the state were powerfully enforced by those of influential individuals, as the principal chiefs and military leaders derived their subsistence mainly from Jagirs situated in this quarter.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, an exaggerated opinion of the productiveness of the Tirai rendered the British Government equally anxious to retain it in their possession, as the only source whence any compensation for the charges of the war could be expected. It was also considered desirable to hold it, in order to preclude the repetition of those border quarrels in which the recent hostilities had originated.

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The negotiations, which began in May, were protracted through the rainy season, when military operations were necessarily suspended. The Court of Nepal appeared disposed to concede the points demanded, and letters from the Raja and the Regent gave to the Nepal Commissioners full authority to conclude the negociation.<sup>2</sup> Although nothing was

<sup>1</sup> It was stated by the Gorkha chiefs to Mr. Gardner, the British Commissioner in Kamaon, that most of the military leaders and their followers derived their support from lands in the Tirai; that the Raja's household expenses were defrayed from the same source; and that of twenty lakhs of rupees a-year, the revenue of Nepal, Tirai alone yielded ten lakhs.—Nepal Papers, 776 and 810.

<sup>2</sup> The letter from the Raja was thus expressed: "The country of Kamaon on the west, and the Tirai, have been conquered by the British Government. With regard to those conquests, whatever may be the result of these negotiations will be approved by me. Do not entertain any doubt on this head, but pursue the course which shall establish friendship between the two states." And Bhim Sen, while he notices that there is a party opposed to the peace, adds, that whatever the Commissioners should do or say, he would advocate the same with the Raja, and obtain his confirmation.—MS. Records.



BOOK II. definitively settled, the Government of Bengal, under an impression that the Nepal Government was

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sincere, professed a willingness to make some modifications of the original plan : the low-lands from the Kali to the Gandak were insisted on ; but from the Gandak to the Kusi, along the frontiers of Saran and Tirhut, only those portions were to be retained into which the British authority had been already introduced. The district of Morang, between the Kusi and the Michi, was to be given up, leaving a narrow tract east of the Michi, between it and the Tista, to preserve a communication with Sikim. Pensions to the annual extent of two lakhs of rupees were offered as an indemnification to the chiefs who had Jagirs in the districts which were to be separated from Nepal.<sup>1</sup> These terms were made known to the Court of Khatmandu in the early part of September, but no answer was received until the 29th of October, when the commutation of the proposed pensions for further portions of the Tirai was stipulated for. This was declared by Lieut.-Colonel Bradshaw to be inadmissible, and the negociation to be at an end ; but the Commissioners solicited for a delay of a few days, until a reference could be made to the Court. The delay was granted, but the answer was delayed beyond the time proposed, and, when it did arrive, was unsatisfactory. The Commissioners then proposed to repair themselves to Khatmandu, engaging to return in twelve days with a definitive reply. They accordingly departed, and rejoined the British Agent at Sigauli on the 28th instant, bringing with them authority to ter-

<sup>1</sup> Draft of Treaty, Nepal Papers, 835.

minate the negotiation on the basis proposed. On the 2nd of December the treaty was duly executed; the Commissioners promising that its ratification under the red seal, the signet of the Raja of Nepal, should be delivered in fifteen days. The treaty was ratified by the Governor-General in council on the 9th December, but the promised ratification from Khatmandu failed to make its appearance; and in its stead a private agent from the Regent apprised the Gorkha Commissioners that the war-party, headed by Amar Sing Thapa, prevailed in the councils of Nepal.<sup>1</sup> Another effort was made to procure the ratification of the treaty, and hopes were held out, authorised by the instructions of the Governor-General, that, if it were agreed to, its execution would not be rigorously enforced.<sup>2</sup> The emissary of the Regent returned to Khatmandu, but no further communication was received; and on the 28th of December the two negotiators set out also for the Gorkha capital. It could no longer be doubted, that, although the Court of Nepal had at first been inclined to purchase peace on any conditions, its courage had been reanimated by the chiefs who had returned to the capital from the west, and that its policy was now to defer the definitive conclusion of the treaty until the season should be too far ad-

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<sup>1</sup> Although apparently averse to the beginning of the war, Amar Sing was unwilling to purchase peace by ignominious concessions. A very remarkable and characteristic letter from him to the Raja was intercepted, and is given in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> It had been, in fact, determined to give up the lands of Bhotwal and Sheoraj, the whole cause of the war. Their cession Lord Moira considered indispensable to the satisfaction and honour of the British Government; but, this object being effected, the lands themselves were not worth keeping.—Nepal Papers, 840.

BOOK II. vanced for hostilities to be resumed with effect, and  
 CHAP. II. the losses and expenses of an unprofitable campaign  
 1815. should induce the British Government to relax in  
 its demands.

As soon as the purpose of the Gorkha Government was detected, active preparations were set on foot for a vigorous renewal of hostilities. Upon the abandonment of the provinces west of the Kali by the Gorkhas, the regular troops employed in that quarter had been marched to their stations, with the exception of small garrisons in the principal forts, and the irregulars had been dismissed, except the Gorkha battalions, to whom principally the defence of the conquered provinces was entrusted. The Gorakhpur and Saran divisions had, however, been held in readiness on the frontier, or at Dinapore, in anticipation of the possibility of a second campaign; and they were quickly collected under Major-General Sir David Ochterlony,<sup>1</sup> who was invested with the chief political as well as military authority. The Gorkhas, on their part, strongly fortified the passes by which an army might penetrate into the hills, on the route towards Makwanpur, and the valley of Nepal.

By the beginning of February Sir David Ochterlony had taken the field with a force of nearly seventeen thousand men, including three King's regiments. This he disposed in four brigades,<sup>2</sup> severally com-

<sup>1</sup> General Ochterlony had been created a Baronet after the surrender of Malaun; he had previously been gazetted a Knight Commander of the Bath. All the field-officers serving at Malaun were made Companions of the Bath.

<sup>2</sup> They were composed as follows: 1st brigade of his Majesty's 24th, 1st battalion 18th N.I., divisions of the 2nd battalion and the Champaran L.I.; 2nd brigade of his Majesty's 66th, 5th and 8th grenadier battalions N.I.; 1st battalion of the 8th and 2nd of the 18th; 3rd brigade of his



manded by Colonel Kelly, of his Majesty's 24th ; Lieutenant-Colonel Nicoll, of the 66th ; Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, of the 87th ; and Lieutenant-Colonel Burnet, of the 8th N. I. The first was detached to the right, to penetrate by Hariharpur ; the second to the left, to enter the hills at Ramnagar ; General Ochterlony, with the other two brigades, marched on the 12th of February from Simlabasa through the forest to the foot of the Bichu-koh, or Chiria-ghati pass, formed by the bed of a mountain torrent. Whilst encamped at this place, the Gorkha Commissioners arrived from Khatmandu ; but, instead of the ratified treaty, they brought repeated demands for territorial concession, and a proposal that the pecuniary compensation should be paid to the Raja, not to his officers. As they were informed that the ratification of the treaty must precede all subordinate arrangements, they shortly left the camp.

The Chiria-ghati pass, in addition to its own difficulties, was defended by successive tiers of strong stockades, and could not have been forced by an attack in front without disproportionate loss. After some delay, another access to the mountains was discovered, and which, although difficult and dangerous, was undefended. It was, in fact, little better than a dark and deep ravine, between lofty and precipitous banks clothed with trees, whose intermingling branches over head excluded the light

Majesty's 87th, 2nd battalions of the 13th, 22nd, and 25th N. I. ; 4th brigade, 2nd battalions of the 4th, 8th, 9th, and 15th N. I., and part of the 1st battalion of the 30th, with details of artillery, pioneers, and irregular horse. Two other divisions were also formed : one at Sitapur, in Oude, under Colonel J. Nicolls, intended to enter the district of Dúti, between the Kali and Rapti rivers ; the other at Gorakhpur, under Major-General J. S. Wood, intended as a reserve.—Nepal Papers, 983.

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BOOK II. of day. The General, leaving the fourth brigade on  
 CHAP. II. the ground, and his tents standing, marched at night  
 1815. on the 14th of February, with the third brigade, and  
 wound his way slowly and laboriously up the pass,  
 almost in single file; Sir David Ochterlony marching  
 on foot at the head of the 87th regiment, leading  
 the column. After proceeding some distance, the  
 troops emerged into more open, but broken, ground,  
 whence they again entered into a water-course:  
 this led to the foot of a steep acclivity, about three  
 hundred feet high, up which the advance clambered  
 with the assistance of the projecting boughs and  
 rocks.

It was eight in the morning before the advance  
 reached the summit, and nine at night before the rear-  
 guard ascended; the day being spent in getting up  
 the remainder of the men, with a couple of field-  
 pieces. The troops marched five miles from the top  
 of the pass before they found a supply of water,  
 when the brigade halted, while the pioneers were  
 busily employed in rendering the ascent practicable  
 for laden cattle, and stores, and ammunition, which  
 was the work of three days.<sup>1</sup> On the fourth the  
 General moved to Hetaunda, on the bank of the  
 Rapti, where he was joined by the fourth brigade,  
 which had mounted the hills by the Chiria-ghati  
 pass, from the stockades of which the Gorkhas  
 retired when they found that the position had been  
 turned.

After making the arrangements necessary for se-

<sup>1</sup> Besides the official despatches, particular and graphic descriptions  
 of the ascent of the Balukola ravine are given by the author of *Military  
 Sketches of the Gorkha War*, p. 39, and by Lieutenant Shipp, a Lieu-  
 tenant of the 87th regiment.—See his *Memoirs*, ii. 63.

curing the communications in his rear, General Ochterlony advanced, on the 27th of February, to the fortified heights of Makwanpur, and encamped on a piece of level ground two miles to their south. The town and fort lay to the right of the camp : opposite to its left was the village of Sekhar-khatri, held by a strong detachment of the enemy ; but they evacuated it on the following morning, and it was immediately taken possession of by three companies of the 25th N. I. and forty men of the 87th. They were not long unmolested. At noon the Gorkhas returned in greater force, and endeavoured to recover the position ; they drove in the picquets, and fell upon the village with great impetuosity ; but the flank companies of the 87th, and the rest of the 25th, having been dispatched to reinforce the post as soon as the firing commenced, arrived in time to check the fury of the assailants. Fresh numbers of the enemy poured along the summit of the heights from Makwanpur, to the extent of, at least, two thousand men : reinforcements were also sent from the camp, of two companies of the 87th and the 12th Native corps, and, after repeated attacks, the Gorkhas were finally repulsed. Although forced to retreat, they fell back only to a neighbouring eminence, from which they kept up a galling fire, until they were dislodged by the bayonets of the 8th N. I. The action lasted from noon till five o'clock, when it became dark. The Nepalese loss was computed at five hundred : of the British, forty-five were killed, and one hundred and seventy-five wounded.<sup>1</sup> On the following day the division was

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Tirrell, of the 20th regiment, was killed in the first assault

BOOK II. joined by the first brigade under Colonel Nicoll,  
 CHAP. II. who had ascended the mountains by a pass on the  
 1815. north of Ramnagar, and marched up the valley of  
 the Rapti without encountering an enemy.

The second brigade, commanded by Colonel Kelly, succeeded in ascending the mountains to the south of the fort of Hariharpur, by a route which had not been stockaded. Finding the fort unassailable on the quarter by which he had advanced, Colonel Kelly moved round to a village on its west. The approach to the fort was protected by a strong semicircular stockade with two guns, the flanks of which rested on perpendicular rocks. This defence was, however, commanded by an eminence at a distance of about eight hundred yards, which the Gorkhas had neglected to occupy in strength, and which was therefore carried without much difficulty by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Halloran. The party was scarcely in position when it was attacked by a superior force, and an obstinate struggle ensued, which continued for five hours, when some field-pieces having been carried up decided the contest. The Gorkhas fled from their fire; and the result seems to have so disheartened the garrison, that on the following day the fort was abandoned by the commandant, Ranjor Sing Thapa, the chief who had so gallantly defended the fort of Jytak in the previous campaign.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately after the action at Sekhar-khatri, preparations were set on foot for erecting batteries

on the village.—Nepal Papers, 987. A Gorkha chief was killed in single combat by Lieutenant Shipp.—Memoirs, ii. 102; Prinsep's History, i. 199.

<sup>1</sup> Nepal Papers, 940.



against the stockades and fort of Makwanpur ; but, before they were well opened, operations were arrested by the apprehensions of the Government of Nepal. The commandant, who was the brother of the Regent, sent word to Sir David Ochterlony that he had received the ratified treaty from his court, and requested permission to send an authorised agent in charge of it to the British camp. The envoy was received accordingly on the 3rd of March ; but the treaty was not accepted without the additional stipulation, that the cession of territory exacted from Nepal should comprehend the country conquered in the actual campaign, and the valley of the Rapti. The Commissioner and the Governor of Makwanpur acceded to the conditions, and their acquiescence was confirmed by the Raja. Peace between the two states was consequently re-established.

The principal conditions of the treaty have already been adverted to ; but, in their execution, the British Resident appointed to Khatmandu, the Honourable Mr. Gardner, was authorised to commute the proposed annual pensions for restoration of a portion of the Tirai conveniently separated from the British boundary. The proposal was gladly accepted. A line of demarcation generally was agreed to, to be determined by subsequent survey ; and a considerable tract between the Michi and Gandak rivers, exclusive of a small space on the Saran frontier, but comprehending Bhotwal, was restored to the Nepalese. A treaty was at the same time concluded with the Sikim Raja, by which he was guaranteed in the possession of his territory on

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BOOK II. condition of his submitting all disputes between  
CHAP. II. him and his neighbours of Nepal to the arbitration  
1815. of the Government of Bengal, joining its troops when  
employed in the mountains, and affording protection  
and encouragement to merchants and traders from  
the Company's territories. On the west of Nepal,  
the provinces of Kamaon and Gerhwal, the valleys  
above the first range of hills, and some military  
posts were annexed to the British possessions; while  
the petty hill Rajas lying still more to the west and  
north, were mostly re-established in their principalities  
under the general stipulation of allegiance and  
subordination to the British authority. The Raja  
of Nepal died shortly after the close of hostilities,  
and was succeeded by an infant son. The regency  
continued in the hands of Bhim Sen Thapa, and the  
event occasioned no change in the relations established  
between the two Courts; which, although no  
cordiality has been manifested by the Nepal Government,  
have ever since continued undisturbed.

Thus terminated a war which presented many  
features of a novel aspect, and which in its outset  
threatened to tarnish the splendour of the British  
military character in India. The causes of dis-  
appointment rested, in some cases, with the com-  
manders of the several divisions, who, alarmed by  
discomfiture brought on by precipitation, or by  
injudicious arrangements, fell into the error of  
exaggerating the resources of the enemy, and,  
with the exception of Sir David Ochterlony, dis-  
trusted their ability to cope with the Nepalese. In  
some respects, also, the Native troops failed to main-  
tain their reputation. Unaccustomed to a country

the broken surface of which often rendered it impossible for them to observe the compact order on which they had been trained to rely for support, and startled by the unusual charge of the Gorkhas, who, like the Highlanders in North Britain, rushed, after firing their matchlocks, sword in hand, and in fierce though disorderly masses, upon the ranks of their adversaries, they exhibited, in some of the early actions, a want of steadiness which proved fatal to themselves, and embarrassing to their leaders. With experience came a juster appreciation of their own strength, and of that of their opponents; and on the heights of Malaun and Makwanpur the Sipahis gallantly redeemed their reputation.

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The occurrence of hostilities so immediately after the renewal of the Company's charter, and the diversion to military expenditure of the funds with which many of the members of the Court of Directors had confidently expected that the competition to which the Company's trade was now exposed might be advantageously encountered,<sup>1</sup> produced in the Court a strong feeling of opposition to the war, and induced a considerable and influential party to

<sup>1</sup> In the Letter of the Court, of the 13th October, 1815, they write: "We find, with extreme concern, that the effects of the Nepalese war are so strongly felt in your financial department, as to induce the apprehension that the advances to be issued for our European investment will be reduced to a very small sum indeed. . . . If the advances for the investment are to be withheld, the sales at this house for Indian goods will soon be brought to a stand; in which case, not only will the operations of our home finances be impeded, but it will also involve the impossibility of our being able to afford to India the assistance, in the event of the continuance of warfare, which would be so necessary, and which we should be so desirous to furnish."—Nepal Papers, 548. The necessity of supplying funds from home was little likely to arise, unless those which were available for political disbursements were absorbed in the purchase of commercial investments.

BOOK II. deny its necessity,<sup>1</sup> and to condemn the mode in  
 CHAP. II. which it had been conducted. We may pause to  
 1815. consider briefly how far they were warranted in  
 their conclusions.

The encroachments of the Nepalese were not the sudden growth of a recently awakened spirit of presumption, or a transitory ebullition of overweening pride. They were the deliberate and progressive crop of a long series of years, and had not even yet attained their full development. They were the result of a uniform and consistent design against the integrity of the Company's dominions. They had been long leniently dealt with; calm expostulations and menacing remonstrances had been tried repeatedly; and, finally, an amicable adjustment by an appeal to evidence and proofs of various kinds, had been attempted, but all conciliatory measures had been tried in vain. Aggressions were committed almost in the presence of the Commissioners professing to conduct a friendly and impartial investigation, and promises to abide by their

<sup>1</sup> The Court of Directors expressed a confident hope that, "as the result of the local inquiries had satisfied you of the Company's right to the disputed lands, the Government of Nepal would yield to your application for the surrender of those lands, without your being under the necessity of having recourse to more decided measures."—Letter to Bengal; Nepal Papers, 547. The expectation was based upon a very inaccurate knowledge of the temper of the Gorkha Government, and the necessity of having recourse to arms was recognised by the Court in a dispatch, dated 18th July, 1814. The necessity of the war was further demonstrated by Lord Hastings in a letter to the Chairman; and, as there stated, he was pledged to a definite course by the measures of his predecessor. The alternative of hostilities was the decision of Lord Minto. Lord Moira observes: "In this state I found things: I certainly had an option; I might shrink from the declaration plighted by Lord Minto, abandoning the property of the Company, sacrificing the safety of our subjects, and staining the character of our Government, or I had to act up to the engagements bequeathed to me, and to reprove the trespass of an insatiable neighbour. That I should have chosen the latter alternative will hardly afford ground for censure."—Nepal Papers, 992.



decision were evaded or disregarded. It was evident that forbearance only gave audacity to insult, and boldness to usurpation; and the only questions that remained for consideration were, the relinquishment of the disputed lands, or the assertion of the right to them by arms.

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All history records the impolicy of yielding to the demands of barbarians. Concession invariably inspires them with presumption, and stimulates them to fresh exactions. It would have been contrary to all experience to have relied upon the pacific effects of giving way to the pretensions of Nepal, to have expected that the Court of Khatmandu would have been soothed into moderation by acquiescence in its claims. Such an expectation was in an especial manner unwarranted by the known character of the Gorkha Government, whose whole policy for half a century had been the extension of their possessions, and who were confirmed in their notions of the wisdom of their policy by the success with which it had been almost invariably pursued. It might have been thought likely that they would nevertheless have paused before they provoked the enmity of a power so superior as the British to the unwarlike and disunited principalities over which they had triumphed; but an accurate comparison of resources, and appreciation of means, were scarcely to be expected from a cabinet so imperfectly instructed as that of Khatmandu in the circumstances of its neighbours, so strongly impelled by personal interests, and so deeply swayed by arrogance and passion. We have seen that the war-party anticipated little more peril from



BOOK II. hostilities with the British, than with a petty Raja  
 CHAP. II. of the hills; and that, confiding in their past for-  
 1815. tunes, the courage of their troops, and the strength  
 of their country, they entertained no doubt of  
 keeping their antagonist at bay until he should be  
 weary of the contest. Nor did they depend solely  
 upon their own means of resistance. They calcu-  
 lated upon the co-operation of still more powerful  
 allies; and, endeavouring to interest Ranjit Sing,  
 Sindhia, the Raja of Bhurtpur, Mir Khan, and  
 even the Pindaris, in their quarrel,<sup>1</sup> they sanguinely  
 anticipated that the reverses experienced by the  
 British arms would be the signal for a general  
 rising of the Princes of Hindustan.<sup>2</sup> The crisis was  
 not altogether impossible; and a continued repe-  
 tition of the disasters of the first campaign might  
 have seriously compromised the peace and security  
 of the British empire in India.

A danger of a less formidable nature presented

<sup>1</sup> A mission was also sent, in the beginning of 1816, by Amar Sing to Ava. His death, which happened in the early part of the year, put an end to the activity of these intrigues, although they were not entirely abandoned by the court of Nepal until the breaking out of the Pindari war.—MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> Proofs were obtained by the Resident at Gwalior that these several powers had been addressed by the chief officers of Nepal: to Sindhia accredited agents were deputed. Letters from Namdar Khan, the Pindari, to Sindhia, were detected, mentioning the application made to him and Mir Khan.—MS. Records. A Vakil, sent by Amar Sing to Ranjit Sing, offered to pay largely for his assistance, and to place the fort of Malaun in his hands. He affirmed that the Nawab Vizir, the Mahrattas, and the Robillas, were all ready to rise as soon as they heard of the Sikh chieftains joining the Gorkhas. Ranjit was too shrewd to be caught by these assertions, and inferred from the offers made to him that the Gorkhas were hard pressed.—Nepal Papers, 559. That some of the Native Princes looked anxiously to the course of the war, and built upon it hopes of being enabled to resist the British power in the collision which was at this time menaced, was established by subsequent events. A correspondence between Sindhia and the Gorkha Government was intercepted.

itself in the interposition of the Government of China, to which the Court of Khatmandu had earnestly appealed at an early period of the war, ascribing its origin to the refusal to give a passage through Nepal to a British force intended to take possession of Lassa. The Court of Peking, although suspecting the truth of the story,<sup>1</sup> appears to have been seriously alarmed; and troops were dispatched to reinforce those stationed in Tibet: a considerable body was assembled at Digarchi, and moved towards the frontier; but as its advance occurred no sooner than August, 1816, hostilities were at an end. Explanations had also been exchanged between the Chinese authorities and the Governor-General, which furnished the former with a reasonable plea for discontinuing their hostile indications.<sup>2</sup> They

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<sup>1</sup> A letter from the Government of Peking observed: "If your statement be true, if the English be the aggressors, they shall suffer; if the Gorkhas, the country shall be swept clean."

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese Commander-in-chief professed to be satisfied with the explanation of the causes of the war, and the conduct of the English, as furnished by his correspondence with the Governor-General and the British authorities on the frontier. At the request of the Court, however, he so far interfered in their behalf as to suggest the withdrawal of the British Resident. "You mention that you have stationed a Vakil in Nepal. This is a matter of no consequence; but as the Raja, from his youth and inexperience, and from the novelty of the thing, has imbibed some suspicions, if you would, out of kindness to us, and in consideration of the ties of friendship, withdraw your Vakil, it would be better, and we should feel very much obliged to you."—Letter from Shi-Chuin-Chang, Vazir. To this it was replied, that a Resident on the part of some civilized power was necessary, in order to investigate and suppress at once any border quarrels that might be occasioned by the unrestrained violence of a barbarous people; and that, if the Emperor of China would appoint an officer on his part to reside at Khatmandu, that would equally well answer the object. The Vazir on this acquiesced in the arrangement; for as to the alternative, he observed that it was not the custom of the Court of Peking to depute their officers to foreign Courts, as the traders at Canton could inform the Governor-General. This was the only allusion to the Company's establishment at Canton, although a dispatch had been forwarded through the supracargoes to the Court of Peking on the breaking out of the war. The conduct of the Chinese officers towards the Indian Government, in a

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adopted the safe course of venting their displeasure upon their allies, and treated the Nepalese envoys sent to their camp with great indignity.<sup>1</sup> Their overbearing demeanour excited the apprehensions of the Court of Khatmandu, who were glad to deprecate the anger of the Emperor by a penitential mission to Peking.

To return, however, to the consideration of the general question: Admitting that war was inevitable, it became a subject of question whether it was judiciously carried on. The comparative merits of a defensive or offensive system have already been considered; and it has been attempted to shew that the latter realized the advantages and avoided the inconveniences of the former, and was alone likely to lead to a speedy termination of the disputes between the two powers. It is only necessary here to observe, that practical demonstration was afforded of the futility of the defensive plan, by the actual occurrences on the frontier of Saran and Gorakhpur. With two large armies, those of General Wood and General Marley, in the field, but acting on the defensive, the Gorkhas ravaged the borders almost in sight of them with impunity;

somewhat protracted communication, as it did not close till the beginning of 1818, when presents were interchanged, was uniformly temperate and judicious.—MS. Records; see also Prinsep, i. 213.

<sup>1</sup> In the interview with the Chinese authorities, the Nepal envoys were asked by the Chun-chun, "What number of soldiers have you, and what is the amount of your revenues? The former, I suppose, do not exceed two lakhs (200,000)." The envoys replied, the number of troops was correct, and the revenues were five lakhs and a half of rupees. "Truly," said the Chinese officer with a sneer, "you are a mighty people!" and he observed, that they merited the chastisement they had received; adding, that their statements were manifestly false, as, if the English had wished to invade the Chinese dominions, they could have found a nearer route than that through Nepal.—MS. Rec.



and no more efficacious arrangement for the protection of the Company's subjects could be devised than driving them into the interior, beyond the reach of the enemy, leaving their fields and homes to the spoiler. No such injury or insult was suffered where the British armies carried on the war within the confines of Nepal.

The objections to the advance of a concentrated British force, in preference to assailing the Gorkha line at different points, have also been adverted to. Testimony to its judiciousness was borne by the best authority,—the Government of Nepal. The Raja expressed his fears that the British would endeavour to obtain a footing in the centre of his country, in which case both extremities would be thrown into disorder.<sup>1</sup> This was the main object of the first campaign; and although its complete execution was disappointed by the unfortunate failure before Kalanga, yet the extremities of the Gorkha state were disordered: the east was kept in a state of alarm by the demonstrations of the British divisions; in the west the best generals and troops of Nepal were hemmed in, and finally overpowered; and a secure footing was obtained with little difficulty in the centre by the occupation of Kamaon. Although, therefore, the instruments employed by the Governor-General were not in all cases of the most perfect description, yet it could not be said that his plans failed because they were radically defective; as in truth, although their success was delayed, they did eventually succeed,—and succeeded, too, in a single campaign: for when the renewal

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<sup>1</sup> Nep. Papers, 533.



BOOK II. of hostilities was provoked by the vacillation of the  
 CHAP. II. cabinet of Khatmandu, the whole of the Gorkha  
 1815. conquests and the disputed territories were in the  
 hands of the British, and little accession to their  
 conquests was claimed or sought for when peace was  
 at last established.

Whatever doubts might have been entertained by the authorities in England of the necessity of the war, or the wisdom with which it was conducted, they were finally dissipated by the close of the contest. Unanimous resolutions of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors recognised the prudence, energy, and ability of the Governor-General, combined with a judicious application of the resources of the Company, in planning and directing the operations of the late war against the Nepalese.<sup>1</sup> Thanks were also voted to Sir David Ochterlony and the officers and men engaged in the war. To the honours conferred upon General Ochterlony by the Prince Regent, the Company added a pension of a thousand pounds a year. The Earl of Moira was elevated to the rank and title of Marquis of Hastings.

Although the territory acquired by the British Government was not of great extent or financial value, yet few accessions have been obtained of deeper interest or greater prospective importance. The territories actually appropriated, or those held under British authority by the dependent hill Rajas, have given to British India the command of

<sup>1</sup> Resolutions of the Court of Proprietors, 11th December, 1816, and Court of Directors, 16th Nov. 1816, communicated to the Government of Bengal.—Pol. Letter, 4th March, 1817; Nepal Papers, 991.

an impenetrable barrier on the north, and of a path across the loftiest mountains of the Old world to the regions of Central Asia. Countries before unknown have been added to geography; and Nature has been explored by Science in some of her most inaccessible retreats, and most rare and majestic developments. The elements of civilization have been introduced amongst the rude inhabitants of the mountains, and they have been taught the value of industrious habits, and the advantage of social intercourse. Roads have been cut along the sides of precipices; bridges constructed over mountain torrents; stations have been formed which have grown into towns; and the stir and activity of human life have disturbed the silence of the lonely forests, and broken the slumber of the eternal snows. Still mightier changes are in progress. Barren as are the rocks of the Himalaya, they are not wholly unproductive; and they are fringed at least by fertile valleys that want only cultivators to become the seats of prosperous cultivation. Under a climate more congenial to European organisation than the sultry plains of India, and with space through which they may freely spread, the descendants of a northern race may be able to aggregate and multiply; and if British colonies be ever formed in the East, with a chance of preserving the moral and physical energies of the parent country, it is to the vales and mountains of the Indian Alps that we must look for their existence, —it will be to the Gorkha war that they will trace their origin.

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## CHAPTER III.

*Transactions in Ceylon.—Embassy to the King of Kandy.—Aggressions by his people.—Declaration of War.—March of troops and capture of the Capital.—Mutu-sami made King.—Force withdrawn.—Major Davie left at Kandy.—Attacked by the Cingalese.—Kandy evacuated.—Europeans murdered.—Hostilities continued.—Suspended.—Tyranny and Cruelty of the King.—Fear and Hatred of his people.—British Subjects seized.—War resumed.—The Capital again taken.—The King captured, deposed, and sent prisoner to Madras.—Ceylon subject to British Authority.—Universal Discontent and Rebellion.—A Pretender to the Throne.—Great loss on both sides.—Rebels disheartened.—Leaders arrested, and the Pretender captured.—The Insurrection suppressed.—Change of system.—Affairs of Cutch.—Disputed Succession.—General anarchy.—Depredations on the Gaekwar's Territories.—Disturbances in Kattiwar.—Suppressed.—Troops ordered into Cutch.—Anjar surrendered.—Agreement with the Rao.—Operations against the Pirate States.—Intrigues at Bārōda.—Occurrences at Hyderabad.—Disorderly conduct of the Nizam's sons.—Put under Restraint.—Disturbances in the city.—Critical position.—The Princes sent to Golconda.—Discussions with the Nawab of Oude.—Views of the*

*Governor-General.—Death of Sâdat Ali.—Succeeded by Ghazi-ud-din.—Visit to the Governor-General at Cawnpore.—Loan to the Company.—Complaints of the Resident.—Retracts.—Submits final requisitions.—Principles of future Intercourse.—The Nawab an Independent Prince in his own Dominions.—Second Loan.—Resident's Vindication of himself.—His Removal.—Observations.—Internal Disturbances.—House-tax at Bareilly opposed by the people.—Tumults.—Troops called in.—The Rioters defeated.—Contumacy of great Landholders in the Western Provinces.—Dayaram of Hatras.—Shelters Robbers.—Resists the Authorities.—A force sent against him.—Hatras taken.—Disorders on the South-western Frontier.—Insurrection in Cuttack.—Causes.—Excessive Assessments.—Sales of Lands.—Corruption of Authorities.—Oppression of the people.—General Rising.—First Successes of the Insurgents.—Puri taken by them.—Recovered.—Commissioners appointed.—Special Commission.—Cuttack tranquillized.*

THE successful termination of the war with Nepal enabled the Government of India to prepare for a contest of a still more formidable description, with improved resources, and augmented reputation : but before we describe the occurrences which then took place, it will be convenient to notice the transactions of foreign and domestic interest which originated in the intervening period, and were unconnected with the events of the Pindari and Mahratta war.

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Ceylon, although a dependency of the Crown, and



BOOK II. unaffected by the political circumstances of the  
 CHAP. III. Indian continent, may yet be considered, from its

1815. geographical position and the general analogy of its connexion with Great Britain, as a part of the British Indian Empire, and some notice of the transactions of which it was at this time the scene, may therefore be consistently offered. The island, first colonised by the Portuguese, and subsequently by the Dutch, was finally taken from the latter, as identified with the Republic of France, in 1796, by an expedition fitted out from Madras, and was for a short interval subject to the government of Fort St. George. In 1798 it was annexed to the colonial dominions of the British Crown, and the Hon. Frederick North was nominated Governor on the part of Great Britain. The settlements which were thus transferred extended along the sea coast, forming a narrow belt round the centre of the island, where native princes continued to rule over the remnants of an ancient kingdom, whose origin was traceable, through credible records, for above two thousand years.<sup>1</sup> Deprived of a valuable portion of their ancestral domains by races which they despised as barbarians while they hated them as conquerors, the kings of Kandy had been almost always at variance with their European neighbours, and had been principally protected against their military superiority by the deadly atmosphere of the forests which interposed an impenetrable rampart between the interior of the island and the coast. The

<sup>1</sup> See Turnour's Translation of the Mahawanso,—a Buddhist Chronicle of Ceylon, and various tracts by the same eminent Pali scholar in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Ceylon Almanack.

last but one of these princes co-operated with the English in their attack upon the maritime provinces held by the Dutch, in expectation of advantages which were never realised. He died shortly after the establishment of the British power. Leaving no children, he was succeeded by the son of a sister of one of his queens, who was elected to the throne by the head minister, or Adigar, with the acquiescence of the other chief officers of the state, the priests of Buddha, and the people.<sup>1</sup>

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Shortly after the accession of the new Sovereign in the beginning of 1800, the Governor of Ceylon deputed the commanding officer of the troops on the island, General Macdowall, on an embassy to the court of Kandy. The avowed purpose of the mission was the establishment of a friendly intercourse with the King; but there were objects, also, of a political nature, the precise purport of which does not appear, but which seem to have been based upon an imitation of the policy of the Indian Government, and to have had in view the formation of a subsidiary alliance in Ceylon. In order to fulfil this project, advantage was to be taken of the intrigues which agitated the Kandian Court. The Minister who had raised the Sovereign to his present rank, is said thus early to have plotted his deposal, and the usurpation of his crown. For the accomplishment of his treacherous designs, he sought the assistance of the British Government, and, although his overtures were at first rejected,

<sup>1</sup> Davy, 310; also Turnour's *Epitome of the History of Ceylon*. The new King, Sri Wikrama Rajasingh, ascended the throne in 1798. Adigar is a provincial corruption of the Sanscrit word *Adhikára*, a superintendant.

BOOK II. he was admitted to a conference with the Governor's Secretary, and the mission to Kandy was the  
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1815. result. To elude the arts of the Adigar, and place the King, with his own consent, in security, are declared to have been the chief objects proposed: but the security intended was to be provided for by the removal of the King to Colombo; and while his person was safe in British keeping, the real power was to be exercised by the Governor of Ceylon, through the agency of the faithless Adigar.<sup>1</sup> That these designs could not be accomplished without a display of force, was manifested by the equipment of the mission, the strength and quality of which denoted hostile, rather than friendly, intentions.<sup>2</sup> Whatever might have been the real objects of the plot, it was frustrated by the timidity and suspicion apparently of both the Minister and the King. Although met on the fron-

<sup>1</sup> According to Cordiner the chief Adigar, to whom the King owed his elevation, was plotting against his power and his life, and had endeavoured to persuade the English Government to assist in deposing him. Apparently, the only difficulty was that of finding a pretext, as the acting Secretary to the Government declared to the Adigar, that "the Governor would never consent to depose a prince who had not made any aggression on him. The Adigar then asked what would be considered an aggression, and whether an invasion of the British territories by the Kandians would not come under that description." Inferring that the King's life was in danger, it was determined to elude the arts of the Adigar by a more perfect knowledge of the Court, and to send General Macdowall with a sufficient force to maintain his Majesty's independence. It was at the same time proposed, that if the King should approve of it, he should transport his person and his Court, for greater safety, into the British territories, there to enjoy his royal rights, and depute to Pilima Talawé (his treacherous minister) the exercise of his power in Kandy; also that a British subsidiary force should be maintained there, and a sufficient indemnification for its expense given by the Kandian Government either in land or produce.—Cordiner's Ceylon, ii. 162. Notable expedients for maintaining the King's royal rights and independence!

<sup>2</sup> The ambassador's suite consisted of five companies of the 19th regiment, as many of Sipahis, and as many of Malays, with four field-pieces, two howitzers, artillery and pioneers.—Percival, Account of Ceylon, 376.



tier by the Minister, the troops were made to advance by a circumscribed and difficult route : every step of their progress was watched with extreme jealousy ; no communication with the country was permitted ; and finally, the greater part were obliged to halt, and General Macdowall proceeded to Kandy with a much less numerous, but a more appropriate, retinue. He was received with civility, but without cordiality ; his audiences were few and formal ; and he returned to Colombo without having made any progress in the purposes of his mission, secret or avowed. On the contrary, the proceedings of the British Government seem to have excited the suspicion and ill-will of both the King and the Adigar, and to have united them against a common enemy ; while an excuse for an appeal to arms seems to have been solicitously sought for by the British. At length some Cingalese traders from the British territories, having been despoiled of a parcel of Betel nuts which they had purchased, complained to the Governor. Their case was advocated by him with the King ; its truth was admitted, and redress was promised but never granted. In the mean time reports reached Colombo that the people of the villages on the frontier were in training, and practising archery, and that active preparations, of a menacing tenor, but rather of a defensive than an offensive character, were in progress. Upon these occurrences Mr. North determined to make war upon the King, unless he subscribed to a treaty promising compensation for the expenses of military equipments, and the plunder of the Betel nuts ; to permit the formation of a military road

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from Colombo to Trincomalee, and suffer Cinnamon peelers and woodcutters to follow their calling in the Kandyan districts. It was intimated at the same time, that the aggressions which had been perpetrated, had left the Governor at perfect liberty to recognise and support the claims which any other Prince of the family of the Sun might form to the diadem worn by his Kandyan Majesty.<sup>1</sup> The intimation was not likely to conciliate his accession to a friendly convention, and was replied to by predatory incursions into the British frontier, and the plunder and murder of its subjects. To repress and avenge these injuries, a force under General Macdowall was dispatched from Colombo, and another under Colonel Barbut from Trincomalee. The two divisions encountering no serious opposition on their march, met on the Mahavali-ganga, three miles from Kandy, and on the 21st of February entered the capital. The town, which was completely deserted, had been set on fire by the inhabitants, but the flames were speedily extinguished, and Kandy was in the occupation of the British.

As the reigning monarch had been so little sensible of the benefits to be derived from the British alliance, a more tractable sovereign was brought forward in the person of Mutu-sami, a brother of the late Queen, and a competitor for the throne, who had been obliged to seek refuge in the colony. A treaty was concluded with him, by which he ceded certain districts and immunities, and in requital was acknowledged as monarch of Kandy,

<sup>1</sup> Proclamation by the Governor of Ceylon, Jan. 29th, 1803, also Letter to the King.—Papers printed for Parliament, 5th April, 1804.

and promised, as long as he might require it, the aid of an auxiliary force. Mutu-sami was conducted to the capital, where he arrived on the 4th of March. He brought no accession of strength, as the people were either afraid or disinclined to support his cause; and hence perhaps its sudden abandonment by the Governor, who presently afterwards engaged to invest the Adigar with regal authority, on condition of his delivering up his master, assigning a pension to Mutu-sami, and making the same cessions which that unfortunate Prince had consented to grant.<sup>1</sup>

After a short stay at Kandy, during which several skirmishes took place with the Cingalese, invariably to their disadvantage, but without any decisive results, the prevalence of jungle-fever, generated by the pestilential vapours of the surrounding forests, to which many of the men and officers fell victims, compelled the retirement of the greater part of the survivors; and, finally, the protection of Kandy, and of Mutu-sami, was consigned to Major Davie, with a body of 500 Malays and 200 Europeans of the 19th regiment,—the latter almost incapacitated for duty by sickness, and the former speedily thinned by frequent desertions. In this state they were attacked on the 24th of June by the Cingalese in immense numbers, headed by the King and the Adigar,

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Debate, 14th March, 1804. The engagement is not mentioned by Cordiner, although he observes that at this time Pilame-Talawé had the effrontery to carry on a deceitful correspondence, under the mask of friendship, with the Commander of the British forces, and no art was left untried which might dupe or cajole our Government. The engagements with the Adiger are specified upon the authority of Major Forbes.—Eleven Years in Ceylon, i. 25.

BOOK II. and encouraged by their knowledge of the en-  
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1815. feebled state of the garrison: a severe conflict ensued, which lasted for seven hours, when Major Davie was under the necessity of proposing a suspension of hostilities. The proposal was acceded to, and a capitulation agreed upon, by which the garrison, accompanied by Mutu-sami, were to be permitted to retire with their arms, on giving up Kandy and all military stores. It was promised that the sick, who were incapable of being removed, should be taken care of until they could be sent to a British settlement. Upon these stipulations Major Davie evacuated Kandy, and marched to the banks of the Mahavali-ganga, which, being swollen by the rains, was no longer fordable: no boats were at hand, and the enemy showed himself in force in different quarters. On the following day a mission came from the King, demanding that Mutu-sami should be given up, when boats would be furnished to the English. After some hesitation, the demand was complied with. The unhappy Prince, with several of his kinsmen, were immediately put to death. That his abandonment, and the disgrace which it entailed upon the British faith, might have been avoided by a greater display of resolution than was exhibited, is not impossible; but a determination to preserve the Prince at all hazards, even if it had been entertained by the officers, was little likely to have been acquiesced in by the men, consisting almost wholly of Malays, who saw in his surrender their only hope of safety. The hope was fallacious, as might have been expected from the treachery of the enemy.

The King commanded the destruction of the whole party. The Adigar is said to have manifested some reluctance to violate the capitulation; but at last consented to become the instrument of his master's revenge. He prevailed upon Major Davie and his officers to accompany him out of sight of the men, who were then told that their officers had crossed the river, and that, upon laying down their arms, they would be also ferried across to join them. Conducted in small parties to the edge of the river, at a spot where they could not be seen by their comrades, they were successively stabbed, or butchered in various ways, and their bodies were thrown into a contiguous hollow. At the same time the whole of the sick, a hundred and fifty, of whom a hundred and thirty-two were British soldiers, were barbarously put to death, the dead and the dying having been thrown promiscuously into a pit prepared for the purpose.<sup>1</sup> Most of the officers were also murdered, or died shortly afterwards. Major Davie survived till about 1810, when he died at Kandy, latterly unmolested and almost unnoticed.<sup>2</sup>

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The recovery of his capital and the destruction of the garrison inspired the Kandyan Monarch with the ambition of expelling the Europeans from the island; and during the remainder of 1803 and the ensuing year, repeated efforts were made to penetrate into the colony. At first, during the exhausted state of the troops, some advantages were obtained by the enemy; and on one occasion they penetrated

<sup>1</sup> Davy's Ceylon.

<sup>2</sup> Forbes, i. 34. Heber's Travels, ii. 256.



BOOK II. to within fifteen miles of Colombo. Their attempts  
 CHAP. III. were, however, repulsed. Reinforcements were sent

1815. to the island,<sup>1</sup> and the British became strong enough to retaliate. Several spirited incursions were made into the Kandyan territories, which served to check and intimidate the enterprises of the enemy. In 1805 the first Adigar acquired additional authority by the indisposition of the King; and a cessation of hostilities ensued, which was continued by mutual acquiescence, without any express armistice, for several years.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever may have been the designs of the Adigar, Pilame Talawe, in his negotiations with the English, he remained apparently faithful to his Sovereign, until the King's tyranny and cruelty taught him fears for his own life. He then engaged in open rebellion—was unsuccessful—was taken and beheaded. He was succeeded in his office by Ahailapalla, who in his turn incurred and resented the suspicion and tyranny of the King. He instigated a rebellion in the district of Jaffragam, over which he presided; but his adherents fell from him upon the approach of a rival Adhikar with the royal forces, and he was obliged to fly. He found refuge in Colombo; but many of his followers were taken and impaled. The King's savage cruelty now surpassed all that can be imagined of barbarian inhumanity. Among a number of persons who were seized and put to death with various aggravations of suffering, the family of the

<sup>1</sup> In 1804, two regiments of volunteer Sipahis went from Bengal. Native levies were also made in the Madras districts. A regiment of Caffrees was formed, and his Majesty's 66th regiment arrived.

<sup>2</sup> Cordiner's Ceylon, ii. 259.

fugitive Minister, which had remained in the tyrant's grasp, were sentenced to execution; the children, one of them an infant at the breast, were beheaded, the heads were cast into a rice-mortar, and the mother was commanded to pound them with the pestle, under the threat of being disgracefully tortured if she hesitated to obey. To avoid the disgrace, the wretched mother did lift up the pestle, and let it fall upon her children's heads. Her own death was an act of mercy. She, her sister-in-law, and some other females, were immediately afterwards drowned. These atrocities struck even the Kandyan with horror; and for two days the whole city was filled with mourning and lamentation, and observed a period of public fasting and humiliation. The King's ferocity was insatiable: executions were incessant, no persons were secure, and even the Chief Priest of Buddha, a man of great learning and benevolence, fell a victim to the tyrant's thirst for blood. A general sentiment of fear and detestation pervaded both chiefs and people, and the whole country was ripe for revolt.

The urgent representations of Ahailapalla, and a knowledge of the state of public feeling in the Kandyan provinces, induced the Governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, to prepare for a war, which was certain to occur, in consequence of the disorders on the frontier, and the insane fury of the King. Occasion soon arose: some merchants, subjects of the British Government, trading to Kandy, were seized by the King's orders as spies, and so cruelly mutilated that most of them died; and about the same time a party of Kandyans ravaged the villages on the

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British boundary. The Governor immediately declared war against the King, and sent a body of troops into his country.<sup>1</sup> They were joined by the principal chiefs and the people, and advanced, without meeting an enemy, to the capital. They arrived there on the 14th of February. On the 18th, the King, who had attempted to fly, was taken and brought in by a party of Ahailapalla's followers.<sup>2</sup> On the 2nd of March he was formally deposed,<sup>3</sup> and the allegiance of the Kandyan was transferred to the British Crown. Vikrama Raja Singha was sent a captive to Vellore, where he died in January, 1832.

The change of authority, and the substitution of a new and foreign dominion for that of the ancient native rulers, however acceptable under the influence of popular terror and disgust, began to lose their recommendations as soon as apprehension was allayed, and the chiefs and people were able calmly to consider the character of the revolution to which they had contributed. The chiefs found that their power was diminished and their dignity impaired; the priests felt indignant at the want of reverence shown to them and to their religion: and the people, sympathizing with both, had also grievances of their own to complain of, in the contempt displayed for their customs and institutions, and the disregard mani-

<sup>1</sup> Proclamation, 10th Jan., 1815. *As. Journal*, Feb., 1816. Account of the War in Kandy. *Parl. Papers*, 17th May, 1819.

<sup>2</sup> Narrative of Events in Ceylon.

<sup>3</sup> By a convention made between the Governor of Ceylon on the part of the King of Great Britain, and the Adigars, Dessaves, and other principal chiefs of the Kandyan provinces, on behalf of the inhabitants, in the presence of the head men and of the people, 2nd March, 1815.—*Davy's Ceylon*, Appendix, i. *Parl. Papers*, 17th May, 1819, No. 3.



fested for their prejudices and feelings by the English functionaries and their subordinates. A general rebellion was the consequence. It broke out at the end of 1817, and was headed by Kapiti-palla, the brother-in-law of Ahailapalla, who, notwithstanding the protection he had received from the English, was suspected of having secretly fomented the insurrection, and was consequently arrested.

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In the beginning of 1818 most of the Kandyan provinces were in arms against the British; and a pretender to the throne was brought forward in the person of an inferior Buddhist priest, who was falsely represented to be a member of the royal family. Troops were sent against the insurgents, but for some time with little success; as although they rarely met with open resistance, they were perpetually harassed by the natives, waylaid and cut off in detail; and this system of warfare, combined with the difficulty of the country, and the unhealthiness of the climate, inflicted so much loss and discouragement, that, after some months of unavailing exertion, it became a question whether the contest should not be abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

Reinforcements were earnestly applied for from the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras; and although the state of affairs on the continent of India rendered compliance with the requisition inconvenient, yet the urgency of the case compelled the Indian Governments to make an effort for the purpose; and one regiment of Europeans and several bat-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Davy estimates the loss of the British at one thousand men. That of the natives at fully ten times that number.—p. 331.



BOOK II. talions of native troops were dispatched to Ceylon.  
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1818. Government to persevere: the people of the country had suffered even more severely than the British; their villages were burnt, their fruit-trees cut down, their crops laid waste, and they were driven to the thickets and mountains, among the wild tribes in the interior of the island. Exposure, hunger, and disease were equally fatal as the sword, which descended heavily upon them in retaliation of the cruelty they showed to stragglers who fell into their hands. Equally disheartened by the aspect of affairs, the chiefs quarrelled among themselves. The pretender was disavowed and exposed, and even put in the stocks by one of his former adherents. Three of the leaders of the insurrection were taken,—two of them, Kapitipalla and Madugalle, were tried and beheaded; the third, the son of Pilama Tulawe, was banished to the Mauritius, as were Ahailapalla and several other chiefs of inferior note. With their apprehension the disturbances ceased; for although the pretender escaped and remained at large until 1829, his cause found no supporters.<sup>1</sup> When ultimately seized, he was tried and condemned to death, but received a pardon from the Crown. Upon the restoration of tranquillity, various alterations were made in the mode of managing the Kandyan provinces calculated to conciliate the good will of their inhabitants. The

<sup>1</sup> Another event which contributed to the pacification of the island was the recovery of the *dalada*, or tooth of Buddha, a sacred relic carefully preserved in the principal temple at Kandy, and occasionally exhibited to the devout. According to the superstitious belief of the people, the possession of this tooth ensures sovereignty.—See an account of its exhibition in Forbes, i. 290.

power of the Adigars and Desawes was circumscribed by associating with them European civilians in the administration of justice, and the collection of the revenue. The appointment of head men of the districts was taken from the chiefs, and reserved to the Government. All taxes were merged into a tax of one-tenth of the produce of the rice-fields, payable in kind.<sup>1</sup> Several minor provisions were enacted of a similar purport. The immediate effect of these arrangements was beneficial; and the people gradually came to be reconciled to the altered circumstances of their political condition.

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Returning to the continent of India, we find that hostilities were carried on almost simultaneously with the Nepal war in a different and distant quarter, in consequence of which a political connexion was first established with the state of Cutch. The country had long been the scene of disorder. The authority of its nominal ruler, or Rao Raidhan, had been superseded by that of two adventurers,—the one, Hans-raj, a Hindu merchant, the other, Fattch Mohammed, an officer of the Arab mercenaries in the service of the Rao. These two disputed the post of Minister, and divided between them the power of the Prince. Application had been frequently made by each of the competitors for the interference of the British Government; but as no advantage appeared likely to result from such interposition, it was declined. The quarrel was terminated by the death of Hans-

<sup>1</sup> Proclamation by Sir Robert Brownrigg, 21st Nov., 1818.—Davy's Ceylon, App. No. II.

BOOK II. raj, the Hindu, in 1809; and his rival, Fattah  
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1815. Mohammed, continued in possession of the office of Minister until 1813, when his death, and that of the Rao, his master, left affairs even in a more troubled condition than had prevailed during their lives.

The Rao, under the influence of Fattah Mohammed, had apostatized to the Mohammedan religion; and left a son, Manuba or Bharmalji, by a wife of the same faith. The Jhareja Rajputs, of whom the Rao was the head, and the other military tribes of Cutch, disputed Manuba's succession, holding him to be illegitimate and an outcast; and raised to the throne his cousin Lakhpati, or Ladhupa, the nephew of the late Rao.

Each of the competitors was supported by a party sufficiently powerful to neutralize the efforts of his opponents, and to prevent the establishment of any recognized authority. The slender control to which the chiefs had ever submitted was annulled, and a general state of anarchy prevailed in the province. No attempt was made to repress the disorder, until it became necessary to prevent its effects from extending to the territories, of which the defence was a duty imposed on the British Government by the terms of its alliance with the Gaekwar. The peninsula of Kattiwar is separated from Guzerat by the Ran, an extensive tract of low saline land, inundated partially by the sea, but at times capable of being traversed. It was crossed at all times by marauding bands from Wagar, the eastern portion of Cutch, the people of which, when the Ran was dry, came over to Katti-



war in strong bodies of both horse and foot, and burnt the villages, carried off the cattle, and murdered the inhabitants. When the sea was in, they crossed it in boats, and committed similar depredations. The points of access were too numerous to be all sufficiently guarded; and the movements of the plunderers were too sudden and rapid to be effectively counteracted by the few troops stationed on the frontier. Remonstrances and threats were alike unavailing in preventing the repetition of these inroads, and the people exposed to them contemplated abandoning the country; when it was resolved to give them efficient protection by sending a body of troops against Bhooj, the capital of Cutch, where Bharmal-ji had been established in some degree of power by the acquiescence of the contumacious Jharejas, and had been reconciled with his cousin, who was a mere youth, and who resided also at the capital. Rao Bharmal-ji, however, manifested no inclination to endeavour to repress the incursions of the Wagar banditti, but on the contrary, contracted an alliance with their chiefs, and ordered the British native Agent to retire from Bhooj.

Under the settlement made by Major Walker in Kattiwar, the turbulent Rajputs of that province continued for some years peaceable and submissive; but towards the year 1814, the intrigues of the Peshwa generated a spirit of insubordination, which hurried some of the subordinate chiefs into acts of violence and rebellion. The troops of the Gaekwar, sent against them, were defeated, and Colonel East with part of the subsidiary force marched against

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1815.



BOOK II. the rebels.<sup>1</sup> They were afraid to encounter the  
CHAP. III. British. The chief of Juria, one of the most con-

1816. siderable, gave up his fort, and the rest following his example, order was quickly restored.<sup>2</sup> So easy a suppression of the disturbances disappointed the policy of the Court of Cutch, which had dispatched a body of Arabs to the aid of the Khwas of Juria, and to punish this act of hostility, as well as effectually to put a stop to the depredations of the plunderers from Wagar, Colonel East was directed to advance into Cutch; and accordingly crossed the Ran, in December, 1815.

The first operations of the British were directed against Anjar, of which Hasan Meya, one of the sons of the late minister Fattedh Mohammed, had possessed himself. On the approach of the force, this chief professed to entertain friendly sentiments; but it was discovered that he had directed the wells and tanks of the neighbourhood to be poisoned, and in punishment of his treachery batteries were opened against the fort. When a practicable breach was effected, Hasan Meya gave up Anjar and the port of Juner on the Gulph of Cutch, one of its dependencies, which were occupied by a detachment of British troops. The force then proceeded towards Bhooj, but was met by a pacific deputation from the Rao, and an agreement was concluded, guaranteed by five chiefs, by which the Rao promised to indemnify the parties who had rights in Kattiwar for the losses suffered from the Wagar banditti, to reim-

<sup>1</sup> The force was his Majesty's 17th light dragoons and 65th foot. The (Bombay) European regiment, and the 6th, 7th, and 8th N. I., with a train of artillery, with above three thousand of the Gaekwar troops.

<sup>2</sup> See Government Gazette, Jan., 1816.

burse the British Government the expenses of the expedition, to prevent the commission of acts of piracy and plunder, and to receive an agent of the Bombay government at Bhooj. The fort and district of Anjar were ceded in perpetuity, and an annual payment of two lakhs of cowries (about 70,000 rupees) was pledged to the British Government. On their part, they undertook to assist the Rao in re-establishing his power over those places which had been alienated from him by the insubordination or treachery of his officers, and to chastise the robbers of Wagar and demolish their strongholds. A definitive treaty to this effect was executed on the 16th of January, 1816.<sup>1</sup> The latter stipulations were soon realised. The officers of the Rao hastened to relinquish their usurpations, and the plundering tribes of Wagar, retired to the north to the great sandy desert of Parkur before a British detachment. To prevent their return, the troops of the Rao were posted in commanding situations, and the marauders were for some time deterred from a repetition of their destructive inroads.

Having thus restored tranquillity in Cutch, and brought the principality within the pale of the system of subsidiary alliances, Colonel East was directed to take the only measure which experience had shown to be effective for the final suppression of piracy on the southern coast of the Gulph of Cutch by dispossessing the chiefs of the district of Okamandel of their forts and towns, and placing them

<sup>1</sup> Treaties with Native powers, published by order of the House of Commons, 27th May, 1818, p. 32.

BOOK II. under British authority. Little opposition was  
 CHAP. III. offered. The fort of Dingi was taken by storm;  
 1816. batteries were opened against the sacred city of  
 Dwaraka, but the chief surrendered himself before  
 the assault was given, and a Sipahi garrison took the  
 place of his Sindhian mercenaries. The Raja of  
 Bate also gave himself up on condition of an ade-  
 quate provision being made for himself and family,  
 and protection being assured to private property  
 and the religious establishments on the island. At  
 Wasaye a skirmish occurred in which Nur-ud-din,  
 a notorious pirate and ringleader, was slain,—an  
 event which materially accelerated the submission  
 of the district. Colonel East then proceeded in the  
 beginning of March to Junargerh, where order was  
 in like manner speedily restored. The objects of  
 the armament were thus accomplished, and the  
 force returned to cantonments early in May. The  
 district of Okamandal was in the following year  
 transferred to the Gaekwar.

The connexion with the Court of Baroda had un-  
 dergone no material alteration. The debts of the  
 Gaekwar, for which the British Government had be-  
 come the guarantee, although considerably reduced,  
 had not yet been liquidated, and the incapacity of the  
 Prince still continuing undiminished, the adminis-  
 tration of affairs by Fattah Sing, under the general  
 superintendence and control of the Resident, re-  
 mained unaltered, with the express sanction of the  
 Court of Directors.<sup>1</sup> The administration had been

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Bengal, 19th March, 1815. "We have no hesitation in de-  
 claring that at least the time of our ceasing to interfere in the internal  
 affairs of the Baroda State should be extended to the period when the debt  
 should be liquidated."



strengthened by the addition of Gangadhar Sastri, Colonel Walker's able native assistant, as the associate of Fatteh Sing.

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Active intrigues were kept on foot by a powerful party in the Court for the restoration of the discarded minister Sitaram Raoji to power, and every proposal to send him to a distance was successfully resisted, although his removal to Bombay was at length consented to. In the mean time, he had opened secret communications with the Peshwa, in which the Raja himself was implicated, the consequences of which were fatal to the head of the Mahratta state, as will be hereafter described.

Passing to the Mohammedan allies of the Company, with whom the existing relations were unaffected by the subsequent hostilities, we find that the friendly intercourse with the Court of Hyderabad was threatened with some interruption towards the close of 1815. The Nizam and the minister of his nomination, Munir-ul-Mulk, had alike withdrawn from all concern in public affairs, and devoting their whole time to low and sensual gratifications, committed, with sullen indifference, the charge of the state to the minister's nominal deputy Chandu Lal, who, depending for his power entirely upon British support, was assiduous in cultivating the good will of the Resident. Excluded from offices of credit and activity, the sons of the Nizam, abandoned to their own discretion, followed the example of the Court, and became notorious only by their excesses. The two youngest, Samsam-ud-dowla and Mubarik-ud-dowla, distinguished themselves in this outrageous career; and, surrounded by a band of profligate retainers



BOOK II. prompt to execute whatever their masters enjoined,  
 CHAP. III. these young men filled the city with tumult and

1816. alarm, and excited the aversion and terror of the peaceable citizens by their contempt for all authority and law.<sup>1</sup> Repeated representations of the evil consequences of their conduct were made by the Resident, and the Nizam was, after some time, prevailed upon to direct that they should be placed under restraint and that guards should be stationed at their dwellings. Captain Hare, with a party of the Nizam's regular infantry, was commanded to execute the order; but, on his approach to the palace, he was received with a heavy fire of matchlocks from the tops of the houses, by which several of his men and Lieutenant Darby, an officer of the Resident's escort, were killed. The party made their way nevertheless to the palace and blew open the gates, but the resistance they encountered from the Prince's adherents was too formidable to be overcome, and Captain Hare deemed it prudent to retreat. He was reinforced by 100 European and 400 native troops, who took up their station for the night at the residence of the minister. Much alarm was felt by the Nizam and his principal courtiers at the advance of the European detachments; but this subsided when its weakness was known, and some of the principal Omras urged the Nizam to fall upon the Residency

<sup>1</sup> Among other lawless acts, they established a tribunal of their own, in which judgment was avowedly given in favour of those who most liberally bribed the judges, notwithstanding the groundlessness of their claims. The rightful owners of houses and gardens were dispossessed of their property in behalf of any one who chose to assert a claim to them, and who purchased the award of the Prince and the services of his myrindons. The Nizam himself and the members of his family were not safe from their insolence, and the immunities of the Resident were invaded by the seizure and corporal castigation of one of his servants.

and exterminate its defenders. A general ferment pervaded the city, and a popular sentiment was expressed that Mubarik-ud-dowla was alone a worthy descendant of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and that if he would hold out he should not want support. The moment was critical. The subsidiary force had been sent into the field and a small division only remained in cantonments. In addition to the numerous population of Hyderabad there remained in the neighbourhood ten thousand Patan soldiers, whom the minister was engaged in disbanding, and who would gladly have joined in any tumult. The firmness of the Nizam who, on this occasion, showed that, when roused to action, he did not want ability, and the prudence of the Resident prevented a collision. The Europeans were withdrawn from the city—no movement of the people or of the chiefs was sanctioned or encouraged, and measures were promptly taken to obtain reinforcements. General Doveton was summoned from Akole, and troops were also required from Bellari. Although Chandu-Lul was afraid to press the confinement of the Princes, the measure was insisted on, and, with some reluctance, was acceded to by the Nizam. The interval that elapsed before the troops could arrive, allowed the Princes an opportunity of discovering the dangerous predicament in which they stood, and they no longer opposed the Nizam's pleasure. They were sent off to Golconda, where were the remains of a palace of the Mohammedan kings of the country and an extensive fort. Tranquillity was restored before the arrival of the additional troops, and their march was countermanded—an extensive rising of the Mohamme-

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1816.

BOOK II. dans of Hyderabad, headed by the princes or by the  
 CHAP. III. Nizam, would at this season have seriously embar-  
 1814. rassed the Government of India.

The discussions which took place with the Nawab of Oude during the latter years of Lord Minto's administration have been described. Approving entirely of the manner in which the Resident had urged the reforms which the Government of Bengal pressed upon the Nawab's adoption, one of that nobleman's last acts was, as we have seen, the expression, in strong terms, of his determination to uphold the measures and enforce the recommendations of the Governor-General's representative at the Court of Lucknow. Nothing seemed to be left to the Nawab but to submit, when the arrival of Lord Moira suggested the hope that a less unrelenting policy might be pursued. He was not disappointed. The habits of his past life had taught the Governor-General to sympathise with royalty in distress: and although he concurred in the principle of reform, and in the expedience of the particular arrangement which had been devised for the administration of Oude, he conceived that the Nawab had been treated with less deference than was due to his rank, or was consistent with the nature of the connection which united him with the East India Company. He determined, therefore, to adopt a tone of conciliation,<sup>1</sup> and enjoined the Resident to refrain

<sup>1</sup> Major Baillie ascribes the change of purpose which took place in the counsels of the Government, to private influence and intrigues at Calcutta; a negotiation was carried on there, he says, for his removal, for effecting which, the Vizir offered twenty-five lakhs of rupees. An English gentleman was noticed as an agent in the negotiation without mention of his name.—Letter from the Resident, 3rd Nov., 1815. Oude Papers, printed for the use of the Proprietors of India Stock, June, 1824, p. 563.



from agitating questions of minor consideration, which, while they led to no important result, could not fail to excite irritation and dissatisfaction in the mind of the Nawab. Finally, perceiving that the Nawab's consent and co-operation in the proposed measures of reform were not to be hoped for, and believing that to insist upon their being carried into effect without his cordial concurrence, would amount to a dissolution of the existing relations between the two states, the Governor-General determined to relinquish the specific plan proposed by Lord Minto, and confine the object of the Government to obtaining from the Nawab such measures of reform as he should himself propose, although of more limited scope and efficacy. Compliance with such suggestions, coming from the Prince himself, would, his Lordship expected, have a beneficial effect, and would prepare the way for more advantageous innovations. A letter to this purport was addressed to the Nawab Vizir, and for the remainder of his life, which was not long protracted, the question was at rest. Sadat Ali died on the 11th of July, 1814. He was succeeded by his eldest son, who assumed the designation of Ghazi-ud-din Hyder.<sup>1</sup>

The gratitude which was felt by the new Sovereign towards Major Baillie for the prompt and judicious arrangements by which upon the demise of Sadat Ali he had guarded against all risk of op-

<sup>1</sup> The success with which Sadat Ali prosecuted his favourite project of amassing wealth, was proved by the accumulated treasure found in his coffers; his hoards amounted to thirteen millions sterling, the accumulation of eleven years. — Comm. Committee, 1832. Political Evidence of Col. Baillie.



BOOK II. position<sup>1</sup> to the succession, rendered the Nawab  
 CHAP. III. at first amenable to the advice of the Resident.

1814. His Ministers were chosen upon the recommendation of that officer, and as they looked to him for support, they were ready to become the instruments of accomplishing his wishes. No time was lost in instituting the revenue reforms which he had so strenuously advocated. The Principality of Oude was portioned out into Zillas and Mahals, and Collectors on the part of the Government were deputed to the latter, subject to the superior authority of the Zilla-dar Nazim, or Lieutenant-Governor of the larger district. Arrangements for the administration of justice were also proposed, and an attempt was likewise made to introduce an armed police; but the opposition of the villagers to this part of the project was so universal and vehement, that its prosecution was suspended. The new system of collection was scarcely less unpopular, and was far from realising the benefits which were expected to result from it. It was in fact an injudicious repetition of the mistake committed in the Company's territories, that of prematurely forcing upon the people institutions foreign to their habits, strange to their notions, and repulsive to their feelings. Troops were still required, therefore, to compel payment of the revenues, and their collection was as uncertain and

<sup>1</sup> Some had been expected from Shams-ud-dowla, the second and favourite son of Sadat Ali, who, during his father's life-time, had been appointed the Deputy (Naib) and Representative (Kaim Mokam) of the Nawab, and to whom Sadat Ali had apparently desired to bequeath his power. No time was given for a party to be formed in his favour. To prevent subsequent dissension he was persuaded to retire to Benares upon a pension from Lucknow, guaranteed by the British Government.—Oude Papers, 869.

irregular as before; while to the imperfect apprehension of the Nawab the payment of the collectors by a per-centage rate upon the amount collected, appeared to be an unnecessary and unreasonable deduction from his own receipts. Ghazi-ud-din, therefore, soon withdrew his confidence, both from the Resident and from his own Ministers, looking upon them as the creatures and spies of the former. There were not wanting in his court intriguing individuals to aggravate the Nawab's dissatisfaction, and, he became no less anxious than his father had been to accomplish Major Baillie's removal from his councils.

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The Earl of Moira, in order to be near the scene of action in the Nepal war, had repaired to the Upper Provinces, and arrived at Cawnpore in October 1814. He was immediately visited by the young Nawab, and returned with him shortly afterwards to Lucknow. On this occasion the Nawab offered to the Company, as his free gift, a crore of rupees, about a million sterling.<sup>1</sup> Acceptance of the gift was declined; but the money was received as a loan, which the charges of the approaching campaign rendered highly opportune. The amount was accordingly registered as an item of the public debt, bearing interest at 6 per cent.,—the current rate; the interest being applied to the acquittance of sundry pensions which were payable by the Nawab, under the guarantee of the government of Bengal.

<sup>1</sup> Political Letter from Bengal, Aug., 1815.—Papers, 846. The offer was not, however, an original idea. The Resident says, "I was instructed to open a negotiation with the Vizir for the loan of a crore of rupees to the Honourable Company, to appear as a voluntary offer to Lord Moira."—Papers, 952.

BOOK II. The arrangement was advantageous to the pension-  
CHAP. III. ers as well as mutually convenient to the contracting

1815. parties. On this occasion<sup>1</sup> the Nawab presented a paper, which, although obscurely worded, manifested some degree of dissatisfaction with his actual condition; expressed a desire that the system of collection should be suspended in favour of a plan to be subsequently proposed; and clearly intimated the wish of the Nawab to be made more independent of the Resident's control, although professing a personal attachment to Major Baillie, and a firm reliance upon the reciprocity of his regard.<sup>2</sup>

Private information having reached the Governor-General that the Nawab had not unreservedly and sincerely communicated his wishes and sentiments with respect to the Resident, having been deterred from so doing by Lord Moira's having recommended to him to place implicit reliance upon Major Baillie's counsels, some pains were taken to induce him to be more explicit. Several conferences ensued, not only with the Governor-General, but with members both of his civil and military staff.<sup>3</sup> From the former the Nawab continued to withhold his entire confidence; but to some of the latter he imparted with different degrees of explicitness his anxiety for Major Baillie's removal. He also delivered to Mr. Ricketts, the chief secretary, and to the Governor-General two several statements, alike in tenor, in which he preferred a number of complaints against

<sup>1</sup> Minute of the Governor-General, 30th Nov., 1814.—Oude Papers, 920.

<sup>2</sup> 13th Oct.—Papers, 870.

<sup>3</sup> Conversation with Captain Gilbert, about 29th Oct., Oude Papers, 922. Conference with Mr. Ricketts, 31st Oct., *ibid.* p. 875. Ditto with Messrs. Ricketts, Adam, and Swinton, 4th Nov. *Ibid.* 885.



the conduct of the Resident on various occasions, as disrespectful and vexatious, or as encroaching upon the rights and derogatory to the dignity of the Nawab. Both these documents were presented in the course of the 31st of October. On the 1st of November they were retracted. A confidential agent was sent by the Nawab to disavow the averments of the preceding day—declaring that the statements delivered by him did not express his sentiments, and that they had been prepared and put into his hands by European gentlemen attached to his service, who had persuaded him that any representations unfavourable to the Resident would be agreeable to Lord Moira. A similar disavowal was repeated by the Nawab, in a letter to Lord Moira, and in a conference with Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Swinton, in which the principal subjects of complaint, as exhibited in the papers, were deliberately canvassed. They were all disowned, and were referred to the advice of evil counsellors, who had led him to believe that their tenor would be acceptable to the Governor-General. Inferring, however, from the language and deportment of his Lordship, that this information was erroneous, and actually entertaining no cause of complaint against the Resident, the Nawab hastened to withdraw the accusations which had been put into his mouth, and declared his readiness to punish his prompters by their immediate dismissal.<sup>1</sup> They were accordingly dismissed, although they unequivocally denied having had any concern in preparing the documents, or in having influenced the Nawab to present them to the Go-

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<sup>1</sup> Papers, 885



BOOK II. verner-General. It cannot be doubted that their  
 CHAP. III. assertions were true, although they had been re-

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peatedly the confidants of the Nawab's grievances; had apparently sympathized with him; and had assured him that a candid and open exposition would command the Governor-General's attention.<sup>1</sup> The motives of the Nawab's sudden change of purpose are among the worthless secrets of an intriguing Court: his first representations may not have been free from sinister influences, but there is no reason to question the reality of his desire to get rid of the Resident, or to doubt that he sacrificed both his friends and his veracity to a sudden and ungrounded dread of having incurred the Governor-General's displeasure by the open avowal of a wish which, contrary to his expectation, appeared to be unacceptable to his Lordship.<sup>2</sup> The manner in which he pursued and abandoned his design is characteristic of Asiatic duplicity, as well as of unsteadiness of purpose and irresoluteness of execution.

The charges made by the Nawab were communicated to the Resident, and were shown by him to be, in many instances, frivolous, unfounded, or

<sup>1</sup> Papers, 905.—The Resident ascribes this attempt to have him removed to a conspiracy set on foot by Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, who had been removed from the office of Prime Minister to the late Nawab, at the Resident's suggestion, as he was a principal opponent of the plan of reform, being a farmer of the revenue to a considerable extent. His object was to be restored to his appointment, which he knew was impossible while Major Baillie held office.—Papers, p. 955. On the other hand, it appears probable the Nawab's retraction was owing to a panic inspired by the Aga Mir, a personal friend of the Nawab, who, besides his apprehensions of the consequences of his master's complaints, since they had failed to impair the Resident's credit, probably expected by this means to secure the Resident's support in his appointment as the successor of Mehdi Ali. The interested rivalry of these two persons seems to have been the pivot round which the other parts of the plot revolved.

<sup>2</sup> See Baillie's account.—Oude Papers, 957.

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false.<sup>1</sup> Some originated, apparently, in misunderstanding, and others out of the ungracious duties inseparable from his office under the instructions of the Government. As, however, they were withdrawn, no further investigation was considered necessary. A final representation was made by the Nawab, the objects of which were to secure the integrity of his dominions, and to reserve the right of ruling his own territories; of determining the course to be followed in his fiscal and judicial administration, and of electing the persons to be employed; to deprecate the attention of the Government to complaints against his measures preferred by his relations and dependants, to be allowed permission to bestow charitable endowments, and to have the privilege of going out on hunting-parties whenever so inclined. The requests were generally granted, and, in communicating the correspondence to the Resident, instructions were added with regard to the spirit in which his functions were to be exercised; and the connexion with the Nawab maintained. According to Lord Moira's view of that connexion, the right to interfere with advice or remonstrance upon any mismanagement of affairs within the Nawab's reserved dominions was confined to such occasions as might injuriously affect the British interests. In all other respects the administration of the Nawab was to be absolutely free, for it seemed evident to the Governor-General, from the whole tenor of the treaty, that an uninterrupted exercise of his own authority within the reserved dominions was assured to him in order to qualify the

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Resident, 9th Nov.—Papiers, p. 96.

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very strong step of appropriating, in exchange for the subsidy, so large a portion of his territories. The Nawab was consequently to be treated in all public observance as "an independent Prince."<sup>1</sup> Agreeably to this recognition, the conduct of the Resident was to be regulated by the deference due to regal rank, and to be characterised by a respectful urbanity and a strict fulfilment of established ceremonials. In an especial manner he was to refrain from countenancing or encouraging any servant of the Nawab in contumacious opposition to his master, and from recommending any person from his own household for reception into the Nawab's immediate service. By adherence to these, and similar injunctions, the Governor-General hoped that both the actual Resident and his successors would obtain from the Nawab a willing compliance on every occasion where it might be necessary to interpose advice. With these monitory instructions the inquiry terminated, and cordiality was apparently restored. It was not of long duration.

In the month of March following, as the war expenditure still continued, recourse to the hoards of Sadat Ali again became convenient, and the Resident, acting in obedience to the orders of the Governor-General, extracted from the Nawab a second crore of Rupees. Although Ghazi-ud-din complied with the application, his unwilling consent seems to have confirmed his estrangement from the Resident, and rendered him still more than ever hostile to all projects of reform. The Resident, ascribing their imperfect success to underhand oppo-

<sup>1</sup> Papers, 919.



sition, offended by the removal from the Nawab's councils of persons whom he supported, and upon whom he relied, and weakened in influence as well as wounded in feeling by the distrust implied in Lord Moira's private inquiries, and public injunctions, could no longer restrain his indignation. A letter, dated the 29th of April, but not transmitted till the 20th of September, was addressed by him to the Governor-General, in which he vindicated his conduct, and ascribed the proceedings of the Nawab to factious intrigues, encouraged by the prejudice cherished against him by Lord Moira. The Governor-General thought it incumbent upon him to reply, and exonerate himself from the imputation of unfairness, or prejudice against the Resident: doing justice to the character of that officer for integrity and zeal, but avowing his conviction of his having, in his intercourse with both the late and present Nawab, exhibited a grasping and domineering disposition, which justified the jealousy and resentment felt by both the Princes. As it was impossible that the confidence and harmony which should subsist between the Governor-General and his representative at the Court of Lucknow could longer be maintained, the Governor-General, with the concurrence of his council, removed Major Baillie from his office, and left the Nawab of Oude to the uncontrolled constitution of his own cabinet, and the absolute direction of his own domestic administration.

Thus terminated a dissension, which is deserving of record for the illustration it affords of the incidents likely to trouble the equable current of a connection of the nature of that established with the sovereign



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of Oude. That Major Baillie should be an object of dislike to Sadat Ali and his successor was inevitable, from the irksome duties he was appointed to discharge, and the zeal with which he engaged in them: it was impossible, whatever they might profess, that these Princes could have felt a sincere regard for an individual who pressed upon them, with unchanging pertinacity, reforms which they were secretly resolved never to carry into operation. They might, perhaps, have made a distinction between the individual and the functionary, and felt for Major Baillie the regard which they withheld from the Resident; but it is clear from Major Baillie's own language, as exhibited in his correspondence, that he took little care to soften the harshness of his public acts by the suavity of his private manners. He is ever importunate and dictatorial; not unfrequently disrespectful; and occasionally insulting. This is most manifest in his intercourse with Sadat Ali. The evidence is less ample in regard to Ghazi-ud-din, but the precipitancy with which the projected reforms were set on foot, and the interference exercised with the court patronage, combined with his ordinary deportment to intimidate and offend the Nawab. The want of candour and consistency in the latter, which nullified his own purposes, were in part inseparable from the Asiatic character, but were in part also attributable to his inability to discriminate between the private feelings and public principles of an individual exercising the high office of Governor-General. Undoubtedly Lord Moira was prejudiced against Major Baillie, and had imbibed and strengthened

his prejudices from sources scarcely worthy of his exalted station—the private information of unofficial persons. This bias was not, however, derived solely from this cause, and was taken, in part, from the tone of the Resident's correspondence which jarred with his high sentiments of loyal deference to princely rank. Whatever were his prepossessions, however, he founded upon them no public proceedings injurious to the Resident; and, entirely satisfied with that officer's ability and uprightness, retained him in his post, and recommended to the Nawab to place entire confidence in his judgment and friendship. It was not to be expected, however, that the degree of independence which he had acknowledged in the Nawab, would dispose that Prince to follow his recommendation, or would be palatable to the political representative who, long fortified by the unqualified confidence of the Government, had possessed little less than regal sway throughout the principality of Oude. His retirement was, therefore, unavoidable for the preservation of a good understanding with the Court of Lucknow, and was followed by a perfect cordiality which was cemented by the events of succeeding years.<sup>1</sup>

The internal tranquillity of the British dominions suffered at this time partial interruptions, which, although not affecting the permanent preservation of public order, or impairing the credit and authority of the Government, exhibited characteristic illustrations of the difficulty of legislating for a people

<sup>1</sup> The second loan was commuted by treaty with the Nawab for Khyraghur and the country between the Gogra and the North Eastern Boundary of Oude, 1st May, 1816.

BOOK II. imperfectly known by those who enacted or administered their laws, and who as imperfectly appreciated the real objects and intentions of their rulers ;

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1815. in other words, of the difficulty of governing a people without admitting them to any participation in the conduct of their own affairs. Disturbances, which for a time assumed a serious aspect, broke out in the Western provinces, and in Cuttack. The former were speedily repressed by a prompt and vigorous exertion of the power of the Government : the latter were of more protracted continuance, and were at last quelled rather by conciliatory than rigorous measures.

It was noticed on a former occasion, that in consequence of the opposition made to the imposition of a tax on houses, the Government of Bengal had adopted a different mode of providing for the cost of the municipal police,<sup>1</sup> and had empowered the chief inhabitants in several of the towns to assess themselves in the amount necessary to defray the support of a sufficient number of watchmen, or choukidars. The plan being found to succeed in the cities in which it was first introduced, was extended in the beginning of 1814 to other towns in the Lower Provinces, and in the course of the same year to those places in the districts of Benares and Bareilly which were the stations of the magistrates, to whom was entrusted the duty of effecting the requisite arrangements.<sup>1</sup>

The regulation thus enacted by the Government was not at all palatable to the towns to which it was to be applied, but after some little delay the

<sup>1</sup> Reg. iii., 1814, and xvi., 1814.



repugnance of the people was overcome everywhere, except in Bareilly. This city was the residence of a considerable population, many of whom were of Afghan descent, and were notorious for their military propensities and impetuous disposition. Among them, also, were the representatives of families formerly of rank and consideration, which were reduced to comparative insignificance by the change of Government, and the members of which were consequently discontented with the present state of affairs. A similar spirit pervaded this class of Mohammedans throughout the province; and, although no acts of oppression or injustice could be charged against the Government, yet a system that sought to render all alike amenable to public justice was peculiarly distasteful to men who regarded themselves superior to all law, and able to protect their own rights and avenge their own wrongs. The defects of the judicial administration—its expensiveness and delay—the unrelenting, and, in some instances, excessive assessments on the land, and the procrastination of a settlement either for a stated period, or in perpetuity, enhanced the unpopularity which difference of origin and religion affixed to a foreign Government. Neither was the past forgotten; and the defeat of the Rohillas at Bithora, twenty-two years before, which was currently attributed, not to the superior valour or discipline of the victors, but to the treachery of their own leaders, still rankled in the hearts of the people of Rohilkhand. Local causes of popular animosity also prevailed. The Kotwal, or head of the Police, was a Hindû of an overbearing and tyrannical disposition, and the European magistrate, by re-

BOOK II.  
CHAP. III.

1815.



BOOK II. served and uncourteous manners, had given so much  
CHAP. III. offence to the most respectable of the inhabitants,

1815. that they avoided as much as possible all private and friendly intercourse with him. He had thus deprived himself of the most natural and efficacious means of influencing the feelings and conduct of the people.

In this temper of men's minds the new regulation was promulgated. The repugnance felt by the natives of India to any new impost was immediately displayed, although in the present instance it could scarcely be regarded as a novelty, as in those parts of the town, where the principal shops were situated, the inhabitants had been long accustomed to assess themselves with a moderate rate for the express purpose of maintaining a municipal police. The only grounds of objection were, therefore, the augmented amount of the tax, and its universal application, falling upon those who had been hitherto exempt, and who were chiefly the more respectable and influential householders—the impoverished gentry of Bareilly. To these circumstances were to be added the fear, that if this impost were introduced, it would be a prelude to others, and the knowledge of the success with which resistance to the house tax had been attended at Benares, further encouraged the people of Bareilly to resist the execution of the law. Few of the principal men would undertake the apportionment and collection of the tax in their respective divisions, and those who at first assented, were compelled by pasquinades and popular songs, by abuse and threats, to evade or decline the fulfilment of the duty. Frequent assemblages of the people were

held, especially at the house of the Mufti Moham-  
med Aiwaz, an individual of great age and reputed  
sanctity, who was held in profound veneration  
throughout Rohilkhand, and who was induced by the  
persuasions of some designing and discontented per-  
sons of consideration in the town to countenance the  
popular excitement. The proceedings of the people  
seem at first to have been modelled after those at  
Benares; business stood still, the shops were shut,  
and multitudes assembled near the magistrate's office  
to petition for the abolition of the tax; but as their  
application was unavailing, they were soon weary  
of such moderate means of seeking redress, and in  
harmony with their natural temperament, assumed a  
more menacing and formidable attitude.

BOOK II.  
CHAP. III.

1816.

Finding that the opposition of the people was not  
to be overcome through the agency of the higher  
classes, the magistrate, Mr. Dumbleton, commanded  
the assessment to be made by the Kotwal, who  
aggravated the popular indignation by threatening  
the lower orders with the stocks, and the superior  
with chains and imprisonment, if they continued  
refractory. The actual collection of the tax was  
commenced by the magistrate in person, and by his  
orders the shop of a recusant trader was forcibly  
entered, and property to the amount of the sum  
assessed was distrained for sale. In the execution  
of his commands, a woman in the shop received a  
wound from some of the Police Peons, and as soon  
as the Magistrate had withdrawn, she was placed on  
a bed, and carried by the people to the Mufti. By  
his direction she was conveyed to the residence of  
the Magistrate, who ordered that she should lodge

BOOK II. her complaint in due form in the chief criminal  
CHAP. III. court. The people carried her back to the Mufti,

1816. who exclaimed, that if such was the Magistrate's justice, no man's life or honour was safe in Bareilly; and that it was high time for him to leave the town. It does not appear that the injury inflicted on the woman was very severe, but the little regard paid to the case exasperated the angry feelings that prevailed.

As the excitement continued to increase, and numerous mobs of both Mohammedans and Hindus, assembled in the streets of Bareilly, and in the vicinity of the Mufti's residence, the Magistrate apprehended a serious breach of the public peace, and deemed it necessary to disperse the multitude. For this purpose he repaired on the 16th of April to the city, attended by a few horsemen and about thirty Sipahis of the provincial battalion. Upon his approach a rumour spread abroad that he was coming to apprehend the person of the Mufti, and place him in confinement; and the old man, either apprehending, or feigning to apprehend, the disgrace of being dragged to prison, left his home to take sanctuary in a shrine in the suburbs of the city, held in peculiar reverence by the Mohammedans. The mob fell back as the magistrate's party advanced, but when near the Mufti's residence they turned, and in order to cover his flight, barred further access. The horsemen who were sent to clear the passage were resolutely resisted by the people, who were armed with swords and pikes, and two of the troopers were killed and several wounded. The Sipahis then fired, but, although many fell, the rioters stood their ground



until the escape of Mohammed Aiwaz was secured: they then dispersed. The Mufti received a slight wound in the affray, but he effected his retreat to the shrine of Shahdara, and there his associates, hoisting the green flag of Islam, proclaimed that the religion of the faithful was in danger. He was immediately joined by a great part of the armed population of the town, and letters having been dispatched to the surrounding districts, numbers of resolute and enthusiastic Mohammedans flocked to his rescue, particularly from the towns of Pilibhit, Shahjehanpur, and Rampur, the two last being comprised in the independent Jagir of Ahmed Ali Khan, the Nawab of Rampur. Religious enthusiasm, national aversion, and the love of tumultuous excitement, thus combined to attract recruits to the standard, and, in the course of two days, assembled some five or six thousand men, armed with swords and matchlocks, scarcely knowing for what they were about to contend, but not the less resolved to peril their lives in the contest.<sup>1</sup>

On their part, the European functionaries were active in preparing for the encounter. The force at their disposal consisted only of about two hundred

<sup>1</sup> Great exaggeration prevailed in the reported numbers of the insurgents. They were said to amount to five thousand matchlockmen, seven thousand swordsmen, and a large body armed with spears and clubs. One thousand five hundred matchlocks were said to have come from Pilibhit alone, the whole of the Pilibhit party not exceeding three or four hundred. About the same number moved from Rampur, but did not all arrive in time. There is nowhere any exact report of the number engaged, but that stated in the text seems to be most probable. Had time permitted, the multitude would have greatly increased, as many bodies were on the march, when news of the result of the action sent them back.—*Asiatic Monthly Journal*, Jan. 5, 1817. In the evidence of Major Macan, he states that ten or fifteen thousand men assembled in 1816 at Bareilly.—*Comm. Comm. Evid. Military*, p. 209.



BOOK II. and seventy men of the 2nd battalion of the 27th  
CHAP. III. regiment of Native infantry, with two guns, under  
1816. Captain Boscawen, and one hundred and fifty of a  
Provincial Battalion commanded by Lieut. Lucas. Two companies of the former were immediately posted near the mosque to keep the Mufti and his adherents in check, while the cantonments and European residents were under the protection of the remainder. Application for reinforcements was dispatched to the nearest stations, and Captain Cunningham, with a regiment of irregular horse, and Major Richards, with the 2nd battalion of the 13th N. I., marched immediately from Moradabad; both corps made forced marches, and the former arrived on the ground on the 19th, the latter on the 21st. In the mean time, repeated conferences were held with the Mufti and his chief adherents by officers deputed by the magistrate. The Mufti would willingly have listened to terms, but he could not allay the storm which he had been so instrumental in arousing; and many of the more respectable individuals, including the members of the family of Hafiz Rehmat, who had at first joined the insurgents, withdrew, and left them to the ungovernable passions, which listened to no controul. The rioters declared that they would not be satisfied, nor retire, unless the Choukidar tax was abolished—the Kotwal was delivered up to them to suffer the law of retaliation for the blood shed on the 16th; provision was made for the families of those who fell on that occasion, and a general pardon was proclaimed. As compliance with these demands was refused, they hastened to a decision of the struggle before the junction of the

13th, of the approach of which they were aware. BOOK II.  
On the morning of the 21st they signalized their CHAP. III.  
purpose by murdering a young gentleman, the son 1816.  
of Mr. Leycester, one of the Judges of the Court of  
Circuit, as he passed peaceably and unarmed from  
one military post to another. This was followed by  
an onset upon the troops who were drawn out to  
receive them. A short distance divided the en-  
campment of the infantry from that of the irregular  
horse; the intervening space, a plain covered with  
Mohammedan tombs, was occupied by the rioters.  
Their first attack was made upon the Sipahis, whom  
they greatly outnumbered and surrounded. Being  
formed in a square the troops repulsed every charge,  
although the assailants fought with fury; some of  
them making their way into the square, where they  
were cut down or bayoneted. On his side, Captain  
Cunningham's horse charged the masses of the multi-  
tude, and threw them into confusion. Repulsed in  
their forward movements, they took up their ground  
in a grove defended by a low wall, but were soon  
driven out of it by the troops, who pursued them into  
the old town and set fire to the huts in which they had  
taken shelter. This put an end to the conflict. The  
insurgents dispersed, leaving between three and four  
hundred dead, and a greater number wounded and  
taken prisoners. The loss of the troops was incon-  
siderable.<sup>1</sup> The arrival of the 13th soon after secured  
the victory. The result of this engagement was a  
legitimate subject of congratulation, as the success  
of the rioters would, in all probability, have been  
a signal for the rising of the whole province, and

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-one killed, sixty-two wounded.

BOOK II.  
CHAP. III.

1816.

the commencement of an insurrection, which could not have been suppressed without much loss of life and the aggravated hatred of the people. The town submitted peaceably to the regulations. Of the rioters, the Mufti and some of the principal ring-leaders quitted the Company's territories, and were never allowed to return. A few of those who were apprehended were brought to trial before the Court of Circuit, but were dismissed, after some detention, for want of evidence to convict them; the greater number were at once pardoned, and set at liberty on promise of good behaviour at the suggested intercession of their countrymen in the ranks both of the Provincial corps and the Rohilla horse, who had faithfully discharged their duty, although in deadly conflict with many of their relatives and friends; the principles of military honour and allegiance silencing, in a remarkable manner, on this occasion, the promptings of natural affection. Great courage and constancy were displayed in the suppression of the tumult, but it would probably not have occurred had the people of Bareilly been taught to regard those placed in authority over them with confidence and good-will.<sup>1</sup>

The other proceedings in the western provinces, although of a more imposing character, involved considerations of inferior importance, as popular feeling was rather in unison with, than arrayed against, the measures of the Government. The for-

<sup>1</sup> A Committee of Inquiry was appointed by the Government to investigate the causes of the disturbance, the conduct of the public officers, and the state of public feeling in Rohilkhand. The details in the text are taken chiefly from the report made in consequence in August, 1816, and from the accompanying documents furnished.—MS. Records.



bearance or negligence of former administrations had allowed a few of the great Talukdars of the Doab to retain many of the privileges which the most considerable of their order had usurped, during the preceding times of anarchy; and although the districts, for the revenues of which they were held accountable, were not intended to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Company's officers, yet, no measures had been formally adopted to bring them within the sphere of the regulations. The Talukdars were silently suffered to exercise supreme judicial authority within their own estates, to regulate their own police, to keep up large bodies of military followers, and to convert their places of residence into fortresses of formidable extent and strength. Of these petty chieftains, one of the most considerable was Dayaram, Talukdar or Zemindar of a number of villages in the Doab, in the district of Aligerh. His residence was at the fort and adjacent walled town of Hatras. The fort was of the usual construction of similar strongholds, built of mud, or rather of sun-dried clay, having walls of great height and thickness, with towers at the angles, mounting a number of guns, and defended by a very broad and deep ditch. The town was also protected by a wall and a ditch. The force kept up by Dayaram was about eight thousand strong, of which three thousand five hundred were horse.

The consequences of possessing so many of the attributes of independence were a belief in its reality and a spirit of opposition to any interference with its exercise. While professing obedience to the will of the Government, the authority of its officers

BOOK II.  
CHAP. III.

1816.



BOOK II. was perpetually evaded or defied, and although the  
 CHAP. III.

1816.

revenue was duly discharged, yet the means by which it was collected were often oppressive and tyrannical, and the villagers in vain appealed to the protection of the paramount power: any attempt to enforce either civil or criminal justice within the Taluk was baffled or resisted: criminals were either openly sheltered, or covertly enabled to escape from punishment, and gangs of robbers were permitted to fix their head-quarters in the country of the Talukdar, on condition of paying him a share of the spoils, levied from the adjacent districts. These evils had been frequently noticed by the Government, the Landholders menaced with its displeasure, and the judicial officers directed to carry the regulations into effect; but the demolition of their forts was an indispensable preliminary to the humiliation of their possessors, and this it had not hitherto been found convenient or deemed prudent to attempt. The Governor-General in Council now determined to take advantage of the concentration of troops in progress in the Western Provinces, and to accomplish the extinction of the power of the contumacious landholders, if necessary, by military operations. Dayaram, as the most powerful and most audacious, was accordingly required to testify the sincerity of his profession of allegiance, by disbanding his troops and dismantling his fortress of Hatras; and a strong division,<sup>1</sup> under the command of Ge-

<sup>1</sup> It consisted of the 8th and 24th light dragoons, 3rd and 7th N. C., 1st and 2nd Rohilla horse and rocket troop; his Majesty's 14th and 87th regiments, and of Native Infantry, the 2nd battalion of the 1st, 1st battalion of the 11th, 2nd battalion of the 12th, 2nd battalion of the 15th, 2nd battalion of the 25th, 21st battalion of the 29th, and 2nd grenadier battalion.

neral Marshall, took the field in the beginning of the year, to show that the requisition was not to be trifled with.

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The troops employed against Hatras marched from the several military stations of Cawnpur, Muttra, and Meerut, early in February, and the fort was completely invested by the 12th of that month. Overtures of submission were made by Dayaram, but the demolition of his strong hold was a condition to which he could not be prevailed upon to yield, and recourse being necessarily had to compulsion, batteries were opened against the town and fort, and a vigorous bombardment was kept up upon the latter. A practicable breach was effected in the walls of the town by the 23rd, but the garrison avoided a storm, and evacuated the place on the following morning. The bombardment of the fort continued with increased activity, and most of the buildings were in ruins. On the 2nd of March, a shell made its way into the powder magazine, and was followed by a tremendous explosion, which completed the work of desolation within the ramparts. The besieged still maintained a show of resistance, and returned the fire of the batteries; but Dayaram, now convinced of the futility of resistance, and alarmed for his safety, effected his escape at midnight with a small body of retainers. They were encountered by a party of the dragoons, but made good their retreat, after inflicting more loss than they suffered, being armed with back and

Besides artillery and pioneers, the ordnance comprised seventy-one mortars and howitzers, and thirty-four battering guns (24 and 18-pounders), besides 12-pounders for enfilading; the whole under the direction of Major Anbury as chief engineer.

BOOK II. breast-plates and gauntlets of steel. The alarm  
CHAP. III. being given, the troops were immediately ordered  
1816. to the gates, and, after overcoming some resistance  
from those of the garrison who were endeavouring to  
escape, they gained possession of the fortress. The  
capture of Hatras secured the ready submission of  
the other refractory landholders; and such anomalous  
structures, as mud forts, and fortified villages, dis-  
appeared from among the dwellings of a peaceful  
population. Dayaram took refuge with Amir  
Khan, but, in the course of two years, was allowed to  
return to the Company's territories, upon his pro-  
mise of submission, and ultimately received a pen-  
sion in lieu of the emoluments he had formerly  
derived from his fiscal agency between the village  
community and the state.

The countries extending along the Western fron-  
tier, from the south of Behar to the Northern Cir-  
cars, partake of the same general character, and  
consist, for the most part, of low ranges of hills, off-  
shoots from the Vindhya chain, covered with dense  
forests, and thinly inhabited by barbarous tribes.  
The inhabitants, under various designations, may be  
regarded, perhaps, as fragmentary remnants of the  
original occupants of India, dispossessed of the level  
lands by foreign races, and driven to contend with  
the beasts of the forest for a scanty sustenance, and  
with the pestilential malaria of the thickets for a  
brief and precarious existence. Nor had they been  
suffered to enjoy these haunts in peace; adventurers  
from the conquering stock had penetrated into the  
most accessible spots, and established their sway  
over petty principalities, the lands of which were



distributed among their adherents on the tenure of military service. On the habits of the savage and the hunter were thus grafted, the turbulence and insolence of military adventure ; and the communities were only prevented from degenerating into utter anarchy by the personal consideration enjoyed by those who were descended from the original leaders, and were regarded as their natural chiefs. The Rajas, although often at feud with each other, or with their own dependents, formed the main cement of the ill-combined structure. It was among these people, with very little knowledge of their character, or of their wants, that it was attempted to introduce judicial and fiscal arrangements, borrowed from the principles and practice of highly civilized society. The consequences were perpetual breaches of the public peace, insurrections on a petty but mischievous scale, and the employment of troops in districts where the climate was the most formidable enemy to be encountered. At the time at which we are arrived, the attention of the Government of Fort St. George was occupied by three different risings in the Northern Circars, while that of Bengal was called upon to suppress a violent but short-lived outbreak in Ramgerh, and a still more extensive and protracted disturbance in Cuttack.

The northern Circars were generally in the occupancy of such chiefs as have been above noticed, hereditary Rajas or Zemindars, claiming political as well as territorial rights, and paying a tribute to the government of the day, but never acknowledging themselves as its functionaries in the collection of revenue. They had been so treated by the British Go-

BOOK. II.  
CHAP. III.

1816.



BOOK II. vernment, and a permanent settlement was made with  
CHAP. III. them for the amount of their tributes. With the set-  
1816. tlement, however, came arrears, the sale of their  
lands, and the consequent insurrection of the chiefs,  
powerfully abetted by their adherents and tenants.  
There came, also, the introduction of the judicial sys-  
tem and the Daroga Police, and the infliction of fraud  
and violence upon a rude and barbarous race. Re-  
sistance and disorder were the necessary results, and  
after fifty years occupation the authority of the  
Government could scarcely be considered as esta-  
blished. There was constantly some petty rebellion  
on the part of the Rajas, or there were disturbances  
arising out of their mutual quarrels, or intrigues  
among their own people, which it was necessary for  
the Government to suppress. The task was ardu-  
ous, for a great part of the country, consisting of  
hill and thicket, was as fatal as inaccessible, and  
order was never re-established, without a prodigious  
sacrifice of life. In the first of the transactions  
under remark, the hereditary manager of Kimedi  
had been driven out by an adverse party, and his  
removal had been confirmed by the Government.  
In defiance of the sentence he endeavoured to re-  
cover his authority, and a civil war distracted the  
district, which led to serious outrages, and was only  
tranquillized by the seizure of the ringleaders and  
the confinement of the manager. In the Moheri  
estate, the Rani, the representative of an ancient  
family, had been dispossessed by a fraudulent sale  
of the lands she inherited: although she was per-  
sonally engaged in no commotion, yet her tenants  
took up her cause, and not only expelled or mur-

dered the people of the intrusive purchaser, but the officers of the Police, and committed extensive depredations on the neighbouring lands. The Raja of the hill country of Gumsar, in like manner was irritated by the attempts of the Police to bring him before the tribunal of the Company's courts, and, in the frenzy of his resentment, perpetrated acts of violence which led to his forcible imprisonment. The people of Gumsar, a highly barbarous race, continued, nevertheless, in arms, and committed the most atrocious excesses upon the peaceable population of the lowlands, which were retaliated by the dispatch of troops into the district. These disturbances were not repressed without the employment of five battalions of infantry and a regiment of cavalry, under the command of General Rumley; and, although the presence of so large a force deterred the insurgents from assembling in any strength, yet they long lurked in the impenetrable thickets on the borders of Cuttack and Ganjam, prepared to resume their depredations in the latter, and lending their aid to the troubles which agitated the former province in 1817.<sup>1</sup>

The wish of the Government to be relieved from the irksome task of managing the turbulent Cherus and Kharwars, the military cultivators of Palamu, upon the sale of the Zemindari for arrears of *r  venue*, induced them to transfer it, in 1816, to a neighbouring Zemindar, who consented to be responsible for the revenue at a reduced rate, and

<sup>1</sup> Reports on the State of the Northern Circars, by Mr. W. Thackeray, in March, 1819. Selections from the Records, i. 974. Visit of Sir Thomas Munro to the Northern Circars, January, 1823. Ibid. iii. 556; also MSS. Records.

BOOK II. to superintend and manage the police. The villages  
CHAP. III. were generally held by tenants who had been ac-  
1817. customed to consider themselves permanent occu-  
pants, at a fixed rate of assessment. Their new  
chief began his reign by raising the rents of some  
and wholly dispossessing others: a general rising en-  
sued: the officers of the Zemindar were attacked,  
some were killed, the police stations were demo-  
lished, and the riot was not put down without the  
employment of a military force. As rights sanc-  
tified by long prescription and popular estimation  
had undoubtedly been invaded, contrary to the in-  
tention of the Government, the Renter was removed,  
and the management of the district taken under the  
immediate superintendence of the Company, by which  
means order was, for a season at least, restored.

In Cuttack the insurrection was more extensive,  
and its suppression longer delayed. It arose out of  
the operation of the revenue enactments of the Go-  
vernment; but its immediate and exciting cause was  
the manner in which those enactments were exe-  
cuted, the flagrant extortion and cruel oppression  
practised by the subordinate functionaries of every  
department of the state. The natives of Orissa had  
always been proverbial for mental dullness, and their  
inaptitude for public duties occasioned, even under  
their own princes, while the country was yet a Hindu  
kingdom, the employment in all offices of trust of  
foreigners from the neighbouring countries of Telin-  
gana and Bengal. The latter chiefly filled the public  
stations under the English magistrates and collec-  
tors, and, under a succession of superiors, who seem  
to have exercised little vigilance or activity in con-



trolling their subordinates or in punishing corruption, preyed with impunity upon the helpless and bewildered population of the province, and rendered the Government itself dreaded and detested.

BOOK II.  
CHAP. III.  
1817.

The rigorous exaction of the Government assessment on the land everywhere calculated, in combination with the improvidence of the Zemindars, to lead to their impoverishment and ruin, was peculiarly mischievous in Cuttack. The amount, originally calculated on an erroneous principle, was excessive, and,<sup>1</sup> in order to discharge it, the Zemindars were compelled to raise their demands upon the people, who were generally wholly unable to pay them. The Zemindars consequently fell speedily<sup>2</sup> into arrears, and their estates were sold to new men, either to the revenue officers themselves, or their Bengali countrymen, whose means of gratifying the cupidity of the public functionaries rendered many of their sales wholly collusive and fraudulent;<sup>3</sup> and sacrificed the original proprietor not so much at the shrine of public good as of private emolument.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original assessment was computed on an average of that which appeared to have been paid for some years to the Mahrattas, but the Mahratta assessment was liable to many deductions which were not admitted into the British. Even then it exceeded the average amount by 1,65,000 rupees, the Mahratta being Rs. 10,15,000, the British Rs. 11,80,000. Under the periodical and progressive assessments, however, this amount had been raised, in 1816-17, to Rs. 13,82,000. The augmentation had been made at random. In Khurda the highest assessment under the former system never exceeded five anas per biga; under the later arrangement it amounted to seven and a half.

<sup>2</sup> Of 3000 Zemindars who had contracted for the revenue in 1803, only 1450 were in possession in 1817-18.

<sup>3</sup> The Munshi of one of the Collectors purchased an estate, assessed at an annual Jumma, of 50,000 rupees, for 23,000 rupees,—less than half a year's purchase.

<sup>4</sup> The estate of Hamishpore, although one of those held at a quit-rent, was sold for arrears and bought by an opulent Bengali; the dispossessed Zemindar was, of course, one of the leaders of the insurrection.



BOOK II. The intrusive Zemindars, odious from their very intrusion, and the sinister course well known to the  
 CHAP. III.

1817. people, by which their end was attained, eager to make the most of their purchases, incurred by their unsparing extortions still more intense hatred. By their exactions the rents of the tenants were raised to the highest possible amount, and those who claimed to hold their lands on easy terms, in lieu of certain services, were either fully assessed, or were turned adrift.<sup>1</sup> These latter were, for the most part, the only persons in the province familiar with the use of arms; the Paiks, or militia and police of the country under the Native Government; and they were little inclined to submit with patience to the loss of their property and annihilation of their privileges.

To these subjects of public distress and discontent was added another pressure upon the people, in the extreme enhancement of the price of an article of first necessity, Salt, in consequence of the precipitate introduction of the Company's monopoly. The price was injudiciously fixed at a rate far beyond the means of the inhabitants of the province, being six or seven times that at which it had been ordinarily sold.<sup>2</sup> The state benefited but comparatively little, for smuggling was almost openly practised by the very

<sup>1</sup> Such were the effects of these measures that the people sold everything, even to their wives and children, to obtain sustenance, and when all was insufficient they abandoned their homes and fled into the forests. In the course of 1816 between five and six thousand houses were thus deserted, and the country was becoming depopulated.

<sup>2</sup> On the extension of the monopoly to the southern divisions of Cuttack, the price in Khurda rose, from about fourteen anas to six rupees per maund. This was peculiarly oppressive to the people of Orissa, as they were accustomed to eat their boiled rice on the second day, when it was stale and more than originally insipid.

persons appointed to prevent it. Yet, as the illicit traders kept up the prices, the people suffered severely, and were ripe for revolt against a Government, by whose measures and whose agents, they were deprived of the means of procuring the necessaries of life. Nor were the judicial arrangements of their new rulers less obnoxious to the simple and ignorant inhabitants, accustomed to summary and informal decision. Unacquainted with the very language of the regulations,<sup>1</sup> and incapable of comprehending the forms of the courts, they found themselves entirely at the mercy of the public officers, and were made to pay heavily for justice, which, in the end, they seldom attained. The police was a still more insufferable grievance; in lieu of the native Paiks, Darogas and their myrmidons were introduced, and were as rapacious as they were inefficient. Property was annihilated, and little security for person survived.<sup>2</sup>

BOOK II.  
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The province of Cuttack was distributed between two classes of occupants; those who cultivated the Mogulbandi, the open and most productive part of the country, and the people of the Rajwara, which, on one side of the Mogulbandi, extended in a narrow

<sup>1</sup> They were in Bengali.

<sup>2</sup> The police Daroga of Khurda contrived, in the course of a few years, to extort a lakh of rupees (10,000*l.*) from the villagers. The Serishtadar of the Civil Court of Cuttack was convicted of having taken bribes to the extent of about 60,000 rupees (6000*l.*) in a few cases, and had realised a very large property by an unchecked course of similar corruption. It is worthy of note that the officers of the courts who were punished for their malpractices were all Mohammedans. Hindu functionaries would not probably have been more honest under such a system, but they would have been less daring, less tyrannical, and might have been less insatiable; at any rate, they would have been less obnoxious to the Uriya population, although a dislike of Bengalis seems to have been a national feeling. One of the grievances urged by the insurgents was, that "a parcel of Bengalis pretended to be their masters."

BOOK II. slip along the sea coast, and, on the other, spread  
 CHAP. III. westward over a broad expanse of hill and wil-  
 1817. derness. The estates of the Mogulbandi were as-  
 sessed on the same principles as those in Bengal;  
 the Rajwara estates, consisting of tracts ill adapted  
 to cultivation, were held at a low quit rent, and on  
 the condition of military service.<sup>1</sup> One of the most  
 considerable was the district of Khurda, lying a  
 short distance west of the celebrated shrine of Ja-  
 gannath. It was the Zemindari of the Raja of  
 Khurda, who was dear to the people, as the heredi-  
 tary descendant of the once powerful Gajapati kings  
 of Orissa, the acknowledged head of the several petty  
 chiefs, and who was invested with additional sanctity  
 from his having the hereditary privilege of being the  
 sweeper of the temple of Vishnu. The estate of  
 Khurda had been held under the Mahrattas, at a  
 light quit rent; under the English authorities, it was  
 assessed at a rate at which the Raja declined to  
 hold it,<sup>2</sup> and he was accordingly allowed to reside  
 at Puri, in discharge of his duties in the temple,  
 upon a yearly malikana, while his lands were taken  
 under the management of the revenue officers.  
 Their management, in the course of a few years, re-  
 duced the people to poverty and despair, and this  
 province was consequently the seat of the first and  
 most violent disorders.

The dispossessed Paiks and Ryots of Khurda

<sup>1</sup> Account of Orissa, by A. Stirling.—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

<sup>2</sup> The Raja paid to the Mahrattas, when they could compel him to pay anything, 15,000 rupees a-year, but he often evaded the payment. He was willing to engage for double the amount to the British Government, but a lakh, or 100,000 rupees was demanded. This he declared himself unable to discharge. It was, however, raised, and in 1816 augmented to 1,38,000 rupees, of which 25,000 rupees were paid to the Raja for subsistence.



found a bold and active leader in Jagbandhu, who was the hereditary Bakhshi, or paymaster and commander of the Raja of Khurda, and proprietor of a landed estate in the province. By a course of chicanery and fraud, in which the native officers were chiefly concerned, he was deprived of his patrimony, and told to seek redress in the courts of law. He was too poor and too impatient of wrong to appeal to such tardy and uncertain protection, and rashly, though pardonably, attempted to vindicate his own rights by the instrumentality of popular insurrection. Assisted by a body of the wild tribes of Gumsar, and joined by a number of Paiks and unhoused Ryots, he appeared in the chief village of Khurda, attacked and put the police to flight, and killed some of the people; set the station on fire, and plundered and burnt the office of the government collector. No injury was done to any one unconnected with the Government. The success of this attack was soon spread abroad; the whole province was in a state of insurrection, and Jagbandhu, in a few weeks, was at the head of above three thousand rioters, armed with swords, spears, bows and arrows, and a few matchlocks.

As soon as news of the tumult reached Cuttack, a detachment of troops was dispatched to Khurda; a party from which, sent out to collect provisions, was surprised at the pass of Ganjpura, and was driven back on the main body, with the loss of an officer, Ensign Faris, commanding it. The rest of the detachment fell back to Pipli, losing their baggage and cattle. A second attempt made by the magistrate, with a military guard, to enter Khurda, failed,

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BOOK II. and the party retreated to Cuttack, harassed by the  
CHAP. III. insurgents. Jagbandhu was, in consequence, em-

1817. boldened to advance to the town of Jagannath, of which he took possession. The only force at this place consisted of about eighty Sipahis, while the rioters were estimated at four thousand. The town was plundered; the fort, buildings, and bungalows were set on fire, and the troops stationed for the defence of the collector's house and treasury, were attacked; they repulsed the assailants, but the officer commanding judged it expedient to retreat with the public treasure to Cuttack. This affair contributed to extend the insurrection, and every district in which the ancient proprietors had been deprived of their estates, was in arms. The triumph of the rebels at Puri was short-lived. One of their objects in marching thither had been to place their Raja at their head; but his fears or his prudence deterred him from connecting himself with the disturbance, and one material element of opposition was thus defective. At the same time, Capt. Le Fevre, with the greater part of the 1st battalion of the 18th N. I., marched from Khurda to recover Puri. At Devendra, the battalion was encountered by the Uriyas, and an action ensued, which speedily terminated in their defeat. Puri was re-occupied, and the person of the Raja being secured, he was removed to Cuttack.

Although the affair at Devendra showed that the insurgents were wholly unable to cope with the regular troops, the disturbances were far from being allayed. Khurda was entirely in their possession, and in the beginning of May, a body of above two thousand made an attack upon a detachment at

Pipli, in the neighbourhood. It was repulsed, and the rebels never afterwards appeared in force; but risings took place in Limbai, Kurdes, and Kujang, which the civil power was unable to restrain, and to suppress which it was necessary to station troops in the provinces. Martial law was proclaimed, reinforcements were dispatched to Cuttack, and General Sir Gabriel Martindell was ordered to take the command, with additional authority as joint commissioner with the judge and magistrate. By the military dispositions which were made, and, in a still greater degree, by the assurances held out to the people by the military commissioner, that their grievances, if peaceably represented, would be listened to and redressed, tranquillity, through the greater part of the troubled districts, was restored by the end of the year. Jagbandhu, and some of the leaders, still, however, kept aloof, and lurked for a while in the wild tracts along the upper course of the Mahanadi; but driven from thence by the combined operation of detachments sent from Cuttack to Boad, and others from Sambhalpur, they retreated to Khanpur, in the south-west angle of the province, where the Khunds of Gumsar gave them shelter; and, although large rewards were offered for their apprehension, none of their adherents proved treacherous, none of the people of the country were tempted to betray them.

The tranquillity of Cuttack was confirmed by the appointment of a special commissioner,<sup>1</sup> with exten-

BOOK II.  
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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ker, and afterwards, upon his death, Mr. Blunt. Besides the functional benefits derived from this arrangement, through the employment of intelligent and upright Commissioners, we owe to it a descriptive and

BOOK II. sive powers; and by the measures and enactments of  
 CHAP. III. the Government, adopted at his suggestion, large re-

1818. missions of arrears and reductions in the assessment were made,<sup>1</sup> and the revenue officers were authorized, at discretion, to suspend the sale of the estates of defaulters, and rather subject their persons to imprisonment.<sup>2</sup> A new settlement was made for three years:<sup>3</sup> such of the native officers as had been most notorious for extortion and oppression, were deservedly punished, and such of their European superiors as were considered to be implicated in the causes of the insurrection were removed. Some of the unhappy people who had been driven into rebellion lost their lives in action, and others, taken with arms in their hands, suffered death under the operation of martial law: when that ceased, the offenders were transferred to the civil power, and many were condemned to a prolonged period of confinement and hard labour. By these several means of severity and conciliation, the province was so entirely tranquillized, that in August, 1819, a general amnesty was proclaimed, with the exception of a few

historical account of Orissa, of great interest and value, drawn up by the Secretary to the Commission, Mr. Andrew Stirling, a member of the civil service of Bengal, and one of its brightest ornaments, although his career was cut short by a too early death. The account is printed in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv.

<sup>1</sup> When the Commissioner reached Cuttack the balance of arrears exceeded nineteen lakhs of rupees, (£190,000.) of which about six were remitted; the consequence was the realization of the revenues of the year 1818-19, with a very trifling balance, and with a very limited recourse to the measure of a public sale. The revenue on the tributary Mehals was reduced from Rs. 333,000 to 206,000. More attention than heretofore was paid to the tenures, and in the estates held under the Government, settlements were made with the Ryots. Revenue Letter from Bengal, 30th March, 1121. Selections from the Records, iii. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. x. of 1818.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. xiii. of 1819.

of the leaders. Some years elapsed before they were considered to be objects of clemency; but, in 1825, Jagbandhu was induced to surrender himself, and was allowed to reside in Cuttack upon a pension from the Government. This event extinguished the last spark of a rebellion, in which the people were much less to blame than the functionaries of the state, whether native or European, the former having remorselessly aggravated, by corruption and tyranny, intolerable burthens; the latter having permitted free scope to their subordinates, neglected to make themselves acquainted with the institutions of the country and the circumstances of the people, and having omitted to bring to the knowledge of the Government the utter inapplicability to Cuttack of arrangements which, whether applicable or not, had been imposed upon the agricultural population of Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

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1818.

These transactions, however illustrative of the state of Indian society, and instructive to the British Government in regard to their future relations with their native subjects, attracted little notice; and may, perhaps, excite little interest amidst the more momentous political and military transactions which, about the same period, convulsed the whole of Hindustan.

<sup>1</sup> Printed Correspondence relating to Cuttack, Selections from the Records, iii. 66; and MS. Records.



## CHAPTER IV.

*Relations with Poona.—Designs of the Peshwa.—Influence of Trimbak Rao.—Claims on Baroda.—Mission of Gangadhar Sástri to Poona.—Coldly received.—Other Agents.—Change of treatment.—Apparent cordiality.—Offence given to the Peshwa.—Journey to Punderpur.—Murder of Gangadhar.—Inquiry demanded.—Trimbak implicated.—Resident demands his arrest.—Peshwa reluctant.—Compelled to give him up.—Trimbak confined at Thanna.—Discontent of Mahratta Princes.—Objection of the Raja of Nagpur to a Subsidiary Alliance.—His designs upon Bhopal.—Unites with Sindhia against the Nawab.—Siege of Bhopal.—Gallant Defence.—Besiegers retire.—Preparations of Sindhia.—British interference.—Sindhia indignant, but suspends operations.—Alliance not formed.—Death of the Nawab, and of the Raja of Nagpur.—Apa Saheb Regent.—Subsidiary Alliance concluded.—Sindhia.—His intrigues.—Disorders of his Government.—His policy.—Son and successor of Mulhar Rao Holkar adopted.—Tulasi Bai Regent.—Balaram Seth Minister.—Put to death.—Troops Mutiny.—Flight of the Regent and young Raja.—Tantia Jóg Minister.—Reconciliation negotiated.—State of affairs in Rajputana.—Chand*

*Sing defeats the Mohammedans.—Defeated by them.—Jaypur ravaged by Amir Khan.—Rajas of Jaypur and Jodhpur reconciled by his mediation.—Fresh quarrels, and both states laid waste.—The Khan marches to Jodhpur.—Domestic intrigues.—The Minister and Family Priest of the Raja assassinated.—Man Sing feigns imbecility, and abdicates.—Continuance of Amir Khan's depredations.—Distracted state of Central India.*

THE political relations established with the Court of Poona, had borne as we have remarked, for some time past, an uneasy complexion. The claims of the Peshwa upon Baroda and Hyderabad, still remained unadjusted, and he ascribed the delay to the purposed procrastination of the British authorities. Their intervention also protected the estates of his feudatories, from his secret or open encroachments, and his title to be regarded as the head of the Mahratta confederacy, which the other leading members were willing to acknowledge, was avowedly withheld from him by the British Government. Notwithstanding the unequivocal tone in which their determination to disallow the resumption of this supremacy was declared, Baji Rao had never desisted from unavowed intrigues for its attainment, and, in violation of the terms of the treaty of Bassein, had constantly maintained agents at the Courts of Gwalior, Indore, and Nagpur, and carried on, with little affectation of concealment, negotiations with the Bhonsla, Sindhia, and Holkar. It may be doubted, however, if he ever entertained a design to engage

BOOK II.  
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1814.

BOOK II. in any serious collision with the British Govern-  
CHAP. IV. ment. Although bold in plotting, and tenacious

1814. of his purposes, Baji Rao was utterly deficient in personal intrepidity, and trusted rather to persevering and secret intrigue, than to resolute and open defiance. The Peshwa was not without ability, nor incapable of exertion, but his abilities were counteracted by habits of vicious indulgence, and a disposition naturally indolent, rendered his fits of activity unfrequent and of short duration. His ambition might have overcome his love of pleasure and ease, had not his excessive timidity deterred him from enterprises involving a hazard of personal safety, and induced him to have recourse to profound dissimulation for the furtherance of his designs. Suspicious and jealous of his principal officers, the Peshwa gave them but a partial and imperfect confidence, and placed his sole reliance upon individuals of low origin and inferior station, who were entirely dependant upon his favour for distinction, and who repaid his patronage with unhesitating submission to his will. Although arrogant and self-sufficient in general, he allowed himself sometimes to be controuled by the boldness of his advisers, and to be hurried into actions which were contrary to his own plans, and repugnant to his nature. Not unfrequently feeble and capricious, Baji Rao was remarkable for his adherence to any favourite project, and for the perseverance with which he pursued it, although it might be laid aside occasionally for such considerable intervals, that it seemed to have been abandoned or forgotten. Nor

was he less constant in his malignity—an offence BOOK II.  
 was never forgiven, however remote the suspension CHAP. IV.  
 of his resentment, and his vengeance was sure, how- 1814.  
 ever long its infliction might be delayed. When not  
 under the influence of vindictive feelings, he was  
 mild and rarely cruel: he was scrupulous in his  
 pecuniary dealings, frugal though not parsimonious,  
 cautious in his conduct, and dignified in his deport-  
 ment, and gifted with singular powers of insinua-  
 tion and persuasion. As a Brahman he professed  
 a strict observance of the forms of the Hindu  
 faith, and a slave to the grossest superstition, he  
 devoted a large portion of his revenue to the  
 support of religious individuals and institutions;  
 and a large portion of his time to the practice of  
 religious rites and pilgrimages to various holy  
 places within his dominions, to the great interrup-  
 tion of the public affairs and diminution of the  
 public resources. The latter were also seriously  
 impaired by the vicious system which prevailed  
 of farming the revenues; but, upon the whole,  
 the country was not badly administered, and the  
 people were prosperous and contented under the  
 Peshwa's government. It was only necessary for  
 this ruler to have submitted resignedly to a con-  
 dition from which he could not hope to extricate  
 himself, to have been one of the most opulent and  
 independent of the princes who had been com-  
 pelled to submit to British supremacy.

The prospects which clouded the commencement  
 of the administration of Lord Moira, and the possi-  
 bility that the war with Nepal might lead to hosti-  
 lities on a wider scale, emboldened some of the con-



BOOK II. fidential advisers of Baji Rao to assume a more lofty  
 CHAP. IV. style of language, and to talk of their master's rights,

1814. not only to the first place among the Mahratta chiefs, but even to the tribute which former Peshwas had levied from Bengal. At the head of the party was Trimbakji Danglia, the principal favourite of Baji Rao, and a devoted servant, though a most unfit and mischievous counsellor. He had been originally a courier and spy, in which capacities he attracted the notice of Baji Rao by his intelligence and activity: he rose rapidly to wealth and authority—became the associate of Baji Rao in his private pleasures, and the confidant of all his feelings and designs—and the object—the only one—of his affection. In requital of the Peshwa's attachment, Trimbak adopted unhesitatingly, all his views and sentiments, imbibed all his aversion for his allies, and in the fervour of his devotedness, as well as in the ignorance of his origin, and the presumption generated by his sudden elevation, dropped the veil of Mahratta diplomacy, and gave utterance to his opinions, with a degree of hardihood which, however, gratifying to the Peshwa's pride, was most detrimental to his interests.<sup>1</sup> The licence of expression which was allowed to Trimbak by the Peshwa, was a vicarious expression of the thoughts which were cherished in the bosom of the latter.

The adjustment of the Peshwa's claims upon the Gaekwar, described in a former page, although yet undetermined, was still professedly under inves-

<sup>1</sup> It is mentioned by Mr. Prinsep that in a conference at which the rights of the Peshwa were discussed, this man asserted their comprehending the Chouth of Bengal ceded by Aliverdi Khan, and that of Mysore, agreed to by Hyder Ali.—Transactions, 2, p. 320, note.

tigation, and about this time other claims were advanced. A participation in the tribute payable by the chiefs of Kattiwar, had always been demanded by the court of Poona, and had been, in some cases, realised through the Gaekwar, as the Peshwa's representative. It was now insisted that the collection should be made direct, and in what manner, and to what extent, the government of Poona should think proper; but this was held to be inconsistent with the engagements which had been entered into by the British Government with the chiefs of Kattiwar; and although the right to a defined amount of tribute was recognised, yet a claim of an indefinite extent was denied; and in order to prevent any unauthorised exactions, the Peshwa was told that the collection would be retained in the hands of the British officers. Another subject of dispute was, the farm of a portion of the revenues of Ahmedabad, which had been held by the Gaekwar of the Peshwa for ten years, expiring in 1814. The court of Baroda desired its renewal in perpetuity, in order to obviate the chance of disputes arising from a division and conflict of authority, and the object was too reasonable not to be supported by the British Government. On the other hand, it was the policy of the court of Poona to keep open so fertile a subject of contest, and so plausible a plea for negotiation with the Gaekwar, and the Peshwa, therefore, declined to renew the lease. In the hope of adjusting this matter, as well as of accelerating an amicable settlement of the other points in dispute, the dispatch of an agent from Baroda to Poona was sanctioned by the government of Bengal, and Gangadhar Sastri,

BOOK II  
CHAP. IV.  
1814.

BOOK II. who was familiar with the subjects in dispute, and who  
CHAP. IV. possessed the confidence of the British residents at  
1814. both courts, was selected for the office. The formal  
guarantee of the British Government was engaged  
for his personal safety,—a precaution with which he  
thought it necessary to be armed, before he trusted  
himself within the treacherous circle of the court  
of Poona.

The choice of the negotiator was by no means agreeable to the Peshwa and his advisers, as they well knew the acumen and firmness of Gangadhar, and his steady devotion to the British. His reception was accordingly cold and discouraging, and, for some time, no disposition was shown to enter into any communication with him upon the subjects of the mission. Nor had the Sastri to complain alone of the unfriendly spirit manifested by the Peshwa and his ministers,—a powerful party in his own court, with the concurrence of the imbecile sovereign of Guzerat himself, undertook to counteract his negotiations; and Govind Rao Bandoji Gaekwar, an agent of the discarded minister Sitaram,—with Bhagavant Rao Gaekwar, an illegitimate brother of Anand Rao, and representative of the interior of the palace of Baroda, also in the interest of Sitaram, were sent to Poona, almost simultaneously with the Sastri, to assure the Peshwa, that if he would bring about the restoration of Sitaram to the office of Dewan, all his claims should be immediately complied with, and his supremacy be acknowledged. The bait was tempting, and although success was little probable, yet an additional inducement was thus supplied to treat the Sastri with neglect, and



the very institution of the intrigue was too congenial to the Peshwa's character, for him to resist the temptation of plunging into its dark and dangerous labyrinth.

Well acquainted with the counteracting forces which were secretly at work, and despairing of obtaining an audience, Gangadhar applied for permission to return to Baroda, when afraid of exciting the serious displeasure of the British Government by the abrupt close of negotiations, undertaken at their earnest recommendation, and recalled to a sense of the risk, by the earnest remonstrances of the British Resident; projecting too, even at this season, apparently, the catastrophe which finally closed the transaction,<sup>1</sup> the Peshwa's advisers adopted a total change of conduct, and exhibited towards the Sastri a degree of cordiality, which constituted a marked contrast to their previous inattention. Private interviews took place between Trimbak and Gangadhar, in which the former avowed that he had been actively opposed to the latter, and had even listened to devices against his life; but he asserted that the Peshwa had now become convinced, that it was for his advantage to have the Sastri for his friend, and was willing to pay that deference to his opinions to which they were entitled by his acknowledged sagacity and experience. Great pains were taken to act upon the negotiator's vanity—which was as remarkable as his ability—and, for a time, with success. He was made to believe that the

<sup>1</sup> Reports were current at Poona that designs were on foot against the life of the Sastri. An intercepted letter to Sitaram from one of his correspondents at Poona, dated August 1814, remarks, "Every one here says the Sastri cannot come back again."—MS. Records.



BOOK II. Peshwa was most anxious to engage his services, and  
 CHAP. IV.

1815. nominate him as his own minister; and a matrimonial alliance was concerted between his son and the sister of the wife of Baji Rao. On his part, he engaged that the Gaekwar should assign to the Peshwa lands yielding seven lakhs a-year in lieu of his claims, and should conclude a treaty of amity with Poona, without the intervention of the British Resident. The question of territorial cession was, however, referred to the government of Baroda, and pending the reference, Gangadhar accompanied the Peshwa to the sacred shrine of Nasik,<sup>1</sup> where extensive preparations were made for the celebration of the nuptials.

Whether it was the result of his own reflections, or of the suggestions of his friends, Gangadhar Sastri soon became apprehensive that he had been cajoled into communications incompatible with the interests of his court, and injurious to his reputation, and was not displeased, therefore, when he received the refusal of the Gaekwar to ratify the proposed territorial concession. As the conditions of the treaty could not be fulfilled, he considered it incumbent on him also to decline the honour of the intended alliance. The defeat of his intrigues was even less galling to Baji Rao, than this indignity to his person and connections; and the affront was aggravated by the Sastri preventing his wife from visiting the ladies of the Peshwa's family, in consequence of the

<sup>1</sup> Nasik is a place of considerable sanctity, as the reputed scene of one of Rāma's adventures, when in exile, and is said to derive its name from his cutting off the nose (Nāsiká) of a Rakshasí or Ogre. It appears under the same name, Násiká, in Ptolemy, and its importance is therefore of some antiquity, as well as the legend.

licentious orgies which, it was said, were commonly enacted in the interior of his palace. The destruction of the offender was no doubt, immediately decreed, and impunity and assistance were assured to the instruments of the Sastri's enemies, who had come from Baroda to frustrate his negotiation, to effect his disgrace, and to prevent, by any means, his return to power:—an opportunity was soon afforded.

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Notwithstanding the acerbity of the resentment with which the Sastri's rejection of the alliance with Baji Rao had inspired the Peshwa and his agents, no feeling of dissatisfaction was manifested. On the contrary, Trimbak was more profuse than ever in his professions of regard, and in the display of unimpaired cordiality and confidence. A visit to the shrine of Wittoba, a form of Vishnu, at Punderpur being undertaken, Gangadhar was invited to accompany the Peshwa, and accepted the invitation; leaving behind him the principal part of his followers, and his colleague, Myral Bapú, a cautious man, who had vainly endeavoured to put the Sastri on his guard against the machinations of Trimbak and the Peshwa. The invitation was not extended as usual to the British Resident. Soon after the arrival of the party at Punderpur, a report was raised that the life of the Peshwa was threatened by assassins from the territory of the Nizam, and on this pretext the guards were increased, and precautions were taken for Baji Rao's safety. On the evening of the 14th of July, Gangadhar, after returning home from an entertainment given by a Mahratta chief to the Peshwa, complained of indis-

BOOK II. position, and was about to retire to rest, when a  
CHAP. IV. messenger came from Trimbak to invite him to  
1815. repair to the temple and perform his devotions there ;  
as on the ensuing morning it would be engaged for  
the Peshwa and his attendants. The excuse of being  
unwell was pleaded for declining the invitation,  
when it was more urgently repeated by a second  
messenger. The excuse was repeated, but two of  
the Sastri's friends repaired to the temple and were  
requested by Trimbak to use their influence and in-  
duce Gangadhar to come. Unwilling to give per-  
sonal offence, the Sastri yielded to their impor-  
tunity, and with a few attendants walked to the  
temple. After performing his devotions he pro-  
ceeded on his return home, escorted by a small party  
of Trimbak's soldiers, about twelve paces in advance,  
and preceded and followed at short intervals by  
his own servants, some of them bearing torches.  
Suddenly three men came running from behind, and  
forcing their way past the servants in the rear,  
struck the Sastri with the swords with which they  
were armed, and threw him on the ground ; two  
more came to their aid and wounded some of the  
Sastri's people; when the whole of the latter fled and  
left their master to the assassins, by whom he was bar-  
barously mangled. Before any effective assistance was  
procured the murderers had escaped. The body was  
afterwards removed, and burned by the Sastri's peo-  
ple, and application was made to Trimbak and the  
Peshwa for the apprehension and punishment of the  
assassins. Whatever professions and promises were  
made, no measures, whatever, were taken for the  
discovery and seizure of the culprits ; nor was any

sorrow expressed for the unhappy fate of the Sastri.<sup>1</sup>

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1815.

The connexion which subsisted between the British Government and the Gaekwar, and the special guarantee under which Gangadhar Sastri had consented to trust himself within the reach of individuals so notoriously treacherous and revengeful as the Peshwa and his minister, rendered it the imperative duty of the Resident to insist upon a full investigation of the circumstances of the murder, and the detection and punishment of the murderers. An enquiry, conducted with the means at the command of the Peshwa, could not fail to bring the truth to light; and it was called for, no less by the reputation of the British Government, than by the honour of the Peshwa himself. An accredited minister had been murdered in his immediate vicinity, almost in his presence; and such an outrage, under such circumstances, could not be perpetrated with impunity, without involving his Highness in a suspicion of having sanctioned its commission. The remonstrances of the Resident were backed by a letter of admonition to the Peshwa from the Governor-General, but nothing could induce either him or his counsellor to institute a serious enquiry. It was affirmed that no clue to the perpetrators could be obtained, that the Sastri had many enemies, and acted imprudently in moving abroad so scantily attended; in short his death was the work of destiny, and no good could result from

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone to the Governor-General, 11th August, 1815.—Papers respecting the Pindari and Maharratta war, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, p. 75.



BOOK II. further investigation. European notions of public  
CHAP. IV. obligations were not so easily satisfied. Although

1815. it was probable that the active instruments in the murder were the emissaries from Baroda, one of whom, Bandoji, was known to have been in Punderpur at the time of the assassination; yet it was clear that Trimbak, at least, was deeply implicated in the occurrence. His repeated and earnest invitations to the Sastri to repair to the temple, could be accounted for only by his being a party to a scheme for affording to the murderers an opportunity of executing their design; and the indifference with which he received the intelligence, his private conferences with Bandoji, both before and after the assassination, and the entire absence of any attempt to discover the murderers, were unequivocal proofs of his participation in the crime; of the participation, indeed, of the Peshwa himself;<sup>1</sup> but as the punishment of the latter was embarrassed by obvious political considerations, the agent and accessory was made responsible for the act; and the arrest of Trimbak, and his delivery to the British Government,

<sup>1</sup> Trimbak on one occasion, after his apprehension, accused the Peshwa of having instigated the murder, as part of a plot to secure the restoration of Sitaram to office, on condition of his subservience to the interests of the Peshwa, at Baroda. At another time, he professed not to know who the author was, but he believed Bandoji was chiefly concerned. The truth seems to have been that Bandoji was the principal instrument of the crime, but no one would have dared its commission, unless assured of the concurrence of the Peshwa and the coöperation of Trimbak. The share of Bandoji in the murder was not doubted at Baroda; he was known to have gone secretly to Punderpur with armed followers, about the time, and to have given a considerable sum of money to his servants, professedly for their expenses on the journey; to have held also several secret interviews with Trimbak, both at Punderpur and Poona. A letter from him to the Rani, Takht Bhai had, shortly before, conveyed the intimation that "the Sastri would never return to Baroda." On his return to the Gaekwar territory he was confined for life in irons, in the fort of Gundiswari on the Tapti. Bhajavant Rao was also imprisoned.—MS. Records.

were declared to be the indispensable conditions of preserving undisturbed amicable relations with the Peshwa.

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The demand made for the delivery of his favourite was for some time strenuously resisted by the Peshwa, who urged that the imprisonment of an individual against whom no proof could be produced, was an act of manifest injustice, and professed his readiness to place Trimbak in confinement himself, could the charge of his being accessory to the murder of the Sastri be substantiated against him. However plausible the objection, it was not entitled to any consideration, for Baji Rao well knew that none of his people would venture to prefer an accusation against his minister while at large: upon his being removed, the Resident pledged himself to bring forward the evidence which had seemed to the British Government sufficient to involve Trimbak in the transaction. It was with great difficulty that the reluctance of the Peshwa was overcome, and for a moment he seemed to contemplate the alternative of open hostility. His fears of the result, however, prevailed, and he consented to give up the person of Trimbak, on condition that his life should be spared, and that his imprisonment should not be attended with any unnecessary severity. Trimbak was accordingly delivered to a detachment of the Poona brigade, on the 17th of September, and was immediately marched off to Thanna, where he was confined. The emissaries from Baroda were at the same time apprehended, and sent to Guzerat.

The communications which had been carried on

BOOK II. by the Peshwa, with the several Mahratta courts,  
CHAP. IV. had not been unattended by consequences unprop-

1815.

tious to the continuance of tranquillity, and the maintenance of British influence. The chiefs were generally discontented with their position. Forgetting the peril in which their former enmity had involved them as its effects ceased to be felt, and misunderstanding the motives of the forbearance which the victors had exercised, they were alone sensible of the comparative insignificance to which they had been reduced, and impatient of the restraint which the predominating power of the British imposed upon their career of universal spoliation. The instigations of the Peshwa fomented these feelings, and rendered them more than ever anxious to concentrate and combine their strength under the direction of a prince, whom they acknowledged to be the legitimate head of the Mahratta federation. Various subjects occurred about this period to aggravate their dissatisfaction and excite their animosity.

The obligation of maintaining a military division permanently in the field, for the protection of the frontiers of Berar from the incursions of Amir Khan, and the ravages of the predatory bands, known as Pindaris, in consequence of the inefficiency of the troops of the Bhonsla, imposed an extraordinary burthen upon the government of Bengal, which Lord Minto had conceived it incumbent upon the Raja of Nagpur to defray. The charge was incurred for his benefit, and the defence was an act of voluntary aid, unprovided for by any subsisting engagements. The most ready method of procuring the service and the cost would be a subsi-



diary alliance, and, with the entire concurrence of the home authorities, the British Government had, for some years past, endeavoured to prevail upon the Raja to contract a connexion of this description. Raghuji Bhonsla, however, felt assured that he would not be left to fall a sacrifice to hordes of plunderers, who would then, with additional credit and resources, be brought more immediately into contact with the British possessions. He was possibly of opinion, that even if unassisted, he might by policy or force, provide for his own protection; and he prized too highly the privilege of exemption from foreign control to barter his independence for military succour. The submission of his internal relations with other native princes to the interposition of a British Resident, would also have put a stop to the execution of his designs against the principality of Bhopal, a portion of which he expected to be able, in concert with Doulat Rao Sindhia, to annex to his own dominions.

Shortly after the repulse of Amir Khan, and the withdrawal of the British forces, Raghuji Bhonsla entered into an alliance with Sindhia, for the annihilation of the Nawab of Bhopal, and the partition of his country between the confederates; and at the end of the rainy season of 1813, an army from Nagpur, commanded by Sadik Ali, and a force from Gwalior, led by Jaggú Bapú, entered the Bhopal territories. Unable to face such superior forces, Vizir Mohammed threw himself, with such troops as he could assemble, into the city of Bhopal, where he determined to defend himself to the last extremity. Bhopal was situated on high and uneven ground,

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BOOK II. not far from a portion of the Vindhya range of mountains, and was about four miles in circumference.  
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It was surrounded on three sides by a tolerable wall, but was without a ditch, or other defences. The south side was protected by a citadel, placed on the high bank of an artificial lake, formed by embankments, connecting contiguous hills, extending on the west of the town, about five miles in length, and one in breadth. Most of the inhabitants had been sent away. The garrison, including a body of three thousand Pindaris, amounted at first to eleven thousand men, but when the besiegers had occupied most of the approaches to the city, the deficiency of forage compelled the retreat of the Pindaris, and other mounted troops, leaving no more than five or six thousand men to defend Bhopal, against the united armies of Sindhia and Nagpur, exceeding, at least, ten times that number.<sup>1</sup> The siege commenced at the end of October, 1813. The operations of the besiegers were tardy, and their fire of little effect; but in the course of December they had completed the investment of the town, except on the side of the lake, across which supplies were for some period longer conveyed to the garrison. In the course of December and January, repeated attempts were made to carry the place by escalade, but they were met by Vizir Mohammed, and his son Nazar Mohammed, with undaunted intrepidity, and resolutely repulsed. The most formidable enemy the garrison had to encounter was famine, for the Mahrattas had

<sup>1</sup> According to native authority, cited by Sir J. Malcolm, the united armies amounted to seventy thousand, which, however, he thinks may be exaggerated by ten or fifteen thousand men, but "the force," he adds, "is acknowledged by all to have been very great."—Central India, i, 398.

bribed the boatmen who had been employed to carry provisions across the lake, and this source of supply being cut off, the troops were exposed to the severest suffering. The Mohammedans assuaged their hunger by the flesh of the animals that perished of want, while the Hindus endeavoured to appease the cravings of nature with decayed vegetable matter — bruised Tamarind stones, and the leaves of trees;—numbers, unable to endure these privations, deserted; and the desertions, with the casualties of the siege, reduced the garrison from about six thousand to as many hundreds.

In the month of March, 1814, the death of Jaggú Bapú, and the ceremonies which followed, suspended the operations of the besiegers, and afforded the garrison an interval of repose, and an opportunity of repairing the walls of the town. In the following May, one of Vizir Mohammed's officers, a Rajput, was tampered with by Sadik Ali, and introduced a party of five hundred of the Nagpur troops by night into the post which he commanded. Conceiving themselves already masters of Bhopal, the Mahrattas awaited day-light for the resumption of their operations, and, halting at the mausoleum of one of the Nawabs of Bhopal, put aside their arms, and laid down to rest. Their entrance was discovered, and reported to Vizir Mohammed, who, perceiving that no time was to be lost, immediately attacked the enemy, although not having more than thirty men about his person. The attack was led by Nazar Mohammed; the Mahrattas were taken by surprise, and many fell under the first fire of the Patans, who allowing them no time

BOOK II.  
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BOOK II. to recover from their confusion, rushed among them  
CHAP. IV. with their swords, and put them to flight. They

1815. evacuated the post with precipitancy, leaving behind above a hundred killed and wounded. Either the failure of this attempt, or some motives unavowed, induced Sadik Ali to weary of the enterprise; and pretending that he had been prohibited from its prosecution by a dream, he broke up his camp, and deaf to the remonstrances of Sindhia's officers, marched back to Nagpur. The secession of Sadik Ali, and the losses which the Mahrattas had suffered, left them little prospect of continuing the siege with advantage, and a fortnight afterwards they withdrew to Sarangpur, where they were cantoned for the rains.

Although Bhopal, after a siege of nine months, was relieved from present danger, the peril was not passed. Great exertions were made by Sindhia to recruit his forces, and an army, more efficiently equipped, was prepared to resume operations as soon as the weather permitted. They were further delayed by a quarrel between the Mahratta leaders, Jeswant Rao Bhao, and Jean Baptiste Filoze, a person of mixed European and Indian descent, who had succeeded to the command of one of Sindhia's disciplined brigades, consisting of eight battalions with forty guns. The quarrel came to blows, when the Bhao was defeated, and driven to take shelter under the walls of Bhopal. The forces of Baptiste, however, were of themselves adequate to the reduction of the city, when the interposition of the British Government saved Vizir Mohammed from destruction. The interposition was based upon a double motive,



gratitude for past, and expectation of future service. BOOK II.  
 That the march across central India by General CHAP. IV.  
 Goddard, in 1778, was successfully accomplished, 1815.  
 was in main attributable to the friendly treatment which the detachment experienced from Hyat Mohammed, the Nawab of Bhopal.<sup>1</sup> The position of the principality, its contiguity to Berar on one hand, and to the chief seats of the Pindaris on the other, rendered the coöperation of the Nawab of essential importance in the measures which were contemplated by the British Government for the suppression of the predatory system. Vizir Mohammed earnestly entreated to be taken under British protection, and a prudent regard for British interests recommended compliance with his request. A negotiation was accordingly entered into with the Nawab, of which notice was given to the Mahratta princes. The Peshwa and the Raja of Nagpur professed their cordial concurrence, but Sindhia received the announcement with a greater manifestation of resentment than he had ever expressed upon any similar occasion. He declared that the Nawab of Bhopal had been tributary to the Peshwa, and that the tribute had been transferred to him; that he would not submit to any interposition in his behalf, and that he would pursue his designs against the Nawab, be the consequence what it might. His opposition was, however, restricted to these menac-

<sup>1</sup> In the published Journal of General Goddard's march, it is mentioned that the detachments halted at Bhopal seven days, and found provisions cheap and plentiful. No obstruction to their march occurred after entering the Bhopal territory. See also the notices of this transaction in Malcolm, Grant, and Prinsep, as collected by Major Hough in his Brief History of the Bhopal Principality, p. 13.



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ing declarations. A force was assembled at Bellari, under Sir Thomas Hislop, and a division in Bundelkhand, under General Marshall, while detachments from the subsidiary forces of the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Gaekwar, were moved towards the frontiers of their respective territories; and these movements, with the successes which had followed the first reverses of the Nepal war, induced a change of tone, and a silent acquiescence in the arrangements of the British Government. The meditated alliance did not at this season take place. Vizir Mohammed, with genuine Afghan duplicity, adopted the perilous policy of playing one negotiation against another; and when by the interference of the British Government its intentions towards him were notorious, entered into secret negotiations with Baptiste to induce him to retire, recalling at the same time his agents from Delhi and Banda, and showing no disposition to contract an alliance, which involved the appropriation of part of his revenues to the support of a foreign force, and some diminution of his independence and credit. Whether the terms demanded by Baptiste were more unreasonable than the Nawab expected, or whether he began to doubt the sincerity of the Mahrattas, Vizir Mohammed again intimated a desire to resume the negotiation with the British, but the Governor-General, indignant at his want of faith, declined to receive his agents, and announced to the Courts of Gwalior and Nagpur that, although he held himself at liberty to enter into any engagements with Bhopal, which might consult the interests of his Government, as well as those of the Nawab, yet that at present all intercourse

with that state was at an end. This determination was in accordance with the policy of the home authorities, from whom a positive prohibition of any alliance with Bhopal was about the same time received, and in conformity to the injunctions of the Secret Committee, the Resident at Gwalior was instructed to throw no obstacle in the way of any projects which Sindhia might set on foot against Bhopal; but before he could avail himself of the license thus granted, events occurred which occupied and perplexed the counsels of the Gwalior cabinet, and ultimately placed the principality of Bhopal beyond the reach of its Mahratta enemies. Vizir Mohammed died in the beginning of 1816, and was succeeded by his second son, Nazar Mohammed, the gallant partner of his dangers and his glory.<sup>1</sup>

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1816.

Whatever might have been the real feelings with which Raghuji Bhonsla received the intimation that he must forego his hostility to Bhopal, and whatever projects he may have concerted with the other Mahratta princes, his death, which occurred immediately after that of Vizir Mohammed, removed him timely from the troubled scene which was about to ensue. He was succeeded by his son, Parswaji; but as this prince was of infirm body and weak intellect, although of years to conduct the Government, it was necessary to entrust the authority to more competent hands. Parties at Nagpur were divided, but after a short struggle, Modaji Bhonsla, commonly

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Central India, i. 412, Prinsep's History of Transactions in India, i. 245. Summary by the Marquis of Hastings, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, 23rd June, 1824, p. 10.—Hough, 89.

BOOK II. called Apa Saheb, the nephew of the late Raja,  
CHAP. IV. obtained the ascendancy, and, with the concurrence  
1816. of the British envoy, assumed the office of Regent.  
As the opponents of Apa Saheb, who were persons of considerable influence, were opposed also to the British alliance, he considered that he should best secure his newly acquired honours, by adopting a different policy, and by entering into an intimate connexion with the British Government. The subsidiary alliance which it had so long been the object of the latter to effect, was now, therefore, concluded without further difficulty or delay ; and in the same month, May, in which Apa Saheb was firmly seated in the Regency, the treaty was signed by him in the name of the Raja. It was stipulated that the subsidiary force should consist of one regiment of native cavalry, six battalions of infantry, one complete company of European artillery, with the usual proportion of ordnance ; and that the cost of it should be defrayed by an annual payment of seven lakhs and a half of Nagpur Rupees. That a commutation of territory for the pecuniary payment should be demanded, if the latter fell into arrear, not else, although the expedience of such an exchange might be reserved as the subject of subsequent consideration. That the British Government should protect the Raja against all foreign and domestic enemies, and that, on the other hand, the Raja should never commit any hostilities against the British allies, nor commence or pursue any negotiations with any other state whatever, without giving previous notice to, and entering into mutual consultation with, the Company's Government. That the Raja should



maintain at all times, and in a state of efficiency, a force consisting of not less than three thousand cavalry, and two thousand infantry, with their necessary equipments; and to attend and conform to whatever advice and recommendation might be afforded by the Resident respecting the Contingent, allowing it to be mustered and inspected, or reviewed by that functionary, or the officer commanding the subsidiary troops, whenever the former should think fit. The Raja was further to maintain such a number of troops as he might think necessary, and the resources of his country might enable him to support, to be at all times ready to assist the British Government. The treaty was ratified by the Governor-General in the following month, and, to all appearance, Nagpur had become identified in political interests with British India.<sup>1</sup>

Although taking no ostensible or personal share in the distractions which pervaded Malwa and Rajputana, Doulat Rao Sindhia was unworthily busied with intrigues, tending to promote their perpetuation and extend their mischief. The disappointment of his views upon Bhopal rankled deeply in his breast, and confirmed his natural disposition to coöperate in any scheme which proposed the diminution of the British power. Active, though secret negotiations were carried on with the ministers of the Holkar State, with the Bhonsla, and with the Peshwa, for the establishment of the supreme authority of the latter, and the consolidation of the remaining fragments of the Mahratta empire,—

<sup>1</sup> Treaty of perpetual defensive alliance with the Raja of Nagpore, 27th May, 1816.—Collection of Treaties, 27th May, 1818. See also Report, Committee House of Commons, 1832.—Pol. Ap. p. 236.



BOOK II. vakils were received privately from Nepal, and from  
CHAP. IV. Ranjit Sing and constant communications were

1816.

maintained with the Pindari leaders, who promised implicit obedience to Sindhia's orders, and declared themselves ready, with his sanction, to carry fire and sword into the Company's possessions. His own circumstances were, however, most unpropitious to any military undertaking. His dependants and tributaries were everywhere in a state of contumacy and rebellion, and his own troops ill-paid and ill-governed, were mutinous and disobedient. His chief commanders yielded him little more than nominal allegiance, and receiving their pay in assignments upon impoverished and exhausted districts, they aggravated the discontent of the people, and drained the resources of the state by their oppression and extortion. Converting their commands into a plea for pillage, they moved through the country at their pleasure, and levied contributions at will upon their sovereign's subjects, and dependants; or when these failed, carried their bands into the territory of the princes of Rajputana, and, under pretext of assisting one or other of the contending parties, plundered both friends and foes. To add to these sources of disorder, the mountaineers on the south and west of Malwa, the Bhils and Mhers, and the petty Hindu chiefs on the south and east of the same country, were committing unchecked ravages in retaliation for invaded rights, or disregarded claims. A weary contest was also in progress with the Rajputs of Kychewara, whose prince Jaysing, the Raja of Raghugerh had been dispossessed by Sindhia of his patrimony, and at the head of a resolute troop of

followers, laid waste the adjacent country, surprised Sindhia's forts, and occasionally worsted his disciplined brigades. All these embarrassments paralysed Sindhia's power.

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Although he could not resist the temptations of mixing himself up in the intrigues that were so rife, and no doubt had sufficient nationality to desire their success, Sindhia was evidently aware of the danger of provoking the resentment of the British Government, and, in all probability, never entertained any settled purpose of exposing himself to its irresistible infliction. However incompatible with his secret practices, his professions of unwillingness to incur the displeasure of his allies were probably as sincere as they were earnest, and reiterated. His policy was naturally and excusably unfriendly,—but he saw the consequences of its prosecution too distinctly to defy them.

All intercourse with the court of Holkar had been suspended for several years, during which it had been but little in communication with the other native powers of Central India. Its transactions were almost entirely domestic, and exhibited a career of disorder and infamy seldom paralleled even in the annals of the most profligate Indian Durbar. Tulasi Bai, having no child, adopted before the death of Jeswant Rao, and with his presumed sanction, his son by Kesari Bai, a woman of an inferior station in his household. As the boy Mulhar Rao was yet an infant, his adoptive parent continued to hold the reins of government, being assisted in the civil administration by Balaram Seth as minister, and by Ghafur Khan, the brother-in-

BOOK II. law and representative of Amir Khan, as the head  
CHAP. IV. of the military department. Tulasi Bai was a

1816. woman of natural intelligence, and of a resolute spirit, but of profligate inclinations, and remorseless vindictiveness. The former qualities extricated her from repeated dangers, arising out of intrigues against her authority, or the insubordination of the troops. The latter lost her the respect and adherence of the firmest friends of the Holkar family, and ultimately caused her ruin.

A breach soon occurred between the Bai and the minister,—Balaram Seth had provoked her resentment, by his plain spoken expostulations against the licentiousness of her conduct and had excited her fears by being suspected of secretly instigating the mutinous clamours of the soldiery, the violence of which had endangered the safety of the Bai, and compelled her to fly for refuge, with the young prince, to the fortress of Gangraur. The like suspicion extended to Amir Khan, who had always given Balaram his support: the former was beyond her power: the latter was summoned at midnight to her presence, and in her sight, and by her orders, was cruelly murdered. The crime aroused the indignation of Ghafur Khan, and the Mohammedan leaders in the service of the Holkar State, whose troops were encamped on the outside of Gangraur; and they assembled in arms, and threatened to storm the fort. They were anticipated by Tulasi Bai: she sallied from the town with the Mahratta horse, who were attached to her person, and an action ensued, the result of which was for some time doubtful. The Bai displayed remarkable self-possession, until a



cannon ball struck the *houda* of the elephant on which the young Raja was riding. This shook her courage, and mounting a horse, while she placed the child upon another in charge of Ganpat Rao, her treasurer and paramour, she galloped from the field to Allote, a town sixteen miles distant, where she and the Raja found shelter. Her troops dispersed, Gangraur was stormed, and plundered by the Mohammedan mercenaries.

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The authority of Balaram devolved, after his death, upon a Brahman named Tantia Jóg, who had been originally employed by Balaram, but had subsequently connected himself with Ganpat Rao. Although personally obnoxious to Tulasi Bai for the reasons which had excited her displeasure against his first patron, and which had, at one time, compelled him to fly to Kota, the abilities and resources of Tantia Jóg, rendered him necessary to her favourite and to herself, and he was therefore suffered to take an active part in the administration. He became the head of the national or Mahratta party, in opposition to that of the Mohammedans headed by Ghafur Khan, or rather by Amir Khan, of whom the former was the agent. Amir Khan, who was occupied in Rajasthan, was desirous of effecting a reconciliation, and offered, with the Bai's concurrence, to come to her aid, and prevail upon the brigades to be contented with a portion of their arrears. The Bai, however, declined to receive his visit, unless Ghafur Khan were at once recalled, and the mutinous troops reduced to subordination. Both parties at length agreed to refer their differences to the arbitration of Zalim Sing. Negotiations were in



BOOK II. progress at Kota for the friendly settlement of the  
CHAP. IV. dispute, when the advance of the British armies  
1816. diverted the attention of all the parties to objects  
of more vital importance.<sup>1</sup>

The death of the princess of Udaypur, although it had removed the immediate cause of quarrel, had failed to restore to the Rajput principalities the blessings of peace. A state of confusion and discord was indispensable to the maintenance of the "Free Companies," whom Amir Khan, and other soldiers of fortune, both Mohammedan and Hindu, commanded; and the establishment of order and tranquillity was hopeless as long as these predatory bands moved over the face of the country, like flights of locusts, leaving famine and desolation in their track. A plea for their ravages was never wanting. The feebleness of the Rajput princes compelled them to bribe the forbearance of the mercenary chiefs by promises, which they could only imperfectly fulfil; each breach of promise generated fresh exactions; engagements were again made, and again broken, and the failure was followed by repeated retribution. There appeared to be no prospect of shaking off the vampires that had fastened themselves on the princes of Rajputana, as long as a drop of blood continued to circulate in the veins of their victims.

After completing his arrangements at Udaypur, Amir Khan marched towards Jaypur, levying contributions by the way, on the Rajas of Krishnagerh and Bundi, and other petty princes, as well as upon the principal towns and feudatory chiefs of Jaypur.

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Central India, i. 289.

Large sums were thus collected, but either the funds were so wasted by malversation, or the expenses of the battalions so much exceeded the contributions, that the troops were constantly in a state of mutiny for arrears of pay ; and, detaining their commanders in the sort of arrest termed *dharna*, treated them with indignity, and menaced them with violence, until some settlement could be effected. Every such transaction was a signal for the reiteration of pecuniary demands upon the princes and people near at hand, and for fresh exactions from both friend and foe.

BOOK 11.  
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1816.

In the middle of 1812, the absence of Amir Khan in Jodhpur, whither he had been summoned by the Raja Man Sing, and the reduction by mutiny and desertion of the division in Jaypur under his colleague, Mohammed Shah Khan, encouraged Chand Sing, the commander of the Rajput forces to assume the offensive. Falling unexpectedly upon Mohammed Shah, he defeated that officer, and compelled him to seek refuge in Tonk, a town which belonged to Amir Khan, and where he had constructed a fort, named after him, Amir Gerh, to which Chand Sing laid siege. The siege was soon raised by the approach of another of Amir Khan's leaders, Raja Bahadur, and the troops of the Mohammedan captains having effected a junction, pursued the retreating Rajputs into the Jaypur territories, which they ravaged without mercy. Amir Khan soon after joined and took the command, and the army of Jaypur retired to the shelter of the capital, leaving the rest of the country undefended. It was everywhere plundered and occupied by the invaders, and the neigh-

BOOK II.  
CHAP. IV.

1816. bouring principality of Shekhavati was obliged to purchase, by a large sum of money, exemption from the devastating incursions of Amir Khan's brigades.

Having thus brought the Raja of Jaypur to the brink of destruction, Amir Khan, with his usual policy, refrained from completing the work of extirpation. He agreed to accept an annual tribute of twelve lakhs of rupees, on the realisation of which, the forts that had been taken were to be restored. Chand Sing, the only officer by whom the Moham-medans had been encountered with any success, was to be expelled the city, and dismissed from all concern in public affairs. Amir Khan also promoted negotiations for an alliance between the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaypur, which were in progress, and which ended in Man Sing's agreeing to give his daughter to Jagat Sing, and to espouse that prince's sister. The Rajas met at Mirwa and Rúp-nagar, and the double nuptials were solemnized with suitable pomp and festivity. Amir Khan was present at the ceremonial, at the invitation of the Raja of Jodhpur, who received him with every mark of honour. At his instance, also, the Raja of Jaypur, although very reluctantly, consented to meet the Khan as an equal; and the Afghan adventurer, who had commenced his career as a trooper, took his seat on the same throne with the two haughty potentates who derived their titles to sovereignty from a long line of royal ancestors, and from a dynasty claiming a descent from celestial progenitors.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The insolence of Amir Khan was fully a match for Rajput pride. In his own account of the transaction, it is said, "The Amir sat on the Musnud with both Rajas, and the Jaypur chief deemed it an honour, and a proud day for him and his destinies, so to be placed with the Amir." This may, however, be a rhetorical flourish of his panegyrical amanuensis.—



1815.

The apparent cordiality which united Amir Khan and the two Rajput princes was of no long duration. The ordinary occasion of a rupture, failure in the discharge of pecuniary engagements beyond their means, carried the Mohammedan brigades in less than a twelvemonth from this scene into the territories of both the Rajas. Their first operations were directed against Jaypur. The Amir advanced, plundering the country according to custom, to within ten miles of the capital, when his further progress was arrested by the payment of a portion of his demands. He then marched to Jodhpur, whither Mohammed Shah had preceded him, on a like errand, and had taken possession of Merta. To redeem this place, the ministers of Jodhpur made a present payment of three lakhs of Rupees, but the withdrawal of the troops was suspended by the illness and death of their leader, and by the arrival of Amir Khan, who, assuming the command, applied the contribution to the discharge of the pay of the army. The sum being sufficient but for a short period, the troops were quartered in various places, with instructions to provide for their own subsistence, while Amir Khan proceeded with a strong division to Jodhpur, where he was received by the Raja as a friend.

The march of Amir Khan to Jodhpur was, in fact,

Memoirs, p. 424. This seems to have been the period of Amir Khan's highest prosperity. According to his own account, his reputation had extended so widely, that his assistance was earnestly implored by Shah Shuja of Kabul, by the widow of a dispossessed chief in Baluchistan, and by one of the Talpura princes of Sindh, who was at variance with the rest. He was, however, too cautious, or too well advised, to engage in enterprises which promised more peril than profit, or his accession might have given the ascendancy to whomsoever he befriended. His muster-roll at Merta exhibited a strength of fifty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, well provided with ordnance.—Ibid, 432.



BOOK II. connected with a domestic intrigue, which threatened  
 CHAP. IV. the authority and life of the Raja. The exclusive  
 1815. and infatuated reliance which Man Sing placed on  
 the counsels of his minister, Induraj, and of his spiritual guide, Deonath, and the arrogance and rapaciousness of the latter, had excited against them a powerful party in the court of Jodhpur, at the head of which were the Rani and the Raja's son. The reputation of Amir Khan for dexterity in schemes of assassination, suggested to the discontented nobles the purchase of his services for the removal of the objects of their detestation and fear, and an offer of a considerable sum<sup>1</sup> secured his aid, on condition that the Rani and the prince should join their solicitations to those of the Thakurs; the condition was promptly complied with, and hence the meeting between Amir Khan and the Raja, the latter little suspecting the real object of the visit, which the former professed originated in the hope of coming to an amicable adjustment of his claims upon Man Sing.

After some days of seemingly friendly discussion, Amir Khan contrived to persuade the minister and the priest, that their personal representations would easily pacify the discontents of his soldiers, and that he should then be able to withdraw his army. They consequently agreed to admit a deputation of the Amir's leaders, and two of his captains, with a dozen resolute followers, waited upon Induraj, at his official residence, where the Guru, Deonath, was also present.

<sup>1</sup> Tod says seven lakhs of rupees, Amir Khan himself thirty-five, he actually received but ten (£100,000), but he made up the balance, at least in part, by contributions from the country.—Mem. 440.

After some altercation, the Mohammedans appeared to become indignant, and, pretending ungovernable wrath, drew their swords and put both the Jaypur functionaries to death. They then secured themselves in the building, which the Rajputs attempted in vain to force, and remained on their defence, until Amir Khan came to their rescue, threatening to fire and plunder the city if his men were harmed. The chiefs who had instigated the perpetration of the crime were also earnest with the Raja to sanction the dismissal of the murderers, lest the city should be sacked; and Man Sing, alarmed for his own safety, allowed them to act as they pleased, and they restored the troopers to their chief. The Rajput nobles paid the Amir a portion of the stipulated sum, and prevailed upon him, by entering into engagements for the remainder, to march out of the Jaypur territory. Man Sing, conscious that he was surrounded by domestic enemies, more dangerous than those he had encountered in the field, thenceforth simulated intellectual imbecility, and withdrew from all participation in the government in favour of his son, Chatur Sing; abdicating the sovereignty of Mewar until the death of the prince, and his alliance with the British, restored him to personal security, to his senses, and revenge.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the report of the Resident at Delhi, the Vakils of Jodhpur asserted that the murder of Induraj and Deonath was perpetrated with the knowledge and concurrence of the Raja, but they belonged to the usurping party. Tod, in his Personal Narrative, adverting to a surmise that Man Sing was privy to the murder, observes, that there are but two who, in this life, can reveal the mystery—the Raja and the bourreau-en-chef of Rajputana, Amir Khan; the latter has spoken out in his Memoirs, and exonerated the Raja. Man Sing, when he thought it safe to lay aside his assumed idiotcy, inflicted severe punishment upon the members of the faction, as we shall hereafter have occasion to notice.—Memoir of Amir Khan, 433.—Tod's Rajasthan, i. 715, ii. 150.

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From Jodhpur, the Amir led his forces into the Shekawati country, where he levied contributions, and then returned towards Jaypur. The administration of affairs was here, also, the object of dispute between two powerful factions, at the head of one of which was the Purohit, or family priest of the Raja: his competitor for the ministry, and the nobles opposed to him, repaired to Amir Khan and encouraged him to advance to the capital. The minister, Manji Das, with Amir Khan's former opponent, Chand Sing, made a vigorous defence, and resolutely refused to purchase the Amir's retreat, and calling upon the Thakurs for their contingents, they collected a respectable force, and harassed the besiegers with repeated, and often successful, sallies. Irritated by their opposition, Amir Khan ordered a bombardment of the town, by which extensive injury was done to the besieged, and the shot reached even the palace of the Raja. Jagat Sing was now seriously alarmed, and was preparing to evacuate his capital when his Rani, the daughter of Man Sing, of Jodhpur, availing herself of the connexion which had subsisted between her father and Amir Khan, sent an humble message to him to supplicate his forbearance. Not sorry, in all probability, to have a fair excuse for desisting from a siege in which success was distant, if not doubtful, Amir Khan retired from before Jaypur, and placed his troops in cantonments for the rains. The following season witnessed a repetition of the same course of predatory warfare, but the operations of Amir Khan, with his principal division, were confined to the siege of Madhurajpur, a dependency of Jaypur.



After several repulses in his attempts to carry the fort by storm, the siege was converted into a blockade, which had lasted for nine months, when the policy of the British Government interfered to put an end to the sufferings of Rajputana.

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The state of affairs had come to a crisis. Central India presented a chaotic mass of social disorganization; order was nowhere attempted, and the only semblance of substantial power that remained was exercised by roving armies, belonging to no one government, but controlling and distracting all. In Malwa, the troops of Sindhia and Holkar acted independently of their nominal masters; and, provided with assignments on the revenues of the provinces, in liquidation of their pay, employed them as an excuse for despoiling the agricultural and commercial classes of the products of their industry. Whatever scanty residue was spared by them, was gleaned by the dependents and tributaries of the state, armed to defend themselves from the extortionate demands of the prince, and his unsparing instruments, to lay waste the lands of which they had been despoiled, or to inflict retaliation upon the spoilers. The princes of Rajputana were in a still more helpless condition, and aggravated the evils of political humiliation by personal incompetency. The Raja of Udaypur, indolent and improvident, was bearded in his capital by military adventurers, and robbed of his domains by his own feudatory chiefs and clansmen. The Raja of Jodhpur, affecting idiotcy, abandoned the reins of Government to the hands of a dissolute prince, whose career was soon after cut short by the hand of an assassin. The Raja of Jaypur, a slave to



BOOK II. an infatuated attachment to a Mohammedan dancing girl, preserved only a portion of his hereditary possessions, by the sufferance of Amir Khan. All three princes were objects of contempt to their nobles, who were split into factions, and struggled with their sovereign, or each other, for the miserable relics which the rapacity of the Mohammedans had left to be scrambled for. The country was everywhere a prey to numerous bands of merciless marauders, who, moving about in all directions, demanded the revenues which were due to the crown, and appropriated or wasted the resources from which the revenues were payable. Every vestige of regular and orderly government had disappeared, and a complete dissolution of the bonds of society must have ensued, had not the Government of British India obtained, by persevering representation and remonstrance, from the authorities in England, a reluctant and qualified permission to effect the extirpation of that part of the predatory system which consisted in the peculiar organization of the plunderers, termed Pindaris, as preliminary to the overthrow of the whole scheme of military depredation.

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## CHAPTER V.

*Organized plunderers termed Pindaris.—Their origin.—Settlements on the Nerbudda.—Sindhia Shahi, and Holkar Shahi.—Their leaders.—Cheetoo.—Karim.—Dost Mohammed.—Plan of their incursions.—Cruelty and brutality.—Annually plunder the territories of the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Raja of Berar.—Invade the British territory.—Threaten Mirzapur.—Plunder the Masulipatam district.—Gantur.—The Northern Circars.—Their parties surprised or overtaken.—Many killed.—Defects of a defensive system.—Offensive operations contemplated by the former Government.—Policy of Lord Moira.—Total suppression of the predatory system.—Expected conduct of the Mahratta Princes.—Proposal to annul the 8th Article of the Treaty with Sindhia, and renew an Alliance with Jaypur.—Prohibition of the Board of Control.—Modified.—Opposition in the Council.—Perseverance of the Governor-General.—Raja of Jaypur seeks the renewed Alliance.—Hesitates.—Conclusion of Treaty deferred.—Alliance with the Rajput Princes, with Amir Khan, with the Nawab of Bhopal.—Sindhia's concurrence.—Coöperation of Nagpur.—Death of the Raja.—Succession of Apa Saheb.—Disposition of the Peshwa.—Regrets abandonment of Trimbak.—Requires the charge of him.—Many grievances.—Escape of Trimbak.—Insurrection raised by him.*

*—Its existence denied.—Secretly encouraged by the Peshwa.—Subsidiary troops of Poona and Hyderabad in movement.—Insurgents dispersed at Maswan.—Lieutenant Warre murdered.—Insurgents routed in Kandesh.—Proceedings of the Resident.—Poona surrounded.—Peshwa promises to give up Trimbak and disband his levies.—Proclamation of rewards for Trimbak's apprehension.—Orders of the Government.—New Treaty.—Conditions.—Additional Subsidiary Force.—Territorial Cessions.—Arrangements with the Gaekwar.*

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THE freebooters, known as Pindaris, although frequently acting in detached bodies, along with the predatory cohorts of the Mahratta and Patan leaders, had a loosely independent activity of their own, and were little implicated in the outrages committed upon the Rajput princes. Their field of action lay more commonly on the south of the Nerbudda, where they perpetrated frequent and destructive ravages on the territories of the Nizam, the Raja of Berar, and the Peshwa. They were bold enough at last to trespass upon the boundaries of the British frontier, and passing to the east and south-east, spread terror and desolation over the villages and towns, that had till then reposed securely under the protection of a civilized and powerful government. These daring incursions proved the signal of their destruction.

The Pindaris, as a body of irregular horse, serving without pay, and receiving in lieu of it, license to plunder, appear to have originated in the south of

India, constituting an element in the composition of the armies of the last Mohammedan dynasties of the Dekhin. After their downfall, the services of the Pindaris were transferred to the Mahrattas, with whom they served against Aurangzeb, and at a still later date, they shared in the disastrous defeat at Panipat. After that event, their leaders settled chiefly in Malwa, and, attaching themselves respectively to Sindhia and Holkar, became distinguished as Sindhia Shahi, and Holkar Shahi Pindaris, receiving grants of land chiefly in the vicinity of the Nerbudda, for the maintenance of themselves and their followers in time of peace, on the condition of gratuitous coöperation in time of war.

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As the power of the Mahratta princes declined, the distinctions drawn from either became little more than nominal, and the Pindaris were not unfrequently engaged in hostilities against the chief of whom they were professedly retainers. When first known to the British authorities, the Sindhia Shahi Pindaris, who were by far the more numerous of the two,<sup>1</sup> were under the leading of a number of Sirdars, of whom Cheetoo, Karim Khan, and Dost Mohammed were the principal. None of the Holkar Shahi chiefs were leaders of much note. Cheetoo was by birth a Jat, and, when a child, was purchased during a famine, by a Pindari horseman,

<sup>1</sup> In 1812 the Sindhia Shahis were estimated at four times the number of the Holkar Shahis. The whole number of the Pindaris was at different times differently reckoned, but the most probable computation made them about twenty or twenty-five thousand horse, of whom six or seven thousand were effective Cavalry, about three or four thousand middling, and the rest bad. Memorandum by Captain Sydenham, 1809, and 1814. Papers Pindari war, p. 24. Also Memoir of the Pindaris and account of their leaders and settlements, by Mr. Jenkins, resident at Nagpur 1812. Ibid. 25.



BOOK II. by whom he was brought up to a similar line of life.

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His patron rose to the command of the troop to which he belonged, and Cheetoo shared with his two sons, the elder and younger Rajan, the succession to his command. His superior abilities gave him the ascendancy, and brought him to the notice of Doulat Rao Sindhia, who, in 1804, conferred upon him a Jagir, and the title of Nawab. This did not prevent his being thrown into confinement by Sindhia, two years afterwards, and detained a prisoner for four years, until he paid a heavy ransom,<sup>2</sup> on which he was restored to favour and to his Jagir. Sindhia also, subsequently enlarged the latter, conferring upon Chetoo five districts lying east of Bhopal, commanding several of the fords of Nerbudda. Satwas, near Hindia, was Cheetoo's usual place of residence.

Karim Khan was by descent a Rohilla, the son of a Pindari leader; he early entered the service of Doulat Rao Sindhia, and was present at the battle of Kardla, where he collected much valuable booty. He, equally with Cheetoo, obtained the title of Nawab from Sindhia, with some territorial assignments on the Nerbudda, in which situation he had previously received grants of land from the Nawab of Bhopal. These possessions he extended by successful encroachments on the districts of both Sindhia and Holkar; and in 1805 had attained a degree of power, which only required consolidation to have become the foundation of a substantive state. It was not, however, Sindhia's policy to permit such a

<sup>2</sup> He is said to have paid conjointly with Karim, who had been also in durance, and was liberated at the same period, ten Lakhs of Rupees. Papers Pindari war, p. 1.

result ; and having, by professions of friendship and esteem, induced Karim Khan to visit him, he caused the Pindari to be apprehended, and confined him in the fortress of Gwalior. The camp of Karim was attacked and plundered, but his principal treasures were carried off by his aged mother, who found an asylum with Zalim Sing, of Kota. His districts were all sequestered, but his followers were kept together by Namdar Khan, his nephew, with others of his leaders ; and they maintained themselves by the indiscriminate plunder of Sindhia's territories. Karim Khan, after four years detention, was liberated upon payment of a considerable sum of money ; and an effort was made to efface the memory of his degradation by additional honours. The resentment of the Pindari was not to be thus appeased, and settling himself at Shujawalpur, he was soon in possession of lands more extensive than those which he had occupied before his captivity. In his measures of retaliation he was at first joined by Cheetoo, who had similar injuries to avenge, and their united force presented an array sufficiently formidable to awaken the serious apprehensions of the Mahratta chiefs.<sup>1</sup> Jaggu Bapu was sent against the Pindaris by Sindhia, and he and the Raja of Nagpur prevailed upon Cheetoo to separate himself from his colleague and rival. Karim thus deserted, was entirely defeated at Manohar Thana, and obliged to fly with a few followers to the camp of Amir Khan. He accompanied Amir Khan to Bampura, and was there placed, with his

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<sup>1</sup> The Dasahara of 1811, was celebrated by an assemblage of not fewer than twenty-five thousand cavalry, besides several battalions of infantry. Prinsep, 1, 45. Malcolm makes the number still more considerable, not less than sixty thousand horse. *Cen. India*, vol. 1, p. 456.

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Khan, with whom he remained three years longer, when he was allowed to depart.<sup>1</sup> During his absence, his Pindaris, under the same leaders as before, assisted Vizir Mohammed, of Bhopal, and Durjan Sal, of Kichi, in their hostilities against Sindhia, and committed unsparing havock upon his estates. Their head quarters still continued in the neighbourhood of Bhopal, and Karim joined his adherents at Barsia, not long before the might of British India was arrayed for the destruction of his race.

Dost Mohammed and Wasil Mohammed were the sons of Hiru, at one time a leader of distinction in the service of the Raja of Berar. They succeeded to their father's command, and added considerably to their followers by the misfortunes of Karim. They commanded about 7,000 horse of all descriptions, and occupied districts in the neighbourhood of Bhilsa. The several chiefs of the Holkar Shahi Pindaris were cantoned chiefly in the neighbourhood of Cheetoo's possessions, and looked up to him, notwithstanding his nominal connection with Sindhia, as their friend and ally.

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep says the strong representations of Sindhia and Holkar, obliged the Patan to place Karim in a kind of restraint, in which he remained till 1816. According to Malcolm, I, 457. Amir Khan pretending to recommend him to Tulasi Bai, made him over to Ghafur Khan, with whom he remained under confinement. Amir Khan's own story is that Karim was placed with Ghafur Khan under nominal restraint with his own consent,—as being in safety, whilst his nephew and chief Sirdars continued their depredations at the Amir's recommendation as the allies of Bhopal and Raghugherh, Mem. 409. That he was actually detained by Tulasi Bai, was, however, the notion entertained by the Government of Bengal, and the Residents with Sindhia and the Peshwa were instructed to prevail upon them to exert their influence with Holkar's court, to prevent Karim's release. The Resident at Delhi, also, was directed to communicate with the Bai's vakiels at that City, and urge the detention of the Pindari. Letter from Bengal, 15th Aug. 1811. Papers Pindari war, p. 14.



The resources of a Pindari chief were not to be estimated by the lands which he occupied, nor were the numbers of his Durra, or company, restricted to any particular limit. The principal means of maintaining both himself and his followers, consisted of plunder levied in periodical incursions into those territories which were considered likely to yield the most abundant booty; and the numbers of his retainers depended especially upon the frequency and success of the predatory excursions which he instigated or conducted. The Chief himself rarely headed a merely plundering foray, but when not engaged with his main body in the service of a regular state, delegated to his Sirdars the plan and conduct of the excursion, expecting a portion of the prey as the price of permitting what he had neither the will nor the power to prevent. The direction of an inroad was generally concerted at the Hindu military festival of the Dasahara, when the leaders met and consulted upon the course to be pursued during the ensuing cold season. As soon after the cessation of the rains, as the roads became practicable, and the rivers fordable, the leader who had been chosen for the expedition, moved out with his immediate adherents generally well armed and mounted. In proportion to his reputation he was joined as he proceeded by plunderers from every quarter and of every caste, by disbanded soldiers and fugitives from justice, by the idle and profligate and unprincipled of every country and creed: some of them were respectably mounted and equipped, and formed an efficient body of Cavalry, but the greater part rode ponies or horses

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BOOK II. of inferior quality, and were indifferently armed with  
CHAP. V. pikes, swords, or even with clubs and sticks pointed

1817. with iron: a few had matchlocks. When four or five thousand horse were thus assembled, the party marched to the destined scene of spoliation. The men carried no baggage of any description, and supported themselves and their horses on the grain and provision which they plundered, both horses and men being trained to endure great privation and fatigue. Correct information of the state of the country, and its means of defence having been previously obtained, the Pindaris moved with great secrecy and celerity to a central spot in the proposed sphere of action, where those best armed and mounted remained round the person of the leader, to constitute a rallying point, while the mass, in parties of a few hundred each, were dispatched to sweep the country through a circle of many miles, and to bring in with the least delay, whatever valuables they could collect. The object of the incursion being pillage, not fighting, an encounter with regular troops was carefully shunned, and attempts to overcome prolonged resistance were seldom persisted in. Great loss of life therefore seldom attended the movements of the Pindaris, but their haste and rapacity tolerated no hesitation, and whoever was supposed to possess property, and was either unable or unwilling to satisfy the demands of the robbers, was put to the most cruel torture, and not unfrequently died under its infliction.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One mode of torture, was to enclose a person's head in a bag of ashes or dust, and beat them on his face till he was suffocated; sometimes hot ashes were applied, and occasionally pounded chillies were mixed with them. A couple of heavy pestles or yokes were taken, and

Their brutality was equal to their cruelty, and the women escaped violation and murder only by a voluntary death. What the Pindaris could not carry away they destroyed, and their movements were to be tracked by the flames of the villages which they had set on fire after they had rifled them. As soon as the plunder was brought in, and the party reassembled, it moved off with the same secrecy and rapidity with which it had advanced, and all were safe within their accustomed haunts, before an adequate force could be collected for pursuit.

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The depredations of the Pindaris were, during many years, confined to the neighbouring frontiers of the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Raja of Berar, and in these they were in general annually repeated. The presence of the subsidiary force, although it could not prevent their ravages, yet limited the range of them in the dominions of the two former, but the territories of Nagpur, defended alone by the inactive and inefficient troops of the Raja, lay entirely at their mercy. Their depredations were carried with fearless audacity to the immediate precincts of Nagpur, and the Raja was repeatedly alarmed for his own safety, and that of his capital.<sup>1</sup> For a long time they refrained

one being placed under the back of the prostrate victim, the other was crossed upon his breast, and a Pindari seated himself at either end, whilst a severe beating was inflicted. Boiling oil was sprinkled over the naked body, or straw was tied round the limbs and set on fire. Infants were torn from their mothers' arms, and thrown into wells, or dashed on the ground, and an instance is mentioned of a child having been tossed up into the air and sabered as it was falling. Report of Commission. Papers 55.

<sup>1</sup> In November 1811, the main body of the Pindaris estimated at five thousand horse, and drawn up in regular order, was visible from the

BOOK II. from trespassing upon the British boundary, but the  
 CHAP. V. desolation which they had spread in the adjacent

1816. countries, obliged them to seek for harvests more remote, and a confident belief that they would not be unsupported by the native potentates, and a persuasion that the British government was unable or disinclined to oppose an energetic resistance to their inroads, induced them to make an experiment, how far they might venture to plunder its villages, and murder its subjects with impunity. In January, 1812, a body of Pindaris<sup>1</sup> belonging to the party of Dost Mohammed, penetrated through Bundelkhand and Rewa, plundered and destroyed a number of villages under British authority, and excited great alarm for the safety of Mirzapur, a town of great commercial wealth. They desisted from the attempt upon learning the advance of troops from Benares and Allahabad, and turning to the south, passed through South Behar, into the province of Sirguja, a dependency of Nagpur, whence they safely reached their homes, with such an amount of booty, as to hold out an irresistible temptation to repeat the foray. Extensive mischief was inflicted, many lives were lost, and a general feeling of terror pervaded the population of the province of Bahar.

The complete success of their incursion encouraged the Pindaris to project its early repetition. Reports of their design were received by the Government of

British Residency. Papers 26. On that occasion they set fire to one quarter of Nagpur. Papers 2.

<sup>1</sup> The number was variously computed from one thousand two hundred, to twelve thousand. Letter from Bengal, 25 March, 1812. Papers 9.



Bengal, divisions of troops were arrayed in such positions as were thought likely to cover the frontier, but it was impossible to station detachments along the whole line from the limits of Bundelkhand to the Gulph of Cambay, and the constitution of regular troops unfitted them for competing with the unincumbered, rapid, and desultory movements of the Pindari horse. The Government of Bengal, however, had not yet fully learned the futility of the precautionary measures which had been adopted, and, in their communications to the Court of Directors, expressed themselves relieved from the apprehension of a second Pindari inroad, on any part of the frontier, from Bundelkhand to Cuttack.<sup>1</sup> The arrangements were not wholly nugatory, as the attempt to ravage the Bengal frontier was not renewed in the following season; although this was partly attributable to the diversion of the operations of the plunderers in other directions. A party under Cheetoo, between four and five thousand in number, proceeded westward, and laid waste the dependencies of Surat, while other bodies burst into the dominions of the Nizam and the Peshwa, and menaced the districts subject to the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. Their depredations were, however, arrested by their own dissensions, ending in actual hostilities between Cheetoo and the Sirdars of Karim Khan, in which the former was defeated and obliged to take shelter in Ujayin.

The domestic quarrels of the Pindaris having been composed, and the vigilance of the British

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Bengal, 18th November, 1812. Papers Pindari war, p. 15.  
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 CHAP. V. their appearance within the British frontier. At

1816. the end of 1815, they advanced southwards to the banks of the Krishna, and entered the confines of the district of Masulipatam, whence they carried off a valuable booty. Early in March of the following year, a still more formidable body, estimated to be five thousand strong,<sup>1</sup> penetrated to Gantur, Cuddapa and Masulipatam, and for a series of ten days committed fearful destruction, aggravated by the worst features of Pindari ferocity. They spread themselves in different directions, but moved rapidly at the rate of thirty or forty miles a day, never halting long enough in one spot to allow the regular troops to come up with them, and finally quitted the scene of their devastations without suffering any material loss; although they were occasionally repulsed by the firmness of the provincial guards, and by the resolution of the villagers, or their cruelties were disappointed by the despair of the inhabitants.<sup>2</sup>

During their short stay the Pindaris plundered above three hundred villages, and wounded, tortured, and murdered above four thousand individuals of both sexes and of all ages. The barbarous atrocities which they perpetrated filled the whole country with terror, and distrusting the ability of the Government to provide for their security, the

<sup>1</sup> These seem to have belonged to one of three divisions which had at this time invaded the territories of the Nizam, one body was reported to be ten thousand strong, the two others five thousand each. Papers Pindari war, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> At Ainavote in Gantur, where the people after a desperate defence were overpowered by their assailants, they set fire to their own dwellings, and perished with their families in the flames. Papers, p. 37.

people in many places unvisited by the plunderers, abandoned their villages and repaired to the principal stations for protection.<sup>1</sup>

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The impunity with which this inroad was attended, stimulated the marauders to venture upon a second attempt, and in December of the same year, a considerable body suddenly appeared in the northern Circars, and sacked and burned the town of Kimedi and the adjacent villages. They were checked in the midst of their operations by the approach of a detachment of the 6th Madras N. infantry, under Major Oliver, and hastily retreating from his pursuit, moved towards the north where they succeeded in laying waste nearly the whole of the district, and in partially plundering the town of Ganjam. The alarm was universal and the population generally fled to the neighbouring hills and thickets, and hid themselves until the danger had passed. Apprehensions spread even to the town of Puri and temple of Jagannath, the sanctity of which would have been no defence against Pindari rapacity. The plunderers, however, having intelligence that troops were advancing against them, suddenly quitted the province, and disappeared for awhile amid the rugged country north west of Kuttack, until they emerged

<sup>1</sup> A commission was appointed to ascertain and report upon the extent of the mischief committed. They reported the number killed to be one hundred and eighty-two; wounded, some severely, five hundred and five; and tortured, three thousand, six hundred, and thirty-three. It is scarcely possible that these numbers should be as accurate as their minuteness of detail would represent them, but they may be taken as a probable approximation. The report specified various cases of atrocity: in many places the women either to avoid pollution, or unable to survive the disgrace, threw themselves into wells and perished. Papers Pindari war, p. 37.

BOOK II. in the vicinity of their haunts along the upper  
CHAP. V. course of the Nerbudda. Their retreat was not  
1816. unmolested. In Kuttack, Lieut. Borthwick, with  
a detachment of the 2nd Bengal N. infantry,  
followed close upon their rear, cut off their strag-  
glers, and repeatedly put the main body to a pre-  
cipitate flight; and when they had arrived between  
Sohagpur and Mandala, they were surprised by a  
detachment from the division commanded by Colonel  
Adams, consisting of a squadron of the 5th N. C.,  
under Captain Caulfield. He came upon their  
bivouac on the night of the 24th of January, 1817,  
killed above four hundred, and dispersed the rest.  
The fugitives fell upon the main body of the cavalry  
under Major Clarke, and again suffered just re-  
tribution. Similar disasters befel other parties of  
these plunderers.

The invasion of Kuttack was simultaneous with  
other movements of the Pindaris which had been  
directed against the territories of the British allies.  
Notwithstanding that the chief strength of the Nag-  
pur subsidiary force, consisting of five battalions of  
foot and a regiment of cavalry, had been moved into  
the valley of the Nerbudda, and occupied positions  
considered most favourable for protecting the fron-  
tier, a numerous party of Pindaris turned the right of  
the line, and, about the middle of November, made  
their way into Berar. They then separated into two  
bodies: the one marching eastward behind the sub-  
sidiary force was that which ravaged Ganjam; the  
other, said to be six thousand strong, proceeded to  
the south, and passing within twenty miles of Nagpur  
crossed the Warda into the territories of the Nizam,



and pursued a westerly direction with the purpose of laying waste the British districts south of the Tumbhadhra. The march was, however, retarded by the indecision of the leaders, and opportunity was afforded to a detachment of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, commanded by Major Macdowall, to come unexpectedly upon the freebooters, in the vicinity of Beder. The division reached the Pindari camp before daylight, on the 15th of January, and a volley was the first intimation which the plunderers had of their approach;—an immediate and total rout ensued: many were killed, and a thousand of their best horses were captured.

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A division from the Durra of Cheetoo had about the same time passed to the westward of the British posts, and, following the road by Burhanpur, had penetrated through the passes into Berar, proceeding thence between Jalna and Aurangabad towards Ahmedabad. Unluckily for the invaders, it happened that Major Lushington, with the 4th Madras Cavalry, was on his return from the Peshwa's country to the cantonments at Jalna, and on the 25th of December, heard on his arrival at Pipalwar, of their presence at Logam. He moved in pursuit of them at one in the morning of the 26th. The Pindaris had been repulsed from Logam, and had retreated towards the East, whither they were followed by the cavalry. After a rapid march of above fifty miles, Major Lushington came upon them at one P.M., when they were engaged in preparing their noon-day meal. They were about three thousand strong, but attempted little opposition. They fled in all directions, and were pursued for ten miles,



BOOK II. when the fatigue which the troops had undergone  
CHAP. V. compelled their recall. About two hundred of the  
 1816. best mounted of the Pindaris escaped, but the main body was completely broken up with the loss of between seven and eight hundred killed, and of a still greater number of their horses captured. The only casualty on the side of the British was that of an officer, Captain Drake, who was run through by a spear.<sup>1</sup> The transactions that now took place put an end for ever to Pindari incursions.

The impossibility of permanently guarding against the predatory inroads of the Pindaris, by a system purely defensive, had not escaped the observation of the late Governor-General, and in his address to the Secret Committee of the 2nd of October, 1812, the Government of Bengal distinctly declared their conviction that "the arrangements and measures of defence which they had adopted were merely palliatives," and that "they anticipated the necessity, at some future time, of undertaking a system of military and political operations calculated to strike at the root of this great and increasing evil."<sup>2</sup> As, however, they considered that any system of measures adapted to the effectual attainment of the object must be of a complicated and extensive nature, they could not be undertaken without much previous preparation, and the subject was therefore left for further inquiry and deliberation. The evil could not be denied, but the Board of Control clung to the notion that it might be checked by defensive arrangements, and, in a letter from the

<sup>1</sup> See official dispatches, Asiatic Journal, December, 1816, pp. 186, 120.

<sup>2</sup> Papers Pindari war, p. 14.

Secret Committee, the Government of Bengal was prohibited "from engaging in plans of general confederacy and offensive operations against the Pindaris, either with a view to their utter extirpation, or in anticipation of an apprehended danger."<sup>1</sup>

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The sagacity of the Governor-General, the unusual knowledge of the condition of India which he had brought with him, the minuteness of the information with which he was furnished by the Residents at the native courts, comprehending some of the ablest men who have done credit to the Company's service, and the soundness of the advice which he received from competent authorities, early enabled him to take a just and comprehensive view of the policy which the circumstances of the time imperiously demanded.<sup>2</sup> The tranquillisation of central India, the restoration of order and good government in Malwa and Rajputana were considered by the Earl of Moira to be as indispensable for the happiness and prosperity of the native states as for the safety and advantage of the British possessions. Neither were attainable as long as the predatory system subsisted, as long as Pathan and Pindari were suffered to create an unnatural state of anarchy and disorder, in which the peaceable and industrious members of society were the prey of lawless hordes of plunderers, who grew up and gathered vigour amidst the chaos which they caused and perpetuated. As affecting British

<sup>1</sup> Secret letter to Bengal, 29th September, 1815. Papers Pindari war, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> See the opinions of Mr. (now Lord) Metcalfe, the resident at Delhi, and of Mr. (now Sir Richard) Jenkins, resident at Nagpur. Commons Report, 1832. Political Appendix, 229.

BOOK II. interests alone the evil called for a decisive remedy,  
CHAP. V. which the native princes were indisposed or unable  
1816. to apply, and which therefore the British Govern-  
ment had a right to seek for in its own resources:  
nor was it only a right: it was a duty imposed  
upon us by the supremacy of our power, no longer  
to permit the predatory system to devastate the  
various states who supplicated for British protec-  
tion, and were entitled to receive it. The settle-  
ment most conducive to the happiness of India, as  
well as the security of our interests, was THE ESTAB-  
LISHMENT OF UNIVERSAL TRANQUILLITY UNDER THE  
GUARANTEE AND SUPREMACY OF THE BRITISH GO-  
VERNMENT.

That the extension of British influence based upon the destruction of the predatory system, would be attended with no additional risk and would be practicable without difficulty, were also maintained by the Governor General. Undoubtedly the individuals interested in the continuance of disorder and violence, would strenuously resist all interference intended for their suppression, and such was the short-sightedness and self destructive policy of some of the native courts, that it was probable they would contemplate in the overthrow of the system, only the loss of a share of the spoil and of the contingent employment of the predatory bands, in their own service, in case of war with the British. To take the princes of Rajputana and the petty chiefs of Malwa under the shield of British protection would deprive Sindhia, Holkar, and Amir Khan of victims on whom they had long preyed, and from whom they would be loth to withdraw their



grasp; and the annihilation of the Pindaris would deprive the Mahratta leaders of auxiliaries whose services might be of use in time of peril. But would they risk hostilities in defence of their participation in precarious plunder, or for the protection of such uncertain and unsafe dependents as the Pindaris,—and if they did, was their hostility to be dreaded?

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CHAP. V.  
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Although the Governor-General admitted that the measure of establishing peace in India by British influence, would be exceedingly unpalatable to the Mahratta princes, he maintained that it would not alter the real character of our relations with the native states who were interested in the continuance of the system. Whether professed friends or allies, they were already hostile to the British government, and if they were desirous of preserving in their entireness bodies of armed men, it was only that they might expect their co-operation in an extensive combination, which had for some time been agitated against the British ascendancy, originating in the intrigues of the Peshwa. If such a collision were inevitable, it had better be at once encountered, while the finances of British India were in a prosperous state, its armies effective, and its force unbroken by harassing and unavowed aggressions upon the frontier, wasteful and exhausting in their consequences, and impossible to be avoided by any defensive arrangement. From these considerations, therefore, the Governor General urged immediate interposition, by announcing to Sindhia that the British government could no longer continue its observance of the article<sup>1</sup> in the treaty which pre-

<sup>1</sup> The 8th Article of the Treaty of 1805.



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cluded it from forming alliances with other native states; that it should consequently accede to the application made to it so urgently by the Raja of Jaypur, and require the recal of Sindhia's troops from the Raja's territory, as well as prohibit Amir Khan from meddling with his affairs. At the same time Sindhia was to be informed of the determination to exterminate the Pindaris as an organised body, and was to be invited to co-operate in an object equally interesting to all the friends of peace and good government.<sup>1</sup>

The alliance with Jaypur so unjustifiedly broken off in 1805, had ever since been a subject of consideration with the Home authorities, who had hitherto approved of its renewal, should its revival be sought for. Now, however, that it formed part of a plan which it was thought might lead to a war with Sindhia, a different view was adopted, and considered as an article in a comprehensive scheme for the pacification of India, it was strongly discouraged if not positively interdicted.<sup>2</sup> Imperfectly informed of the state of India, measuring the present by the past, and greatly overrating the opposition to be

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the Governor General, 3rd March, 1814; 1st December, 1815; 20th April, 1816; 8th March, and 26th December, 1817; and letter to the council, from Cawnpore, 10th Oct. 1817. M.S. Records. These documents present extraordinary proofs of the extent of the Governor General's information, the comprehensiveness of his policy, and the justness and nobleness of his sentiments.

<sup>2</sup> A letter from the secret Committee of the 29th September, 1815, enjoined the Government of Bengal not to undertake any thing which might embroil us with Sindhia; prohibited any material change in the existing system of political relations, and ended with directing that "the system which was consolidated at the close of the last Mahratta war, should be maintained with as little change as could be avoided." Exhibiting strange ignorance of the alterations which ten years had wrought in the relative situations of the existing states, to which the system of 1805, always objectionable, was now wholly inapplicable.

overcome, apprehensive of financial embarrassments, and reluctant to encounter the vulgar clamour raised in Parliament against the extension of the British empire in India, the President of the Board of Control, Mr. Canning, however eminent as a statesman in the political world of the West, exhibited a singular want of knowledge and foresight in prescribing the line of conduct to be followed for the regulation of the interests of the East, and sought to enforce upon the Governor-General a feeble and temporising policy wholly unworthy of the British character, incompatible with the prosperity of the British Indian Empire, and fatal to the existence of the native powers.<sup>1</sup> It was asserted that

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Canning had in consequence of the death of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, in the year 1816, been placed at the head of the India Board, and it became the duty of this distinguished statesman to prescribe the course which should be pursued in this important and perplexing crisis of affairs. Letter from B. S. Jones, Esq. Commons Report, 1832. Appendix Polit. 232. It was fortunate that the course so prescribed was not followed: some of the instructions are the following, "We are unwilling to incur the risk of a general war, for the *uncertain purpose of extirpating the Pindaris*. Extended political and military combinations we cannot at the present moment sanction or approve." There was not the least risk of a general war, nor was there any uncertainty as to the extirpation of the Pindaris. "We do not think it improbable that even from Sindhia you may derive assistance in enterprises against separate bodies of the Pindaris, who may have committed depredations on our territories." A most improbable supposition,—and a most unworthy policy to require Sindhia's aid for the protection of the British territories. The suggestion was also thrown out in the face of "information recently received as to the suspicious behaviour of certain of the Mahratta chieftains, and the daring movements of the Pindaris." The result is the announcement of expectations signally falsified by events. "We entertain a strong hope that the dangers which arise from both these causes, and which *must perhaps always exist*, in a greater or less degree, may, by a judicious management of our existing relations, be prevented from coming upon us in any very formidable force, while, on the other hand, any attempt at this moment, to establish a new system of policy, tending to a wider diffusion of our power, must necessarily interfere with those economical regulations, which it is more than ever incumbent upon us to recommend, as indispensable to the maintenance of our present ascendancy, and by exciting the jealousy and suspicion of other states, may too probably produce or mature those very projects of hostile confederacy which constitute the chief object of your apprehension."—Commons Report, App. Vol. p. 232.

BOOK II. no danger was to be apprehended from the actual  
CHAP. V. condition of Central India, but much from any at-

1816. tempt to effect its amelioration. That such interference would provoke a combination which had yet no existence except in the fears of the Governor-General, and that although the individual members of the combination might be little formidable, yet united they must prove dangerous enemies, and a war with them collectively be attended with imminent hazard and ruinous expense. Even the extirpation of the Pindaris, if found likely to produce such a combination would be inexpedient, and it might be the more prudent course to adopt some other project for the diminution of their power and the suppression of their ravages. It might be possible to expel them from their seats, and induce Sindhia to prevent their settling again in the same locality, or it might be practicable to take advantage of the dissensions among them and neutralise their mischievous activity by setting one leader against another.<sup>1</sup> This latter suggestion aroused the indignation of the Governor-General, who justly repudiated all friendly intercourse with any of the members of an association the principles of whose constitution were rapine and murder. At length the audacity of the

<sup>1</sup> This proposition was also Mr. Canning's.—Commons Report. App. Pol. 232. Lord Moira replied, "When the Honourable Committee suggest the expedient of engaging one portion of the Pindaris to destroy some other branch of the association, I am roused to the fear that we have been culpably deficient in pointing out to the authorities at home, the brutal and atrocious qualities of those wretches. Had we not failed to describe sufficiently the horror and execration in which the Pindaris are justly held, I am satisfied that nothing could have been more repugnant to the feelings of the Honourable Committee, than the notion that this Government should be soiled by a procedure which was to bear the colour of confidential intercourse, of a common cause, with any of those gangs."—Letter from Bengal, 8th March, 1817.



Pindaris—their violation of the British territories convinced the English minister that offensive measures could no longer be delayed with a due regard to the character or interests of the Indian empire, and his previous instructions were qualified by the admission, that “they were not intended to restrain the Governor-General in the exercise of his judgment and discretion upon any occasion when actual war upon the British territories might be commenced by any body of marauders, and where the lives and property of British subjects might call for efficient protection.” He admitted also, that any connection between Sindhia and Holkar, with the Pindaris, open or secret, acknowledged or unavowed, would place the Government in a state of direct hostility with the offending chiefs :<sup>1</sup> and anticipatory approbation was expressed of any measures which the Governor-General might have adopted, not only for repelling invasion, but for pursuing and chastising the invaders.

Nor was the irresolution of the Board of Control the only difficulty by which the decided policy of the Governor-General was embarrassed. In his own council there prevailed an exaggerated dread of the power of Sindhia, founded on the recollection of the last Mahratta war, and a fear that the multiplication of political connections might be regarded as an infringement of the instructions from home, so often

<sup>1</sup> Even here, however, a timid and dishonest course of dissimulation was enjoined. “In acting or forbearing to act on this ground, (the open or secret connexion of a Mahratta Prince with the Pindaris) you will be guided by considerations of prudence. It might be politic to attempt to divide such confederacy by dissembling your knowledge of its existence.—Secret letter to Bengal, 20th September, 1816. Papers Pindari war, p. 41, also Commons Report, Pol. App. p. 233.



BOOK II. repeated, against the extension of the authority and  
CHAP. V. influence of the British Government over the native

1816. states. These sentiments were, however, confined to the minority, and when news was received of the outrages committed by the Pindaris in the northern Circars, the Council were unanimous in agreeing that no terms should be kept with the invaders, whatever consequences their extirpation might entail. Supported by this concurrence, and fortified by the spirit of the orders from home, however cautious and qualified their terms, Lord Moira, taking upon himself the responsibility of carrying out his own views to the extent he had originally contemplated, determined to let loose the powerful machinery he had never ceased to accumulate for the destruction of the robber bands and the eventual annihilation of the predatory system. Various circumstances occurred propitious to his designs before they could be carried into execution.

As soon as it became generally known that the British Government was disposed to abandon the system of non-interference which it had hitherto followed, applications came from all quarters for its alliance and protection. The Raja of Jaypur was the first to depute agents to Delhi to solicit the renewal of his former engagements, and, in the month of April, 1816, the Resident at Delhi was authorised to enter upon negotiations, for, although the orders from home implied a virtual prohibition of the alliance, yet, as in a previous dispatch it had been remarked, that “while the justice of dissolving the alliance with Jaypur was questionable, its impolicy had been clearly demonstrated by the injury

done to the country by Amir Khan and the Pindaris; and the Government," it was added, "would have seen the necessity of providing against the depredations of both;" it was argued by the Governor-General that it had not been the intention of the Secret Committee, in their late injunctions, to have positively interdicted an arrangement, the policy and justice of which were still undeniable.<sup>1</sup> The negotiation, however, although the first commenced, was one of the last concluded, the Raja being deterred from an earlier termination by the alternate tone of menace and conciliation adopted by Sindhia and Amir Khan, who led him to fear, that if he persisted in the negotiation, they would attack him immediately with all their forces, and to hope that they would cease to harass his country, if he abstained from an English connexion. There was, also, a strong party in his court opposed to the alliance, as they apprehended it would give the Raja the means of resisting their encroachments upon his authority and resources, and recovering from them the lands they had taken advantage of his distress to usurp. There were, also, difficulties as to the amount of the subsidy to be paid, and the degree of interference to be exercised; and after repeated interruptions, the negotiation was not brought to a close until active hostilities had ceased, and the supremacy of the British was placed beyond dispute.

The example set by Jaypur was followed by the

<sup>1</sup> The injunction against making any new treaty without previous sanction, "was not issued by the Court of Directors, but by the Board of Control through the Secret Committee."—Mr. Jones. Commons Report, Pol. App. 234. note.

BOOK II. **Rajas of Udaypur and Jodhpur:** envoys were sent  
CHAP. V. by them to Delhi, and negotiations set on foot  
1816. towards the end of 1817, which, with little delay, terminated in treaties of alliance. The Raj Rana of Kota also pledged his unreserved assent to whatever terms the British Government should impose, and the Raja of Bundi pleaded his former services as giving him a claim to British protection. A variety of petty chiefs also on the borders of Bundelkhand, or the further limits of Malwa—the Rajas of Krishnagar, Kerauli, Banswara, Pertab-gerh, and Dungarpur, applied earnestly for the protection of the British Government. Even Amir Khan offered his services against the Pindaris, and promised to disband his troops, and abstain from predatory practices, if guaranteed, in his actual possessions. The particular engagements entered into with these several chiefs we shall have subsequent occasion to notice, but the universality of the application, and the earnestness with which it was made, unequivocally evinced the feeling which pervaded the native states, their anxiety to be rescued by the British Government from the miserable slavery to which they had been reduced, and their readiness to contribute to the measures about to be adopted for their liberation.

An ally whose services were of immediate value, was also secured in Nazar Mohammed, the young Nawab of Bhopal, who had scarcely succeeded to his father's throne when he applied to the Political Agent in Bundelkhand to be admitted to the British alliance. Obvious as was the utility of his concurrence in the movements contemplated, and strong as

were his claims upon the friendship of the British Government, the positive prohibition of the Home authorities, precluded the Governor-General from acceding at once to his solicitations. They were not, however, absolutely rejected or discountenanced; and when in the beginning of the following year, his application was renewed through the Resident at Nagpur, that officer was directed, when military operations were on the eve of taking place, to enter into a preliminary engagement with the Nawab, which should stipulate at present for nothing more than military service. A more formal treaty was to be concluded after the war.

Notwithstanding the dread entertained by the opponents of the Governor-General's policy that Sindhia would take up arms in defence of the Pindaris, nothing occurred to justify the apprehension. It was known that their chiefs had agents in his camp, and friends among his ministers, who endeavoured to persuade him that his resources would be impaired, and his security imperilled, if he suffered the Pindaris to be extirpated. "What," wrote Nandhar Khan to Sindhia, "what, if we are destroyed, will become of you?"—and it was with much uneasiness that the Maharaja looked forward to the approaching storm, and with extreme mortification and annoyance that he found himself compelled to abandon adherents who, notwithstanding their occasional disobedience, were looked upon by him as an essential part of his military strength. Many of his most distinguished officers were avowed friends of the Pindari leaders, and were impressed with a belief that, if supported with vigour, they might

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1816.



BOOK II. defy the English. There were some weak enough  
CHAP. V. to put faith in the vaunts of the Pindaris them-  
1816. selves, that they would easily baffle and exhaust the  
English troops,—that they would far outdo what  
Jeswant Rao Holkar had been able to achieve; and  
that at the head of fifty thousand horse, they would  
carry fire and sword to the environs of Calcutta.  
Sindhia was not misled by such rhodomontade; he  
knew his own weakness and the strength of the  
British too well to hazard a rupture; and when  
called upon to explain the countenance that he had  
shown in his camp to the Pindaris, he denied all con-  
nexion with them, and declared it to be his inten-  
tion to inflict upon them condign punishment.—  
When apprised that this would be undertaken by  
the British Government, he professed himself en-  
tirely satisfied with the determination, and willing  
to co-operate in any manner which should be re-  
quired. The sincerity of Sindhia's professions might  
be questionable, but his public disavowal of all con-  
nexion with the Pindaris was calculated to diminish  
their confidence and weaken their power, and to  
remove one of the obstacles which had been sup-  
posed to impede the execution of the Governor-  
General's projects. It was equally improbable, what-  
ever might be their real sentiments, that the Raja  
of Nagpur, or the Peshwa, would take part with  
the Pindaris.

For some time after his elevation to the Regency  
of Nagpur, Apa Saheb, apprehensive of the intrigues  
of the party opposed to his nomination, found it ne-  
cessary to throw himself unreservedly upon the sup-  
port of his new allies. The troops stipulated for by

the subsidiary treaty were cantoned in the vicinity of the capital, in July, and Apa Saheb immediately removed his residence close to their lines, leaving the palace and the person of the Raja in the keeping of his opponents. As the latter was the chief source of their ability to thwart Apa Saheb's administration, the titular authority of the Raja being employed to contravene the acts of the Regent, Apa Saheb was instigated to rid himself of the impediment, and agents were speedily found to effect its removal. On the morning of the 1st of February, 1817, the Raja Parswaji Bhonsla was found dead in his bed. No marks of violence were perceptible; and as his health was always precarious and constitution infirm, it was not impossible that his sudden demise was to be attributed to natural causes. Some vague reports of foul practice reached the ears of the Resident, but they were not traceable to any authentic source, and resting apparently on no solid foundation, were to be classed with the popular calumnies which are the ordinary concomitants in India of the decease of a person of rank. Apa Saheb was at the time absent from Nagpur, and as nothing transpired to implicate him in the transaction, he was acknowledged, in virtue of his hereditary rights, Raja of Nagpur. The interests of the Raja were somewhat different from those of the Regent, but the ascendancy which had been established at Nagpur, the professions, and, for a season, the conduct of Apa Saheb afforded no grounds for apprehending that he would fall off from the alliance to which he probably was indebted for his life, and certainly for his succession to the throne.

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BOOK II. Less confidence was to be placed in the disposition of the Peshwa, but the occurrences which had  
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1816. embittered his animosity had also diminished his power to do mischief. A course of restless and unavailing dissension had led to the commission of acts which were regarded as those of an enemy, and had ended in the still further reduction of his political consequence. Scarcely had he relinquished Trimbak to the British officers when he repented of his acquiescence, and earnestly solicited that the culprit should be restored to him. He declared that he had given him up only in the belief that he was to undergo a public trial, and that if convicted of the murder of the Sastri, he was to be replaced in the Peshwa's hands for punishment. As it was, great injustice was done to Trimbak, who was cast into confinement, without any proof of his criminality, and great disgrace was inflicted upon the Peshwa in the privation of that right which he possessed in virtue of his sovereign authority of awarding the punishment due to the offences of his own subjects. His representations to this effect were unceasing; the incarceration of Trimbak in a foreign prison was, he urged, a perpetual indignity, and his sense of the dishonour was the more keen as it was inflicted by his friends. He was also subjected to serious pecuniary injury, for his principal treasures were entrusted to Trimbak's care, and no other person knew where they were concealed. He professed himself willing to adopt any arrangements for Trimbak's security, that the Resident should dictate, but declared that unless he were confided to his charge, his life would be passed in misery and mortification.



For a time, his suit was preferred in friendly and conciliatory language ; but he at length changed his tone and accompanied his application with the representation of various grievances, some of which he ascribed to the injustice of the Government, some to the personal unfriendliness of the Resident. His claims on the Gaekwar and Nizam were unadjusted. He had been obliged to subsidise a larger force than was originally proposed ; and he had ceded territory even beyond what was demanded, yet Kattiwar, which, according to treaty, was to have been restored, was still retained, and its restoration was saddled with unwarranted conditions. The subsidiary force stationed near Poona, was about to be removed to a post where it would block up the only bridge by which he could cross the river, and would do mischief to his Mango groves. Vexatious propositions were continually submitted to him affecting the customs forming part of his revenues. The Resident was also constantly annoying him about the Southern Jagirdars, and had prevented him on one occasion from going to Poona from Pundrapur. These complaints were partly frivolous, partly unfounded, but they expressed the feelings which had grown up in Baji Rao's heart against his allies. More important intimations of the same purport were afforded by the activity of the secret communications carried on with Nagpur and Gwalior, and by the orders issued to Bapu Gokla, and others of his Sirdars, to levy additional troops.

While these discussions were pending, they received augmented interest from the escape of Trimbak from his imprisonment on the evening of the 2nd

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BOOK II. of September, 1816. He had been detained in the  
 CHAP. V. Fort of Thanna, near Bombay, which was garrisoned

1816. by Europeans. He had been allowed to take exercise on the ramparts for an hour or two in the afternoon, and it was remembered, after his flight, that latterly a groom in the service of one of the officers was accustomed to bring his master's horse near the same place, and as he walked the animal backwards and forwards, to sing Mahratta songs, the language of which was unintelligible to the sentries. By this channel Trimbak was apprised of the device he was to adopt, and the facilities provided for his escape. The privy of his residence adjoined a stable, and a hole had been cut through the wall of the latter. On a dark and rainy night which concealed his person from the view of the sentinel who attended him, Trimbak contrived to pass unobserved into the stable, and having thrown off his dress, and placed a basket on his head, as if he were a common labourer, he walked unquestioned through the gateway out of the fort. When the alarm was given he was nowhere to be found. To mislead his pursuers a rope was fastened to a gun as if he had thus lowered himself from the rampart. The tide was low, and the narrow channel which separates Salsette from the main land being fordable, Trimbak waded through the water, and found upon the bank a party of horsemen waiting to receive him. He fled up the Pipri Ghat to the south of Nasik.

As soon as the Resident was informed of the flight of Trimbak he communicated the circumstance to the Peshwa, and called upon him to evince his fidelity to the British alliance, and his

immunity from all suspicion of connivance by promulgating the most positive and stringent orders for the apprehension of the fugitive. Baji Rao protested his ignorance of any project for Trimbak's liberation, or any concern whatever in its accomplishment, and professed his readiness to take the requisite steps for his arrest, expressing his hope, that in the event of his being recovered, he would not be treated with severity, and would be eventually placed in his charge. No hopes were held out that the latter expectation would be fulfilled, but the Peshwa was assured that, as Trimbak's flight was no aggravation of his crime, it would of itself subject him to no new punishment. Baji Rao's promise to assist in his discovery was accepted as a mark of his desire to maintain the subsisting good understanding uninterrupted.

Notwithstanding Baji Rao's professions, the Resident soon had reason to suspect the sincerity of his intentions. Any information that was supplied of Trimbak's concealment turned out to be illusory; and no exertions were made by the Peshwa's officers for his apprehension, although he was known to be collecting armed followers at no great distance from Poona, with little attempt at concealment. In consequence of the earnest remonstrances of the Resident, a party of horse was sent against Trimbak, then in the Mahaleo hills, but the officer commanding the party halted on the road, and reported that neither leader nor followers could be found. The same evasive course was now deliberately pursued, and, although it was notorious throughout the country, that Trimbak was at the head of considerable bodies

BOOK II.  
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BOOK II. of both horse and foot, the Peshwa affirmed that he  
 CHAP. V. could hear of no such insurgents, and that he must  
 1816. depend upon the Resident for their discovery. He pretended, indeed, to doubt if Trimbak were alive, and his ministers were instructed to repeat their belief of his death in their communications with the Resident. It was obviously the purpose of Baji Rao to allow Trimbak to assume so imposing an attitude as should compel the British Government to assent to the conditions on which he had already insisted, and in the case of their non-compliance, to excite a spirit of resistance, not only in his own dominions, but in those of the other Mahratta princes, whom he had been long engaged in urging to a confederacy against the British ascendancy.<sup>1</sup>

Baji Rao's encouragement of the extensive risings throughout the country, instigated by Trimbak and his partisans, was not restricted to silent connivance and pretended disbelief of their occurrence; more active participation was detected. It was ascertained, that several secret interviews had taken place between the Peshwa and his favourite, that considerable supplies of money had been clandestinely conveyed to him, and that the military and fiscal authorities in general identified the partisans of Trimbak with the troops of the Peshwa. Thus fostered, the insurrection was rapidly gaining head, and from fifteen to twenty thousand men were assembled under Trimbak and his associates, in dif-

<sup>1</sup> Dispatches from the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, to Lord Moira, 11th March, 1817.—Secret Letter from Bengal, 9th June, 1817. Papers Mahratta war, pp. 79, 91.



ferent parts of the country, and on the borders of the territory of the Nizam. The levy of forces on behalf of the Peshwa also continued with augmented activity; his strongest fortresses were placed in a condition to resist an attack, and his principal treasure was removed from Poona to places of greater security. It had become a question of peace or war, but Baji Rao still protested his fidelity and attachment to the British alliance, offered to acquit himself by oath of any intercourse with Trimbak, and declared his readiness, if an insurrection did exist, to act vigorously in concert with the Resident for its suppression. Referring to Calcutta for the course of proceeding to be adopted towards the Peshwa, Mr. Elphinstone set seriously to work to put down the rising before it had attained a more menacing aspect, and before the mischief had spread to the adjacent countries. The principal part of the Poona troops which had marched to the frontier to defend it against the inroads of the Pindaris, was recalled, and the subsidiary force of Hyderabad was instructed to move to the confines of the Peshwa's territories, and advance into Kandesh. The insurgents were collected chiefly in two large masses—one at Maswar, a few miles west of Pundrapur, commanded by Trimbak's brother-in-law Jado Rao,—the latter by Godaji Danglia, a nephew of Trimbak,—in Kandesh. Each was estimated at from four to five thousand strong: there were also a number of smaller parties preparing to join one or other of these divisions; and the party in the south were endeavouring to march northwards to effect a junction with the insurgents in

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BOOK II. Kandesh, as soon as they should have concentrated  
CHAP. V. their force. In this latter project the insurgents

1817. were frustrated by the movements of Colonel Smith, who advanced to Maswar early in February, and dislodged them. They fled to the eastward, were pursued for a considerable distance, and partly dispersed. Colonel Smith then marched to Poona, leaving Colonel Wilson with six companies of his Majesty's 65th regiment and three battalions of Native Infantry, at Ranjangaon, near Seroor, while a division under Colonel Milnes was stationed at Pipalgaon on the Godaveri. On the Hyderabad side, Major Macdowall advanced to Tuljapur, while a detachment from Jalna moved to the west into Kandesh. The remainder of the southern party, having rallied to the number of three thousand five hundred, of whom above two thousand were well mounted, resumed their northern route in the beginning of April. On their march a troop of Pindaris attached to the body fell in with Lieutenant Daçre, of the Madras Artillery, with a small escort, and robbed and murdered him and his attendants. The barbarity was not unrequited. Information of their movements being received by Colonel Wilson, he detached Major Smith, with six hundred infantry, to intercept their flight. Although too late to accomplish this object, Major Smith came upon the track of the party moving from the Bhima by Toka towards the Godaveri, and pursued them with unremitting activity. After a march of one hundred and fifty miles in five days, he came upon the insurgents at Patri, above the ghats of Kandesh, at daybreak of the 17th

April, just as they were mounting to resume their route. After firing a volley, the troops charged and put the enemy to the rout, leaving seventy dead on the field, with a quantity of arms and a number of their horses. After several attempts to rally, which were defeated, the insurgents fled, and such of their horse as kept together, crossed the Godaveri towards Nasik, where they joined Godaji Danglia. Another division going northwards, more to the west, fell in with Colonel Milnes, and although they also escaped into Kandesh, it was not without a material diminution of their numbers. In the mean time, however, the force to which they were conveying an accession of strength was so completely disabled, that the junction of their friends was insufficient to retrieve the disaster. Captain Davies, with eight hundred of the Nizam's reformed horse, and a party of foot, had been dispatched to Kammin, twenty miles west of Aurangabad, on the evening of the 19th April. Having ascertained on the 22nd, that Godaji Danglia, with his main body, was marching towards the Godaveri, at no very great distance, he moved early in the morning of the 23rd, and, avoiding the main road, came, after a march of about thirty miles, upon the insurgents, drawn up with their left upon a strong mud fort, and their front protected by a water-course with steep banks. Captain Davies having ordered his men to charge across the water-course, the enemy, although above two thousand strong, wavered and broke: they were pursued for six miles, and entirely dispersed, with the loss of four hundred killed and some prisoners taken. Captain

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BOOK II. Davies and Captain Pedlar were wounded, but not  
CHAP. V. dangerously ; twenty-five men were killed and forty

1817. wounded. The affair was the more remarkable as a proof of the efficiency of the Nizam's horse, as now organised and led by British officers. This first success was followed up by the advance of the main body of the Hyderabad force, under Colonels Walker and Doveton, and by them the province of Kandesh was cleared of the insurgents before the setting in of the Monsoon. Trimbak took refuge at Chuli Maheswar, on the Nerbudda.

The troubled state of Cuttack, and the neighbouring districts having cut off the communication with Calcutta, the instructions of the Government of Bengal failed to reach the Resident within the customary interval. He was, therefore, under the necessity of acting upon his own responsibility, and as the Peshwa's menacing preparations still continued, and no steps had been taken to comply with his requisitions, he determined to bring the discussion to a close. Having assembled the subsidiary force in the vicinity of Poona, Mr. Elphinstone demanded of the Peshwa a written engagement that he would deliver up Trimbak without delay, and that as a security for the fulfilment of his promise, he would surrender to the British troops his forts of Sing-gerh, Purandar and Rai-gerh : the engagement to be signed and delivered within twenty-four hours or war would be declared. At first, the Peshwa seemed resolved to withhold his assent, and endeavoured to prevail upon the Resident to grant a longer interval ; but when this was refused, and the troops were stationed so as to command all



the outlets of the city, Baji Rao became alarmed and accepted the ultimatum. He pledged himself to apprehend and deliver Trimbak within a month, and in the meantime gave orders that the forts demanded should be opened to British garrisons. The troops were then withdrawn from the environs of the city, and actual hostilities were avoided, but the Peshwa was apprised that so serious an interruption of the amicable relations established by the treaty of Bassein, must be considered as an infraction of that treaty and involved the necessity of a revised engagement, the conditions of which he could not expect, after the proofs he had given of his unfriendly disposition, to be equally favourable to his interests. The proceedings of the Resident were entirely in unison with the sentiments of the Governor-General, the communication of which arrived at Poona on the 10th of May.

Even after the engagement entered into upon the 7th of May, the Peshwa had exhibited his usual vacillating conduct, and had forborne from prosecuting any active measures for the seizure of Trimbak. The arrival of the instructions from Bengal roused him to decision, and on the 21st, he issued a proclamation, promising a reward of two lakhs of rupees and a village yielding one thousand rupees a year,<sup>1</sup> to any person who should effect the delinquent's apprehension. Minor rewards were offered for information of the place of his concealment, and the members of his family and adherents who were in

<sup>1</sup> Dispatches from the Resident, 9th May, 1817.—Papers Mahratta war, p. 96.



BOOK II. Poona, were placed under restraint. This display of  
CHAP. V. sincerity came too late to save him from the conse-

1817. quences of his former duplicity; and a new treaty was offered for his acceptance, of which the following were the principal conditions. Baji Rao engaged to recognize for himself and his successors the dissolution, in form and substance, of the Mahratta confederacy, and to renounce all pretensions arising from his former situation of executive head of the Mahratta empire; to advance no claims to the lands of Sindhia, Holkar, the Raja of Berar, and the Gaekwar, and to relinquish those upon the Raja of Kolapur and the Government of Sawantwari; and with a view to the fulfilment of the article of the treaty of Bassein, which precluded the Peshwa from carrying on negotiations with foreign powers, he was now required to promise that he would neither maintain any agents at other courts nor admit their agents at Poona; and that he would hold no communication whatever with foreign princes, except through the British Resident. With respect to the Gaekwar, the Peshwa was required to renounce all future claims, and accept as a commutation for the past, an annual payment of four lakhs of rupees. For a further annual sum of four lakhs and a half he was to grant to the Gaekwar, the perpetual lease of Ahmedabad.

The treaty of Bassein had stipulated that the Peshwa should maintain at all times a contingent force of five thousand horse and three thousand foot, to act with the subsidiary force. This article was annulled, and in lieu of it, it was required that the Peshwa should place at the disposal of the Bri-

tish Government sufficient funds for the payment of a body of troops of the like amount, viz., five thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry; the funds to be provided by the cession of territories in the Dekhin, and of the tribute of Kattiwar, to the extent of a net revenue of thirty four lakhs of rupees a year. He was further expected to cede in perpetual sovereignty the Fort of Ahmednagar, all his rights, interests, or pretensions, feudal, territorial or pecuniary in Bundelkhand, including Sagar, Jhansi, and the possessions of Rana Govind Rao; all the rights and territories in Malwa, secured to him by the treaty of Sirji Anjengaum, and generally all rights and pretensions of every denomination which he might possess in the country to the north of the river Nerbudda; and he was to pledge himself never more to interfere in the affairs of Hindustan.<sup>1</sup>

These were undoubtedly hard terms, but the Peshwa, by his inveterate enmity to the British name and power, and the treachery with which, while professing a faithful adherence to the terms of the treaty of Bassein, he had violated its most essential conditions, labouring in secret to re-unite the separated members of the Mahratta confederacy and direct their combination against his allies; and by the gross manner in which he had disregarded the law of nations and the guarantee of the British Government, in sanctioning, if not perpetrating, the murder of the Gaekwar ambassador; sub-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Peshwa, 13th June 1817.—Collection of Treaties, 27th May, 1818, p. 60; and the observations of the Governor General on the several articles.—Papers, Mahratta war, p. 109.

BOOK II. jected him justly to heavy penalties. In some re-  
CHAP. V. spects, also, their severity was less than it appeared  
1817. to be, and they were levelled against the Peshwa's  
political pretensions rather than against his real  
power or authority. His lands in Malwa, and his  
claims on the chiefs of Bundelkhand, for instance,  
had long ceased to be of any pecuniary value, or to  
bring him any accession of political importance, and  
the acknowledgment of his supremacy, occasionally  
professed by the individual occupants, was unaccom-  
panied by any substantial tokens of obedience. The  
limitation of his claims on the Gaekwar, involving a  
guarantee of his realisation of as large a sum as he  
was likely ever to receive regularly without British  
intermediation, was likely to prove a beneficial  
arrangement to him, and if any loss attended it, he  
had little right to complain of being thus permitted  
to compound for his infraction of both moral and  
national law, by his participation in the guilt of  
Gangadhar's assassination. As far as these stipula-  
tions were concerned, therefore, he suffered little  
diminution of revenue or loss of real power. The  
additional amount of the subsidiary force, and  
the sequestration of lands for its payment, were  
more serious deductions from his revenue and from  
his authority, but they were regarded by him as less  
intolerable than those stipulations which annihila-  
ted his hopes of regaining his place as head of  
the Mahratta confederacy, and prohibited him from  
plunging into the dark and dangerous intercourse  
in which his genius delighted; and such was the  
tenacity with which he adhered to his design, such  
the inveteracy of his animosity against the British,



that rigorous as were the conditions of the new treaty, and essentially as they impaired both the Peshwa's credit and power, it would hardly have been compatible with the safety of the British interests in India, to have imposed milder terms. It would have been an encouragement to Baji Rao to persevere in his hostile projects, to have left him the undiminished capability, as well as the unretracted purpose of undermining and subverting British ascendancy.

The terms to which the Peshwa's assent was demanded excited the indignant feelings of many of his advisers, and his most distinguished military adherent, Gokla, urged him strenuously to the only course by which his reputation might have been preserved—an appeal to arms; but Baji Rao was unequal to such a resolution: he ratified the treaty, protesting that he submitted to the conditions through consciousness of his inability to resist, and that they had not his acquiescence. The dispute was, however, brought for the present to a termination. Trimbak continued at large, but there was no reason to suspect that the Peshwa had not done all in his power to effect his seizure, and no demerit was imputed to him on this account. Baji Rao, soon after the signature of the treaty, quitted Poona for Mahauli, whither he invited Colonel Malcolm to an interview, as one of his early friends, and endeavoured to obtain his aid in procuring a mitigation of the terms of the engagement. He appeared, however, for a time, to have suspended his complaints on this head, and to have diverted his thoughts to the reduction of the dis-

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BOOK II. trict of Sundur, for which object he had been  
 CHAP. V. formerly promised the co-operation of the British  
 1817. troops. The Government of Fort St. George was  
 instructed to comply with his request, and Colonel  
 Munro, who had been nominated to the charge of  
 the newly-ceded districts of Darwar and Kusigal,  
 was ordered to establish the Peshwa's authority  
 over the Jagir of Sundur.

The great advantages accruing to the Gaekwar from the treaty of Poona, and the additional military obligations which it imposed upon his allies, were considered to require a revision of the engagements subsisting with that prince, so as to secure the whole of the Kattiwar collections to the British Government, in order to provide for an augmentation of the subsidiary force. Although, not questioning the general expediency of the arrangements, the government of Baroda objected to the proposed conditions, and the conclusion of the treaty did not take place till after the war.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Plan and purposes of the campaign of 1817-18.—Disposition of British forces—in Hindustan.—Grand army.—Centre.—Right Division.—Left Division.—Subordinate Detachments.—Reserve.—Army of the Dekhin.—First Division.—Second, or Hyderabad.—Third.—Fourth, or Poona.—Fifth.—Reserve.—Events at Poona.—The Peshwa's discon-*

*tent.—Poona division takes the field.—Force left in Cantonments withdrawn to Kirki. — Menacing appearances.—Explanation demanded.—Peshwa's ultimatum.—The Residency destroyed.—Battle of Kirki.—Peshwa defeated.—British Officers seized by marauding parties.—The Vaughans murdered. — Return of General Smith to Poona. — Flight of the Peshwa.—Poona occupied.—Advance of the third and fifth Divisions across the Nerbudda. — Pindaris driven from their haunts. — Union of the first and third Divisions under Sir T. Hislop, near Ujayin.—Conduct of Sindhia.—Advance of the centre and right Divisions of the Army of Hindustan towards Gwalior.—Treaty with Sindhia.—Ravages of Cholera in the centre Division.—Change of Position.—Disappearance of the Disease.—Pindaris cut off from Gwalior. — Fly towards Kota.—Overtaken by General Marshall.—Amir Khan intimidated.—Disbands his Troops.—Pindaris intercepted by General Donkin.—Return to the South.—Encountered by Colonel Adams.—Join Holkar's Army.—Cheetoo flies to Jawad.—Diminished strength of the Pindaris.*

THE determination of the Governor-General to form effective military arrangements for the eradication of the Pindaris, and for the suppression of the predatory system, was formed in the close of 1816, but it was impracticable to carry his designs into operation until after the rainy season of the following year. The interval was busily occupied in assembling and organising the troops, and establishing controlling military and political authority

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1817.

BOOK II. in those quarters in which Lord Hastings was not  
CHAP. VI. personally present. The preparations were conduct-

1817. ed as unostentatiously as possible, in order that the armies might be able to take the field at the appointed period, before those against whom they were directed, or any other power disposed to obstruct the policy of the British Government, should be prepared to offer serious opposition.

The plan of the campaign was dictated by the geographical position of the chief objects of hostility, the Pindaris, and by the disposition of the British resources. The territories of the chiefs of the freebooters, Karim and Cheetoo, were centrically situated in the south of Malwa, being bounded on the east by the principality of Bhopal, on the south by the Nerbudda, on the west and north by the possessions of Sindhia and Holkar, which intervened between Guzerat and the Peshwa's province of Kandesh. They were thus exposed on every side except the north, to an attack from the contiguous frontiers of states through which a ready access was open to the British forces, and although the privilege of marching an army through the dominions of Sindhia, had not been conceded by existing treaties, yet his promise of co-operation had been plighted, and it was part of the purposes of the campaign to enforce the fulfilment of this promise, and compel him to throw open his country to the movements of the British divisions. Further to the north, the pending arrangements with Jaypur and Amir Khan, admitted of the advance of troops in that quarter, with the intention of overawing both Sindhia and the Patan, protecting the Rajputs against their



enmity, and preventing the escape of the Pindaris in a northerly direction, when they should have been expelled by the operations in the south from their haunts on the Nerbudda.

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On the side of Hindustan, the Bengal forces were arrayed in four principal divisions. The centre division consisting of three regiments of cavalry, one of His Majesty's foot, and eight battalions of Native infantry, with detachments of artillery,<sup>1</sup> commanded by Major-General Brown, was assembled at Cawnpur. It was there joined on the 14th of September by the Marquis of Hastings, as Commander-in-chief. The right division, under Major-General Donkin, was formed at Agra, and comprised two regiments of cavalry, one regiment of European, and three battalions of native infantry, with artillery.<sup>2</sup> The left division, commanded by Major-General Marshall, was in advance at Kalinjar, in Bundelkhand, and consisted of one regiment of native cavalry, two corps of irregular horse, and five battalions of infantry, with guns.<sup>3</sup> On the left of this division, and constituting subordinate portions of it, were two small bodies, one at Mirzapur, under Brigadier-General Hardyman, and another, under Brigadier-General Toone, on the frontiers of

<sup>1</sup> The troops forming the centre were His Majesty's 24th Light Dragoons, 3rd and 7th regiments N. C. and the Governor-General's Body Guard. His Majesty's 87th regt., and of Native Infantry the 2nd batt. 13th, 1st batt. 24th, 2nd batt. 11th, 1st batt. 8th, 2nd batt. 1st, 2nd batt. 25th, 1st batt. 29th, and a Flank battalion. Detachment of horse and foot artillery, and 54 guns.

<sup>2</sup> His Majesty's 8th Dragoons, 1st N. C. Gardiner's horse and contingents of the Raja of Bhurtpur and Dholpur, His Majesty's 14th regt., N. I. 1st batt. 25th, 1st batt. 27th, 2nd batt. 12th, 18 guns.

<sup>3</sup> 4th N. C. 2nd and 3rd Rohilla horse, N. I. 2nd batt. 28th, 1st batt. 14th, 1st batt. 1st, 1st batt. 26th, 1st. batt. 7th, guns 24.



BOOK II. South Behar ;<sup>1</sup> the duty of these two corps being the  
 CHAP. VI. defence of the British confines in the south-west,

1817. the prevention of any sudden inroad through Rewa or Chota Nagpur,—and the line of frontier further south, through Sambhalpur and Cuttack, was considered to be sufficiently protected by the troops already stationed in those provinces. The fourth, or reserve division, commanded by Sir D. Ochterlony, was formed of one regiment Native cavalry, and two corps of irregular horse, one regiment of European, and five battalions of Native infantry.<sup>2</sup> To each of the divisions were attached bodies of irregular horse and foot, the troops of several petty chiefs, who, by their tenure, or by treaty, were bound to furnish military contingents in time of war. In general they added little to the real strength of the army, but their presence was an indication of the extent of the British sway. The whole number of troops in this quarter amounted to above twenty-nine thousand foot, and fourteen thousand horse, with one hundred and forty guns, both horse and foot artillery. The centre division crossed the Jumna on the 26th of October, and took up a position on the Sindh river on the 6th of November, where it was equally ready to act against the Pindaris and the Mahratta states. On

<sup>4</sup> The first consisted of 8th N. C., His Majesty's 17th regiment 2nd battalion, 8th N. I., 6 guns ; Raja of Rewa's contingent horse. The second of His Majesty's 24th regiment, 2nd battalion of 4th N. I., 4 guns ; Raja Gumsham's horse.

<sup>1</sup> 2nd N. C. two corps of Skinner's horse ; His Majesty's 67th regiment. N. I. 2nd battalion of the 19th, 1st of 28th, 2nd of 7th, 1st of 6th, 2nd of 5th, 22 guns ; contingent horse and foot of Begum Sumroo, Faiz Mohammed Khan, Ahmed Bakhsh Khan, the Raja of Macheri, and the Raja of Patiala.

the right, General Donkin, by the 9th of November, advanced to Dholpur, on the Chambal, where he threatened equally Sindhia and Amir Khan; and shut in between this division and the centre, the former chief had no alternative left but to disarm the British Government by submission to its will. The left division was intended, in communication with the Nagpur subsidiary force, to act upon the western extremity of the Pindari line, and advanced, by the 12th of November, to Sagar, on the south-west angle of Bundelkhand. The reserve division, which was intended to cover Delhi, and support the negotiations with the Rajput states, was posted on the 27th of November at Rewari. The two smaller detachments, under Brigadier-Generals Hardyman and Toone, assumed their respective stations in the course of October and November.

The army of the Dekhin was under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, the Commander-in-Chief at the Madras Presidency, who was also invested with full political powers within the sphere of his military operations. The force was distributed into five divisions: the first, with the head-quarters, was formed of a detachment of European, and two regiments of Native cavalry; of a detachment of European infantry, the Madras European regiment, and six battalions of Native infantry, besides artillery.<sup>1</sup> The second, or Hyderabad division, was commanded by Brigadier-General Doveton, and was composed of

<sup>1</sup> Detachment of His Majesty's 22nd Light Dragoons, 4th and 8th regiments N. C., Flank companies of H. M.'s Royal Scots, Madras European regiment N., I. 1st batt. 3rd, 1st battalion 16th, 2nd battalion 17th, 1st battalion 14th, 2nd battalion 6th, and 1st batt. of 7th: horse artillery, and Rocket troop.

BOOK II. one regiment of Native cavalry, one of European  
 CHAP. VI. infantry, and six battalions of Native infantry,  
 1817. with horse and foot artillery, together with the  
 Berar and Hyderabad brigades.<sup>1</sup> The third division,  
 consisting of one regiment of Native cavalry, and  
 a detachment of Native infantry, with the Rus-  
 sell brigade, Elichpur brigade, and Mysore aux-  
 iliary horse, was commanded by Brigadier-General  
 Sir John Malcolm.<sup>2</sup> The fourth or Poona division,  
 was commanded by Brigadier-General Lionel Smith,  
 and comprised one regiment of Native cavalry, a Eu-  
 ropean regiment, six battalions of Native infantry,  
 artillery, and a body of reformed Poona horse, under  
 European officers.<sup>3</sup> The fifth division consisting of  
 the Nagpur subsidiary force, under Lieutenant-Colo-  
 nel Adams, was composed of three corps of horse,  
 besides the contingent of the Nawab of Bhopal,  
 and six battalions of Native infantry.<sup>4</sup> Brigades  
 were left at Poona, Hyderabad, and Nagpur, and a  
 reserve division was formed from the force which  
 had been employed under Colonel Munro, at the  
 desire of the Peshwa, to reduce to his subjection the  
 Zemindar of Sundur.<sup>5</sup> The task was performed

<sup>1</sup> 6th regiment N. C., His Majesty's Royal Scots, 2nd battalion 13th, 2nd batt. 24th, 1st batt. 11th, 2nd batt. 14th, 1st batt. 12th, 1st batt. 2nd, Berar brigade, four battalions N. I. reformed horse, Hyderabad brigade, five companies Madras European regiment, N. I. 1st batt. 21st, 1st batt. 22nd, 1st batt. 8th.

<sup>2</sup> 3rd regiment N. C., five companies 1st batt. 2nd N. I., Russell brigade, 1st and 2nd regiment, Elichpur contingent, 1200 horse, and five batt. foot, 4,000 Mysore horse.

<sup>3</sup> 2nd N. C. His Majesty's 65th regiment, Madras N. I. 2nd batt. 15th, Bombay N. I. 2nd batt. 1st, 1st batt. 2nd., 1st batt. 3rd, 2nd batt. 9th.

<sup>4</sup> 5th and 6th regiment N. C. 1st Rohilla horse, Bengal N. I., 1st and 2nd batt. 10th, 1st batt. 19th, 1st and 2nd batt. 23rd, L. I. battalion.

<sup>5</sup> His Majesty's 22nd Light Dragoons, 7th regt. Madras N. C., European flank batt. M. N. I., 2nd batt. 4th, 2nd batt. 12th. These details are taken



in the course of November, and the troops, having returned to the north of the Tumbhadra, were assembled at Chinur by the middle of the following month, under Brigadier-General Pritzler. The line of operations had been completed by the formation of a respectable force in Guzerat, commanded by Major-General Sir W. G. Keir, which was to advance from the west, and communicate with the army of the Dekhin.<sup>1</sup> The aggregate of these forces amounted to 52,000 foot, 18,000 horse, with 62 guns; forming with the Bengal army a body of 113,000 troops, with 300 pieces of ordnance.

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It had been intended that the first and third divisions should cross the Nerbudda at Hindia early in the campaign, but the movements of the troops were delayed by the unusual duration of the monsoon, the impracticability of the roads, and the swollen state of the rivers. Sir Thomas Hislop, also, was detained at Hyderabad by illness, from the 12th of August to the 1st of October. He proceeded to assume the command by the 10th of November, when the first and third divisions were in position at Harda, not far from the southern bank of the Nerbudda. The fifth division had advanced to Hoseinabad, on the same river, not far from their right, by the 6th of the month. The second division had a position assigned to it in the neighbourhood of Akola, in order to protect the Berar frontier, and to support the troops in advance, as well as to observe Nagpur, where the disposition of the

from Colonel Blacker. Some modifications took place in the field, but none of material importance.

<sup>1</sup> His Majesty's 17th Dragoons, His Majesty's 47th regt., Bombay N. 1., Flank and Grenadier batt., 1st batt. 8th, 2nd batt. 7th.



BOOK II. Raja had become an object of suspicion.<sup>1</sup> The fourth  
 CHAP. VI. division, under General Smith, was directed to move

1817. towards Kandesh to defend the Peshwa's territory, or be at hand to act against him should his latent hostility break out into open violence. Its manifestation took place sooner than was anticipated.

The treaty of Poona had scarcely been signed by Baji Rao when he repented of the deed, and resumed with redoubled eagerness the intrigues in which he had previously been engaged, and his earnest endeavours to excite the other Mahratta chiefs to give support to the Pindaris. At the same time, under pretence of acting in concert with the British in their movements against those marauders, he commenced an extraordinary levy of troops, and large bodies of horse and foot were assembled in the vicinity of Poona by the end of October, the insolence of whose conduct was sufficiently expressive of their master's intentions. Active intrigues were also set on foot for the seduction of the subsidiary force, and bribes and menaces were employed to tempt the men from their allegiance.<sup>2</sup> Although

<sup>1</sup> Lord Hastings' Narrative, Papers, Mahratta War, 385.—Colonel Blacker says Doveton was directed to move his head-quarters to a position immediately in the rear of Mulkapore, either above or below the Berar Ghats, with the view and possible necessity of besieging Asirgerh.—p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> The Peshwa's emissaries began to tamper with the troops early in August; their practices were immediately reported by the men to their officers, and they were suffered to carry on the negotiations, which they did with such success, that the Peshwa fell into the snare. Large sums of money were distributed among them; a Jemadar of the 6th, who was admitted to an interview with Baji Rao and Gokla, a few days before the action at Kirki, was promised land and titles if he could bring over his men, and received five thousand Rupees, which he transferred to his commanding officer. Very few were tempted to desert their colours by offers of this nature: some desertions took place, but they were of natives of the Konkan, whose homes were situated in places subject to the Peshwa or to Gokla, and who were intimidated by violence threatened, or, in some cases, offered to their families. There is no doubt that the Peshwa was

these proceedings were well known to the Resident, yet, in order to avoid embarrassing the meditated operations against the Pindaris, and feeling confident reliance on the fidelity of the Sipahis, Mr. Elphinstone refrained from any exposure of the Peshwa's treacherous conduct, or from taking any steps, except those of general remonstrance, to counteract his projects. He allowed the main body of the subsidiary force, forming the fourth division, to march from its cantonments, and retained in the vicinity of Poona no more than the portion usually stationed in the environs of the city. General Smith, however, upon his arrival on the confines of Kandesh, received advices of the threatening aspect of affairs at Poona, and the probable necessity of his return. He accordingly halted at Phultamba, on the Godaveri, with an understanding that should his communications with the Residency be interrupted, he should march immediately on Poona.

The force which had been left at Poona consisted of three battalions of Bombay infantry, under Colonel Burr, a battalion of the Poona brigade the Peshwa's own troops officered by Europeans, under Major Ford, and two companies of Bengal Sipahis, forming the Resident's guard. The Poona brigade was quartered at Dapuri, a village a short distance on the west of Poona. The regular troops had formerly been cantoned on the east of the city, and were separated by it and by the Muta-Mula river

fully persuaded that the desertion would be very general as soon as the action commenced, and that this impression powerfully contributed to lead him into so desperate and fatal a procedure.

BOOK II. from the Residency, which lay on the north-west of  
CHAP. VI. Poona, near the confluence of the Muta and the  
1817. Mula rivers, the former coming from the north, the  
latter from the west, and both uniting off the north-  
west angle of the city. The position of the canton-  
ments had long been regarded as objectionable, both  
in a military and political view. Situated on the  
opposite side of Poona, and inconveniently contigu-  
ous to the town, their communication with the Re-  
sidency might easily be cut off; and they were ex-  
posed to any sudden hostile attack, as well as to the  
insidious influence of the population of the capital.  
It had been, therefore, for some time past, resolved to  
move the troops to Kirki, a village about two miles  
north of Poona, on the same side as the Residency,  
and although detached from the latter by the course  
of the Mula river, which ran between them, capable  
of ready communication with it by a bridge over  
the stream. Dapuri, the station of the Poona bri-  
gade, being situated also on the same side of the  
city, and not far in the rear of Kirki, communica-  
tion with it was easy. Baji Rao, who was too saga-  
cious not to understand the real motives of the  
change, had strenuously objected to it; but this was  
an additional argument in its favour, and due pre-  
parations having been made, the battalions under  
Colonel Burr marched from the old station and  
encamped at Kirki on the 1st of November. The  
force had been joined on the preceding evening by  
the Bombay European regiment, and by detach-  
ments of the 65th regiment, and of Bombay artil-  
lery, on their march to join the 4th division. On  
the 5th of November, a light battalion, which had



been ordered back to Seroor by General Smith, marched upon Poona with a thousand of the auxiliary horse. Before their arrival the affair had been decided.

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The intentions of the Peshwa to fall upon the Residency, were very currently reported during the month of October, and an extensive feeling of alarm pervaded the Capital: many persons quitted Poona, and many more sent away their families and property: private intimations to the same effect from individuals whose authority was unquestionable, were received both by Mr. Elphinstone and some of his staff, but unwilling to precipitate a crisis, and doubting whether Baji Rao would have the courage to hazard so desperate an enterprise, the Resident deemed it advisable to take no public notice of the Peshwa's proceedings until they were too notorious, and too menacing to be longer disregarded. A large army had been drawn up on the south of the City, and parties were thrown out towards the new cantonments, as if to cut off the communication between them and the Residency. Upon requiring to know the object of these movements, and insisting that the advanced parties should be withdrawn, a confidential servant of the Peshwa, Witoji Naik was deputed to the Residency with his master's ultimatum. The Peshwa, he said, having heard of the arrival of the reinforcements from Seroor, was determined to bring things to an early settlement; he desired therefore, that the European regiment should resume its march, the native brigade be reduced to its usual strength, and the cantonments removed to a place which he should point



BOOK II. out. If these terms were not complied with, the  
CHAP. VI. Peshwa would leave Poona, and not return until

1817. they were assented to. The Resident replied that the march of the troops had been necessitated by the Peshwa's own preparations, but that there was no wish to act hostilely against him, and that if he would adhere to his engagements, and send off his forces to the frontier, to serve with the British troops, agreeably to the conditions of the alliance, he would still be regarded as a friend. If, on the contrary, his troops persisted in pressing upon the British position, they would be attacked. Within an hour after Witoji's return, large bodies of troops began to move towards the camp, and a battalion of Gokla's contingent had previously taken up ground within half a mile of the Residency, between it and the cantonments. The Resident, therefore, deemed it advisable to quit the former with his suite and escort, and fording the Mula, proceeded along its left bank to the bridge at Kirki, which he crossed, and joined the troops. Immediately upon his departure, the Mahrattas entered the Residency grounds, and plundered and set fire to the dwellings.

The Peshwa's army computed to amount to ten thousand horse, and as many foot, had been drawn up at the foot of the Ganes-khand hills, immediately on the north-west of the town, their left resting on the hills, their right on the Residency ; an immense train of ordnance protected the centre. The Peshwa moved out to an elevation, the Parbati hill south of Poona, at some distance, but commanding a view of the field ; the British force, consisting of infantry only, was less than three thousand strong : the ground

in front of them, although broken by ravines, was not wholly unfavourable to the evolutions of cavalry; and a forward movement was calculated to lead them into the midst of large bodies of horse, against which they would act at a disadvantage. On the other hand to await an attack was likely to produce a sense of discouragement among the troops, which, combined with the feelings that had possibly been engendered by the temptations to which their fidelity had been recently exposed, might be followed by dangerous desertion. To endeavour to avoid an engagement, and defend the position, would have the same, or worse effect, and would add to the confidence and numbers of the enemy. Some days must elapse before effective succour could be received, and the interval was pregnant with disaster. In India, in particular, the boldest counsels are usually the wisest: hesitation has been frequently followed by defeat, and audacity, almost equivalent to temerity, has, as frequently, achieved triumph: it did so in the present instance, and notwithstanding the immense disparity of numbers, Mr. Elphinstone and Colonel Burr concurred in ordering a prompt advance against the Mahratta host.

Having left a detachment with a few guns at the village of Kirki, to protect the baggage and the followers, the line moved onwards about a mile, and then halted until the Poona brigade from Dapuri should come up. The centre was occupied by the European regiment, the Resident's escort, and a detachment of the 2nd battalion of the 6th Bombay infantry. The 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment formed the right wing, and the 1st of

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BOOK II. the 7th the left: each of the exterior flanks was  
CHAP. VI. strengthened by two guns. On the approach of

1817. Major Ford with his brigade, the line again advanced; when a heavy cannonade opened upon them from the enemy's artillery, and masses of horse crowded on the flanks, and passed round to the rear. A strong division headed by Moro Dikshit, one of the Peshwa's most distinguished officers, who, although always averse to the war, was faithful to his duty, resolutely charged the battalion from Dapuri, as it advanced on the right of the line: throwing back its right wing, the battalion received the charge with a steady fire, and the Mahratta horse, foiled in their attempt to break the line, passed round the brigade towards Kirki. There they were received with equal firmness, by the detachment posted for the defence of the village, and Moro Dikshit being killed by a cannon ball, his followers, disheartened, retired from the field.

On the left flank, a select body of about three thousand infantry, Arabs, and Gosains, advanced in solid column against the 7th native regiment: they were met with a destructive fire, and fell back in confusion. The Sipahis, in their turn, pressed upon the fugitives, and falling into some disorder, were charged and broken by the Mahratta horse: two companies of Europeans were presently brought up to their support, the cavalry was driven back, and the line was reformed. The troops from Dapuri having now completely come up, the united force moved forward. As they advanced the Mahrattas retreated, and finally abandoned the victory to the British. Darkness coming on, put a stop to pursuit, and the



troops retired to their posts at Kirki and Dapuri: their loss was inconsiderable, not more than nineteen killed, and 67 wounded; that of the enemy was more severe, besides Moro Dikshit, a Patan officer of rank was killed, and several chiefs were wounded. On the morning after the action, the troops from Seroor arrived, and as no danger could now accrue from delay, it was determined to wait for the arrival of General Smith before undertaking any further movements.<sup>1</sup>

The main body of the Mahrattas, after the action, withdrew to a spot about four miles to the east of Poona, the Peshwa having been with difficulty dissuaded by Gokla from flying to Purandhar. Parties spread through the country and sullied their cause by deeds of useless and barbarous ferocity. On the day after the engagement, two officers coming from Bombay, Cornets Hunter and Morrison, were attacked and plundered by some Mahratta horsemen, and were taken prisoners and sent into the Konkan. A few days afterwards, Captain Vaughan and his brother, who had recently entered the Company's service, having been similarly robbed and seized at Wargam, were taken to Fattehgaon about twenty-four miles from Poona, and there hanged by order of the principal fiscal officer. About the same time, Lieutenant Ennis of the Bombay Engineers, who was out on survey with a

<sup>1</sup> Papers Mahratta War.—Letters from Mr. Elphinstone. Report of Colonel Burr, pp. 119, 123.—The battle of Kirki was fought through the persuasion and precipitancy of Gokla. The Peshwa, after giving the order, wished to recal it, but Gokla anticipating his irresolution had begun the action. Gokla avowed that his confidence and impatience to engage, were founded on the certainty that the Sipahis would come over by companies or battalions, on the field.—Papers 128.



BOOK II. small escort, was attacked and killed by a party of  
CHAP. VI. Bhils in Trimbak's service; his men fought their

1817. way to a neighbouring village, of which the Headman gave them protection and saved their lives.

The customary communications from Poona not having arrived, General Smith inferred that hostilities had broken out, and immediately prepared to retrace his steps. He marched from Phulthamba on the 6th of November, and arrived at Ahmednagar on the 8th. From thence his march was harassed by the Peshwa's horse, but no serious delay was occasioned, and he arrived at Poona on the 12th. On the 14th, the force was concentrated on a spot between the bridge of Kirki and the left bank of the united stream of the Muta-Mula, opposite to the Peshwa's army, which had taken up its position on the ground of the old cantonments. On the evening of the 16th, the army crossed the river in two principal divisions, the one on the right, under General Smith, at the confluence of the streams, the other on the left, commanded by Col. Milnes, at the Yellura ford. The passage of the first was effected without opposition, the whole attention of the Mahrattas being directed against the second, but their resistance was fruitless, and both divisions were in readiness for a combined attack at daylight, on the following morning. Their junction was effected, but on advancing towards the Peshwa's camp, it was found deserted. He had ridden off at two in the morning, and his troops had followed carrying off their guns, but leaving their tents standing, and the greater part of their stores and ammunition on the field. A few Arabs only had been

left to guard the capital, and as their expulsion would only have caused a needless waste of life they were prevailed upon to retire. It was with some difficulty that the troops, incensed by the burning of the Residency, by which much of their property had been destroyed, and by the ignominious murder of the Vaughans, could be restrained from the plunder of Poona, but the arrangements adopted for the purpose proved successful, and the capital of the Mahrattas was quietly taken possession of in the course of the day. Hostilities were, however, far from their termination.<sup>1</sup> Baji Rao fled to Purandhar, and stimulated and supported by the courage and conduct of Gokla, still cherished hopes of baffling and tiring out his enemies and recovering his power.

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At the time at which these transactions at Poona took place, the several divisions were rapidly concentrating on the points to which they were directed.

The third and fifth divisions of the Madras army crossed the Nerbudda early in November. The former was to have been followed by the first division, but advices of the transactions at Poona having reached Sir Thomas Hislop on the 15th of November, he thought it advisable to return to the southward; desiring, however, the third division to advance, and taking possession of the fort of Hindia, which had been temporarily ceded by Sindhia. Before he had proceeded many days on his route, Sir T. Hislop was overtaken by dispatches from the Marquis of Hastings, urgently enforcing his adherence to the original plan of the campaign, and enjoining his im-

<sup>1</sup> Report from Brigadier General Lionel Smith.—Mahratta Papers, 125.

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1817. mediate march in a northerly direction. Accordingly, after making such arrangements as he thought to be required by the state of affairs at Poona and Nagpur, the Commander-in-chief of the army of the Dekhin, with the first division, retraced his steps to the Nerbudda, and again crossed the river on the 30th of November. In the mean time, Sir John Malcolm had traversed the districts chiefly dependent upon Cheetoo, and recovered possession of the places which the Pindaris had wrested from Sindhia and the Nawab of Bhopal. Crossing the Kirveni Ghat into Malwa, he arrived at Ashta on the 21st of November, and was in communication with the fifth division under Colonel Adams, who, after crossing the Nerbudda, on the 14th of November, had advanced on the road to Seronj, in which direction the Durra of Wasil Mohammed had retreated. At Raisen, a communication was opened with the left division of the grand army, which was at Reili on the 28th of November. These three corps were now, therefore, on the proposed line of coöperation, and by their concurrent movements, had driven the Pindaris from their haunts, and compelled them to fly to the north and west. The country by these means was freed from those marauders, and the position of the British detachments served as a new base, upon which future operations were to rest. Accordingly, General Marshall, with the left division of the grand army, marched to Seronj, where he halted till the 7th of December. By the same date, Colonel Adams had reached Manohar Thana, in the principality of Kota. The third division of the Dekhin



army moved westerly in the track of Cheetoo's Durra, of which it never lost sight, although unable to come up with him. Upon arriving at Burgerh on the 3rd of December, Sir John Malcolm learned that the Pindaris had doubled to the south, and, having arrived at Mahidpur, were there encamped in the vicinity of Holkar's army, and under its protection. The combined forces of Holkar and Cheetoo being too formidable to be attacked by Sir John Malcolm, with the detachment under his command, he drew off towards the south, and halted on the 11th of December near Tajpur, to be at hand for the instructions of Sir Thomas Hislop, who was again marching rapidly towards him. The first division entered Malwa, on the road to Ujayin on the 4th of December; Sir Thomas Hislop was at Sonkeir, and on the 7th at Unchode, whither he had previously detached a light division. On the 11th he was at Dattana-mattana, within eight miles of Sir J. Malcolm's camp, and not far from Ujayin. On the following day the head-quarters of the army of the Dekhin, and the first and third divisions marched past Ujayin, and crossing the Sipra at a ford opposite the north-west angle of the city, encamped on the left bank of the river. Directions had been dispatched to Sir William G. Keir, commanding the force from Guzerat, to march in the same direction. The army was posted so as to command the approach to Ujayin from the north, and the road to Mahidpur, where lay Holkar's army, and Cheetoo's Pindaris. It is necessary, however, now to advert to the movements of the army of Hindustan.



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Notwithstanding the declarations of Sindhia, that he was as much the enemy of the Pindaris as the British Government, and was resolved to effect their extirpation himself, or unite with the British in so desirable an object, proofs of his insincerity were daily forthcoming, and evidences were multiplied of his being in friendly communication with all who were inimical to the British power. A compact had been entered into with Holkar's Government, having in view the acknowledgment of the Peshwa's supremacy, and a considerable sum of money, twenty-five lakhs of rupees had been received from Baji Rao to enable Sindhia to move to his assistance. Several envoys from Nepal with letters, and two of Sindhia's seals, were arrested on their return at Bithur, in the course of September;<sup>1</sup> and letters and messengers from the Pindari chiefs were constantly arriving at Gwalior, and men were enlisted with little attempt at secrecy for their service. It became necessary, therefore, to call upon Sindhia for unequivocal confirmation of his professed friendship or an avowal of his enmity. It had been the purpose of Lord Hastings to have delayed requiring a categorical answer to his demands, until it should have been so obviously unsafe for Sindhia to decline a compliance,

<sup>1</sup> The letters were concealed between the leaves of a Sanskrit MS. pasted together at the edges. Some were open, some closed; the former referred obscurely to the intended combinations between Sindhia and the other Mahratta princes. The closed letters were restored to Sindhia in open Durbar, without comment, in the course of October, while the treaty was under discussion. The detection evidently confounded the Court, although Atma Ram, the minister through whom communication with the Resident was usually carried on, affected to treat the letters as a weak invention of the enemy, declaring that they were fabricated by some one who was inimical to his master: Sindhia was silent. It was reported to the Resident at Khatmandu, that the government of Nepal was at this time busily augmenting the military force.—MS. Rec.

that his assent must be given or his destruction were certain; and this intention was not altogether disappointed, although the announcement of the requisitions of the Governor-General was made rather earlier than had been projected. This had been rendered necessary by the first movements of the army of the Dekhin, and the arrangements made in the end of September, for crossing the Tapti into Sindhia's territories. As the object and intent of the proposed operations could no longer be concealed, it was determined to come to a final understanding with Sindhia, and apprise him fully of what he was required to comply with. At the same time, the organization of the Grand army, and the advance of the centre division to a position suited both to menace Gwalior and to intercept all communication between it and the south, left the Mahratta prince little option between an implicit acquiescence in the demands of the British Government, and the certainty of its prompt infliction of the penalty incurred by his refusal.

The ultimatum of the British Government and the draft of a treaty to be signed by him, were communicated to Sindhia, towards the end of October. At this period the Marquis of Hastings with the centre division, crossed the Jumna, and advancing towards the Sindh, established his head-quarters on that river, at the Seonda Ghat, on the 7th of November. On the 8th of the same month, the right division, commanded by General Donkin, took up the position designed for it on the Chambal. Each of these divisions was within two marches of Gwalior, when Sindhia, isolated from all his best

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BOOK II. troops, which, under their refractory leaders were at  
CHAP. VI. a distance from their disregarded sovereign, and cut  
1817. off from all communication with the Pindaris and  
the Peshwa, was wholly unable to oppose any resistance to so overwhelming a force. Conscious of his helplessness, he laid aside all attempts at subterfuge, and signed the treaty which had been presented for his acceptance.

By the engagement now entered into, Doulat Rao Sindhia bound himself to employ his forces conjointly with those of the British Government in prosecuting operations against, not only the Pindaris, but all other bodies of associated freebooters, with the view of destroying and preventing the renewal of the predatory system in every part of India: to give no shelter or support to the Pindaris, but to seize the persons of their leaders and deliver them up to the British Government, and never to re-admit the Pindaris, or any predatory bands, into his dominions, nor allow any of his officers to countenance or support them. In order to define the precise extent of his coöperation, in addition to the general aid to be given by all his civil and military functionaries, Sindhia agreed to maintain a contingent of five thousand horse, to serve with the British troops, and under British command, and to have an English officer attached to each division of such troops as the channel of communication with the British commanding officer. The same officer was also to be the medium of issuing the pay of the contingent, in order to secure its being punctually discharged: the funds to be derived from the application to this purpose of the amount of the pensions paid to Sind-



hia and the members of his family or administration, by the British Government, and by the assignment to the latter of the tributes of Jodhpur, Bundi and Kota for a term of two years. In furtherance of the military operations of the British against the Pindaris, Sindhia consented to yield to them the temporary occupation of his forts of Hindia and Asirgerh, to be restored after the war. It was also declared that the eighth article of the treaty of 1805 was annulled, and that the British Government was at liberty to form engagements with the states of Udaypur, Jodhpur, Kota, and other substantive states on the left bank of the Chambal. All claims and rights of Sindhia over states and chiefs, clearly and indisputably dependent on or tributary to him, were not to be interfered with, and his established tributes from other states were to be guaranteed to him, but made payable through the British Government. In consideration of the Maharaja's being bound to treat as enemies, also, any states against which it might become necessary to wage war, either on account of its attacking one of the contracting parties, or aiding or protecting the Pindaris, the British Government promised him a liberal share of the spoil that should be reaped by success. This treaty was concluded on the 6th of November. The fulfilment of the stipulation respecting the contingent was delayed as long as it could be with decency, but rather from the difficulties thrown in the way by subordinate agents, than by Sindhia himself. The Maharaja, although deeply humiliated by his compulsory abandonment of those whom he had long regarded as his servants and de-



BOOK II. pendants, and sincerely distressed by his complete  
CHAP. VI. isolation from the Peshwa, to whom he looked up

1817. with hereditary regard as the head of the Mahratta association, was too indolent, too good natured, and too intelligent, not to recognise the immunities which the treaty conferred upon him, the preservation of his tributes, the assistance of the British in reducing his disobedient feudatories and officers to subjection, and his exemption from the turbulence, danger, and ruin in which his connexions with his countrymen might else have involved him.

The engagement with Sindhia had scarcely been concluded when the news of the Peshwa's treachery arrived. The ratification of the treaty was a fortunate occurrence for Sindhia, as it precluded him from listening to the advice of those counsellors who would have urged him to take up arms in the Peshwa's cause, and to which his natural prepossessions inclined him, although he was withheld by his prudence and apprehension. It was fortunate, also, for the British Government; for although the result was not doubtful, yet it might have been inconveniently retarded, as the powerful force, which threatened Gwalior, was scarcely in a condition to have accomplished the objects for which it had approached that city: it was decimated by disease.

The malady known by the name of spasmodic cholera, evacuations of acrid biliary matter, accompanied by spasmodic contractions of the abdominal muscles, and a prostration of strength, terminating frequently in the total exhaustion of the vital functions, had been known in India from the remotest periods, and had, at times, committed fearful ravages.

Its effects, however, were in general, restricted to particular seasons and localities and were not so extensively diffused as to attract notice or excite alarm. In the middle of 1817, however, the disease assumed a new form, and became a widely-spread and fatal epidemic. It made its first appearance in the eastern districts of Bengal in May and June of that year, and after extending itself gradually along the north bank of the Ganges, through Tirhut to Ghazipur, it crossed the river, and passing through Rewa, fell with peculiar virulence upon the centre division of the grand army, in the first week of November. After creeping about insidiously for several days among the lower classes of the camp followers, and engaging little observation, it at once burst forth with irresistible violence, and by the 14th of the month had overspread every part of the camp. Although the casualties were most numerous amongst the followers of the camp and the native soldiery, the ravages of the disease were not confined to the natives, but extended to Europeans of every rank.<sup>1</sup> The appalling features of the malady were the suddenness of its accession, and the rapidity with which death ensued. No one felt himself safe for an hour, and yet, as there was no appearance of infection, the officers generally were active in assisting the medical establishment in administering medicines

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<sup>1</sup> Five officers and 143 men of the European force died in November.—Official return. According to Mr. Surgeon Corbyn, who was serving with the centre division, and whose plan of treatment was circulated to the army by the Marquis of Hastings, his Lordship was himself apprehensive of dying of the disease, and had given secret instructions to be buried in his tent, that his death might not add to the discouragement of the troops, or tempt the enemy to attack the division in its crippled state.—Treatise on Epidemic Cholera, by F. Corbyn, surgeon on the Bengal establishment, Calcutta, 1832.

BOOK II. and relief to the sick. The whole camp put on the  
 CHAP. VI. character of an hospital;—a mournful silence suc-

1817. ceeded to the animating notes of preparation which had hitherto resounded among the tents: in place of the brisk march of soldiers in the confidence of vigour, and in the pride of discipline, were to be seen continuous and slowly moving trains of down-cast mourners, carrying their comrades to the funeral pyre, and expecting that their own turn would not be long delayed. Even this spectacle ceased;—the mortality became so great, that hands were insufficient to carry away the bodies, and they were tossed into the neighbouring ravines, or hastily committed to a superficial grave on the spots where the sick had expired. The survivors then took alarm and deserted the encampment in crowds; many bore with them the seeds of the malady, and the fields and roads for many miles round were strewn with the dead. Death and desertion were rapidly depopulating the camp, when, after a few days of unavailing struggle against the epidemic, it was determined to try the effects of a change of situation. The army accordingly retrograded in a south easterly direction, and after several intermediate halts, crossed the Betwa, and encamping upon its lofty and dry banks at Erich, was relieved from the pestilence. The disease disappeared.<sup>1</sup> During the week of its

<sup>1</sup> The disorder ceased to be Epidemic about the 23rd of November. A few cases of a similar nature occurred daily till the end of the month. There was no instance of it after the 8th of December. Mr. Jamieson is inclined to ascribe its disappearance not so much to the change of locality, as to the inaptitude of the disease to remain long in one place, a peculiarity which invariably characterized its future progress. In none of the camps which it afterwards visited, did it continue virulent for more than 10 or 15 days.—Report on the Epidemic Cholera-morbus in the Bengal Provinces, in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819, by Assistant-Surgeon J. Jamieson, Secretary to the Medical Board. Published by authority of the Board, Calcutta, 1820.



greatest malignity it was ascertained that seven hundred and sixty four fighting men and eight thousand followers perished.

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Whether it was in consequence of any secret intrigue at Sindhia's court, or their reluctance to believe that he was in earnest in abandoning their cause, the Pindari leaders Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed, flying from the combined advance of the divisions under Colonel Adams and General Marshall, marched in the direction of Gwalior, trusting to find there a shelter and an ally. As soon as their project was known, measures were taken to defeat it, without giving umbrage to Sindhia by appearing to doubt his sincerity. A cavalry brigade, and a battalion of Native infantry were detached from the centre division towards the Sindh, and they were followed, as soon as the restored health of the troops permitted, by the main body to the same river, but lower down on the Sonari ford within twenty eight miles of Gwalior. The advanced guard was thrown across the river, and by an inclination to the left, intercepted all communication on that line between Sindhia and the Pindaris. This movement, and the position of the second division on the Chambal in his rear, with the tidings which came from the south compelled Doulat Rao to submit to his fate, and to exert himself for the formation of the contingent which he had engaged to furnish, and which was very tardily organized.

The forward movement of the advance of the centre division, under Colonel Philpot, had the effect of compelling Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed to abandon the direct road to Gwalior, and turn off



BOOK II. to the north west in the direction of Kota. They  
CHAP. VI. were in expectation of finding in the ruler of that  
1817. country, or in Amir Khan, whose forces lay beyond it,  
protection if not aid. Zalim Sing, the ruler of Kota,  
had entered into a close alliance with the British  
Government, and he was little disposed to incur any  
risk in favour of a power which he had no longer  
cause to dread. He, therefore, posted troops so as  
to shut the passes into his country against the Pin-  
daris, and they were thus obliged to gain admission  
by force. In their first attempt they were foiled, but  
they were successful in the second, and carried the  
Nim-Ghat near Ladana after a respectable resistance,  
which with their former discomfiture retarded their  
progress and enabled their pursuers to close upon  
them from various quarters. The Pindari chiefs had  
been followed closely by General Marshall with the  
left division of the grand army. Upon receiving infor-  
mation of the route which they had taken, General  
Marshall quitted Seronj on the 8th of December, and  
with a light portion of his force reached Bijrawan  
on the 13th, where he learned that the main body of  
the Pindaris was but twenty two miles distant at  
Bichi-tál in Kota, on the other side of the Nim-Ghat.  
He again moved in pursuit on the night of the 13th,  
but, owing to the badness of the roads, did not reach  
the foot of the Ghat until two p.m., on the 14th.  
As soon as the Pindaris heard of the approach of  
the force, they moved off with their families and  
baggage, leaving one thousand horse to cover their  
retreat. The British detachment crossed the Ghat  
and came in sight of this body, which was charged  
by the cavalry under Colonel Newberry, and dis-

persed with some loss. The pursuit was resumed on the two following days to the Parbati river.

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In the meantime, General Donkin, with the right division, had quitted the Chambal, after leaving a guard at the fort of Dholpur, and, after a circuitous march, placed himself between the Pindaris and Amir Khan. At the same time, the reserve of the grand army advanced to the south of Jaypur; and General Ochterlony encamped in such a position as to separate the two principal divisions of the Khan's troops, who were thus intimidated into acquiescence in their being disbanded. A loan of money was made to Amir Khan to enable him to discharge their arrears, and an arrangement was authorised for reorganising a considerable portion of the force by taking it into British pay. By these means, Amir Khan and his chiefs were deprived of all excuse for longer delaying his ratification of the alliance with the British, and the annihilation of his battalions extinguished the hopes which the Pindaris had continued to cherish of the assistance of the Pathan.

The final settlement with Amir Khan being thus effected, General Donkin returned to the left bank of the Chambal, and crossed it at Gamak-Ghat eight miles north of Kota, on the 13th of December. The route followed by the Pindaris in their flight from Bichi-tál, lay across the direction of General Donkin's march, not many miles to the north east; and information of their proximity reached him on his arrival at the river. Taking with him a light division, General Donkin advanced by forced marches to Kalana on the western Sindli, where accounts of the affair at Bichi-tál were received, and it was

BOOK II. ascertained that the Durra of Karim Khan was  
CHAP. VI. still in the neighbourhood, unconscious, apparently,  
1817. of the approach of the detachment. Early on the  
17th, the brigade came up with the Pindaris, but  
the main body had fled, abandoning their baggage  
and their families under a small party which immediately dispersed, leaving a quantity of property and  
Lal ki Begum, the wife of Karim Khan, in the hands  
of the victors. A large party was also attacked and  
put to flight by Gardner's horse, but Karim, with  
his main force, finding his advance to the north-west  
frustrated, and his hope of succour from Zalim Sing  
disappointed, turned back, and, passing between the  
divisions of Generals Donkin and Marshall, through  
the tract lying between the Sindh and Parbati rivers,  
trusted to make good his retreat to the south by  
Shirgerh and Gogal Chapra. He was again out-  
manœuvred, for although he avoided the division of  
General Marshall, which had advanced towards the  
direction of his retreat, he fell upon the line of Col.  
Adams's route, which had led by Gogal Chapra to  
Jhilwara on the Parbati, where he had arrived on  
the 16th of December. This compelled the Pindaris  
to change their course, and crossing the head of the  
column, they moved off to the south-west. They  
had purposely left behind every thing that could re-  
tard their flight: all those of the party, who were  
badly mounted and equipped, dispersed, and none  
but the most efficient cavalry remained with the  
leaders. The number of the Durra was reduced to  
little more than two thousand. As soon as Colonel  
Adams heard of their course, he dispatched his cavalry  
under Major Clarke, who overtook and routed a party



at Pipli. The main body, however, kept in advance, and reached Rajgerh Patan greatly dispirited and disunited, on the 21st. On the same day, Major Clarke rejoined Colonel Adams on his march to Ekkair, where he arrived on the 22nd, and was obliged by heavy rains to halt during the following day. A party of Pindaris, four hundred strong, was here heard of, descending the Tara Ghat, and was pursued and cut up by Captain Roberts with the 1st Rohilla horse. The fugitive Durras continuing their flight, returned, after various divergent movements, to the upper course of the Chambal, which they crossed to join the remains of Holkar's army. Colonel Adams following hard upon their track, although greatly delayed by bad weather and insufficient supplies, reached Gangraur on the 6th of January, and halted there for some days to allow his troops to rest after the fatigue which they had undergone; the objects of his movements having been completely effected by the retreat of the remains of Karim and Wasil Mohammed's Durras to the south.

The Pindari Cheetoo, although he had fallen in with Holkar's army, and reinforced it with part of his followers, did not long remain in its vicinity. Interposing that force between him and his pursuers, he kept his principal party together in the country on the west bank of the Chambal in the upper part of its course, but the British detachments closing round him compelled him to shift his quarters. He returned towards the north, and during the latter days of December was encamped at Singoli, in a rugged country between Bundi and Kota, not more

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BOOK II. than twenty-five miles south-west from the town of  
CHAP. VI. Kota, the people of the country, whose sympathies

1817. were in general enlisted in favour of the Pindaris, providing him with supplies and information. He was not long unmolested. General Donkin, who still continued in the neighbourhood, secured the passes into Bundi, and advanced to the Gynta Ghat. Cheetoo was no longer within his reach. Jeswant Rao Bhao of Jawad, one of Sindhia's officers, but, as usual, exercising independent authority within his own districts, invited the Pindari to take shelter in his country, having given him and his followers an asylum for their property and families in the thickets adjacent to the fort of Kamalmer, in Mewar. Although, however, the final extirpation of the freebooters was not yet accomplished, important advantages had been secured by the judiciousness and activity of the combined operations against them. By the advance of the first and third divisions of the army of the Dekhin, and the flank movement of the fifth, the Pindaris had been driven from their haunts on the Nerbudda. By a seasonable forward movement of a detachment of the centre of the grand army, they had been prevented from making their way to Gwalior, and had been compelled to turn off towards the north-west, in the hope of finding shelter in Kota, or with Amir Khan. Closely followed by the fifth division of the Dekhin army, and the left wing of the grand army from the west and south; they were cut off from the northern course by the right division of the army of Hindustan, and obliged to confine themselves to a narrow region on the western boundaries of Málwa. They

had been perpetually harassed, repeatedly surprised, and had suffered severe loss. Their numbers had been greatly diminished, and they were now reduced to a few scattered, feeble, and dispirited bands, hopeless of escape from utter destruction, except through the intervention of more powerful protectors than any who were likely to come forward in their defence.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Transactions at Nagpur.—Discontent of Apa Saheb.—Accepts publicly honorary distinctions from the Peshwa.—Hostile indications.—Preparations for defence.—British force.—Situation of the Residency.—Sitabaldi Hills.—Residency attacked.—Action of Sitabaldi.—Mahrattas defeated.—Negotiations.—Arrival of General Doveton with the second division of the Dekhin army at Nagpur.—Advance of General Hardyman's division.—Action of Jabalpur.—Town occupied.—Affairs at Nagpur.—Terms offered to the Raja.—Apa Saheb comes in to the British lines.—Action of Nagpur.—Mahratta army dispersed.—Contumacy of the Arab garrison.—City stormed.—Failure of the attack.—Terms granted, and Nagpur evacuated.—Provisional engagement with the Raja.—Policy of the Court of Holkar.—Intrigues with the Peshwa.—Professions of amity.*

— *Violence of the military leaders.*—*Murder of Tulasi Bai.*—*Hostilities with the British.*—*Battle of Mahidpur.*—*Advance of Sir Thomas Hislop.*—*Joined by the Guzerat division.*—*Sir John Malcolm detached in pursuit of Holkar.*—*Negotiations for Peace.*—*Treaty executed.*—*Prosecution of operations against the Pindaris.*—*Karim protected at Jawad.*—*Concentration of British divisions on Jawad.*—*Movements of General Keir.*—*Cheetoo returns to the Nerbudda Valley.*—*Surprised by Major Heath.*—*Takes refuge in Bhopal.*—*Proposes to submit.*—*Refuses the terms.*—*Again flies.*—*Karim's Durra surprised by Major Clarke.*—*Dispersed.*—*Many of the Leaders surrender.*—*Lands granted them in Bhopal and Gorakhpur.*—*General Brown marches against Jawad.*—*Jeswant Rao Bhao surrenders.*—*Forts in Mewar recovered.*—*Troops under military Chiefs in Malwa dispersed.*—*Order restored in the territories of Holkar.*—*Operations against the Peshwa.*—*General Smith marches to Purandhar.*—*Peshwa retreats towards the sources of the Godaveri.*—*Joined by Trimbak.*—*General Smith cuts off his flight to Malwa.*—*He falls back towards Poona.*—*Captain Staunton detached to reinforce the troops at the Capital.*—*Falls in with the Peshwa's army.*—*Brilliant action at Koragam.*—*General Smith returns to Seroor.*—*Peshwa turns off to the East.*—*Pursued by the Reserve.*—*Joined by the Fourth Division.*—*Possession taken of Satara.*—*The Raja proclaimed.*—*Peshwa formally deposed.*—*Mahratta forts reduced.*—*Smith resumes his pursuit.*—*Overtakes the Peshwa at Ashti.*—*Cavalry action at Ashti.*



—*Mahratta Horse defeated.—Gokla killed.—The Raja of Satara rescued.—Baji Rao's followers leave him.—The Southern Chiefs submit.—He flies to the North.—Hemmed in between the British divisions.—Passes to the East to join the Raja of Nagpur at Chanda.—Chanda covered.—Baji Rao pressed by General Doveton.—Falls upon Colonel Adams.—His whole force broken up.—He escapes.—Flies towards Burhanpur.—State of the Mahratta territories.—Ceded districts in charge of Colonel Munro.—His operations.—Organizes a Local Militia.—Reduces the neighbouring districts.—Reinforced.—Captures Badami and Belgam.—Assumes command of the Reserve.—Wasota taken.—Raja of Satara formally installed.—General Munro marches against Sholapur.—The Peshwa's Infantry defeated and dispersed.—The Fort surrendered.—Operations in the Konkan.—Reduction of Raigèrh.—Country between the Bhima and Krishna Rivers occupied.*

WHILE the right and left wings of the Grand army, and the fifth division of the army of the Dekhin were employed in chasing the Pindaris from the line of the Chambal, and from western Malwa; the other divisions of the Dekhin army had been engaged in hostilities with enemies of a different description. The return of the fourth division to Poona, has been described. The second was shortly afterwards recalled to Nagpur. The first and third divisions which we left at Ujayin, were speedily involved in a conflict with the army of the Holkar state, which was encamped in their vicinity. It

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BOOK II. will, therefore, be necessary to offer an account of the  
 CHAP. VII. transactions at those two places.

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For some time after the accession of Apa Saheb to the throne of Nagpur, he was profuse in his expressions of gratitude to the allies, through whose support, chiefly, he had succeeded to an authority which, although undoubtedly his by right of affinity, would have been disputed by an adverse and powerful faction, if he had been left to his unassisted resources. Well aware that this was the case, he expressed, and probably felt for a time, sincere devotion to the British alliance. He soon changed his tone. The conditions of the treaty were somewhat severe, and the amount of the subsidy exceeded a due proportion of the revenues of the country. The charge of the contingent was an addition to a burthen already too weighty for the state, and the Raja had some grounds for complaining of the costliness of his new friends.<sup>1</sup> There was no disinclination to disregard his representations on this head; and it was in contemplation to dispense with part of the contingent, and reduce the amount of the subsidy, or provide for it by territorial cessions. The impatience and folly of Apa Saheb precluded an amicable adjustment.

The propensity to intrigue, so strikingly characteristic of the Mahrattas, existed in all its national activity in the Raja of Nagpur; and, although the stipulations of the treaty which he had so recently signed, restricted him from holding communications

<sup>1</sup> The whole charge of the subsidy and contingent, amounted to between twenty and thirty lakhs a year, and were more than one-third of the whole revenue.

with other princes, except with the privy and sanction of the Resident, he was speedily involved in a web of secret negotiations with Sindhia, the Peshwa, and even with the Pindaris. The first rupture with Baji Rao, and the treaty of Poona which followed, struck him with alarm, and he endeavoured to retrieve the error he had committed by the most solemn assurances, the truth of which he invoked the manes of his father and his household gods, to attest, of his unshaken fidelity to his engagements, his affection for the person of the Resident, and his fervent attachment to the British Government. Some steps were taken to prove his veracity by the formation of the contingent, but they were transient and delusive, and Apa Saheb soon reverted to a course of treachery which could not fail to terminate in his own destruction.

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In proportion as the state of affairs at Poona hastened towards a crisis, the connexion with the Raja of Nagpur assumed a more uneasy character. The Ministers who had negotiated the subsidiary treaty were disgraced: others known to be unfriendly to the British interests were appointed: troops were levied upon the pretext of completing the stipulated contingent, but in violation of the conditions of the treaty, no information respecting their numbers and composition was imparted to the Resident. The communications with Poona were more frequent than ever, and, as the hostile purposes of the Peshwa were now thoroughly ascertained, any intercourse with him was necessarily to be considered as evidence of equally inimical designs. At last, as if to proclaim his allegiance to the reputed head of the

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Mahratta confederacy, in defiance of his relations with the British, the Raja accepted from the Peshwa the title of Senapati, or commander-in-chief, and a dress of honour with which he was publicly invested on the 24th of November, after the attack upon the British Residency at Poona, on the 5th, was known to have taken place. The ceremony was performed with due honour, in the presence of the Raja's army, which was encamped on the west side of the city. On this occasion, the Raja hoisted the Zeri Patka, the golden banner of the Mahratta empire. As if intending to add mockery to defiance, the Raja invited the Resident to be present, or to depute some officer of his staff, and requested that a salute might be fired by the troops of the subsidiary force, declaring that he saw no reason why the ceremony should disturb the good understanding that subsisted between him and his allies, and affirming that he had no thought of giving them offence. To the last moment he protested that he was most anxious to preserve the friendship of the Resident, and was fully prepared to conform to the pleasure of the British Government in all things, hoping that some relaxation of the conditions of the treaty might be admitted in his favour. These proceedings had not passed without meeting with the earnest remonstrances of the Resident, and his announcement of their inevitable consequences. All personal intercourse ceased between him and the court: on the other hand, the communication between the Residency and the city was interdicted, and finally, on the morning of the 26th of November, armed men were stationed opposite to the British lines, and



guns pointed against them. Still, however, mes-  
 sages were sent to the Resident proposing terms on  
 which a reconciliation might yet take place, but  
 they were justly regarded as delusive, and the Raja  
 was told that unless he returned into the city im-  
 mediately, and discontinued his military prepara-  
 tions without delay, no negotiations could be en-  
 tertained. These preliminary conditions being dis-  
 regarded, the Resident, Mr. Jenkins, prepared to  
 encounter an attack, which he had some days past  
 been induced to believe was contemplated, and  
 which was now evidently on the eve of perpetra-  
 tion.

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The greater part of the Berar subsidiary force  
 had already taken the field, and there remained  
 within reach a detachment which had been posted  
 at Ramtek, about three miles distant, under the com-  
 mand of Lieut.-Colonel Scott, consisting of two bat-  
 talions of Madras Sipahis, the first of the 20th, and  
 first of the 24th regiments of Native infantry; a de-  
 tachment of European foot and of Native horse  
 artillery, and three troops of the 6th Bengal cavalry.  
 These, upon the Resident's requisition, marched on  
 the 25th, to the Residency grounds, and were there  
 joined by the escort, consisting of about four hundred  
 men, with two guns, two companies of Bengal in-  
 fantry, and a few troopers of the Madras horse. On  
 the morning of the 26th, they were placed in posi-  
 tion on the Sitabaldi hills.

The houses and grounds occupied by the Resident  
 and his suite were situated beyond the city of Nag-  
 pur, on the west. They were separated from the  
 suburbs of Nagpur by the Sitabaldi hills, a low



BOOK II. range of limited extent, running north and south,  
CHAP. VII. and consisting of two elevations at either extremity,

1817. about four hundred yards apart, connected by a lower ridge, across which lay the public road. The two highest points had an elevation of not more than a hundred feet, and were of different form and extent. The southernmost, which was the larger of the two, was level; its widest extent on the summit was about two hundred and eighty yards from east to west. It was covered with tombs. The smaller hill, at the northern extremity, was conical and narrow at the summit, being about one hundred feet long, by not more than seventeen broad. The slope of both hills was easy of ascent, except in a few places where they had been scarped for quarries. Close along the western base of the whole range extended the Residency; the huts of the escort being situated at the foot of the northern elevation. The several houses and offices occupied the remainder, looking west over a spacious plain. On the other three sides, along the base of the hills, were native huts and houses irregularly disposed. East of them extended the city, and beyond the city spread the Mahratta camp, stretching round from the east to the south, about three miles from Sitabaldi.

In the disposition made by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott of his small force, the lesser hill was occupied by the 1st battalion of the 24th, with two six-pounders drawn up on its northern declivity. The 1st of the 20th, with one company of the 24th, were posted on the larger eminence, facing east and south. One hundred men of the escort defended its western side, and the rest were stationed to guard

the Residency dwellings, which had been fitted for defence as well as time and means allowed.

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The three troops of cavalry, with the small party of the Madras body guard, were formed on the plain in front of the Residency. The whole force was about one thousand three hundred strong. The numbers of the Mahrattas were computed at twelve thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, the latter including three thousand Arabs.<sup>1</sup> 1817.

During the forenoon of the 26th, notwithstanding the receipt of pacific messages from the Raja, large masses of cavalry were seen spreading themselves along the plain to the west of the Residency, while on the side of the city, infantry and guns were taking up positions menacing the hills. Towards sunset, Mr. Jenkins was visited by two of the Raja's ministers, Narayan Pundit, and Narayanji Nagria; the latter was one of the principal of the war faction; the former was friendly to the British. To them the Resident repeated his demands that all hostile preparations should be countermanded as a preliminary to any negotiations; but, before he could ascertain the object of their coming, or the extent of their powers, the firing had commenced, and he repaired to the scene of action. Narayanji returned to the Raja: his colleague preferred sharing the fortunes of the Resident.

The abrupt termination of this unproductive mission originated with the Arab mercenaries in the service of Nagpur, who opened a smart fire of musketry upon the eastern face of the southern hill; it was presently followed by a similar

<sup>1</sup> Papers Mahratta war, 135.

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attack upon the northern extremity of the ridge, the enemy firing under cover of the huts and the quarries along the skirts of the hill. Their fire was replied to with spirit, and a conflict commenced which continued throughout the night. The principal efforts of the enemy were directed against the smaller hill on the right, and they made repeated attempts to carry the post. These were as resolutely repulsed, but not without loss. The officer commanding, Captain Sadler, was killed, and the 24th had suffered so severely, that about one o'clock it was considered advisable to withdraw the battalion to the right of the position, replacing it by part of the 20th, and the escort under Captain Lloyd, who endeavoured to strengthen his post by a slight breast-work of grain bags on the summit of the hill to which it became necessary to limit the defence: the Arabs increasing in numbers and in confidence along the acclivity, although repeatedly driven down by the charges of the detachment. The firing was maintained throughout the night upon both extremities of the line, but with less effect upon the right, as the men were there sheltered by the greater extent of the summit, and by the tomb-stones on its surface.

During the night, the whole of the Mahratta army which had hitherto taken no part in the engagement, moved out into the plain, and as they extended in a semicircle round the south and west, were distinctly discernible by the light of the moon, the illumination afforded by the firing on either side, and the conflagration of the Arab huts: at dawn of the 27th they occupied the plain in dark, dense



masses of horse, interspersed with considerable bodies of infantry, and a numerous artillery. They abstained, however, from any serious demonstration against the Residency, and were contented to remain spectators of the action, which still continued along the hills, where appearances began to assume an aspect most unfavourable to the British. By seven in the morning, nine pieces of artillery were brought to bear upon the northern eminence, to which the detachment could make no effective return from the two guns in their possession. Between nine and ten, one of them was disabled and withdrawn to the rear, which the Arabs observing, they rushed impetuously up the hill, and in spite of their resistance, drove the defenders from the summit. Guns were immediately brought up and directed against the right of the British line, which thus laid bare to a flank cannonade from a rather superior elevation, suffered severely, and officers and men fell fast before the enemy's fire. Some of the Arabs crossed the hill and set the huts of the escort at its western base on fire, while others, boldly advancing along the ridge, planted their standards within seventy or eighty yards of the southern elevation. The enemy in the plain were, also, in movement; the masses were closing round the rear of the position, and their guns had begun to take effect upon the cavalry stationed in the Residency grounds. The prospect was gloomy, when the day was redeemed by a well-timed and gallant exploit. Being galled by the enemy's fire, Captain Fitzgerald, in disregard of the

BOOK II.  
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BOOK II. orders which had commanded him to stand firm,<sup>1</sup>  
 CHAP. VII. resolved to make a dash against the horse and guns  
 1817. most in advance, and with his three troops of Bengal cavalry, and twenty-five men of the Madras body-guard, he rushed upon the foremost mass of the enemy's horse. The charge was irresistible, the unwieldy column was repeatedly penetrated and broken, and entirely dispersed. Their guns were seized and directed against the fugitives, and before the enemy had recovered from their surprise, Captain Fitzgerald with his trophies was again at his post.<sup>2</sup> This sally turned the tide of affairs. It had been witnessed from the hill, and gave fresh courage to the Sipahis. Charging the Arabs, they compelled them to fall back to the left. At this instant, a tumbril on the northern hill exploded, and taking advantage of the confusion which it occasioned, the Sipahis pressed forward and recovered

<sup>1</sup> This circumstance is not noticed by Mr. Prinsep; nor in the account ascribed to Colonel Lloyd. It is particularly specified by Colonel Fitzclarence, 121, and by Colonel Blacker, 113.

<sup>2</sup> The movement is somewhat differently described by different writers. Mr. Prinsep says, "Captain Fitzgerald led his troops across a dry nulla bounding the Residency grounds, and as soon as thirty or forty troopers had passed it, led them against the enemy, who retired as he pushed forward, until having passed to some distance beyond the guns, and seeing that the Mahrattas were making a demonstration of surrounding his small party, he commanded a halt. In the mean time, the rest of the cavalry had crossed the nulla and followed the advance, but had judiciously stopped short on reaching the abandoned guns, which were immediately turned upon the Mahrattas, who were kept back by their fire. These guns the cavalry took with them, firing as they retreated." Sir William Lloyd's account is that "Captain Fitzgerald charged with the cavalry under his command, while Lieutenant Hearsay with half a troop, made a dash at two of the guns. Both attacks succeeded." The account given in the text, is derived from Colonels Blacker and Fitzclarence, and Colonel Scott's official report to the Commander-in-Chief. The critical opportuneness of the charge is acknowledged by Colonel Scott in the orders of the day, and in a letter from the Resident, it is stated that "the charge at the critical moment at which it happened, may be said to have decided the fate of the battle."

the position, dislodging the Arabs from the summit, and driving them not only down the slope, but from the suburbs at its foot. They attempted to rally, but were taken in flank by a troop of cavalry which had charged round the northern extremity of the line, and completed the expulsion of the assailants from its eastern front. By noon they were, likewise, driven from their advance upon the southern hill, with the loss of two guns; and no longer venturing to approach the British line, confined their efforts to a distant, and comparatively harmless cannonade. Even this ceased by three o'clock, and the struggle ended in the unexpected triumph of the British detachment.<sup>1</sup> They had not purchased it without loss. One-fourth of their number was killed or wounded, including seventeen officers.<sup>2</sup> Nor were the casualties confined to the military. The imminence of the peril had enlisted the Resident and his civil staff in the ranks, and while they had shewn themselves by their firm bearing, and steady courage, worthy companions of their military brethren in the hour of danger, they had been exposed to similar casualties. A medical officer was among the killed, and the civil service had to regret the death of Mr. George Sotheby, the first assistant to the Resident, a gentleman of eminent ability, and lofty promise, who had taken part in the action with dis-

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<sup>1</sup> The above particulars are derived from the official report, *Mahratta Papers*, 133. Prinsep's narrative, 2, 66. Colonel Blacker's *Mahratta war*, 109. Colonel Fitzclarence's *Journey Overland*, 115; and a description from the notes of Sir Wm. Lloyd, published in the *Oriental Herald*, September and November, 1838.

<sup>2</sup> One hundred and seventeen were killed, and two hundred and forty-three wounded. The Officers killed, were Lieutenant Clarke, 1st battalion 20th; Captain Sadler and Lieutenant Grant, 1st battalion 24th.

BOOK II. tinguished gallantry, and was killed by a cannon  
CHAP. VII. shot from the smaller hill, after it had fallen into

1817. the hands of the Arabs. Nothing less than the inflexible resolution, and calm valour displayed in this brilliant affair by all present, could have saved them from the sword of an infuriated and barbarous foe, and their families, who tremblingly awaited the event in the adjacent dwellings, from death or dishonour. The victory achieved against such desperate odds, held out to the princes of India an additional lesson on the futility of opposing numbers and physical daring, to disciplined valour, and moral intrepidity.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as the action was decided, Apa Saheb dispatched a messenger to Mr. Jenkins to express his concern for the occurrence, declaring that his troops had acted without his sanction or knowledge, and that he was desirous of renewing his amicable intercourse with his old friends. As little credit could be attached to these assertions, the Raja was told that the final decision now rested with the Governor-General, and that no communication could be permitted as long as the troops of Nagpur were in the field.

<sup>1</sup> The highest commendations were deservedly bestowed upon the troops, by the authorities in India and in England, but it was not until her present Majesty's accession, that any national honours were bestowed upon the survivors. The order of the Bath was then conferred upon Sir Richard Jenkins and Sir William Lloyd. An appropriate and interesting requital of their valour, was granted to the 24th Madras infantry. This regiment had formerly held the place in the Madras army of the 1st regiment, of which the first battalion was concerned in the Vellore mutiny, and the corps was consequently erased from the muster-roll. On this occasion a petition was presented by the native Adjutant, on behalf of the native officers and privates, praying that in lieu of any other recompense for their conduct, the regiment might be restored to its former number, and might resume its former regimental facings. It is scarcely necessary to say that the request was complied with.



The condition was acceded to, and on the evening of the 27th the army of the Raja retired to the position beyond the city, which it had formerly occupied. The Resident consented, in consequence, to the Raja's request for a suspension of hostilities, an arrangement equally required by the exhausted state of the British detachment, and recommended by the opportunity which it afforded for the arrival of the reinforcements for which the Resident had applied as soon as it appeared likely that a conflict was inevitable. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Colonel Gahan, who had reached Baitul, on his way to Nagpur, on the 26th, accelerated his advance, and arrived on the afternoon of the 29th, with three more troops of the 6th Bengal cavalry, and six companies of the 1st battalion of the 22nd Bengal infantry; being followed by the rest of the battalion. On the 5th of December Major Pitman joined with a detachment of the Nizam's infantry and reformed horse, and on the 12th and 13th, the whole of the second division of the Dekhin army, commanded by Brigadier-General Doveton, encamped at Sitabaldi. The strength of the force now enabled the Resident to dictate to the Raja the only terms by which the past might be atoned for.

The example or the orders of the Raja of Nagpur, had extended the spirit of hostility into other parts of his dominions, and his officers were everywhere assembling troops and menacing warlike operations. In the eastern portion of the valley of the Nerbudda, and in Gondwana, their proceedings assumed so formidable a character, that the British officers in command of small detachments

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BOOK II. thought it prudent to concentrate their force. Ma-  
CHAP. VII.  
1817. jor Richards, commanding at Jabalpur, accordingly  
fell back to Gerhwara, where Major Macmorine  
was posted, and both retired to Hosainabad, where,  
on the 20th of December, they united with Major  
Macpherson, resigning the valley to the east to the  
occupation of the enemy. As soon, however, as  
the state of affairs at Nagpur was known to the  
Governor-General, he directed Brigadier General  
Hardyman, who had hitherto held a defensive posi-  
tion in Rewa to march to the Nerbudda at once,  
and there regulate his movements by the advices  
which he should receive from the Resident. Gen-  
eral Hardyman marched immediately, and leaving  
a battalion of the 2nd Native infantry at Belhari,  
pushed forward with the 8th regiment of Native  
cavalry, and the 17th regiment of Europeans, with  
four guns. He arrived at Jabalpur on the 19th of  
December, and found the Mahratta Subahdar pre-  
pared to receive him near that town, at the head  
of one thousand horse and two thousand foot. The  
force was strongly posted, having a rocky eminence  
on the right, and a large tank with the town of  
Jabalpur on the left. The horse formed the right,  
the foot with four guns, the left of the line; Gen-  
eral Hardyman placed his guns in the centre of his  
infantry, and formed a reserve of his cavalry, with  
the exception of two squadrons which were detached  
into the enemy's rear to intercept his retreat. After  
a short cannonade, a squadron of the 8th Native  
cavalry charged the Mahratta left, broke it, and  
captured the guns. The horse fled, but the foot  
retired in good order up the hill. They were

charged by another squadron of the 8th, but stood their ground until the left wing of the 17th ascended the acclivity. They then dispersed and suffered severely in their flight. A threat of bombarding the town and fort, led to their surrender; and General Hardyman, pursuing his route crossed the Nerbudda on the 21st. Proceeding towards the south, he was met on the 25th by a message from Mr. Jenkins, dispensing with his further advance, and recommending to his care the upper part of the Nerbudda valley. He, therefore, returned to Jabalpur, and there established his head-quarters.

As soon as the troops of General Doveton's division had recovered from the fatigue of their long and expeditious march, preparations were made for an attack upon the Nagpur army, which continued encamped on the opposite side of the city. Apa Saheb had been previously apprised of the conditions, on his assent to which the permanence of his authority depended. He had been required to acknowledge that by his treacherous conduct he had forfeited his crown, and that the preservation of his sovereignty depended upon the forbearance of his allies; to disband his army, and deliver up his ordnance and military stores; to cede Nagpur to the temporary occupation of the British as a pledge of his sincerity, and to repair in person to the Residency, and there take up his abode until matters should be finally arranged. Upon his compliance with these requisitions, he was told that he would be restored to the exercise of his authority, with no further diminution of his territory than such as might be necessary for the maintenance of the con-

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BOOK II. tingent force which he was bound by treaty to  
CHAP. VII. furnish. His assent to these propositions was to be

1817. sent in by four o'clock on the morning of the 16th of December, and by seven of the same day his troops were to be withdrawn, and the city given up to a British garrison. The Raja was to come in during the day, either before or after the execution of the terms. His refusal, or his neglect to fulfil these stipulations would expose him to be treated as an enemy. To enforce these demands, the troops were drawn up in order of battle on the evening of the 15th, and slept all night on their arms. Late on that day Apa Saheb announced his acquiescence, but solicited a longer delay, and, on the following morning, it was affirmed, that the Arabs in his army would not suffer him to quit the camp. These excuses were held to be equivalent to a determination to hazard an engagement, and arrangements were made accordingly.

The army was arrayed in the plain, to the south of Nagpur. The cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Gahan, formed on the right. The rest of the line consisted of three brigades of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonels Macleod, M'Kellar, and Scott. A reserve brigade of infantry under Lieut.-Colonel Stewart, was stationed in the rear, as was the principal battery under Lieut.-Colonel Crosdill, ready to be brought forward if needed. The 20th and 24th Madras Native infantry, and the Berar auxiliaries, under Major Pitman, remained in charge of the baggage. Before the troops advanced, the Resident sent word to the Raja, that he was still willing to receive him, and granted him the inter-

val until nine o'clock to come over. Accordingly, BOOK II.  
Apa Saheb, attended by three of his ministers, Ram-  
chandra Wagh, Nagu Punt, and Jeswant Rao Bhao  
rode into the lines. Protesting his readiness to  
accede to whatever conditions the Resident should  
impose, he endeavoured to protract the period for  
the surrender of his ordnance and the withdrawal of  
his troops. Finding that no relaxation could be per-  
mitted, he sent back Ramchandra Wagh to carry the  
terms into effect by noon. At the appointed hour  
the British force moved forward: an advanced bat-  
tery of fourteen guns was taken possession of with-  
out resistance; but when the line approached the  
Raja's main body, it was saluted with a heavy fire  
of musketry and cannon. The infantry immediately  
pushed on, while the cavalry and horse artillery  
passing along the rear to the right, came in front of  
the enemy's left battery, supported by a strong body  
of both horse and foot. The battery was promptly  
carried. The troops were charged and dispersed.  
Continuing the pursuit, the cavalry came upon a  
second battery and carried it, but were threatened  
by a superior number of the enemy's horse. These  
were broken by the fire of the horse artillery, and  
the pursuit was continued for three miles, when the  
cavalry halted for the infantry to join, who had,  
in the mean time, charged and routed the right and  
centre of the Mahrattas, and captured their artillery.  
By half-past one the enemy had disappeared, leaving  
the camp standing, and forty one pieces of ordnance  
on the field, and twenty more in a neighbouring  
depot. The British encamped in the bed of the  
Naga rivulet fronting the city.

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The disregard apparently shown to the orders of the Raja, might have been preconcerted ; but it not improbably arose from the headstrong wilfulness of individual leaders, and was characteristic of the relaxation of authority which prevailed generally in the Mahratta armies. The incidents that followed exhibited the same feature in a still more prominent light. The Arab mercenaries, heedless of all considerations of public welfare, and determined to secure advantageous stipulations for themselves, exposed the capital of their retainer to almost certain destruction. Being joined by a body of Hindustanis, so as to form a force of about five thousand men, they threw themselves into the palace which formed a kind of citadel within the walls of the town, and occupied the approaches to it that lay through narrow streets, between well-built houses, from the flat tops and loop holes of which, a murderous fire could be maintained with little risk of loss to the defenders. It was found necessary, therefore, to proceed deliberately against the refractory soldiery, and clear away the obstacles which barred access to their principal defence. To do this promptly was impracticable, as the battering train attached to the second division had been left behind at Akola, on the advance to Nagpur. It was now ordered forward; but, in the mean time, batteries were formed with the guns in camp, and between the 19th and 22nd of December, regular approaches were carried along the lateral embankments of a large piece of water, the Jama Talao, which was situated between Nagpur and the Sitabaldi hills, until they reached the transverse bank, parallel with the city wall.

Trenches were then dug, and the opposite gateway, with a part of the wall on either side, was soon laid in ruins. The walls of the palace were about two hundred and fifty yards distant, and it was considered practicable to form a lodgement at this point from whence they might be breached, with which view, a party, consisting of one company of the Royal Scots, and four of the 22nd Bombay native infantry, with sappers and miners, was ordered against the gateway, while two different assaults were made in other quarters to distract the attention of the garrison. The subordinate attacks succeeded, but that on the principal gateway failed, the column encountering a raking fire from the Arabs under cover of the houses on either hand, which inflicted heavy loss, and could not be effectively met. The troops, therefore, hesitated to follow their officers, one of whom, Lieutenant Bell<sup>1</sup> of the Royals, was killed in the breach. The assailants were recalled, and it was resolved to await the arrival of the heavy artillery. The necessity of this delay was obviated, however, by the repetition of proposals from the Arabs to capitulate; and as much loss had been already suffered, and little progress could be made until the arrival of the battering train, it was deemed prudent to get rid of them by granting the conditions which they had originally demanded; security for their persons, property, and families, a gratuity of fifty-thousand rupees in addition to their arrears of pay, and a safe conduct to Malkapur, where they were to be disbanded, and allowed to go whither

<sup>1</sup> The total loss was ninety killed and one hundred and seventy-four wounded.

BOOK II. they pleased, upon an engagement not to enter the  
CHAP. VII. fort of Asirgerh.<sup>1</sup> After plundering the palace, and

1817. committing various excesses, the Arabs marched out of Nagpur, which was occupied by a detachment under Colonel Scott; some of them went off to Hyderabad, but the larger number found their way to Kandesh, where they enlisted with the enemies of the British in that quarter. During the operations against the city, the principal body of the Nagpur horse which had fled to Warigam was surprised by a detachment under Major Munt, and put to the rout.

As soon as information of the attack upon the Residency reached the Governor-General, he had resolved not to leave Apa Saheb even nominally at the head of the government of Nagpur, nor did he change his decision upon learning that the Raja had given himself up, but reiterated his orders for Apa Saheb's deposal, unless the Resident should have entered into engagements with him implying that condition. His Lordship's instructions having been delayed by the difficulty of communication, Mr. Jenkins had, in the mean time, guaranteed to the Raja the continuance of his rank, influenced by the hope that the danger he had incurred, and the lenity he had experienced, might deter him from future practices adverse to the interests of his allies, and hazardous to himself; and by the conviction that the stipulations to which he had assented were sufficient

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Blacker considers the engineer blamable for the failure of the storm. He is the authority also for the Arabs having their own terms. Lord Hastings and Mr. Prinsep do not specify the fact, nor is it mentioned in the Resident's or General Doveton's dispatches.—Papers, Mahratta war, 133, 176.

to deprive him of the power of doing mischief, and to place upon a sound and durable basis the objects of the alliance. When made aware of the Governor-General's reluctance to the restoration of the Raja, it was too late to follow his policy, and it was not the purpose of the Marquis of Hastings to annul any part of the arrangements to which the faith of the Resident had been plighted; but as the treaty with the Raja had not been definitively agreed upon, Mr. Jenkins offered to him, as the condition of his preserving his power, a provisional engagement, subject to the approbation of the Governor-General, to the following effect. The Raja was required to cede his territories to the northward of the Nerbudda, as well as certain districts on the southern bank, and all his rights in Berar, Sirguja, Gawil-gerh, and Jaspur, in lieu of the former subsidy and contingent; to consent that the affairs of his government should be conducted by Ministers in the confidence of the British Government, and conformably to the advice of the Resident; to reside in Nagpur under the protection of British troops; to pay up the arrears of subsidy; to give up any forts which the Resident might require to be occupied by British troops; to dismiss from his service, and to apprehend, if possible, the persons whom he represented as resisting his orders, and deliver them to British officers; and to transfer to the British authorities the Sitabaldi hills, with ground adjacent, sufficient for a Bazar, to be fortified at the pleasure of the British Government.<sup>1</sup> The Raja gave his consent to these demands, and resumed his

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Marquis of Hastings.—Secret Committee, 21st Aug. 1826.—Papers, Mahratta war, 423.



BOOK II. throne on the 9th of January. Such, however, was  
CHAP. VII. his infatuation, that his conduct very soon justified

1817. the extreme measures which the Governor-General had originally enjoined, and he ceased to hold a place among the princes of India. Before, however, pursuing his fortunes, it will be advisable to revert to those of his confederates, Holkar and the Peshwa.

The conduct of the persons by whom the affairs of Holkar were administered, had long been characterised by a vacillating and insincere policy, arising from conflicting interests and feelings. In the first instance, the leading individuals had readily entered into the projects of the Peshwa, and the Government, in a fresh engagement concerted with Sindhia, had, as we have noticed, recognised in the first article the obligation to serve and obey that prince, as the bond of the mutual faith of the contracting parties. Envoys from the Peshwa were received with honour in the course of 1815 and 1816, and a persuasion was entertained that it would be practicable to form a general confederacy against the English, which should curb their ambition and curtail their power. Yet, although the national prepossessions of the Bai and her confidential ministers, Tantia Jog, and Ganpat Rao, inclined them to make common cause with the Peshwa, they were far from confident of the result, and a Vakil was sent to the British Resident at Delhi to assure him of the friendly dispositions of the court. Up to the latest moment these assurances were repeated to Captain Tod, the political agent at Kota, and to Sir J. Malcolm, and even after the arrival of Sir T. Hislop

at Ujayin, accredited agents were sent into his camp, vested, as they affirmed, with full powers to negotiate a treaty.<sup>1</sup> Terms similar to those which had been concluded with Sindhia were proposed, and the Vakil returned with them to the Bai, who, with her favourite, Ganpat Rao, would now have gladly accepted any conditions that should extricate them from the violence with which they were surrounded, and solicited an asylum with the British force. This was readily promised, but, although the parties were no doubt sincere, it was not easy for them to avail themselves of the desired protection. The military commanders, particularly Roshan Beg, who was at the head of the disciplined brigades, and Ram Din, who commanded the Mahratta horse, knowing that the immediate consequences of a pacification with the British would be the disbanding of their licentious soldiery, and the annihilation of their power, and encouraged by the receipt of considerable sums from the Peshwa, and by promises of more, had perseveringly urged recourse to hostilities, and had compelled the Bai to sanction the movement of the Holkar troops towards the south, which had brought them into the proximity of the British divisions. Aware of the negotiations that had been commenced, and of the disposition which prevailed in the court to conclude an accommodation, these men determined, not only to interrupt, but effectually to counteract the pacific projects of the Bai and her ministers. Motives of personal dislike

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter of the 17th Dec. he mentions, "Since the united division moved to this place, within fourteen miles of the camp, a more definite negotiation has been opened; Vakil has been sent to the camp, and the substance of a treaty has been proposed."

BOOK II. instigated other influential members of the ad-  
CHAP. VII. ministration to favour the execution of the plot,

1817. and on the 19th of December, Ganpat Rao and Tulasi Bai were seized, and separated from the person of the young prince: the former was imprisoned: a strict guard was placed over the tent of the Bai, and at dawn of the following morning she was carried to the banks of the Sipra, where her head was severed from her body, and the body was thrown into the river. Tulasi Bai was a woman of low extraction, the supposed daughter of a mendicant priest; her beauty had introduced her to the notice of Mulhar Rao, over whom she acquired an entire command, and established an authority in his court, which secured her during his insanity, and after his death, the charge of the regency. She was not thirty when she was murdered. She was a woman of engaging manners, persuasive eloquence, and quick intelligence; but she was profligate, vindictive, and cruel, and excited the fears and contempt of those with whom she was connected in the administration of the government. Her death was little heeded, and still less lamented. The military commanders, the principal of whom were Ghafur Khan, the confederate and representative of Amir Khan, Roshan Beg, commanding the infantry, Sudder-ud-din, and Ram Din, commanding the cavalry, bound themselves by an oath of fidelity to each other, and professing to act under the orders of the young Mulhar Rao Holkar, prepared with great gallantry and some skill to encounter the British army.

Sir Thomas Hislop marched before daybreak of

the 21st of December, from his encampment at Her-  
 mia, and following the right hand of the Sipra river  
 came in sight of the enemy about nine ; a large body  
 of their horse on the same side of the river, had  
 attempted to retard the advance, and harass the  
 flanks of the army, but their main force was on the  
 opposite side, the right resting on a rugged and  
 difficult ravine, the left on a bend of the river, op-  
 posite to the town of Mahidpur. They were drawn  
 up in two lines with a range of batteries, mounting  
 seventy guns in their front. The horse, which had  
 crossed the Sipra were soon driven back, and re-  
 treated to the main body forming in its rear. The  
 troops then moved to the river, where a single ford  
 was found available. The banks of the river were  
 lofty, but under the farther one was a spit of sand,  
 on which the troops might form under shelter from  
 the enemy's fire ; and near at hand opened the  
 mouth of a ravine, by which they could ascend  
 under cover to the top of the bank. Batteries  
 were erected on the right bank to protect their  
 passage. In this manner, the river was crossed  
 without much loss, but as soon as the heads of the  
 columns emerged from the ravine, a heavy cannon-  
 ade was opened upon them, from which they suf-  
 fered severely. With unflinching steadiness, how-  
 ever, they took up their position, and, as soon as  
 they were formed, the first and light brigades,  
 commanded by Sir J. Malcolm, pushed forward  
 against the enemy's left, whilst the cavalry, sup-  
 ported by the second brigade, attacked the right.  
 Both attacks were successful. The troops advanced

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<sup>1</sup> Malcolm.—Central India, i. 316.



BOOK II. in face of a well sustained fire, and carried the guns,  
 CHAP. VII. on which the enemy's infantry on either flank broke

1817. and fled. The centre stood firm, until the second brigade wheeled upon them, when finding themselves assailed on both flanks, they also dispersed. The fugitives were briskly pursued. In the pursuit, the cavalry came upon the camp, which was deserted, but found themselves exposed to the fire of a battery lower down the river, where the enemy seemed disposed to rally in a position difficult of approach from the ravines into which the ground was broken. The object of the renewed resistance was, however, merely to give time for the passage of their troops across the river, and as soon as the infantry came up, the enemy hastily resumed their retreat. The pursuit was continued until dark, when the troops were re-assembled and encamped on the field of battle.

The victory was not achieved without loss. Of the British, nearly eight hundred were killed and wounded, including three European and twenty-seven Native officers.<sup>1</sup> Three thousand of the enemy were reported to be killed and wounded. Young Holkar, after the action, was carried off to Allote; he had been present in the action, seated on an elephant, and is said to have exhibited no marks of apprehension, but to have shed tears when he saw his troops retreat from the field. Ganpat Rao and Tantia Jog, who, during the action, had escaped from their guards, joined the Raja, and the latter received the

<sup>1</sup> The European Officers killed, were Lieutenant Macleod, Royal Scots; Lieutenant Coleman, Madras European regiment; and Lieutenant Glen, 1st battalion, 3rd regiment N. I.

office of minister from Kesaria Bai, the mother of the young prince, who was acknowledged as Regent.

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Although prostrated by the action of Mahidpur, the court of Holkar retained for a short period its hostile attitude, and it was necessary to detach a division of the army, under Sir J. Malcolm, to disperse the enemy's troops which still kept the field. The division moved on the 26th of December, and, after several marches, overtook the baggage and the cattle of the enemy at Mandiswar on the 31st. The main body of the army, under Sir Thomas Hislop, followed on the 27th, and amidst very heavy rain, reached Taul on the Chambal on the 30th, where it was joined by the division from Guznat, under Sir W. G. Keir. This force had marched from Baroda, on the 4th of December, on the high road to Ujayin, and had reached Dawad on the 13th, when it was recalled to the vicinity of Baroda, by the positive orders of the Bombay Government, who, on hearing of the attack on the British Residency at Poona, became alarmed lest the Gaekwar should imitate the Peshwa's example. It would have been rather extraordinary if the ruler of Guzerat had coalesced with a prince who had always been his inveterate foe, and whose participation in the murder of his minister, was in part the occasion of the existing hostilities; but the Gaekwar was a Mahratta, who shared in the national veneration for the office of the Peshwa, and in the sympathy felt for his humiliation, and these apprehensions of the Bombay Government were not altogether without foundation. The amount of the danger likely to arise from the Gaekwar's possible treachery, seems, how-

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ever, to have been exaggerated ; and the abrupt recall of General Keir's division was condemned by the Governor-General as unnecessary and ill-advised. The orders had been subsequently so far qualified, that their execution was made conditional upon the decision of the Resident, and as he did not consider the danger to be imminent, he authorised the division to march to its original destination, and it had proceeded accordingly to Malwa, where it fell in with the army of the Dekhin. The whole force then marched to Mandiswar, where it again united with the detachment under Sir John Malcolm.

Previous to the concentration of the British army, overtures of peace had been made by Holkar's ministers to Sir J. Malcolm, and preliminaries had been adjusted. Tantia Jog himself, had repaired, in consequence, to the British camp, and on the 6th of January a definitive treaty was concluded. The principal terms of this engagement were the confirmation of the stipulations entered into with Amir Khan, and the relinquishment of all claims to the territories which had been guaranteed to him and to his heirs ; the cession to the Raj Rana of Kota, of various districts rented by him of the Holkar state ; the renunciation of all right to territories within and north of the Bundi hills ; and the cession to the British Government of all claims and territories within and south of the Sathpura hills, and in Kandesh, with all claims of tribute and revenue from the Rajput princes. It was also provided that Ghafur Khan, who had advocated pacific negotiations, and had kept his troops aloof from the battle of Mahidpur, should retain the lands held on the

tenure of military service as a hereditary fief, on condition of his furnishing a stipulated force for the Raja's service. In return, Holkar was released from all dependency on the Peshwa, and was guaranteed in his dominions by the British Government, on whose part a Resident was appointed at the Raja's court, and by whom a field force was to be maintained, and stationed at pleasure in the Raja's territories.<sup>1</sup> He was thus, virtually, in the position of a prince bound by a subsidiary alliance, and deprived of all independent sovereignty. Such was the fate of a martial dynasty which had once been dreaded throughout Hindustan; which had at one time threatened the supremacy of the Peshwa, and had intimidated even the British Government in the moment of victory into a discreditable course of conciliatory policy, the abandonment of its advantages, and the desertion of its allies.

The defeat of Holkar's army completed the series of events, in the course of which all the Mahratta princes, with the exception of Sindbia, had blindly rushed into toils of their own weaving, and had, in a singular manner, converted anticipated contingencies into realities; their possible combination with the Pindaris into actual war against the British, and thus had fully justified the precautionary policy of the Governor-General. Little more was to be feared from any efforts they might make. Holkar was an ally dependent for existence upon his late enemies, and the Raja of Nagpur was in an equally helpless predicament. The Peshwa was still at large, but no longer formidable, and the British Government was

<sup>1</sup> Papers, Mahratta war.—Collection of Treatises, p. 86.



BOOK II. left free to prosecute to a conclusion the main  
CHAP. VII. objects of its arming,—the suppression of the predat-  
1817. ory system, and the complete annihilation of the scattered remnants of the Pindari associations.

The first operations of the British divisions had succeeded, as we have seen, in driving the Pindaris from their haunts along the Nerbudda, and had forced them to fly to the north and west, in the hope of penetrating either to Gwalior or to Mewar. They were frustrated in both designs by the intervention of the British forces, and had been severely handled. They still, however, continued in some force on the line of the upper course of the Chambal, and, by the rapidity of their movements, for a while continued to elude pursuit. Their activity served only to delay, for a brief interval, the hour of their extinction, which it was now determined to prosecute with renewed vigour. Hitherto the different divisions had been retarded in their movements by the heavy artillery which had been necessarily attached to them, while the enemies whom they might have to encounter were uncertain, but the diminished probability of requiring heavy ordnance in the field, enabled the brigades to dispense, in a great measure, with their guns, and to move with greater lightness and dispatch.

The durras of Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed, reduced in number, exhausted by fatigue, and dispirited by defeat, had been arrayed with the battalions of Roshan Beg, at the battle of Mahidpur. The arrangements which were subsequently made with the government of the young prince, compelled their separation, and the Pindaris moved to the west-

ward, towards Jawad, where Jeswant Rao Bhao, who had previously afforded Cheetoo and his followers an asylum, extended his protection to the other chiefs. At the same time, General Donkin was at the Ghynta Ghat, on the Chambal, just above the afflux of the Sindh, and General Adams at Gangraur, on the Kali Sindh. General Marshall had been recalled to Bairsia, detaching part of his division to rejoin the centre of the grand army, from which the Marquis of Hastings had detached General Brown in advance, to act against the Pindaris. The detachment consisted of two regiments of native cavalry, four regiments of irregular horse, a dromedary corps, one troop of gallopers, a battalion of native infantry, and a company of pioneers.<sup>1</sup> General Brown followed a line passing between the divisions of Generals Donkin and Adams, and on the 5th of January, was at Soneir, where he was in communication on his left with General Adams, and on his right with the Resident at Kota.

The retreat of the Pindaris towards Jawad being ascertained, the several detachments moved upon that place as the centre of their operations. On the north, General Donkin moved westward, so as to shut up all the passes which led from the narrow tract within which the Pindaris were now confined, and arrived at Sanganer on the 8th of January, where he halted for three days, in order to receive intelligence of the movements of the other divisions.

As soon as the submission of Holkar was tendered to Sir Thomas Hislop, and the direction taken by the Pindari Chief, Cheetoo, was ascertained, Sir

<sup>1</sup> Blacker, 195.

BOOK II. W. G. Keir, with the Guzerat division, was detached  
CHAP. VII. in pursuit. He was preceded by Captain Grant,  
1818. who, with three troops of Native cavalry, fifteen hundred Mysore horse, and a weak battalion of infantry, had been sent to follow Karim Khan. As he advanced to the north-west, the Pindaris fled before him, and upon his arrival at Jawad, the chief, Jeswant Rao, was so far intimidated as to compel the parties of both Karim and Cheetoo to leave the immediate neighbourhood of his fort. No positive information of their movements could be obtained as the inhabitants were friendly to them; and Capt. Grant was therefore obliged to halt in the position which he had taken up. Sir W. Keir had turned off to the left, from the direct road to Jawad, in hope of surprising a body of Pindaris at Dhera; but they fled at his approach, leaving five guns and some baggage on the ground.

The advance of Captain Grant's detachment had driven the united durras of Cheetoo and Karim to the northward, and they were heard of by General Donkin at Dhaneta, in the neighbourhood of Chitore. Thither Colonel Gardner, with his irregular horse, was directed to proceed, but on his arrival learned that the Pindaris had again turned back to the south, and that the principal body, under Cheetoo, had moved towards the frontiers of Guzerat, while the durras of Karim and Wasil Mohammed had gone towards Malwa. Major-General Donkin, therefore, recalled his parties, and resumed his defence of the northern line, shifting his headquarters from Sanganer to Shahpura.

Sir W. Keir, having ascertained the intended

direction of Cheetoo, pursued his course also to the westward, and was at Bhinder on the 12th of January, where the nature of the country precluding a forward movement, he retraced his march to Pertabgerh. On his route he learnt that a number of Pindaris were collected at the village of Mandapi, under the protection of Fazil Khan, a dependant of Jeswant Rao Bhao, who, like his superior, gave covert encouragement to the freebooters, and allowed his village to become a rallying point for fugitives from all the durras; disclaiming, nevertheless, all connexion with Karim, and having, through his chief, obtained from Captain Caulfield, the British agent, letters of protection. Sir W. Keir, having formed a detachment of four squadrons of the 17th dragoons, and eight hundred infantry, moved against Fazil Khan, and pushed on with the dragoons to surround the villages, until the infantry could come up. As soon as the cavalry appeared, the Pindaris rushed out in various directions, and endeavoured to escape, but they were pursued by the horse, and nearly a hundred were cut up. The infantry arrived; the village was occupied, and the fort was about to be attacked, when a nephew of Fazil Khan appeared and produced his letters of protection. They saved the place from pillage, and such articles as had been taken were restored to the inhabitants, although they were, in part at least, the spoils of the fugitives.

The main body of Cheetoo's force, after experiencing much distress from the unproductiveness of the country, and the hostility of the Bhil inhabitants of the mountains and thickets with which it

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BOOK II. was covered, and foiled in their attempts to reach  
CHAP. VII. the Guzerat frontier, by the measures adopted for

1818. its security, and by the activity with which they were driven from one post to another, endeavoured to reseek once more their original haunts on the upper part of the Nerbudda. By taking a circuitous route, they evaded the pursuit of the British detachments. Crossing the territories of Holkar to the eastward, Cheetoo reached Unchode, and on the 24th of January ascended the Ghat to Kanode, but twenty-two miles north-west from Hindia on the Nerbudda, where Major Heath was stationed. Intelligence of the arrival of the Pindaris having reached him at 1 P. M., he formed a detachment of European and Native infantry, and a party of irregular horse, about eight hundred strong in all, and marched without delay against the marauders. He came upon their camp at eight in the evening; the darkness prevented his inflicting much mischief, but his movements had the effect of completely dispersing them, with the loss of their elephants and camels, and many of their horses. Cheetoo fled up the Ghats, and again assembled some of his scattered followers, but he was heard of by General Adams, and was once more obliged to take to flight by the approach of a detachment under Captain Roberts. After this, he wandered about Malwa for some time, until finding his situation desperate, he suddenly made his appearance in the camp of the Nawab of Bhopal, and, through his intercession, attempted to make terms with the British Government, demanding to be taken into its service with a body

of his followers, and a Jagir for their maintenance. Finding that he had nothing to expect beyond personal immunity, and a provision for his support in some part of Hindustan, he again became a wanderer, and, eluding all pursuit, made his way into Kandesh and the Dekhin, where he united himself with some of the disorganised bands of the Peshwa's routed army, and shared in their ultimate dispersion. Although his principal leaders had surrendered, and most of his followers had quitted him, he still disdained the conditions on which he might have purchased repose and safety; and in the rainy season of 1818, joined Apa Saheb, the Raja of Berar, with whom we shall, at present, leave him.

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The durras of Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed, after leaving Jawad, retraced their course to Malwa, which they entered in three bodies, more effectually to distract the attention of the British divisions, and avoid their collision. The most considerable of the three, led by Namdar Khan, the nephew of Karim, passed round by Nimach, and crossing the Chambal marched past Gangraur, where Colonel Adams was encamped, to Kotri, on the Kali Sindh, where they seem to have considered themselves in safety. Accurate information of their progress was brought to Colonel Adams, and he dispatched Major Clarke, with the fifth cavalry, to surprise them. The detachment came in sight of the bivouac of the Pindaris about an hour before dawn, and as there appeared to be no stir indicating any dread of his approach, Major Clarke halted, until daylight should enable him to make his onset with more precision. As soon as the day broke he divided his

BOOK II. detachment, and ordering Lieutenant Kennedy to  
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1818. rest to a point where he might better intercept the fugitives. The manœuvre was attended with complete success. The Pindaris taken by surprise attempted to escape from their assailants, and fell upon the party stationed to stop their flight. The pursuit was maintained for twenty miles, and of the whole body, estimated at one thousand five hundred men, not more than five hundred escaped.

Although the principal party was thus destroyed, there still remained the other two bodies which had passed to the southward of Gangraur, and to which the wreck of the defeated portion united themselves. They were not allowed to gather strength. Colonel Adams satisfied that the district of Mewar was now cleared of them, confined his attention to those in Malwa, and following them up without intermission for nine days consecutively, drove them to the confines of Bhopal. Finding themselves thus hard pressed, the body finally disbanded, and Namdar Khan delivered himself up, with eighty-seven followers, to Colonel Adams, at Deorajpur, on the 3rd of February. Karim Khan, who had been concealed at Jawad until the 30th of January, and had subsequently wandered from village to village, surrendered himself to Sir John Malcolm on the 15th of February. His eldest son, and other Sirdars of his durra, gave themselves up soon afterwards through Zalim Sing of Kota. Kadir Buksh, of the Holkar Shahi Pindaris, delivered himself to Sir John Malcolm. Wasil Mohammed contrived to find his

way to Gwalior, and threw himself on the protection of Sindhia, but was given up at the demand of the British Government. Many others put themselves into the hands of the Nawab of Bhopal. The terms that had been offered to the chiefs were, the removal of themselves and families to Hindustan,<sup>1</sup> where they were promised grants of land for their support, and in the interval a pecuniary provision. Karim Khan, Kadir Buksh, Rajan, and Wasil Mohammed were accordingly, with their families and followers, sent to Gorakhpur, where the two former were gradually transmuted into peaceable and industrious farmers.<sup>2</sup> Wasil Mohammed, restless and discontented, attempted to escape from the surveillance to which he was subjected, and being prevented from effecting his purpose by the vigilance of the police, took poison and perished. Namdar Khan, who had never led a predatory gang into the Company's possessions, and for whose good conduct the Nawab of Bhopal became responsible, was allowed to settle in Bhopal. The fate of Cheetoo will be subsequently noticed. Of their respective followers, great numbers had been destroyed by the troops,—still more by the villagers in some parts of the country, and by the Bhils and Gonds; still greater havoc was made among them by fatigue, exposure,

<sup>1</sup> Their great fear was being sent to Europe, by which, however, it was found they meant Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> Karim's land was calculated to produce sixteen thousand Rupees a year, his family and followers amounted to six hundred persons. Kadir Buksh's followers were about one hundred and twenty; his lands were of the value of four thousand Rupees per annum: a few years after his establishment, he experienced some of the miseries he had been wont to inflict: in 1822 his house was attacked by a gang of Dekoits, from Oude; four of his people were killed, and many wounded, and much of his property was carried off.



BOOK II. and famine. That so many should still have adhered to their leaders, amidst all the hardships and  
CHAP. VII.  
1818. dangers which they underwent, is a singular proof of that fidelity to their leaders, which characterises the natives of India ; as nothing could have been more easy than for a Pindari to have deserted his captain, and become identified with the peasantry. The tenacity with which some of their principal leaders clung to the life of a wanderer and a plunderer, preferring privation, peril, and death, to the ease and security of tranquil social existence, exhibited also that impatience of control, that love of independence, which is the general attribute of half civilised and martial people. It has been remarked as extraordinary, that in many parts of the country, and particularly in Harawati, the villagers were disinclined to give any information that might lead to the discovery and destruction of a Pindari band ; but the inhabitants of those countries had never suffered any greater injury from the Pindaris than from the other component members of the Mahratta army,—they considered rapine inherent in the system,—had often taken part in it themselves, and looked with sympathy and admiration upon the hardships and hazards which their countrymen and fellow-plunderers underwent. The state of society in Central India was similar to that of Europe in the early part of the middle ages, when robbers, and outlaws, free companies, and banditti, were objects of less terror than the more powerful and equally rapacious baron,—the more necessitous and equally unscrupulous monarch.

Simultaneously, and in connection with the pur-

suit of the Pindaris, the forces on the north of the Nerbudda, were engaged in various military operations which require to be noticed. The conduct of Jeswant Rao Bhao, in the protection which he had given to the Pindari leaders,<sup>1</sup> was justly regarded by Lord Hastings to be incompatible with the alliance which subsisted with his liege lord Sindhia, and as it was satisfactorily established, that, although the main body of the freebooters had withdrawn from Jawad on the approach of Captain Grant's detachment, yet a number of them, with some of the chiefs, had been secretly sheltered by him, he was denounced as a public enemy, and General Brown, whose advance to Suneir has been mentioned, was ordered to proceed against him. Before the receipt of these instructions, General Brown had marched towards Jawad, when Captain Caulfield, who had been dispatched to act with Jeswant Rao's contingent, under the treaty of Gwalior, having found all exposition unavailing withdrew to the British camp. At his suggestion a squadron of cavalry was sent round the town to occupy the road by which the Pindaris might escape. On their march they were fired at, both from the town and from an encampment of Jeswant Rao's forces on the south of the town, on which General Brown immediately ordered

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<sup>1</sup> Besides the Pindaris who were driven out of the village of Fazil Khan, and those of inferior rank who were sheltered in his forts and villages, Jeswant Rao gave open countenance to Bhikhu Sayed, a Sirdar who led the incursion into Gantur in 1815, and permitted him to pitch his tents within a short distance of that of Capt. Caulfield, the British political agent. It was afterwards discovered also that Karim Khan, who had been unable through indisposition to accompany his Durra, was secreted in the town of Jawad at the time of its occupation. Jeswant Rao's protection was not altogether gratuitous, he received, it was stated, a hundred Rupees for every Pindari to whom he gave an asylum.—MS. Rec.

BOOK II. out his whole line for an assault upon the Mahratta  
CHAP. VII. posts.

1818. The third cavalry and horse artillery having joined the advanced squadron, the whole, under Captain Newbery, attacked and carried the camp, whence the detachment had been fired upon. Captain Ridge with the fourth cavalry, and a party of Rohilla horse, was sent against a second and still stronger encampment, formed of two regular battalions, besides horse and six guns, on the north of the town. The detachment, disregarding the fire, galloped into the camp, charged and cut up the battalions and captured the guns; while General Brown caused the gates of the town to be blown open, and carried the place by storm. Jeswant Rao escaped with a few followers, and took shelter in Komalner. He shortly afterwards surrendered that fortress to General Donkin, and gave himself up to Sir J. Malcolm in the middle of February. Jawad, and Nimach, two of Sindhia's pergasas held by him in Jagir, were occupied for a season, but were finally restored to Sindhia. The forts in the Mewar territory, Ramnagar, Raipur, and Kamalner, the latter, one of the strongest hill forts in India, which Jeswant had unwarrantably wrested from Udaypur, were taken in the course of a few weeks by General Donkin's division, and were given back to the Rana. The whole of the country along the confines of Harawati and Mewar was thus cleared of enemies of any note.

The restoration of order in the territories subject to Holkar was an object to which the attention of General Brown was next directed. Shortly after the battle of Mahidpur, Roshan Beg, and other leaders

of the mercenary brigades, retired with the remnants of their battalions to Rampura. Intelligence of their position reached General Brown on his arrival at Piplia, about twenty miles from Rampura, and he moved against them with the third cavalry, the dromedary corps, and two companies of infantry. No serious opposition was encountered; most of the refractory troops had already dispersed, leaving about four hundred foot and two hundred horse, who fled to a neighbouring hill, where they were overtaken, and lost about two hundred of their number; one of their leaders was captured, the others fled and found safety in obscurity. The only body of troops that remained in force consisted of the Paga, or household horse, under the command of Ram Din who, finding all attempts to raise an insurrection in the vicinity of Indore, where he had held authority, frustrated by the activity of Sir J. Malcolm, moved off to the Dekhin and joined the Peshwa. Bhima Bai, the daughter of Jeswant Rao Holkar, who had collected a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Dhar, surrendered herself to Sir Wm. Keir on the 10th of February, and was conducted to Rampura.

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Whilst the great objects of the policy of Lord Hastings were thus attained, through the conduct of the commanders, and gallantry of the troops engaged in their prosecution, in central Hindustan, no less judgment and activity were displayed on the occasions which called for the exertion of those qualities in the Dekhin, for the final eradication of the authority of the Peshwa. The once formidable prince who bore that appellation, continued throughout the same period to remain in arms, although a



BOOK II. fugitive, and to keep alive the spirit of resistance in  
CHAP. VII. a portion of the Mahratta country.

1818.

Upon the retreat of Baji Rao from Poona to Purandhar, he was followed thither by General Smith, as soon as the arrangements for the security of the capital were completed. The march of the division was incessantly harassed by the Mahratta horse, which hung upon its flank and rear, threatening to cut off its baggage and intercept its supplies. On its approach the Peshwa moved to Satara, whence he carried off the person of the descendant of Sivaji and his family, and continued his route to Poosa-saoli, where he arrived on the 29th of November, 1817. Here his flight to the southward was arrested by the fear of falling upon the reserve under General Pritzer, which was moving in a northerly direction to meet him, and he turned aside to the east to Pundarpur, whence he retraced his steps, and again moved northward towards the sources of the Godaveri river; on the road he was joined by Trimbak, with reinforcements from Kandesh. The fourth division followed him closely, arriving at Pundarpur on the second day after Baji Rao had quitted it; and thence continuing its march so as to deter him from making any attempt upon Poona, as he passed it on his northern route. General Smith keeping the same track arrived at Seroor, the cantonments of the subsidiary force, on the 17th of December, and there, dropping the heavy guns which had somewhat delayed his progress, resumed his pursuit on the 22nd; and having ascertained that during the halt at Seroor, the Peshwa had loitered on his route, he made a circuit to the eastward with such expedition and

secrecy, as to place his force on the line of the Peshwa's retreat, cutting him off in that direction from Malwa. Thus prevented by the superior activity of his pursuers from penetrating into Malwa, where he hoped that his presence would encourage Sindhia and Holkar to exert themselves in his favour, Baji Rao attempted to profit by the opening which the distance of General Smith afforded, and recover possession of Poona. He arrived at Watúr on the 28th, and on the 30th was at Chakan, within eighteen miles of the capital, a movement which led to one of the most brilliant actions which distinguished the campaign.

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The approach of the Peshwa towards Poona, induced Captain Burr, who had been left for the defence of the city, with three native battalions and a body of irregular horse, to call for a reinforcement from Seroor, in consequence of which Captain Staunton was dispatched with the 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment of Bombay N. I. six hundred strong, two guns, and twenty-six European artillerymen, under Lieutenant Chisholm of the Madras artillery, and a detachment of about three hundred and fifty reformed horse, under Lieutenant Swanston.

The detachment left Seroor on the 31st of December, at six in the evening, and by ten on the following morning, had ascended some high ground about half way to Poona, overlooking the village of Korigaon, and the adjacent plain watered by the Bhima river. Beyond the river appeared the whole of the Peshwa's forces, estimated at twenty thousand horse, and nearly eight thousand foot. Captain Staunton immediately determined to throw himself

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into Korigaon, which being surrounded by a wall, and protected on the south by the bed of the river, offered shelter against the Mahratta cavalry, and might enable him to resist any force of infantry that could be brought against him. As soon as his movement was descried, his intention was anticipated by the enemy, and a numerous body of their infantry, chiefly Arabs, pushed for the same point; both parties reached the place nearly at the same time, and each occupied a part of the village, the British the northern and western, the Arabs the southern and eastern portions. The Arabs obtained possession of a small fort which gave them the advantage, but good positions were secured for the guns, one commanding the principal street, the other the banks of the river. By noon the preparations of both parties were complete, and a desperate and seemingly hopeless struggle ensued. The first efforts of the British were directed to dislodge the enemy from that portion of the village which they had seized, but their superior numbers enabled them to repel the several vigorous assaults made for that purpose, and Captain Staunton was obliged to confine his objects to the defence of his own position. The Arab infantry became in their turn the assailants, and while some maintained a galling fire from the fort and the terraced roofs of the houses, others rushed along the passages between the walls surrounding them, leading to the British posts, with desperate resolution. They were torn to pieces by the discharge from the guns, which were served with equal rapidity and precision, or they were encountered and driven back at the point of the bayo-

net by the equal resolution of the defenders. In these actions, the few officers commanding the troops were necessarily exposed to more than ordinary hazard. They were eight in number, including two assistant surgeons, who were more usefully employed in encouraging the soldiers, than in attendance on the wounded, and who shared with their brother officers the peril and honours of the day. In addition to the dangers and toils of the engagement, the men were much distressed by want of food and water, and by the fatigues of their previous march. Towards evening the situation of the party became critical; Lieutenant Chisholm, of the artillery, was killed; many of the artillerymen were killed or disabled. Lieutenants Pattinson, Conellan, and Swanston, and Assistant Surgeon Wingate had been wounded, and Captain Staunton, with Lieutenant Innes, and Assistant Surgeon Wylie, were the only officers remaining effective. At this time one of the guns was captured, and the enemy penetrated to a Choultry, a building for travellers, in which many of the wounded had been deposited. The ferocity of the assailants vented itself upon the helpless men who were thus within their reach, and many of them were barbarously slain. Amongst them, Mr. Wingate was cut to pieces, and Lieutenants Swanston and Conellan were about to share the same fate, when the surviving officers, at the head of a party of their men, charged into the Choultry, bayoneted every one of the enemy who was found within it, and put those without to flight. The gun was recovered by a sally, headed by Lieutenant Pattinson, although at the time mor-

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BOOK II. tally wounded. A second wound disabled him, but  
 CHAP. VII. his example had been nobly followed, and the

1818. Arabs were driven back with great slaughter.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding their success, the loss had been so great, and the exhaustion of the troops was so excessive, that some of the men, both Europeans and natives, began to consider resistance hopeless, and expressed a desire to apply for terms of surrender. Their commanding officer, however, convinced them that their only hope of safety lay in a protracted defence, and that to surrender would doom them to certain destruction from barbarous foes, exasperated by the loss which they had suffered. This exhortation animated the troops to persevere, and the Arabs disheartened by the ill-success of their repeated assaults, intermitted their exertions, and about nine, drew off, leaving the entire village in possession of the detachment. During the night water was procured, and arrangements were made for a renewal of the defence; but the Peshwa learning that General Smith was approaching, considered further delay unsafe, and at day-light of the 2nd of January, his whole force was in motion along the Poona road. Not being aware of the advance of the fourth division, Captain Staunton thought it advisable to march back to Seroor. The

<sup>1</sup> This incident is narrated by Captain Grant. Lieutenant Pattinson who was a very powerful man, being six feet seven inches in height, lying mortally wounded, having been shot through the body, no sooner heard that the gun was taken, than getting up, he called to the Grenadiers once more to follow him, and seizing a musket by the muzzle, he rushed into the middle of the Arabs, striking them down right and left, until a second ball completely disabled him; Lieutenant Pattinson had been nobly seconded; the Sepoys thus led were irresistible, the gun was re-taken, and the dead Arabs literally lying above each other, proved how desperately it had been defended. —Maharatta Hist. 3, 435.

enemy attempted to entice him to cross the river into the more open country, by sending fictitious messages from Poona, urging him to hasten his march in that direction, and he pretended to entertain the purpose of complying with the request. Towards nightfall, however, having procured conveyance for his wounded, he set off for Seroor, which he entered on the following morning, with both his guns, and all his wounded, with drums beating, and colours flying: thus having set a memorable example of what is possible to a resolute spirit, and of the wisdom of resistance in the most desperate circumstances. Surrender to Asiatic troops, ignorant of the laws of civilized warfare, is as likely to be fatal as ultimate defeat. It may not preserve life, although it must incur dishonour. Of Captain Staunton's small force, two officers were killed, and three wounded, as above named, and of the latter, Lieutenant Pattinson subsequently died of his wounds. Of the twenty-six artillery-men, twelve were killed, and eight wounded; of the native battalion, fifty men were killed, and one hundred and three wounded; and of the auxiliary horse, ninety-six were killed, wounded, and missing. Captain Staunton received the thanks of the Governor-General for his gallant conduct, and a public monument was erected on the spot in honour of those who fell.<sup>1</sup>

On the day after the action of Korigaon, General Smith who had learned at Chakan the situation of Captain Staunton's detachment, hastened to his res-

<sup>1</sup> For the particulars of the battle of Korigaon, see Papers, Mahratta war, 180, 221. Grant Duff, 3, 434. Blaecker's Memoir, 179. Bishop Heber describes the monument.

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cue. Finding that he had fallen back to Seroor, he proceeded thither himself, and after one day's halt, resumed the pursuit of the Peshwa. In the mean time, Baji Rao had found his southward flight again obstructed by the advance of the reserve division, under Brigadier-General Pritzler, which had crossed the Krishna early in December, and after being delayed some days at Bijapur, in order to secure the safe junction of supplies, had reached the Salpi Ghat by the 8th of January, and ascending the pass, came upon the Peshwa's rear, who had crossed the head of the column, and keeping to the left bank of the Krishna, continued his flight to the vicinity of Merich. He was followed closely by the reserve, and on the 17th a smart action took place between the cavalry of the division, and a large body of the enemy's horse, under Gokla, who interfered, as was his practice, to give the Peshwa time to escape. The Mahrattas showed themselves in two divisions, which were successively charged and dispersed by Major Doveton, with a squadron of dragoons, and two of native cavalry: a third body intercepted his return to the camp, but this, also, was resolutely charged and broken, and the whole then drew off. The pursuit was again continued until it was ascertained that the Peshwa had been forced upon the track of the fourth division. The reserve then halted for two days, after having marched twenty-five days without cessation. The proximity of General Smith once more threw the Peshwa on a southern route; his presence brought the fourth division into communication with the reserve, and both corps were united near Satara on the 8th of



February. The fort was summoned, and surrendered without resistance on the following day, when the flag of the Raja was hoisted on the fort, and a proclamation was issued, announcing to the Mahratta nation the deposal of Baji Rao, and that the Company intended to take possession of his territories, establishing the Raja of Satara in a principality for the maintenance of his rank and dignity, and of that of his court.<sup>1</sup>

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After the occupation of the Fortress of Satara, it was determined to continue the pursuit of the Peshwa with the cavalry and a light division<sup>2</sup> only, leaving the guns and the rest of the infantry to reduce at leisure the various strongholds in the southern Mahratta districts. Divisions for the same purpose were directed upon Ahmednagar and to the Konkan. Their objects were effected with little opposition. In the course of March, ten forts, including two of great strength, Singgerh and Purandhar were reduced. Ahmednagar, and the country between the Pheira and Bhima rivers, were occupied by Colonel Deacon, with a detachment which was at first stationed in Kandesh, to guard the province against an inroad of the Pindaris and subsequently to intercept the Peshwa's flight to the north. The forts in the Konkan, were carried by a small force fitted out from Bombay, under Colonel Prother. Brigadier-General Munro, overran the country as far south as the Malparba. Little remained to the

<sup>1</sup> Substance of a Mahratta Proclamation issued on the 11th February, 1818, by the Honourable Mr. Elphinston.—Papers, Mahratta war, 245.

<sup>2</sup> Consisting of the horse artillery, 2 squadrons of his Majesty's 22nd Dragoons, 2nd and 7th regiments Madras Cavalry, one thousand two hundred Poona auxiliary horse, and two thousand five-hundred Infantry.



BOOK II. Peshwa except the ground on which he was encamped.  
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Immediately after the occupation of Satara, General Smith had marched with the detachment he had organised for the pursuit towards Pundrapur and Sholapur, where the Peshwa had delayed and had levied contributions. From thence, Baji Rao resumed his flight, at first towards the west, but turned suddenly to the north and reached Ashti on the 18th of February. Accurate information was gained of his movements, and early on the 20th, General Smith came in sight of the Mahratta army as they were preparing to march. The tents were struck, the baggage was loaded, and the men had just taken their morning meal when the alarm was given. Baji Rao, who had throughout displayed great want of personal courage, mounted his horse and fled with the greatest celerity. Gokla, with between eight and ten thousand horse, stood firm, in the hope of covering his flight and the retreat of the baggage. The Mahratta cavalry were divided into several masses, which made a demonstration of supporting each other, and they were separated from their pursuers by a deep Nulla or water course. The British cavalry advanced in three columns. The two squadrons of His Majesty's dragoons in the centre; the 7th Madras cavalry on the right, and the 2nd on the left. The Bombay horse artillery were on the right flank, and the galloper guns on the left, both a little retired. The ground over which they had to march was much broken, and intersected by small water courses running from the hills to the main stream. The formation of the line was

consequently retarded, and the centre and right columns were separated from the left. Taking advantage of their disjunction, Gokla anticipated the attack. A strong division of Mahratta horse, led by himself, darted across the nulla, and charging obliquely across the ground from the left to the right, his men firing their matchlocks as they passed, turned the right of the 7th Native cavalry, and rode round to the rear of the line. There with their long lances in rest they threatened the flank of the dragoons, but Major Dawes,<sup>1</sup> their commanding officer, immediately threw back the right troop, and wheeling the left into line met charge with charge. A confused fight ensued, in which General Smith received a sabre cut, and the gallant commander of the Mahrattas, Gokla, fell covered with wounds. His fall, and that of some other Sirdars of note, disheartened the enemy. The 7th cavalry having recovered from their disorder, and coming again into action, supported by a squadron of the 2nd, completed the enemy's defeat. They fled in utter confusion to the left, in which direction the main body had retreated, pursued by the second cavalry : after following the fugitives for about five miles the pursuit was discontinued. The whole of the camp equipage and a number of camels, elephants and palankeens, laden with valuable property, among which were the images of the Peshwa's household gods, were captured. A more important prize was the person of the Raja of Satara, whom the Peshwa had hitherto detained, and who, with his mother and brothers, gladly placed himself under British protection. But

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<sup>1</sup> Prinsep has Davies.

BOOK II. the consequence most fatal to the Peshwa, was the  
 CHAP. VII. loss of the chieftain, who, with exemplary loyalty

1818. and intrepid valour, had hitherto directed and defended his flight.<sup>1</sup> This officer had been long known to the English: he had succeeded chiefly through their influence to the rank and command held by his uncle, who was Governor of the Carnatic, and was killed in the course of the hostilities with Dhundia Wagh. At the time of the treaty of Bassein, Bapu Gokla commanded on the Peshwa's frontier, and joined the British forces under Colonel Wellesley, on his march to Poona;<sup>2</sup> he afterwards served in the campaign, and was recommended for his military services by the British commander to the favour of the Peshwa's Government. He had been frequently indebted to the interposition of the Resident, for the preservation both of his possessions and his life, when he had incurred the displeasure of the Peshwa. Upon his reconciliation with Baji Rao and his restoration to favour, he became the implacable enemy of the English, and the chief instigator of Baji Rao in the warlike policy which he finally adopted. He does not seem to have been actuated by any sinister motives, nor by any personal aversion to his former friends and patrons, and may be entitled to credit for a patriotic feeling. He had vehemently opposed the treaty of Poona, and advocated the more honourable alternative of an appeal to arms, and he may have hoped that a vigorous resistance would eventually secure for the Peshwa

<sup>1</sup> See Duff, *Mahratta History*, iii. 443.

<sup>2</sup> Wellington Despatches, vol. i., January to April, 1803. Grant Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. iii. 47, 193.



terms less inglorious than a tame and prompt submission. The counsel he had given he vindicated by his own exertions, and was spared the pain of witnessing, and possibly of sharing his master's degradation.

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The defeat at Ashti was quickly succeeded by the total ruin of the affairs of the Peshwa in the southern portion of the Mahratta states, the chiefs of which, with few exceptions, hastened to proffer their allegiance to the British authorities, or to the Raja of Satara. Many of his followers also despairing of success, and worn out by the fatigues and terrors of incessant flight, detached themselves from his person, and returned quietly to their homes. With the remainder, much reduced in number and lowered in spirit, Baji Rao fled northwards, hoping to be able to pass through Kandesh into Malwa; but when he had forded the Godaveri, he found in his front the main body and detachments of the first division of the army of the Dekhin, which had crossed the Tapti on its return southwards in the beginning of March. After making some forward movements to facilitate a junction with Ram Din, and the horse of Holkar's routed army, and to call in the garrisons of such forts as could not be maintained, he again fell back to the south-east, but was stopped by the second division, under General Doveton. General Smith also advanced on the west from Seroor. There was still an opening to the eastward, and thither also the Peshwa was invited by secret communications from the Raja of Nagpur, who promised to meet him at Chanda with all the force that he could muster. The timely discovery of this plot



BOOK II. prevented its execution. A detachment from Nag-  
CHAP. VII. pur, under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott covered Chan-  
1818. da, while the main body of the Nagpur subsidiary  
force, under Colonel Adams, marched to Hingan  
Ghat;—at the same time Baji Rao was closely  
pressed by the Poonah and Hyderabad divisions,  
which had been concentrated at Jalna, and pro-  
ceeded thence in two parallel lines so as to inter-  
cept the Peshwa's entrance into Berar. After a few  
marches the Hyderabad force diverged to the north-  
east, towards the rough country that lies between  
the upper part of the courses of the Warda and  
Payin Ganga rivers, where they are separated by the  
ramifications of the Berar hills, which are covered  
with jungle, and difficult of access. After various  
long and fatiguing marches, Brigadier-General Dove-  
ton arrived at Pandukora on the 18th of April, and  
his approach compelled the Peshwa to make a pre-  
cipitate retreat from Seoni, where he had been en-  
camped. A simultaneous movement from Hingan  
Ghat towards Seoni had been made by Colonel  
Adams, and his division arrived at Pital Kote shortly  
before daylight on the 10th. After a short halt to  
refresh the horses and men, the march was resumed.  
The troops had scarcely moved five miles on the  
road to Seoni, when the advance came in sight of the  
van of the Peshwa's army flying from General Dove-  
ton. Baji Rao, as usual, made off upon the first  
alarm; some of his cavalry attempted to cover his  
flight, but they were driven back by the fire of the  
horse artillery, supported by the fifth cavalry, and  
the whole of the Peshwa's force was wholly broken  
and scattered. The nature of the ground prevented

their sustaining very severe loss, but the rout was complete. Baji Rao was attended by his personal guards, and Ram-Din carried off some of his horse towards Berhampur, but the greater part were dispersed in every direction, and never afterwards re-joined their leaders.<sup>1</sup>

The Peshwa fled on the first day to Mainli thirty miles in a south-westerly direction, and continuing the same course reached Amarkeir on the fourth. He was hotly pursued by General Doveton, with part of his force lightly equipped. On the 23rd of April the division was within eight miles of Amarkeir, but the exhausted state both of men and horses, and the necessity of waiting for supplies, compelled a halt. The Peshwa's adherents had suffered still more severely from fatigue and privation, and had been able to leave Amarkeir only on the same morning on which General Doveton reached the neighbourhood. Their route was tracked by cattle dead or dying on the road, and their numbers were daily thinned by desertion. From Amarkeir, Baji Rao fled northwards towards Burhanpur, and his pursuers suspended their movements, General Doveton retiring towards the cantonments at Jalna, and General Smith towards Seroor: the former arrived at Jalna on the 10th of May, the latter at Seroor on the 16th. On the march, a light detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham, dispersed a body of infantry stationed at Dharúr, and the Poona aux-

<sup>1</sup> Among the Sirdars who returned to their own country, were Madhu Rao Rastia, Apa Dhuundheri, Baji Rao's father in law, and a cousin of Bapu Gokla; so many applications were made for leave to return, that the Resident issued a proclamation, declaring that those who returned quietly to their homes, should suffer no molestation.

BOOK II. iliary horse, under Captain Davies, came up with a  
 CHAP. VII. party of Mahratta cavalry near Yellum, the leaders  
 1818. of which, Chimnaji Apa, the Peshwa's younger brother, and Apa Desay Nipankar, one of his best officers, gave themselves up without resistance. This terminated the operations against the Peshwa in the Dekhin. It will now be expedient to advert to other transactions in the same quarter, which took place during the movements that ended in his final expulsion.

As long as the Peshwa, at the head of a considerable force, continued to elude the pursuit of the British divisions, a strong feeling in his favour pervaded the Mahrattas, and many of the Jagirdars remaining faithful to their allegiance, retained in his name, the forts and districts entrusted to their keeping, and propagated a belief of his eventual restoration to power. It became necessary, therefore, to convince his adherents that the British Government was determined to admit of no adjustment with him, and to compel, by forcible means, where force was requisite, submission to the authority which was to be substituted, absolutely and for ever, for that of the Peshwa.

The southern extremity of the Poona territory, the districts of Darwar and Kusigal, bordering on Mysore, had been ceded to the British Government by the treaty of Poona, and had been placed under the civil administration of Colonel Munro. When the army of the Dekhin was organized, he was nominated to the command of the reserve, but by a change of arrangements, the command had been transferred to Colonel Pritzler. It was again as-



signed to Colonel Munro, but as the division was in active service in communication with the fourth division, Colonel Munro refrained from interfering with its movements, until a more convenient opportunity of taking charge of it should arrive, occupying himself in the mean while with the establishment of the British authority in the districts under his charge, and its extension to the neighbouring territory, which was still subject to the Peshwa, and was held for him by Kasi Rao Gokla, with a force of fifteen hundred horse, and eight hundred foot, besides about five thousand infantry in different garrisons.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Munro had but limited means at his disposal: his character compensated for the deficiency. He knew that the agricultural population were well affected towards him, and he had no hesitation in confiding to them the defence of the districts, or even in employing them to subjugate those of the Peshwa. Retaining in the pay of the Company the native Peons, or irregular militia, of the country, armed with spears and swords, or occasionally with matchlocks, and reinforcing them by similar Peons from Mysore and the Carnatic, he placed in their hands the forts hitherto occupied by the regular troops, and thus rendered the latter available for more active service. Being joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Newall, the Commandant of Darwar, Colonel Munro took the field with five companies of native infantry, belonging to the second battalions of the fourth and twelfth regiments; three troops of the fifth cavalry, subsequently joined by a party of Mysore horse, and a

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<sup>1</sup> Life of Sir Thomas Munro, i. 473.



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small battering train. With this force he proceeded to reduce the forts in the enemy's territory, and in the course of the month most of them had surrendered. Parties of Peons alone, under native military Amildars, established the British authority in the open country. Little vigour was shown in the opposition encountered. Kasi Rao, although he occasionally made his appearance at the head of his horse, ventured upon no serious conflict. His most vigorous attempt was upon an open village, which five hundred Peons had taken from his troops, and he was repulsed with the loss of many of his men. Colonel Munro about the same time dispersed a body of Pindaris, who, in the beginning of January, eluding the pursuit of the British divisions, directed their course to the south, and committed some depredations; one of their parties entered the district of Harpanhali, but they were surprised and routed by the left wing of the fifth cavalry, and returned expeditiously to the north. The irruption, in some degree, deranged Colonel Munro's plans, as it induced the Madras Government to withhold the reinforcements with which it had been designed to furnish him, in order to guard the frontiers of Mysore, but the retreat of the Pindaris having removed all ground of apprehension, the troops were again ordered to the west, and Colonel Munro was reinforced by the 2nd battalion of the 9th N. I., and two squadrons of His Majesty's 22nd dragoons.

In the beginning of February Colonel Munro marched against Badami, beyond the Malparba river, a post consisting of fortified hills, with a

walled town at their foot, having an inner fort, the whole being esteemed one of the strongest hill forts in India, and almost impregnable if defended by a determined garrison. The division arrived before the place on the 12th of February, batteries were erected against the town walls without delay, and by the evening of the 17th, a practicable breach was effected. At dawn, on the following day, the town was stormed and carried, and the assailants following the fugitives to the upper forts, the garrison apprehending an escalade, called out for terms of capitulation. They were allowed to march out with their arms, and by ten o'clock, on the 18th, Badami was in the possession of the besiegers. Turning hence to the westward, Colonel Munro marched up the Ghatparba to Padshahpur, receiving the ready submission of different strongholds on his way, and establishing British functionaries for the management of the conquered country. The only place of any strength remaining to be subdued in this quarter was Belgam south of Padshahpur, near the western Ghats. Colonel Munro commenced the siege on the 20th of March; the fort was strong and of great extent, the walls were massive and in perfect repair; a broad and deep ditch surrounded it, and the interior was garrisoned by sixteen hundred men. They made a more obstinate defence than had yet been encountered, and the spirit of the besieged, with the imperfect means available to the besiegers, delayed the surrender of the fort until the 8th of April, when a sufficient breach in the curtain having been effected, the commandant capitulated. The reduction of Belgam completed the subjugation of the country about

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1818.

BOOK II. the sources of the Krishna, subject to the Peshwa ;  
CHAP. VII. and the rulers of the adjacent districts, the southern

1818. Jagirdars readily gave in their adherence to the British Government, stipulating only not to be required to serve against the Peshwa. Matters being thus settled, Colonel Munro was at liberty to proceed to the northward, and to assume the command of the reserve which, under Brigadier-General Pritzler, had again separated from the fourth division, and had been employed since the latter part of March in reducing to obedience the country in the vicinity of Satara. The principal operation undertaken was the siege of Wasota, a fort situated on the summit of a lofty mountain in the western Ghats, part of a range accessible only by a few narrow and difficult passes. It was considered one of the strongest forts in the Mahratta territory, and had been selected, therefore, by the Peshwa as a depository of his treasures, and as the prison of the family of the Raja of Satara. Cornets Morrison and Hunter, who had been taken in the beginning of the war, were also prisoners in Wasota. The force arrived before the place on the 11th of March, and as the Killadar declared his purpose to hold out, it was at once invested. With great labour and difficulty batteries were erected on mountain points commanding the fort. A brisk bombardment was opened by the 5th of April, and on the following day the garrison surrendered unconditionally. The Raja of Satara was in the camp, and witnessed the operations. Having placed a garrison of Bombay N. I. in the fort, the division returned to Satara, where the Raja was formally installed in his principality by the



British Commissioner. On the 12th, the reserve BOOK II.  
CHAP. VII. marched southwards to meet Colonel Munro, and joined his force on the 22nd at Nagar-Manawali; 1818. receiving on its route the submission of a great number of hill forts, the governors of which beheld in the elevation of the Raja of Satara the hopelessness of aid or reward from Baji Rao.

Having concentrated and organized the force now under his orders, Brigadier-General Munro moved on the 26th of April towards the Bhima river, near which the Peshwa had left his infantry and his guns, on his flight towards the west in the middle of February. The Bhima was crossed on the 7th of May, and the Sena on the 8th, and on the 9th a position was taken up within two miles of the enemy's camp,<sup>1</sup> and the fortress reconnoitered; a summons to surrender on terms, having been answered by the unjustifiable murder of the native officer who had been sent to make the communication.

Sholapur was a town of considerable extent, enclosed by a strong mud wall with towers of masonry; on the south-west it was further protected by the fort, a parallelogram of ample area, built of substantial masonry, and defended on the south by a large tank, supplying a broad deep ditch, which circled entirely round the fort, separating it on the north and north-west from the town: the Peshwa's infantry, amounting to about six thousand foot, including one thousand two hundred Arabs, and eight

<sup>1</sup> After this junction, Brigadier Munro's force consisted of the European flank battalion, four companies of Rifles, the 4th regiment, the 2nd, 7th, 9th, and 2nd of 13th of the Madras N. I., the 1st of the 7th Bombay, two squadrons of His Majesty's 22nd Dragoons, two companies of artillery, and four of Pioneers,—in all about four thousand strong.



BOOK II. hundred horse, and having fourteen guns, were  
CHAP. VII.  
1818. posted on the west of the tank. The garrison of  
the fort was about one thousand strong.

At day-break of the 10th of May, two columns of attack, under the orders of Colonel Hewitt, advanced to the walls of the town, and carried them by escalade. The attack was supported by a reserve, under General Pritzler; little resistance was made to the assault upon the town, and, except the part adjacent to the fort and exposed to its fire, the whole remained in the possession of the assailants, in spite of several attempts made for its recovery. During the assault, the Mahratta commander, Ganpat Rao, had moved round to the east side of the town, to take the attacking party in flank; but he was checked by the reserve, and upon one of his tumbrils exploding, the division led by General Munro in person, charged with the bayonet and drove him back to his original position, with the loss of three of his guns. Ganpat Rao was wounded, and the next in command was killed by a cannon shot. Disheartened by this repulse, and the loss they had suffered, the Mahrattas began to retreat, leaving behind their artillery, and whatever might encumber their flight. As soon as their retreat was known, they were pursued by the dragoons, and a body of auxiliary horse, but such had been their expedition, that they had marched seven miles before they were overtaken. They made an irresolute stand, and were speedily and completely dispersed before night put an end to the pursuit on the banks of the Sena river. Nearly a thousand were left dead on the field, and the rest were so entirely disorganized, that

for all military objects, the force had ceased to exist. The fort held out but a short time after the discomfiture of the troops. Batteries were immediately erected against its southern face, in which a practicable breach was made in two days, when the garrison surrendered, upon the promise of security for themselves, and for private property. The reduction of Sholapur completed the subjugation of the southern districts, and the operations of the campaign were concluded by the cession of Manawali, by Apa Desai Nipankar, a Mahratta chieftain, who had followed the fortunes of Baji Rao, until his flight towards the Nerbudda. This chief had strongly fortified his residence, Nipani, but as he had submitted in time, he was allowed to retain a portion of his territory, subject to the usual feudal conditions under which he had held it of the Peshwa. After visiting him at Nipani, General Munro returned to Dewar and Hubli, and the troops went into cantonments.

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It has been already mentioned that in the beginning of the war a small detachment was formed at Bombay, for the purpose of occupying the Mahratta territory below the Ghats, in the Konkan, and keeping open the communication with Poóna. This object being effected, the detachment, commanded by Colonel Prother, was reinforced,<sup>1</sup> and directed to extend its operations above the Ghats. Colonel Prother ascended the Bore Ghat, and on the 4th of

<sup>1</sup> The force consisted at first of about six hundred men, detachments of the 5th and 9th regiment of N. I., and a few European foot and horse. It was afterwards reinforced by two companies of the 2nd of the 4th N. I., and about three hundred and seventy of his Majesty's 89th regiment sent round from Madras.

BOOK II. March arrived before Logerh, a strong hill fort, near  
CHAP. VII. the road from Bombay to Poona: no resistance was  
1818. met with; the garrison of the fort, as well as that  
of Isagerh, in its vicinity, capitulated as soon as pre-  
parations were made for an assault. Several other  
fortresses were given up with the same promptitude.  
At Koari, a hill fort twenty miles south of the Bore  
Ghat, and situated at the summit of the Ghats, it  
was necessary to erect batteries, the fire from which,  
causing an explosion of the enemy's magazine, com-  
pelled them in the course of two days to surrender.  
Intimidated by this event, the garrisons of other forts  
surrendered them at once, and the division returned  
to the low country belonging to the Peshwa, be-  
tween the Ghats and the sea coast.

Before Colonel Prother's ascent of the mountains,  
operations were successfully commenced with the  
reduction of a number of petty forts below the Ghats  
and along the sea-coast by smaller detachments,  
under Colonels Kennedy and Imlach, with the occa-  
sional assistance of parties from the cruisers off Port  
Victoria, and a detachment of H.M.'s 89th, which, on  
its way to Bankut, had been, by stress of weather,  
obliged to put into Malwan. Little remained to be  
accomplished, for the entire subjugation of this part  
of the Konkan, when Colonel Prother, returning  
from above the Ghats, laid siege to Raigerh, a strong-  
hold to which the Peshwa, in the belief that it was  
impregnable, had sent his wife, Varanasi Bai, and a  
valuable treasure. It was garrisoned by one thou-  
sand men, of whom many were Arabs. All impedi-  
ments to the approach having been surmounted, the  
Petta or town of Raigerh was occupied on the 24th



of April, by a party of European and native troops, under Major Hall. Much difficulty was experienced from the ruggedness of the ground, in bringing up the mortars and howitzers, with which to bombard the place, but the object was attained, and shells were thrown into the fortress with great effect. A safe conduct was offered to the Bai, to enable her to leave the fort, but the communication was suppressed by the officers of the garrison, who appeared determined to make a resolute resistance. On the 7th of May, however, a shell set fire to the residence of the Bai, and she is said to have prevailed upon the troops to surrender. Terms were accordingly demanded, and the garrison marched out, preserving their private property and arms. Varanasi Bai was permitted to retire with her attendants to Poona, from whence she was afterwards escorted to join her husband in captivity. Raigerh is celebrated in Mahratta history, as the early seat of Sivaji's successful insurrection against Mohammedan oppression, and at the time of its capture boasted possession of his palace and his tomb. Previous neglect, and the recent bombardment, had left scanty vestiges of either. The near approach of the monsoon, compelled the return of the troops to cantonments, although several forts of minor importance, were still held by the Mahrattas. They were ultimately given up, and the Konkan became a British province.

Quitting the sea coast, and returning to the eastward of the Ghats, we find that a supplemental division had been originally dispatched under Colonel Deacon, from Hurda, to occupy Kandesh upon

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BOOK II. the recall of General Smith to Poona.<sup>1</sup> The de-  
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1818. 28th of December, but in the course of two days was ordered to move to the south, to counteract the Peshwa's advance in that direction, and disperse his adherents. The whole of January was occupied in the discharge of this duty, and in the beginning of February the detachment was at Ahmednagar. Colonel Deacon was here in communication with Mr. Elphinstone, and was directed by him to clear the country between the Phaira and Bhima rivers, of any parties of the enemy that might show themselves. This was effected by the capture of the forts of Kurra and Chakan, in the course of February, after which the detachments marched to Poona, where the different corps composing the Poona division underwent a new distribution, in consequence of the arrangements which had been rendered necessary by the dissolution of the army of the Dekhin.

<sup>1</sup> Consisting of two squadrons from the 4th and 8th regiments N. C. the 2nd battalion 17th N. I., and the contingent of Nawab Salabat Khan, being detached from the Second or Hyderabad division of the army of the Dekhin.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Dissolution of the armies of Hindustan and the Dekhin.*

—*Divisions left in the field.—March of Sir T. Hislop with the 1st division to the South.—Contumacy of the Kiladar of Talner.—Fort stormed.—Murder of British officers.—The Kiladar hanged.—Return of Sir T. Hislop to Madras.—Military operations in Kandesh.—Hill Forts surrendered or captured.—Arab mercenaries.—Siege of Maligam.—Storm of the Fort.—Repulsed.—Petta carried.—Garrison capitulate.—Operations in the Nerbudda Valley.—Movements of the left division of the grand army in Bundelkhand.—Rights of the Peshwa transferred.—Ságar annexed to the British Territory.—General Marshall advances to the Nagpur ceded districts.—Dhamani and Mandala taken.—Kiladar of the latter tried.—Acquitted.—Operations in Gondwana.—Proofs of Apa Saheb's hostile designs.—His arrest, and deposal.—Baji Rao, a minor, made Raja.—Administration by the Resident.—Fatal error of the Peshwa.—Chanda taken.—Colonel Adams cantoned at Hosainabad.—Apa Saheb sent to Hindustan.—Makes his escape.—Peshwa overtaken by Colonel Doveton.—Prevented from crossing the Nerbudda by Sir J. Malcolm.—Negotiates with the latter.—Joins his camp.—His troops mutiny.—Are reduced to terms and dismissed.—*

*Baji Rao marches towards Hindustan.—Governor-General disapproves of the terms granted to the Ex-Peshwa.—Confirms them.—Their defence by Sir J. Malcolm.—Baji Rao settled at Bithur.—Trimbak taken.—Confined at Chunar.—Mahratta power annihilated.*

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As soon as the principal objects of the campaign had been accomplished, the Marquis of Hastings deemed it unnecessary to maintain his military arrangements on the extensive scale on which they had been hitherto constructed, and accordingly at the end of January, he determined to break up both the grand army and the army of the Dekhin, entrusting the duties which remained to be executed to such of the subordinate divisions as were most conveniently situated. They were reorganized for the purpose, and orders were issued for the return of the centre and right divisions of the grand army to the British territories. From the centre a brigade of three strong battalions, and a regiment of Native cavalry, under Brigadier-General Watson, was despatched to Samthar, to take up the heavy ordnance which had been left there upon the march of the centre from Seonda, and the whole were then directed to join the left wing, under General Marshall, which remained embodied in order to complete the subjugation of the territories on the Nerbudda taken from the Raja of Nagpur. The remaining corps of the centre fell back to the Jumna by the end of the month, and retired to their appointed stations. Lord Hastings on quitting the army, proceeded on a visit to the Nawab of Oude, and arrived at Lucknow on the 6th of March.

The right wing of the grand army speedily received the same orders, and commenced its homeward march by the end of February. One brigade of Native infantry was placed at the disposal of Sir John Malcolm, to assist in restoring subordination in the territories of Holkar, after which it joined the reserve under Sir David Ochterlony, who remained some time longer in force in Rajputana. Most of the remaining battalions had crossed the Jumna by the end of March. The divisions of Colonels Toone and Hardyman had previously been broken up, but troops were detached from the former to enable Major Roughsedge to take possession of the Berar dependencies of Sirguja, Jaspur, and Sambhalpur, and a force under Colonel Hardyman, remained some time longer in the country upon the upper course of the Nerbudda.

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The dissolution of the army of the Dekhin commenced somewhat earlier, and in the middle of January, the head quarters, with the first division, from which reinforcements had been furnished to the third, left in Malwa with Sir John Malcolm, began their march southwards; consigning to the Guzerat troops the task of freeing the country round Indore from the scattered parties of Pindaris and disbanded mercenaries, by which it was still partially infested. Sir Thomas Hislop moved to the Nerbudda, and crossed the river on the 10th. The other three divisions, the Berar and Hyderabad subsidiary troops, with Generals Adams and Doveton, and the Poona division, remained embodied, but were placed under the orders of the Marquis of Hastings, as Commander-in-Chief, in communication with the



BOOK 11. Residents and the Commissioner of the Mahratta  
CHAP. VIII. territory. Sir Thomas Hislop, with the first divi-

1818. sion, arrived before the fortress of Talner on the 27th of February, intending to cross the Tapti river at that place.

The country between the Nerbudda and the Tapti, subject to Holkar, had been ceded to the British, by the treaty of Mandiswar, and no obstacle had been hitherto experienced from the officers of the Holkar state in taking possession. The stronghold of Sindwa had been given up as soon as summoned, and no expectation was entertained that the fortress of Talner would be closed against British authority. No precaution had been adopted anticipatory of such an event, and the column of baggage preceding the division, advanced into the plain on which Talner is situated, without a suspicion of danger, when its progress was arrested by the salute of a gun charged with round shot from the fort. The division was halted, and a summons was sent to the Kiladar, or governor, requiring him to surrender the fort, warning him of the serious consequences to which he exposed himself, by acting in contempt of his sovereign's orders, and setting the right of the British at defiance; and "apprising him distinctly, that if he attempted resistance, he, and his garrison, would be treated as rebels." A verbal message of the same tenor accompanied the letter, and, although the Kiladar declined to receive the latter, the former was delivered. The messenger was robbed and beaten, and his return was followed by a sharp fire of matchlocks from the walls, by which several of the Sipahis were wounded, and some were killed.

The summons was despatched between seven and eight in the morning, but the fire of the garrison was not returned until noon, when, finding that no answer had arrived, and that indications of resistance continued, batteries provisionally erected were opened against the defences of the fort. The wall of the outer gateway was soon in a condition to admit of a storm, and preparations were made for the assault. The Kiladar now applied for terms, and was told that none but personal immunity would be granted. No answer was received, and the storming party, consisting of the flank companies of the Royal Scots and Madras European regiment, under Major Gordon, supported by the rifle battalion, and the third Native light infantry, was ordered to advance. They carried the outer and one of the inner gates: a number of persons unarmed, and apparently intending to escape, came out from the wicket of a third gate as the troops approached it, and were placed under a guard; among them, as was afterwards discovered, was the Kiladar, but he did not make himself known.<sup>1</sup> This and a fourth gate were passed through by the assailants, but they found the fifth closed, with the wicket open, and the passage within occupied by the garrison. Some parley with the Arabs regarding the terms of their surrender was attempted, but it was, no doubt, mutually unintelligible.<sup>2</sup> Concluding that surrender was acquiesced

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Prinsep says the Kiladar came out and proffered his surrender to Colonel Conway, the Adjutant-General, but, according to the evidence on his trial, he did not disclose himself when arrested, nor had he any distinguishing marks of his rank in his dress or appearance, and the inference therefore was warrantable, that he intended to get off without being recognized.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Blacker says from the circumstance of noise and apprehen-

BOOK II. in, Major Gordon passed through the wicket, accom-  
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1818. panied by Lieutenant-Colonel Macgregor Murray, and a few grenadiers. The instant they entered, Major Gordon was dragged forward and killed, the grenadiers were shot or cut down, and Colonel Murray was stabbed. Fortunately the wicket was kept open by the foremost assailants, and Colonel Murray was extricated from his peril. A fire was poured in which cleared the gateway, and the leading files, headed by Captain Macgregor, forced their way in with the loss of their leader. The whole party then penetrated into the fort, and the garrison, about three hundred strong, were put to the sword. Their conduct justified this retaliation, although the motives by which they were instigated, if there were any, except the impulse of the moment and ungoverned fury, remain unexplained.<sup>1</sup> The Kiladar was brought to immediate trial, and hanged upon one of the bastions the same evening, for waging hostilities without the authority of any recognized

sion which attended it, more probably, from mutual ignorance of each other's language. It is not likely that the officers knew more of Arabic than the Arabs did of English.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Hislop imputed the attack to the treachery of the Arabs. Dispatch. — Papers, Mahratta war. Colonel Blacker (232) to apprehension of consequences. Mr. Prinsep ascribes it to a paroxysm of distrust and desperation, in consequence of the inability of the officers to make themselves intelligible. Lieutenant Lake assigns a cause which will sufficiently explain the business, if the statement be correct. He says, some of the Grenadiers who had entered by the wicket, attempted to disarm the Arabs by force, and as the retention of their arms is a point of honour of which they have always shown themselves tenacious, they resisted the attempt, and the affray ensued.—Siegcs, Madras Army, 55. Colonel Macgregor Murray, at a subsequent period, affirmed that the attack was instantaneous; they had no time for parley. Lieutenant Lake's account is partly confirmed by Sir T. Hislop's dispatch, in which he says, "the garrison were to the last moment offered the assurance of their lives being preserved, on their unconditional surrender. This unfortunately they did not, or could not understand, as they persisted in asking for terms: none other could be given.



power, and therefore within the predicament of a robber or a pirate.

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The circumstances which attended the capture of Talner attracted public notice and drew upon General Hislop much severe animadversion. An explanation was required by the Governor-General, and at home, both Houses of Parliament, in passing a vote of thanks to Sir Thomas Hislop and the army of the Dekhin, specifically excepted his execution of the Kiladar from the purport of the vote, considering it necessary to await further information on the subject. With that which had been received, Mr. Canning declared neither the Government nor the East India Company were satisfied. When the first feelings had subsided, the business was forgotten, and it was not deemed necessary to communicate such information as was received to the public.<sup>1</sup> The severity was vindicated by Sir Thomas Hislop, and his reasoning was supported by the Marquis of Hastings upon two grounds: the lawless character of the proceedings of the Kiladar, and the absolute necessity of deterring others from a similar conduct, involving needless peril and loss of life, by the example of his punishment. The fort that had been placed in his care by his sovereign, had been voluntarily aban-

<sup>1</sup> Some of the dispatches on the subject, were printed by order of Parliament, 16th February, 1819; but the documents are very meagre, and comprise but a small and unimportant part of those on record. Much more ample materials are on record, particularly the minutes of the Governor-General, in March, 1819, and Sir Thomas Hislop's vindication in September of the same year, confirmed by the answers to queries which he had addressed to Lieutenant-Colonels Conway, Blacker, Murray, and Captain Briggs. Colonel Conway states his opinion, that the sentence was a humane one, and Captain Briggs declares his belief, that it was demanded by the political exigencies of the times.—MS. Records.



BOOK II. done by that sovereign. He had no warrant for  
CHAP. VIII. its defence; he was no longer the representative of

1818. any acknowledged prince, and could not urge obedience to orders in palliation of his resistance. That he was in possession of the orders for the delivery of the fort was proved by evidence; and it was also testified that he had declared his resolution not to give up the fort but with his life. He had incurred a foreseen peril voluntarily, and had made himself responsible for all the consequences springing from his determination. Even the attack upon the officers who had passed through the gate, was a catastrophe every way imputable to him, as he had stimulated his soldiers to resistance, and then abandoned them to the guidance of their own passions. He had been distinctly apprised, also, that if he stood an assault no mercy would be shown to him. He had despised the warning and was liable to the forfeiture.

Reasoning from the usage of civilized nations, and adopting the principles which they have agreed to appeal to, as calculated to alleviate the evils of war, there could be no doubt of the justice of the sentence; but it might have been pleaded in mitigation, that the Mahrattas were ignorant of those principles, and that the Kiladar was punished for the violation of a law of which he was wholly ignorant. The loose practice of his government palliated his conduct, disobedience of the prince's instructions was far from uncommon, and the officers of Sindhia and Holkar were accustomed to interpret the orders they received, not according to the expression, but to what they conjectured to be the

real intention of the chief by whom they were sent. In this case, also, the Kiladar might have urged, that, although holding immediately of Holkar, he owed a higher duty to the Peshwa, who was still in arms, and whose cause it was incumbent upon him to defend to the utmost extremity. As to the garrison, it is most probable that he had little or no control over them, and that they would not have listened to any commands which he might have issued.

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The necessity of an example, is a more tenable apology for the rigour of the sentence than the violation of the laws of European warfare. Baji Rao was yet at the head of a considerable force, and was moving towards Kandesh, in which he had numerous adherents. The country was studded with fortresses; the commandants of which were in the interest of the Peshwa, and were known to be preparing for resistance. The reduction of Chandore might have been the work of a campaign; Galna and Rasaigerh were also strong places. The occupation of a large portion of the British force in these sieges, would have protracted military operations, until the season admitted no longer of their continuance, and the interval would have given the Peshwa an opportunity of reorganizing his forces, and of forming dangerous combinations in his favour. The extensive mischief, and the great loss of life which another campaign would have occasioned, were considerations of undoubted weight, and extenuated, if they did not justify, the condemnation of the Kiladar. At any rate, these were the reasons which mainly actuated Sir Thomas Hislop, and in which

BOOK II. he was supported by the concurrent opinion of  
CHAP. VIII. Lieutenant-Colonel Conway, the Adjutant-General

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of the army, and Captain Briggs, the political agent, who assisted at the trial. The Kiladar made no defence. The effect of his fate was undeniable. Tulasi Ram, the Kiladar, was a man of rank, the uncle of Balaram Set, the late minister of the Bai, and his execution made the greatest impression. Chandore, held by his brother, was immediately surrendered, and the other fortresses were given up with equal promptitude. On the other hand, an opinion prevailed among the people and the soldiery, that the Kiladar had been unfairly dealt with ; and, in some places, a more obstinate resistance was in consequence encountered. An equally advantageous result would probably have been attained by a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, and the imputation of needless severity would have been avoided. But it must be admitted that hostilities in this campaign were generally prosecuted in a stern and inflexible spirit, vindicable, perhaps, by the cruelty and treachery of the Mahratta princes ; but making little account of the feelings which the humiliation they underwent, could not fail to engender both in them and in their adherents.

After the reduction of Talner, Sir T. Hislop continued his march towards the Godaveri, and his route had the effect of arresting the flight of the Peshwa in that direction, and turning him back upon the pursuit of the second division. On the 15th of March, the head-quarters were at Phulthamba, and here the corps composing the first division were divided between the Poona and Hyder-

abad forces, with the exception of a small personal escort, attended by which, Sir T. Hislop proceeded to Aurangabad, where he arrived on the 26th, and promulgated his final orders as Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Dekhin. He also relinquished his civil authority; and the management of the political interests of the British Government in the south reverted to the functionaries in whom they had been vested at the beginning of the war. Sir Thomas then resumed his route by way of Poona to Bombay, where he embarked on the 12th of May, on his return to Madras.

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While the several divisions of the army of the Dekhin had been almost exclusively engaged in circumscribing the Peshwa's movements, the province of Kandesh, the first seat of military operations for the suppression of Trimbak's partisans, had been comparatively neglected; and the adherents of the Peshwa in that quarter had been suffered to collect round them numerous bands of mercenaries, and to strengthen the fortresses of which they were in possession. Opportunity now offered for their reduction, and Mr. Elphinstone, the Commissioner of the Mah-ratta territories, resolved to adopt active measures for that purpose: a detachment from the Hyderabad division,<sup>1</sup> under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall, was employed upon the duty, and ordered to proceed against the strong-holds, situated in the line of hills north of the Godaveri, which form the southern boundary of

<sup>1</sup> It consisted of one company of foot Artillery, two companies of the Royal Scots, three of the Madras European regiment, 1st battalion 2nd N. I., four companies of the 2nd battalion 13th N. I., five companies of Pioneers, and a few hundred irregular horse: a small battering train and a corps of Sappers and Miners were also attached to the force.



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Kandesh. The range is formed of a series of detached elevations, rising abruptly from the plain to the height of from six hundred to eleven hundred feet, connected by low narrow necks of land. From the summit of many of the hills start up bluff and perpendicular rocks, of eighty or one hundred feet high, and so regularly scarped, that they have every appearance of having been artificially wrought. Such of the hills as contained water had been fortified, and the rocky scarp constituted a minor fort, or citadel. There was seldom any work of defence raised upon them, as they were accessible only by flights of steps cut out of the solid rock, and leading through a succession of gate-ways or barriers commanding each turn of the steep and winding staircase. The ascent was utterly impossible, if the garrison were resolute, as those who attempted it were not only exposed to a raking fire, but might be crushed by the rocky fragments which the defenders had the easy means of precipitating on their heads. Of this description was the fort of Ankitanki, before which Colonel Macdowall presented himself on the 3rd of April. Either the courage or the fidelity of the Kiladar failed, or he was intimidated by the recent catastrophe at Talner, and he surrendered the post as soon as summoned.

The next place to which the detachment advanced, Chandore, was, in like manner, at once given up by Ramdas, the brother of the Commandant of Talner; but beyond the Chandore pass were two forts, Rajdher and Inderai, the Kiladars of which disregarded the summons to surrender; Colonel Macdowall, therefore, marched to attack

the former, one of the strongest of those natural fortresses with which the hills were crowned. The troops encamped in the valley which separated the heights of Rajdher from those of the adjacent Inderai, on the 11th of April, and a battery was constructed on the low ground, chiefly intended to cover the attempts which were made to form a lodgment on an elevation more nearly level with the fortress, access to which, although difficult, was practicable at the south-eastern end of the hill, on which Rajdher was situated. This was effected easily on the 12th, and an outwork occupied by the garrison, was carried. Arrangements for constructing a battery on its site, within two hundred and fifty yards of the fort, were immediately made. The guns were taken from their carriages and brought up by hand, and the battery would have opened on the morning of the 13th, but after it was dark, the buildings within the fort were observed to be on fire, and the garrison endeavouring to quit it. Parties sent to make them prisoners were deterred from approaching by the heat of the passage, and in the confusion, and the darkness of the night, most of the enemy escaped. Forty were brought in captives on the following morning by the irregular horse.<sup>1</sup> Inderai, and several similar strong-holds, in the vicinity of Rajdher, abandoned all purpose of re-

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Blacker states that the cause of the conflagration was never ascertained, but supposes it might have been the effect of the shells, p. 320. —According to Lieutenant Lake, it was a quarrel which took place in the garrison, originating in the Brahman Kiladar's refusal to pay to the families of those men who had been killed, the arrears of pay due to them. In revenge, the garrison set fire to his house, and the manner in which the flames spread alarmed them so much, that they were induced to capitulate, 97.

BOOK II. sistance after the prompt fall of a place so celebrated for the strength of its position.  
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After halting at Rajdher till the 15th of April, the detachment moved to the south-west, and on the 22nd sat down before Trimbak,<sup>1</sup> a fortified rock, the summit of which was five miles in extent; the sides presented a perpendicular scarp, varying from two to four hundred feet in height, and everywhere unassailable, except at two gateways, one on the northern, the other on the southern face. The ascent was by narrow passages with flights of steps, and was protected by other gateways at the top, flanked by towers: there were few works on the summit, and the magazine and dwellings of the garrison were excavations in the rock. The petta of Trimbak lay in a valley on the north side of the fort, and the Godaveri river, issuing from the western face of the rock, flowed round the fort, and through the centre of the town.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of the approach, enhanced by the rocky nature of the soil, which rendered it necessary to carry up earth for the formation of an elevated, instead of a sunken, battery, a lodgment was effected on the north side on the 23rd, and a battery was opened at day-light on the following day, against the curtain and tower of the gateway. A battery was also erected against the southern gateway, to distract the attention of the garrison, and intercept their communication. A nearer approach to the north gate was accom-

<sup>1</sup> Trimbak, or more correctly Tryambak, is a name of the Hindu deity, Siva, to whom a celebrated shrine was here dedicated, whence the name of the place. The appellations of their divinities are commonly adopted by the Hindus, whence the designation of the Peshwa's favourite.



plished on the 24th, and the enemy were driven from a ruined village at the foot of the scarp which afforded cover for the besiegers. Following up this advantage with some precipitancy, and under a misconception of orders, the covering party attempted to ascend to the gateway, but they were quickly driven down by a heavy fire of gingals, rockets, and muskets, and by heavy stones. Retiring behind the walls of the village, a battery of four six-pounders was completed there during the night, but before it could open on the 25th, the Kiladar expressed a desire to treat, and the garrison being allowed to march out with their arms and private property, the fort was surrendered. The example of Trimbak, as celebrated for its strength, as for its sanctity as the source of the Godaveri, a river second only to the Ganges in the veneration of the Hindus, was quickly followed. Seventeen hill forts were immediately afterwards relinquished, and the whole of the country, one of the strongest in the world, submitted in the course of a very short campaign.

That the defence of places of such extraordinary natural strength, should have been conducted with so little vigour, was to be expected from the constitution of the garrisons, and the depressed fortunes of the prince whom they served. Enlisted on the spur of the moment, and composed of hirelings from every country in India, they were held together by no feeling of nationality, by no attachment to the Peshwa, and from his evident inability to make head against his pursuers, anticipated his speedy downfall. The sentiments thus inspired contributed more effectively to the easy reduction of Rajdher and



BOOK II. Trimbak than the science and courage of the assail-  
CHAP. VIII. ants ; but these qualities were soon to be called into

1818. exercise, independently of any facility from the dis-  
affection or indifference of the native garrison.

The employment of Arab soldiers by the princes of the Peninsula and of Central India has been frequently noticed, as has the character of those mercenaries for determined and desperate valour. Of the Arab troops set at liberty by the capitulation of Nagpur, a considerable portion had taken service with the Mahratta officers in Kandesh, and others had similarly enlisted, who had been cast loose by the dispersion of the infantry of the Peshwa. Although caring little for the cause of the fugitive prince, they were not disposed to forego their military habits, and retire to inactive tranquillity in their native deserts, and it became necessary to impose this alternative by their forcible expulsion. They had taken their chief stand at the fortress of Maligam, and notwithstanding the advanced period of the year, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall was instructed to lead his detachment against the place. He accordingly retraced his steps to the north, and returned to Chandore on the 10th of May. After a halt of three days, the force marched northward, and arrived on the 15th before Maligam, a fort of formidable strength garrisoned by seven hundred Arabs. The detachment was much weakened by the fatigues it had undergone, and the losses it had suffered, as well as by the guards left in most of the captured forts, so that it scarcely mustered nine hundred and fifty firelocks, besides two hundred and seventy pioneers, and a small detail of European artillery.

The fortress of Maligam stood on the left bank of the river Musan, shortly above its junction with the Girni, a feeder of the Tapti; it was situated in a circular bend of the river, which protected its western and part of its northern and southern faces. The body of the work was a square, enclosed by a high wall of masonry, with towers at the angles: a second quadrangular wall of considerable elevation, at some distance from the first, surrounded the latter, and in the space between the walls ran a deep and wide dry ditch: an exterior enclosure at a still greater interval, of an irregular quadrangular form, surrounded the whole. The gates were nine in number, very intricate, and all containing excellent bomb-proofs. Part of the defences were of clay, but the greater portion was of substantial masonry: the Petta was opposite to the eastern face, and was capable of being defended, as it contained many strong and lofty buildings, and was surrounded by a rampart, which, however, was somewhat decayed.

After reconnoitering the place from the right bank of the river, it was determined to attack it from the south-west, and operations were accordingly commenced on the 18th, after dark, in rear of a mango grove, which stood at this point near the bank of the river. The besiegers were not allowed to proceed without interruption, a sortie being made by the garrison, supported by a sharp fire from the fort. The river being fordable, the Arabs crossed and attacked the covering party in the grove, consisting of a detachment of the Madras European regiment, with great intrepidity: they were repulsed after a short but sanguinary conflict, in which Lieu-

BOOK II. tenant Davies, the commanding engineer, was unfortunately killed. The spirit thus evinced by the

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1818. garrison was displayed in several similar attempts, but the works proceeded, batteries were erected, and by the 28th of May, what was thought to be a practicable breach had been made in the body of the work. Considerable reinforcements,<sup>1</sup> had been received, and it was resolved to attempt a storm.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 29th, three columns advanced against the place. The column directed against the breach, consisting of one hundred Europeans and eight hundred Sipahis, was commanded by Major Greenhill, and conducted by the engineer in command, Lieutenant Nattes; of the other two columns, one under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart was directed to carry the Petta, and the other, under Major Macbean, to attempt the escalade of the outer wall of the fort near the river gate. The Petta was taken, but the escalade was abandoned in consequence of the failure of the attack upon the breach. Lieutenant Nattes led the way, but was shot when he had gained the summit; the commanding officer was wounded, and the second in command killed, the troops arrived at the head of the breach, and remained there with great steadiness exposed to a destructive fire. Finding that no progress was likely to be made, and having reason to suppose that there were obstacles to be overcome, for which preparations had not been de-

<sup>1</sup> They were two companies of the 2nd battalion 14th, the same of the 2nd battalion 13th, and the 2nd battalion of the 17th N. I., a battalion of the Russell brigade, and a body of irregular horse.



vised, Colonel Macdowall recalled the storming party to the lines.<sup>1</sup>

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The failure of the attack on the west face of the fort, and the cover afforded by the Petta, induced a change of plan, and it was determined to assail the fort from the north and east. The main body of the force accordingly crossed the river, and batteries were constructed on the side of the town nearest the fort, and efforts were made to carry mines under the towers of the eastern wall. These arrangements occupied the troops till the 10th of June, when they were reinforced by a battalion of N.I., and a battering train from Seroor. The mortars were placed in position on the same night, and on the following morning occasioned an explosion of two of the enemy's magazines, by which a considerable extent of the inner wall was thrown down, and the interior of the fort laid open. Advantage was taken immediately of the accident, and batteries were erected to take off the defences of the inner breach, and open one in the outer line; the result of these preparations was anticipated, by the proposal of the garrison to capitulate, and on the 13th of June they marched out and grounded arms in front of the line; the side arms were restored to them, and their arrears of pay discharged, after which they were marched to the sea-coast, and sent back to Arabia, with the exception of those who had been

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Blacker states, that when the column was under partial cover the scaling ladders were dropped from the top of the wall, and disappeared, which unfavourable circumstance being reported to Colonel MacDowall, he directed the attempt to be abandoned, 327. Lieutenant Lake doubts the insufficiency of the ladders, and attributes the failure to the hesitation of the troops, occasioned by the casualties which deprived them of their leaders, 141.



BOOK II. long settled with their families in the south of  
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1818. India. Those that surrendered were three hundred and fifty in number, part having effected their escape. The loss sustained by the besiegers, amounted to two hundred and nine killed and wounded, including twelve officers.<sup>1</sup> After the surrender of Maligam the division was broken up, and the troops composing it returned to their several quarters for the monsoon.

When the annihilation of the Pindaris, the desperate condition of the Peshwa, and the seeming contrition of Apa Saheb, gave reason to hope that military operations were on the eve of discontinuance they were renewed in the upper part of the valley of the Nerbudda with increased activity, and for a protracted period. Their renewal originated in the perfidy and ultimate hostility of the Raja of Nagpur.

The restoration of Apa Saheb to a portion of his dominions, after having justly forfeited the whole by his unprovoked attack upon the Residency, might be supposed to have taught him, if not a lesson of gratitude, the danger of involving himself in hostilities with an enemy against whose overpowering strength he had found himself so wholly unable to contend. Yet, whether he fancied that as long as Baji Rao was at large there were hopes of success, or, whether he was impelled, as he affirmed, by an irresistible sentiment of duty towards the head of the Mahratta confederacy, he had

<sup>1</sup> The officers killed were Lieutenant Davis and Ensign Natter, sappers and miners; Lieutenant Kennedy, 17th N. I., and Lieutenants Eagan and Wilkinson, 13th N. I.

scarcely been replaced upon the throne of Nagpur, when he began to plot against the power to whose forbearance he was indebted for the recovery of any part of his territories, and for the rank and title of a prince. The intercourse with Baji Rao was renewed, and urgent messages were dispatched to induce him to march towards Nagpur. The orders, which upon the recent occasion had been issued to the Commandants of his forts, to shut their gates against the English, were either left unrecalled, or secret orders to the same effect were now circulated, notwithstanding the places were those which the Raja had bound himself to surrender. The British troops were, therefore, compelled to possess themselves by force of the fortresses which had been ostensibly ceded to them by treaty.

The left wing of the grand army had been left in the field for the purpose of occupying the districts in the upper valley of the Nerbudda, relinquished by the Raja of Nagpur, and, with this view, was strengthened by the division from the centre, under General Watson. The force was concentrated on the 5th of March in Bundelkhand, and its first operations were called for in that province.<sup>1</sup> Although not immediately connected with the affairs of Berar, it will be convenient here to notice the transactions in this quarter.

The treaty of Poona had transferred the rights which the Peshwa still claimed in Bundelkhand, to

<sup>1</sup> It then consisted of the 7th N. C., the 2nd battalions 1st, 2nd 13th, 1st 14th, 1st 26th, and 2nd 28th regiment of N. I., three thousand horse of Sindhia's contingent, four hundred of Baddeley's irregular horse, with a train of heavy artillery.

BOOK II. the British Government. These were chiefly feuda-  
CHAP. VIII. tory services, and tribute from the petty principal-

1818. ities of Jalaun, Jhansi and Ságár. Treaties were accordingly concluded with Nana Govind Rao, of Jalaun, and with the manager of Jhansi, on the part of Ram Chand, the Subahdar, a minor, by which they were both recognized as hereditary chiefs of these states. The succession was guaranteed to their heirs for ever, and they were taken under British protection. They were bound to serve in time of war with all their forces with the British armies; and to render all such assistance compatible with their means as might be required. No tribute was demanded from Jhansi, the former ruler having always been a friend of the British. The tribute of Jalaun, was remitted in consideration of some districts ceded by the Nana.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement with Ságár was less easily adjusted. The Government was nominally exercised by the widow of the last Raja, but was managed on her behalf by Vinayak Rao. The right of the Bai was disputed by Nana Govind Rao, of Jalaun, who was the nephew of the former Raja, and the successor to the principality. According to the terms of the grant made by the Peshwa, the Nana was bound to pay an annual tribute of three lakhs of rupees, and to maintain a body of three thousand horse. In the new engagement to be proposed to Vinayak Rao, it was determined to remit all arrears of tribute, and to reduce it to one lakh, or less, upon

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Subahdar of Jhansi, 17th November, 1817.—Collection of Treaties, Papers, Lord Hastings' administration. A treaty of a similar purport was at the same time entered into with Govind Rao, of Jalaun.



the cession being made of a fort or tract of land. The contingent was also limited to six hundred horse. As soon as preparations for the campaign were in a state of forwardness, Vinayak Rao was required to accede to these conditions, and to supply his quota of troops ; but no answer was returned to the demand, and it was discovered that he had opened secret communications with the Pindaris, and had suffered troops to be levied within his districts for the service of the Peshwa and Raja of Nagpur. His contumacy and disloyalty were deemed sufficient grounds for dispossessing him of the power he held, and annexing Ságar to the British possessions ; making an adequate provision from its surplus revenue for the maintenance of Vinayak Rao and the Bai, and transferring the balance to Govind Rao for his life in commutation of his claims.<sup>1</sup> General Marshall was instructed to carry these measures into effect. No resistance was attempted. Vinayak Rao was sensible of the futility of opposition, and submitted without further hesitation to the terms imposed.

The political management of Ságar, having been assumed by Mr. Wauchope, the commissioner in Bundelkhand, General Marshall, sent detachments to receive the submission of the dependant fortresses. The whole were surrendered peaceably, and the division marched to Dhamauni, a fortress belonging to Nagpur, included in the cessions which the Raja had agreed to make. The orders given to the Kiladar were of a different tenor, and it was not until batteries were opened that the fort was given

<sup>1</sup> Papers, Mahratta War, p. 413.



BOOK II. up. General Marshall thence crossed the Ner-  
CHAP. VIII. budda into Gondwana, where the same spirit of  
1818. resistance had been excited by the instructions of  
the Raja; and the Commandants of the principal  
fortresses, and the rude tribes of the forests and  
mountains, the Gonds, who professed allegiance to  
Nagpur, had been encouraged to violate the con-  
ditions to which Apa Saheb had acceded. It was,  
therefore, necessary to enforce submission, and the  
force marched against Mandala, the capital of the  
district, situated on one of the branches of the Ner-  
budda, not far from its source, where it is joined by  
a small feeder, the Banjira. The mountainous ir-  
regularity of the country rendered the march of  
the division, and the transport of the ordnance  
for the siege, extremely laborious; but the diffi-  
culty was overcome, and on the 18th of April  
the town was invested. As the Kiladar refused  
to comply with the summons to surrender, bat-  
teries were constructed against the wall of the  
Petta, and on the 25th they opened with such  
effect as to lay it sufficiently in ruins for an  
assault. Accordingly, on the 26th, a storming  
party, under Captain Dewar, supported by a column  
under Colonel Price, both commanded by General  
Watson, ascended the breach, and advancing into  
the town, drove out the troops which had been sta-  
tioned for its defence. They retired upon the fort,  
which was separated from the town by a deep ditch,  
filled from the river; the gates were closed upon  
them, and the greater number fell under the fire of  
the assailants; a portion endeavouring to escape,  
were cut up by the cavalry. This success intimi-

dated the garrison, and on the following morning they voluntarily evacuated the fort without arms.<sup>1</sup>

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The Kiladar had attempted, during the night, to cross the river in a boat, but was taken prisoner as soon as he landed. He pretended that he had come to offer an unconditional surrender of the fortress, but his contumacy in defending it, contrary to the terms of the public treaty by which it had been relinquished, and a treacherous attempt made by him in the beginning of March, to cut off, by a vastly superior force, a small party under Major O'Brien, who had proceeded to Mundala to settle the arrears of pay due to the garrison, and recover possession of the fort, agreeably to the instructions of the Resident of Nagpur, were thought to deserve the punishment of treason. The Kiladar was, therefore, tried by a drum-head court-martial of native officers, for rebellion against the Raja of Nagpur, and treachery against Major O'Brien.<sup>2</sup> He was, however, acquitted of both charges, Major O'Brien declaring his belief that the Kiladar was not concerned in the attack upon him, and the court expressing their conviction that he had acted agreeably to the secret commands of the Nagpur Government, and under the restraint and coercion of chiefs sent by the Raja to control the Kiladar, and enforce obedience to his secret instructions.<sup>3</sup>

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After the capture of Mandala, General Marshall was called to the command of the cantonment of Cawnpur, and left that of the division in Gondwana, to Brigadier-General Watson, whose duty it

<sup>1</sup> General Marshall's Dispatch, Papers, Mahratta War, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep, ii. 208.

<sup>3</sup> Papers, 329.

BOOK II. became to reduce to subjection the Gond chiefs in-  
CHAP. VIII. habiting the mountains that form the southern bar-

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rier of the eastern valley of the Nerbudda. A small force under Lieutenant-Colonel Mac Morine, the head-quarters of which had been at Jabalpur, had hitherto performed this office, as far as its strength permitted, and had latterly been engaged in checking the predatory excursions of the garrison of Chouragerh, the Commandant of which had hitherto refused to give it up to the British authorities. The feebleness of the detachment prevented it from undertaking more comprehensive operations, and the reduction of the country awaited the approach of a more powerful force. The division under General Watson marched, accordingly, on the 1st of May, from Mandala, and, after passing by Jabalpur, arrived on the 13th within one day's march of Chouragerh. The necessity of a further forward movement had ceased, the garrison of Chouragerh had abandoned it on hearing of his approach, and it was immediately taken possession of by Colonel Mac Morine. The successful surprise of a remnant of the Pindaris on the confines of Bhopal, and the reduction of some small fortresses in the neighbourhood of Bairsia, completed the service of Brigadier-General Watson in this quarter.

The plea upon which the Kiladars of Mandala and Chouragerh justified their refusal to surrender their forts, necessarily suggested doubts of the Raja's sincerity, and the truth of the plea was established by the discovery of letters from his minister, authorising the proceedings of the subordinate functionaries. The discontent of Apa Saheb had been



manifested soon after his restoration, and he professed a wish to resign the whole of his revenues into the hands of the Resident, contenting himself with a pension for his personal support. His complaints were not limited to this representation, but were repeated in an intercepted letter to Baji Rao, in which he pressed the Peshwa to come speedily to his succour. Other proofs of hostile purposes rapidly accumulated. The agents of the Mahratta princes were still in Nagpur, and admitted to private conferences with such of the ministers as enjoyed the confidence of the Raja; particularly Nago Punth and Ramchandra Wagh, who were notoriously opposed to the British connexion. Those who were friendly to it were sedulously excluded from the prince's councils. The family of the Raja, and the principal part of his treasures, were deposited at Chanda, a fortified town, one hundred miles south-west from Nagpur, and thither it was that Apa Saheb purposed to retire. He was there to be joined by Ganpat Rao, who after the battle of Nagpur had gone over to the Peshwa with a body of Arab foot, and the Berar horse, and it was known that he was marching towards Nagpur, followed by the Peshwa in the beginning of March. The time called for decision, and to prevent the dangers arising from his intrigues, it became necessary to put the Raja under restraint and deprive him of the power of doing mischief. After placing guards round the city so as to prevent Apa Saheb from quitting it, he was required to repair to the Residency, and remain under the Resident's supervision. As he delayed compliance with the requisition, a party of Sipahis under Lieut. Gordon,

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BOOK II. assistant to the Resident, was sent to compel his  
CHAP. VIII. attendance. This was done without any occasion

1818. for violence, and Apa Saheb was a prisoner. Nago Punth, and Ramchandra Wagh were apprehended at the same time. The arrest of Apa Saheb and his advisers was followed by multiplied testimony of their hostile intentions, and by irrefragable proofs of their communication with the enemies of the British Government. It was now also ascertained beyond contradiction, that the death of the late imbecile Raja Parswaji, was the act of Apa Saheb's partisans, and was committed with his privity and approbation. An attempt to poison the unhappy prince having failed, he was strangled in his bed. For this, however, Apa Saheb was not brought to account. His treacherous attack upon the Resident, of which he confessed himself to have been the author, in opposition to the advice of his ministers, and the revival of his inimical designs, were considered sufficient grounds for his being visited with condign punishment. The Governor-General, therefore, determined that Apa Saheb should be deposed, and that the next of kin also named Baji Rao, the son of Raghuji Bhosla's daughter, a boy between eight and nine years of age, should be raised to the Raj. The regency was to be vested in the mother of the young prince, but the administration of affairs was to be exercised by the British Resident, until the Raja should be old enough to assume the Government of the country.

The secret negotiations carried on by the Peshwa with the Raja of Nagpur, proved eventually as fatal to him as to the Raja, as they diverted him from

his purpose of making directly for Hindustan, which he might possibly then have reached, and led him to the easterly route which ended in his being hemmed in between the divisions of Generals Adams and Doveton, and the dispersion of his troops by the former at Seoni. The van of the Mahratta army, in pursuance of the plan of forming a junction with the troops of Apa Saheb, had advanced to within fifteen miles of Chanda, where they were anticipated by a detachment under Lieut.-Colonel Scott, consisting of the 6th Bengal Native cavalry, and one squadron of the 8th; a reserve of auxiliary horse, 1st battalion of 1st Madras Native cavalry, and the 6th company of the 2nd, which had been sent to intercept their march. At the same time, the division of Colonel Adams had marched to the south, and its approach caused the Peshwa's retreat. He lost time and opportunity by this demonstration on Chanda, and the attempt to combine with the Raja of Nagpur involved him in the same ruin.

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After the retreat of Baji Rao to the westward, Colonel Adams advanced against Chanda, and arrived before it on the 9th of May, with an effective and well equipped force. The town of Chanda, about six miles in circumference, was surrounded by a stone wall, from fifteen to twenty feet high, flanked by towers, and defended by two water-courses, running along its eastern and western faces, and meeting nearly half a mile from its southern extremity. In the centre of the town was the citadel; the garrison of which was between two and three thousand men, of whom part were Arabs. They

BOOK II. had fired upon Colonel Scott's detachment, when  
CHAP. VIII.

1818. ground on the south of the town, and batteries were erected opposite to the south-east angle, which, by the 19th, had brought down a sufficient portion of the defences to admit of an assault being attempted. On the 20th, accordingly, a storming party under the command of Lieut. Col. Scott, marched to the breach in two columns, and, although received with a warm fire from the garrison, forced their entrance into the town. An occasional stand was made by parties of the garrison on the ramparts and in the streets, but all opposition was overborne, and the town being in the possession of the British, and the Commandant being killed,<sup>1</sup> the citadel was abandoned. Most of the garrison escaped into the thickets which approached on the north side close to the walls, and gave cover to the fugitives. The loss attending the capture of Chanda was considerable, and booty of some value rewarded the resolution of the assailants. This operation terminated the campaign. Part of the force was stationed at Nagpur, but the head-quarters returned to Hoseinabad, where the force was attacked by cholera, and lost more men by that fatal malady than by the whole of the previous operations. Notwithstanding the state of the troops and the unfavourableness of the rainy season, detachments were obliged to be kept occasionally in the field in consequence of the escape of Apa Saheb and the

<sup>1</sup> According to Prinsep, he was wounded at the breach, and apprehensive of being put to death, if taken, poisoned himself; he had no claim to mercy, as he had ordered the bearer of the summons to surrender sent by Colonel Adams, to be blown from a gun.—2, 258.



effects of his presence in the mountains and thickets of Gondwara.

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As soon as all apprehension of the Peshwa's advance upon Nagpur had been dissipated by the movements of the subsidiary force, the Resident, in obedience to the orders of the Governor-General, sent off Apa Saheb, whom it was thought expedient to place in security in the fort of Allahabad towards Hindustan. The Raja marched from Nagpur on the 3rd of May, under the guard of one wing of the 22nd Bengal N. I. and three troops of the 8th N. C., commanded by Captain Browne. On the 12th the party halted at Raichur, a small town, one march on this side of Jabalpur. On the following morning the Raja had disappeared. During the night he had been secretly furnished with the dress and accoutrements of a Sipahi, and when the sentinels were changed, had marched off with the relieving party. A pillow took his place on his couch, and when the native officer, whose duty it was to inspect the tent, looked into it, he saw what he supposed to be the Raja quietly reposing, and two servants kneeling by the bedside, engaged in the office of rubbing his limbs. Some of the Sipahis had been induced to contrive the Raja's escape, and became the partners of his flight. Sufficient time had elapsed between his evasion and its discovery, to enable him to reach the thickets of the adjacent hills; and although, as soon as his flight was known, an active pursuit in all directions was set on foot, the prisoner was not retaken—he had fled to Haray, a place about forty miles to the south-west, on the skirts of the



BOOK II. Mahadeo hills, and in these recesses, and under the  
 CHAP. VIII. protection of Chain Sah, a Gond chieftain, was, for

1818. the present at least, safe from recapture. The fidelity of his protectors was proof against all temptation, and the large rewards offered for the recapture of the Raja failed to seduce from their allegiance the half-savage mountaineers.<sup>1</sup>

While the Raja of Nagpur thus effected his escape from captivity, the chief in whose cause he had perilled his freedom and lost his dominions, was hastening to throw himself into more durable toils.

After his surprise and rout at Seoni, the Peshwa fled to the north-west with the design, it was suspected, of seeking a refuge in the strong fortress of Asir, which was held by Jeswant Rao Lar. He was closely followed. The Hyderabad division, after resting but a few days at Jalna, again took the field on the 14th of May, and on the 25th halted a short distance beyond Burhanpur, within fourteen miles of the Peshwa's camp. An immediate attack was arrested by intelligence that negotiations were in progress with Sir John Malcolm for Baji Rao's surrender. Prevented from crossing the Nerbudda by the military arrangements in his front, and alarmed by the rapid advance of Colonel Doveton; wearied of a life of flight and terror, and deprived of his chief adherents by death or desertion, Baji Rao became sensible of the fruitlessness of prolonging the contest, and resigned himself to the humiliation from which he could not hope to escape.

<sup>1</sup> The reward was a Lakh of Rupees (£10,000), and a Jagir of 10,000 Rupees (£1,000) a year for life. The pecuniary reward was afterwards doubled.

He addressed himself accordingly to Sir John Malcolm, as to an old friend, and besought his intercession with the Governor-General for favourable terms, inviting him to his camp that they might discuss the conditions in person. Nor was he actuated solely by his own convictions. The few chiefs of rank who still adhered to him, conveyed to Sir John Malcolm their assurances that they would follow Baji Rao no longer if he refused to negotiate. Sir John Malcolm declined the invitation, but consented to send some of his officers to communicate his sentiments to the Peshwa himself, at the same time apprising the Peshwa's Vakils that the sentence of deposal was irrevocable, and that no negotiation would be admitted which had for its basis any proposal of Baji Rao's restoration; that the Peshwa must give up the persons of Trimbak, and of the murderers of Captain Vaughan and his brother, if he had the power so to do, and that he must evince his sincerity by coming forward without any force, and meeting Sir John Malcolm on the Nerbudda. The Vakils were sent back to Baji Rao with this message. Sir J. Malcolm moved from Mow to Mandaleswar, where he arrived on the 22nd of May, and thence dispatched Lieutenant Low to the Peshwa at his earnest solicitation. Notwithstanding the fears under which Baji Rao laboured, Lieutenant Low found him very reluctant to relinquish his title or his capital although consenting to a reduction of his territories, and very apprehensive of the consequences of the proposed interview with Sir John Malcolm. The terms of the meeting were after much discussion agreed upon, and it took

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BOOK II. place on the 1st of June, at Khori, a village  
CHAP. VIII. at the foot of the mountain pass, above which  
1818. stood the Peshwa's camp. Baji Rao, clinging to the shadow of power, attempted to give the interview the character of a public audience, and received Sir John Malcolm and his staff with the customary formalities, after which, withdrawing to a private tent, he exerted all his eloquence to procure from Sir John Malcolm some assurance of a reversal of the decree which had been issued against him. He declared that he had never intended to engage in warfare with the British Government, and that he had been the victim of the intemperance and rashness of those about him, most of whom had deserted him in his extremity, and his only reliance was in Sir John's friendship, and the generosity of the Governor-General. The hopelessness of a compliance with his desires was distinctly stated, and the interview terminated without his coming to any decision. As no delay could be allowed, an engagement was submitted in the evening to Baji Rao for his signature, with an intimation, that if not acceded to within twenty-four hours, hostilities would recommence. The conditions stipulated that Baji Rao should resign for himself and his successors, all claim to sovereignty; that he should repair with his family, and a limited number of his adherents and attendants, to the camp of Brigadier-General Malcolm, whence he should be escorted to Benares, or any sacred place in Hindustan which the Governor-General, at his request, might appoint for his future residence. In the event of his prompt submission, he was promised a liberal pension, not less than eight lakhs



of rupees per annum: that his requests in favour of such of his followers as had been ruined by their devotion to his cause, should meet with liberal attention, and that the same should be paid to his representations in favour of Brahmans and religious establishments supported by his family. These terms were received with varying sentiments by the Peshwa's advisers, and the whole of the following day was passed in communications from the Peshwa and his principal adherents, some of whom became more anxious for their own interests, than those of their chief.<sup>1</sup> There were honourable exceptions to this selfishness, and the Vinchoor Jagirdar, the Purandhar chief, and the manager of the interests of the family of Gokla, deserve honourable mention for their regard for the fallen fortunes of the Peshwa, and their resolution to abstain from all disrespectful importunity, although convinced of the hopelessness of the contest, and willing to employ every means of persuasion and remonstrance in order to prevail upon him to submit.<sup>2</sup> The counsels of those who advocated submission at last prevailed, and after some further vacillation, and attempts to procrastinate his surrender, Baji Rao, with a force more numerous than that of Sir J. Malcolm, removed to

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<sup>1</sup> Amongst the applicants were Trimbak, Ram Din, and the Pindari, Cheetoo. Unconditional surrender was insisted upon for the first and last. Ram Din was desired to dismiss his followers, and return quietly to Hindustan.—Papers, Mahratta war, 356. To the Mahratta chiefs was extended the indulgence granted to those who had left the Peshwa, after the defeat at Ashti, Jagirs for their personal support, not for the maintenance of a military contingent.

<sup>2</sup> The Vakil of the Vinchoor chief said that his master's family had served that of the Peshwa for five generations, and had always spoken boldly to him and his ancestors; "but now that fate is upon him, we must be silent, unmerited reproaches ever have remained, and must remain unanswered."—Malcolm's Political History of India, 2, ccix.



BOOK II. the vicinity of the British encampment, and on the  
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4th of June accompanied the division on its first march towards the Nerbudda. Trimbak, who had been in the Peshwa's camp, with a strong body of horse and Arab infantry, had previously moved off towards Asir ; and Cheetoo, with his followers, took the same route. Ram Din, and other leaders, dispersed in different directions. On the 9th, Sir John Malcolm having crossed the Nerbudda, was obliged to halt to suppress a mutiny of the Arab infantry of the Peshwa, in which his person was in danger. The mutineers, intimidated by the arrangements made for an attack upon them by the British force, consented to an equitable adjustment of their demands, and marched off, as enjoined, for Kandesh. Henceforth, Baji Rao, attended by about twelve hundred horse and foot, accompanied the British camp, declaring that now only he felt his life secure.<sup>1</sup>

When the conditions which had been tendered to Baji Rao were submitted to the Governor-General, they were not such as met with his unqualified approbation. Lord Hastings entertained a conviction that Baji Rao was at this time conscious of the helpless state to which he was reduced, and that he had resolved to come in under any terms, although he sought to obtain favourable conditions by keeping up the show of negotiation. His being suffered to negotiate at all was an indulgence to which he was not entitled ; and the dispatch of British officers to his camp evinced an anxiety for peace and a deference to the Peshwa, which were incompatible with the

<sup>1</sup> Narrative of Baji Rao's surrender.—Malcolm's Political History of India.—Appendix.

relative position of the parties, and might be liable to be misconstrued by the natives and princes of India, as well as tend to foster erroneous notions in the mind of Baji Rao himself. The Governor-General also objected to the amount of the stipend, and the stipulation in favour of the Peshwa's adherents; both of which should have been left entirely open for the determination of the Government. On the other hand, Sir John Malcolm urged the probability of a still longer protracted contest and the importance of its prevention. The Peshwa might have found means of retreating into the thickets of Kandesh, or of crossing the Nerbudda into Malwa, or he could with ease have thrown himself into Asirgerh, the Commandant of which had given shelter to his family and his treasures, and had offered an asylum to Baji Rao.<sup>1</sup> Had either event occurred, hostilities must have been delayed for several months, as the approaching monsoon would have rendered it impossible for the troops to move, and, during this interval, the hopes of Baji Rao and his partisans would have been kept alive; and agitation would have been at work in every part of the Mahratta States, from the frontiers of Mysore to the northern extremity of Malwa. The expense of another campaign and of the prepara-

<sup>1</sup> Political History, 522. In his previous correspondence, Sir J. Malcolm expresses an opinion that the Kiladar would not commit himself and his priuce, by openly sheltering an enemy of the British Government.—Papers, 349. Doveton asserts, that Sindhia had given orders to receive the Peshwa into the fort.—Political History, 524. See Papers, 46. A letter was subsequently found in Asirgerh, in Sindhia's own handwriting, commanding Jeswant Rao Lar to obey whatever orders the Peshwa should give him. It was of a somewhat earlier date, or December 1817; but the instructions had never been countermanded, and Jeswant Rao was fully disposed to obey them.—MS. Rec.

BOOK II. tions which it would be necessary to set on foot,  
 CHAP. VIII. were saved by a prompt arrangement, and the stipend  
 1818. granted to the Peshwa was not more than was consistent with the honour and dignity of the British nation, whose proceedings had, on all similar occasions, been marked by the utmost liberality. With reference also to the personal character of Baji Rao, it was to be expected that the more easy his condition was rendered, as long as his income was not calculated to furnish him with the means of carrying on dangerous intrigues, the more contented he would be, and the less inclined to incur any hazard for the sake of change. This last consideration seems to have been justified by the result, as the ex-Peshwa appears to have been reconciled to his altered position by the pleasures he has been able to purchase, and has never instigated any serious attempts to recover his power. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the annihilation of the Peshwa, as the head of the Mahratta federation, was rendered less impressive upon the native mind by the liberality of the British Government: however munificent the allowance, the representative of a chief who had once given laws to Hindustan, had descended to the level of a dependent upon the bounty of his victorious enemies. Although not approving of the stipulations, Lord Hastings immediately ratified them, and did full justice to the motives of Sir John Malcolm. He also admitted, four years afterwards, when addressing the Secret Committee, that none of the evil consequences which he had anticipated, had resulted from the arrangement.<sup>1</sup> The Court of Directors also formally

<sup>1</sup> October 1822. — Papers 457.



pronounced their opinion, that the important advantages which resulted from Baji Rao's surrender, justified the terms by which it had been secured.<sup>1</sup>

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Baji Rao, after accompanying General Malcolm to Mahidpur, was transferred to the charge of Lieutenant Low, by whom he was escorted to Hindustan. A residence was assigned him at Bithur, about ten miles from Cawnpore, on the Ganges, recommended to the Government of Bengal by its proximity to that military cantonment, and to the Mahrattas<sup>2</sup> by its reputed sanctity; a European officer, was stationed at Bithur as Commissioner, having the general charge of Baji Rao and those who remained with him, and being the medium of his communications with the Government.<sup>3</sup> Trimbak, after the failure of his attempt to obtain any conditions, retreated to Nasik, and remained concealed there for some time; but information of his lurking-place having been received, a party of horse, under Captain Swanston, succeeded in discovering and apprehending him; he was conveyed to the fort of Thanna, whence he had formerly escaped, but was afterwards sent round to Bengal, and kept in confinement in the fort of Chunar, where he died. The commander of the party by whom the Vaughans were murdered, was long harboured by Chintaman Rao, one of the southern Jagirdars, but upon a force being sent against that chief, he was given up. As he plead-

<sup>1</sup> Political History, 1, 533.

<sup>2</sup> It is fabled to have been the scene of a performance of an Aswannedha by Brahmá.

<sup>3</sup> In 1832, the land adjacent to the town of Bithur was converted into a Jagir, and granted to Baji Rao exempt from the operation of the Regulations of the Government; the civil and criminal jurisdiction being intrusted to the ex-Peshwa, subject to such restrictions as might at any time appear advisable. Bengal Regulations, i. 1832.



BOOK II. ed, however, the orders of his superiors, his life  
CHAP. VIII. was spared, but he was imprisoned for the rest of  
 1818. his days in one of the hill forts. Sure retribution

thus overtook the perpetrators of acts of treachery and cruelty, as contrary to the dictates of humanity, as to the laws of international intercourse, and bringing deserved disgrace and defeat even upon the justifiable vindication of national independence.

The extinction of the name and power of the Peshwa, and the dissolution of the bonds by which the Mahratta chiefs were held together, was one of the greatest political revolutions that modern India had witnessed. Little more than half a century had elapsed since Sadasheo Bhao led two hundred thousand combatants to the battle of Panipat, and although the result of the combat was disastrous, the speedy retreat of the Afghans and the decline of their power allowed the vanquished to recruit their strength, and renew their ambitious designs with improved resources and enhanced success. A Mahratta prince ruled Hindustan as the nominal representative and real master of the Mogul. Again yielding to the ascendancy of the stranger, the supremacy of the Mahrattas was destroyed, but they retained strength sufficient to be formidable, and needed only consolidation and guidance to dispute with the victors the mastery over Hindustan. The blow now inflicted was irretrievable. The diminished and scattered fragments of the Mahratta confederacy were reduced to a state of weakness which could acquire no vigour from re-union; and as the main link which had held it together was struck out of the chain, it was disunited for ever.

Although the escape of Apa Saheb occasioned the prolongation of military operations after the surrender of the Peshwa, yet, as all the principal objects of the campaign had been accomplished, and the armies of the British Government had, for the most part, been finally withdrawn, the war might be now considered at an end. In taking a brief retrospect of the transactions by which it had been signalised, it is impossible to withhold from them the merits of comprehensiveness of plan, skill of combination, and vigour and precision of execution, although it is equally impossible to deny that the tortuous policy and insane temerity of the Mahratta princes surpassed all reasonable anticipation. The web was woven with masterly art, but that the victims should rush so precipitately into its meshes, appeared to be the work of an overruling destiny, rather than the result of human infatuation, against which it could have been necessary to provide.

The equipment of a force so much more than adequate to its avowed object,—the extinction of the predatory system, upheld, publicly at least, by a scanty horde of undisciplined and ill-organized banditti, was fully justified by the knowledge which the Governor-General possessed of the disposition of the Mahratta princes to countenance that system, and to perpetuate a state of things which, in their belief, contributed to their strength and ministered to their necessities; replenishing their coffers with a portion of the spoil, and recruiting their armies in time of war, with willing and hardy partisans. That they would lend secret aid to the Pindaris was therefore certain; that they would make common

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1818.

BOOK II. cause with them was not impossible, and it was  
CHAP. VIII. wisely done, therefore, to show them the danger of

1818. such policy by a display of the vast and irresistible  
might of the British Government. The armies  
that took the field, and the commanding positions  
which they assumed, were well calculated to inti-  
midate the most daring of the native chiefs, and to  
impress upon their minds the hazard of secret sup-  
port, the hopelessness of open resistance.

But beside the bias in favour of the Pindaris, arising  
from an imagined identity of interests, the Mahratta  
princes, as the British Government was correctly  
apprised, were animated by a spirit of intense hosti-  
lity, engendered by their past discomfiture and recent  
humiliations, against the effects of which it was equal-  
ly necessary to guard. Although it may be reason-  
ably doubted if any definite combination against the  
British power had been concerted, yet it is certain  
that Baji Rao, who had been the greatest sufferer by  
the British connexion, had been labouring for some  
years to infuse into the minds of other chiefs, the  
indignant feelings which rankled in his own, and  
to engage them in a scheme for the regeneration of  
the Mahratta power, and the restoration of the  
Peshwa to the rank and consideration enjoyed by  
his predecessors. That his intrigues had not al-  
together failed of effect was ascertained, and although  
no perceptible indications announced the general  
adoption of his projects, yet it was prudent to leave  
no temptation to their adoption by a mutilated dis-  
play of the strength with which they would be  
encountered. By the extent and disposition of the  
grand army, Sindhia, the most formidable of the



chiefs, was at once paralysed, and the army of the Dekhin was well suited to curb the discontent of the Peshwa and the Raja of Nagpur, had they not with inconceivable desperation, defied consequences and rushed upon their fate.

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It is not easy to comprehend the motives which urged the Peshwa into a deadly rupture with his allies, at a moment when his dominions were occupied, and his communications intercepted by armies to which he had nothing to oppose. He no doubt over-rated both the disposition and the ability of Sindhia to assist him, and he probably exaggerated the embarrassments and difficulties of the attack upon the Pindaris. He was not ignorant, however, of the resources of the British, or of the comparative insignificance of his own, nor was he destitute of judgment or sagacity. It is not, however, inconsistent with the native character, to throw away in a fit of extreme irritation the fruits of a long course of caution and craftiness, and to dare inevitable destruction. Without question, however, he relied upon a larger measure of forbearance than he experienced, and looking back to the excessive lenity which had been displayed to Sindhia and Holkar at the close of the last war, expected no heavier retribution than an augmented subsidy and territorial sequestration.

The conduct of Apa Saheb was, if possible, still more insane than that of Baji Rao. Inconvenient as he might feel the engagements which he had contracted, yet it was to them that he owed even what he possessed. His power was the work of his allies, and if the price he paid for it was heavy, he



BOOK II. had yet no reason to believe that it was incapable  
CHAP. VIII. of alleviation. His only plea in vindication of his  
1818. conduct, was his allegiance to the Peshwa, a plea scarcely compatible with his position, as the Bhonsla Rajas had never regarded themselves as vassals of the Peshwa, and had not unfrequently been their opponents. The plea was a mere excuse for the indulgence of a rash and restless nature. His treachery could not have been an element in the estimate of probable foes, but the arrangements that had been made were adequate to the unexpected contingency. The hostility of Holkar was an occurrence upon which anticipation was less at fault. The inefficiency of the Government of the State was matter of universal notoriety, and the predominating influence of the military leaders was likely to compel it to warfare. Their interests were involved; they were a part of the predatory system.

Whatever, therefore, might have been thought of the disproportion between the magnitude of the original preparations, and the objects for which they were originally designed, events vindicated in a remarkable manner the wisdom and foresight with which the Marquess of Hastings had adopted so extensive a scale. Contingencies which were unforeseen, as well as those which had been anticipated, were fully provided for, and not only had the predatory hordes been extirpated, but the princes who came forward in their support had shared their downfall. Every object that could have been proposed had been triumphantly achieved, and a single campaign had totally changed the political aspect of

Hindustan. The extent of the transformation will be best understood when we shall have completed the narrative of military operations.

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## CHAPTER IX.

*Barbarian races of the ranges of hills along the Nerbudda.—Gonds, Bhils, &c.—Measures against the depredations of the latter in Kandesh and Malwa.—Operations against the Gonds, and other adherents of Apa Saheb.—His refuge in the Mahadeo Hills.—Irregular bands in his service.—Desultory hostilities.—Defeat of a British detachment.—Death of Captain Sparkes.—Extension of the insurrection.—Checked.—Many parties cut up.—Troops penetrate into the hills.—Gond villages destroyed.—Concerted plan of operations.—The Mahadeo Hills ascended.—Apa Saheb leaves the hills, accompanied by Cheetoo.—Flies to Asir.—Not allowed to remain.—Assumes the disguise of an Ascetic.—Makes his way to Mundi.—Cheetoo not admitted into Asir.—Flies to the thickets.—Killed by a tiger.—Asirgerh demanded from Sindhia.—Jeswant Rao Lar ordered to deliver up the fort.—Procrastination.—The fort besieged.—Lower fort taken.—Upper surrendered.—Documents proving Sindhia's insincerity.—Asirgerh retained.—Close of the war.—Its results.—Territorial acquisitions from the Peshwa.—System of Management.—From Holkar—*

*From Sindhia—From Nagpur.—Territorial arrangements with the Nizam—With the Gaekwar.—Political Results.*

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818. THE Vindhya and Sathpura ranges of hills, which accompany the Nerbudda, from its source to its termination in the Gulph of Cambay, following nearly parallel lines on the north and south of the course of the river; expanding at its eastern extremity into a mountain rampart, which separates Bengal and Orissa from Berar, and at the western into a similar, but less extensive barrier, dividing Malwa from Kandesh and Guzerat; appear to have afforded an asylum to the aboriginal inhabitants of central India when they retreated before the southern progress of the Brahmanical Hindus. In the middle portion of this line, the hills sink down to their lowest elevations, and they accordingly afford the most practicable routes from the Dekhin to Hindustan, and are the seat of several populous and flourishing towns; but the country on the east and west presents a succession of hills, of greater, although not very lofty height, which are rendered difficult and dangerous of access, by dense and insalubrious thickets, amidst which existence is secure only to the beasts of the forest, or the scarcely tamer human beings whom habit has fortified against the pestiferous vapours by which their haunts are best protected against the encroachments of more civilised tribes. The most eastern of these hills, from the confines of the British possessions to the borders of Berar, are the loftiest and most inaccessible, and much of the country is even yet unexplored.

They are tenanted by various barbarous races, of whom the principal are the Koles, the Khands, and the Gonds, living in villages among the forests, under their own chiefs; practising, in some places, a limited agriculture, but more usually subsisting on the produce of their cattle, the gleanings of the chase, or the wild fruits, herbs, and grain, which are the spontaneous growth of the thickets. The want of wholesome nutriment is in some measure compensated by the use of fiery spirits, to which the people are immoderately addicted. They are as scantily clothed as fed, and are armed chiefly with bows and arrows, large knives, and occasionally with matchlocks. Although sometimes professing to respect the few ignorant Brahmans who may have settled among them, this is not universally the case, and they cannot be said to follow the Brahmanical religion. The objects of their rude worship, which is commonly sanguinary, and sometimes comprises human victims, are local divinities, as the Deity of the Earth, or the presiding Genii over certain mountain peaks; or shapeless blocks of wood or stone, occasionally dignified with denominations borrowed from the Hindu Pantheon—particularly with the name of Siva, and his wife Parvati: in some few places, also, Mahadeo, in his ordinary type, seems to have been adopted as one of their gods. The Koles, called in some places also Lurka Koles,<sup>1</sup> are found

<sup>1</sup> Of the Koles, or Lurka Koles, little authentic information has been published, and that little has appeared in ephemeral publications. According to Lieutenant Blunt, he met with Koles near the river Sôn, on the eastern confines of Rewa, while all the mountain tribes, from the northern limits of Ruttenpur, towards the confines of Berar and Hyderabad, between them and the Mahanadi, he calls Gonds.—Journey from Chunar



BOOK II. principally in Sirguja and Sambhalpur; the Khands  
CHAP. IX. on the borders of Cuttack and Ganjam. The

1818. Gonds are still more widely extended, and spread from the western and southern limits of Bahar to those of Bundelkhand and Berar, and for some distance along the valley of the Nerbudda. Towards the western extremity of the ranges, the hills and forests are occupied by the Bhils,<sup>1</sup> a race similar in their general habits and character to those which have been mentioned, but associating more freely with their civilised neighbours, and therefore somewhat less barbarous. The same familiarity with civilisation had, however, fostered other pro-

to Yertnakudam, Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. Mr. Colebrooke, in his journey from Mirzapur to Nagpur, describes Koles, Gonds, and other tribes, on much the same line of route.—As. Ann. Reg. for 1806, vol. viii. “The Alpine region of Orissa, comprising the central ridges, the lofty plateau, and the inner valleys of the chain of Ghats, with the great tracts of forest by which they are surrounded, has been occupied from the earliest historical periods by three races, the Koles, the Khands, and the Souras,—according to tradition, the original occupants, not only of this portion, but of the greater part of the Orissa.”—Macpherson’s Report on the Khands. How far these races are allied or distinct has not been determined by the only test now available, that of their language. Some tolerably copious vocabularies of the Khand language are given in the sixth and seventh volumes of the Journal of the Madras Literary Society, but I am not aware if any of the languages of the Koles or Gonds have been published. Of these races the Gonds seem to be most widely spread; occupying the interior mountains from the confines of Bahar and Orissa to the south-western limits of Bundelkhand and the valley of the Nerbudda.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1842, vol. ii. p. 1, 341. In three districts of the Nerbudda territories the Gond population is considered to be much under-rated at 180,000.—Ibid. 351. Sir J. Malcolm also mentions the existence of Gonds between Bagli and Mandaleswar. See also Jenkins’s Report on Nagpur for the Gond tribes of the eastern portions of the province. Koles and Gonds are named in early Sanscrit works, the latter are found in the Amara Kosha.

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Malcolm has given an account of the Bhils in his Central India, vol. i. 517. According to him they are a distinct race from any other Indian tribe, but this requires to be established by a comparison of their dialects with those of the other mountaineers. Their own traditions bring them from the north, the borders of Jodhpur. In Sanscrit works of the tenth and eleventh centuries we find Bhils inhabiting the country between Bahar and Bundelkhand, the present site of the Koles and Gonds—an additional reason for considering them to be allied.

pensities, and the Bhils had learned to lay waste the cultivated lands in their vicinity, or levy a tax upon the villagers as the price of their forbearance. These barbarians occupied chiefly the rugged country between the Tapti and the Nerbudda, spreading both to the south of the former, and north of the latter river, into Kàndesh, and the territories of the Peshwa and Nizam on the one hand, and Nima<sup>r</sup> and Malwa on the other. At an early date, some of the Bhils migrated into the plains in search of subsistence, and earned it by acting in subservience to the village authorities, as a rural police; serving as watchmen in the villages, and patrolling the roads. They received an equivalent in money or in grain, and this they came to consider as their indisputable right. In the latter days of disorder, their connexion with the Government officers had been dissolved, and many acts of mutual offence had transformed them from guardians of life and property, into their most dangerous assailants. The Bhils of the plains had been joined by recruits from the hills, and cultivation and commerce were almost annihilated by their depredations.

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Upon Trimbak's escape from captivity, he sought security, as we have seen, in the vicinity of the Bhil settlements, and found among them ready partisans. The licence to plunder with which he requited their services was too agreeable to their habits to be relinquished when their leader was obliged to fly to the east, and their predatory incursions were continued for some time after his expulsion. The movements of the Peshwa left the British functionaries no opportunity to attend to minor evils, but

BOOK II. as soon as any peril from that cause ceased to be ap-  
CHAP. IX. prehended, active measures were adopted by Captain  
 1818. Briggs, the political agent in Kandesh, and by Sir  
 John Malcolm, in Malwa, for the protection of the  
 districts under their control, against the irruptions  
 of the Bhils.

The unhealthiness, as well as the ruggedness of the tracts in which the villages of the mountain Bhils were situated, rendered it impossible to undertake any operations against them on an extensive scale, or for a continuous period. Small detachments were, however, sent occasionally into the hills, which were in general successful, burning the Hattas, or villages of the mountaineers, killing many of the men, and capturing their families and their chiefs. Troops were also posted along the skirts of the hills to check their inroads, and cut off the supplies which they were accustomed to procure from the plains. At the same time, the chiefs were invited to come in and resume the police duties which they had formerly discharged, upon the assurance that their claims should be equitably investigated, and those for which precedent could be established should be allowed.<sup>1</sup> Many of them accepted the conditions, and although, in some instances, the engagements into which they entered were not held sacred, and travellers and merchants were still robbed and murdered; yet the greater number adhered to their pledge, and as prompt punishment followed the perpetration of violence, a salutary terror confirmed their peaceable

<sup>1</sup> Elphinstone's Report on Poona,—Extracts from the Records, iv. p. 141.



disposition, and rendered them even willing instruments in the apprehension of the refractory.<sup>1</sup> This object was further promoted by the introduction of the policy which had long proved effective in Bengal, in respect to the wild tribes of the Rajmahal hills. A Bhil militia, disciplined and commanded by British officers, was substituted for the disorderly gangs, headed by their own Nayaks; and the same men who were the scourge and dread of the districts contiguous to their forests were trained to guard the labours of the farmer, and to guide the traveller and the merchant in safety along the roads.<sup>2</sup>

The military operations which it became necessary to undertake against the Gonds, partook more of the character of systematic warfare, as they grew out of political occurrences, and were required for the accomplishment of a political object,—the suppression of the adherents of the fugitive Raja of Nagpur, and his seizure or expulsion.

When Apa Saheb effected his escape from his

<sup>1</sup> Nadir Sing, a Bhil chief of great notoriety, had been induced, partly by threats and partly by rewards, to promise conformity to the British system. After some time he violated his engagements, and plundered and put to death some inoffensive travellers; an atrocity that required exemplary punishment. At the time when his guilt was established he was on a visit to some of his kindred for the purpose of celebrating the marriage of his son; an order was immediately sent to the chiefs with whom he was, to apprehend and send him to the British functionary. Troops were ready to enforce the order, but their presence was unnecessary. He was seized by his own associates and sent to Sir J. Malcolm, by whom he was sentenced to imprisonment for life at Allahabad. His son was allowed to succeed to his authority. "No event," says Sir J. Malcolm, "was ever more conducive to the tranquillity of a country than this act of justice."—Central India, i. 524. As an instance of Bhil habits, as well as of the liberality of his captors, Nadir Sing was allowed during his captivity a bottle of brandy every four days.—MSS.

<sup>2</sup> There are several Bhil corps in the service of the Company. Under the Bengal Presidency are three, the Mewar, Nimaur, and Malwa corps; collectively about one thousand one hundred foot, and one hundred and twenty horse. There is also a Bhil corps in Kandesh.



BOOK II. escort, in the middle of May, he fled to Harai, a  
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petty state in the Nerbudda valley, governed by Chain Sah, a powerful and ambitious Gond chief-tain, who had usurped the chiefship from his nephew while a minor, and had established his authority not only over Harai, but several of the adjacent districts. His power extended throughout the Mahadeo hills, a detached cluster, lying on the south of the river, and to the right of the main road from Nagpur to Hosainabad, at about an equal distance, or eighty miles from either. Within this circuit was a temple of celebrity, dedicated to Mahadeo, whence the name of the hills, which at certain seasons was a place of great resort as an object of pilgrimage, and the sanctity of which was, no doubt, considered by Apa Saheb as a sanctuary from pursuit. A much more effective protection was afforded by the thickets which spread over the hills, and which could not be penetrated with impunity during the rainy season, now about to commence. Here the Raja was at leisure to devise measures for the annoyance of his enemies, if not for the recovery of his power, and found a ready auxiliary in the restless and turbulent Gond. Many other chiefs, professing themselves to be vassals of Berar, also joined the Raja; and the Mahratta soldiers, Pindaris, and Arab mercenaries, who had been cast adrift by the dispersion of the regular troops of Poona and Nagpur, either repaired to the Mahadeo hills, or concentrated in different parts of the surrounding country, and carried on a war of posts against the British detachments. Their numbers were exaggerated, but they occasionally acted in

bodies of three or four thousand, and the aggregate in arms could not have been much less than twenty thousand, so easy was it at this period to collect armed bands around every standard which led the way to confusion and plunder.

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Although it was indispensably necessary to postpone an attack in force upon Apa Saheb's headquarters, until a more favourable period, yet the equally imperious necessity of protecting the country from desolation, and of checking the extent of the rising in the Raja's favour, rendered it impossible to avoid exposing the troops to the harassing services of desultory hostilities at an inclement season; and detachments were accordingly stationed in various parts of the valley contiguous to the hills, from the several divisions of Colonel Adams at Hosainabad, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott at Nagpur, and Brigadier-General Watson at Sagar. Their distribution and movements counteracted, in a great measure, the objects of the enemy; but the organisation of the latter, their knowledge of the country, and the countenance and assistance which they received from the natives and from the civil functionaries of the Mahratta Government, enabled them at first to elude the attacks of the British, and even to gain some advantages over them. As the contest was prolonged the troops became more manageable, the country better known, and the insurgents suffered severe retaliation.

The first affair that took place was calculated to give confidence to the Raja's partisans. A body of Arabs, after assembling at Mail Ghat, on the Tapti river, advanced to the town of Maisdi, and took posses-

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sion of it. In order to dislodge and disperse them, Captain Sparkes was detached, on the 18th of July, from Hosainabad to Baitul, with two companies of the 10th Bengal Native infantry. He was followed on the two following days by stronger detachments, but without waiting for their junction, Captain Sparkes pushed forward, and on the 20th encountered a party of horse, the van of the enemy's force. They retreated, but only to fall back upon the main body, consisting of two thousand Mahratta horse, and fifteen hundred Arab and Hindustani foot. Taking post upon the edge of a ravine, Captain Sparkes checked, for some time, the enemy's advance, but when they had crossed the ravine in considerable masses, retreated to a hill, where his men again maintained their ground until their ammunition was expended, and many, with Captain Sparkes, had been killed. The enemy then rushed upon them in overwhelming numbers, and put nearly the whole to death. A few wounded Sipahis contrived to escape, and eight others, who had been left to guard the baggage, effected a timely retreat.

To remedy the ill effects of this disaster, Major Macpherson was sent to take the command at Baitul, and reinforcements under Captain Newton and Major Cumming were immediately dispatched from Hosainabad. Captain Hamilton was sent from Nagpur to superintend the country about Deogerh, and was followed by Captain Pedlar with reinforcements. On the north and north-east a division was thrown forward from Jabalpur. A corps of Rohilla horse was distributed along the northern skirts of the Mahadeo hills, and Salábat Khan of Elichpur, on



the south-east, was called upon for his contingent. Brigadier-General Doveton also moved from Jalna; but his march was delayed by the inclemency of the weather, and the impassable state of the roads and rivers. The troops were exposed to incessant rain and frequent storms, and soon began to suffer in their health. At the Gawilgerh pass the whole of the tents were blown down by a violent gale. Their advance was, therefore, painful and tedious, and after frequent halts, and leaving behind the artillery and heavy luggage, it was not until the middle of September that the force was concentrated at Elichpur.

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Until the troops could be assembled in sufficient strength, the partisans of the Raja continued their successful career. A small party of Sipahis, posted at Shahpur, was surprised and destroyed by a Gond Raja, and in the beginning of August, the enemy gained possession of the town of Multai, chiefly through the connivance of the civil authorities. To the eastward, the Gonds and Arabs occupied Lanji, Compta, Ambagerh, and other places, and advanced to within forty miles of the capital, where much agitation prevailed, and a conspiracy against the young Raja was detected. The leaders were punished; and to repel the advancing insurgents, Captain Gordon, with a further portion of the subsidiary force, was sent from Nagpur. Major Cumming was directed to recover Multai—a service which he executed at the end of the month—the garrison evacuating the town and fort. Light detachments, under Captain Newton and Lieutenant Ker, overtook parties of the fugitives, and put



BOOK II. numbers to the sword. In like manner, the places  
CHAP. IX. to the eastward were soon retaken. Compta, which  
1818. was defended by a stockade with a ditch and a  
small fort, was carried by assault, in which six hundred of the garrison perished. Amba-gerh was taken by escalade, and Pouri by storm, by another detachment from Nagpur, commanded by Major Wilson. Other places were recovered, and the enemy were driven from all their posts upon the plain in this direction. Important successes were also gained in other quarters. A party at Burday, about five hundred strong, was attacked by Major Bowen, with a squadron of cavalry and one hundred light infantry, and three hundred of the number were slain. A like party was destroyed at Jiva-gerhi by Lieutenant Cruikshanks, with a detachment of one hundred and eighty infantry, fifty of the 7th Bengal cavalry, and eighty Rohilla horse. A vigorous effort by Chain Sah, at the head of two thousand Gonds and Mahrattas, to gain possession of Chauragerh, was checked by the gallantry of a native officer and thirty men, its slender garrison, until the arrival of a detachment under Lieutenants Brandon and Bacon; when the Gonds were defeated and driven off with heavy loss. By the end of September, operations began to spread into the hills. Captain Newton, with the 2nd battallion of the 10th Bengal infantry, a company of the 1st battallion of the 23rd, and a squadron of the 7th Native cavalry, marching from Baitul, followed the flying Gonds to their villages, burnt many of them, and captured or killed their defenders. Several of the chiefs fell; among whom was one who

had headed the party which put to death the Si-  
pahis at Shahpur. The villagers at several places  
had also been engaged in the action with Captain  
Sparkes, as appeared from the dresses, arms, and  
accoutrements of the 10th infantry, which were  
found in their huts, and their comrades exulted in  
the vengeance which they had inflicted, and the  
trophies which they had recovered.

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With the commencement of 1819, the system of detached and desultory war was discontinued, and was succeeded by a concerted plan for an attack upon the head-quarters of Apa Saheb. With this view the detachments were, for the most part, called in. A concentrated portion of the Nagpur subsidiary force marched from Nagpur to Multai. Colonel Adams, with his main body, moved from Hosainabad upon Pachmari, and Major O'Brien, from Jabalpur, upon Haray. Brigadier-General Doveton advanced from the south-west, to cover the road by Jilpi-amner, a fortified town, of which the siege detained him several days. Major O'Brien, on his march, fell in with Chain Sah, defeated, and took him prisoner. Parties, from the Nagpur and Hosainabad divisions, penetrated into every recess of the hills, and Colonel Adams arrived at Pachmari in the middle of February. Apa Saheb was no longer there.

Reduced to great distress for supplies, by the vigilance of the British detachments, skirting the bases of the hills, and cutting off all communication with the adjacent country, and foreseeing the adoption of decisive movements as soon as they should become practicable, Apa Saheb determined to look to some

BOOK II. other quarter for an asylum. In this design he was  
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1819. ing along the southern limits of Bhopal, made his way, in the beginning of August, into the Mahadeo hills. Their knowledge of the friendly disposition of Jeswant Rao Lar, the Kiladar of Asir-gerh, induced them to expect a refuge in his fortress, and thither, therefore, they resolved to direct their flight. On the 1st of February, Apa Saheb, accompanied by Cheetoo and a few well-mounted horsemen, quitted the hills, and passed through Burday, the officer commanding there having been misled by false reports of the Raja's intended route, and having marched to Shahpur in the hope of intercepting him. On his arrival at Shahpur, he discovered the trick, and immediately countermarched and reached Burday in time to encounter and destroy a large body of Arabs and Hindustanis, who attempted to follow the route which the Raja had succeeded in taking. The first party pursued their course to the west towards Asir, but not with the same good fortune. News of Apa Saheb's flight having been conveyed to Lieutenant-Colonel Pollock, commanding at Jilpi-amner, he marched immediately to the north, and arrived on the morning of the 4th of February, at Piplode, where he covered the two main roads to Asir-gerh. About two miles in his rear lay a third road, by the village of Yuva, and this was guarded by a strong picquet of cavalry and infantry. Late in the evening, the Raja and his companions came unexpectedly upon the British post at Yuva. As soon as they perceived their error, they turned their horses' heads and



dashed into a deep ravine, where, aided by the darkness of the night, they escaped from the pursuit of the cavalry. A few were taken; amongst the prisoners were several of the Sipahis, who had assisted Apa Saheb in his flight from Captain Brown, and who suffered the penalty of their disloyalty: the rest effected their retreat to the neighbourhood of Asirgerh, where a temporary shelter was given to the Raja. Jeswant Rao refused, however, to admit Cheetoo and his followers, and while they hovered about Asir they were attacked by Major Smith, who had been detached by Sir John Malcolm to secure the passes north of Asirgerh. They fled under the walls of Asir, from which a fire of matchlocks checked their pursuers, and afforded them an opportunity to disperse. Whether his own fears or those of Jeswant Rao abridged the period of the Raja's stay may be doubted, but after a few days, Apa Saheb repaired in the disguise of a religious mendicant to Burhanpur, where he was secreted for a short interval. Thence he made his way in the same disguise into Malwa, and approached Gwalior; but Sindhia was not inclined to risk the displeasure of the British Government in behalf of a Raja of Nagpur. He was obliged, therefore, to resume his travels, and found no rest until he reached the Punjab, where Ranjit Sing gave him shelter and subsistence for a season. Upon the withdrawal of his countenance, Apa Saheb had recourse to a petty Raja, the Raja of Mundi, beyond the first range of the Himalaya, and was suffered to remain there unmolested for several succeeding years. At a subsequent date he returned to Hindustan, and was pro-

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BOOK II. tected by the Raja of Jodhpur, who was allowed to  
 CHAP. IX. grant him an asylum on condition of becoming  
 1818. responsible for his safe custody and peaceable conduct.

The companion of the ex-Raja of Nagpur, the Pindari Cheetoo, was still more unfortunate; and, after surviving the destruction or surrender of his former associates, was fated to suffer a death not undeserving of commiseration, although not an unapt close to his wild and sanguinary life. After the dispersion of his followers under the walls of Asirgerh, he fled, with his son, to the north, with the intention of escaping into Malwa. Having crossed the Nerbudda at Pún-ghat, he sought to traverse the Vindhya mountains by the pass of Bágli, but finding it vigilantly guarded, he parted from his son, and turned off into a thicket near Kantapur, notoriously infested by tigers, to one of whom he fell a prey. His horse, wandering alone, was caught by a party of Holkar's cavalry marching from Bágli to Kantapur, and being recognised, search was made for the rider. On penetrating into the thicket, his sword, and parts of his dress torn and stained with blood, were found, and, finally, his head was discovered. These remains were readily identified by several of his followers who had been captured, and by his son, who, at the same time, gave himself up to Sir John Malcolm. Such was the end which the Pindari had hazarded rather than submit to a tranquil life, shackled by the restraints of dependance.

The attempt of Apa Saheb to take shelter in Asirgerh, had been anticipated by the British Government, and in order to prevent its success, Sind-

hia had been required to place the fort in the temporary occupation of a British force. This arrangement had been proposed at the beginning of the war, and had been ostensibly acceded to; but as no emergency arose which rendered its fulfilment peculiarly expedient, and as it was probable that Sindhia's orders for the delivery of the fort, even if issued in a spirit of sincerity, would be disregarded, and that it would be necessary to lay siege to Asirgerh, to ensure its occupation, it was judged advisable to refrain from insisting upon the transfer of the fortress. Now, however, a contingency had arisen which admitted of no longer hesitation. It was of the highest importance to exclude Apa Saheb from a strong-hold, in the strength of which he might find the means of renewing a protracted resistance, and reanimating the hopes of his partisans; and it was accordingly resolved to call upon Sindhia to execute the original stipulation. Dowlat Rao affected cheerful compliance, and dispatched orders to Jeswant Rao Lar to give up his fort to Sir John Malcolm, and repair to Gwalior. He followed up his orders by sending officers to enforce obedience, and declared himself prepared to unite his troops with those of the British in the siege, if the place were not promptly surrendered. Jeswant Rao pretended a like readiness to obey, but frivolous pleas were devised from day to day to defer his departure to Gwalior, until the contingency against which it was intended to provide, actually occurred, and Apa Saheb was admitted into Asirgerh. It was obvious that Jeswant Rao had no intention of resigning his fort, and that Sindhia either connived

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BOOK II. at his recusancy, or was unable to enforce compliance  
CHAP. IX. with his orders. The reduction of the place was

1818. necessary to vindicate the British power, and to deprive an unavowed enemy of the means of causing mischief. By firing also upon the British troops when in pursuit of Cheetoo and the followers of the Nagpur Raja, as well as by the reception of the Raja himself, Jeswant Rao had committed overt acts of hostility, which it was impossible to leave without rebuke. Sir John Malcolm, therefore, and General Doveton were instructed to employ the resources at their disposal in the siege of Asirgerh.

The fortress of Asirgerh stood upon a detached rock, about two miles from the end of one of the chief ranges of the Sathpura hills, commanding one of the great passes from the Dekhin. It consisted of two forts, a lower and an upper; the former occupying the western extremity of the rock, opposite to the Petta, or walled town, beneath it, from which alone an ascent into the fortress was practicable: on every other side the perpendicular scarp of the rock defied assault, and the ascent from the town was strongly fortified. The approach from the lower to the upper fort, which crowned the summit of the rock, at an elevation of seven hundred and fifty feet above the plain, was by steep flights of stone steps, which led in succession through five gateways of solid masonry. There were some breaches in the face of the rock, especially on the north and east, but the chasms had been built up with substantial walls. The top of the rock was surmounted by thick and lofty ramparts, and by large cavaliers car-



rying guns of immense calibre.<sup>1</sup> The country on the north and south sides was generally level, but on the east and west was intersected by deep ravines, and crossed by ranges of hills, connected with the Sathpura range.

Brigadier-general Doveton, having been reinforced with troops and ordnance from Kandesh and Hosainabad,<sup>2</sup> advanced to the vicinity of Asir late in February, while Sir John Malcolm moved close to the fortress with the forces which he had collected at Mhow,<sup>3</sup> and with which he had been employed in settling some disturbed districts on the Guzerat frontier, in the beginning of the year. As soon as it was obvious that compulsory means alone would obtain possession of Asir-gerh, General Doveton's division took up its ground on the south of the fort, while that of Sir John Malcolm was posted on the north. On the 18th of March, operations were commenced by the advance of a column from either division upon the Petta, which was carried with little loss, the enemy retreating into the lower fort. Posts were established and batteries constructed in the Petta, and a spirited sally of the enemy on the 20th having been repulsed, although

<sup>1</sup> One of these, an iron gun carrying a ball of three hundred and eighty-four pounds, was believed by the natives capable of lodging a shot at Burhanpur, fourteen miles distant.—Lake.

<sup>2</sup> His force consisted of one troop of European Horse Artillery, three regiments, the 6th Bengal, and 2nd and 7th Madras N. C., the Madras European regiment, the 15th regiment Bengal N. I., 1st batt. 7th, 1st batt. 12th, 2nd batt. 13th, 2nd batt. 14th, 2nd batt. 17th Madras N. I., and details of Bengal and Madras Pioneers, with an extensive battering train.

<sup>3</sup> These were details of European Horse Artillery, camel howitzer battery, 2nd regiment Madras N. C., 2nd batt. 6th, and 1st batt. 14th Madras N. C., 1st Grenadier regiment Bombay N. I., and 1st of the 8th ditto, with Pioneers. They were joined by two battalions Bengal N. I., 2nd batt. 1st, and 2nd batt. 13th, with artillery and heavy guns from Sagar.



BOOK II. with the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer of the  
CHAP. IX. Royal Scots, a practicable breach was made by the  
1818. 21st, and the garrison retreated to the upper fort; but the explosion of a powder magazine attached to one of the batteries, emboldened them to return and resume the fire from the lower fort. It was soon silenced by the fire of the batteries. The charge of the Petta, and the prosecution of the siege on that side were made over to Sir John Malcolm, while General Doveton, with the principal part of the heavy ordnance, moved to the east front, as most favourable for the attack of the upper fort. By the 29th, both divisions were in full operation, and on the 30th preparations were made for storming the lower fort, when it was finally abandoned by the garrison and occupied by the assailants. On the eastern front the progress was necessarily slower, but by the 7th of April the defences were in so ruinous a condition, that Jeswant Rao despaired of the result, and after a conference with the British Generals consented to unconditional surrender. The garrison, composed chiefly of Arabs and Baluchis, marched out accordingly on the 29th; they were allowed to retain their shields and daggers and all private property, and were promised a conveyance to their native country. The loss of the garrison was less severe than that of the besiegers; the former having been sheltered by the nature of the ground. The latter had one officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer, killed, and eleven wounded; the whole of the killed and wounded amounted to three hundred and thirteen. The reduction of a fortress of such high repute in native estimation as Asirgerh in so short a time, confirmed the impres-

sion which the success of the British arms had inspired throughout the campaign of the futility of opposition.

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The capture of Asirgerh disclosed indisputable proofs of the insincerity of Dowlat Rao Sindhia; of his having sanctioned the contumacy of the Kiladar, and of his having contemplated affording shelter and succour to Baji Rao. A box of papers was seized containing letters, not only from the Peshwa and Apa Saheb, but others in Sindhia's own hand writing, as was acknowledged subsequently by his ministers and himself, in which he directed that the fort should not be given over to the English, and that whatever orders might be received from the Peshwa they should be obeyed. As a punishment for this double dealing, it was determined to retain possession of Asirgerh and the district dependent upon it, and to communicate to Dowlat Rao the grounds of its detention. No further notice was deemed necessary, as the objects of the war had been accomplished, and allowance was made for the pardonable prepossession of the Malhattrah chief in favour of his paramount lord. Dowlat Rao admitted the authenticity of the documents, but declared that they were intended only to make it appear that he wished to do something for the Peshwa's service, and that the tenor of any orders he might have sent was immaterial, as he knew well that Jeswant Rao would obey none but such as should be consistent with his own designs. He even admitted that he had written to Baji Rao to invite him to Gwalior, because he believed that his coming there was impossible. As an apology for this double duplicity, he merely

BOOK II. pleaded in the figurative language which he frequently employed, that it was natural for a man

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1818. seeing a friend struggling in the water and crying for help, to stretch out his hands towards him, and to speak words of comfort, although he knew that he could give him no assistance. He was, however, evidently apprehensive of the consequences of his conduct until time convinced him of the sincerity of the purposed forbearance of the British Government.

The capture of Asirgerh terminated the military movements of the British armies, and most of the troops returned to their stations in time of peace, having throughout this supplementary campaign, as well as in the earlier progress of the war, distinguished themselves, as much by their cheerful endurance of hardship and privation, and of the labours which they had undergone, as by their steadiness and intrepidity in action.

We are now prepared to consider the results of the past transactions, as they affected the British Government, and the Native powers of India.

The acquisition of additional territory formed no part of the original objects for which the Marquis of Hastings took the field. The districts from which the Pindaris were expelled were restored to the princes by whom they had been granted, or from whom they had been usurped; and not a rood of land would have been annexed to the British possessions, had not the violence and treachery of the Mahratta chiefs exposed them to the loss of their dominions. It was evident that Baji Rao considered himself too deeply wronged ever to forgive, and no leniency towards him could appease his resentment.



His deposal was necessary for the preservation of public tranquillity, and for the security of the British power; and it, therefore, became a question to whom his extensive authority should be intrusted. He had no children, and no hereditary claims were involved in his downfall. To have elevated the Raja of Satara in his place, would have been to invest a doubtful ally with the means of becoming a formidable enemy, and would have been a boon exceeding his reasonable expectations. It was doubted by the Governor-General whether the grant of a liberal Jagir would not have been an adequate provision for him, and the substitution of a principality, as recommended by the Resident on political considerations, was coupled with the condition of a subordinate rule over a circumscribed territory.<sup>1</sup> The country set apart for the Raja was bounded by the Nira on the north, the Krishna and Warna on the south, the Ghats on the west, and the district of Punderpur on the east; and was calculated to yield an annual revenue of above thirteen lakhs of rupees.<sup>2</sup> The remainder of the Peshwa's dominions, comprising an estimated area of fifty thousand square miles,

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<sup>1</sup> "Your Excellency's instructions left me the choice of giving him a Jagir or small sovereignty, and I was inclined to adopt the latter plan, for various reasons. At the time when I had to decide, the Mahrattas showed no disposition whatever to quit the Peshwa's standard, and it appeared not improbable that the dread of the complete extinction of their national independence, and still more, that of the entire loss of their means of subsistence, from the want of a government likely to employ them, would induce them to adhere to Baji Rao, that could never have been produced by affection for his person or interest in his cause. It therefore seemed expedient to remove these grounds of alarm by the establishment of a separate government."—Letter from the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone to the Governor-General, Parl. Papers, Raja of Satara, Part I., p. 498.

<sup>2</sup> In the second year the net revenue amounted to nearly fifteen lakhs. —Treaty with the Raja of Satara, 25th Sept., 1819. Papers, Adm. of the Marquis of Hastings.



BOOK II. and a population of four millions, was made an integral part of British India.  
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The territory acquired by the British Government in the Dekhin which had formerly acknowledged the authority of the Peshwa, comprised the province of Kandesh on the north; the country constituting that of the Mahrattas especially, comprising the districts of Ahmedabad and Poona, above the Ghats, and the Konkan on the west of the Ghats; and south of the Krishna, a portion of Canara, which had been formerly subjugated by the Mahrattas, and was, for the most part, divided among a number of feudatory chieftains, or Jagirdars, most of whom, although declining to act against the Peshwa, had either refrained from joining him, or had abandoned him at an early period, and were, consequently, permitted to retain their lands on the same tenures on which they held them under the Peshwa. The Konkan was added to the Bombay Presidency: the rest was placed under the authority of a Commissioner, assisted by five officers, including the political agent with the Raja of Satara, who, under the designation of collectors, discharged the supreme revenue and judicial duties. The arrangements adopted for the administration of the Mahratta territories were based upon the existing institutions, and which, when weeded from some glaring defects, were considered to be most acceptable to the people, and best suited to the prevailing condition of society. In the collection of the revenue, the chief principles laid down were to abolish the farming system, which had been carried to a ruinous extent under Baji Rao;<sup>1</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> The office of Mamlatdar, or Head Collector of a district, was put up

levy the revenue according to the actual cultivation ; to make the assignments light ; to impose no new taxes ; and to abolish none, unless obviously obnoxious and unjust ; and above all to make no innovations. In the administration of civil law, Panchayats were had recourse to, while criminal cases were investigated by the British functionaries in person : to them, also, was entrusted the principal personal superintendence of the police. In their mixed duties they were assisted by the native officers, combining similar powers. The system worked well ; for although vast numbers of disorderly persons were thrown out of employment by the dispersion of the Peshwa's soldiery, the country speedily assumed a tranquil aspect, cultivation was extended, and trade revived ; and no attempt of any importance was made to re-establish a native government. The immediate consequence of the mal-administration of the revenue, as well as of the mischief caused by political and military events, was a considerable diminution of the revenue. The amount of this, at one time, under the Peshwa, had exceeded two crores of rupees,

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to auction among the Peshwa's attendants, who were encouraged to bid high, and sometimes disgraced if they showed a reluctance to enter on this sort of speculation. Next year this operation was renewed, and the district was generally transferred to a higher bidder. The Mamlatdar had no time for inquiry, and no motive for forbearance ; he let the district out to under farmers who repeated the operation until it reached the Patel. If this officer farmed his own village, he became the absolute master of every one in it. If he refused to farm it at the rate proposed, the case was perhaps worse, as the Mamlatdar's own officers undertook to levy the sum with less knowledge and mercy. In either case the actual state of the cultivation was little regarded ; a man's means of payment, not the land he occupied, was the scale by which he was assessed. No moderation was shown in levying the sum fixed, and every pretext for fine and forfeiture, every means of rigour and confiscation were employed to squeeze the utmost out of the people before the time when the Mamlatdar was to give up his charge.—Elphinstone, Report of the territories conquered from the Peshwa, Calcutta, 1824 ; also Selections from the Records, iv. 139.

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1817.

but the cessions demanded from him in June 1817, and other circumstances, had reduced it to one crore and ten lakhs, of which, not above fifty lakhs came into the treasury of the Peshwa. This sum it was expected to realize, and a surplus of thirty lakhs was calculated on, but after the first twelvemonth, the revenue was found to amount to but seventy-six lakhs, while the charges and assignments, exclusive of the pensions to the Peshwa and his brother, extended to seventy-two, leaving, therefore, the new possessions a financial loss. This, however, was but a temporary disappointment, and the improvement of the country, with the diminution of the expenses, rendered the acquisitions in the Dekhin as valuable in a financial as they were in a political point of view.

By the treaty with Holkar, the districts in Kandesh and the Sathpura hills, as well as those in the Dekhin, which were intermixed with the territories of the Peshwa and Nizam, were ceded to the British. They were not of great extent or value, but derived consideration from the manner in which they were scattered among territories subject to other princes, involving the inconvenient proximity of different independent jurisdictions. The conflict of claims arising out of such juxtaposition, was congenial to Mahratta policy, which hoped, from such collision, some contingent advantage. Such objects were of course foreign to the system now adopted; and, although some indulgence was shown in regard to places recommended by peculiar considerations, the districts of Holkar<sup>1</sup> in the

<sup>1</sup> The right of Holkar, as Des-mukh or head of a district, to villages, or



Dekhin were amalgamated with those in their vicinity. BOOK II.  
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In the engagements concluded with Sindhia, no territorial cession was originally contemplated; but those districts which had belonged to the Peshwa, and had devolved on the British, either by cession or conquest, and which had been usurped by Sindhia or his officers, in Malwa, were reclaimed: the restoration of all usurpations from princes under British protection was also insisted on. It was further found desirable to require various exchanges of territory between Sindhia and the British government and its allies, for the purpose of establishing a more compact and better defined boundary. In this manner several districts on the confines of Bhopal and Bundelkhand were annexed to them, and Ajmer was transferred to British authority. The possession of this province was recommended by political considerations, as its central position afforded ready communication with the Rajput states, and held in check the western confines of Sindhia's dominions, and the newly created principality of Amir Khan. Its financial value was inconsiderable,<sup>1</sup> and its sequestration was no loss to Dowlat Rao, as the whole revenue had been appropriated by his officer, Bapu Sindhia, by whom it had been held for some time past. Upon the whole, Sindhia was a gainer by these exchanges,<sup>2</sup>

parts of villages, or to certain payments or perquisites, presents a characteristic picture of the intricate and incompatible arrangements common under the Mahratta system. A statement of his claims is therefore given in the Appendix.

<sup>1</sup> In the first year of its occupation the revenue was less than a lakh and a half of rupees. Four years afterwards it exceeded four lakhs. The population was also quadrupled.—MS. Records.

<sup>2</sup> The revenue of the territory ceded by Sindhia was estimated at six lakhs, those made to him at nearly seven.—MS. Records.



BOOK II. although his duplicity and treachery ill-deserved  
CHAP. IX. such favour.

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The acquisitions next in extent and importance to those made from the Peshwa were derived from the territories of the Raja of Nagpur. They comprised the eastern portion of the valley of the Nerbudda, on either bank of the river, extending north and east to the district of Sagar, which, as we have seen, had been also taken possession of by the British, and to the borders of Bundelkhand; and on the west and south to the confines of Berar. In the latter province were ceded Gawilgerh and Narnala, with Akote and the contiguous districts. The government of the Raja's reserved territories was, as has been noticed, exercised, with the entire concurrence of the young Prince's nearest relatives and of the Regent Bai, by the British Resident, assisted by British officers as superintendents of the main divisions of the Principality, to whom the collection of the revenue, and maintenance of public order were entrusted, and who were instructed to preserve the native system and establishments unchanged, except in the correction of gross and palpable abuses. Under this system the principality of Nagpur progressively improved in resources and prosperity until its final restoration to the Raja.<sup>1</sup> The territories separated from it were placed under the direct authority of the Government of Bengal. Sambhalpur, and the wild country spreading to Bengal and Orissa, hitherto dependant upon Nagpur, were likewise ceded, and a line of communication from Bengal to

<sup>1</sup> Report on the territories of the Raja of Nagpur, by Richard Jenkins, Esq., printed in Calcutta, 1827.

the Mahratta territories on the west, was thus completed.<sup>1</sup> The management of the district of Ságár was united to that of Bundelkhand. The Nerbudda valley was subjected to the authority of a civil Commissioner, whose administration was based upon the same principles that had been adopted in the Poona territory, and who combined in his own person the chief revenue and judicial, as well as political, functions; having under him several assistants, entrusted with similar powers, but subject to the superintendence of the Commissioner. The assessment of the revenue, the distribution of civil justice, and the regulations of the police, were founded upon the institutions and usages of the people, but modified by the spirit of the British regulations. Subsequently Ságár was united to the Nerbudda territories, but the character of the administration long remained unaltered. The mountain countries to the eastward were governed by an agent, especially deputed for the purpose: and with some other dependencies of Nagpur, which, although not alienated, were managed by British officers for some years after the Raja's exercise of authority, were generally under the control of the resident of Nagpur. The revenues of the cessions from Nagpur were intended to provide funds for the payment of

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<sup>1</sup> These cessions were demanded in the conditional agreement entered into with Apa Saheb, 6th January, 1818, but the agreement was annulled by his flight, and was not finally renewed until December, 1826, when the Raja attained his majority. In the mean time, the administration of the whole being in the hands of the Resident, the terms of the agreement had been acted on and the territories occupied.—See Treaty with the Raja, 13th December, 1826, Com. House of Commons, 1832, App. Pol. 620. The whole area of the ceded territory was estimated at 70,000 square miles.—Jenkins's Report on Nagpur.

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the seven and a half lakhs, the cost of the subsidiary force, and to be a compensation for the contingent force which the Raja was bound to maintain, the expense of which was estimated at nine and a half. The produce of the ceded territory approached nearly to this amount, realising, after some years' occupation, inclusively of Gondwana, about sixteen and a half lakhs of rupees, levied from a population of one million, three hundred and forty thousand persons. Conjointly with Sagar, the increase of British subjects in this quarter might be called two millions, paying a revenue of two millions and a half of rupees.<sup>1</sup>

Although not immediate annexations to the British territories, yet as arising out of the war, we may notice the new arrangements made with the Nizam and the Gaekwar. As usual, districts subject to the Mahratta princes, especially to the Raja of Nagpur and the Peshwa, were intermixed inconveniently with the dominions of Hyderabad. Such of these as had fallen to the British, it was proposed to exchange for territories belonging to the Nizam situated beyond his general frontier, giving

<sup>1</sup> The following are the returns of 1827, when the Sagar and Nerbudda territories were united under one agency, and divided into three principal districts, viz. 1. Jabalpur, &c.; 2. Hosainabad, &c.; 3. Sagar:

#### NERBUDDA.

	JABALPUR.	HOSAINABAD.	SAGAR.	TOTAL.
Revenue	7,50,000	8,85,000	9,81,000	26,16,000
Population	7,20,000	6,25,000	5,60,000	19,05,000

The revenues of the Nerbudda districts are stated by Mr. Prinsep as having been in 1818-19, fourteen and a half lakhs; in 1819-20, twenty-one lakhs; and as having averaged twenty-three lakhs (say £230,000), during the three following years. The Sagar revenue rose in the same time from eight to nearly eleven lakhs, forming a total of thirty-four lakhs; but the first assessments on the land were too high, and the diminution made, with the gradual recovery from temporary depression, left them at the period here referred to, 1839-40, as stated, twenty-six lakhs.



him the advantage, as a recompense for the services of his subsidiary force, and his other contingents during the war. The adjustment was delayed, through the difficulty of obtaining an accurate valuation of the districts to be exchanged, and by the reluctance of the Nizam's ministers to admit the validity of any of the Peshwa's claims, to which the British government had succeeded. A treaty was at last concluded in 1822, by which the Nizam was released from all claims and demands on account of the late Peshwa, and received territories belonging to that prince and the Raja of Nagpur and Holkar, yielding a revenue of ten lakhs of rupees a year; in return for which he relinquished his lands between the Sena and Tumbhadra rivers, and his rights and possessions within the district of Ahmednagar, the whole being estimated at little more than four lakhs. He also engaged to give up a small tract to the Raja of Nagpur, and to continue the payments made by the Peshwa to certain of his dependents leviable from the revenues of the territory transferred to the Nizam.<sup>1</sup>

As great advantages were secured to the Gaekwar by the treaty with the Peshwa, in June 1816, in which the claims of the latter for tribute, and for his share of the farm of Ahmedabad, were abandoned;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Nizam, 12th December, 1822.—Treaties with Native Princes, printed by order of Parliament, 1825.

<sup>2</sup> The annual gain to the Gaekwar was estimated at something more than twenty-two and a half lakhs of rupees (£222,500), viz :

Tribute relinquished . . . . .	11,50,000
Ahmedabad farm . . . . .	9,75,000
Interest of a loan raised to pay off part of the debt to the Peshwa . . . . .	1,00,000
	<hr/>
Rupees .	22,25,000



BOOK II. and as the opportunity was considered favourable for  
CHAP. IX. imposing an additional burden upon the finances of

1819.

Guzerat, in the shape of an augmented subsidy, that Prince was, therefore, required to increase the subsidiary force, by a battalion of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, and to provide the requisite funds. It was at first proposed that they should be supplied by the transfer of Kattiwar, but as this was objected to by the court of Baroda, it was finally arranged that the Gaekwar should cede all the benefit which he had obtained from the perpetual farm of the Peshwa's territories subject to the city of Ahmedabad, in perpetuity to his allies. Some exchanges of territory were at the same time effected.<sup>1</sup>

These were the principal territorial additions which were the results of the war, and which brought with them a valuable accession of revenue and population. They were still more important in a political respect. Besides the actual extension of territory, they opened the whole of India to British access. Malwa, Rajputana, and a great part of the Dekhin had been almost closed against the British before the war, and the armies by which they were traversed beheld countries previously unknown. The dominions of the Mahratta chiefs interposed

The average revenue of Guzerat for the three years, 1813-16, had amounted to 71,90,000 rupees, and the expenses to 62,70,000 rupees, leaving a surplus of above eight lakhs per year. The debt to the company had been liquidated, and it was expected that all other encumbrances would be discharged in two years more.—Letter from Bombay, August, 1817. These expectations were disappointed, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe.

<sup>1</sup> Supplement to the Defensive Treaty with the Gaekwar, 6th November, 1817, ratified by the Governor-General, 12th March, 1818, also additional article modifying exchanges and fixing the value of Ahmedabad at 12,61,969 rupees, 6th November, 1818.

an extensive but compact barrier, separating the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, from each other, and from the principalities of Rajputana. This barrier was now broken down, and the intervening country pierced in every direction by British districts and dependencies, which enabled the government at once to exert its influence, or employ its power, wherever either might be required for its own benefit, or the general welfare. The termination of hostilities was coincident with the establishment of the political supremacy of the British government over every native state; and although some short time elapsed before this supremacy was fully recognised, or its good effects were universally experienced, the delay was ascribable more to the reluctance of the Government to take advantage of its position, than to the disinclination of the native Princes to submit to, or their ability to resist, its dictation. The progress made in the establishment of the paramount influence of the Government of India during the first few years subsequent to the war, we shall now proceed to trace.

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## CHAPTER X.

*Settlement of Central India.—Territories of Holkar.—Improvement in population and revenue.—Claims of the State—Of its dependants.—Adjusted by British interference.—Rival Pretenders to the Throne.—Suppressed.—Settlement of Dhar and Dewas.—Relations with Sindhia.—Services of the Contin-*

*gent.—His financial difficulties.—Engagements with Bhopal.—Islamnagar restored to the Nawab.—Death of Nazar Mohammed.—Killed by accident.—His widow Regent.—Principality prospers.—Rajput Princes—Secondary and principal.—Topographical situation of the former.—Engagements with Banskára.—Dungerpur.—Pertabgerh.—Sirohi and Krishnagar—With Bundi and with Kota.—Peculiarity of the treaty with the latter.—Its inconveniences.—Death of the Raja.—Aversion of Kesari Sing, his successor, to the hereditary minister.—Quarrels with Zalim Sing.—Raises troops.—Action of Mangrole.—Kesari Sing restored under restrictions.—Death of Zalim Sing.—His son succeeds as Minister.—Continued aversion of the Raja.—Treaty with the Rana of Udaypur.—Alienated and usurped lands recovered and restored to him.—Country improved.—Treaty with Jaypur.—Delay—finally concluded.—Interference necessary.—Death of the Raja.—Disputed succession.—Birth of a posthumous son.—Bhyri Sal made minister.—Resident appointed.—Supports the minister.—Treaty with Jodhpur.—State of parties.—Man Sing resumes the government.—Puts his adversaries to death.—Country prospers.—Treaty with Bhikaner.—Suppression of insurrection among the Bhattis.—Treaty with Jesalmer.—International tranquillity assured.—Internal tranquillity imperfectly maintained.*

After all the alterations and exchanges which remodelled the political subdivisions of Malwa, a considerable portion of this extensive and valuable province continued to be subject to the Mahrattas,



The share of Mulhar Rao Holkar had been much diminished by the separation of the districts assigned to the independent rule of the military adventurers, Amir Khan and Ghafur Khan, and by the cessions made, under the treaty of Mandaleswar, to Kota, Bundi, and the British Government. There still remained, however, territory of some extent in the south-west of Malwa, surrounding the capital, Indore; some relaxation was admitted in regard to the tributes due from various subordinate Rajput chiefs; and several of Holkar's villages, in the Dekhin, were also restored to him. The Raja, Mulhar Rao Holkar, was a boy, but the administration was in able hands; and Tantia Jôg, with the advice and support of Sir John Malcolm, soon raised the state to a degree of prosperity which it had not experienced when of less circumscribed extent. Hundreds of villages, which had been left desolate, were re-peopled, and the peasantry, in following the plough, laid aside the spear and shield which they had been formerly obliged to bear for their defence during their agricultural labours. The mercenary troops were greatly reduced, and the expenses of the court economically regulated. In the course of a year, the revenue was raised from a nominal amount of four lakhs of rupees—the whole of which had been formerly anticipated by assignments in favour of military marauders—to fourteen lakhs; and, continuing to improve during the life of the minister, amounted at his death, in 1826, to thirty-five lakhs of rupees.

The principal objects that required British interference, were the claims advanced by the state upon



BOOK II. its tributaries, and those made upon it by a particular class of its dependants. At the time of the  
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1819. conquest of Malwa by the Mahrattas they either expelled from their possessions the Rajput chiefs, among whom the country was divided, or, when those chiefs were too powerful, were satisfied to require from them an acknowledgment of allegiance, and payment of an annual tribute. The weaker Rajas, who were despoiled of their patrimonies, fled to the hills and forests, and, collecting armed followers, ravaged the districts of which they had been dispossessed. Unable to arrest their predatory incursions by force, the Mahratta rulers submitted to purchase their forbearance, and granted them fixed assignments on every village within their reach, on condition that they desisted from plunder. The assignments were, in general, of small amount, but they were irregularly paid, and still more irregularly levied, and afforded a constant excuse for rapine and disorder. The number of claimants of this order, termed *Grasias*, from the nature of their demands,<sup>1</sup> was considerable. The more powerful Rajas were much fewer, but there were several tributary to Holkar, or Sindhia, or to both. In the general anarchy which had prevailed, their lands had been laid waste, and their means of discharging their tributes had been greatly reduced. But the means of enforcing payment had been equally enfeebled, and long arrears had been suffered to accumulate, the liquidation of which was a fruitful subject of contention between them and their superior lords. By the

<sup>1</sup> They were so termed from *Grás*, a mouthful, or as much as may be put into the mouth at once.

intervention of the British functionaries, both descriptions of claims were adjusted. The assignments of the Grasias were commuted for fixed payments by the public treasury, and arrangements were entered into for the gradual discharge of the arrears, and the regular payment of the stipulated tribute of the dependent Rajas. In this manner the states of Jabua and Narsinggerh, dependencies of Holkar, and those of Amjira, Ratlam, Silana, Sitamow, and others tributary to Sindhia, were made to contribute to the resources of the paramount power, while protected against its extortion by the interposition of the British Residents.

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1819.

Little else occurred seriously to disturb the peaceable settlement of the Holkar state, although attempts were made to dispute the title, and even the identity of the young Raja. The former had a claimant, with a preferable right, in the person of Hari Rao Holkar, the son of Etoji, the elder brother of Mulhar Rao, who was put to death by the Peshwa. The young man showed little inclination to dispute the pretensions of his cousin, but he was detained in easy confinement by the prudence of the minister. The attempt to contest the Raja's personal identity was attended with more trouble. It was asserted that the young Raja had fled alone from Mahidpur, and concealed himself in an unfrequented part of the country, so effectually that he could not be found. As, however, the British refused to treat with any authority except the Raja, Tantia Jôg had provided for the occasion the supposititious prince who now bore the title. The story was well supported, and the appearance and deportment of the

BOOK II. Pretender gave it so much the air of probability,  
CHAP. X. that several old servants of the family believed its  
1819. authenticity. There was no difficulty in collecting  
troops—many of the disbanded soldiers of Holkar's  
armies were wandering about the neighbourhood,  
and were ready to join any cause which held out the  
promise of free quarters and unrestricted pillage.  
Active measures were, however, promptly adopted,  
and the insurrection was suppressed before it had  
attained maturity. Krishna, the pretended Mulhar  
Rao, was captured, and proved to be the adopted  
son of a member of the family, of the age of the  
Raja, and not unlike him in person. After a short  
confinement, he was set at liberty, as not likely to  
be again formidable. With the exception of the  
occasional disturbances created by refractory depend-  
ants, the affairs of the Holkar state continued for  
several years to prosper, under the able administra-  
tion of Tantia Jôg, and the support and advice of  
Mr. Wellesley, the Resident.

West of the territories of Holkar, extending to-  
wards Guzerat, are situated the two small states of  
Dhar and Dewas, the governments of kindred chiefs.  
Their ancestors were Rajputs of the Powar tribe,  
but they had migrated at an early period to the  
south, and had become naturalised as Mahrattas.  
Included among the Peshwa's officers, they obtained  
assignments of land and tributes in Malwa upon the  
Mahratta conquest; and, although their possessions  
had been reduced to extreme insignificance by dis-  
sensations among themselves, and the encroachments  
of Sindhia, Holkar, and the other more powerful  
Mahratta leaders, they still retained a portion of



their patrimony, and a place among the Mahratta princes of Malwa. Upon the advance of the British armies, they applied to be taken under protection, and, as part of the plan of effecting a settlement of Malwa, the application was, after some investigation, complied with. Allegiance, with military service on the one hand, and protection on the other, were the main conditions of the contracts.<sup>1</sup> Dhar ceded to the British government its claims of tribute on the Rajput principalities of Banswara and Dungeerpur, and as security for a pecuniary loan, the province of Bairsia for five years. This district was eventually restored to Dhar.

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The relations established with Sindhia have been already noticed. They continued unaltered, and Dowlat Rao seems to have learned to rely upon the friendly disposition of the British authorities, with some degree of confidence, although unable to divest himself wholly of suspicion of its ultimate designs against him. In his own language, although it might be possible for a man to become familiar with a tiger, and enter his cell without the fear of instant destruction, yet it would be difficult to remove all apprehension from his mind that he might at last become the prey of the animal. The anticipation has not been falsified, although its verification was deferred. The actual conduct of his allies was, however, calculated to confirm his reliance. The contingent, under British officers, performed services for Sindhia, which his other troops, perpetually in a state of mutiny and disorder, were

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Raja of Dewas, 12th December, 1818, and with the Raja of Dhar, 10th January, 1819.



BOOK II. unable to effect; recovered for him the province of  
CHAP. X. Gurra Kota, from which his officers had been expelled; and reduced to submission the chiefs Ajit Sing and Dhaukal Sing, who had succeeded to the rights and resolution of Jaysing of Raghugherh. The latter of these chiefs repeatedly foiled all attempts to prevent his incursions into the settled territories, and defeated the detachments sent against him. He was at length taken by Captain Blacker, with part of the contingent, when a compromise was effected, by which the Khychwari chiefs recovered the town of Raghugherh, and were allowed pensions, in commutation of their other claims. The contingent was effective also in enforcing Sindhia's authority in a domestic quarrel. Patankar, the governor of his districts in Guzerat, having withdrawn from court, and carried with him his son, who had been betrothed to the Raja's daughter, the recovery of the bridegroom, as well as the preservation of his dependencies, were objects, for the realisation of which, the contingent was successfully employed. Sindhia had recourse also to the British government for assistance under the pecuniary difficulties by which he was constantly embarrassed. His own habits of life, and the expense of an armed rabble, useless in the altered condition of India, and at all times as formidable to those in whose service they were enlisted as to their enemies, occasioned a surplus expenditure, which left the Prince at the mercy of the bankers and money-lenders of his court, and perpetuated the mismanagement of his territory, by the practice of payment of loans through assignments on the reve-

nue. Still Sindhia preferred a struggle with his difficulties to a resignation of his independence ; and, although he professed indifference as to what might become of his country after his death, he steadily persisted in declining to contract any subsidiary alliance.

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A general agreement, stipulating for the co-operation of the Nawab of Bhopal with the British divisions in the part of Malwa contiguous to his principality, had been entered into at the commencement of the campaign. A formal compact was not executed until the principal events of the war had occurred. A treaty was then concluded, in which the Nawab acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and received the assurance of its protection. No tribute was imposed, but the Nawab agreed to furnish a contingent force of six hundred horse and one thousand foot, whenever required ; and to assist, in case of necessity, with all his troops. In requital of his services against the Pindaris, a valuable accession of territory was granted to him from the possessions of the Vinchur Kar, which had devolved upon the British ; and, at a subsequent date, the fort of Islamnagar, obtained by exchange from Sindhia, was restored to Bhopal. This was peculiarly grateful to the Nawab and his Mohammedan subjects, as it was the first strong place acquired by Dost Mohammed, the founder of the family, and was made his capital. It had been taken by Sindhia's predecessor by treachery, and the strength of the fortress rendered its recovery by force hopeless. It was situated within a short distance of Bhopal, and its occupation by a Mahratta garrison was a perpe-

BOOK II. tual insult and annoyance. Its restoration was, there-  
 CHAP. X. fore, a subject of national rejoicing to the Bhopal

1819. Pathans, and drew forth expressions of the warmest gratitude from Nazar Mohammed. There was no reason to question his sincerity; but he did not live long enough to attest it by his acts, and his early death was attended by circumstances ill-adapted to secure the consolidation and prosperity of his principality. A few months after the conclusion of the treaty, Nawab Nazar Mohammed was killed by a pistol shot. He had retired to the interior apartments of his palace, in company with his infant daughter and his brother-in-law, Faujdar Khan, a boy but eight years of age. There were no grounds to suspect treason, except the relationship of the Begum and her brother to Ghaus Mohammed, whom Vizir Mohammed had virtually deposed; and the affection of the Begum, and the tender years of the boy, as well as the circumstances under which the Nawab perished, satisfied the authorities, by whom a strict investigation was set on foot, that the pistol must have been accidentally fired by Faujdar Khan, in play with his brother-in-law.<sup>1</sup> Upon the death of the Nawab, the chief members of the family, and of the court, in the exercise of a privilege sanctified by the usages of the principality, elected, in concert with the British Resident, the son of Amir Mohammed, the elder brother of the Nawab, who had been debarred from the succession by the will of Vizir Mohammed, and the exigency of the times, to which his character was unfitted. The succession was restored to his son, but

<sup>1</sup> Major Henley, &c.—See Malcolm, Central India, i. 417.



on the condition of his betrothal to the infant daughter, the only child of Nazar Mohammed; and that, during the minority of the parties, the government should be administered by the Begum, as Regent, aided by two of the principal members of the family, and the counsels of the Resident. Although the advance of Bhopal proved less rapid than had been anticipated by the sanguine expectations of Sir John Malcolm, it continued to be well governed, and to prosper under the new administration. The Begum, notwithstanding her youth, being now about nineteen, had been highly educated according to the system of Mohammedan instruction, and proved herself a woman of ability, resolution, and judgment.

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The greatest gainers by the change of affairs in central India should have been the princes of Rajputana, and they did not fail to reap important benefits from the revolution, although their own wretched management frustrated, in some degree, the natural tendency of events. They were comprehended under two classes, secondary and principal, including under the first head the petty chiefs of Banswara, Dungepur, Pertabgerh, Sirohi, Krishnagerh, Kerauli, Bundi, and Kota; and under the second, the more powerful and distinguished Rajas of Udaypur, Jaypur, Jodhpur, Jesselmer and Bhikaner. With each of these, formal engagements were contracted, upon the general basis of subordinate coöperation, and acknowledged supremacy.

The Rajput princes of the inferior order, who, strong in the formation of their country and their native courage, compelled the Mahratta invaders



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to substitute tribute for subjugation, are found chiefly in a rugged country, west of the sources of the Chambal, between Malwa and Guzerat, known by the denomination of Bagar and Kanthal. In the former were situated Banswara and Dungerpur, while the Raj of Pertabgerh was considered equivalent to the latter. The Raja of Banswara had negotiated at Baroda for an alliance in 1812, offering to pay three-eighths of his revenue in requital of the protection of his territory and principality. He was referred to Delhi, and an envoy was accredited to the Political Agent, who, when it was resolved to take the Rajputs under the ægis of the British power, was instructed to conclude a treaty on the terms proposed.<sup>1</sup> The Raja disavowed his agent, but declared himself to be still desirous of British protection, and a second treaty was framed and ratified, by which, in lieu of a proportion of the revenue, the Raja engaged to pay to the British Government the arrears of tribute due to Dhar, and to continue the payment annually, in a scale of progressive augmentation, until it should rise to the amount that might be required for the military defence of the country—the final tribute not to exceed three-eighths of the revenue.<sup>2</sup> In the event of delay, or failure of payment, a British agent should be appointed to receive the collection. The terms of the engage-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty, 16th September, 1818, and 25th December, 1818. Treaties, Marquis of Hastings' Administration, xcix. cvii. Agreement with Bhanwani Sing, 11th February, 1823.

<sup>2</sup> The arrears were estimated at 35,000 rupees, which were to be paid in three years. The tribute for three years was fixed at 17,000, 20,000, and 25,000 respectively. In 1827-8 the Banswara tribute amounted to 30,000 rupees, it afterwards declined to 25,000.—Sutherland. In the Commons' Report, App. Pol. p. 182, the tribute of Banswara is called 130,000 rupees, and that of the two preceding years, severally 50,000 and 40,000.

ment formed with the Raja of the neighbouring state of Dungerpur,<sup>1</sup> a kinsman of the Rana of Udaypur, were precisely the same as those with the Nawab of Banswara. The Raja died in July, 1819, and was succeeded by his son, Bhawani Sing, who was placed upon his cushion of sovereignty by the assistant to the Political Agent in Malwa.

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The Raja of Pertabgerh was also a scion of the ruling family of Udaypur. He had been tributary to Holkar, but had been released from his dependence on that chief, by a treaty concluded with him in 1804, by Colonel Murray, commanding the Guzerat division. This treaty, and others concluded on the same occasion, with the petty Rajas in this part of India, were never formally ratified by the British Government, and had no other result than that of exposing the chiefs to the vindictive resentment of the Mahrattas. Pertabgerh had experienced its full share of the evil consequences of a precipitate contract, and readily sought relief in a new and better guaranteed agreement. Protection was promised, as was assistance against the mountain tribes of the neighbourhood, and against the Raja's refractory subjects,<sup>2</sup> in return for which the Raja agreed to pay, by instalments, the arrears of tribute due to Holkar, and a gradually increasing annual tribute, until it should reach a stipulated sum.<sup>3</sup> Under these arrangements, this petty state

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with Sri Jeswant Sing, Raja of Dungerpur, 11th December, 1818. *Treaties, Marquis of Hastings' Administration*, ciii.

<sup>2</sup> Agreement with the Raja of Pertabgerh, 9th December, 1818. *Treaties, Hastings Papers*, c.

<sup>3</sup> 72,000 rupees. This again was paid to the Government of Holkar, the British Government, although claiming the allegiance and the tribute of Pertabgerh for itself, agreeing to pay to Holkar the same sum as the latter amounted to.

BOOK II. continued to prosper, notwithstanding the occasional  
CHAP. X. occurrence of domestic dissension. One important

1819. benefit realised to these feeble principalities was their extrication from a swarm of military adventurers, chiefly Arabs, Sindhis, and Mekranis, who, called in to engage in their mutual quarrels, had become, to a great extent, masters of the country. The dismissal of these mercenaries formed an article in each of the several engagements, but as it would have been incapable of fulfilment by the princes themselves, the employment of British troops was essential to its accomplishment; and by their aid a burthen that pressed heavily upon the resources of the state was thrown off. Above four thousand mercenaries were expelled, in the course of two years, from the country west of the Chambal. The benefit afforded by the repression of the incursions of the Bhils and Mhers was also of great magnitude, not only to the several states, but to Malwa and Hindustan; the roads to which, from Guzerat and the sea-coast, lay through Dungepur and Banswara, and being now rendered secure from robbery and murder, were again thrown open to foreign traffic.

The Rajput ruler of Sirohi, a small principality on the south-eastern borders of Jodhpur, early applied to the British Resident at Baroda to be taken under protection. The position of this state in the line of communication between Rajputana and Guzerat recommended the formation of an alliance with the Raja, and the overture was favourably received. The conclusion of any agreement was delayed by the claims preferred by the Raja of Jodhpur, who maintained that Sirohi was included



among his tributary dependencies. The claim was denied, although it was admitted that military incursions had been occasionally inflicted on Sirohi by the Raja of Jodhpur, or some of his Thakurs, for the purpose of levying arbitrary contributions.<sup>1</sup> No engagements of allegiance or protection had ever been exchanged. It was therefore determined to extend to Sirohi the connection subsisting with the petty Rajput princes of Bagar and Kanthal, and thus form a continuous series of protected states from the frontiers of Malwa to those of Guzerat, where the chiefs of Pahlampur, and Radhanpur, feudatories of the Gaekwar, under British supervision, completed the chain. The principality of Sirohi, although more extensive than either of the other petty states of this class,<sup>2</sup> was less populous and productive, being situated among the Aravali mountains, and inhabited chiefly by Bhils and Minas, more addicted to plunder than to cultivation. At the time when the connection was first established, the poverty of the country had been enhanced by the oppressive rule of the Raja. He had been deposed by his subjects, and

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<sup>1</sup> The petty and harassing nature of these incursions may be best conceived from examples. The village and lands of Srivara on the frontiers of Sirohi, had been subjected to a contribution levied by a body of Jodhpur troops, about once in three years, of one hundred and eighty rupees (say £18). In 1818-19, a demand was made of 1400 rupees (£140), which the village being unable to pay, the invaders accepted a promissory note for 800 rupees (not likely ever to be honoured), and a mare, valued at 600 rupees, for the balance. The two villages of Raniwara had been made, in like manner, to pay 300 rupees; in the same year they were plundered to the extent of 1000 rupees, were obliged to grant a bill for 500 rupees more, and were robbed of four hundred goats and sheep, besides being exposed to the insolence and violence of a lawless soldiery.—MS. Rec. Treaty with Seo Sing, Regent of Sirohi, 31st October, 1823.

<sup>2</sup> The area of Sirohi is calculated at three thousand square miles. That of Dungepur, the next in size, at two thousand. Banswara and Pertabgerh at about one thousand four hundred each.



BOOK II. the Government was in the hands of his brother, as  
 CHAP. X. Regent, with whom the alliance was contracted.

1819. The presence of a Political Agent for some years at Sirohi, enabled the Raja to resume his authority, while it checked his tyranny, and the country was gradually restored to order and comparative prosperity.

Krishnagerh is a small state on the western borders of Jaypur, and immediately north of the British province of Ajmir. The treaty with the Raja provided for his military service when required, to the extent of his means, and promised protection, without interference in the internal management of the country.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, at a subsequent date, in a dispute between the Raja and his Thakurs or nobles, the parties were allowed to adjust their own quarrel; and the Raja, upon being besieged in his capital by his Thakurs, was obliged to purchase their return to obedience by a confirmation of those privileges of which he had attempted to deprive them. So disgusted was the Raja with the result, that he abdicated his power in favour of his son; and, on condition of an annual pension from the revenue, retired to a private life in the British territories. Karauli,<sup>2</sup> a still smaller principality, on the eastern limit of Jaypur, early applied for British protection. The tribute paid by the Raja to the Mahrattas was remitted; and no conditions but those of general allegiance, and military service when required, were stipulated. The advantages of the engagement were entirely on the side of the Raja; and no in-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Raja of Krishnagerh, 28th March, 1818. *Treaties, Hastings Papers*, xciv.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with the Raja of Karauli, 9th November, 1817. *Ibid.* lxxix.

terference has ever been exercised in his territory. He has, nevertheless, been unable to resist the bias of his natural propensity to embark in hazardous scenes of strife and peril, and was known to have furnished military aid to Bhurtpur, on an occasion which will be hereafter noticed.<sup>1</sup> It was not thought necessary to visit with severity, a breach of faith so insignificant in its consequences.

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The engagements that were entered into with the states of Haravati, or Bundi, and Kota; were of more substantive importance, and were an essential part of the political system adopted by the Governor-General. The treaty with Bundi relieved it of all tribute formerly paid to Holkar, and transferred to the British Government, the collection of that which had been reserved to Sindhia, amounting to eighty thousand rupees. The lands which had been appropriated by Holkar within the limits of Bundi, were also restored to the Raja.<sup>2</sup> The grounds on which this state had deserved the bounty of the British Government,—the assistance afforded to Colonel Monson, on his retreat, have been already adverted to. The Raja died in the middle of 1821, and his son, Ram Sing, a boy of eleven years of age, was placed on the cushion, by the British agent in Rajputana, who conferred upon the youth the ‘tika,’ or mark of sovereignty, as the representative

<sup>1</sup> “When the British Government was involved in the Burmese war, and Bhurtpur prepared for defence, under the usurpation of Durjan Sál, there was no doubt that Keraoli sent troops to the aid of the usurper, and assembled troops for its own defence. On the fall of that fortress, Keraoli made strong protestations of attachment, and it was not deemed necessary to take any serious notice of its proceedings.”—Sutherland, 113.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with Bishen Sing Raja of Bundi, 10th February, 1818. Treaties, xci.

BOOK II. of the paramount Lord. A council of Regency was  
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1819. appointed of four principal ministers of the Raja; but it was soon after dissolved by the influence of the queen mother, who assumed the character of Regent, and appointed her own minister. On his death, in the beginning of 1823, the young Raja nominated a successor, without consulting the political agent; but, as it appeared that the choice was judicious, it was confirmed; and the state under able management, continued prosperous. In the same year, the young Raja, then in his twelfth year, married a princess of Jaypur, who was in her twenty-fifth, the disparity of years being more than compensated by the honour of the alliance. The connexion was productive, at a later date, of disastrous consequences.

The real ruler of Kota, the Raj Rana, Zalim Sing, had, from the first, associated himself with the policy of the British Government, and had at once entered into a treaty of alliance. It was concluded with the sovereign of whom Zalim Sing professed to be the minister, the Maha Rao, Umed Sing. The tributes heretofore paid to the Maharattas, were made payable, according to a stipulated scale, to the British Government.

The exercise of the supreme authority of Kota, by Zalim Sing, was apparently conformable to the wishes of the Raja Umed Sing, who, being of an unambitious and indolent disposition, rejoiced to be exempted from the cares of government. He was not subjected to any personal restraint; maintained a show of state; and was treated by Zalim Sing with the utmost deference. Still he had been



so little heard of, or known in the transactions of central India, for many years past, that the British Government looked only to his representative; and was prepared, at the period of the negotiations with Kota, to have acknowledged Zalim Sing as the head of the principality. That prudent chief's regard for the opinion of Rajputana, which, however indifferent to the appropriation of the authority, would have severely condemned the usurpation of the title of Raja, deterred him from taking advantage of the friendly disposition or ignorance of his allies; and the treaty was designated as having been framed with the Raja, through the administrator of the affairs of Kota. This was considered, however, an insufficient recognition of Zalim Sing's actual power, and a supplementary article was therefore framed, by which, while the succession of the principality was acknowledged to be vested in the son of Umed Sing, it was also provided that the administration should be in like manner heritable, and after being exercised by the Raj Rana Zalim Sing, should descend to his eldest son and his heirs in regular succession in perpetuity:<sup>1</sup> thus sanctioning the co-existence of a double government, and virtually guaranteeing the perpetual independence of a hereditary minis-

<sup>1</sup> Supplementary Article. The contracting parties agree that, after Maha Rao Omed Sing, the principality shall descend to his eldest son and heir-apparent, Maharaj Kowar Kishour Sing, and his heirs in regular succession and perpetuity; and that the entire administration of the affairs of the principality shall be vested in Raj Rana Zalim Sing, and after him in his eldest son, Kooar Madhu Sing, and his heirs in regular succession in perpetuity. Concluded at Delhi, February 20th, 1818. This article is not found in the Collection of the Hastings Papers, nor in any Parliamentary Collection. It is given in a collection of Treaties printed at Bombay, apparently under the sanction of the Government.



BOOK II. ter. The inconveniences of such a guarantee were  
 CHAP. X. soon manifested.

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The Raja of Kota, Umed Rao, died in December, 1819, and was succeeded by his eldest son Kesari Sing.<sup>1</sup> The young Prince submitted, although with impatience, to the control of the aged minister, but cherished an insuperable dislike to the eldest son of Zalim Sing, and insisted on his right to choose his own confidential adviser and eventual minister in the person of Govardhan Das, the younger son of the Raj Rana, and the new sovereign's early associate and friend. In the prosecution of his purpose, the Rao adopted measures which menaced the political authority of Zalim Sing, and the Governor-General, in conformity with the principle of the supplementary article of the treaty, directed the Political Agent in Rajputana, Captain Tod, to interfere and uphold the minister against the Raja, to the extent even, if necessary, of deposing the latter. His dismissal of Govardhan Das was demanded, but the demand was resisted until troops were employed to surround the fort and prohibit the entrance of supplies, by which the Raja was starved into a temporary acquiescence. Govardhan Das was obliged to withdraw from Kota, and a seeming reconciliation was affected between the veteran minister and the Raja. It was not of long duration: as soon as the Resident had left the city, the quarrel revived with enhanced violence, and broke out into actual hostilities. Kesari Sing became alarmed and fled to Delhi, where he was

<sup>1</sup> Sutherland calls him Krishna Sing, but the public documents have Kishore (for Kesari?) Sing.

detained until he promised to relinquish all pre-BOOK II.  
tension to interfere in the administration of his CHAP. X.  
government. This promise he also broke, and, re-1820.  
turning to Rajputana, had recourse to Bundi and Jaypur for aid. The sense of the country was universally in his favour. Notwithstanding Zalim Sing's unquestionable merits, his encroachments on the hereditary rights of the Raja were regarded as a dereliction of his duties as a subject, and as an indefensible and traitorous usurpation. Encouragement was given by the ruling authorities of different states to Kesari Sing to assert his claims, and many of the Rajput chiefs brought their followers to his standard, so that in a short time he had assembled six thousand mén. It is questionable if Zalim Sing, left to his own resources, could have maintained himself against his lawful Prince, but the British troops were at hand to uphold his disloyalty. An action was fought at Mangrole, in which Kesari Sing was defeated. Prithvi Sing, his younger brother, and many of the chiefs who had embraced his cause were killed, and the Raja made his escape with no more than three hundred horse: the rest were dispersed. Finding that his attempts to throw off the yoke of his minister, while so powerfully supported, were hopeless, Kesari Sing submitted to the pleasure of the British Government, and was replaced in his titular sovereignty; a fixed stipend was assigned to him for his subsistence, and he was allowed to maintain a small body guard of horse and foot, but his authority was restricted to his own immediate dependants, and the real rule of Kōta was once more confirmed to the Raj Rana.

BOOK II. Zalim Sing died in little more than two years after  
 CHAP. X. the restoration of the Raja, and was succeeded as  
 1820. minister by his son Madhu Sing. The animosity  
 between the servant and the master, and the want  
 of ability and character in both, demanded the con-  
 tinued presence of a Resident at Kota, and imposed  
 upon him the duty of preserving unimpaired the  
 respective rights and privileges of the minister and  
 the Raja.<sup>1</sup>

We have now to review the relations which were  
 formed with the more eminent Rajput states, and  
 first with the Rana of Udaypur, the anxiety of  
 which prince to be sheltered by British protection  
 from the outrages and insolence of the Mahrattas  
 and Patans had been signified to the British Resi-  
 dent at Delhi, long before the altered policy of the  
 Government allowed it to gratify his wishes. As  
 soon as the abandonment of the principle of non-  
 interference was known, the Vakils of the Rana  
 presented themselves at Delhi, and a treaty was  
 speedily concluded by which Udaypur became tri-  
 butary to the British, on account of protection  
 against every other claimant.<sup>2</sup> The tribute was  
 fixed at one-fourth of the revenue for the first five

<sup>1</sup> It was a subject of regret to the British Government, on the death  
 of Zalim Sing, that a division of territory could not, consistently with  
 the terms of the treaty, be made between the Raja of Kota and Madhu  
 Sing. After many years of hesitation this arrangement was carried  
 into effect, and put an end to the contest between incompatible heredi-  
 tary successions. In 1838 the parties agreed, at the instance of the  
 British Government, to a partition of the country. The Raj Rana, the  
 son and successor of Madhu Sing, received one third of the dominions  
 of Kota, thenceforward termed Jhalawar. The remaining two-thirds con-  
 tinued in the occupancy of the Maha Rao Ram Sing, the nephew and  
 adopted son of Kesari Sing.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, ii. part ii,  
 p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with the Raja of Udaypur, 13th January, 1818. Treaties, xc.



years, and after that, three-eighths in perpetuity.<sup>1</sup> But the more remarkable feature in the treaty was, the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the British Government by a state which, amidst all its disasters and distress, had never recognised a superior in either Mohammedan or Mahratta. Nor had Udaypur ever paid regular tribute to the Mahrattas, although heavy contributions had been levied from time to time, and alienations of territory had been enforced as the price of forbearance, or as the requital of subsidiary service. All lands which had been assigned unauthorisedly, or had been seized by the officers of Sindhia and Holkar for no adequate reason,<sup>2</sup> the British Government undertook to recover, confirming those grants which had been voluntarily made. The Resident was also empowered to redeem on behalf of the Rana the domains of the Crown which, in the recent relaxation of all law and authority, had been silently usurped by his most powerful vassals. The Resident was able to effect this object by remonstrance and persuasion, and the Thakurs consented to restore all lands usurped from the Rana or each other since A. D. 1766; to observe faithfully their allegiance, and to discharge the duties under which they held their possessions.<sup>3</sup> They

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<sup>1</sup> Sindhia claimed three-fifths of the revenue, and the Chouth, or fourth, besides, but upon no equitable grounds, and his claims were set aside. For several years no tribute was realized. From 1824-5 to 1826-7, nearly three lakhs were annually exacted, but this was found to press too heavily on the revenues. The last returns are about one lakh and a half (£15,000).

<sup>2</sup> These amounted, according to Captain Tod, to an annual revenue of above thirty lakhs of rupees. Sixteen having been appropriated by Sindhia's captains, fourteen by Holkar's.—MS.

<sup>3</sup> Among them was the attendance for three months alternately at Court in command of a body of their own followers, "in order to give strength and respectability to the executive government." The articles of the agreement are given by Mr. Prinsep, ii. 362.



BOOK II. also engaged to abstain from mutual hostilities, to  
CHAP. X. harbour no banditti, to commit no violence on tra-

1820. vellers and traders, and to cherish their peasantry. These obligations were fulfilled with various degrees of fidelity, and the growth of the country in prosperity was progressive, although retarded by the improvidence and extravagance of the Rana, Bhim Sing, by which, after some years, he was plunged into embarrassments little inferior to those from which he had been extricated by the British alliance. His revenue, however, as well as the condition of the country improved. In 1817 the royal lands returned scarcely a yearly sum of three thousand rupees; in 1821 they yielded about eleven lakhs. In the course of four years the inhabited houses of the capital increased from three thousand to ten thousand.<sup>1</sup> Bhi-lara, a commercial town of importance, and once containing twelve thousand families, but which latterly had not a single inhabitant, recovered, in less than a year, seven hundred families, among whom were many merchants and bankers. Commerce again became active, and travelling comparatively secure; and cultivation transformed the wilderness which had spread over the country, in consequence of its depopulation, to fields of grain, reaped without fear of their being laid waste by bands of mercenary Patans or predatory Mahrattas.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the Rana's own statement to Captain Tod, "when Jamshid Khan (the officer left by Amir Khan in charge of the Rana) was here no respectable man could walk the streets without being seized, and, unless he paid a sum of money, he was stripped. Men's wives and daughters were forcibly torn from their dwellings. Had the British not been here at this moment, the rents of the surrounding fields would have been in requisition, and parties of mercenary troops encamped in the valley. We were obliged to pluck the sour fruit before it was ripe, or it was taken from us."

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Heber passed through Udaypur and the neighbouring Rajput

The renewal of the alliance with Jaypur had been most earnestly solicited by the Raja as early as 1815, but a compliance with his requisition was the subject of much doubt and discussion, as we have already had occasion to observe. The Governor-General, considering it to be an essential part of his plans for the suppression of predatory warfare, carried the question in the affirmative, and the Resident at Delhi was authorised to enter into a negotiation with the Jaypur envoys. They, however, then held back, in conformity with the policy of their court, which anticipated relief from the exactions of Amir Khan, by the mere rumour of a British alliance, from the formation of which it was deterred by the opposition of the nobles, the advice of Jodhpur, and the menace of Sindhia that he would join Amir Khan if the negotiation proceeded. The expectation was in part realised. Amir Khan suspended operations, and the court of Jaypur, hoping to conclude a treaty with him on advantageous terms, marked their indifference to the British alliance, by suddenly proposing conditions which were inadmissible. The negotiation was declared to be at an end, but fresh applications from the Raja to the Governor-General led to its renewal. It was again

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States on the way to Guzerat, in the beginning of 1825, at a time when the country was suffering from the effects of a season of drought, but he frequently notices the abundant crops of wheat, barley, and poppies. He also passed through Bhilwara, and describes it as a large town with a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate but widely diffused wealth and comfort, than he had seen since he left Delhi. The streets were full of carts laden with corn and flour, the shops stored with all kinds of woollen, felt, cotton, and hardware goods, and the neatness of their workmanship in iron surpassed what he could have expected to see. The people unanimously ascribed the renovation of their town to Captain Todd.

—Narrative of a Journey, &c., ii. 46.

BOOK II. broken off, the amount of the subsidy being objected  
 CHAP. X. to by the agents, and the Minister of Jaypur de-  
 1820. claring in open court that they had never been  
 authorised to accede to any pecuniary payment for  
 a subsidiary force. The envoys, nevertheless, re-  
 mained at Delhi, confident that the intercourse with  
 Amir Khan would end in disappointment, and that  
 the Raja must eventually throw himself on British  
 protection. They judged rightly, and after three  
 years' vacillation, a treaty was concluded with Jay-  
 pur. Protection was promised on the one part, and  
 allegiance on the other; and to defray the expense of  
 the military defence of the Raj, was henceforth the  
 duty of the protected power. Jaypur agreed to pay  
 as a tribute, a progressively augmenting subsidy  
 until it amounted to eight lakhs annually—at which  
 sum it should be fixed until the revenue amounted  
 to forty lakhs a-year, when five-sixteenths of the  
 excess were to be added to the sum of eight lakhs.<sup>1</sup>  
 The state was released from all other claims. As  
 usual in all the engagements contracted at this  
 season a clause was inserted, acknowledging the  
 Raja and his successors absolute rulers of their ter-  
 ritory and dependants. The treaty was scarcely  
 concluded when interference in the internal govern-  
 ment of Jaypur became necessary to preserve it from  
 the horrors of a civil war.

The constitution of the Rajput states assigns a  
 voice in the management of public affairs, to cer-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with Jaypur, 2nd April, 1818. Treaties, xcv. The resources  
 of Jaypur were greatly over-rated. In the first six years the collection  
 fell short by five lakhs of the whole sum stipulated; in the next five by ten  
 lakhs; and, by the last accounts, amounted to no more than thirty-one lakhs.  
 —App. Pol. Report, p. 188. Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, ii. 11, 191.



tain of the chief nobles, or Thakurs, of the prin-  
 cipality, each of whom fills much the same position  
 as that of a feudal baron in the middle ages; holding  
 his lands by the tenure of military service, govern-  
 ing them with independent power, engaged fre-  
 quently in hostilities with his neighbours, and  
 singly, or in coalition with other chiefs, sometimes  
 taking up arms against his liege lord. Under an  
 active and prudent Raja the Thakurs might be  
 subjected to control; but Jagat Sing, dissolute  
 and indolent, had aggravated by his defects, the  
 disorders induced by foreign invasion, and had  
 suffered the power of the Raja to fall into insignifi-  
 cance and contempt by the impunity with which he  
 permitted his great vassals to encroach upon the de-  
 mesne of the crown; or the imprudence with which  
 he alienated his revenues in favour of military or re-  
 ligious persons, on conditions which they wholly dis-  
 regarded. It became necessary to interfere to protect  
 his power from annihilation; and a minister having  
 been appointed with the sanction and support of Sir  
 David Ochterlony, who united the chief civil and  
 military authority in this part of Rajputana, many of  
 the grants to undeserving individuals were resumed;  
 and it was proposed to the Thakurs to assent to an  
 arrangement, similar to that effected at Udaypur,  
 by which they should consent to relinquish their  
 usurpations. Their assent was not obtained until  
 an example had been made of the most refractory,  
 and the strong-holds of Kusalgerh and Madhuraj-  
 pur had been captured by British troops. Before,  
 however, any comprehensive arrangement was ac-  
 complished, Jagat Sing died. He left no heir. The

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BOOK II. succession was claimed by Man Sing, son of the late  
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Raja's elder brother ; but he was unacceptable to the Thakurs, being born of a woman of inferior rank ; and he was set aside in favour of a boy, said to have been adopted by the Raja in his dying moments. The genuineness of the adoption was questioned, but the opportune birth of a posthumous son, by one of the Ranis, rendered its validity unimportant. A dispute, however, arose for the ministry. The infant Raja's mother was acknowledged regent ; but the appointment of her minister was demanded by the majority of the chiefs, who combined to place Bhyri Sal, one of their body, at the head of the state. The Political Agent was again obliged to interpose in order to protect the life of the actual minister, Mohan Ram, whom he had all along supported ; but as the party opposed to him was of sufficient influence to nullify all his acts, it was thought prudent to yield to his dismissal, and acquiesce in the elevation of Bhyri Sal. This was sufficient to create a new opposition, and a contest for power arose between the new minister and the officers and servants of the interior of the palace, where the two principal widows of Jagat Sing intrigued for the promotion of their creatures, and, according to popular scandal, their paramours. To obviate the mischief thus engendered, and to arrest the misappropriation of the resources of the state, which were lavishly alienated by both parties to secure adherents, it was determined to establish a permanent Resident at Jaypur ; and although the measure was equally distasteful to both factions, Major Stewart was sent to Jaypur, in that capacity, in 1821.

This interposition was vindicated, not only by a regard for the interests of the minor Raja, but for those of the British Government, as the prodigal dissipation of the revenue was likely to prevent the punctual payment of the tribute. The interposition of the Resident was, in the first instance, restricted to advice, but this was found ineffectual to remedy the evils of a divided administration—the influence of Jhota Ram, the favourite of the Regent Rani, neutralising the authority of Bhyri Sal, and encouraging resistance to his orders. More positive interference was, therefore, had recourse to, and the Rani mother was threatened with the transfer of the Regency to the other widow of the Raja, who was of superior rank, being the daughter of the Raja of Jodhpur, unless she consented to the removal of her favourite. Jhota Ram was accordingly sent from court, and the sole authority vested for a while in Bhyri Sal. The Rani had, however, a strong party among the Thakurs, and the arrangement continued undisturbed only as long as it received the decided and vigorous support of the British Government. These dissensions prevented the principality of Jaypur from deriving the full advantage to have been expected from the expulsion of the predatory hordes by which it had been so long and so mercilessly ravaged.

The Government of Jodhpur early signified its willingness to contract an alliance upon the conditions which had been declined in 1804. A treaty was accordingly concluded on the same terms as those formed with the other Rajput states. Jodhpur received military protection on condition of acknowledging the supremacy of the British power,

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BOOK II. and affording, when required, a force of fifteen  
 CHAP X. hundred horse, or, in time of need, the whole of  
 1820. its disposable troops. The tribute paid to Sindhia, amounting to one lakh and eight thousand rupees a-year, was thenceforth payable to the British Government. The absolute authority of the Raja and his successors over their own dominions was admitted.<sup>1</sup> The treaty was concluded with Man Sing, as represented by the Prince Regent, Chatur Sing, the Raja, as we have seen, being at this time, or affecting to be, incapable of exercising the administration, and having withdrawn from public affairs. Chatur Sing died before the treaty was ratified, but the time had not yet come for the Raja to throw off the mask, and the state was governed by Salim Sing, the chief of Pokurn, and son of the Sawai Sing, murdered by Amir Khan, and by Akhai Sing, the latter as Dewan, or chief civil and financial minister. These were the leaders of the faction hostile to the Raja, and by whose aid the regency of the Prince had been maintained.

As soon as the cessation of military operations permitted, Sir David Ochterlony visited Jodhpur to ascertain the real state of parties, and early received private intimation from the Raja that he purposed to resume the reins of government.<sup>2</sup> He was encouraged in his resolution; but, although he held out the British alliance as an object of terror

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Raja of Jodhpur, 6th January, 1818. *Treaties*, lxxxix.

<sup>2</sup> He wrote to the General privately, stating that he had been waiting for assurances of the friendship of the British Government for three years, during which he had never shaved nor changed his apparel. He had now done both.—MS. Records.



to his disobedient nobles, he suffered some time to elapse before he manifested the full extent of his designs. Become a master in the art of dissimulation, he exhibited no resentment towards the usurpers of his power, and permitted them, with such a semblance of confidence as to lull their suspicions, to retain their ministerial functions. They paid the penalty of their imprudence. As soon as the Raja's projects were mature, the city of Jodhpur was startled by the appearance of various dead bodies thrown over the battlements of the citadel. Akhai Chand had been seized and imprisoned, made to disgorge the sums he had appropriated from the royal treasury, and was then put to death. The governor of the fort, and other members of the administration, who were found in the citadel, were treated in the same manner, and their partisans throughout the country were simultaneously arrested, tortured until they yielded up their ill-gotten wealth, and then poisoned. Salim Sing was not in the citadel, but in the town with his friend Sartan Sing of Nimaj. The house of the latter was beset by a large body of armed men, but the Thakur defended himself until most of his followers were killed, when he sallied forth with the survivors and was slain. His defence gave the chief of Pokurn opportunity to escape, but it did not save his estates from the Raja's retaliation. Taking advantage of the consternation excited by the suddenness and ferocity of his vengeance, Man Sing dispatched the troops, which the treasures he had recovered enabled him to levy, against the divided and bewildered Thakurs, and compelled them to fly for safety to the

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BOOK II. surrounding Rajput principalities. Notwithstanding  
 CHAP. X. these disorders, the vigour which Man Sing displayed in the conduct of the government and the exclusion of the Patan plunderers, restored the territories of Jodhpur to tranquillity; and considerable cities, such as those of Merta and Nagore, which had been left in ruins, were re peopled and prospered.

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Although situated beyond the ordinary sphere of predatory aggression, and offering little temptation to the plunderer, the Rajput state of Bhikaner had not wholly escaped, and therefore gladly joined its neighbours in the general appeal to British guardianship. The terms were, as usual, protection on the one hand, acknowledgment of supremacy on the other; abstinence from political intercourse with other states, and submission of all disputes to the arbitration of the paramount power. The British Government undertook to assist the Raja in reducing the tribes which had revolted from his authority, and he engaged to become responsible for any injury which his subjects, many of whom were notorious robbers, might have inflicted upon the adjacent British territories. The Raja also promised to provide for the safe passage of merchandise in transit through his dominions, from Kabul and Khorasan to India.<sup>1</sup>

The fulfilment of the stipulation, which undertook to reduce to obedience the revolted subjects of Bhikaner, was connected with the necessity of suppressing an insurrection on the frontiers of Hariana, among the Bhattis, who were the subjects of the British

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with Surat Sing, Raja of Bhikaner, 9th March, 1818. — Treaties, Hastings Papers, xciii.

Government, and who were assisted in their outrages by the people of Bhikaner in rebellion against their Raja. Upon the occupation of Hariana, the Bhattis who, in the course of their nomadic wanderings, frequented its western boundaries, mostly retired into the desert. Of those who remained, part were made subject to British authority and the rest were placed under that of a chief named Zabita Khan; a district being granted to him in Jagir. Although the pastoral habits of the Bhattis and their migratory life, were not incompatible with predatory practices, and they were dreaded in all the surrounding country as plunderers and robbers, they had hitherto refrained from molesting the British districts; but in the course of 1818, taking advantage of the enfeebled state of the forces usually stationed in the province, the greater part of which were still absent in Malwa, the Bhattis rose in great numbers and captured the frontier town of Fattehabad, which was guarded only by the Sikh contingent of the Naba Raja who fled from the attack. A small detachment was sent from the garrison of Hansi and Hissar<sup>1</sup> to recover the town, but it was driven back and with difficulty effected its retreat to Hissar in the face of a body of the enemy estimated at seven thousand strong. Reinforcements were immediately dispatched to Hariana, and a force was assembled at Hansi, under Brigadier-General Arnold,<sup>2</sup> for the purpose of put-

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<sup>1</sup> Two companies of the 17th N. I., a party of the Dromedary corps, a risala of Skinner's Horse, and a brigade of guns under Major Foot.

<sup>2</sup> One troop of Horse Artillery, 1st N. C., two risalas of Skinner's Horse, three battalions and a half of N. I., two battalions of Begum Samru's troops and other auxiliaries, and a small battering train, in all between seven and eight thousand men.

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ting down the insurrection on the adjoining confines of Bhikaner and Bhatner, and the capture of the forts occupied by the insurgents. Brigadier Arnold marched in the middle of August against the rebels, who fled before him into the desert. He then proceeded against their strongholds, all of which were surrendered without opposition, and most of the chiefs promised submission to their respective liege lords. Zabita Khan was removed from his Jagir, as unable to control his people, and pensioned; and the country was taken under the direct management of the British officers. The places belonging to Bhikaner were restored to the Raja.

The still more remote and sterile principality of Jesalmer equally sought the British alliance. Few points required adjustment, but a special clause provided that if invaded or menaced by any danger of great magnitude, the British government would defend the principality, provided the cause of quarrel were not imputable to the Raja. This clause was dictated by the necessity of preserving Jesalmer from the daily encroachments of more powerful neighbours, particularly of the Amirs of Sindh and the Nawab of Bahawalpur, who, but for this alliance, would have extinguished the Rajput principality.<sup>1</sup> The only power against which it became requisite to act was that of Bhikaner. The Maldotes, a robber tribe of the Bhatti race, made a foray from Jesalmer into Bhikaner, and carried off a number of camels, which had been purchased for the service of

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with Maha Rawal Mul-raj, Raja of Jesalmer, 12th December, 1818.



the Peshwa, and were on their way to the south. In retaliation, the Raja of Bhikaner sent a force against the robbers which destroyed their villages, and threatened some of the chief towns of Jesalmer. Further mischief was stopped by the intervention of the British authorities. The Raja of Jesalmer died in 1820, and was succeeded by his son Gaj Sing.

Thus was completed the connection formed with the Princes of Rajputana, who all acknowledged the supremacy of the British government, promised their subordinate coöperation in time of need, and agreed to submit their mutual disputes to its arbitration. The international peace of Hindustan was secured, and neither Rajput nor Mahratta dared henceforth draw his sword against his neighbour. The maintenance of tranquillity within the several states was less effectually cared for. Non-interference in the internal administration of each state was an invariable condition of their allegiance, a forbearance which it was impossible always to observe, and which, when observed, was generally attended with mischievous results to both prince and people. The latter had been too long accustomed to a state of violence and disorder to become at once peaceable and obedient subjects; and the former were, at all times, inclined to abuse their power, and tyrannise over those under their sway. Sources of dissension were inherent in the conflicting pretensions of the sovereign and his Thakurs—his clansmen and barons—high-spirited but turbulent chiefs, too arrogant to acknowledge subjection—too rude and ignorant to make a profitable use of independence—constantly engaged in feuds

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BOOK II. with each other, or with their Prince—disregarding  
CHAP. X. all law except that of the strongest—placing all  
 1820. their notions of honour in personal impunity, and  
 trusting to their swords alone, for the preservation  
 of their rights, and the assertion of their claims—it  
 required nothing less than the strong hand of the  
 British power to restrain them from involving them-  
 selves and their countrymen in scenes of strife and  
 bloodshed. That hand has been somewhat capri-  
 ciously interposed; sometimes held out and some-  
 times withdrawn. The policy pursued at one period  
 has been departed from at another, and Rajputana  
 has been consequently agitated by storms which a  
 more decided, although, at the same time, moderate,  
 application of authority might have dissipated in  
 their birth.

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## CHAPTER XI.

*Miscellaneous Occurrences during and after the Mah-  
 ratta War.—Affairs of Cutch.—Hostility of the  
 Rao.—His intemperance and violence.—Force sent  
 against him.—Bhuj taken.—The Rao surrenders.—  
 Deposed.—His infant Son raised to the Throne.—  
 A Council of Regency, under the superintendence  
 of the Resident.—Subsidiary Treaty.—Amirs of  
 Sindh unfriendly.—Causes.—The Khosa Robbers  
 attacked.—Sindh Troops enter Cutch.—Withdrawn  
 and disavowed.—Treaty with the Amirs.—Arrange-  
 ments with Kolapur.—Outrages by Plunderers from*

*Troops left at Kishme.—Consequences.—Defeat of a British Detachment by the Beni-Bu-Ali Arabs.—Second Expedition.—Tribe almost exterminated.—Agency abolished.—Transactions at Mocha.—Town Sawantwari.—A Force sent into the Country.—Treaties with the Regency.—Treaty with the Chief of Kolaba.—Piracies in the Persian Gulph.—Force sent against them.—Ras-al-Khaima again taken.—Treaty with the Arab Tribes.—Political Agent.—Treaty with the Imam of Senna.—Occurrences in the Eastern Archipelago.—Exclusive policy of the Dutch.—Defeated by Sir T. Stamford Raffles.—Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen.—His views on Sumatra.—Objected to by the Governor-General.—Offence not to be given.—Treatment by the Dutch of the Sultan of Palembang.—Determination of the Government of Bengal to secure the Straits of Malacca.—Negotiations with Malay Chiefs anticipated.—Settlement effected at Singapore.—Protested against by the Dutch.—Admitted by Treaty with Holland.—Prosperity of the Settlement.—Affairs of Achin.—Treaty with the Sultan.—Mission to Siam and Cochin China.—Relations with the Subsidiary States on the Indian Continent.—With the Gaekwar.—Death of Fatch Sing.—Prince Syaji made Dewan.—Death of Anand Rao.—Syaji succeeds.—Difficulties of position.—Arrangements.—Tranquillisation of Pahlampur.—Of Kattiwar.—Relations with Hyderabad.—Maladministration of Chandu Lal.—Interference of the Resident.—Dissatisfaction of the Governor-General.—Question of Interference considered.—Chandu Lal's Financial embarrassment.—Connection with*

*the Mercantile House of Palmer and Co.—Sanctioned by the Governor-General.—Disapproved of by the Court of Directors.—Dissolved.—Affairs of Oude.—Border Plunderers.—The Nawab Vizir allowed to take the title of King.*

## BOOK II.

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After the settlement of Central Hindustan had completed the political system of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, no events occurred of sufficient importance to call forth a display of the immense resources that were now at the command of the British Government. A variety of transactions, however, ensued, which, although of minor moment, involved objects of considerable magnitude, arising from the determination to preserve the tranquillity of India undisturbed; from the necessity still existing of shielding maritime commerce from piratical depredation; from the duty of providing for British as well as Indian interests in the Eastern Seas; and from the obligations devolving upon the Supreme Government in the course of its relations with the several powers allied to it by subsidiary engagements. These we shall now proceed to describe.

We have already had occasion to notice the new engagements formed with Rao Bharmalji the ruler of Cutch, by which that prince became an ally of the British Government. The good understanding then established was of brief duration. The Rao, surrounding himself with dissolute and low companions, and falling into habits of gross intemperance to an extent that affected his intellects, disgusted the Jhareja chiefs by his capricious and violent conduct, and gave unbrage to his protectors by intima-



tions of inimical designs. These feelings were strengthened by the murder of the young prince Ladhuba, which was perpetrated by command of the Rao, by a party of his Arab mercenaries; from no motives that could be discovered except his own groundless jealousy and frantic disposition. The widow of Ladhuba, who was pregnant at the time of her husband's assassination, was menaced with a similar fate, and as she resided in the palace, and was consequently in the Rao's power, it is possible that the threat would not have been in vain, had not the British authorities interposed. It was not deemed expedient to demand charge of the person of the widow, lest the Rao in his indignation should be urged to the commission of the atrocity which it was sought to prevent; but he was warned that any practices against her safety, or that of her infant, would incur the severest displeasure of the British Government. The warning was not fruitless, and although the Rao indulged in menaces of the most brutal description, he refrained from attempting the life of the mother or the child, and she gave birth to a son.

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Dissatisfied at the proximity of the British force at Anjar, and irritated by an interference in his family affairs, which he with truth averred was unauthorised by the treaty, the Rao began to collect mercenary troops, and to call for the contingents of his chiefs with the unavowed intention of expelling the British from his country. Knowledge of his purposes defeated their execution, and the timely arrival of an additional battalion placed the station of Anjar in security. The Rao then directed the force he had



BOOK II. assembled, about five thousand strong, against Arisir,  
CHAP. XI.  
1819. a fortified town belonging to Kalian Sing, the father  
of Ladhupa's widow, and one of the Jhareja chiefs,  
who were under British protection. Of this the  
Rao was admonished, and he was informed, that unless  
he desisted from his purpose he would be considered  
guilty of an infraction of the treaty, and would be  
dealt with as an enemy. The whole of the Jharejas  
alarmed by this attack upon one of the brother-  
hood, and by an attempt of the Rao to exact from  
them pecuniary contributions in the place of mili-  
tary service; indignant also at the murder of Lad-  
huba and the treatment of the Bai, conveyed to the  
Resident their readiness to support him in any mea-  
sures he should propose to adopt towards the head  
of their Government. It was inconvenient at the  
moment to spare troops for carrying into effect the  
resolution to remove Rao Bharmalji from his throne,  
and he was suffered to carry on the siege of Arisir  
without interruption. The courage of the besieged,  
and the assistance of some of the neighbouring  
chiefs baffled the efforts of the Rao, and after de-  
taining his troops before the place for several  
months, during which the garrison was reduced to  
great distress, compelled him to be contented with  
the occupation of one of the gates of the fort as  
an acknowledgment of his supremacy. His retreat  
was accelerated by the approach of British detach-  
ments which were soon concentrated at Anjar, and  
placed under the command of Sir William Keir.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The force was composed of the 1st regiment of N. C., a company of European artillery, H. M. 65th regiment, and three battalions of N. I., with guns.

The British division marched upon Bhuj on the 24th of March, 1819. As they approached the town they were charged by large masses of horse and foot, but they repulsed the enemy and drove them under the walls. Demonstrations were then made for an assault upon the town, but at the same time it was determined to attempt the surprise of the fort, and a strong detachment was sent against it before day-break on the 26th. The party reached the foot of the walls as the day broke, and the ladders were planted and the walls escaladed almost before the garrison were aware of the presence of the assailants. They fled with precipitation, and gained the town not without loss; that of the British was inconsiderable. As the town was completely commanded by the fort, the Rao was sensible of the hopelessness of resistance, and throwing himself upon the mercy of the victors, came into the British camp. His sentence had been pronounced. It was determined, in concert with the Jharejas, to depose him in favour of Rao Desal his infant son; the affairs of the Government being administered by a council of regency, composed of some of the principal Jhareja chiefs under the superintendence of the British Resident, and the guarantee of his Government.<sup>1</sup> The mercenary troops were dismissed, and the

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<sup>1</sup> Soon after these events, in the middle of June, a remarkably severe earthquake laid great part of Cutch in ruins. At Bhuj seven thousand houses were overturned, and one thousand one hundred and forty people buried in the rubbish. About fifteen hundred houses were thrown down, and a like number rendered uninhabitable at Anjar. The fort was a pile of ruins. One hundred and sixty-five people were killed, and many more died of their bruises. Many other towns were partially, some wholly, destroyed. Shocks were felt in many other parts of India, as far as Nepal, but they were unattended with injury.—Papers relating to the Earthquake in India, 1819. Tr. Bombay Lit. Soc. iii. 90.

BOOK II. defence of the principality was to be committed to  
CHAP. XI. a British force, the expense of which was to be  
 1819. defrayed by the Government of Cutch.<sup>1</sup> Clauses  
 were inserted requiring the Rao and the Jharejas  
 to suppress the practice of infanticide, and the Jha-  
 reja chiefs were guaranteed in their possessions. By  
 a subsequent engagement, Anjar was restored to the  
 Government of Cutch, in commutation of an an-  
 nual payment of eighty-eight thousand rupees. After  
 the novelty of these arrangements had ceased, the  
 Jharejas were generally dissatisfied with the con-  
 trol to which they were subjected, by the influ-  
 ence of British principles in the Regency, and by  
 the efforts which were made with comparatively  
 little good to suppress infanticide. They were not  
 sufficiently united, however, to organize any effec-  
 tual opposition, and the peace of the province was  
 undisturbed. The deposed Rao was permitted to  
 reside at Bhuj under a guard, but he manifested no  
 inclination to recover his sovereignty.<sup>2</sup>

The interference exercised in the affairs of Cutch,  
 was regarded with alarm and jealousy by the Amirs  
 of Sindh. They had long entertained designs  
 against the principality, and were deeply mortified  
 to find themselves anticipated, and the country  
 placed beyond their ambition. Other circumstances  
 contributed to aggravate their irritation and to urge  
 them to a course of procedure which would have  
 led to hostilities, but for the forbearance of the  
 British Government.

<sup>1</sup> The subsidy was two lakhs of Ahmedabad rupees.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with the Cutch Government, 13th October, 1819. Ditto, 21st  
 May, 1822.—Hastings Papers, Treaties with Native Princes.



The confines of Guzerat and Cutch, and the petty states east of the *Ran*, which had been latterly taken under British protection, had been for some time past infested by marauding tribes frequenting Par-kur and the borders of the desert of Sindh, the principal of whom were termed Khosas. The Amirs of Sindh had been invited to coöperate for the repression of their ravages, and had, in compliance with the invitation, dispatched a body of troops against the plunderers; while a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Barclay, marched against them from Pahlampur. Notwithstanding the professions of the Amirs, the commander of the Sindh force appeared to have come with a design of protecting, rather than of expelling the Khosas, a body of whom encamped unmolested near the Sindhian detachment. In this situation they were attacked at night by a part of Colonel Barclay's division, and, becoming confounded with the Sindhians, exposed the latter to a participation in their disgrace and loss. The troops of Sindh retired from the frontier and represented the attack as the result of design. The British troops left to themselves pursued the Khosas across the boundary, and this also was complained of as a violation of the Sindh territory. In resentment of these injuries and of the occupation of Cutch, an army from Hyderabad entered the latter country, took Loona, a town fifty miles from Bhuj, and laid waste the adjacent district. Lieutenant-Colonel Stanhope with a strong detachment, was sent to repel the aggression. The enemy retired before him. The Bombay Government immediately demanded reparation for the mis-



BOOK II. chief committed, and threatened to order the advance of the division into Sindh, if its demands

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1820. were not complied with. The outrage was disowned, and envoys from Hyderabad were dispatched to Bombay and to Bhuj to deprecate the displeasure of the British. The Supreme Government, also, was averse to any hostile<sup>1</sup> collision with the Amirs, and rested contented with the disavowal of the act, the liberation of the prisoners, and the promise to restrain the Khosas and other marauders from any inroads into the British dominions. A treaty was concluded to this effect.<sup>2</sup>

By the treaty of Poona the Peshwa renounced all claims on the petty Mahratta states, among which the sea-coast of the Konkan, between Bombay and Goa, was principally partitioned. Kolapur, Sawantwari, and Kolaba, became in consequence exclusively subject to British supremacy. These states owed their origin in a great degree to piratical practices, and the subjects of Kolapur continuing in 1812 to exercise their old trade, it was found necessary to enter into a treaty with the Raja, by which he engaged to suppress piracy as far as it was in his power so to do, and to make over to the Bombay Government the fortified harbour of Malwan. After the

<sup>1</sup> The sentiments of the Government of Bengal derive an interest from late events. "Few things," they remarked, "would be more impolitic than a war with Sindh, as its successful prosecution would not only be unprofitable, but an evil. The country was not worth possessing, and its occupation would involve us in all the intrigues and wars, and incalculable embarrassments of the countries beyond the Indus. Hostilities might become unavoidable hereafter, but it was wise to defer their occurrence as long as possible."—MS. Rec.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty with the Amirs of Sindh, 9th November, 1820. Hastings Papers, cxxii. The treaty was formed with two of the Amirs, Karim Ali and Murád Ali.

recent war new arrangements were made, by which districts<sup>1</sup> that the Raja had been compelled to relinquish to the Peshwa were restored to him. Although a young man, he did not long enjoy this accession to his resources, being shot as he sat in his court by a chief, whose Jagir he had sequestered. His successor was a minor, and the government was vested in the mother of the late Raja as regent. A similar engagement for the suppression of piracy had been also contracted in 1812 with Sawant-wari, and the port and fortifications of Vingorla had been ceded to the British. Pond Sawant, the Desai, or ruler, of Sawant-wari died soon afterwards, and leaving only an infant son as his successor, this state fell likewise under female administration. The Rani, Durga Bai, held the reins of government with a feeble grasp, and was unable to restrain the license of her chiefs. Some of them gathered armed bands around them, whom they could alone support by plunder; and instigated their followers to commit depredations on the territories of the Bombay Presidency. Repeated remonstrances producing no effect, a force was detached into the principality under Sir William Grant Keir, part of which crossed the Ghats and occupied the fort of Niuti which was quietly surrendered, while another portion proceeded by sea, and being joined by the main division, carried the external defences of a stronger fortress, that of Rairi, by storm. The upper fort was abandoned by the garrison and surrendered. General Keir

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<sup>1</sup> Chekori and Manouli yielding three lakhs of rupees per annum. They were granted by an engagement or sunnud by Colonel Munro, but the grant was subsequently confirmed by treaty.

BOOK II. thence marched to the capital, where Durga Bai  
CHAP. XI. having died, the regency had devolved on two other

1820. ladies, the aunts of the Raja. Wholly unable to offer any resistance, the regents were ready to assent to everything that was required, and a treaty was accordingly concluded by which in the name of Khem Sawant, the young Raja, they agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, to deliver to it any of their subjects who should have committed acts of violence or depredations in its territories; and to cede the forts of Rairi and Niuti, with the lands around them, as well as the whole of the remaining sea-coast from the confines of Kolapur to the Portuguese boundary. Part of these cessions were afterwards restored to the Raja, but the forts and line of sea-coast, with some inland villages, were retained. A British officer was attached to the court as a political agent, but his powers were inadequate to protect the country from the disorder consequent upon an inefficient government, and which were eventually remedied only by the active exercise of supreme authority.<sup>1</sup>

Kolaba had been once a place of importance in the history of the Bombay Presidency, having been included among the possessions of the enterprising pirate, Kanhoji Angria, by whom the trade of the Company was subjected to repeated insult and plunder during the first thirty years of the eighteenth century. The territory which he transmitted to his descendants had been reduced to insignificance, by the extension of the Peshwa's authority; but, a

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Regency of Sawant Wari, 17th Feb. 1819; Ditto, 17th February, 1820.



portion still acknowledged the sway of a member of the dynasty of Angria, subject to the supremacy of the head of the Mahratta state. The conquest of the territories of Baji Rao transferred his rights to the British Government, and a treaty was concluded with the Chief of Kolaba, by which those rights were defined.<sup>1</sup> Protection and allegiance were mutually plighted; the fees levied on the accession of a Chieftain were remitted; but the Government reserved to itself the paramount authority, and the right of conferring investiture on the Chief, on each succession to the Chiefship. The British laws and regulations were not to be introduced; but fugitives from justice were to be given up upon demand. Some exchanges of territory were agreed upon, in order to correct the inconvenient intermixture of contiguous districts.

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The dependant condition of the petty states of the Konkan, extinguished all vestiges of the piratical practices for which this part of the coast of India had been infamous, since the days of Roman commerce; but the more daring pirates of the Persian Gulph still remained unsubdued. We have seen them incur severe retribution; but the effects of the chastisement administered were transient, and the renewal of their depredations demanded a repetition of the only effectual means of arresting their perpetration.

For some time after the destruction of Ras-al-Khaima, the Arab tribes of Oman refrained from infesting the waters of the Gulph, or confined them-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with Raghoji Angria of Kolaba, July, 1822.—Collection of Treaties presented to Parliament, 1825.



BOOK II. selves to the country boats, in whose fate no powerful state was interested. As time advanced, their

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1820.

audacity revived, and they quickly obtained greater power than before. Ras-al-Khaima was repaired and fortified, and vessels of a large size were constructed and equipped; the different tribes entered into engagements for their mutual support, and assumed an attitude so menacing, that the Imam of Muscat, already the ally of the Company, applied earnestly for timely succour. The activity of the pirates, and, in particular, of the Joasmis, was suspended by the approach of Ibrahim Pasha, the son of the Pasha of Egypt, who, in obedience to orders from Constantinople, had marched from Egypt to chastise the Wahabis, to which sect the pirate tribes of Oman belonged. In the hope of securing his coöperation, a British officer, Captain Sadler, was despatched to the Pasha. He found Ibrahim near Medina; but the objects of his campaign were accomplished.<sup>1</sup> Deriah, the capital of Abdulla-bin-Saûd, the Wahabi Chief, had been stormed, and the Chief himself had surrendered, and been despatched prisoner to Cairo, whence he was sent to Constantinople, and there put to death. Considering the Wahabis as annihilated, the Pasha had no intention of proceeding to the Persian Gulph, and the punishment of the pirates was left to the British Government alone. An expedition was accordingly fitted out from Bombay, the land forces under the command of Sir William Keir<sup>2</sup>—the

<sup>1</sup> Account of a Journey from Katif on the Persian Gulf to Yamboo on the Red Sea, by Captain C. F. Sadler.—Tr. Lit. S. Bombay, iii. 449.

<sup>2</sup> The troops were composed of one company of European artillery, H. M.'s 47th and 65th regiments, 1st battalion of the 2nd, 2nd battalion of

maritime under that of Captain Collier, of his Majesty's ship *Liverpool*. They left Bombay in September, 1819, and, after touching at Muscat, arrived off Ras-al-Khaima in the beginning of the following December. The troops were landed on the south of the town, drove in a body of Arabs stationed in front of them, and effected a lodgment within three hundred yards of the defences. Batteries were erected without delay; a spirited sally was made by the enemy on the sixth, in which the Arabs were for a time masters of the guns; but they were repulsed, and displayed no further energy. A storm was ordered on the eighth; but, on approaching the walls, it was found that the place was deserted. Little loss had attended the previous operations.<sup>1</sup> The fall of Ras-al-Khaima, and that of Zaya, a strong fort to the north of Ras-al-Khaima, against which a detachment, under Major Warren, had been sent, struck terror into the neighbouring tribes, and their Sheikhs, repairing to the British camp, assented to the articles of a treaty proposed by the British Commander, the terms of which they could not have thoroughly understood, and to which it was not to be expected that they would long adhere. The main stipulations were that they should abstain from plunder and piracy; from killing their prisoners; from quarrelling with one another; and from trafficking in slaves. Their ships were also to carry a flag, indicative of their being friendly to the

BOOK II.  
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the 4th, and flank companies of the 1st battalion of the 3rd N.I., and the Bombay marine battalion: about one thousand seven hundred Europeans and two thousand five hundred natives.

<sup>1</sup> Major Molesworth of the 47th and four privates were killed; two officers and forty-nine men were wounded.

BOOK II. British, and to be furnished with the papers which  
CHAP. XI. are regarded, among European States, as the requi-

1820. site testimonials of a purely commercial navigation. The flag and the papers must have perplexed the Sheikhs; but they thought it prudent to accede to them, as well as to the more intelligible and important conditions. After reducing and demolishing some minor pirate ports, the squadron returned to India, leaving a Political Agent at Ras-al-Khaima. After a short interval he was directed to demolish the place, and remove to the Isle of Kishmé, where a small military detachment had been stationed, to secure the adherence of the Arabs to their engagements. This arrangement necessitated a second expedition.

The capture of an Indian trading vessel having been ascribed to an Arab tribe, the Beni-Bu-Ali, of Askara, near Ras-al-Had, a Company's cruizer was sent to inquire into the circumstances. The boats not being able to approach the land, the pilot, an Arab, swam to the shore to communicate with a number of the tribe who were assembled on the beach. The man was killed, the boats were fired upon, and the cruizer returned to Kishmé, when Captain Thompson, the Political Agent, conceived himself authorised to adopt military proceedings against the tribe in concert with the Imam of Muscat, whose authority the Beni-Bu-Ali had thrown off. Six companies of Sipahis with six guns, were landed at Soor, and being joined by a thousand of the Imam's troops, advanced to a town belonging to the Imam, the Beled-Beni-Bu-Haran, within three miles of the enemy's principal station. The Beni-Bu-Ali were so far intimi-



dated, that they declared themselves willing to give up the murderers of the pilot, but they were required to lay down their arms, with which demand they refused to comply. On the following morning the troops marched against the Arabs, who, although not more than six hundred strong, came resolutely forward to meet them. The Sipahis advanced in column: they were ordered to form line and charge; but the order had been delayed too long, and before the change of formation could be effected, the Arabs were amid the disordered files, striking down the men with long sharp swords: a general confusion and rout ensued: six officers<sup>1</sup> and four hundred Sipahis were killed, and the whole must have perished but for the exertions of the Imam, who himself received a wound. The fugitives took shelter in the town and repelled their pursuers from its walls, on which they resumed their retreat, and, with the troops of the Imam, returned to Muscat. Although disapproving of the attack upon the Beni-Bu-Ali, whose share in any piratical depredations was never substantiated, the Government of Bombay judged it necessary to redeem the credit of the British arms, and to maintain unimpaired the influence established in the Persian Gulph: a force was therefore sent against the offending tribe, commanded by Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, which landed at Soor in the end of February. While encamped near Soor, the Arabs made a night attack, in which they occasioned considerable disorder,

BOOK II.  
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<sup>1</sup> Lieutenants Lawrie, Perrin, and Walsh, 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment; Price, of the Engineers; Short, of the marine battalion; and Assistant-Surgeon Higham.



BOOK II. and inflicted some loss, but the assailants were re-  
CHAP. XI. pulsed, and the troops marched against the town.

1821. The Beni-Bu-Ali did not wait for the assault, but met the British troops on a spacious plain; they displayed the same desperate courage which had characterized their former conflicts, and were defeated only after a sanguinary engagement, in which nearly the whole of the tribe were killed or wounded. The town was cannonaded and surrendered—the Sheikh and part of the male survivors were sent prisoners to Bombay; others were made over to the Imam; the women and children, about a thousand in number, were transferred to a hostile tribe, and the Beni-Bu-Ali, who professed to trace their origin to the days of Mohammed, ceased for a while to be numbered among the tribes of Oman.<sup>1</sup> Their extermination might have been a political necessity, but the first attack upon them was an act wholly uncalled for by the British interests, and was a concession to those of the Imam of Muscat unwarranted by the instructions of the Government of Bombay. To obviate the recurrence of such an error, the Imam was apprized that it was not the intention of the British authorities to take any future part in disputes between him and the Arab tribes. The office of Political Agent in the Gulph was shortly afterwards abolished, and the station of Kishmé abandoned. Its occupation had given serious umbrage to the

<sup>1</sup> After two years' detention at Bombay the prisoners were allowed to return with presents, and with money to rebuild their town. The tribe was thus restored, although in a state much inferior to that which it had enjoyed before the war. They seem, contrary to the wont of their countrymen, to have cherished no vindictive feeling; receiving Lieutenant Welsted, when he visited them at the end of 1835, with the most cordial hospitality.—*Travels in Arabia*, i. 59.

Court of Persia, which claimed the sovereignty of the island, and threatened the employment of a force against the detachment, if it was not voluntarily withdrawn.

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1821.

The opposite side of the Arabian peninsula also witnessed a display of the power of British India. A commercial intercourse had long subsisted between Mocha and the Indian continent, and a British officer resided at the former to superintend the interests of the Company's subjects. In 1817, the Dola, or Governor, of Mocha on behalf of the Imam of Senna, taking offence at the proceedings of the Resident, had him seized, dragged from his dwelling, and cruelly beaten. The factory was pillaged by the townspeople. Redress having been vainly demanded, it was determined to obtain it by arms; but it was not found convenient to carry this resolution into effect earlier than the middle of 1820. His Majesty's ship *Eden*, Captain Lock, with three of the Company's cruisers and a flotilla of gun boats was then despatched to Mocha, to demand satisfaction for the treatment of the Resident, the punishment of the Dola, and compensation for the property plundered and destroyed. The terms were rejected, and the squadron fired on, which was followed by the bombardment of the town. A truce was then solicited, and granted, until a definitive arrangement should be accomplished, but no disposition being manifested to accede to the terms demanded, the firing was resumed, and the town nearly laid in ashes. Troops and seamen were sent on shore, who stormed the forts by which Mocha was defended and destroyed them. The Arabs were at

BOOK II. length intimidated, and envoys from the Imam  
CHAP. XL brought the offending Dola a prisoner on board the  
 1821. squadron; a satisfactory apology was made, and pecuniary compensation promised. The Dola, after a short detention, was enlarged and pardoned. The opportunity was taken to place the British factory on a more secure and independent footing, and to relieve the trade of some of its burthens. The Resident was allowed to have a military guard, to ride on horseback, and to have access to the Imam whenever he deemed it expedient. A cemetery was allowed for the use of the Christian members of the factory, and all its dependants were to be under the protection of the British flag, anchorage fees were discontinued, and the duties payable on imports and exports were reduced; the engagement to this effect was signed by the Imam of Senna.<sup>1</sup>

The proceedings of the Bengal Government, to which we shall next advert, were directed to a different quarter; and regarded the interests of the British nation in a still greater degree than those of its Indian dependencies. We have already seen, that in ignorance or disregard of the commercial value of Java, or in the excess of their liberality, the British Ministers had restored it unconditionally to the Dutch. Some excuse might perhaps be urged in consideration of the claims of an unoffending people, and it might have been regarded as ungenerous to punish Holland for its compulsory connexion with the French Emperor; but the same plea was not available for the omission of any stipulation for an equivalent,

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Imam of Senna, 15th January, 1821.—Coll. of Treaties. Hastings Papers, cxxii.



and of any provision, either for the commercial ob-  
 jects of Great Britain in the Eastern Seas, or for the  
 permanence of those engagements which had been  
 contracted with the native Princes of the Malay  
 Archipelago by the British functionaries, during the  
 period of their political ascendancy. The conse-  
 quences were obvious. The Dutch were no sooner  
 repossessed of Java, than they sought to exclude all  
 commercial and political competition from among  
 the neighbouring States, and to regain that supre-  
 macy which had enabled them to monopolize both  
 the authority and the trade of the Malay principal-  
 ities. They would probably have succeeded in shutting  
 out British vessels from all commerce with the islands  
 of the Archipelago, in closing all direct communi-  
 cation between the Indian and China seas, and in  
 subjecting the valuable trade of India and of Great  
 Britain with China to serious interruption and em-  
 barrassment, had not the foresight and energy of  
 Sir Thomas Raffles anticipated and defeated their  
 projects; and, in despite of their intrigues, and of  
 the indifference or ignorance of the British Minis-  
 try, insured for his countrymen, a commanding posi-  
 tion in the very heart of those regions from which  
 they were menaced with exclusion.

After quitting the Government of Java when its  
 restoration to the Dutch was determined, Sir T. S.  
 Raffles was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ben-  
 coolen, on the island of Sumatra: he assumed charge  
 of his Government in March, 1818, and was imme-  
 diately involved in discussions with the Government  
 of Batavia.<sup>1</sup> His first object was to establish the

<sup>1</sup> He arrived at Bencoolen on the 22nd of March. On the 7th of April



BOOK II. predominance of the British throughout Sumatra,  
 CHAP. XI. and obtain a port on the southern coast which  
 1813. should command one of the two great entrances of  
 the Archipelago, the Straits of Sunda. With this  
 view he traversed the island, entered into treaties  
 with native chiefs, between whom and Europeans  
 no intercourse had ever before existed, and began to  
 form a settlement at Simanka Bay. These arrange-  
 ments were disapproved of and annulled by the  
 Government of Bengal, which, although not una-  
 ware of the unfriendly and exclusive character of  
 the policy of the Dutch,<sup>1</sup> was unwilling to disturb  
 the amicable relations formed between the parent  
 countries, and directed every measure of offence to  
 be carefully avoided, pending the reference of all  
 disputed questions to the authorities in England.

In the convention with Holland of August 1814,  
 by which her settlements in the East were restored  
 to her, no provision was made for the continued  
 observance of those compacts which had been  
 formed by the English while in the occupation of  
 Java, with the independent native States. The  
 Dutch immediately annulled them. Among others,  
 the Sultan of Palembang, who had been raised to his  
 regal dignity by the English, was deposed by them,  
 and the chief restored whom the English had de-

following, he writes, "I am already at issue with the Dutch Govern-  
 ment."—Mem. 293.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Hastings recorded it as his opinion, "that the proceedings of  
 the Netherlands' authorities since the arrival of the Commissioners-  
 general to receive charge of the Dutch colonies, had been actuated by  
 a spirit of ambition, by views of boundless aggrandisement and rapacity,  
 and by a desire to obtain the power of monopolising the commerce of the  
 Eastern Archipelago, and excluding the English from those advantages  
 which they had long enjoyed, and which they only wished to share in  
 common with other nations of the earth."—Mem. of Sir T. S. Raffles, 304.

prived of his authority, chiefly on account of his barbarous treatment of the members of the Dutch factory. An officer whom the Governor of Bencoolen had deputed to protect the Sultan, was seized and carried to Batavia; and an appeal made by the reigning Sultan to those who had raised him to power was unavailing, and he was seized and carried a prisoner to Batavia along with an English officer who had been sent by Sir T. Raffles to protest against the aggression committed by the Government of Java against an independent Prince and an ally of the British. It was not considered,<sup>1</sup> and the Dutch were encouraged to extend their claims of supremacy over all the native princes, whom it was for their interest to control, an invariable article of the engagements into which they were compelled to enter being the exclusion of the ships of all other European nations from their ports.

Notwithstanding this acquiescence in the pretensions of the Dutch Government of Java, the Government of Bengal considered it necessary "to adopt precautions with a view to arrest the injury and degradation which could not fail to ensue from a listless submission, to its unbounded pretensions,"

<sup>1</sup> The Governor-General held that "the Dutch were bound by principles of the clearest equity, as well as by the implied conditions of the transfer, to leave the relations between Palembang and Java as they found them, unless the Sultan violated his engagement. As the case, although well known at home, had not been noticed either by the Court of Directors or his Majesty's Ministers, in the Convention of 1814, the Government of India had no choice but to obey, leaving to the Dutch the odium of disregarding a moral and political obligation."—Mem. of the Governor-General. The desertion of the Sultan was the more indefensible, as it was no longer possible to restore the price which he had paid the English for their services. The island of Banca was exchanged for the factory of Cochin by the treaty of 1814.

BOOK II. and determined to strengthen and extend its  
CHAP. XI. own connexions in the Archipelago, so as to pre-

1818. serve the free passage of the Straits of Malacca, the other great thoroughfare to the China seas. The Governor of Bencoolen, the soundness of whose views was fully acknowledged, although his zeal was considered precipitate, was armed with additional powers for this purpose, and was appointed Agent to the Governor-General, in charge of the British interests to the eastward of the Straits. The northern entrance was already in some degree under British influence, by the possession of the stations of Bencoolen and Penang. Some port, however, being still wanted, more advanced on the line to China, and more centrically situated with respect to the numerous islands of the Archipelago, a negotiation was opened with the Sultan of Rhio for the construction of a factory within his territory; but before the engagement was formally executed, a Dutch ship of war intimidated the Sultan into a refusal to ratify it, and into the formation of a treaty with the Government of Java, by which Rhio was closed to European, or rather to English commerce. The same course was pursued at the other ports in the vicinity, and the chiefs of Lingin, Siak, Johore, and Pahang, were deterred from admitting British vessels into their harbours.

While exulting in having thus baffled the projects of their rivals, the Dutch authorities were confounded by the intelligence that a British settlement had sprung up in a more eligible situation than any yet attempted. Sir Thomas Raffles had early contemplated Singapore as possessing the qualifications



requisite for the prosperity of the trade with the Eastern nations, and had obtained the concurrence of the Supreme Government in its occupation. This was a small island about twenty-five miles in length, and eleven broad, lying off the south-eastern extremity of the Malacca peninsula, and divided from it by a narrow strait. It possessed an excellent harbour situated in the route of all ships passing through the straits; was within six days sail of China, and in the heart of the Malay states, of which it had once been the capital. It was now covered with wilderness, and inhabited by about a hundred and fifty fishermen. It was a dependency of Johore, a principality on the peninsula of Malacca, but claiming rule over the islands on either coast—including Lingin and Rhio; and it was by a grant from a Sultan of Johore that Singapore became a British settlement. The Dutch disputed the title of the Raja, who had been living in so much obscurity for many years, that it required the local knowledge, and the interested policy of Sir Thomas Raffles to discover him. His pretensions were, however, indisputable, as the eldest son of the last acknowledged Sultan; but who, in consequence of his absence from Lingin, where his father died, had been supplanted by his younger brother, a supercession not unauthorised by Malay usage, although incompatible with Mohammedan law.<sup>1</sup> It suited the British authorities to substantiate his claim, and that of the Dutch to contest it;

<sup>1</sup> Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements of the Straits of Malacca, by Lieutenant Newbold, ii. 51. Raffles mentions that neither of the sons was duly acknowledged or regularly installed. Memoirs, 327.



BOOK II. but the activity of Sir T. Raffles, in occupying the  
CHAP. XI. island with a military detachment, and hoisting the

1819. British flag, imposed upon the Dutch Commissioners the necessity of expelling him by force, an extreme measure which they were unprepared to hazard. They were contented, therefore, to complain to the Bengal Government, and to enter a protest against the occupation of Singapore, as contrary to the treaty which they had contracted with the Sultan of Lingin, its lawful sovereign, in which he had engaged never to transfer any portion of his territories to a European power without their approbation. They were told in reply, that it was the deliberate intention of the British Government to resist their spirit of exclusiveness and aggrandisement, and protect British commerce from their jealousy and injustice; that they had no right to demand the restoration of territories which they had never possessed; to reduce to vassalage the native Princes, who had always been treated by the British, while holding Java, as independent, nor to compel them to enter into engagements, having for their object the exclusion of British vessels from their ports; that the actual occupation of Singapore had anticipated the sanction of the Bengal Government; but that, as it had been effected, the settlement would not be withdrawn upon a simple demand. It was notorious that the Dutch had no connection with Singapore in 1795, when their possessions generally fell into the hands of the English; and, consequently, the present claim was one of recent suggestion, and, finally, that it was useless to discuss the merits of the transaction, as the question had

been referred to the authorities in Europe, and must await their decision. Renewed negotiations were, accordingly, set on foot, and a second treaty with Holland established a modification of the existing relations by which these disputes were terminated. The British settlement on Sumatra was ceded to the Dutch, in exchange for Malacca, and the settlements on the continent of India. The British withdrew their objections to the occupation of Billeton by the Dutch, and the latter theirs to the possession of Singapore. Admission to the ports of either nation was regulated by fixed moderate duties, and an unrestricted commercial intercourse was permitted to both with any of the native powers in the Eastern Seas. The Moluccas, or Spice Islands, were alone exempted from free access. The officers of both governments were forbidden to form any new settlements without previous sanction from Europe. The British were precluded from forming settlements on any of the islands south of the Straits of Singapore, or entering into treaties with their princes; and the Dutch engaged to observe a similar forbearance with regard to the peninsula of Malacca.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch were much the best informed as to the respective value of the reciprocal stipulations, and were the greatest gainers by the treaty. Singapore, however, rapidly rose into importance,<sup>2</sup> and the zeal of Sir

BOOK II.  
CHAP. XI.  
1819.

<sup>1</sup> See Newbold's Remarks on the Treaty, i. 15; and the Treaty itself, *Ibid.* App. dated 17th March, 1824. The debate in the Commons, May, 1824, upon the conditions of the treaty, only shows how little the House knew of the subject.

<sup>2</sup> In 1822 the population had risen to ten thousand.—*Mem.* 525. In 1836-7 it was nearly thirty thousand. In 1822 the value of the exports and imports exceeded eight millions of dollars; in 1835-6, fourteen millions of dollars.—*Newbold*, i. 291. In 1844-5 their amount was stated in the public returns to be nearly five millions sterling. In addition to its

BOOK II. Thomas Raffles, which was so unpalatable to the  
CHAP. XI. British Ministry as at one time to have threatened  
 1819. his removal, was rewarded by the growing prosperity, and the acknowledged value of the settlement which he had founded.<sup>1</sup>

Before leaving this part of the Eastern world, we may notice the attempts that were made, about the same period as the formation of the settlement of Singapore, to extend the influence and relations of the Indian Government in the same direction. The establishment of an intimate connection with Achin on the northern extremity of Sumatra had been long considered desirable for the protection of the commercial interests of the Company, and had been latterly recommended by the policy of anticipating the Dutch, who were expected to take advantage of the distractions of Achin, and by their means acquire a paramount authority in the kingdom. The Sultan of Achin was no longer the potentate who could cover the adjacent seas and islands with numerous fleets and armies, threatening the Portuguese colonies with destruction,<sup>2</sup> or with whom the

advantageous position, Singapore, which is merely an entrepot where imports are reexported, owes its prosperity to its having been from the first a free port; no duties being levied.

<sup>1</sup> Shortly before his return to Europe, in November 1823, Sir T. Raffles writes—"I have heard nothing more of the question with the Dutch, but doubt not it will be agitated on my arrival in England. I rely more upon the support of the mercantile community than upon any liberal views of the Ministry, by whom I have been opposed as much as by the Dutch."—Mem. 561. At an earlier period, Mr. Charles Grant, the distinguished director, wrote to Sir T. Raffles—"You are probably aware of the obstacles which have been opposed to the adoption of your measures, and even threatened your position in the service."—Mem. 445.

<sup>2</sup> Malacca was repeatedly besieged by the Achinese. In 1615 the King, Paduka Sri, sailed to the attack of that city with a fleet of five hundred sail, carrying a force computed at sixty thousand men. The



sovereign of England could carry on a correspondence on terms of equality.<sup>1</sup> The principal-  
 BOOK II.  
 CHAP. XI.  
 1819.

ity had declined from its extent over nearly half the large island of Sumatra, to a limited tract at its northern termination, over which its sovereign ruled with a feeble and uncertain sway. The reigning prince, Jawahir Alem, had been engaged almost from the beginning of his reign in 1802 in a struggle with some of his principal chiefs, who at length conspired to depose him, and invited Syf-ul-Alem, the son of an opulent merchant of Penang, to assume the regal authority. Syf-ul-Alem supported by his father's wealth,<sup>2</sup> succeeded for a time in holding a divided sway, but finally the hereditary prince recovered his ascendancy and was acknowledged by the Supreme Government of India as the Sultan of Achin, and a treaty was entered into with him, by

attack having failed, it was renewed in 1628 with a force twenty thousand strong, which was defeated with great slaughter. From this reign the power of Achin declined.—Marsden, *Hist. of Sumatra*, 429.

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Lancaster, in the first voyage on account of the East India Company, in 1600, carried to the King a letter from Queen Elizabeth, "to the great and mightie King of Achem (Achin), our loving brother." Her Majesty alludes particularly to the successful hostilities carried on between Achin and the Portuguese. "It hath appeared unto us, that your Highness and your royall familie, fathers and grandfathers, have, by the grace of God and their valour, sworne not onely to defend your owne kingdomes, but also to give warres unto the Portugals, in the lands which they possesse, as namely in Malaca, in the yeere of the Humane Redemption 1575, under the conduct of your valiant Captaine Raya-macota, with their great loss, and the perpetuall honour of your Highnesse crowne and kingdome."—*Purchas*, i. 154. In 1613 Achin was visited by Capt. Best, who brought a letter from King James to Paduka Sri Sultan, by whom the treaty concluded with Lancaster was confirmed.—*Ibid.* 462.

<sup>2</sup> His interests were also warmly advocated by a party in the Penang Government; but open interference in favour of either of the competitors was prohibited by the Supreme Government of India. Sir T. Stamford Raffles and Captain Combe were sent to Achin as commissioners in 1818, to ascertain the true state of the case; and although at first violently disagreeing, they at last united in recommending the claims of the old Sultan. Syf-ul-Alem was accordingly desired to desist from the contest, and to be content with a pension, payable nominally by the Sultan of Achin, but virtually



BOOK II. which the British Government engaged to effect the  
CHAP. XI. removal of his rival, Syf-ul-Alem, on condition of the

1821. latter being granted a fixed pension by the Sultan ; and in return for permission to carry on a free trade with all the ports of his dominions. He also promised to receive a British Resident, to exclude the subjects of any other European power from a permanent habitation in his country, and to enter into no treaty or negotiation with any power, prince, or potentate, unless with the knowledge and consent of the British Government. The subsequent relinquishment of Sumatra to the Dutch cancelled these engagements and put an end to a connexion with Achin, which with various interruptions had subsisted for more than two centuries.

About the same time the attention of the Government of India was directed to the advantages of a commercial intercourse with the countries of Siam and Cochin China, which from having constituted an important branch of the trade of Europe with the East had fallen into neglect, and had finally been discontinued. It appeared advisable to the Governor-General to attempt the revival of the commerce, and Mr. J. Crawford was accordingly dispatched in the character of agent to the Governor-General on a mission to the two states in question, in the hope that it might be found practicable to establish with them a permanent and mutually advantageous communication. The mission left Bengal in November 1821, and arrived at Ban-

by the Government of Penang.—Anderson's Achin and Ports of Sumatra. Memoirs of Sir T. S. Raffles, 396. Treaty with the King of Achin, 22nd of April, 1819. Treaties, Hasting's Papers, cxi.

kok, the capital of Siam, in the following March. BOOK II.  
 The members were admitted to a solitary audience CHAP. XI.  
 of the King, but were referred to the ministers for 1822.  
 the transaction of business. Nothing was transacted :  
 the court of Siam ignorant of its own interests,  
 suspicious of the real views of foreign visitors who  
 came unbidden and unwished for, and affecting a  
 majesty little inferior to divine, manifested no dispo-  
 sition to encourage the advances made by the Bri-  
 tish Government ; and after treating the mission with  
 various marks of indifference and indignity, dis-  
 missed it with an unmeaning and evasive treaty of  
 commerce, and an arrogant letter to the Govern-  
 ment of Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the ordinary motives influencing barbarous states, there was a political transaction which contributed to render the temper of the court of Siam unfavourable to an intimate intercourse—the asylum given to the Ex-Raja of Queda in the settlement of Penang. This was a petty potentate, governing an inconsiderable territory opposite to Penang, which itself had formed part of his possessions and had been ceded by him to the British in consideration of an annual quit-rent. The king of Siam claimed the allegiance of Queda, and in a recent dispute with the Burmans, had called upon him for his military quota. The Queda chief delayed compliance with the demand, and denied the

<sup>1</sup> It was promised that the duties on British commerce should not be increased, and that the Superintendent of the Customs should afford all assistance to the English merchants in buying and selling with the merchants of Siam. In the letter it is said that his Siamese Majesty was much gratified by the “offerings” (the presents) made by the Governor of Bengal.—Crawfurd’s Mission to Siam, i. 266.

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right of Siam to anything more than a complimentary annual acknowledgment of its superior dignity and power. The Siamese troops were in consequence directed against Queda, and the Raja, unable to resist them, fled and made his escape to Penang, where he was permitted to reside and was protected against molestation. The Siamese ministers were anxious to obtain possession of the person of the Raja ; no formal demand was made, but it was intimated that his seizure and delivery would be considered as a friendly act ; and they were evidently disappointed on being told that such a violation of hospitality was incompatible with British principles. The reception given by the British Government to the king of Queda and the refusal to give him up, wounded the vanity of the Siamese court, and exercised a prejudicial influence upon the objects of the mission.

In the middle of July the mission proceeded to Cochin China, and arrived at the capital in August. Much personal civility was exhibited by the officers of state, but the King declined to receive the letter and presents from the Governor-General, whom, as exercising a delegated authority only, he refused to recognise as the equal of a king ; and on the same account would not condescend to admit the envoy to an audience. Permission was, however, readily granted to English vessels to trade with the principal ports of the kingdom, and it was promised that they should be treated on the same footing as the Chinese. The mission left in October, having gained little in the way of political or commercial advantage, but bringing back much novel and va-



luable information respecting countries little known in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK II.  
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1818.

Returning to Continental India, we have now to notice the state of the relations between the British Government and its subsidiary allies, as they subsisted after the termination of the Mahratta war. In the west of India, as we have already seen, the Gaekwar had been obliged to accede to a new treaty, stipulating for the augmentation of the forces which he was to maintain by the cession of additional territory. The measure was based upon the necessity of undertaking the whole military defence of Guzerat, and upon the advantages accruing to the Gaekwar from the treaty of Poona. These advantages were considerable, and apparently the finances of the state were in a sufficiently flourishing condition to bear the cost of additional expenditure. The arrangement was not altogether palatable to the court of Baroda, but its execution was unattended by any interruption of the good understanding which had been so long maintained between the two powers.

The conduct of the affairs of Guzerat had been entrusted, as has been mentioned, to Fateh Sing, the brother of the Gaekwar, with the coöperation and assistance of the British Resident. Fateh Sing died in June, 1818. As the combined administration had been attended with beneficial results, the arrangement was continued, and Syaji Rao, the younger brother of the deceased Prince, a youth of nineteen, was raised to the office

<sup>1</sup> Journal of an Embassy to Siam and Cochin China, by J. Crawford. Account of a Mission to Siam and Cochin China, by D. Finlayson.



BOOK II. of Dewan, or Prime Minister of Finance, the duties of  
CHAP. XL which he was to discharge in concert with the Resi-

1819.

dent. The immature age of the Prince, and the state of parties at Baroda required indeed the continuance of British support, notwithstanding the causes in which intimate interference had originated,—the ruinous state of the revenues, and the embarrassments of the Gaekwar,—were supposed to exist no longer. The union of authority was not of long continuance. Towards the end of the following year died the imbecile Anand Rao, the Gaekwar, whose nominal rule had been prolonged for so many years entirely by the support of the British Government. His death altered the aspect of affairs materially. Syaji Rao succeeded to the throne, and naturally concluded that if he was fit to govern his country in the capacity of Dewan, he was equally capable of governing it as Raja, and it was no longer possible for the Resident to exercise the real administration through the machinery of an incompetent minister, and an inefficient monarch.

The pretensions of the Gaekwar to independent authority were generally recognised; but it was considered to be inconsistent with the security of British interests and the prosperity of the country, to withdraw altogether from the control over the public expenditure which the Resident had hitherto maintained. In order to place the connexion which was to be continued for the future on a firm and lasting basis, the Governor of Bombay, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, deemed it expedient to repair in person to Baroda, and to discuss with Syaji Rao the principles which were hereafter

to regulate the intercourse between the two states. The necessity of prolonged interposition in the financial administration of Guzerat proved to be even more urgent than had been expected. Instead of a surplus revenue and an unembarrassed exchequer, it was discovered that the expenses of the two last years had exceeded the receipts, and that a debt, amounting to more than a crore of rupees,<sup>1</sup> still hung heavily upon the resources of the Government. The troops were also largely in arrear, and the tributaries of the Gaekwar in Kattiwar<sup>2</sup> and the Mahi-Kanta had been reduced to severe distress partly by the consequence of unfavourable seasons, but still more by the oppressive exactions of the agents of the native Government. It became necessary to remedy these evils. Loans were raised for the discharge of the existing debts at a reduced rate of interest, upon the security of assignments of the revenues, and, as before, under the guarantee of the British Government for their ultimate repayment. The collections made from the Gaekwar's tributaries were transferred entirely to British agency. Engagements were finally concluded with Syaji particularising the extent to which he was expected to acquiesce in the control of the Resident. All foreign affairs were to remain under the exclusive management of the British Government. The Gaekwar was to administer without restriction the internal government, provided he fulfilled the engagements for which the British Government was

<sup>1</sup> Of this sum 27 lakhs had been borrowed for the pay of the Gaekwar's contingent serving in Malwa, and 25 lakhs more were still owing to the troops.

<sup>2</sup> In 1813 a famine occurred in Kattiwar, which was said to have caused the death of one-third of the population. It was followed by an epidemic disease, of which also great numbers died.—MS. Rec.

BOOK II. guarantee; but the Resident was to be apprised of  
 CHAP. XI. all proposed financial measures at the commencement

1820. of each year, was to have free access to the public accounts whenever he required to inspect them, and was to be consulted before any expense of magnitude was incurred. Whatever guarantees to ministers or other individuals had been granted by the British Government were to be scrupulously observed. The Gaekwar was to choose his own minister in communication with the British Government. In all cases of emergency, that Government was to offer its advice, but it was not to interpose in ordinary details, nor was its native agent to take a share as formerly in the Gaekwar's executive administration. With these arrangements Syaji was compelled to be content; and however they might encroach upon his independence, they provided more fully than an uncontrolled freedom of action was likely to provide, for his own comfort and the security and welfare of his dominions.<sup>1</sup>

During the progress of these transactions, the British troops had been employed on various occasions, in suppressing tumults in different parts of the dependencies of Guzerat. The petty state of Pahlampur, the most remote of the divisions of the Mahi-Kanta, or country west of the Mahi river tributary to the Gaekwar, had long been in a state of anarchy. The ruling chief was a Mohammedan, the descendant of an Afghan adventurer, who established himself as Nawab, or Dewan, in that part of

<sup>1</sup> Extract from a minute of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, 3rd May, 1820.—Report Commons Comm. 1832. Political App. 392.



the frontier. About the year 1800, the mercenary soldiers in the service of Firoz Khan, the Dewan, expelled him, and placed his kinsman Shamshir Khan, the chief of Disa, on the Musnud. They afterwards recalled Firoz Khan, but again mutinying put him to death. It was then thought expedient by the Resident to interfere, and a British force was sent to Pahlampur in 1809, by which the mercenaries were reduced to order, and Fateh Khan, the son of Firoz Khan, a minor, was made Dewan, under the guardianship and regency of Shamshir Khan. When the young prince was old enough to manage his own affairs, the regent, as usual, was reluctant to relinquish his power; and continuing to act as regent, retained the prince in a state of captivity. Fateh Khan appealed to Baroda, and a division of the subsidiary force, under Colonel Elrington, marched to his succour, supported by a division of the Gaekwar's troops, under Major Miles, who was appointed Political Agent on the frontier. The strongholds in the mountains in the interests of Shamshir Khan were taken, and Disa and Pahlampur recovered. The Nawab was rescued and reseated on the Musnud. A Gaekwar detachment was placed in charge of one of the gateways of the capital, and a Political Agent was appointed to superintend the affairs of the principality, and hold in check the turbulent border chiefs of the vicinity, as well as the robber tribes of the adjacent desert.

A second expedition against the piratical and plundering tribes of the northern coast of the peninsula of Guzerat became necessary in the beginning of 1820. The Wagars of Okamandal, encou-

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BOOK II. raged by the withdrawal of the British troops for  
 CHAP. XI. the Mahratta war, rose in insurrection, defeated the

1820. Gaekwar's troops, surprised Dwaraka and Bate, and possessed themselves of the whole district. The fort of Virawali, defended by an Englishman in the Gaekwar's service, held out for some time, but was at length abandoned, and the province remained during the following months in the hands of the insurgents. As soon as the season admitted, an expedition, commanded by the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Stanhope, was sent by sea against the sacred city of Dwaraka,<sup>1</sup> the chief seat of the rebels: the troops were landed on the 24th of November, and, after a short bombardment, the town was carried by escalade, when the garrison, composed of Arabs and Sindhis, retreated to the great temple, within whose lofty and solid walls they considered themselves secure from all ordinary attacks. An entrance was, however, effected from the roof of an adjacent house; and after a severe struggle the defenders were driven out. In endeavouring to escape, they were encountered by different detachments, posted to intercept their flight to the thickets surrounding the town, and were nearly all destroyed; of five hundred not more than one hundred escaped. This success was followed by the surrender of the chiefs who had taken up strong positions in the adjacent thickets, and by the unconditional surrender of the Rana of Bate, who was at the head of the insurrection. The garrison of Bate

<sup>1</sup> The force was composed of H.M.'s 65th regiment, two battalions of Bombay infantry, 2nd battalion 3rd, and 1st batt. 5th, details of artillery, and the 1st regiment Native cavalry. The Nautilus cruiser conveyed the transports.

also surrendered on condition of being transported to the opposite coast of Cutch, and the district of Okamandal was restored once more to tranquillity and obedience.

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In the centre of the peninsula of Guzerat, a similar cause, the absence of regular troops, was followed by like disturbances. A family feud arrayed one branch of a Katti tribe, the Koman Kattis, in arms against another; and as both parties assembled mercenary troops which they had not adequate means of maintaining, they added to their resources by plundering the neighbouring districts of Junagerh and Bhaonagar. The suppression of disorder in Okamandal permitted the employment of a portion of the division in a different quarter; and Colonel Stanhope marched with a detachment of European and a battalion of Native Infantry, against the Kattis. They were easily reduced to submission, their principal fort of Mitiala was taken with little difficulty, the mercenaries were compelled to quit the country, and the chiefs obliged to submit their quarrel to the decision of the court of Baroda. Although the subordination which had been now established for some years in the centre and south of Kattiwar had somewhat impaired the martial spirit of its population, yet these occurrences sufficiently proved that tranquillity could be preserved solely by the continued presence of a British military force.

A similar state of disorder prevailed in the territories of the Nizam, and obedience to the Government was alone maintained by frequent recourse to military coercion. It was inflicted, however, chiefly

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by the reformed brigades of the Nizam, who under the command of British officers, and receiving their pay with a greater degree of punctuality than the other troops of the state, were little less effective than the subsidiary force. They had been fully organized during the late war, and amounted at this time to five regiments of cavalry, eight of infantry, three small corps of artillery, and a corps of engineers. With the termination of hostilities their field services had ceased, but they were not suffered to remain idle in a country where extortionate exaction on one side and refractory turbulence on the other furnished repeated occasion for their employment. Among the duties of this nature which devolved upon them was the reduction of the strong fort of Nowa, held by a garrison of Arabs in the pay of some Hindu Zemindars, who had risen in insurrection and plundered the neighbouring districts. A detachment of the Nizam's reformed troops, under Major Pitman, marched against this place, situated above 24 miles north of Nandain, on the Godaveri. On the 7th January 1719, approaches were regularly effected, and the garrison having refused to surrender unconditionally, the fort was carried by storm after the destruction of part of its defences by the successful explosion of a mine on the 31st of the month. Many of the garrison fell in the storm, the rest endeavouring to escape were intercepted by the horse, and were almost all put to death.

Notwithstanding the severity of the examples thus made from time to time, it was found impossible to preserve tranquillity as long as the vicious system of the administration was unreformed. The Nizam



continued sullenly estranged from public affairs, and when importuned for an opinion upon any subject of Government, replied that he had no interest in the matter, and that it would be settled by Chandu Lal and the Resident. Chandu Lal, although a minister of unquestioned ability and diligence, and the only individual about the court capable of discharging the functions of his office, was profusely prodigal in his expenditure of the public revenue, and as rapaciously insatiable in his exactions. The prodigality by which he was characterised, originated in a great degree in his apprehensions. Strong as he might have felt himself in the support of the British Government, he knew that he was disliked by the Nizam and odious to the courtiers, and that projects were constantly agitated for his removal and disgrace. To appease this enmity, and to neutralize its inveteracy, he distributed money without limit to the extravagant and profligate nobles, bribes to all their retainers and connexions,<sup>1</sup> and large sums to the private hoards of the Nizam himself. He maintained also an expensive and useless body of mercenary troops, and had, in addition to these wasteful and mischievous sources of outlay, to provide for the charge of the reformed troops, which, however serviceable to him and to his allies, constituted a heavy burthen upon the resources of the state. To raise the sums required for these disbursements, the minister contracted debts to the bankers and capi-

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<sup>1</sup> In a conversation with the Resident, Munir-ul-Mulk, the nominal minister, and uncle of one of the Begums, he affirmed that the whole of the Nizam's family was bribed, that every one of his own servants was in Chandu Lal's pay, and that even his own mother-in-law sent to the Minister a daily report of the occurrences of the inmost recesses of his house.—Hyderabad Papers, p. 184.



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talists of Hyderabad, bearing an interest proportionate to his necessities and to his want of credit, and let out the revenues of the country to the highest bidder. The contractor, regarding nothing but the realization of a profit, and armed with powers to enforce payment of his demands, however excessive, levied whatever he could extort from the cultivators by every method of violence and oppression. The consequences were obvious; cultivation fell off, the necessities of life rose almost to famine prices, the people became robbers for the sake of subsistence, or emigrated to other states, and the country was rapidly becoming depopulated. Justice was no longer administered, and the Government was threatened with annihilation. The earnest remonstrances of the Resident had little effect upon the improvident recklessness of the minister, but his representations to the Government of Bengal procured for him authority to exercise a more decided interposition. He was instructed to employ his advice and influence for the establishment of the prosperity of the Nizam's dominions and the happiness of his subjects, and with this view to direct his attention to the following topics:—A salutary control over the internal administration of the country; accurate accounts of all establishments, receipts, and expenditure; the correction of abuses; a proper distribution of justice; the reduction of expense; the amelioration of the revenue system, including the customs and duties levied on commerce; the improvement of resources; the extinction of debt; the efficiency of the troops retained and the discharge of such as were useless. In order to reconcile the Nizam to this interposition,

his sons, who had been hitherto detained in Golconda were allowed to return to Hyderabad, and he was informed that he was at liberty, if he pleased, to assume the title of royalty.<sup>1</sup>

The authority thus granted to the Resident, Mr. Russell, was but sparingly applied, and few changes of any importance were effected in the administration before his departure for Europe. His successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, finding the principality still in a condition of utter disorganization, and considering it to be upon the brink of dissolution,<sup>2</sup> engaged more strenuously in the task of reform, and compelled the assent of the Minister to various unpalatable measures. The chief of these was the abolition of the farming system and the settlement of the revenue for a definite term of years with the village communities, without any intermediate agency. The collections were left in the hands of the fiscal functionaries of the state, but the assessments were made by British officers attached to the Residency, or to the reformed troops;—they were further directed to receive all complaints against any irregu-

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to H. Russell, Esq., Resident at Hyderabad, 22d Jan. 1820.—Hyderabad Papers, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> "The system of administering the revenue was that of farming. Large tracts of country were made over to whomsoever could best afford to pay for them. Portions of these tracts were again sublet to other farmers. Large advances were taken from all in anticipation of the collections, and the tenure was so insecure that it was a common saying in the country that these farmers proceeded from the capital to their districts, looking over their shoulders to see if other farmers were not following on their heels. These farmers were supreme in the districts which they farmed: they had even the power of life and death in their own hands, and there was no appeal from them or their tax-gatherers to the government or the laws."—Sutherland's *Sketches of Relations with Native Powers*, p. 55. Captain Sutherland was seven years in Hyderabad, and was "a witness of the afflictions in which the reign of Chandu Lal in the Hyderabad provinces, and of his brother, Govind Baksh, in those of Berar, involved this unhappy country."

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larity or extortion on the part of the collectors, and where redress was not procurable from the local authorities to report the proceedings to the Resident. They were also empowered to seize upon all robbers and plunderers, and violators of the public peace. The sphere of this arrangement was limited to the northern division of Hyderabad. Chandu Lal, professing a desire to coöperate in the work, undertook to conduct the settlement of the southern districts. In the latter the reform was accordingly defeated, the collectors becoming contractors for the amount to be levied; in the former, the beneficial results of the measure were soon apparent in the return of the peasantry to their villages, the revival of cultivation, the suppression of tumult and plunder, and the progressive increase and prosperity of the population.

Although consenting with seeming cheerfulness to these measures of reform, they were by no means acceptable to the Minister, whose power they curtailed and whose rapacity they disappointed. After the settlements were concluded, therefore, he urged the withdrawal of the British officers, as their presence was no longer necessary to secure the Ryots from oppression, and as it was contrary to established practice and the conditions of the treaty; and when he found that no attention was paid to his representations, he addressed the Governor-General privately, complaining of the unfriendly disposition of the Resident, and of the interference which he had set on foot.<sup>1</sup> The Minister's

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Raja Chandu Lal to his Excellency the Governor-General, Aug. 1822, with Enclosures.—Hyderabad Papers, 173.



objections to the principle of interference were not unfounded, and the Governor-General expressed his opinion that it had been disregarded to an extent unwarranted by the character of the alliance which subsisted with the Nizam, and by the tenor of the original treaty. Unwilling, however, to occasion embarrassment, by the abrupt cessation of European superintendence, he directed it to be discontinued gradually, when in the estimation of the Resident it could be done without inconvenience. The Court of Directors took the same view of the case, while, on the other hand, the Resident and the Members of the Supreme Council vindicated the necessity of a continued supervision. The arguments on both sides exhibit the contradictions inherent in the relation of a subsidiary alliance.

The objections to interference with the internal administration of the affairs of a native state are of a twofold description, as affecting the party interfered with and the party interfering. It is an undeniable encroachment upon the independence of the Indian Potentate to wrest from his hands the power of appointing his own ministers, and to insist upon his modelling the practice of his government according to the principles of a policy to which he is a stranger, and the soundness of which, as it regards his own interests at least, he is disposed to dispute. On the other hand, the interference imposes upon the party interfering the irksome task of reforming evils, the origin and nature of which are liable to be misapprehended, and of which the correction must be attempted with imperfect and

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BOOK II. restricted means, when it has to encounter the open  
CHAP. XI.  
 1820. or secret opposition of the Prince, and depends upon the instrumentality of agents ill-affected to reforms of any description, and more inclined to thwart than to promote them. The remedies must consequently be of partial and temporary efficacy, and their effects will cease as soon as their application is suspended. To interpose for a season is nugatory;—to interpose for perpetuity is, in reality, to assume the internal administration of the country. The real question then is—Is the Prince independent? Has he the right to govern or misgovern his own subjects at his own pleasure?

The degree of independence enjoyed by a prince connected with the British Indian Government by a subsidiary alliance depends, theoretically at least, upon the manner in which it is recognised by the terms of the compact into which he has entered. In the case of the Nizam, the language of the treaty is explicit: it declares that the Honourable Company's Government have no manner of concern with any of the Nizam's children, relations, subjects, or servants, with respect to whom his Highness is absolute;<sup>1</sup>—a declaration utterly incompatible with the reforms introduced into his administration without his sanction, and with the avowed purpose of protecting his subjects against his servants—of withdrawing his peasantry from the authority of the agents of his chief minister and acknowledged representative.

In opposition to the general arguments against in-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty with the Nizam, 1800, ch. xv.—Collection of Treaties, 193.

terference with the internal administration of a native prince, whose political existence is maintained by a subsidiary force, it is argued that the connection involves the duty of protecting the people against his tyranny. We have taken from them, it is urged, the ability to protect themselves. The great check upon despotism in the East is assumed to be popular insurrection. If left to his own resources, the prince would be unable to put down extensive discontent by force, and would, therefore, either be cautious how he provoked dissatisfaction, or would readily retract the measures which had created it; but, with a large body of disciplined troops at his command, whose strength renders resistance hopeless, he has nothing to fear from the resentment of his people, and may exercise with impunity any degree of oppression of which his nature is suggestive. It is, therefore, the right of the power which gives him all his strength to require that he shall use it wisely and mercifully, and if he be regardless of the obligation, to throw its shield over those who would otherwise be the victims of a confederacy formed to protect the Prince against foreign enemies and domestic treason, to secure his personal safety, and the integrity of his dominions, but not to screen him from the just indignation of his subjects. But a right to support the people against the will of the sovereign is obviously incompatible with the recognition of his independence, and is further objectionable, inasmuch as it provides a convenient pretext for depriving him of his sovereign character—of virtually accomplishing his deposal. Such an usurpation, however it may be palliated by an un-

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BOOK II. deniable necessity, can scarcely be vindicated as a  
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right, and the necessity must be undeniable before the interposition to this extent can admit of extenuation. It may be doubted also if the grounds upon which such interference is supposed to be justifiable can be substantiated. There is no record in Indian history of the despotism of its princes having been curbed by popular insurrection. Deposal and death have not unfrequently been the fate of Indian monarchs, but they have been the work of treacherous ministers or of competitors for the throne, in whose selfish policy the people felt little concern. The dread of such an event based upon experience of the past, is not likely to operate as a check upon misgovernment, and its non-occurrence is in nowise attributable to awe of a subsidiary force. Local tumults may not be uncommon, but they arise out of resistance to the exactions of the Collector or farmer of the revenue, not to the authority of the sovereign, and are as often ascribable to the refractory spirit of the military landholder, the Rajput Zemindar, who mounts guns upon the bastions of his fort, as to the extortion of the public functionary. No obligation exists to interfere in such a quarrel; the services of the subsidiary troops are not intended for such purposes, and, if withheld, it cannot then be maintained that the Prince is able to tyrannise over his subjects only through British assistance. Revenue disputes between the farmer of the revenue and the Zemindar cannot be regarded as justifying the appropriation of the sovereign authority, and it is only when universal disorder is to be apprehended, or when the conditions and objects of the alliance



are imperilled, that the authoritative interposition of the more powerful of the contracting parties can admit of justification.

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Such indeed, it might be said, was the origin of the interference in the case of Hyderabad. The political interests of British India were considered to be endangered by the conduct of the Nizam, and it became necessary for their security to establish a commanding influence in his councils, by disallowing the right of the Prince to nominate his own minister, and compelling him to intrust the office to a person selected by his allies. Chandu Lal had been placed and was retained in his position by the power of the British Government. That power was consequently responsible for the manner in which he discharged his functions, and was bound to correct or cancel whatever arrangements he should make which might be pernicious to the welfare of the state, and to the interests of both prince and people. The interposition of the Resident at Hyderabad was, therefore, authorised by the conduct of preceding governments, in establishing the form of administration which now prevailed, and which, however anomalous, could scarcely be altered with advantage, as, notwithstanding his defects, Chandu Lal was the only person about the Court who was fitted by his talents, industry, and character, to hold the reins of government. The arrangements were, therefore, undisturbed until deference to the sentiments expressed by the Court of Directors, and the adoption of other views by succeeding Governors and Residents, imposed a check upon the employment of British func-



BOOK II. tionaries in the civil administration of the Nizam's  
CHAP. XI. territories, and suffered them to relapse into a worse  
1820. condition even than that from which their extrication had been attempted.

Among the sources of difficulty and embarrassment in which the Administration of Chandu Lal was entangled, and in which the credit of the Government of India became implicated, was his financial connection with a house of business established at Hyderabad, with the sanction and countenance of the British Government. Mr. William Palmer, who had been engaged for several years in the military service of the Nizam, quitted it for the business of a banker and merchant in Hyderabad. He was joined at an early period by some of the officers of the Residency, and received the general countenance of the Resident, at whose suggestion an application made to him in 1814, by the house of W. Palmer and Co., for permission to set up a commercial establishment at the capital of the Nizam, was favourably received by the Government of Bengal: he was consequently instructed to show the firm every proper degree of encouragement consistent with the provisions of the treaty, and to recommend them to the Nizam's Government. The permission had been obviously anticipated, and the house had already been constituted, but its being formally sanctioned gave additional activity to the business of the firm, and the members became intimately associated with Chandu Lal in raising pecuniary supplies for his financial necessities.

In the year 1816, the house of W. Palmer and Co. professed to entertain doubts whether their pecuniary

dealings with the Nizam's Government might not subject them to the penalties of the Act of Parliament,<sup>1</sup> which interdicted loans to native princes by British subjects, and prayed to be exempted from the operation of the law. Impressed with the belief that the interests of the Nizam and of the Company were promoted by the success and security of the commercial and pecuniary transactions of the firm, the exemption was granted by the Governor-General in Council, under the dispensing power which he inferred that he possessed according to the terms of the Act,<sup>2</sup> with this reservation alone, that it should be at the discretion of the Resident to satisfy himself at any time of the nature and objects of the transactions in which Messrs. Palmer and Co. might engage in consequence of the permission then granted. With this sanction the house was allowed to carry on extensive negotiations with the Minister, and, among other pecuniary transactions, was employed, with the cognizance and consent of the Government of Bengal, to provide the pay of the reformed troops in Berar and Aurungabad; none of the native bankers, it being asserted, being willing to advance the funds at the same rate of interest, or on the security of assignments of revenue, and the regular payment of the troops being indispensable to their efficiency at a season when their services were most import-

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<sup>1</sup> Act 37th George III., cap. 142, sec. 28. See extract.—Hyderabad Papers, 8.

<sup>2</sup> The act prohibits the pecuniary transactions, &c., "unless consented to, and approved of by, the Governor-General in Council in writing."—Hyd. Papers, p. 8. The legality of the sanction was confirmed by the opinion of the Advocate-General, by whom the instrument conveying the license solicited was drawn up. Ibid p. 5.

BOOK II. ant :<sup>1</sup> the sanction involving, according to the expressed admission of the firm, no further pledge

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1820. of support than the general countenance afforded to their establishment, which was indispensable for their existence in a country where there were no regular courts of judicature.

This arrangement had scarcely been completed (May 1820) when one of a still more comprehensive character was proposed by Chandu Lal for the Resident's sanction—the negotiation of a loan of sixty lakhs of rupees (600,000*l.*) from the house of Palmer and Co.; the amount being absolutely necessary, according to the Minister's statement, to enable him to discharge the arrears due to the public establishments, which he was anxious to reduce to the extent of twenty-five lakhs a year—to pay off heavy incumbrances due by the Nizam's Government to native bankers and others, and to make advances to the Ryots, in order to restore to them the means of cultivating the lands which had fallen into neglect. As the objects contemplated by the Minister were of undeniable benefit to the Nizam's country, and as, according to the Resident's showing, they were not attainable through any other agency on equally advantageous terms, this loan also was sanctioned—the sanction being understood to be of a general nature, involving no pecuniary responsibility.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after authority was granted to this last

<sup>1</sup> Political Letter from Bengal, 20th Oct. 1820.—Hyd. Papers, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from W. Palmer and Co., 19th May, 1820, to the Resident :—  
“We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date. By the security which we require from the Resident, we do not mean to imply any security by which the British Government should



loan, respecting which much difference of opinion prevailed in the Council of Bengal, communications were received from the Court of Directors, expressing in strong terms their disapproval of the whole of the transactions. Reasoning from experience of the past abuses which had disgraced the pecuniary dealings of British subjects with native princes, they anticipated a like result from the present, and positively enjoined the annulment of the exemption which had been granted to Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. from the penalties imposed by the Legislature. They also directed that the countenance shown by the Government to the house should be strictly confined to those objects of a commercial nature which the partners originally professed to have in view; and that if any discussion should arise between the Nizam's Government and the firm, in respect to their pecuniary transactions, the British Government should abstain from interposing in favour of their claims. These orders were communicated to the mercantile house, and their future pecuniary dealings with the Minister were interdicted.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe, it was discovered that no progress had been made in the reduction of the expenditure of the state, and that the financial difficulties of the Minister were such as to threaten public insolvency, while

be responsible for the money we should lend to the Minister; all we require is the certainty that the Resident will use his influence to prevent our being defrauded, or any misappropriation made of the revenues of the Talooks on which we are to have assignments. We shall never require that influence to be exerted beyond the point to which the Resident can go without making it a discussion between our Government and the Nizam's. We are, &c."—Hyd. Papers, p. 42.

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Bengal, 24th May, 1820.—Hyd. Papers, p. 6. Letter to the Resident, 16th December, 1820, p. 70.

BOOK II.  
CHAP. XI.  
1819.



BOOK II. the system of exaction was as unrelentingly practised  
CHAP. XI. as before. The measures adopted to check the latter

1821. have been adverted to, the former pressed equally upon the Resident's attention. Among the chief of the Minister's embarrassments were the engagements he had contracted with the house of Palmer and Co., and the debts due to the firm, amounting now to nearly a million sterling, bearing an interest of twenty-four per cent. Little improvement could be expected until an adjustment of these claims should be accomplished; and the accounts of the house were subjected to a scrutiny, by which it appeared that their dealings formed no exception to the character which applied to such former pecuniary transactions as the Legislature had intended to prohibit. Besides the high amount of interest—which, although less than the rate usually charged by native bankers lending money to the Minister, without the collateral security of the influence of the Resident, and in addition to large pensions and gratuities settled upon the members of the firm and their connections and dependants—it appeared that the loan of sixty lakhs was an arrangement, which had mainly in view the consolidation of the debts due to the house, and left all other demands, all arrears of the establishment, unprovided for, notwithstanding the Minister's assertion, that it had enabled him to pay off and discharge a considerable portion of the superfluous servants of the government. Such being the conclusion drawn by the supreme authority from an examination of the accounts, the countenance of the Government was finally withdrawn from the house, and Chandu Lal was required to

close his account with the firm, to enable him to do which, the Government of India undertook to supply the funds.<sup>1</sup> A peshkash, or tribute, of seven lakhs of rupees a year had hitherto been paid to the Nizam by the Company, for the northern Circars, and the consent of the Minister was obtained to the redemption of this tribute for ever by the immediate payment of little more than a crore of rupees, by which he was enabled to extricate himself from the embarrassments in which his improvidence and the cupidity of others had involved his administration.

BOOK II.  
CHAP. XI.

1823.

The favour which had been shown to the house of Palmer and Co. by the Governor-General was contemplated with distrust by the Authorities in England; and it was attributed rather to personal motives, than those which had been assigned—the advantages accruing to the Government of the Nizam from the pecuniary assistance derived from such a source.<sup>2</sup> The question gave rise to long and

<sup>1</sup> It appears that when application was made for the sanction of the British Government to a loan of sixty lakhs, that sum was about the amount of the balances existing against the Nizam's Government in the books of Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co.

On Hyderabad account	Rps. 26,82,402
Ahmedabad ditto	13,18,669
Berar Suwar ditto	20,57,219

Rps. 60,58,290

Letter from the Resident, 14th June, 1825. Hyd. Papers, 554.—This loan of sixty lakhs was contracted for on a reduced interest of 18 per cent. per annum, but of the total, eight lakhs were a bonus. The sum transferred was fifty-two lakhs, whilst interest on sixty was charged.—Ibid. According, however, to a statement made at a subsequent date by Mr. Russell, considerable pecuniary advances were made by the house on the Hyderabad account.—Debates E. I. House, 18th February, 1825.

<sup>2</sup> The Marquis of Hastings avowed an interest in the prosperity of the house, in consequence of a gentleman of his family, Sir Wm. Rumbold, (Papers, 44) being one of the partners, but his support was based upon

BOOK II.  
CHAP. XI.

1823.

acrimonious discussions in the Court of Proprietors, which ended in the complete vindication of the integrity of the Marquis of Hastings, but exercised an unpropitious influence upon his fortunes. These proceedings took place at a date subsequent to the period under review, but it will be convenient to notice them in this place, in order to dispose of the subject at once.

On the 3rd of March, 1824, a motion was introduced into the Court of Proprietors, by the Honourable Douglas Kinnaird, recommending to the Court of Directors to consider and report the means and measure of such a pecuniary grant to the Marquis of Hastings as should be worthy of the gratitude of the Company, and of the eminent services of the Governor-General. The motion was met by an amendment, calling for the papers and documents necessary to illustrate the transactions at Hyderabad; and this was altered to a motion for the printing of all the correspondence and other documents upon the public records which regarded the administration of the Marquis of Hastings as Governor-General of India, and which might enable the Court to judge of the propriety of entertaining the question of a further pecuniary reward to the late Governor-General. The motion in this shape received the concurrence of the Court.

The printing of the voluminous documents thus

a belief that the house rendered important public services both to the British Government and that of the Nizam, and he was not aware of the unavowed advantages enjoyed by the partners, or the real character of their dealings with the Nizam. As soon as he learned, or had reason to suspect the truth, he expressed his strong sense of their impropriety.—Letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe from the Secretary to the Government, 13th September, 1822. Hyd. Papers, 186.



called for, which had the collateral effect of placing within the reach of the public a mass of most valuable and interesting information, necessarily occupied a long interval, and nearly twelve months elapsed before any proceedings founded upon them could be held. On the 11th of February, 1825, the papers relating to the loans made to the Nizam were taken into consideration, upon a motion made by Mr. Kinnaird, that there was nothing contained in those documents which tended to affect in the slightest degree the personal character or integrity of the late Governor-General. The proposition was subjected to an amendment by Mr. Astell, the chairman, but acting in his capacity of proprietor only, by which the Court was called upon, while admitting that the papers furnished no ground for imputing corrupt motives to the Marquis of Hastings, to approve of certain dispatches sent by the Court to the Bengal Government—dispatches which censured in strong terms the encouragement given to the pecuniary transactions between the house of Palmer and Co. and the Government of the Nizam. A debate arose upon these propositions, which extended through seven days, and was conducted with great heat and virulence on either side, and diverged into much irrelevant and personal matter. The amendment was finally carried by ballot.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 18th March, 1825.

For the Amendment . . .	575
Against . . .	363

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Majority 212

Full reports of the previous debates will be found in the Monthly Asiatic Journals, for 1824 and 1825.

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1823.



BOOK II.  
CHAP. XI.

1823.

In the first of these dispatches, approbation of which was thus voted, the Court denied the necessity and questioned the legality of the dispensation which had released Messrs. Palmer and Co. from the operation of the Act of Parliament, prohibiting loans by Europeans to Native Princes, and peremptorily ordered that, upon the receipt of the letter, the license should be immediately cancelled and revoked, and positively forbidding, should any discussions arise between the house and the Nizam's Government respecting any pecuniary transactions between them, the interposition, in any way whatever, of the name, authority, influence, or good offices of the British Government, for the furtherance of their demands. The tone of the letter was evidently inspired by a suspicion of the motives of the Governor-General, and undervalued the considerations by which the indulgence was capable of extenuation,—a belief in its legality, founded upon the opinion of the first legal authority in India, the Company's Advocate-General, by whom the license itself was drawn up,—reliance on the judgment of the Resident, who had acquired, by long experience, a thorough knowledge of the condition of the Nizam's affairs, and who recommended the measure,—and a conviction that much benefit had already accrued from the commercial operations of the House. The sanction granted was, therefore, no intended violation of the law, nor was any sacrifice of public to private interests imagined to be involved in the permission.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Edmonstone, who at the date of the license, was a member of the Government, and was present in the debate of 1825 as a Director, while he

The second of the inculpatory letters, 28th November, 1821, first referred to a special transaction, in which the Government had sanctioned, prior to the receipt of the preceding dispatch, the undertaking of the house to issue pay to the Nizam's reformed troops at Aurungabad, at the rate of two lakhs of rupees per month, on the receipt of assignments for thirty lakhs a-year, being equivalent to an interest of twenty-five per cent. Confirmation of this arrangement had been strongly urged upon the Government by the Resident, but it was not granted without hesitation and inquiry; the Resident was required to furnish further explanations, and the house was desired to submit its accounts to the Council. This was at first objected to, but the condition was eventually complied with; when the Governor-General declined the examination, and, upon the explanations submitted by the Resident, sanctioned the arrangement. The Court complained that the explanations were not satisfactory,—that the advances had, in fact, been commenced without waiting for the sanction applied for,—that the maintenance of regularly organised troops by Native Princes was a measure of doubtful expedience,—and that, allowing the necessity of providing for their pay, it did not appear to have been necessary to have recourse to the agency of European capitalists, as the money might have been raised from the

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1823.

subscribed to the opinion of the legal authorities in England of the illegality of the license, and admitted that the grant of it was indiscreet, as made with imperfect information as to the extent of the dealings which it authorised, maintained that with the legal opinions furnished, and acting under the information possessed, the Government was not to blame in acceding to the application of Palmer and Company. Report, Debate of 3rd March, 1825, A. J. vol. 19, p. 575.

BOOK II. bankers of Hyderabad, at a much lower rate of interest, or the Nizam might have been induced to

CHAP. XI.

1822. advance it. This last supposition was hazarded upon a total forgetfulness of the passion of all Native Princes for hoarding treasure, and that such a propensity was peculiarly characteristic of the head of the Government of Hyderabad. The possibility of raising loans on easier terms from the native bankers was contingent upon the grant to them of the like support which the European house had been led to expect. Assured of the promised interposition of the Resident, the native bankers might have been induced to provide the funds at a similar rate on the same securities; but without it the Resident was fully warranted in asserting that they would not have given any pecuniary aid to the Minister upon assignments, the realisation of which was notoriously uncertain. The policy of maintaining the reformed troops was a different question; but while they were maintained, it was necessary to keep them orderly and effective, and this was only to be done by securing them their regular pay. It appeared also from the answers of the Resident, that the collection of the revenue was effected without any undue interference with the native functionaries. Whatever required to be cleared up, was placed in the hands of the Government by the house by the final submission of their accounts; and the only point in which the Government exposed itself to the charge of insufficient investigation and precaution, was the determination not to examine the documents. The reason assigned for such forbearance was ill-calculated to recommend



it to the Authorities at home, as it implied their incapacity to form an accurate judgment of statements which, if recorded on the proceedings of the Council, must come under their examination. The excuse was untenable, and the omission to inspect the accounts was unseasonable and injudicious, although it scarcely warranted the inference drawn from it by the Court,—that it evinced a determination in the Bengal Government to disavow all responsibility; to throw off the check of the authorities in England; to do whatever it chose to do; and to communicate to the Court no more than it thought fit. Neither did it justify the accusation contained in the same letter, that the Government of Bengal had in substance, if not in form, lent the Company's credit in the late pecuniary transactions at Hyderabad, not for the benefit of the Nizam's government, but for the sole benefit of Messrs. William Palmer and Company. Although not indifferent to the advantages of the house, the permission to embark in pecuniary dealings with the Nizam's minister, had been throughout based upon the representations of the Resident, that they were indispensably necessary for the solvency of the Hyderabad State, and that they had produced, and were producing, the most beneficial consequences. The information might have been erroneous, the decision might have been, as it was, ill-judged; but there was no room to impute any intention to benefit individuals solely by injury to an ally.

The same letter adverted to the negotiations for the sixty lakhs, to which also sanction had been granted before the arrival of the inhibitory dispatch.



BOOK II. At this date, the Court was not apprised of the character given to this transaction by subsequent inquiry; nor was it suspected by the Government, when its sanction was conceded. The only grounds of disapprobation here taken, therefore, were the imperfect information possessed by the Government, and the possibility that the money might have been borrowed on better terms from the native bankers: the latter was a gratuitous supposition; the former a substantial objection, to an extent of which the Court was not itself aware. The same dispatch inferred, that from the time the licence was cancelled, the authorised engagement for the payment of the Berar troops, must have ceased; and directed that if such was not the case, the house should be commanded to bring it forthwith to a termination.

The third of the documents approved of by the Court, was a letter of the 9th of April, 1823, inclosing the opinions of his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor General, and of the Company's standing counsel, that loans by British subjects to native Princes were illegal, whether made in their territories or those of the Company; and that in either territory it was also unlawful for British subjects to lend money at a rate exceeding twelve per cent. This view of the law was, however, declared to be erroneous by Chief Justice Best in expressing the unanimous sense of the Judges to the House of Lords, in favour of a declaratory Bill to that effect, brought in by the Marquis of Hastings.<sup>1</sup> According to this high authority, Acts of the British Parliament could not regulate the practice of foreign States; and penal

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings in the House of Lords, June, 1825. Asiatic Journal.

statutes could not be applicable to dominions in which British Courts had no jurisdiction.

BOOK II.  
CHAP. XI.

The last letter for which the Directors claimed the approval of the Proprietors, was of a later date, 21st January, 1824, and reviewed the whole of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal in regard to the transactions at Hyderabad. In this they complained that their instructions had been imperfectly and tardily obeyed, in regard to the Aurungabad contract, which, although ordered to be put a stop to in 1820, had been suffered to proceed until the middle of 1822, and that in consequence, the house claimed arrears from the Nizam's government. This was partly, however, the consequence of their own injunctions in a former letter, in which they expressed their desire to avoid any precipitate measures which might tend to impair the credit of the firm.

The letter also analyses the pecuniary transactions of the house with the Nizam, and justly condemns the total absence of that scrutiny which it was the duty of the Resident to have exercised as a condition of the licence. A variety of transactions are pointed out, regarding which it does not seem that any information whatever was ever furnished to the Government, and which were engaged in without such reference, under what was considered to be a general licence, a construction warranted, perhaps, by the literal tenor of the authority granted to the house, but evidently incompatible with the provision that the Resident should be aware of all the proceedings of the house of such a description. The Sixty-lakh Loan is also designated as, in great part, a mere transfer of old debts to a new account, by

BOOK II. which the sanction of the Government was obtained  
CHAP. XI. to a debt, the existence of which was not known  
1823. when the sanction was given. The whole amount of debt claimed by the house is stated to be ninety-six lakhs, in December 1822. Undoubtedly the Court had good reason to question the character of this Loan, the accounts of which are clouded by great obscurity, and the real nature of which was not distinctly appreciated by the Government of Bengal as it ought to have been before their sanction to it was granted.

A considerable portion of the dispatch is dedicated to the reprobation of the undue influence of the house in the councils of the Nizam, and their instigation of the minister to prefer complaints privately against the new Resident, and the Governor-General. It cannot be denied that the Court was justified in condemning the readiness of the Governor-General to entertain, in opposition to all the members of his council, a belief that Sir Charles Metcalfe was induced by personal pique and jealousy, rather than by a dispassionate regard for the credit of his own Government, and the interests of the Nizam, to picture the dealings of the house in exaggerated and undeserved colours; and they were not unwarranted in inferring that the measure of indulgence shown towards Messrs. Palmer and Co., could be ascribed only to a strong personal bias in behalf of some, at least, of the individuals concerned.

The relief of the Minister's financial embarrassments by the reformation of his revenue system, through the agency of European officers, is objected to by the Court as strongly as by the Governor-Ge-



neral ; but blame is imputed to the Government that its reprehension was not earlier pronounced, a consideration of secondary importance, as, after all, the arrangement was not disturbed. So in regard to the advance of money from the Company's treasury to the Minister, to pay off his debts, inasmuch as the measure was finally approved of, the Court's censure of the delay which occurred between the first rejection of the plan in 1820, and its ultimate adoption in 1822, seems to have been uncalled for, especially as they admit that they participated in the doubts entertained by the Governor-General of the legality of such interference, upon which ground he had originally opposed the proposition. His final acquiescence was based upon the implied approbation of such an arrangement deduced from general expressions in the Court's letter of November 1821, of the preferableness of a loan by the Company, to one by a mercantile house. They deny the justice of the inference, and, perhaps, with reason ; but the best defence of the inconsistency will be found in the altered feelings with which the Governor-General now regarded the proceedings of Palmer and Co. In 1820 he had not received the Court's orders to cancel the license, and conscientiously believed that the proceedings were legal and that they were to benefit the Nizam. In 1822 he was not only in possession of the sentiments of the Court, but had discovered that the operations of the house were calculated to embarrass, not to relieve, the difficulties of the Nizam's Government, and that it had become necessary to adopt some other mode of supplying the requisite funds.



BOOK II.  
CHAP. XI.

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1823.

Upon a review of these transactions it must be admitted, that the objections which were taken by the Court, and, in fact, confirmed by the Board of Control, with whose concurrence the despatches in question were forwarded, were substantially just. Some of the arguments may be regarded as captious, and inapplicable to local circumstances, and they show an unfair disposition to identify the Governor-General with Messrs. Palmer and Co. Although it is not expressed, and, perhaps, not intended, there runs, also, throughout the correspondence an indication of a suspicion of unworthy motives, and the language is frequently unsuited to the high station and character, both of those from whom it proceeds, and the noble individual to whom it is addressed. Yet it is not to be denied that the personal interest taken in the successful operations of the house, the ready acquiescence with which their applications and representations were received, and the reluctance to admit anything in their disfavour until it could no longer be disputed that they had taken undue advantage of the confidence which had been shown them, were incompatible with the duties of the Governor-General, were an injudicious departure from the caution which experience of the past had suggested in regard to pecuniary transactions between Europeans and Natives of rank, were detrimental to the ally whom it was intended to serve, and subjected the Company to serious embarrassment and loss. The justice of these conclusions enabled the Court to triumph over an opposition which was conducted with remarkable ability and energy, and which derived a powerful support from

the unimpeached integrity of the Marquis of Hastings, and the unquestionable merits of his general administration.

BOOK II.  
CHAP. XL

1820.

We have now to direct our attention to the principality of Oude, where, in the estimation of the Governor-General, abstinence from interposition had been attended by the happiest consequences. It had not, however, wholly obviated the necessity of calling out regular troops against refractory Zemindars, and in the beginning of 1822 above seventy of their forts, in the vicinity of Sultanpur, were occupied and dismantled by a British detachment. Nor were the unassisted means of the Oude Government able to suppress the bands of armed robbers who haunted the jungles on the frontier, and made frequent and desperate inroads into the British territories. Their lurking places were occasionally penetrated, and their villages destroyed; but the connivance of the Oude police and the secret encouragement of the neighbouring Zemindars sheltered them from any very severe retaliation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Between 1815 and 1820 there had been forty gang robberies on the frontier adjacent to Oude, in which forty persons were killed, one hundred and seventy wounded, and property carried off to the extent of 1.14.000 rupees. The Oude bands did not confine themselves to the frontier. In 1820 a party of four hundred, the pretended suite of a Hindu Raja, proceeding as asserted on a pilgrimage, and travelling deliberately with the usual accompaniments of a person of rank, elephants, horses, palankins, &c., traversed the British territory for more than 300 miles from the Oude frontier, and near Mongir plundered the boats of a merchant of Calcutta carrying bullion, to the extent of a lakh and a half of rupees, of the dispatch of which the leader had been apprised by his agents in Calcutta. The party retreated with their booty in safety. In the following year they were less fortunate. The same leader, with one hundred and thirty-three men and forty women, was apprehended by the exertions of the magistrates in South Béhar. The men were practised gang robbers. The chief was hanged; the most notorious were transported for life; the rest sentenced to hard labour for various periods. These people were chiefly of the tribe termed Shigal-khors, Jackall-eaters, from their lax habits in regard to food, and principally tenanted the thickets near Secrora, in

BOOK II.  
CHAP. XI.

1818.

Little advantage to the principality was to be expected from a change which took place at this season in the designation of its sovereign, who, with the consent of the Governor-General, assumed the title and the style of King. He was designated Abu Muzaffar, Moiz-ud-din, Shah-i-Zaman, Ghazi-ud-din Hyder Shah, Padshah-i-Awadh: the Victorious—the Upholder of the Faith—the King of the Age—Ghazi-ud-din Hyder Shah—King of Oude. The assumption of Shah Zaman was at first objected to, as implying an equality with the King of Delhi; but it was allowed to remain, upon its being limited by the phrase Padshah-i-Awadh, instead of Padshah, King, only, as proposed by his Majesty himself. He had prepared the way for this elevation a year before, by striking coin in his own name, instead of that of the King of Delhi—an invasion of the privileges of the Mogul which had not yet been committed even by the East India Company. This elevation was received with extreme indignation at Delhi, and was by no means acceptable to the Mohammedans, who saw in it an ungracious encroachment upon the rights of the representative of Timur by one who was bound by his office in an especial manner, as well as by the ties of gratitude, to protect them. The assumption of the royal title by the Vizir originated in the suggestion of the Governor-General, who had witnessed an act of humiliation imposed upon him by his nominal subordination to the throne of Delhi, and regarded it as inconsistent with his actual dignity and power. Two brothers

Oude. Their parties were joined, however, by similar gangs who haunted the British side of the Ganges.—Jud. Proceedings, MS.



of the King of Delhi resided at Lucknow, supported by allowances granted partly by the Com-  
pany, partly by the Vizir. Notwithstanding their partial dependence upon the latter, etiquette assigned to them so decided a precedence, that when the Nawab encountered them in the street, the elephant on which he rode was made to kneel in token of homage as they passed. The Nawab was told that it rested with himself to throw off all such forms of servility to the Mogul; and upon his intimating a wish to adopt an equal title, his purpose was encouraged, provided it made no difference in the relations which connected him with the British government. It was, in the opinion of the Marquis of Hastings, a provident policy to sow dissension in this manner between the rival sovereigns of Delhi and Lucknow, in order to prevent the coöperation of the latter, through the bond of his allegiance to the former, in any hostile combination against the British interests, of which the King of Delhi should be the real or nominal head.<sup>1</sup> It may be doubted, should such a remote contingency arise, whether identity of religion and community of interest will not outweigh all other considerations, and whether the King of Oude will not be as willing as the Nawab Vizir to place his resources at the foot of the imperial throne. On the other hand, a material difference has been made in the political relations between the head of the government of Oude and his allies. He now holds his dominions in independent sovereignty,—as Nawab he exercised only

BOOK II.  
CHAP. XI.  
1818.

<sup>1</sup> Summary by the Marquis of Hastings of the operations in India, and their results. Printed for the Proprietors, June, 1824.



BOOK II. a delegated sway, which the British government, as  
CHAP. XL. representing that of Delhi, had the right to resume  
 1818. at its own discretion. Names are sometimes as real  
 as things, and the King of Oude is not for any pur-  
 pose the same potentate as the Nawab Vizir.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Internal Administration of the Marquis of Hastings.—*  
*Progressive Legislation.—I. Civil Judicature.—In-*  
*efficiency of the Courts.—Injunctions of the Home*  
*Authorities to revert to Native Institutions.—Mea-*  
*sures adopted in Bengal—at Madras and Bombay.*  
*—Result. — II. Criminal Justice and Police. —*  
*Reforms at the Presidencies.—Union of the Powers*  
*of Magistrate and Collector.—Extended Police*  
*Powers of the Revenue and Village Officers at*  
*Madras, and at Bombay.—III. Revenues.—Land*  
*Revenue.—Principles of Ryotwar Settlement to be*  
*universally adopted.—Perpetual Settlement prohi-*  
*bited.—Enactments in Bengal.—Village and Dis-*  
*trict Native Accountants re-established.—Rules for*  
*Sale of Lands modified.—Settlement of ceded and*  
*conquered Provinces.—System of Village Settlement*  
*preferred.—Necessity of previous Inquiry.—Abuses*  
*to be remedied.—Fraudulent Transfers of Property*  
*extensive.—Discontent of the People.—Special Com-*  
*mission appointed.—Wrongs redressed.—Question*  
*of perpetual Settlement of the Western Provinces*  
*re-considered.—Deferred Periodical Settlements con-*

*tinued.—Nature of Inquiries to be instituted.—As regarding the Land.—As regarding its Occupants.—Regulation to give effect to the Arrangements.—Revenue Surveys commenced.—Great delay anticipated.—Still greater experienced.—Merit of the Government.—Madras Village Settlements closed.—Ryotwar resumed.—With Modifications.—Lands for Sale in the permanently settled Districts bought on Public Account.—Bombay Revenue Arrangements.—Based on Native Institutions.—Inquiry found necessary.—Revenue Commission.—Revenue Survey of Broach.—Its Objects.—Similar Surveys in Guzerat.—Village Accountants made public Servants.—Opposition of Heads of Villages.—Objections to the Arrangement.—Gradually relinquished.—Settlements of the Dekhin.—Combination of Village and Ryotwar Systems.—Survey commenced.—Other Branches of Revenue.—Opium.—Difficulties respecting Malwa Opium.—Measures adopted.—Salt.—Customs.—Duties on British Goods remitted.—Finance.—Augmentation of Revenues.—Of Charges.—Surplus of Local Receipts.—Home Charges and Commercial Advantages insufficiently provided for.—Loans raised.—Public Debt increased.—Separation of Territorial and Commercial Accounts.—Debt contracted to the East India Company's Commerce.—Sufficiency of Indian Revenues for Disbursements in time of Peace.—Prospect of Financial Prosperity.—Changes of Social Condition.—Calcutta an Episcopal See.—Bishop Middleton.—Difficulties of his Position.—His Proceedings.—Foundation of Bishop's College.—His Death.—Establishment of Scottish*

*Church.—Activity of Missionary Societies.—Increased numbers of Missionaries.—Attention turned to Native Education.—Defects of Native System.—Schools established.—Partly by Missionary Bodies.—Partly by Individuals for General Education; the latter assisted by the Government.—Censorship of the Press abolished.—Immediate Results.—Close of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings.*

BOOK II. THE many and important political events which  
 CHAP. XII. signalised the administration of the Marquis of Hast-  
 1814—23. ings, were not permitted to divert the attention of  
 the Indian Governments from the progressive duties  
 of domestic regulation, and the amelioration of the  
 condition of the people subject to their sway. The  
 investigations which had preceded the last renewal  
 of the Company's Charter, had exposed defects in  
 the established Judicial and Revenue systems, of  
 which the existence had been little suspected, and  
 for which it was obviously imperative to provide  
 early and adequate remedies. It was, however, as  
 usual, more easy to discover imperfections, than to  
 devise unexceptionable methods of correcting them;  
 and the measures which were proposed for that pur-  
 pose partook of the faults in which much that was  
 defective had originated,—a more accurate concep-  
 tion of the ends than of the means, impatience to  
 construct a complete system of law and justice,  
 without waiting for its spontaneous growth and  
 gradual development, and the want of due con-  
 sideration not only for the past, but for the present  
 condition of society, for the anomalous amalga-  
 mation of its indigenous and exotic, its Indian and Eu-



ropean, elements. Although, therefore, very great pains were taken to reform practices which were evidently amiss, and to substitute principles of a different tenor from those which had hitherto been received as unimpeachable; and although upon the whole an important advance was made in the business of progressive legislation, yet the system continued to be only progressive, and was far from reaching that maturity which the authorities, both at home and in India, earnestly desired to see it attain.

The continual accumulation of arrears in the decisions of the Courts of Civil Judicature, and the prolonged periods to which complainants had to look for redress, amounting to a virtual withholding of justice, were, as we have had occasion to notice, the prominent defects of that branch of the judicial system;<sup>1</sup> nor did the injury arising from the delay affect only those cases which were brought before the courts, as a still greater number of suits were kept back by the uncertainty whether they would ever be adjudicated; and persons aggrieved preferred submission to present wrong to the tedious process and remote chance of obtaining a sentence in their favour.<sup>2</sup> Part of this delay arose from the

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<sup>1</sup> Between 1810 and 1815, the whole number of depending suits considerably decreased; those at the end of the former year being 135,553; and of the latter 108,286. - There was an increase, however, in the Superior Courts, the arrears being respectively of the Sudder Adawlah 198 and 467, and of the Provincial Courts 2903 and 3705. In the Judges' Courts there was a decrease, the depending suits being severally 20,341 and 16,898. Taking the numbers of the latter period, the term required for clearing off the causes in arrear, according to the average duration of the proceedings of the Courts, was in the Sudder twelve years; in the Provincial Courts six years; and in those of the Zilla and City Judges five and a half. Tables showing the extent and operations of the judicial systems of the three Presidencies.—Commons Report, 1832. App. Judicial. Table, xvi. p. 504.

<sup>2</sup> Judicial Minute of the Earl of Moira. Comm. Report, 1832. App. Judicial.



BOOK II. novel and unsuitable forms which had been intro-  
CHAP. XII. duced to secure method and precision in the pro-

1814—23. ceedings of the Courts; part was ascribable also to the extreme and often needless jealousy with which the Government regarded the judicial functionaries, the restricted powers with which they were entrusted, and the numerous checks to which the exercise of those powers was subjected; but very much was owing to unavoidable causes—to the increase of population, the advance of the people in wealth and prosperity, to the valuable interests which peace and security multiplied, and to the frequency with which the people resorted to the tribunals of the state. Whatever their imperfections, the natives saw that justice was administered in the English courts upon fixed principles, that as little as possible was left to the caprice or passions of the judge, and that, with occasional exceptions, his decisions were upright and just. They had not been accustomed to courts so constituted, to functionaries so impartial and honest; and notwithstanding the defects with which the Company's Courts were chargeable, it was clear from the very fact of their being overwhelmed with business, that they enjoyed to a considerable extent, the respect and confidence of the people: it was only necessary, in order to render them completely effective, to proportion their number and powers to the mass of duty with which they were overtasked. To increase the number of those presided over by European functionaries, a class of officers who, from the peculiarities of their situation were more than ordinarily costly, was impracticable from the expense which it entailed, and the necessity

of the case imposed upon the Government the delegation of judicial functions to Native officers to a greater extent than had hitherto been thought advisable. No doubts were entertained of their competency, but experience warranted a distrust of their integrity. It was hoped, however, that by investing them with greater consideration, by granting them more adequate compensation, and by maintaining a vigilant control over their conduct, they would be less disposed to abuse the authority entrusted to them, and would take that place in the distribution of justice among their countrymen, which it was natural and desirable that they should occupy. Consistently with these views, the main object of the measures proposed at this period for the improvement of civil judicature, regarded the extension, as far as might be requisite to meet the wants and necessities of the people of India, of the instrumentality of Native officers in the administration of civil justice.

The employment of Native Judges under the denomination of Munsifs and Amins, or of Native Commissioners, was no novelty at either of the Presidencies.<sup>1</sup> Their appointment had constituted an

<sup>1</sup> Judicial Letter from the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, 9th November, 1814, printed among the Papers on Judicial Proceedings, printed by order of the House of Commons, 1st July, 1819, p. 33. In reporting their sentiments on the measures enjoined in the Court's Letter, the Judges of the Sudder Adawlat observe, in respect to this topic, "that the general administration of Civil Justice among the inhabitants of the populous and extensive provinces subject to our empire cannot be effected without the agency and assistance of the natives themselves, or without investing them with judicial powers, as well as those of arbitration is, we think, incontestable; on this point we entirely concur in the sentiments of the Honourable Court." "The sentiments of the Sudder Court," it is added, "upon the utility and necessity of employing native Commissioners in the administration of Civil Justice, have been repeatedly submitted to Government, and were particularly stated in a report from the senior and

BOOK II. element in the reformed system of 1793, and had  
 CHAP. XII. been subsequently extended.<sup>1</sup> But their utility was

1814—23. neutralized, by radical counter agency. Extreme jealousy and manifest distrust embarrassed their acts and circumscribed their powers, and the niggardly spirit with which their services were requited generated the evils which were apprehended, and forced them to be corrupt to secure a livelihood. Little care was taken to ascertain the character of the officers appointed, and it rarely happened that persons of respectability would accept of situations which offered them neither consideration nor emolument. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, if the subordinate native Judges were ignorant, inefficient, or corrupt; or if, as they were paid by the fees levied on the institution of suits in their courts, they stimulated and encouraged litigation. Notwithstanding these defects, however, which were inherent in the principles of their constitution and for which the Government was responsible, they were found to be highly serviceable. They disposed of a vast number of causes, which, although for petty values, were of not the less importance to the poorer

second Judges on the 30th June, 1814. Letter from the Sudder Adawlat to the Government of Bengal, 9th March, 1818.—Papers on the Judicial System, Calcutta printed.

<sup>1</sup> By Regulation XL. of 1793, native Commissioners were appointed to act in the threefold capacity of Arbitrators, (Amins) Referees, (to decide suits referred to them by the Judges) and Munsifs or Judges in petty cases, affecting personal property of a value not exceeding fifty rupees, (5*l.*). Munsifs were originally appointed, especially to facilitate the recovery of rents due to the Zemindars by the Ryots, but this being otherwise provided for, a different class of persons with the same designation, was appointed by Regulation XIX. 1803, for more general duties, but with the like limitation of value. The same Regulation provided for the employment of Sudder Amin or Head Commissioner, with a jurisdiction in actions for real as well as personal property, not exceeding one hundred rupees, (10*l.*)



classes of the population; and as the appeals from their decisions to the European Judge of the district to whom they were appealable, were comparatively few, it might fairly be inferred, that the people were generally contented with the measure of justice secured to them by this channel.<sup>1</sup>

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From the results thus ascertained, and the confident representations of some of the Company's most distinguished servants, especially Colonel Munro, who was an enthusiastic advocate of the advantages to be realised from the extensive use of native agency, an unqualified opinion was adopted by the Home authorities, and particularly by the Board of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stuart, Chief Judge of the Sudder, observes: "I cannot disguise from myself that it continues to be the studious policy of the Government, to reduce all their native officers to the lowest point of emolument and credit." Minute, November, 1815.—Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed. Sudder Amins and Munsifs were paid at first from the fees imposed on the institution of suits; the former realised about seventy rupees, (7*l.*) a month; subsequently they were paid a fixed salary of one hundred rupees, (10*l.*) per mensem, Regulation XIII., 1824: the pay of the Munsifs was much less, and complaints of their corruption were so numerous, that it was thought to counterbalance their utility, and many of the Judges proposed their abolition. Judicial Letter from Bengal, 10th November, 1814. Papers printed by order of the House of Commons, July, 1819, p. 117. There is, however, high authority in favour of their usefulness even at an early period. Mr. Harington, a Chief Judge of the Sudder, observes, "all powers entrusted to the natives, especially without fixed and liberal allowances are liable to abuse, and it cannot be doubted that the Native Commissioners have, in some instances, perverted to purposes of self-interest, exaction, and oppression, the authority delegated to them for the more speedy and efficient administration of justice, but as far as an opinion can be formed from the proportion of appeals against their decisions, to the total number of causes decided by them in past years, their appointment appears to have been of considerable public advantage." The causes decided or adjusted by them, are computed by Mr. Harington at an annual average of 300,000; a number for which it would be impossible to provide by any other agency. Analysis of the Regulations I. 98, note. At a much later date this defect in the constitution of the Munsifs was still uncorrected; the Government of Bengal write in 1827, "it cannot be matter of surprise that instances of corruption and abuse should but too frequently occur in a body of public officers, whose fair emoluments are so disproportioned to the responsibility and powers which are vested in them."—Judicial Letter from Bengal, 22nd February, 1827.—Commons Report, 1832.—Jud. App. p. 78.



BOOK II. Control, that the judicial system of 1793, was an un-  
CHAP. XII. wise departure from the established usages of the  
1814—23. country; that its insufficiency and unsuitableness had  
been proved by the experience of twenty years, and  
that the only remedy for the deplorable condition of  
the Judicial administration was to be found in a  
recurrence to native institutions.<sup>1</sup> Little regard was  
had to the change which the interval had wrought  
in the circumstances of Indian society, and in con-  
templating the evils of the existing system the good  
which it had accomplished was overlooked. The  
records of the past, both under Native and British  
rule, furnished ample testimony, that although justice  
was tardy and crime was still perpetrated, yet that  
property and person enjoyed a greater degree of  
security than was known when native institutions  
were in their full vigour, except when they were di-  
rected and controlled with more than ordinary ability  
and energy by the arbitrary authority of a powerful  
Zemindar, or officer of the State. It was no doubt  
true, that the native institutions had been too en-  
tirely set aside in the plan which had been devised  
for the distribution of justice; but the altered con-  
dition of society rendered it also doubtful, whether,  
in the state in which they survived, they could be  
reasonably expected to be as available for the objects  
of the Government, as they might have been under  
different circumstances. Entertaining, however, san-  
guine expectations of the great benefit to be de-  
rived from giving fresh vitality to the institutions of  
the country, the Home authorities earnestly recom-  
mended to the Indian Governments the immediate

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Court, 9th November, 1814, as above.

adoption of measures for that object; and the fullest possible employment of the head-men of the villages, and of village courts, or Panchayats, in the adjudication of civil suits occurring among the inhabitants of their respective jurisdictions. With these instructions the Government of Bengal declared it to be impossible to comply. The extent of the territory subject to the Presidency, and the immense number of villages among which it was divided, would render it necessary to vest judicial powers in an infinitude of individuals of questionable character and pretensions, over whom it would be impracticable to exercise an adequate superintendence. It was also affirmed, that in the districts where the permanent settlement had been formed, the village institutions had been destroyed, and that the persons occupying the stations of the ancient head-men, were usually the Gomashtas, or agents of the Zemindar, whom it was obviously inexpedient to arm with powers, which they would infallibly employ for the benefit of their principals and the further oppression of the Ryots. In the provinces, where the settlement had not been concluded, too little was known of the state of the prevailing institutions to render it advisable to recognise any set of individuals as public functionaries by virtue of their connection with the communities of which they were members.<sup>1</sup> The Bengal Government, therefore, until the exact nature of that con-

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<sup>1</sup> Letters from the Judges of the Court of Sudder Adawlat of the 4th December, 1816, and 9th March, 1818, with the replies of the Provincial and City Judges from various parts of the country, to the Directors of the Court, in answer to the injunctions of the Court of 1814.—Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed. On the information thus accumulated is based the Letter from the Bengal Government of the 22nd February, 1827, cited above.

BOOK II. nection should be accurately understood, suspended  
 CHAP. XII. compliance with the orders from home, and hesitated  
 1814—23. to intrust the supposed heads of villages with public  
 duties, or to recognise village Panchayats in any  
 other capacity than that in which they had always  
 been acknowledged,—local juries of arbitration, spon-  
 taneously formed at the wish and by the consent of  
 the litigant parties. At the same time, the necessity  
 of augmenting native agency was unreservedly ad-  
 mitted, as well as of simplifying the processes of the  
 Courts, and modifying their constitution, and various  
 regulations for these purposes were enacted.

The limit of value to which the decisions of Sud-  
 Amins were restricted (fifty rupees) was extended,  
 first to one hundred and fifty, and subsequently to  
 five hundred; while that of the sums adjudicable by  
 Munsifs was raised from fifty, first to sixty-four,  
 and secondly to one hundred and fifty. The pay of  
 both was improved, and that of the Amins was fixed  
 independently of fees; and the judges of the District  
 Courts were authorised to add to the number of the  
 subordinate grade of native officers as circumstances  
 might require.<sup>1</sup> Additional powers were also confer-  
 red upon the junior European officers, or registrars.  
 Suits below or above five thousand rupees, which  
 had been restricted severally to the courts of the  
 district and the provincial courts, were allowed to be  
 carried into either at the will of the parties; and  
 the number of judges was raised from three to four,  
 in each of the provincial courts.<sup>2</sup> The collectors of

<sup>1</sup> Bengal Regulations XXIII. of 1814, and II. III. of 1821, and XIII. of 1824.

<sup>2</sup> Bengal Regulations XXIV. XXV. 1814 and XIX. of 1817.



the revenue were also empowered to hear and determine summary suits for the rent and occupancy of land,<sup>1</sup>—disputes forming a great proportion of the business of civil judicature. These enactments necessarily alleviated the labours of the judges;<sup>2</sup> but they were far from accomplishing the object of their promulgation; and further arrangements were soon found to be indispensable.<sup>3</sup>

Instructions of the purport of those addressed to Bengal, had been previously communicated to the

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1814—23.

<sup>1</sup> Bengal Regulation VII. of 1822.

<sup>2</sup> The Regulations of 1814, as far as affected the Munsifs, seemed to have diminished the causes brought before them. In 1814 the number was 125,491; in 1816, but 52,550; they then increased, and in 1820, were 108,000. On the other hand, the suits instituted before the Sudder Amins, steadily increased from 23,000 in 1814 to 46,000 in 1820. In 1814, Munsifs were allowed to try causes only which had originated within a twelvemonth from their institution. In 1817, Regulation XIX. extended the period to three years. The Court attributed the falling off to this limitation, but in the beginning of 1814, Stamps in Judicial Proceedings were substituted for fees on the institution of suits, and the amount due to the Munsifs in place of the fee was paid by the Zilla Judge. This innovation had probably some effect in reducing the number of suits brought before the subordinate Native Judges. Selections from Judicial Records printed by order of the Court of Directors, vol. iv. p. 33. The arrears of Civil Causes rapidly declined. In 1813 they amounted to 142,000; in 1817 to 92,000, showing a diminution in four years of 50,000 suits. The Sudder estimates the average annual decisions at 150,000.—Letter from the Judges of the Sudder, March, 1818.—Judicial Papers, Calcutta printed.

<sup>3</sup> In reply to a Letter from Bengal in 1823, requiring considerable additions to the European establishment, the Court observes “the Regulations passed by you in 1821 have our cordial approbation, and we were greatly pleased with the valuable memorandum which was then submitted to you by your Chief Secretary, Mr. Bayley, explanatory of the policy which had influenced the framing of those Regulations. “But though under the provisions there made, the powers of the Munsifs and Sudder Amins were increased, and their number may be increased indefinitely, we apprehend, from the large arrear of undecided causes, the number and powers of those functionaries are still inadequate. We are satisfied that to secure a prompt administration of justice to the natives of India, in civil cases, native functionaries must be multiplied so as to enable them to take cognizance, in the first instance *of all suits of that description*, and, as appears to us, *without regard to the amount at stake*, the decisions being of course liable to revision under appeal.”—Judicial Letter to Bengal, 23rd July, 1824. Selections from the Records, iv. 29. It is but just to the Home Authorities to give them credit for originating principles scarcely yet fully carried into practice.



BOOK II. Government of Madras,<sup>1</sup> and their execution was insured by the appointment of a commission, of which

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1814—23. Colonel Munro, who was at the time on the eve of returning from England to Madras, was the head.<sup>2</sup> Although the native village functionaries existed in a much less mutilated state in the territories subject to the Madras Presidency, than in those of Bengal; yet the principal judicial and revenue officers at the former were, for the most part, opposed to the plan of employing them extensively in the administration of civil justice. As the Patels, or head-men of the villages, and the village Panchayats were not to receive any remuneration for the performance of the duties to be assigned to them, it was anticipated that they would either decline the obligation, or fulfil it with reluctance and indifference, and that little effective aid would be received from their unwilling exertions: connected also as they must be with the parties concerned in the cases before them, it was scarcely to be expected that they would perform their duties free from bias or partiality; and as it was part of the plan, that their sentences should not be subject to appeal, there was no security against their committing gross injustice. As also they were necessarily ignorant of the laws and regulations, their judgments could not be governed by any determinate principles, and their decisions could not fail to be capricious and contradictory.<sup>3</sup> The arguments of the Commissioners, backed by the positive

<sup>1</sup> Judicial Letter to Madras 29th of April, 1814.—Selections from the Records II. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Judicial Letter to Madras, 4th of May, 1814.—Selections II. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Minute of Mr. Fullerton, 1st January, 1816.—Selections II. 353.

injunctions of the Home Authorities, silenced all opposition; and a series of Regulations was enacted and promulgated in the course of 1816, based upon the principles which the orders from home had laid down.<sup>1</sup> By the first of these it was provided, that the Heads of villages should be Munsifs in their respective villages; and that they should have authority to hear and determine, without appeal, all suits preferred before them for personal property, not exceeding in value ten Arcot rupees, unless the parties entered into a bond to abide by the Patel's decision, when the limit might be extended to one hundred rupees. Registers of the suits decided were to be kept by the village accountant; and periodical reports of cases adjudicated and pending were to be regularly transmitted to the native judicial officer next in rank, or the District Munsif. The Village Munsifs were authorised, by the next regulation, to assemble Panchayats, or from five to eleven of the most respectable inhabitants of the village community to hear and try, with the consent of the parties themselves, suits for personal property, to an unlimited amount. Provisions were made for regulating the constitution of the Panchayats and their mode of proceeding. Their decisions admitted of no appeal, unless a charge against them of partiality and corruption could be substantiated. Reports of their proceedings were to be transmitted to the District Munsifs, whose appointment formed the subject of another regulation. These officers were substituted for the native Commissioners formerly employed, but their number was augmented, and powers en-

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<sup>1</sup> Madras Regulations, IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. 1816.

BOOK II. larged. They were authorised to decide causes for  
CHAP. XII. real as well as personal property, to the extent of

1814—23. two hundred rupees; and within certain limits their decrees were final. They were also empowered to assemble District Panchayats, whose proceedings and constitution were analogous to those of the Village Panchayats. Another measure, having the same object in contemplation, was the extension of the powers of Sudder Amins, the Law Officers of the District and Provincial Courts, to the trial of suits for real or personal property, not exceeding the value of three hundred rupees. When it is recollected that, by far the largest proportion of the causes brought before the courts, are for values of a limited amount, it will be seen that the principal share in the administration of civil justice was thus transferred to native functionaries. Still further to expedite the dispatch of civil justice, alterations were made in the laws affecting the processes of the Courts, and the course of pleading; and limitations were affixed to the privilege of appeal.<sup>1</sup> At a shortly subsequent date, the jurisdiction of the Sudder Amins and District Munsifs was severally extended to suits for the value of seven hundred and fifty and five hundred rupees,<sup>2</sup> and the Collector was instructed to hear and decide disputes relating to the rents and possession of land, which had previously been cognizable by the civil judge alone.<sup>3</sup>

The effects of the various regulations thus promulgated, very soon operated to lighten the duties

<sup>1</sup> Madras Regulations, XIV. XV. 1816.

<sup>2</sup> Madras Regulations, II. 1821.

<sup>3</sup> Madras Regulations, V. 1822.



of the judges, and to facilitate the determination of civil suits. Some of their results were, however, unexpected, and afforded an unanswerable proof that the sentiments of the natives of India are as liable as those of other natives to vary with change of time and circumstances. The benefits so confidently anticipated from the public recognition of the Panchayat were not realised: the supposed boon granted to the people was rejected: they would make little use of an institution interwoven, it had been imagined, inseparably with their habits and affections. The Panchayats, it appeared, had been highly prized, only as long as nothing better was to be had. In the absence of all other tribunals the people were constrained to establish one for themselves and willingly admitted its adjudication of disputes which there was no other authority to settle; while, on the other hand, the most respectable members of the community, especially interested in maintaining property and peace inviolate, and being subject to no authoritative interference or protection, willingly discharged, without any other consideration than the influence which they derived from their discharge of such functions, the duties of arbitrators and judges. But a court, the members of which acknowledged no responsibility, and performed their functions only for such a term, or at such times, as suited their own convenience; who were guided by no light except their own good sense; who, even if uncorrupt, could scarcely be impartial; who had no power to carry their own decrees into effect; and whose sentences were liable to no re-

BOOK 11.  
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BOOK II. vision: such a court must have been a very in-  
CHAP. XII. adequate substitute for any tribunal, the pro-  
1814-23. ceedings of which were regulated by fixed rules,  
and which was presided over by a qualified officer,  
removed from personal influence, and subject to  
vigilant supervision. Whatever defects might still  
adhere to the administration of justice through indi-  
vidual judges, native or European, appointed by the  
Government, their courts continued to be crowded,  
while the Panchayats were deserted, their unpopu-  
larity being partly ascribable to their inherent im-  
perfections, and partly to the indifference or dislike  
of the persons of whom they were ordinarily com-  
posed, who, from the moment that the Government  
attempted to regulate their proceedings, found  
themselves deprived of independence, and subjected  
to a gratuitous and irksome responsibility. The  
same causes brought the village Munsifs into disre-  
pute: they were made amenable for partiality or cor-  
ruption to superior authorities; and they reaped  
neither profit nor consideration from their unre-  
quited labour. It was not to be expected that,  
under these circumstances, the Patels would become  
active and zealous magistrates, or that they would  
fail to take every safe occasion of remunerating  
themselves. They were mostly also ignorant and  
illiterate men, unable to read or write, and little  
qualified by superiority of knowledge or talent, to  
command respect for their decisions. Recourse was  
consequently rarely had to their judgments; and the  
chief increase of labour fell upon the Sudder Amins  
and District Munsifs, officers appointed by the State  
for the distribution of justice among the people, and

owing all their influence and authority to their public and functional character.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK II.  
CHAP. XII.

The circumscribed extent of the territories, subject to the Presidency of Bombay, anteriorly to the Mahratta cessions and conquests, had required the services of a comparatively limited establishment which was modelled upon those of the other Presidencies, with the exception that the court of final appeal continued until 1820 to consist of the Governor and members of council. The establishments were for some time found competent to their duty; but the growth of population and property multiplied litigation, and in 1815 complaints of delay began to be heard. To provide for the augmented demand various arrangements were adopted, extending the powers of the subordinate European

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<sup>1</sup> In 1817, the year following the enactment of the New Regulations, the number of civil suits decided rose from 46,909 to 71,051, of which 66,302 were adjudicated by Native Courts; of this great number no more than 112 were decided by district Panchayats, and 250 by village Panchayats. In 1818, the number of cases decided by these courts were respectively but 75 and 197, and in 1819, 33 and 99. On the 1st January, 1820, the suits on the files of the Native Courts were 21,058, of which no more than 35 were before the district Panchayats, and only 9 before those of the villages. The village Head-men as Munsifs, had cognizance of but 299, and the rest, exceeding 20,000, were all before the district Munsifs, "who to all intents and purposes were servants of the Government, stipendiary Native Judges, a new description of persons, unknown under the Native Government, not the native gentry of the country, nor having by their appointment any connection with the gratuitous labour formerly required by ancient municipal arrangements."—Minute of Mr. Fullerton, 7th June, 1820.—Selections iv. 46. See also Report of Sudder Adawlat, 21st September, 1818. Selections, ii. 610. The manner in which the work was done by the Munsifs was satisfactory. From 1816 to 1820 their decisions amounted to 183,530, the appeals from them to 3057, or about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.—Ibid iv. 67. The Commissioners were obliged to admit the partial failure of this part of their scheme, "several causes have contributed to retard the progress of the system under the village Munsifs; the forms and length of the Regulation, the pains and penalties, and prosecutions which it announces, their fears of the European Courts, and their consequent reluctance to engage in anything likely in the most remote degree to bring them before those tribunals."—Report of Commissioners, October, 1818. Ibid. II. 629.

BOOK II. judicial functionaries, and adding to their number ;  
 CHAP. XII. and a supreme court for the final adjudication of  
 1814—23. both civil and criminal cases, or a Sudder and  
 Fojdari Adawlat was constituted in place of the  
 hitherto objectionable assignment of judicial func-  
 tions to the executive and legislative Government.<sup>1</sup>  
 The operation of the Regulations was extended to  
 the first cessions from the Gaekwar and the Peshwa,  
 and to those districts conquered from the latter,  
 which were contiguous to the Bombay territory ;  
 but, as has been noticed, the greater portion of the  
 conquered country was placed under the manage-  
 ment of Commissioners, and under them of Collec-  
 tors, who were charged with the administration of  
 civil and criminal justice, and the superintendence  
 of the police, as well as with the realization of the  
 revenue. The principle which guided their proceed-  
 ings was the preservation of the native institutions,  
 as far as was compatible with the ends of good go-  
 vernment, and the paucity of European functionaries,  
 together with the extent of their several jurisdictions,  
 rendered them dependent upon native assistance.  
 The means of obtaining it were more ample and  
 perfect in the Mahratta territories than elsewhere, as  
 the original institutions had not yet been interfered  
 with, and were the only channels through which jus-  
 tice had hitherto been dispensed, and public tran-  
 quillity maintained. They were subjected to the su-  
 perintendence and control of the superior European  
 authority, but the Patel and the Panchayat conti-  
 nued to be for some time the chief instruments in  
 the adjudication of civil suits.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bombay Begulations, V. 1815. V. VI. and VII. 1820, and I. 1821.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Elphinstone's Report on the Mahratta territories, 25th October,



The state of criminal justice and of the police had been pronounced by the investigations of the Parliamentary Committee of 1812 to be as unsatisfactory as that of the civil branch, and still more imperatively to demand reform. Instructions to that effect were accordingly addressed at the same time, to the Indian Governments, promulgated by the same authority which had especially biassed the opinions of the Board of Control, and founded upon the experience of Colonel Munro. The ruling principle of the proposed reform was an entire departure from that which had influenced Lord Cornwallis in his reformation of the existing system, and re-united what he had so carefully kept apart, the powers of the magistrate with those of the Collector, and the charge of the police with the collection of the revenue. Arguing, that the duties of the Criminal Judge prevented the same officer from duly attending to civil justice; that those of a judge were incompatible with the more active functions of a magistrate; that the establishment of Darogas and Thanas, while it was unfamiliar and obnoxious to the natives, was ineffective; and that the Collector in person, or through his revenue officers, was brought more than any other functionary into approximation with the people, the Home Authorities directed that the

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1819.—Selections from the Records, iv. 198.—See also the Reports of his successor, Mr. Chaplin, 5th November, 1821, and 20th August, 1822. Ibid. 309, 453. In the latter he remarks, "It will be seen from my last report that in civil causes the Panchayat is still held to be the main instrument for dispensing justice, 490. Yet several of the officers under him speak doubtfully of its operations. Captain Briggs, the collector of Kandesh observes, that although upon the whole popular, the parties would prefer the decision of a European; that the members dislike the duty, that their proceedings are very slow, that they are not free from corruption, and that the whole system requires revision. Selections, iv. 246, 829.



BOOK II. Thanadari system should be abolished; that the  
CHAP. XII. Collector should be vested with magisterial as well

1814—23. as fiscal powers, and the same should be exercised under him by revenue officers, or Tehsildars, and the heads of villages: that where the Zemindari settlements prevailed, the Zemindars should be restored to a portion of their former authority over the police; and that measures should be adopted for the reorganization of the village watch on a footing of efficiency.

The same objections which had been urged in Bengal to the employment of the heads of villages in the duties of civil justice were repeated at that Presidency, in respect to their forming part of the new police system—namely, the disappearance of heads of villages, properly so considered, and their replacement by the servants of the Zemindar, who would be likely to abuse such powers in his favour to the injury of the people. It was admitted that no system of police could be effective without the support and coöperation of the Zemindars; yet it was considered unadvisable to entrust them with an authority, the notorious misemployment of which had originally occasioned their being deprived of it, and it was evidently impracticable to combine the interference of the Zemindars in the police with the existing arrangements of Thanas and Darogas. The association of magisterial and revenue functions was also strongly objected to, not only upon the principles already laid down, but upon the ground that the Collectors were already fully occupied, and would not be able to undertake the labours of the magistracy without neglecting their peculiar duties. It

was also urged, that although the Collectors might not be guilty of any abuse of their magisterial powers, yet it might be reasonably doubted whether the Tehsildars, and other native officers acting under them, would not pervert the authority vested in them for public purposes to the means of promoting a private end, or at least to the facilitating of the collection of rents and revenues by other modes of coercion than those sanctioned by the Regulations. It was further asserted, that the proposed innovations were unnecessary, as the existing Thanadari system under the established magistrates was as effectual as any that had been devised, falling little short of the best organized systems in Europe, in regard to the detection of crime and the apprehension of criminals, when under the direction of an able and active magistrate. Its imperfection as a preventive police was not so much imputable to any inherent defect, as to the absence of public spirit in the influential members of native society, who generally, although not universally, representing the diminution of an authority of which they had shown themselves to be unworthy depositories, were backward in fulfilling the obligations of their station, and rather afforded protection to crime than aided in its prevention or punishment. As long as this was the case, it was unfair to expect the full development of the efficiency of the police. The village watch, on the other hand, was an essential part of the existing system; and although its organization might have been occasionally impaired, yet it was not only susceptible of revival, but had been the main engine of the success which had

BOOK II.  
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BOOK II. attended that system in putting down great crimes  
CHAP. XII. and preserving the general peace and security of  
 1814—23. the country. Very much had been already accomplished; and all that remained to be done was, to induce individuals of wealth and influence in society to give that assistance which they were in a position to render, not only by imposing penalties for their neglect, but by recompensing their exertions with merited notice and distinction.<sup>1</sup>

Although dissenting from the detailed injunctions of the Home Authorities, the Government of Bengal recognized the necessity of making additional provisions for the more prompt and effective administration of criminal justice, and of the duties of the police. During the period of which we treat, repeated regulations for these objects were promulgated. Crimes of inferior magnitude, of which the cognizance had been restricted to the Courts of Circuit, were subjected to the decision of the City and Zilla Judges, or, at their discretion, to the judgment and sentence of their native law officers and Sudder Amins;<sup>2</sup>—and in like manner the Circuit Courts were permitted to hear and determine cases which had heretofore been reserved for the Sudder Adawlat. These limitations of jurisdiction, however indicative of a jealous care for the protec-

<sup>1</sup> The same documents as those which regard the state of Civil Jurisdiction, are the authorities for the measures enjoined and adopted, or objected to in Bengal, in regard to criminal justice and police; viz. the Letter of the Court to Bengal, of 9th November, 1814,—Parliamentary Papers, printed July, 1819, p. 33, Letter from the Judges of the Sudder Adawlat, 9th March, 1818, Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed.—Judicial Minute of Lord Moira, October, 1815, Parl. Papers, July, 1819, p. 139. Judicial Letter from Bengal, 22nd February, 1827, Commons' Report, 1832, App. Judicial.

<sup>2</sup> Bengal Regulations, XVII. of 1817, XII. of 1818, and III. of 1821.



tion of person—had occasioned a degree of uncertainty and delay wholly destructive of the benefit which results from the prompt infliction of punishment, and often subjected those who were accused and not convicted of crime to indefinite and unjust imprisonment. Records of the period during which prisoners had been detained were, therefore, to be regularly furnished at every jail delivery, and the Circuit Judge was authorised to require immediate decision upon every case of protracted detention. The same functionaries were empowered, without reference to the Nizamat, or Supreme Criminal Court, to admit to bail offences not usually bailable, when the accused had been long in confinement, and where competent security was tendered.<sup>1</sup> The enactments for the police were consolidated in one comprehensive Regulation,<sup>2</sup> which had especially in view the objects of giving energy and activity to the officers of the police, while guarding against any abuse of their powers. They were prohibited from inflicting fine or punishment of any kind, from extorting confession by any mode of torture, and from detaining any person apprehended above forty-eight hours without forwarding him to the magistrate, with a full report of the charge against him. The village watchmen of every class were declared to be subject to the authority of the Thanadar; and Zemindars, their agents, heads of villages, and all persons entrusted with authority, judicial or revenue, were required to give immediate information of heinous offences, and of all loss

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<sup>1</sup> Bengal Regulations, VI. and VIII. of 1817.

<sup>2</sup> Bengal Regulation, XX. of 1817.



BOOK II. of life, whether from accident or violence, within  
 CHAP. XII. their knowledge, under penalty of fine and im-  
 1814—23. prisonment. Although, as a general principle, the  
 union of the magistracy with the collection of the  
 revenues was resisted, yet it was allowed in special  
 localities; and the Governor-General was empow-  
 ered to employ a Collector as magistrate where  
 he might think it advisable.<sup>1</sup> The power which had  
 been entrusted to the Collector of deciding sum-  
 mary suits for rent, and disputes regarding occu-  
 pancy, was expected to relieve the Criminal Judge  
 of a very laborious part of his duties, by the pre-  
 vention of affrays arising out of contested boun-  
 daries, which were always of a sanguinary descrip-  
 tion, usually attended with loss of life, and which,  
 from the great number of persons concerned, de-  
 manded tedious and laborious investigation.<sup>2</sup> These  
 enactments afforded some additional facility and  
 precision in the attainment of the ends proposed;  
 but they involved no material departure from the

<sup>1</sup> The Collectors in Ramgerh and the Jangal Mahals, and the Sub-col-  
 lectors at Khurda, Balasore, and Pilibhit, and other officers at Moradabad,  
 Etawa, Aligerh and Meerut, and in Bundelkhand, had been already made  
 joint magistrates. The Commissioners at Delhi, Ajmer, in the Sagar and  
 Nagpur territories, in Cuttack, Ramgerh and Rungpur, united Revenue  
 and Judicial powers.—Letter from Bengal, February, 1827. Commons Re-  
 port. Judicial Appendix, p. 109. The discretionary power of appointing  
 Collectors to act as magistrates was provided by Regulation VII. 1822.  
 ch. xx.

<sup>2</sup> The Superintendent of Police in the Western provinces, reported  
 that in the last six months of 1811, many affrays had taken place in the  
 Benares district, in which 5,700 persons were concerned, of whom thirty  
 were killed on the spot and sixty-nine wounded. At Zemania, opposite  
 to Ghazipur, an affray took place notwithstanding the presence and pro-  
 hibition of the Police, and the Zemindar, whose crop it was the object  
 of one party to seize, was murdered, although he had taken refuge with  
 the Police officers. The stronger party always found an advantage from  
 his success, as owing to the delays of the Courts he was sure of re-  
 maining in possession for a prolonged period.—Letter to Bengal. Parl.  
 Papers, July, 1819, p. 37.

system in force, and adhered, with but partial exceptions, to the principle of distinction between the judicial and revenue departments.

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The orders addressed from England to the Government of Fort St. George, were of a more peremptory tenor.<sup>1</sup> It was declared, that any plan of criminal Judicature and Police, not based upon the ancient village system, was radically defective, and inadequate to the accomplishment of its intended purposes; and that experience had shown, that the feeble operation of a few Darogas and Peons, spread through a wide extent of country, and having no hold upon the respect or attachment of the people, was wholly insufficient for the preservation of social order and tranquillity. The immediate abolition of the Thanadari system was therefore enjoined; and it was directed, that the whole of the magisterial functions should be entrusted to the Collector, as well as the superintendence of the Police, his duties to be discharged through the agency of his subordinate European and native Collectors, the heads of villages, and the village watch. The circumstances of the Madras Presidency, and the greater completeness with which the village institutions in many parts of the country had survived political revolutions, were favourable to the introduction of the proposed arrangements; and it was further facilitated by the general impression that the Thanadari system was unsuited to the condition of the people, and was unable to check the progress of crime.<sup>2</sup> The leading authorities, there-

<sup>1</sup> The Letter above referred to, 29th April, 1814.—Selections, ii. 250.

<sup>2</sup> “The inexpediency of the system of Police under Darogas and Thanadars at Madras, appeared manifest at a very early period. A Committee was

BOOK II. fore, acquiesced in the general expediency of en-  
 CHAP. XII. trusting the duties of the Police to the officers of  
 1814—23. the revenue, the Collector, the Tehsildars, and, under  
 them, the heads of villages, and the village watch-  
 men. Objections were stated to the combination  
 of Magistrate and Collector,<sup>1</sup> but they were held  
 to be invalid by the Special Commission, and the  
 Government acting in conformity to their opin-  
 ions, it was resolved that the Collector should  
 be charged with all the duties of the magistrate,  
 except the visitation of the jails and personal  
 attendance at the circuits. Accordingly regulations  
 were enacted, constituting the Collectors of the  
 several Zillas, magistrates also of their respective  
 Zillas, and their assistants, assistants to the magis-  
 trates, in which capacity they were empowered to  
 apprehend persons charged with offences against  
 person and property; to commit them for trial when  
 satisfied that there were grounds for their com-  
 mittal; and, in the case of minor offences, to hear  
 and pronounce sentence, comprehending corporal  
 punishment, imprisonment and fine within prescribed  
 limits. The judges of the Zilla were appointed cri-  
 minal judges for the trial of the cases sent to

appointed in 1805 to consider a general system of Police, and their re-  
 port contained an express recommendation to continue the ancient system  
 under the head inhabitants, and to place the superintendence of the Police  
 under the Collectors. The same sentiments in regard to the village esta-  
 blishments have been expressed by the Second Committee. The decision  
 of the Supreme Government against the transfer of the Police to the Col-  
 lector, precluded the discussion of that measure by the Second Committee.  
 The stipendiary Police Peons have, indeed, shown themselves incapable of  
 acting but by the aid of the village police, and they have moreover proved a  
 great annoyance to the inhabitants."—Mr. Fullerton's Minute, 1st January,  
 1816.—Selections, II. 365.

<sup>1</sup> Report of Board of Revenue, Madras, 18th December, 1816. Selec-  
 tion ii. 403.—Mr. Fullerton's Minute. Ibid, 369.



them by the magistrates, under certain limitations, beyond which they were referable to the Court of Circuit at the usual periodical sessions. The appointment of Daroga was abolished, and the functions were transferred to the head-men of the villages, assisted by the Karnams, or village accountants, and the Taliaris or other classes of village watchmen, by Tehsildars, or native collectors, by Zemindars, Amins, and Kotwals. Their duties were principally the prevention of crime by seasonable interposition, or prompt information to superior authority, the apprehension of criminals, and their transmission to the proper officer within twenty-four hours of their arrest; and the adjudication of petty disputes and thefts with power to impose a trivial fine, and to award a brief detention in the village choltri, or the stocks. The village guards were declared to be hereditary, and entitled to an assignment from the Government of land, grain, or money, as might be convenient. In default of heirs, they were appointed by the Collector. Tehsildars were, *ex officio*, heads of Police in their respective districts, and, in addition to the subsidiary duties of investigation and committal, were authorised to hear and determine, and inflict punishment according to definite limitations. The Magistrate was permitted to appoint, at his discretion, any Zemindar, who should be desirous of the office, head of the Police within his own Zemindari; Amins of Police were also nominated for towns. Abuse of authority by any of these persons, was punishable by fine and imprisonment.<sup>1</sup> The powers of the subordinate function-

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<sup>1</sup> Madras Regulations, IX. X. XI. XII. of 1816.



BOOK II. aries<sup>1</sup> were subsequently extended, and various regu-  
 CHAP. XII. lations were passed to facilitate and expedite the  
 1814—23. decisions of the criminal courts.<sup>2</sup> As Colonel  
 Munro, the main author of these innovations, was  
 appointed Governor of Madras in 1820, he was  
 enabled to superintend the full development of a  
 system virtually abrogating that which had a few  
 years earlier been pressed upon the Government of  
 Fort St. George by the Government of Bengal, as  
 affording the only solid basis on which the advance  
 of the people in happiness and prosperity, the per-  
 manent preservation of private security and public  
 tranquillity, could be established.<sup>3</sup>

The arrangements adopted at Madras for the  
 union of the superintendence of Police and the  
 functions of the Magistrate, with the duties of the  
 Collector, were implicitly followed at Bombay, being  
 recommended by the similar vitality of the native  
 institutions. In the recently ceded and conquered  
 territories especially they were in full vigour, and  
 the agents of the Police and officers of criminal jus-

<sup>1</sup> Madras Regulations, IV., 1821.

<sup>2</sup> Regulations, III. 1817, and I. II. VI. of 1822.

<sup>3</sup> In a Letter from the Government of Bengal to the Government of Fort St. George, during the administration of Marquis Wellesley, and bearing his signature, it is asserted that "the system in force under the native governments, however well conducted, must necessarily produce oppression and abuse, as it provides no restraint upon the exercise of power sufficient to ensure the uniform, impartial, and general operation of the laws, and to inspire the people with a sense of confidence and security in the ordinary conduct of private transactions, and in the undisturbed exercise of private rights;" and his Lordship reprimands the Government for their tardiness in giving effect to the new system of instituting regular courts "adequate to secure the prompt and impartial administration of the established laws, the revenue officers, being disqualified by their revenue duties, for the discharge of judicial functions." The whole letter is a summary of the principles of 1793, which, at Madras at least, had in little more than twenty years become obsolete, and were regarded as mistaken and mischievous. Selections iv. 924.

tice were the same as those to whom the collection of the revenue had been intrusted.<sup>1</sup> The principle was carefully preserved, but the practice was modified by provisions calculated to limit the powers and control the proceedings of the native officers; and by the ample discretion necessarily vested in the European Collectors of the districts into which the new territory was distributed. Offences of a heinous nature were reserved for the decision of the Collectors; and in cases of capital punishment for the confirmation of the Commissioner.

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The views entertained by the authorities, emanating chiefly from the Board of Control, adverse to the principle of the permanent settlement of the revenue, have been already adverted to.<sup>2</sup> The soundness of the principle was not professedly contravened, but the seasonableness of the practice was denied until a patient and laborious scrutiny of individual rights, a careful investigation of local peculiarities, and a minute and detailed survey of the extent, cultivation, and productiveness of the territory should have been instituted. An annual settlement with the actual cultivators on the Ryotwari system, was also considered to be more consistent with individual rights, as well as more profitable to the public revenue; and the introduction of such an arrangement was strenuously enjoined upon the Government of Bengal, in all cases where it might be practicable.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bombay Regulations I. II. of 1818.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. VII. p. 452.

<sup>3</sup> Revenue Letters from the Court of Directors, 1st February, 1811. Selections i. ii. 15th January, 1812. Ibid. 1. 61. 29th January, 1813. Ibid. p. 75.

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The local Governments of Bengal and Madras, on the other hand, as tenaciously adhered to the principle of permanency, and maintained that the interests of the Government and the expectations of the people, justified by previous promises and regulations, required that a settlement in perpetuity should be made, either immediately or after a brief interval. They were, however, positively prohibited from carrying the measure into effect without the previous sanction of the Court; and in obedience to these orders the arrangement was indefinitely deferred.

In Bengal, the existing settlement of the lower provinces precluded the consideration of the question of perpetuity, and the measures of the Government were restricted to the enactment of regulations intended to correct previous errors, or to provide for circumstances which had arisen out of the altered condition of the agricultural interests. In order to preserve a record of the changes constantly taking place in the distribution of the soil, the office of Kanungo in each Pergana, or district, was revived, whose duty it was to keep registers of all transfers of landed property, of the alteration of boundaries; of the prices of produce and rates of rent, and of a variety of subjects regarding the statistics of the cultivation and occupancy of the country; furnishing the particulars periodically to the Collector. To enable the Kanungo to collect and compile this information, the injunction which originally made it incumbent on the Zemindars to keep up the Patwaris, or village accountants, who were to supply the Kanungo with half-yearly details was reiterated. These latter offi-



cers had been maintained in various degrees of efficiency for the service of the Zemindar;<sup>1</sup> but the Kanungo had been abolished in the lower provinces, shortly after the conclusion of the perpetual settlement; and in Bengal, his services were missed as soon as inquiry was directed to those particulars, on which alone equitable assessments could be formed.<sup>2</sup> The institution had survived in the western provinces, and was there found of service, but it was not in the power of a mere enactment to reorganize a machinery elsewhere which had been suffered to fall into utter decay, and the renovation of which demanded time, opportunity, and diligent supervision.

Regulations were likewise promulgated for the levying of revenue from lands which were held rent-free, and which had not been so specified at the formation of the perpetual settlement, or included in the recognised limits of the extant Zemindaris; also for the assessment of waste lands, not comprised within the same limits, and since brought under cultivation: a special regulation<sup>3</sup> gave validity to a new species of tenure which had grown up under the prevailing system, derived from leases in

<sup>1</sup> Regulations II. 1816., II. XIII. 1817., and I. 1818, and XII. 1817. Zemindars had been ordered to maintain Patwaris in every village by Reg. VIII. 1793, ch. lxii.

<sup>2</sup> The office of Kanungo, which was universal under the Mogul Government, was abolished in 1802 by Lord Cornwallis, under a belief that all the particulars regarding the relative claims of Government, and of individuals had been recorded, and that the rights of the landholders and cultivators of the soil, whether founded on ancient custom, or on regulations which had originated with the British Government, had been reduced to writing, a belief which was wholly erroneous. Mem. by Mr. Secretary Mackenzie. Revenue Selections, iii. p. 41. See Correspondence on the appointment of Kanungos—the same volume, i. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Regulations XXIII. 1817, II. 1819.



BOOK II. perpetuity, granted by Zemindars, of portions of  
 CHAP. XII. their estates, and of sub-leases again granted by the

1814—23. tenants,<sup>1</sup> defining also the nature of the property, and the mode of recovering arrears of rent. Enactments were likewise passed for the better regulation of sales of land for arrears of revenue, the objects of which were to render them more deliberate and public; to secure the validity of the transfer, and define the nature and extent of the rights transferred; to protect all parties concerned from the consequences of error, irregularity, or fraud in the proceedings, and to enable the Board of Revenue to cancel a sale when it might seem to be a measure of excessive severity. This regulation, which applied to the Ceded and Conquered provinces, as well as to Bengal, contained one important clause which altered materially the relative positions of the actual cultivator and the Zemindar. Unto this date, all under-tenures were annihilated by the sale of the Zemindari, and the purchaser was empowered to make what new engagements he pleased, and to dispossess any class of occupants. It was now enacted, that tenants holding the land in hereditary and transferrable property, or cultivators having a hereditary and prescriptive right of occupancy, should not be dispossessed as long as they paid the rents previously settled, and that those rents should not be augmented, except under specified circumstances. This was a most essential advance in the protection of the rights of the peasantry, which, by the perma-

<sup>1</sup> Regulation VIII. of 1819. The tenants in the first degree were known as Patnidars, leaseholders; in the second, Durpatni-dars, sub-leaseholders; in the third, Seh-patni-dars, or third leaseholders; the leases were at a fixed rent in perpetuity.

ment settlement, had been left in Bengal entirely at the mercy of the Zemindar.<sup>1</sup>

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The principal Revenue measures of the Government of Bengal, however, regarded the more recently acquired territories, and as no final assessment of the revenue of the Western provinces had yet been effected; the question that called for determination was the principle to be adopted in respect to those provinces. Permanency had been positively prohibited by the Court, and the practice of temporary assessments, which had hitherto prevailed, was therefore still to be pursued; but it remained to be considered, with whom the settlements were to be made, and upon what conditions.

The settlement of the Western provinces early engaged the attention of the Earl of Moira. Although disposed to acknowledge the desirableness of a permanent limitation of the Government demands, the new Governor-General had brought with him different notions from those which had hitherto predominated in the Supreme Council, and early expressed his conviction, that the measure must necessarily be preceded by the most thorough investigation; and on his journey to the upper provinces in 1814, he called upon the several Collectors to meet him, and bring with them full reports on the state of their respective districts. The information then received, although presenting a progressive improvement in the revenue, exhibited a marked inequality in the rate of assessment,<sup>2</sup> and led to the conclusion, that

<sup>1</sup> Regulations XVIII. 1814, and XI. 1822. See also Revenue Letters from Bengal, 20th of July, 1823. Com. Rep. 1832. Revenue App. p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> The total land revenue of the Ceded and Conquered provinces amounted

BOOK II. those who were most heavily assessed, could bear  
CHAP. XII. the burthen only because they were in possession of

1814—23. lands which had been withheld from all assessment whatever: it followed, therefore, that the statements upon which the calculations were founded were erroneous; that no dependence could be placed on the returns of the native revenue officers; and that the only safe criterion by which the Government claim could be accurately adjusted, was the actual measurement and survey of the ground, and a careful estimate of its average produce. The settlement of the revenue with the actual cultivators on the Ryotwari system, was declared to be inapplicable to Upper India, as involving a minuteness of inspection which was impracticable with the present European establishment, and which would necessitate the employment of an infinite number of native agents who, from the impossibility of an efficient control, would be likely to inflict unbounded extortion and oppression. It became necessary, therefore, to form engagements with middle-men of some class or other; and the Board of Commissioners appointed to the Upper Provinces sought to introduce the system of village settlements; contracting engagements with one or more of the members of the actual cultivating body, as the representative of

to more than two crores and eighty lakhs, (2,800,000*l.*) which was collected at a charge of about 6 per cent., and with a balance of about 3 per cent., the whole levied upon 3,57,40,598, recorded Bigas of cultivated land. In Shahjehanpur and Bareilly, the rate per Biga was seven and eight anas; in Moradabad, one rupee, twelve anas; between three and four times the rate of the preceding, although like them situated in the same province, Rohilkhand, and distinguished by no material difference in the fertility of the soil. Revenue Minute of the Governor-General, 21st Sept. 1815. Common's Report, 1832. Revenue App. p. 91.



each village community for the whole of the Government demand, and leaving the adjustment of the share of each individual cultivator to be settled among themselves, with an appeal to the arbitration of the civil courts. The principle of this arrangement generally was conformable to the existing institutions, and was satisfactory to the people.

Before, however, the settlement of the ceded and conquered provinces upon the principle proposed could be attempted, it became necessary to remedy the abuses which had followed upon the settlements previously made, by which a vast number of the cultivators and proprietors of the soil had been violently or fraudulently deprived of their hereditary possessions. During the first seven or eight years after the acquisition of the new territories, the native officers of Government, their relations, connections, and dependants, taking advantage of the novelty of the British rule, of the weakness and ignorance of the people, and, in some cases, of the culpable supineness and misconduct of the European functionaries, contrived to acquire very extensive estates by the injury and ruin of the legal possessors. This wrong was perpetrated chiefly through collusive and fraudulent sales for arrears of revenue, either where no arrears were due,<sup>1</sup> or where they were purposely incurred by indi-

<sup>1</sup> "I have known a case wherein the defendant has not only had his estate sold for alleged arrears of revenue, but been prosecuted separately for further balance, and when by his own acts, acknowledgments, and pleadings, he must have been cast; yet when all his own and his pleader's ingenuity has failed, it has been found that the full revenue and more was collected, and the estate purchased by a portion of that which had been withheld." Letter from Mr. Fortescue, Judge and Magistrate of Allahabad. Com. Rep. 1832. Revenue App. p. 229.



BOOK II. CHAP. XII. individuals who had been admitted to contract for the public revenue without having any claim or title to

1814—23. the lands, and who created a title either for themselves, or the Government officers in league with them, by the fact of a public sale. Private sales were also effected by the same pretended proprietors of estates, in which they had no fixed property, in favour of the officers of Government, their relations, or dependants. The persons thus injured—the village Zemindars—were for the most part ignorant and poor, and unacquainted with the forms of the British Courts or the principles of the Regulations, while those who defrauded them of their patrimony were generally men of wealth and rank, familiar with the British system, and enjoying considerable influence with the European functionaries.<sup>1</sup> Redress through the instrumentality of the judicial establishments was scarcely possible, and general discontent, often manifesting itself in affrays and bloodshed, pervaded the population of the Western provinces.<sup>2</sup>

Satisfied of the correctness of these statements, the Government resolved to adopt measures for securing redress to those whose rights had been

<sup>1</sup> In the Allahabad district, the principal purchasers were the Raja of Benares, a wealthy banker from the same place, and a former Amil, or Government manager, of Kota; these three, in the first few years after the cession, acquired by chicanery and collusion, estates yielding an annual revenue of 5,87,000 rupees, (or 58,700*l.*) being one-fifth of the revenue of the whole district.—Memorandum by Mr. Secretary Mackenzie. *Ibid.* 232. So Mr. Fortescue also writes. “Immediately after the cession in 1801, two very distinguished characters made their appearance from the contiguous province of Benares, in this district.” *Comm. Report, 1832. Revenue App. p. 228.*

<sup>2</sup> Preamble to Regulation I, 1821, which enters fully into the nature of the frauds committed.—See also Minute of Mr. J. Stuart. *Ibid.* *Revenue App. 224.*

invaded, by means more immediately accessible than the ordinary course of justice; and a Regulation was enacted appointing a Mufassil, or Provincial Commission, for the following purposes:—Investigation of disputed claims on account of public or private transfers of land prior to 1810 within such limits as the Government should direct; annulling sales effected by fraudulent influence, or by mal-administration, and restoring the estates to their rightful owners; upholding all genuine and valid sales, and making adequate compensation in the case of those cancelled, where the purchasers were not implicated in, or privy to, any dishonesty or deception. In communication with the Mofussil Commission, a Sudder Commission was established at Calcutta, to receive the reports of the Provincial Commissioners, to confirm or annul their decisions, and to receive appeals from their judgments.<sup>1</sup> The appointment of the Special Mofussil Commission was vehemently opposed by the Judges of the Sudder, on the ground of its supercession of the regular Courts, which were open to all injured parties, and of its liability to add a new set of wrongs to those complained of, by dispossessing many persons of rights originally acquired by fair and honest purchase, and undisturbed through a prolonged interval. The resolution of the Government was, however, persisted in, and the two Commissions continued to prosecute their investigation through a number of years, in which a great amount of hardship and injury was redressed, and a favourable impression was made upon the minds

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<sup>1</sup> Regulations I. 1821, and I. 1823, IV. 1826.

BOOK II. of the people;—a considerable mass of information  
CHAP. XII. was also accumulated, regarding the tenures by  
 1814—23. which the lands in the Upper Provinces were held,  
 an earlier acquaintance with which would have prevented the occurrence of that mischief which it was the work of many years entirely to repair.<sup>1</sup>

As the temporary arrangements made with the occupants of the land in the Ceded and Conquered provinces were to expire in 1822, it became necessary to reconsider the question of a final assessment, and its being settled for perpetuity was again brought under discussion, notwithstanding the opposition of the Home Authorities. A permanent settlement was strongly recommended by the Board of Commissioners, not only upon the advantages of the measure in a fiscal point of view, but because they considered that the faith of the Government had been distinctly pledged to its adoption, and that the mass of the population had long and anxiously expected it: it could no longer, therefore, in their opinion, be withheld without the greatest injury to the interests of the British Government in that quarter.<sup>2</sup> The same sentiments were expressed by the members of the Government;<sup>3</sup> and the result of their deli-

<sup>1</sup> Notes on the Proceedings of the Government of Bengal respecting the enactment of Regulation I. 1821, bringing down the proceedings to 1826; and Revenue Letter to Bengal, January, 1829.—Comm. Report, 1832. Revenue App. p. 269. The Mofussil Commission was abolished upon the appointment of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, to whom its duties were transferred.

<sup>2</sup> Report of Board of Commissioners for the ceded and conquered provinces, 27th October, 1818.—Selections iii. 143.

<sup>3</sup> See Minutes of Mr. Dowdeswell, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Mr. Stuart, and Mr. Adam. Sir E. Colebrooke maintained that the condition attached to Regulation IX. 1805, had been fulfilled, that the Western Provinces had attained in all the lands liable to assessment the maximum of cultivation, and that the Revenue was more likely to decline



berations was the communication of their unanimous opinion, that the system of a permanent settlement of the land revenue, either upon the principle of a fixed total payment, or of an assignment determinable by a fixed and invariable rate, ought to be extended to the Ceded and Conquered provinces, as soon as it should be practicable fully to ascertain and record the value and capabilities of the land, and the rights and privileges of the various classes having an interest in the land. They were almost unanimous, however, in concluding that the extension of a permanent settlement to the provinces in question, without a minute investigation of the nature specified, would involve the risk of a considerable sacrifice of revenue, and the still more serious evil of placing in jeopardy the rights and property of a large body of the population.<sup>1</sup> These sentiments called for a reiteration of the injunctions of the Court to abstain, not only from making any permanent settlement, but from taking any measures which might raise the expectation that a settlement in perpetuity would hereafter be formed.<sup>2</sup> The Home Authorities now apparently abandoned the principle alto-

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than to improve. He also in a second minute asserted, that it was unnecessary to await the verification of tenures, as it would be sufficient to close permanently with the several villages, and to leave disputed claims to be adjudicated by the Courts. The expedience of immediate settlement for perpetuity was, however, questioned by his colleagues, who confined themselves to the view thus expressed by Mr. Adam. "It is agreed on all hands, in this country at least, and will not, I apprehend, be denied by the Honourable Court, that the Government is pledged to impose sooner or later, a limitation to the public demand from the land in the ceded and conquered Provinces."—Minutes of the Members of Government, 1819-20. Selections as above.

<sup>1</sup> Revenue Letter from Bengal, 16th September, 1820. — Selections iii. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Revenue Letter to Bengal. Selections iii. 213.



BOOK II. together—a relinquishment immaterial, as has been  
 CHAP. XII. argued, to the interests, and indifferent to the feel-

1814—23. ings of the people, as long as an enhancement of the calls upon them is not vexatiously repeated, and they entertain a firm trust in the durability, if not in the perpetuity, of moderate assessments.

Leaving this point for future consideration, the Government of Bengal determined to adopt active means for procuring the requisite materials for the formation of a definite settlement for a protracted period, and pending the duration of the periodical settlements for shorter terms, the revenue officers in the western provinces were ordered to institute minute inquiries, village by village, into the extent and produce of the lands, the manner in which the produce was collected and realised, the mode in which it was distributed, and the rights, privileges, perquisites, and tenures, of all parties deriving support or benefit from the soil; the inquiry resolving itself into two heads, as affecting the land itself, and the persons interested in the land.

No materials entitled to credit were in existence respecting the extent and productiveness of the lands in cultivation, or the proportion still uncultivated. Such statements as were on record depended chiefly upon the personal information of subordinate officers, always vague and inaccurate, and not unfrequently interested and untrue; or upon accounts and specifications imperfectly and irregularly kept, and not uncommonly garbled and falsified. The extent to which the rights of individuals had been overlooked or violated, has been already explained by the circumstances which gave origin to

the enactment of a regulation for their redress ; but equal dishonesty on the one part, and ignorance and carelessness on the other, had in like manner vitiated much of the information that had been collected with regard to the distribution of the lands, and the demands to which they were justly liable. Under these considerations, the revenue authorities were instructed to ascertain, by the best available means, the extent of every village within the district, the state of its cultivation, the proportion of uncultivated or waste land, the different qualities of the lands, their situation and relative degrees of productiveness, the various kinds of crops, the mode of estimating or realising their value, and the disposal of their out-turn, the charges of cultivation, and the expenses incurred on account of the village community, with a variety of subordinate details, exhibiting in a clear and authentic manner, the agricultural resources of the country in relation to the amount of the public revenue. With regard to the people by whom that revenue was raised and paid, the Collectors were directed to determine the grounds upon which any individual assumed the character of a contractor for the Government revenue ; how far he was to be treated as a proprietor of the land, or as an intermediate agent for the realisation of the public demand ; in what mode the assessment of the less prominent factors was adjusted, and under what tenure they held,—whether as sole or joint proprietors, holding hereditary and transferable rights, and in what proportions, whether tenants either perpetual, having hereditary right of occupancy, or temporary and liable

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to removal at the will of other classes or individuals, and whether mere labourers and servants of individuals or the community; in short, every kind and description of tenure was to be investigated and determined, and all advantages, obligations, and duties, connected with each, to be definitively ascertained and recorded. The investigation was to be conducted not with the object of increasing the public revenue, but in order to obtain an accurate knowledge of the real condition of the agricultural population, and the resources of the country, with a view to secure the prosperity of the people, as much as the equitable claims of the State. Personal inquiry on the spot, accessibility to all classes of persons, and a sedulous scrutiny of all information received through the native officers, were impressed on the European functionaries, and a long and laborious course of investigation was anticipated.<sup>1</sup> Actual surveys of several of the provinces were set on foot, but the revenue officers were instructed not to await their completion, and to conclude the settlement of the districts upon other grounds, if satisfactory.<sup>2</sup> A formal regulation was promulgated to give effect to these arrangements, and to arm the Collectors with additional powers for the adjudication of

<sup>1</sup> The objects to be kept in view in framing a settlement of the ceded and conquered Provinces are specified in copious and instructive detail in the Resolution of the Bengal Government, 22nd December, 1820.—Selections iii. p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Upon a comparison with the Revenue Survey of Baroch, made by order of the Government of Bombay, and which in a district containing but one hundred and sixty-two villages required more than two years, it was estimated by the Surveyor-General of Bengal, that a similar survey of Furruckabad, one of the Zillas of the Western Provinces, would occupy nearly thirty-two years, at a cost of nearly five Lakhs of Rupees.—Selections iii.



disputed claims and titles to the lands.<sup>1</sup> A great and wise measure was thus commenced: its execution was retarded by unforeseen embarrassments; by the inability of the revenue officers to perform the duties assigned to them, partly from want of leisure, partly from want of activity and knowledge; by the frequent interruptions of the surveys; and by the intricacy of the subject, involving a complicated texture of rights and tenures, which almost defied unravelling. The principle, however, was sound. There may have been errors in the execution, as there were unavoidable delays in the accomplishment of the object proposed; but the Government was entitled to credit for wise and benevolent intentions, and for having acted, however late, upon the principle that knowledge should precede legislation.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Regulation VII. of 1822. It is printed in the Selections iii. 369, as well as in the usual Collection of the Regulations.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Shore, whose opinions are entitled to the utmost deference, both from his experience, and from the rectitude of his feelings in behalf of the people of India, severely condemns the measures described in the text as being impracticable, and as tending to introduce a system virtually Ryotwar. It was impossible, he argues, that a Collector, a young man and a foreigner, without any knowledge of the value of lands, or the peculiarities of Indian tenures, should be able to ascertain and determine the extent and produce of the lands of at least three thousand villages, the average number of a district, or the rights and claims of an average population of nearly a million of individuals holding property under the most varied and complicated tenures; and could the plan succeed, the result would be to get rid of the principal farmers, and transfer their profits to the Government; leaving no opening for the accumulation of capital, and its consequent application to the improvement of the land. Such he declares to have been the result of the Regulation VII. of 1822. In those districts where it has been enforced, society, he asserts, is becoming rapidly impoverished and disorganised; there is no one to take the lead, or direct the people in anything which may tend either to benefit them or the Government.—Notes on Indian Affairs by the Honourable F. J. Shore, vol. i. Letter xviii. on the Revenue System. At the time at which those letters were written, 1832-3, some of the settlements for extended periods were actually perfected, and the value of the lands and tenures of individuals correctly ascertained. There is reason to think that



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1814—23. The measures which had been adopted at Madras as preliminary to the formation of a permanent settlement have been already adverted to, and it has been mentioned, that in those districts in which the Ryotwar settlement had been introduced, it had been abandoned in favour of village settlements for a period first of three, and then of ten years, at the close of which a permanent arrangement was to be established, based upon the experience of the preceding interval. The measure was absolutely condemned by the Authorities at home, and recurrence to the Ryotwar settlement commanded; but, in the mean time, engagements for a definite term had been entered into in the greater number of instances, and it was not until about 1820, that the village leases finally expired. The plan of adjusting the Government claim with the individual cultivators was then resumed with the advantage of being carried into operation under the eye of its great advocate, Sir Thomas Munro. Some important modifications were, however, introduced.

All compulsion or restraint upon the free labour of the Ryots was prohibited. The existence of various rights in the property of the land was recognised, and the investigation and ascertainment of all existing tenures was to precede the apportionment of the Government demand; the rates of the former assessment were considerably lowered; and the provision which had been formerly made for rendering the industrious and fortunate cultivator liable to be amerced for any default in the payments of a less successful, or less diligent Ryot, was can-

Mr. Shore's pictures, however faithful in the main, are occasionally somewhat too highly coloured.

celled.<sup>1</sup> Enactments were promulgated for the protection of the Ryots, both against the oppression of superior renters and the extortions of the Government native officers; and the Collectors were empowered to investigate and adjudge all cases of claims for rent, and all disputes respecting boundaries and crops.<sup>2</sup> The effect of these measures was favourable to the prosperity of those provinces of the Madras Presidency to which the Government settlement had not extended. In those also it was proposed to substitute gradually the Ryotwar system by purchasing, on the part of Government, the lands becoming saleable for arrears, and then settling directly with the cultivators of the soil.

The same limited extent of territory which rendered it unnecessary to construct at an early date, a complicated machinery for the administration of justice in the Bombay Presidency, retarded the full development of any system for the collection of the revenue. One advantage arising from this delay was the exemption of the Presidency from a precipitate imitation of the enactments of 1793; and the previous knowledge of the discussions to which they gave origin in regard to Bengal and Madras, prevented the subject of a permanent Zemindari settlement being prematurely proposed at Bombay.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paper on the Land Revenue of India, by A. D. Campbell, Esquire. Madras Civil Service. Comm. Com. 1832. Revenue Appendix, p. 50. Minute of the Board of Revenue, 5th January, 1818. Ibid. p. 578.

<sup>2</sup> Regulations Fort St. George, IV. V. and IX. of 1822.

<sup>3</sup> Except on the Island of Salsette, where in 1801, the Government offered to the cultivators to convey to them an absolute proprietary right, on their agreeing to a fixed permanent rate of payment. Few of the occupants availed themselves of the offer.—See Bombay Reg. I. 1801, containing a review of the past revenue arrangements on this island.

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 1814—23. The arrangements there in force were, from the beginning, based upon the practice that had prevailed under the native governments ; and for many years the revenue was collected from the villages through the agency of the Patels, according to annual assessments made by the native revenue officers subordinate to the Collector.<sup>1</sup> In the course of time, however, it was suspected that the Government was defrauded of its due, and that individuals were deprived of their property and rights by the malpractices both of the heads of villages and the native Collectors ; and that justice to the Ryots, as well as the security of the public revenue, required that a more accurate knowledge than had yet been obtained, should be possessed, of the actual condition of the agricultural classes, whether paying revenue to the State, or holding lands exempted from the public demand. A revenue Commission was accordingly early appointed to inquire into the existing tenures, and to form settlements in the territories first annexed, in consequence of cession or conquest from the Mahratta Princes, to the Bombay Presidency, lying principally in Guzerat, or on its borders.<sup>2</sup> Among the recommendations of the Committee was the institution of a detailed and scientific survey of the district of Broach, by which its boundaries, extent, and divisions, and the extent of every village in it, and of every field in every village, were determined by actual admeasurement ;—a like account was taken of the lands cultivated or waste, and of those paying

<sup>1</sup> A Collector charged with the realisation of the revenue, which had been formerly collected under the Nabobs of Surat, was first appointed in 1800. His duties were defined by Regulation XIII. of 1802.

<sup>2</sup> Comm. Com. 1832. Revenue App. 507.



revenue to Government as well as of those which were rent free. The qualities of the soil, the kinds of its produce, the mode of apportioning and of valuing the latter, and of realising the respective shares of the cultivator and of the State, were also defined, and a census of the population was taken with a verification of their individual claims, rights, and obligations.<sup>1</sup>

The survey was commenced in 1811, and was finished in rather more than two years, when the obvious value of the information which it brought to light induced the Government to sanction its extension to the other divisions of the Collectorate, and eventually to the other three Collectorates in Guzerat, Surat, Kaira, and Ahmedabad.<sup>2</sup>

Another arrangement, having for its object the ascertainment of the resources of the districts, and the record of private as well as public rights, was an alteration in the character of the native village accountants, who were made the servants of the Government. They had hitherto been paid by the village communities, but their duties had been indefinitely fixed, and irregularly discharged, and in many places they had ceased to exist. Arrangements were made to complete their number and define their duties, and they were placed under the immediate orders of the Collector, and were paid by

<sup>1</sup> The Collectorate of Broach comprised six Perganas—Broach, Akhile-sar, Hanskut, Jambusir, Ahmud, and Dehej; the first conquered from Sindhia in 1803; the others ceded by the Peshwa; comprising about 1,320 square miles, a population of 224,000, and yielding a revenue of rupees 19,57,000. Letter from Bombay, 5th November, 1823. Com. Committee, 1832. App. Revenue, 778.

<sup>2</sup> Report of Lieut.-Colonel Monier Williams, on the Survey of the Broach Collectorate, *ibid.* 783.



BOOK II. him at a rated per centage on the amount of the col-  
 CHAP. XII. lections. Unimportant as these changes might ap-

1814—23. pear to be, they tended in reality to effect a complete revolution in the village system. The authority and influence of the Accountant supplanted those of the Patel, and of the district Collector, and brought each cultivating Ryot into immediate connection with the European Collector, constituting the characteristic feature of the Ryotwar system. Many of the Patels had the sagacity to foresee this result, and opposed the introduction of the innovation, but their opposition only accelerated the evil they sought to prevent, by compelling the European officer to dispense with their agency altogether, and conclude his assessments through his own assistants, with the individual cultivators. The Patels then relaxed their opposition and were allowed to resume their intermediate position, as it was the great object of the Bombay Government to maintain the village institutions of the country in entireness and efficacy. In proportion as the revenue surveys were completed, and accurate records of the possessions of each cultivator were obtained, the agency of the native village Accountants became less requisite, and the allowances granted them being fixed upon a less liberal scale, they ceased, in a great measure, to interfere with the integrity of the village system.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Regulations I. 1814, and II. 1816. "The greatest change with the least appearance, was wrought by the appointment of new Talatis. These officers are, all over India, hereditary functionaries of the village, subordinate to the Patel, to whom they serve as clerk and assistant. When on their best footing, they are generally in league with the villagers, and their accounts are often falsified to serve the purpose of the Patel. The new Talati is an officer direct from Government, and looked up to

As soon as a moderate degree of tranquillity was re-established in the conquered territories, arrangements were adopted for discovering the grounds on which equitable assessments could alone be formed, —the nature of the lands, and the rights of their occupants. In most places the village institutions were found in a greater or lesser degree of perfection,<sup>1</sup> and the settlements which were formed partook in various proportions of the nature of the Ryotwar. It was the object of the Government to combine the Ryotwar and the village systems, employing the Patel to collect the Government demand from the individual Ryots, while as the several property of each Ryot, or his share of the common property, with the liabilities attaching to it, were readily verifiable, any complaint of inequality or injustice could at once be inquired into, and any misconduct of the Patel corrected and punished. To obtain the means of such a check, however, a similar survey to those instituted in the Guzerat districts was indispensable; and a survey of the

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by the village as its agent. He examines every man's condition and his tenure, and he is now employed to make the collections, and in a great measure to supersede the Patel in all his acts as an agent of the Government. There can be no doubt of the excellence of this regulation, as promoting the advantage of Government and the Ryots; but it must not be overlooked, that it has a tendency to extinguish the authority of the Patel, already much weakened by other parts of our management, and care should be taken when the necessary information has been acquired, to bring the Talati's power within its natural bounds, and to withdraw it from all interference with the immediate duties of the Patel." Minute of Mr. Elphinstone. Selections iii. 685.

<sup>1</sup> Except in the Southern Konkan, where tracts that had been originally farmed, had remained in the hands of the contractor's descendants, and had grown into a hereditary property, like the Zemindaris of Bengal on a smaller scale. These hereditary farmers had neglected, or destroyed the village settlements and overturned the ancient institutions. Their right by inheritance was, however, so clear, that it could not be disputed.—Answer of Mr. Elphinstone to Circular. Comm. Committee, 1832. Papers subjoined to Evidence, vol. viii.

BOOK II. Dekhin was accordingly strongly urged by the Com-  
 CHAP. XII. missioner of the Mahratta territories and the Go-  
 1814—23. vernment of Bombay, and received the sanction of  
 the Home Authorities.<sup>1</sup>

Although no material modifications of the other main sources of public revenue, the monopolies of Salt and Opium, or Foreign customs, took place, yet the progressive movements which occurred in the condition of society, and in the external relations of the British Government, rendered it necessary to revise the provisions by which they were severally regulated. The enactments regarding the cultivation of opium, prohibiting it absolutely in the Provinces, of Behar and Benares, except under special permission, and providing securities against illicit production and sale, were condensed in one general regulation;<sup>2</sup> but the more important arrangements arose out of the political changes in Central India, and the danger accruing to the Company's exclusive commerce from the opium cultivation in territories newly acquired, or subject to native princes. The cultivation of the poppy had been long carried to a considerable extent in Malwa, and opium of a very good quality largely manufactured—partly for

<sup>1</sup> Reports of Mr. Chaplin, Commissioner of the Dekhin, 5th November, 1821, and 20th August, 1822, with enclosures from the Collectors of Poona, Kandesh, Ahmadnagar, and Darwar. Selections from the Records, vol. iv. pp. 309, 453. "Being persuaded that the advantages of a Revenue Survey in the Deccan will much outweigh the inconvenience, and that the time is arrived when our Collectors may commence upon it without the dangers to which, at an earlier period, they would have been exposed, the Commissioner has been authorised to direct a gradual assessment and survey of the whole of the conquered territory."—Letter from Bombay, 5th November, 1823. Selections iii. 813. See also Mr. Chaplin's Circular Instructions, with rules for the Survey, 13th August, 1824. Ibid. 830.

<sup>2</sup> Regulation, XIII. 1816.



domestic consumption, and partly for export to Raj-putana and Guzerat. The disorders which had been so fatal to agriculture and commerce had hitherto set limits to the production and checked the export, and little or none of the manufactured drug had found its way to the sea-side for exportation to the chief seats of the consumption of India opium,—the Eastern Islands and China, the markets of which had hitherto been exclusively supplied by the gardens of Benares and Bahar. The establishment of tranquillity opened to the inhabitants of Malwa a prospect of participating in the profits of this trade, and the native merchants soon began to export opium, not only to various places on the continent, but to ports on the western coast for shipment to the eastward. The interests of the British Government were thus placed in collision with the equitable claims of its allies, and even with the industry of its own subjects; and it became necessary, for the preservation of its monopoly, to limit, and, if possible, suppress, the growing traffic. This, however, was no easy task. Prohibitory duties were imposed at all the Presidencies upon all opium not made within the boundaries of the Presidency of Bengal imported into any of their dependencies, having in view especially the territories intervening between Malwa and Bombay. It was admitted, however, that the measures affecting the produce of Central India were attended in their operation with the most serious hardships to the monied, agricultural, and commercial classes, producing the ruin of many, and causing general dissatisfaction and distress, and that, at the same time, they were but par-

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BOOK II. tially successful, as from the multitude of interests  
 CHAP. XII. opposed to their execution, and the many and cir-  
 1814—23. cuitous channels by which they might be evaded,<sup>1</sup> it  
 was impracticable to prevent the augmentation of  
 the illicit traffic. It was also evidently impossible  
 to prevent the conveyance of the contraband article  
 through the territories of the native princes; and it  
 was scarcely to be expected that they would sacri-  
 fice without reluctance the industry of their people  
 and their own emoluments to the commercial ava-  
 rice of the British. They were, however, prevailed  
 upon to make the required concession, and to pro-  
 hibit the cultivation of the poppy and the sale and  
 transit of opium through their states, upon receiving  
 a pecuniary compensation for the loss of profits  
 and duties derivable from the cultivation or the  
 transit. The injury done to the merchants and  
 cultivators, was overlooked for a time, but it was  
 finally forced upon their attention, and it became  
 necessary to revise the engagements into which  
 they had entered. Arrangements were formed for  
 the exclusive purchase of the Malwa opium by the  
 Company's agents in the province, but they were  
 not brought into full operation, nor were their con-  
 sequences correctly appreciated, until a subsequent  
 period.<sup>2</sup>

The rules prescribed for the exclusive manufac-

\* <sup>1</sup> One principal route was by Marwar and Jessalmar, across the desert to Karachi in Sindh, whence the Opium was shipped to the Portuguese Settlements Diu and Daman, in the gulph of Cambay, and thence exported to China in country or Portuguese vessels.

<sup>2</sup> Abstract of Correspondence relating to Malwa Opium. Comm. Committee, 1831. Third Report, Appendix iv. p. 927. The Opium sales in 1823-4, produced 1,380,000*l*.

ture and sale of Salt on the part of the Government, BOOK II.  
 were consolidated and brought into one enactment,<sup>1</sup> CHAP. XII.  
 into which provisions were introduced, prohibiting, 1814—23.  
 in the most rigorous manner, the compulsory labour  
 of the salt-manufacturers: no other measure affect-  
 ing this branch of the revenue was instituted, and  
 it continued to constitute an important article in  
 the resources of the State.<sup>2</sup> The Customs had some-  
 what declined, but this arose from a measure  
 adopted shortly after the renewal of the charter by  
 which, in consequence of orders from home, the  
 duties were generally lowered and a variety of ar-  
 ticles, the produce or manufacture of Great Britain,  
 wholly exempted from any charge upon their being  
 imported into India. As similar immunities were  
 not granted to the manufactures or products of India  
 in the ports of the United Kingdom, this was a  
 piece of selfish legislation in which the interests of  
 the dominant country were alone consulted, and those  
 of the subordinate dependency deliberately injured,  
 the latter being not only deprived of a legitimate  
 source of revenue, but being further exposed to an  
 unequal competition under which native industry  
 was already rapidly decaying.<sup>3</sup> Some compensation  
 was made to the country by the augmentation of its  
 commerce.<sup>4</sup> Besides the stimulus given to the mer-

<sup>1</sup> Regulation VII. 1829.

<sup>2</sup> The amount of the sales of Salt in 1823-24, was 2,400,000*l*.

<sup>3</sup> Commercial Letter to Bengal, 29th July, 1814.—Comm. Com. 1831.  
 Third Report. First App. No. 19. Regulation Bengal IV. 1815.

<sup>4</sup> It might be argued, that India benefited by the reduced price of  
 the commodities imported from Great Britain, in proportion to the amount  
 of the duty remitted. But this was disadvantageous in another respect,  
 as it rendered the articles of domestic production still less able to com-  
 pete with foreign articles in the market, and further discouraged native

BOOK II: cantile enterprise of the United Kingdom by the  
 CHAP. XII. abolition of the exclusive privileges of the Company,

1814—23. the return of tranquillity in Europe re-opened the Eastern seas to the traffic of the Continent; and the merchants of the European States,<sup>1</sup> of France especially, actively engaged in the interchange of their national fabrics with the valuable products of art and nature in Hindustan.

From these and other improved resources, the financial circumstances of the Indian empire had followed a progressive scale of improvement, and the amount of the public revenues at the close of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, exceeded, by nearly six millions sterling, the amount realizable at the commencement of his government.<sup>2</sup>

A large portion of the increase arose from augmentations of a fluctuating character;<sup>3</sup> but the remainder was derived from the land revenue of the

industry. The competition was unfair. India was young in the processes of manufacture, and was never likely to improve, if her manufactures were to be crushed in their infancy. Could time have been allowed for the acquisition of experience, and the introduction of machinery, her cotton fabrics and her metals, would probably have been saleable in her own markets for a less cost than those of Europe. A native sovereign would undoubtedly have given India a chance by the imposition of protective duties.

<sup>1</sup> In 1811-12, the trade between India and Foreign Europe was a blank. In 1822-3, it presents a value of little less than a crore of rupees. Nor was this at the expense of Great Britain, as the trade with the United Kingdom increased from 3,560,000*l.* to 6,419,000*l.*, or nearly double. Lords' Report, 1830. App. C. The total trade in 1813-14 amounted to nearly fourteen millions sterling; in 1822-3 it exceeded nineteen millions.

<sup>2</sup> Revenues of 1822-23	£23,120,000
Ditto 1813-14	17,228,000

Increase	£ 5,892,000
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————— Lords' Report, 1830. App. C. No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 7, A.



old provinces, and of those newly acquired, and constituted a permanent source of public wealth. The charges had likewise augmented, but not in a like proportion, so that the receipts presented a clear excess over the disbursements of more than five millions, and of three, after providing for the interest of the public debt.<sup>1</sup> Nor was this a solitary occurrence. Every year of the administration of Lord Hastings had presented, after defraying the interest of the debt, an excess of the local receipts over the local disbursements,<sup>2</sup> although, during so many years, the exigencies of war imposed large additions to the ordinary expenditure of the military establishments, the cost of which could not be extinguished simultaneously with the cessation of their cause. It was also necessary to provide investments of goods or bullion to England, and to furnish supplies to the trade of the Company with China, the amount of which was intended to replace the charges incurred in England on behalf of the territorial expenses of the East India Company. The surplus of the local revenue was inadequate to meet

<sup>1</sup> Receipts of 1822-23	£ 23,120,000
Charges of „	18,082,000
Surplus Receipt	5,038,000
Deduct Interest	1,694,000
Net Surplus	£ 3,344,000
	Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> The military charges for the five years, from 1809-10 to 1813-14 inclusive, averaged annually 7,344,000*l.* In the two years, 1815-16, 1816-17, years of the Nepal war, the average annual amount was 8,840,000*l.*, or 1,496,000*l.* in excess of the former average. In the five years following, the season of the Mahratta war and its consequences, the average rose nearly a million more, being 9,770,000*l.* In 1822-3, they were reduced by 1,365,000*l.*, having fallen to 8,405,000*l.*—Lords' Report. Appendix C. No. 2.



BOOK II. these calls, and it became unavoidably necessary to  
 CHAP. XII. have recourse to loans from the capitalists in India.

1814—23. An addition of rather more than two millions was, consequently,<sup>1</sup> made to the public debt, but by judicious financial arrangements, the demand for interest was not suffered to be materially enhanced; and some of the still remaining embarrassing conditions of former loans were further counteracted by the transfer of all outstanding loans, of which the principal and interest were demandable in England at the option of the holder, into one general loan, declared irredeemable during the continuance of the charter, after which payment of the principal might be demanded at home, the interest in the mean time being payable there also, only in the case of creditors residing in Europe.<sup>2</sup> The blended character of the Company, as sovereigns of territory and as merchants, had tended to perplex the character of their financial

<sup>1</sup> Debt bearing interest	1813-14	£ 27,002,000
Ditto do.	1822-3	29,382,000
	Increase	2,380,000

The floating debt of the former date was 4,103,000*l.*, of the latter 7,457,000*l.* shewing a further augmentation of 3,354,000*l.*; but at the earlier date the cash balances of the public treasuries were extremely low. At the latter there was in hand, in cash and bills, an available sum exceeding twelve millions; there were also quantities of Salt and Opium undisposed of to the extent of 1,898,000*l.*, and above six millions in debts due to the Government, making a total bona fide amount of assets exceeding twenty millions.—Lords' Report, 1830. Appendix C. No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The annual interest on the debt was, in 1813-14, 1,636,000*l.* In 1822-3, it was 1,762,000*l.*, or only 126,000*l.* more. By the loan opened in February, 1822, creditors were entitled at the close of the charter to payment of the principal in England, at the exchange of 2*s.* 6*d.* the rupee, at twelve months' date. Actual residents in Europe were allowed bills for the interest at 2*s.* 1*d.* Of the old remittable loans, amounting to Sicca Rupees 11,54,63,000, the whole was transferred, except 2,65,83,000, arrangements for the payment of which at home were made, and the amount was discharged in the course of 1823-4.—Financial Letters from Bengal, 18th February, and 20th June, 1822. Papers, Financial, printed for the Proprietors of East India Stock, 3rd March, 1826.

transactions, and to confound their territorial with their commercial transactions; the territorial revenues of India being applicable to the maintenance of commercial establishments, and to the purchase of investments for shipment to Europe; while, on the other hand, the profits realised from the sales of merchandise from India or from China constituted a fund whence the charges in England for territorial purposes, such as the purchase of military stores, the pay and pensions of officers on leave of absence or retired, the passage of troops to India, and other similar charges, besides the amount of bills drawn for the principal or interest of the Indian loans, were defrayed. Upon the renewal of the charter it was enacted, that the charges on territorial and on commercial transactions should be kept entirely distinct; and this practice was observed subsequently to 1814. The Indian governments looked with some apprehension to the consequences of a separation which threatened to deprive them of a valuable resource in times of pecuniary difficulty, and intimated their apprehension that events might arise calling for an expenditure for which the territorial resources would be inadequate to provide, in which case it would not be possible to make any advances for commercial investments. In ordinary seasons, however, they expressed their confident hope that the revenues of India would fulfil the expectations of the Legislature, and be found to answer all the disbursements of the Indian Government, both in England and in India, without any assistance from Great Britain.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Financial Letters to Bengal, 6th September, 1813, and 23rd Sept. 1817.

BOOK II. The question of the adequacy of the territorial  
CHAP. XII. resources of India to provide for all her legitimate

1814—23. territorial charges, was more fully discussed at a subsequent period, with the advantage of more mature experience; and we need not therefore pause upon it here. It is sufficient to state that, during the period under review, the disbursements in England exceeded by a million and a half the remittances from India,<sup>1</sup> and were discharged by the surplus profits of the India and China trade; a sum of a million and a half from those profits was also remitted to India in 1818—19, to be applied, conformably to the enactments of the Legislation, to pay off a portion of the outstanding debts. There were also in India means of contributing to the same end to a very considerable amount, and no appeal to the national resources of Great Britain became necessary; on the contrary, the Government of India overcame all its temporary financial difficulties, and

In the latter the Court observe, "We must explicitly apprise you, that it is to India only, that we look for the supplies necessary to enable us to defray the home territorial charges, by the punctual repayment to the Commercial branch of all sums advanced by that branch for territorial purposes in England;" and again, "we cannot contemplate without alarm the possibility of the case assumed by you, however hypothetically, that eventually it would be your duty to shew, that however valuable India would still remain to England, even in a pecuniary point of view, as the source of lucrative commerce, and as paying a vast tribute in the returns of private fortunes; yet she demanded in return some aid from England to enable her revenues to bear the expenses necessary to preserve her." Divested of all circumlocution, this is an assumption that the people of this country should be taxed for the sake of supporting Indian commerce, and of enabling private individuals in India to acquire fortunes, an assumption which we are confident this country would utterly reject. — *Financial Papers*, p. 121.

<sup>1</sup> The balance due to Commerce on account of territorial charges, on 30th April, 1823, is stated at 1,564,000*l.* There was also an excess of payments on account of Interest Bills of above 700,000*l.*, making the debt due to Commerce in the beginning of 1823, 2,264,000*l.* — *Comm. Com. 1832. App. Finance. Territorial Branch in account with Commercial Branch*, No. iii. Article 7.

upon the restoration of peace was provided with ample means to meet every demand. At no previous period in the history of the country was the credit of the British Government more firmly established, or was the prospect of financial prosperity more promising than at the commencement of the year 1823, when the Marquis of Hastings retired from the guidance of the pecuniary interests of India.

The same spirit of activity that had animated the civil and military transactions of the period, extended beyond the sphere of official administration, and was busily employed in introducing and developing innovations, the effects of which, although not without immediate influence, were, in a still greater degree, prospective, and constituted the germs of future and more important change. Among these may be reckoned the alterations which the last charter had sanctioned with regard to the advancement of the Church and the propagation of Christianity.

The persevering efforts of a powerful party wrung from the Ministers, and the Court of Directors, a reluctant assent to the improved organization of the Clergy in the service of the Company, by placing them under Episcopal supervision. The plan originally proposed and strenuously advocated was the formation of four dioceses, and the appointment of as many Bishops to Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Ceylon;<sup>1</sup> a plan eventually, but subsequently, carried into operation.

At the renewal of the Charter, it was thought

<sup>1</sup> Buchanan on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, ix. The same scheme was also put forth by Dr. Bu-



BOOK II. sufficient to form one Diocese of the whole of India,  
 CHAP. XII. under the designation of the See of Calcutta,  
 1814—23. over which a Bishop was to preside, with the  
 aid of an Archdeacon at each of the Presidencies. Dr. Middleton, a clergyman of distinguished piety and learning, was accordingly consecrated the first Bishop, and assumed charge of his diocese towards the end of November, 1814. The extent of his jurisdiction and the general nature of his powers were defined in Letters Patent from the Crown, authorizing him to perform all functions peculiar and appropriate to a Bishop, within the limits of the Episcopal See of Calcutta; to exercise jurisdiction, spiritual and ecclesiastical, according to the Ecclesiastical laws of England; to grant licences to officiate to all Ministers and Chaplains in India; to investigate their conduct and doctrine, and to punish and correct them according to their demerits.<sup>1</sup> On commencing, however, the discharge of his grave and solemn duties, Bishop Middleton soon found that the provisions under which he was to act were too vague, and too inappropriate to the circumstances of India, to furnish a clear and safe light for his guidance. He was in fact a Bishop with a See corresponding in name alone to a similar definition of Episcopal authority in the parent country. The whole of his clergy, amounting to no more than thirty-two, were scattered over a vast extent of territory, and fixed at a few very large stations many

chanan in a Memoir on Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishments, which was printed in 1812 by the Church Missionary Society.—Hough's *Christianity in India* iv. 190.

<sup>1</sup> See Letters Patent for the Bishopric of Calcutta, 2nd May, 1814.—Thornton's *Law of India*.

hundred miles apart.<sup>1</sup> Most of them were without churches or consecrated places of worship: the congregations were connected with the pastor by nothing approaching to parochial institutions, and were, in truth, wholly unrelated to him in any respect except community of faith and service. The chaplains were mostly military chaplains, subordinate to the authority of the officer commanding the station to which they were attached, and liable to a reprimand, or even to an arrest, for any infringement of military subordination. A few of the chief civil stations were provided with ministers, but these were as much subject to the orders of the civil Government as their brethren at a military station to the commanding officer. The Bishop had, consequently, no voice in their destination or employment, and his licences gave them no privilege of which they were not already possessed. His only control over the clergy was of an invidious character, but even that was of little effect; he could reprove or suspend from all clerical function for misconduct; but, at the distance at which he was situated, an accurate knowledge of the conduct of individuals was scarcely attainable, and his personal visitations were necessarily too rare to inspire much fear of his displeasure. His powers as a Bishop were, therefore, exceedingly limited, and his real position was little more exalted than that of the senior minister at the Presidency. The local Government would willingly have added to his consideration, and resigned to him the appoint-

<sup>1</sup> There were, on the arrival of the Bishop, fifteen chaplains in Bengal, twelve at Madras, and five at Bombay, but many were absent on the plea of sickness or on furlough. At Bombay there was but one chaplain present.—Life of Bishop Middleton by the Rev. C. Le Bas, i. 82.

BOOK II. ment of the chaplains to their several stations ; but  
 CHAP. XII. the measure was disapproved of in England, and was  
 1814—23. after a short interval annulled.<sup>1</sup>

Although a man of high intellectual cultivation, and of a kind and amiable nature, Bishop Middleton appears to have wanted the faculty of adapting himself to circumstances, and of yielding as far as might conscientiously have been conceded, to the anomalous position in which he found himself placed. He consequently suffered himself to be annoyed by matters of light consideration, and the expression of his feelings on such occasions somewhat impaired his influence ; but the rectitude of his intentions, his disinterested zeal, his high sense of the duties and dignity of the episcopal office, with his unquestioned worth and learning, secured him the personal respect of the Christian community, and obtained a ready conformity among the members of the Established Church to the new order of things which it had devolved upon Bishop Middleton to introduce. He laboured diligently and usefully, and, under his auspices, new churches were built in various parts of India ; the number of chaplains was augmented, and their duties more regularly defined and discharged ; and a character of order and unity was given to the Ecclesiastical Establishment which it had never before presented. This seems to be one main advantage of the Episcopal office in India ; it consolidates the body of the clergy, and prescribes unity of action to individuals, who were else detached and unconnected, and incapable of combining for the credit and benefit of their ministry.

Notwithstanding what Bishop Middleton terms

<sup>1</sup> Life of Bp. Middleton, i. 110.

his struggles to maintain his ground, he was an active promoter of the interests of the Church, and particularly in connexion with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. At his suggestion, the latter of these two powerful bodies, assisted by the former, undertook to found and support a missionary college in Calcutta,<sup>1</sup> the objects of which are thus enumerated by its proposer,—to instruct Native and other Christian youths in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters; to teach the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mohammedans and Hindus, having in such attainments no object but secular advantage; to prepare and print translations of the Scriptures, the liturgy, and moral and religious tracts; to receive English Missionaries on their arrival from England; and provide them with instructors in the native languages. The foundation-stone of the college was laid by the Bishop on the 15th of December, 1820. It was not completed until after his death; but it was finished shortly after his decease, and stands an honourable monument of the enlightened piety of its founder. Bishop Middleton died on the 8th of July, 1822.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Each Society contributed in the first instance 5000*l.*, and a similar sum was granted by the Church Missionary Society. A fourth sum of like amount was contributed by the Bible Society, to be applied to the expense of Translations.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop's College has not yet fulfilled the objects of Bishop Middleton, and its actual condition may create a painful smile, when compared with his enthusiastic anticipations. "Can you," he writes to a friend, "forgive the feelings of a founder, if I tell you that the other day, as I listened to the woodman's axe employed in clearing the ground, I actually began to muse upon what might hereafter be the studies and the glories of the place."—*Life*, ii. 153. The slow advance of the institution may, perhaps,



BOOK II. A proposal was made, as we have seen, in the  
 CHAP. XII.

1814—23. to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in India, concurrently with that of the Church of England; but it was rejected, as inconsistent to recognise two different systems as alike related to the state, and upon the understanding that the Company would provide for the religious necessities of the members of the Scottish Church.<sup>1</sup> A chaplain of that establishment was accordingly appointed by the Court to each of the three Presidencies, and churches were speedily constructed by the liberality of their countrymen in India. Questions of respective rights soon occurred, and especially with regard to the ceremony of marriage, which the Scotch minister maintained that he was entitled to perform according to the rules of his communion, while such marriages were held to be invalid under the Ecclesiastical law of England, conformably to which the See of Calcutta was bound to act. With a view to determine the question, the technical merits of which were involved in some obscurity, a petition was presented by the members of the Scotch Society to Parliament, praying that the privilege of being

be partly ascribed to the abandonment or neglect of that part of the original plan which proposed to open the College in one department to the merely secular English studies of Hindus and Mohammedans; the actual students being expected to prosecute studies chiefly of a religious character, with a view to become qualified as teachers of Christianity. It must, however, be recollected, that twenty-five years are but a short term in the existence of such an establishment, and that the system of which it is a part is still in its infancy.

<sup>1</sup> At a subsequent date the objection was overruled, and the act renewing the Company's Charter in 1833 contained a clause making it incumbent on the Company to maintain two chaplains of the Church of Scotland at each of the Presidencies.

married according to their own forms might be placed beyond a doubt;—on the other hand, the Bishop and English Clergy forwarded a counter-petition, praying that the law regarding matrimony might not be hastily altered, and representing the confusion which would unavoidably attend the hitherto untried experiment of two churches equally accredited by the same country and fully recognised by the same law. Neither of the petitions was presented; the subject had already engaged the attention of the Houses of Parliament, and a Bill was passed in June, 1818, legalising, both for the past and the future, all marriages performed in the customary manner by ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland officially appointed as chaplains in India, provided that one or both of the parties professed to be a member of the Scottish Church.<sup>1</sup>

The facilities afforded by the Legislature to the admission into the territories of the Company of persons undertaking to disseminate a knowledge of Christianity among the natives were speedily taken advantage of, and the several religious communities of the United Kingdom rivalled each other in their exertions to improve the efficiency of the missions formerly sent out, or to establish them where none had previously existed. In the south there were remains of the Tranquebar and Tinnivelly missions, originally encouraged and assisted by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, but sadly declined from their former flourishing condition. They were now, however, renovated by the patronage of the original promoters, and that of the

<sup>1</sup> Life of Bp. Middleton, i. 132. Thornton's Law of India, 218.

BOOK II. Church Missionary Society. In Bengal, the Baptist  
CHAP. XII.

1814—23. Mission was very largely reinforced, but was no longer suffered to labour alone, the Church Missionary and London Missionary Societies supporting an equal number of instructors in Christian truth. Other communities were not idle; and even America sent forth auxiliaries to the cause in India, while more especially interesting herself in Ceylon and the Burman dominions. More than one hundred missionaries, besides schoolmasters and native catechists, were assembled in British India in 1823<sup>1</sup> for missionary purposes, in place of the scanty number who held a precarious footing there prior to the renewal of the charter.

Besides, however, the direct employment of missionaries, a variety of important accessories to the diffusion of the Gospel were set on foot; and Committees of the Bible Society and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were formed at each of the Presidencies, for the purpose of promoting generally the operations of the missionaries, and supplying the necessary aids to instruction, in copies of the Scriptures, and translations of them and of scriptural tracts into the native languages.

<sup>1</sup> By the General Survey of Missions in India, published in the Church Missionary Register for 1823, the following appears to be the number and distribution of the missionaries of the several associations.

	BENGAL.	MADRAS.	BOMBAY.
Christian Knowledge Society .	1	7	0
Church Missionary Society .	19	11	1
London Missionary Society .	11	14	3
Baptist . . . .	30	0	0
Wesleyan . . . .	0	3	0
American . . . .	0	0	4
	61	35	8

Each of the principal missionary establishments was provided with a printing-press of its own, although none engaged so largely in the work of translating and printing as the Baptist Mission of Serampore, under whose superintendence, by the end of 1822, either the whole, or considerable portions of the Scriptures had been printed and circulated in twenty languages spoken in India, while translations into other dialects were in progress. These translations were hastily executed, and without adequate previous preparation; but they formed a groundwork on which improved versions might be conveniently executed, and led the way to maturer and more perfect performances.

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1814—23.

Notwithstanding all this manifestation of energy, and the immense sums which were raised in England and in India for the great object of the conversion of the natives, the work went slowly forward. Few genuine converts were made, and of them fewer still were persons of consideration or rank.<sup>1</sup> Various causes contributed to retard the progress of Christian truth. There were real difficulties in the way of its being embraced by the Hindus, as its adoption involved not merely a profession of faith, or a departure from forms or ceremonies, but a change of the habits of a whole life, and a violent disruption of all social ties. It required a stronger love of truth than prevailed among

<sup>1</sup> In 1823 the Serampore missionaries estimated the number of natives in the Bengal province converted to Christianity by the union of the Churches, engaged in spreading the Gospel in India, at one thousand. The author of a work called "Queries and Replies," published in Calcutta, denied the accuracy of the estimate, and asserted that the full number did not exceed three hundred, it might be less.—Lushington's Institutions in Calcutta, p. 226.



BOOK II. the Hindus to persuade them to such a sacrifice.  
CHAP. XII.

1814—23. Christianity might have found acceptance; but it was scarcely to be expected that men grown old in a system which was part and parcel of their daily lives, and who were in a great degree indifferent to truth for its own sake, should assent to what their own feelings regarded as of little consequence, at the expense of everything they prized and every connexion which they cherished. This was the chief stumbling-block with the better classes. The learned were also rendered obdurate by the pride of knowledge, and by their proficiency in disputation, in which few of the missionaries could contend with them. The multitude were further impracticable through their ignorance and superstition, and their fondness for the pageantry of their social and religious ceremonies. With the Mohammedans the difficulty was of a different, but not less insurmountable, description. Hatred of Christianity was an article of their creed. The quarrel was twelve centuries old, and with the bigoted Musselmans of India it had lost none of its virulence.

These were the principal obstacles on the part of the natives, and they were found so formidable that many zealous and pious persons among the missionaries despaired of surmounting them. Instead, therefore, of addressing themselves exclusively to the Mohammedans and Hindus, they conceived that the Christian population equally demanded their care. At the Presidencies, and one or two chief military stations, a number of persons professing Christianity were, from the paucity of

accredited ministers, deprived, in a great degree, of the offices of religion, and gladly accepted the assistance of men who made religious teaching their duty, although not members of the regular church : hence an early result of the missions for the conversion of the heathen, was the extension of schism ; and chapels were built and congregations were formed under the direction of separatists, who were more intent on establishing their own particular views among Christians, than on diffusing the great truths of Christianity among the followers of Brahma or Mohammed.

A less questionable departure from the plan of direct conversion, was the attempt to exercise a wholesome preliminary influence upon the minds of youth, through the medium of early education. The natives of India in general, although not without instruction, reaped little benefit from their national system. Those who were destined to follow learning as a profession, whether Hindus or Moham-medans, went through a long and arduous course of study, which, whatever its moral or religious tendency, was not unpropitious to intellectual development. Some of the sons of wealthy persons were occasionally carried beyond the mere rudiments of their own speech, and were accomplished Persian scholars, or were made to acquire some conversancy with English ; but the mass of the people were either wholly untaught, or were instructed in the lowest possible amount of human knowledge. It is sufficiently illustrative of the defects of the system to observe that it did not comprehend the use of books : the boy learnt his letters by copying

BOOK II.  
CHAP. XII.  
1814—23.

BOOK II. them from a board before him, on sand or on palm  
CHAP. XII. leaves, and the same process taught him to write.

1814—23. He acquired some knowledge of spelling by reiterating the syllables aloud, as they were repeated aloud by the master or the monitor; and the rudiments of arithmetic were learned in the same manner. No faculty was exercised except that of the memory; and no opportunity was afforded him of acquiring a knowledge of useful facts, or of becoming imbued with those moral sentiments which are indirectly conveyed through fables and fictions suited to youthful imaginations. To correct this system—to substitute for it an education better meriting the name—to enlarge the mind—to ameliorate the feelings—to inculcate principles of morality, was felt by persons of all persuasions to be an indispensable prelude to the elevation of the national character, and a probable preparation for the more extensive dissemination of Christianity. The Governments at the three Presidencies took the lead in recognizing the necessity of raising the standard of education among the natives; and although deeming it to be impolitic, and incompatible with their obligations to their native subjects, to take an active share in those measures which combined religious with secular tuition, they liberally encouraged and assisted with funds the various schemes that were now set on foot for the improvement of native education.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Baptist Mission, in 1824, had thirty schools under its charge, containing about three thousand children. A like number were taught in about twenty schools in the neighbourhood of Chinsura, under the conduct of missionaries of the London Missionary Society, but with the pecuniary aid of the Government. The Church Missionary Society, besides schools



The chief object of most of the schools which were thus established, was instruction in the language of the country through the medium of books compiled and printed for the purpose, in which sound principles of morality were inculcated; the most interesting works of human skill and divine power were described; the leading facts of geography and history were narrated, and European methods of calculation were explained. In most of the Missionary schools translations of the Old and New Testaments formed part of the course of reading; but it was considered expedient in many places, even by the bodies representing in India the religious societies in England, to avoid adopting any arrangement which should inspire the natives with a suspicion of the ultimate object of the schools, and deter them from giving to their children the benefit of a course of instruction which could not fail to elevate their principles, at the same time that it insured them novel and beneficial information. In addition to those seminaries which proposed instruction in the knowledge of Europe,

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in Calcutta and other places, had a number at Burdwan, where nearly two thousand boys were instructed; there were also in the same neighbourhood ten female schools. The Christian Knowledge Society established several schools in the vicinity of Calcutta. In Calcutta a School Society was formed of respectable natives conjointly with Europeans, to superintend and improve the indigenous schools in that city. A number of schools, containing about two thousand eight hundred boys, were brought under their supervision, and an English school was established, admittance to which was the reward of distinction in the native seminaries; to this the Government also liberally contributed. In order to supply all these different seminaries with books, a School Book Society was likewise formed for the printing of original or translated works of an elementary class suited to juvenile instruction. Many natives of talent and respectability engaged in the preparation of these works. The Government also contributed to the expense. At Bombay a Society of Europeans and natives was formed for promoting native education, and there, as well as at Madras and in Beugal, the Missionary Committees were active in forming and conducting native schools.



BOOK II. conveyed through the vernacular dialects, the Go-  
vernment felt it to be equally a duty to encourage

1814—23. the studies of those among the natives of India, who followed the learning of the country as a literary class, and devoted their lives to the cultivation of Sanscrit and Arabic literature. Besides the obligation of compensating for the loss of that patronage which Maulavis and Pundits were formerly accustomed to receive from natives of wealth and power, whom the rule of foreigners had impoverished or annihilated, and the policy of gaining the good-will of the people by countenancing pursuits to which they attached almost exclusive estimation, it was thought prudent to acquire a direct influence over the national studies, with a view to improve the mode of their cultivation, to direct them to practical objects connected with the courts of justice, in which many questions were determinable according to the rules of Mohammedan and Hindu law, and to graft upon them, by degrees, the knowledge of the West, which could scarcely be communicated to the literary classes through any other channel. It was also anticipated, that, once masters of such information, the persons to whom literary occupation was a livelihood would be the fittest and most capable agents in its dissemination. With these purposes the existing native colleges were subjected to qualified European supervision; and the project of Lord Minto, of establishing colleges at Nuddea and Tirhoot, was commuted to the institution of a Sanscrit college in Calcutta for the tuition of Brahmans, and of youths of the medical caste. The college was not founded until after the

departure of the Governor-General from India; but the plan was matured, and the preliminary steps were taken during his administration.

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Most of the Missionary establishments attempted the formation of an English school in connexion with their indigenous schools; and, in some cases, promotion to an English school was made the reward of diligence in the native seminaries. There prevailed, however, no very ardent desire to benefit by such opportunities; and very extensive distrust of the ulterior object of the English schools, of their being intended, under cover of instruction in English, to convert the youth to Christianity, deterred the people from having recourse to them. The amount of instruction sought for, was also of the very lowest description; and the great aim of those by whom the schools were attended, was to become qualified for the duties of a copyist, or a clerk in some public or private office. The want of tuition of a higher character became at last perceptible to the more respectable classes of the Hindus, and they displayed a readiness to make arrangements for its provision, which was only checked by the fear of endangering their national worship. To remove this source of apprehension, they were encouraged by several of the principal members of the British community to establish an English seminary on a liberal foundation, of which they should retain the entire direction in their own hands, and over which they should exercise undivided control: a joint committee of Europeans and natives was formed, to consider and determine the general plan of the establishment, after which the

BOOK II. European members withdrew from all interference ;  
 CHAP. XII. the consequence was the foundation of the English

1814—23. College of Calcutta, an institution which promises to exert an important influence upon intellectual development in Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

The measures of the Government of Madras were confined during the period under consideration to the acquirement of information respecting the state of education in the provinces: the Collectors were directed to report the number of the schools and colleges in their respective Collectorates; but some interval necessarily elapsed before the receipt of their replies. The advance of native education was in a somewhat more forward state at Bombay, and a society was formed in 1815, for the promotion of the education of the poor, by which several schools were established with the aid of the Government. In 1822, societies were formed, having for their objects more especially the improvement of native education.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The leading Europeans on this occasion were the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Hyde East, and Mr. Harington, a member of the Supreme Council. According to Mr. Hough, (*History of Christianity in India*, iv. 393,) of these two gentlemen, the latter retired from the Committee at the desire of the Governor-General, apprehending that his appearance at the head of the college might be construed into an attempt of the Government to convert the natives. "Sir Edward also," he says, "out of respect to the Government, was induced to retire, to the great surprise and disappointment of all who had embarked in the work." These circumstances seem to rest upon misinformation. The author, with many others beside the two gentlemen specified, was included in the Committee, and the principle of their proceedings was from the first, the relinquishment of the institution to native management exclusively, as soon as the mode of conducting it, and the course of study to be pursued in it, was devised. Bishop Middleton's notice of the seminary is in accordance with the author's recollections. "The wealthy Hindoos have just set on foot a school or college, without any aid or countenance from the Government, who (very wisely, I think,) have wished the work to be done by themselves;" i. 391.

<sup>2</sup> For these and the foregoing particulars respecting the progress of education from 1814 to 1823,—see Lushington's *History of Religious, Benevolent, and Charitable Institutions of Calcutta*, Cal. 1814, *Church Missionary Register*,—*Reports of Societies*, and a valuable *Memoir* by Mr.



Another act originating with the Governor-General, was a departure from the cautious policy of former Governments in regard to the Press of India, and the removal of some of the restraints to which it had been subjected. In the early portion of its career, the Indian Press had been left to follow its own course, with no other check than that which the law of libel imposed. The character of the papers of early days sufficiently shew that the indulgence was abused, and that while they were useless as vehicles of local information of any value, they were filled with indecorous attacks upon private life, and ignorant censures of public measures. To repress so great a nuisance, Lord Wellesley, after sending one Editor to England, and intimidating others into a prudent reserve, established a censorship; and the journals were submitted on the eve of their issue to the perusal of an officer of the Government, by whom, what he considered objectionable matter, was struck out. This control, and the improving taste and feelings of the age, gave to the Indian chronicles a new character, and rendered them respectable, if not very authentic, vehicles of public information. The duties of the Censorship were leniently discharged, and little dissatisfaction was felt with the existing practice, when the Marquis of Hastings, entertaining exalted notions of the benefits of a free expression of the sentiments of the public, determined to relieve it from the only restraint under which it laboured. At the same time, the Press was by no means left to its own guidance, and

BOOK II.  
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BOOK II. defined limits circumscribed its freedom. The Cen-  
CHAP. XII. sor was removed, but the Editors were restricted  
 1814—23. from publishing animadversions on the proceedings  
 of the Indian authorities in England; disquisitions  
 on the political transactions of the local administration,  
 or offensive remarks on the public conduct of  
 the members of the Council, the Judges, or the  
 Bishop of Calcutta; discussions having a tendency  
 to create alarm or suspicion among the natives as  
 to any intended interference with their religion; the  
 republication from English or other newspapers of  
 passages coming under the preceding heads, or  
 otherwise calculated to affect the British power or  
 reputation in India;<sup>1</sup> and private scandal, or per-  
 sonal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dis-  
 sensions in society. The Editors were held respon-  
 sible for the observance of these rules, under the  
 penalty of being proceeded against in such manner  
 as the Governor-General might think applicable to  
 the nature of the offence. Subject to these limits  
 and responsibilities, the Press was free, both to  
 Europeans and to natives.

The establishment of a free Press in India was  
 contemplated with very different feelings by dif-  
 ferent classes of persons; and, as usual in con-  
 troverted topics, both the benefits and evils of the  
 measure were greatly exaggerated. The main ad-  
 vantages, as stated by Lord Hastings himself,<sup>2</sup> were  
 the salutary control which public scrutiny exer-  
 cises over supreme authority; and the cheerfulness  
 and zeal with which all ranks of society co-operate

<sup>1</sup> See the orders in the Asiatic Monthly Journal, June, 1820, p. 610.

<sup>2</sup> Answer to an Address presented by the inhabitants of Madras, 24th  
 July, 1819. Asiatic Journal, Jan. 1820.

in measures, the motives and objects of which they understand, and in which they concur. This scrutiny and this concurrence, however, were wholly at variance with the circumstances of society in India, the bulk of which was formed of the salaried servants of the Government, already bound by their engagements to furnish it with information, and to execute its commands. The remainder of the Indian public consisted of a very few merchants, traders, or artisans, residing in India upon sufferance, having no acknowledged place in the constitution of the Government, no voice in its proceedings, no permanent stake in the welfare of the country, and little, if any, knowledge of its condition or relations. Much benefit could not be anticipated from the comments of a few hundred persons of this description, administered through conductors of journals, who were either public servants themselves, or were dependent for their privilege of dwelling in India upon the pleasure of the superior powers: the whole forming a body of no weight or influence, and in no essential point corresponding with a public, such as the term denoted in the parent country. The same circumstances, however, if they nullified the advantages of newspaper enlightenment, also counteracted its mischievous tendencies, and rendered the Indian Press incapable of embarrassing the purposes or proceedings of the State. It might become, as it had previously been, a source of annoyance to individuals, a vehicle of private calumny or malice; but, as far as the political interests of Great Britain and India were concerned, its influence was too insignificant to endanger their stability or

BOOK II.

CHAP. XII.

1814—23.

BOOK II. alter their relations. The Government, also, had  
CHAP. XII. full power to arrest any such mischievous attempts  
 1814—23. at their outset. The unbridled freedom of the native Press involved weightier consequences, as its lucubrations were addressed to vast, independent, and ill-instructed multitudes. Such an organ directed by hostile agency might misrepresent the acts and purposes of the ruling authority, and inspire the people with deep and dangerous discontent. That Press, however, had yet scarcely sprung into existence; and the system was too new and strange, too foreign to the habits and feelings of the people, to grow, by rapid steps, into a wide-spread and commanding influence. The Government had here, also, the remedy in its own hands, and the so-termed freedom of the Indian Press was, in reality, a matter of very little moment.

The first experience of the consequences of removing the supervision of the Censor was, however, calculated to confirm the apprehensions of those who were adverse to its abolition. The measure was followed by the establishment of a Journal,<sup>1</sup> which infringed the prohibitory rules that had been substituted for the censorship, lent itself to the utterance of morbid discontent and personal resentment, assailed the conduct of private individuals, impeached the acts of public functionaries, spread acrimonious dissensions through society, and defied, while it affected to deprecate, the displeasure of the Government.<sup>2</sup> Repeated intimations of that displeasure were communicated to the Editor

<sup>1</sup> The Calcutta Journal, of which the Proprietor and Editor was Mr. J. S. Buckingham, a gentleman permitted to reside in Calcutta by special licence.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to Mr.



through the usual official channels, and he was warned on more than one occasion that, unless he conformed to the regulations established for the guidance of the press, his licence to remain in India would be revoked, and he would be required to proceed to England. A probable consciousness of the incongruity of so severe a punishment with the eulogium which he had pronounced upon the expression of public opinion, as well as the genuine kindness of his nature, rendered the Governor-General reluctant to inflict the penalty that had been threatened, and he left India without having carried his menaces into effect. A more consistent course was followed by the firmness of his successor. Although, however, checked in the abuse of its nascent liberty, the press of Calcutta was liberated from the risk of needless and vexatious interference, and became, both in the English and native languages, a useful instrument in the dissemination of knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

The most important of the proceedings in England originating in the interval which has been reviewed, have already been described. Few others relating to the administration of affairs in India engaged the attention of Parliament or the Company. The thanks of both for the services of the Marquis of Hastings in the Pindari war were voted with general consent; but neither on these occasions, nor on that of the war of Nepal, did the Ministers or the Di-

Buckingham, 17th May, 1821, cited in the Statement of Facts, printed in Calcutta.

<sup>1</sup> The first Bengal newspaper, the *Sambád Chandriká*, or "Moon of Intelligence," was started in 1822. At present, 1846, there are five in Bengali and three in Persian printed in Calcutta, besides others at the different Presidencies. The circulation of each is but small.



BOOK II. rectors pronounce any sufficient commendation of the  
CHAP. XII. chief merits of Lord Hastings,—the soundness, fore-  
 1814—23. sight, and comprehensiveness of his policy, which  
 were more remarkable even than the wisdom, skill,  
 and energy of his military operations. A small but  
 influential party in the Board, and in the Court of  
 Directors, still adhered to the narrow and antiquated  
 views of the days of Sir George Barlow, and af-  
 fected to regret the extension of the British domini-  
 ons in India. It was to the Commander-in-Chief,  
 therefore, that the thanks were presented. In that  
 capacity, also, a grant of sixty thousand pounds was  
 voted to be vested in the hands of trustees for the  
 benefit of the Marquis and his family.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding these demonstrations of approval,  
 which could not in justice or decency be withheld,  
 the Governor-General, deeply mortified by the want  
 of confidence exhibited in the correspondence  
 of the Court relating to the Hyderabad affair, and  
 indignant at the tone in which their sentiments  
 were expressed, determined to relinquish his high  
 office, and to rejoin his family in Europe. His re-  
 signation was tendered in 1821. It was then felt  
 that the tribute due to his great services in peace,  
 as well as in war, could no longer be deferred; and  
 on the 23rd of May, 1822, a resolution of the Court  
 of Directors was communicated to the Proprietors,  
 expressing their deep regret at the resignation of  
 the Marquis of Hastings, and offering him their  
 thanks for the unremitting zeal and eminent ability  
 with which, during a period of nearly nine years, he  
 had administered the government of British India,  
 with such high credit to himself, and advantage to

<sup>1</sup> May 15th, 1819.

the interests of the East India Company. The Court of Proprietors adopted the resolution ; and, ad-  
 verting to the previous acknowledgment which had  
 passed the Court of the great military and political  
 talents of the Governor-General, requested the ex-  
 ecutive body to convey to his Lordship the expres-  
 sion of their admiration, gratitude, and applause.  
 The vote was just, though tardy. The administration  
 of the Marquis of Hastings may be regarded as the  
 completion of the great scheme of which Clive had  
 laid the foundation, and Warren Hastings and the  
 Marquis Wellesley had reared the superstructure.  
 The crowning pinnacle was the work of Lord Hast-  
 ings, and by him was the supremacy of the British  
 Empire in India proper finally established. Of the  
 soundness of the work no better proof can be afforded  
 than the fact that there has been no international war-  
 fare since his administration. Rajput, Mahratta,  
 and Mohammedan have remained at peace with  
 each other under the shade of the British power.  
 The wars in which the latter has been engaged have  
 carried that power beyond the boundaries of Hin-  
 dustan, but no interruption of internal tranquillity  
 from the Himalaya to the sea has been suffered or  
 attempted.

The Marquis of Hastings quitted his government  
 on the 1st of January, 1823. Expressions of re-  
 gret for his departure had previously poured in from  
 every quarter, and there is reason to believe that  
 they were sincere.

Lord Hastings had deserved well both of the  
 European and native community. He was not in-  
 different to the good opinion of those subordinate  
 to his station or subject to his authority, and sought

BOOK II. it not only by the splendour of his military tri-  
CHAP. XII.  
1814—23. umphs, the comprehensiveness of his foreign policy,  
or the diligence, wisdom, and rectitude of his civil  
administration, but by consideration for the feelings,  
and anxiety for the prosperity and happiness, of  
every order of society. Whatever plan proposed  
the amelioration of the condition of the natives of  
India, whatever tended to their moral and intel-  
lectual elevation, received his hearty countenance  
and coöperation; and in the minor, but not un-  
important article of personal deportment, Lord  
Hastings was ever scrupulously conciliatory and  
kind to every class of the native population. The  
example which he set was not in vain; and it was  
under his administration that even the respectable  
native inhabitants of the Presidency were first seen to  
associate on an equal footing with Europeans in de-  
vising and carrying out projects of public good.  
With the European portion of the society his habits  
were the same; and no sacrifice of personal comfort  
or convenience deterred Lord Hastings from pro-  
moting, by his participation and encouragement,  
whatever was projected for the diffusion of bene-  
volence, the cultivation of knowledge, and the ge-  
neral good and happiness of the community.

The glories of the early administration of the  
Marquis of Hastings were heightened by the mild  
lustre of its close; and the triumphs of military  
success were justified by their application to the  
maintenance of universal tranquillity, the promotion  
of the welfare of the people, and the prosperity and  
consolidation of the British Empire in India.

## APPENDIX.

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### I.

PAGE 67.

*From Umur Singh and his sons, Ram Das, and Ūrjun Thapas, to the Raja of Nipal, dated Raj-gurh, 2nd March, 1815.*

A COPY of your letter of the 23rd December, addressed to Runjoor Singh, under the Red Seal, was sent by the latter to me, who have received it with every token of respect. It was to the following purport:—"The capture of Nalapanee by the enemy has been communicated to me from Gurhwal and Kumaon, as also the intelligence of his having marched to Nahn: having assembled his force, he now occupies the whole country from Barapursa to Subturee and Muhotree. My army is also secretly posted in various places in the junguls of the mountains. An army under a general has arrived in Gorukpoor, for Palpa, and another detachment has reached the borders of Beejypoor. I have further heard that a general-officer has set off from Calcutta, to give us further trouble. For the sake of a few trifling objects, some intermediate agents have destroyed the mutual harmony, and war is waging far and wide: all this you know. You ought to send an embassy to conciliate the English, otherwise the cause is lost. The enemy, after making immense preparations, have begun the war, and unless great concessions are made

No. I.

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No. I. they will not listen to terms. To restore the relations of amity by concession is good and proper ; for this purpose it is fit, in the first place, to cede to the enemy the departments of Bootwul, Palpa, and Sheeoraj, and the disputed tracts already settled by the commissioners towards Barah.<sup>1</sup> If this be insufficient to re-establish harmony, we ought to abandon the whole of the Turaee, the Doon, and the low lands ; and if the English are still dissatisfied, on account of not obtaining possession of a portion of the mountains, you are herewith authorised to give up, with the Doon, the country as far as the Sutlej. Do whatever may be practicable to restore the relations of peace and amity, and be assured of my approbation and assent. If these means be unsuccessful, it will be very difficult to preserve the integrity of my dominions from Kunka Teesta to the Sutlej. If the enemy once obtain a footing in the centre of our territory, both extremities will be thrown into disorder. If you can retire with your army and military stores to pursue any other plan of operations that may afterwards appear eligible, it will be advisable. On this account, you ought immediately to effect a junction with all the other officers on the western service, and retire to any part of our territory which, as far as Nipal, you may think yourself capable of retaining. These are your orders."

In the first place, after the immense preparations of the enemy, he will not be satisfied with all these concessions ; or if he should accept of our terms, he would serve us as he did Tippoo, from whom he first accepted of an indemnification of six crores of rupees in money and territory, and afterwards wrested from him his whole country. If we were to cede to him so much country, he would seek some fresh occasion of quarrel, and at a future opportunity would wrest from us other provinces. Having lost so much territory, we should be unable to maintain our army on its present footing ; and our military fame being once

<sup>1</sup> Meaning the twenty-two villages on the Sarun frontier.

reduced, what means should we have left to defend our eastern possessions? While we retain Bisahur, Gurhwal is secure: if the former be abandoned, the Bhootas of Ruwain will certainly betray us. The English having thus acquired the Doon and Ruwain, it will be impossible for us to maintain Gurhwal; and being deprived of the latter, Kumaon and Dotee will be also lost to us. After the seizure of these provinces, Achain, Joomlee, and Dooloo, will be wrested from us in succession. You say "that a proclamation has been issued to the inhabitants of the eastern kurats;" if they have joined the enemy, the other kurats will do so likewise, and then the country, Dood Koosee, on the east, to Bheeree, on the west, cannot be long retained. Having lost your dominions, what is to become of your great military establishments? When our power is once reduced, we shall have another Knox's mission, under pretence of concluding a treaty of alliance and friendship, and founding commercial establishments. If we decline receiving their mission, they will insist; and if we are unable to oppose force, and desire them to come unaccompanied with troops, they will not comply. They will begin by introducing a company: a battalion will soon after follow, and at length an army will be assembled for the subjection of Nipal. You think that if, for the present, the low lands, the Doon, and the country to the Sutlej, were ceded to them, they would cease to entertain designs upon the other provinces of Nipal. Do not trust them! They who counselled you to receive the mission of Knox, and permit the establishment of a commercial factory, will usurp the government of Nipal. With regard to the concessions now proposed, if you had, in the first instance, decided upon a pacific line of conduct, and agreed to restore the departments of Bootwul and Sheero-raj, as adjusted by the commissioners, the present contest might have been avoided. But you could not suppress your desire to retain these places, and, by murdering their revenue officer, excited their indignation, and kindled a war for trifles.

No. I.

At Jythuk we have obtained a victory over the enemy. If I succeed against General Ochterlony, and Runjoor Singh, with Juspao Thapa and his officers, prevail at Jythuk, Runjeet Singh will rise against the enemy. In conjunction with the Seiks, my army will make a descent into the plains; and our forces, crossing the Jumna from two different quarters, will recover possession of the Doon. When we reach Hurdwar, the Nuwab of Lukhnow may be expected to take a part in the cause; and, on his accession to the general coalition, we may consider ourselves secure as far as Khunka. Relying on your fortune, I trust that Bulbhudur Koonwur and Rewunt Kajee will soon be able to reinforce the garrison of Jythuk; and I hope, ere long, to send Punt Kajee with eight companies, when the force there will be very strong. The troops sent by you are arriving every day: and when they all come up, I hope we shall succeed both here and at Jythuk.

Formerly, when the English endeavoured to penetrate to Sundowlee, they continued for two years in possession of Bareh Pursa and Muhotree; but, when you conquered Nipal, they were either destroyed by your force, or fell victims to the climate, with the exception of a few only, who abandoned the place. Orders should now be given to all your officers to defend Choudundee, and Choudena in Bejypoor, and the two kurats, and the ridge of Mahabharut. Suffer the enemy to retain the low lands for a couple of years: measures can afterwards be taken to expel them. Lands transferred under a written agreement cannot again be resumed; but if they have been taken by force, force may be employed to recover them. Fear nothing, even though the Seiks should not join us. Should you succeed now in bringing our differences to an amicable termination by the cession of territory, the enemy in the course of a few years would be in possession of Nipal, as he took possession of the country of Tippoo. The present, therefore, is not the time for treaty and conciliation. These expedients should have been tried before



the murder of the revenue officer (in Gorukpoor), or must be postponed till victory shall crown our efforts. If they will then accede to the terms which I shall propose, it is well; if not, with the favour of God and your fortune and bounty, it shall be my business to preserve the integrity of my country from Khunka to the Sutlej. Let me entreat you, therefore, never to make peace. Formerly, when some individuals urged the adoption of a treaty of peace and commerce, I refused my assent to that measure; I will not now suffer the honour of my prince to be sullied by concession and submission. If you are determined on this step, bestow the humiliating office on him who first advised it. But for me, call me to your presence; I am old, and only desire once more to kiss your feet. I can recollect the time when the Goorkha army did not exceed twelve thousand men. Through the favour of Heaven, and by the valour of your forefathers, your territory was extended to the confines of Khunka, on the east. Under the auspices of your father, we subjugated Kumaon; and, through your fortune, we have pushed our conquests to the Sutlej. Four generations have been employed in the acquisition of all this dignity and dominion. At Nalapanee, Bulbhudur defeated three or four thousand of the enemy. At Jythuk, Runjoor Singh, with his officers, overthrew two battalions. In this place I am surrounded, and daily fighting with the enemy, and look forward with confidence to victory. All the inhabitants and chiefs of the country have joined the enemy. I must gain two or three victories before I can accomplish the object I have in view—of attaching Runjeet Singh to our cause. On his accession, and after the advance of the Seiks and Goorkhas towards the Jumna, the chiefs of the Dukhun may be expected to join the coalition, as also the Nawab of Lukhnow, and the Salik-Ramee-Leech.<sup>1</sup> Then will be the time for us to drive

<sup>1</sup> It is not known who Umur Singh means by the Salik-Ramee-Leech; and some other of his names of places and persons differ from any in common use.



No. I. — out the enemy, and recover possession of the low countries of Palpa, as far as Bejypoor. If we succeed in regaining these, we can attempt further conquest in the plains.

There has been no fighting in your quarter yet; the Choudundee and Choudena of Beejypoor, as far as the ridge of Muhabharut and Sooleeana, should be well defended. Countries acquired in four generations, under the administration of the Thapas, should not be abandoned for the purpose of bringing matters to an amicable adjustment, without deep and serious reflection. If we are victorious in the war, we can easily adjust our differences; and if we are defeated, death is preferable to a reconciliation on humiliating terms. When the Chinese army invaded Nipal, we implored the mercy of Heaven by offerings to the Brahmins, and the performance of religious ceremonies; and, through the favour of one and intercession of the other, we succeeded in repulsing the enemy. Ever since you confiscated the Jageers of the Brahmins, thousands have been in distress and poverty. Promises were given that they should be restored at the capture of Kangrah; and orders to this effect, under the red seal, were addressed to me, and Nin Singh Thapa. We failed, however, in that object, and now there is universal discontent. You ought, therefore, to assemble all the Brahmins, and promise to restore to them their lands and property, in the event of your conquering and expelling the English. By these means, many thousand worthy Brahmins will put up their prayers for your prosperity, and the enemy will be driven forth. By the practice of charity, the territory acquired in four generations may be preserved; and, through the favour of God, our power and dominion may be still further extended. By the extension of territory, our military establishment may be maintained on its present footing, and even increased. The numerous countries which you propose to cede to the enemy yielded a revenue equal to the maintenance of an

army of four thousand men, and Kangrah might have been captured. By the cession of these provinces, the reputation and splendour of your Court will no longer remain. By the capture of Kangrah, your name would have been rendered formidable; and, though that has not happened, a powerful impression has, nevertheless, been made on the people of the plains by the extension of your conquests to the Sutlej. To effect a reconciliation by the cession of the country to the west of the Jumna, would give rise to the idea that the Goorkhas were unable to oppose the English, would lower the dignity of your name in the plains, and cause a reduction of your army to the extent of four thousand men. The enemy will, moreover, require the possession of Bisahur, and after that the conquest of Gurhwal will be easy; nor will it be possible, in that case, for us to retain Kumaon, and with it we must lose Dotee, Acham, and Joomlah, whence he may be expected to penetrate even to Bherree. If the English once establish themselves firmly in possession of a part of the hills, we shall be unable to drive them out. The countries towards the Sutlej should be obstinately defended; the abandonment of the disputed tracts in the plains is a lesser evil: the possession of the former preserves to us the road to further conquest. You ought, therefore, to direct Gooroo Rungnath Pundit and Dulbunjun Pandeh to give up the disputed lands of Bootwul, Sheeoraj, and the twenty-two villages in the vicinity of Bareh, and thus, if possible, bring our differences to a termination. To this step I have no objections, and shall feel no animosity to those who may perform this service. I must, however, declare a decided hostility to such as, in bringing about a reconciliation with the English, consult only their own interest, and forget their duty to you. If they will not accept these terms, what have we to fear? The English attempted to take Bhurtpoor by storm; but the Raja Runjeet Singh destroyed an European regiment, and a battalion of sepoy. To the present day they have not

No. I. ventured to meddle with Bhurtpoor again: whence it would seem that one fort has sufficed to check their progress. In the low country of Dhurma they established their authority; but the Raja overthrew their army, and captured all their artillery and stores, and now lives and continues in quiet possession of his dominions. Our proffers of peace and reconciliation will be interpreted as the result of fear; and it would be absurd to expect that the enemy will respect a treaty concluded under such circumstances. Therefore, let us confide our fortunes to our swords; and, by boldly opposing the enemy, compel him to remain within his own territory;—or, if he should continue to advance, stung with shame at the idea of retreating after his immense preparations, we can then give up the lands in dispute, and adjust our differences. Such; however, is the fame and terror of our swords, that Bulbhudur, with a force of six hundred men, defeated an army of three or four thousand English. His force consisted of the old Gourukh and Kurrukh companies, which were only partly composed of the inhabitants of our ancient kingdom, and of the people of the countries from Bheree to Gurhwal; and with these he destroyed one battalion, and crippled and repulsed another. My army is similarly composed: nevertheless, all descriptions are eager to meet the enemy. In your quarter you are surrounded with the veterans of our army, and cannot apprehend desertion from them;—you have also an immense militia, and many Jageerdars, who will fight for their own honour and interests. Assembling the militia of the low lands, and fighting in the plains, is impolitic: call them into the hills, and cut the enemy up by detail—(a passage here the sense of which cannot be discovered). The enemy is proud, and flushed with success, and has reduced under his subjection all the western Zemindars, the Ranas, and Raja of Kuhlur, and the Thakooraen, and will keep peace with no one. However, my advice is nothing. I will direct Ram Doss to propose to General Ochterlony

No. I.

the abandonment, on our part, of the disputed lands, and will forward to you the answer which he may receive. All the Ranas, Rajas, and Thakooran, have joined the enemy, and I am surrounded: nevertheless, we shall fight and conquer, and all my officers have taken the same resolution. The Pundits have pronounced the month of Bysakh as particularly auspicious for the Goorkhas; and, by selecting a fortunate day, we shall surely conquer. I am desirous of engaging the enemy slowly and with caution, but cannot manage it, the English being always first to begin the fight. I hope, however, to be able to delay the battle till Bysakh (April, May), when I will choose a favourable opportunity to fight them. When we shall have driven the enemy from hence, either Runjoor or myself, according to your wishes, will repair to your presence. In the present crisis, it is very advisable to write to the Emperor of China, and to the Lama of Lassa, and to the other Lamas; and, for this purpose, I beg leave to submit the enclosed draft of a letter to their address; any errors in it, I trust, will be forgiven by you; and I earnestly recommend that you will lose no time in sending a petition to the Emperor of China, and a letter to the Lama.

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## II.

### PAGE 79.

#### *Proposed Petition to the Emperor of China by the Raja of Nepal.*

No. II.

I yield obedience to the Emperor of China, and no one dare invade my dominions; or if any power has ventured to encroach on my territory, through your favour and protection I have been able to discomfit and expel them. Now, however, a powerful and inveterate enemy has attacked me, and, as I owe allegiance to you, I rely on



No. II.

obtaining your assistance and support. From Khanka to the Setlej for a thousand kos war is waging between us. Entertaining designs upon Bhote, the enemy endeavours to get possession of Nepal, and for these objects he has fomented a quarrel and declared war. Five or six great actions have been already fought; but, through the fortune and glory of your Imperial Majesty, I have succeeded in destroying about twenty thousand of the enemy; but his wealth and military resources are great, and he sustains the loss without receding a step. On the contrary, numerous reinforcements continue to arrive, and my country is invaded on all points. Though I might obtain a hundred thousand soldiers from the hills and plains, yet without pay they cannot be maintained; and though I have every desire to pay them, I have not the means. Without soldiers I cannot repel the enemy. Consider the Gorkhas as your tributaries; reflect that the English come to conquer Nepal and Bhote, and for these reasons be graciously pleased to assist us with a sum of money, that we may levy an army and drive forth the invaders. Or, if you are unwilling to assist us with subsidies, and prefer sending an army to our aid, it is well. The climate of Dharma (Bhután) is temperate, and you may safely send an army of two or three hundred thousand men by the route of Dharma into Bengal, spreading alarm and consternation among the Europeans as far as Calcutta. The enemy has subjugated all the Rajas of the plains, and usurped the throne of the King of Delhi, and therefore it is to be expected that these would all unite in expelling the Europeans from Hindustan. By such an event your name will be renowned throughout all Jambudwip (India); and wherever you may command, the whole of its inhabitants will be forward in your service. Should you think that the conquest of Nepal, and the forcible separation of the Gorkhas from their dependence on the Emperor of China, cannot materially affect your Majesty's interests, I beseech you to reflect, that without your aid I cannot re-

pulse the English; that these are the people who have already subdued all India, and usurped the throne of Delhi; that with my army and resources I am quite unable to make head against them; and that the world will henceforth say, that the Emperor of China abandoned to their fate his tributaries and dependants. I acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor of China above all the potentates on earth. The English, after obtaining possession of Nepal, will advance by the routes of Bhadrinath and Mansarowar, and also by that of Digarchi, for the purpose of conquering Lassa. I beg, therefore, that you will write an order to the English, directing them to withdraw their forces from the territory of the Gorkha State, which is tributary and dependent upon you, otherwise that you will send an army to our aid. I beseech you, however, to lose no time in sending assistance, whether in men or money, that I may drive out the enemy and maintain possession of the mountains; otherwise he will, in a few years, be master of Lassa.

No. II.

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### III.

#### PAGE 79.

*From the three Governors at Arzung, named, first, Shee-Chan-Chun, principal Vizir: secondly, Shee-Taran: thirdly, Kho-Taran. Let this letter be taken to the officer commanding at Rungpur, who, after opening it and ascertaining its contents, will forward it to his master.*

This is written by the enlightened Vizir of his Majesty the Emperor of China, and by the two Vizirs who are Hakims of this place, namely, Shee-Taran and Kho-Taran. These three, of whom one has lately arrived from the capital, from the presence of the Emperor, and the other

No. III.

No. III. two the Governors of Arzung, have agreed to write to the English gentlemen as follows:—

From a letter which was received from the Raja of Gorkha, addressed to the two Tarans, it was understood that the English had demanded of the Raja of Gorkha, and of Dhama Shanga, a free passage to this quarter, declaring that they had no intention of attacking those chiefs, and that they only wanted a free passage to Lassa, when it would be seen what would happen. It was stated also that the English proposed that the above-mentioned chiefs should pay to them the tribute which they now pay to China. A letter to the same effect was received from the Raja of Gorkha, addressed to the two Tarans at Lassa. The two Tarans of this place sent the original letter to the Emperor. The heart of his Imperial Majesty is as pure as the sun, and enlightened as the moon, and truth and falsehood are in all matters apparent to him. Not relying on the Raja of Gorkha's letter, he, in order to ascertain the truth of the circumstances, sent from his own presence Shee-Chan-Chun with a royal army: that person accordingly will soon arrive with the army at Tingari, and will inquire into your proceedings.

Such absurd measures as those alluded to appear quite inconsistent with the usual wisdom of the English. It is probable that they never made the declaration imputed to them: if they did, it will not be well. On a former occasion, when Thron-Tan came here to make war against the Raja of Gorkha, a letter was received from the English, addressed to Thron-Tan, asking assistance. The hostile course which, according to the Raja of Gorkha, they have now adopted, is, therefore, beyond measure surprising. An answer should be sent as soon as possible to Tingari, stating whether or not the English have made the absurd propositions imputed to them to the Raja of Gorkha and Dhama Shanga. It is probable that they did not. If they did not, let them write a suitable explanation addressed to Shee-Chan-Chun, that he may make a corre-

sponding communication to the Emperor, stating that the whole story is a falsehood of the Raja of Gorkha. Let the true state of the case be told, that it may be reported to the Emperor. The Emperor of China is just. Be it known to the English gentlemen that his Majesty of China is just and merciful. Send an answer as soon as possible. No. III.

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Dated 23rd Jemadurs-sani, 1231. Hij. (23rd May, 1816.)

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#### IV.

#### PAGE 309.

*Substance of a Mahratta Proclamation issued on the 11th February, 1818, by the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, Sole Commissioner for the territories conquered from the Peshwa.*

From the time when Baji Rao ascended the Musnud, his country was a prey to faction and rebellion, and there was no efficient government to protect the people. At length Baji Rao was expelled from his dominions, and took refuge in Bassein, where he was dependent on the bounty of Kandi Rao Rastia. At this time he entered into alliance with the British Government, and was immediately restored to the full possession of his authority; the tranquillity that has been enjoyed since that period is known to all ranks of men. At Baji Rao's restoration, the country was laid waste by war and famine, the people were reduced to misery, and the Government derived scarcely any revenue from its lands: since then, in spite of the farming system, and the exactions of Baji Rao's officers, the country has completely recovered, through the protection afforded it by the British Government, and Baji Rao has accumulated those treasures which he is now employing against his benefactors. The British Govern- No. IV.

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No. IV. ment not only protected the Peshwa's own possessions, but maintained his rights abroad. It could not, without injury to the rights of others, restore his authority over the Mahratta chiefs, which had expired long before its alliance with him; but it paid the greatest attention to satisfying his admissible demands, and succeeded, in spite of many difficulties, in adjusting some, and in putting others in a train of settlement. Among these were Baji Rao's claims on the Gaekwar. The British Government had prevailed on that prince to send his prime minister to Poona for the express purpose of settling those demands, and they were on the eve of adjustment with great profit to the Peshwa, when Gangadhar Sastri, the Gaekwar's Vakil, was murdered by Trimbakji Dainglia, the Peshwa's minister, while in actual attendance on his court, and during a solemn pilgrimage at Pundrapur. Strong suspicion rested on Baji Rao, who was accused by the voice of the whole country; but the British Government, unwilling to credit such charges against a prince and an ally, contented itself with demanding the punishment of Trimbakji. This was refused, until the British Government had marched an army to support its demands; yet it made no claim on the Peshwa for its expenses, and inflicted no punishment for his protection of a murderer: it simply required the surrender of the criminal, and, on Baji Rao's compliance, it restored him to the undiminished enjoyment of the benefits of the alliance. Notwithstanding this generosity, Baji Rao immediately commenced a new system of intrigues, and used every exertion to turn all the power of India against the British Government. At length he gave the signal of disturbances by fomenting an insurrection in his own dominions, and preparing to support the insurgents by open force. The British Government had then no remedy but to arm in turn. Its troops entered Baji Rao's territories at all points, and surrounded him in his capital before any of those with whom he had intrigued had time to stir. Baji Rao's

life was now in the hands of the British Government; No. IV. but that Government, moved by his professions of gratitude for past favours, and of entire dependence on its moderation, once more resolved to continue him on his throne, after imposing such terms upon him as might secure it from his future perfidy. The principal of these terms was a commutation of the contingent, which the Peshwa was bound to furnish, for money equal to the pay of a similar body of troops; and, on their being agreed to, the British Government restored Baji Rao to its friendship, and proceeded to settle the Pindaris, who had so long been the pests of the peaceable inhabitants of India, and of none more than the Peshwa's own subjects. Baji Rao affected to enter with zeal into an enterprize so worthy of a great government, and assembled a large army, on pretence of cordially assisting in the contest; but in the midst of all his professions he spared neither pains nor money to engage the powers of Hindustan to combine against the British; and no sooner had the British troops marched towards the haunts of the Pindaris than he seized the opportunity to commence war without a declaration, and without even an alleged ground of complaint. He attacked and burned the house of the British Resident, contrary to the laws of nations and the practice of India, plundered and seized on peaceable travellers, and put two British officers to an ignominious death. Baji Rao himself found the last transaction too barbarous to avow; but as the perpetrators are still unpunished, and retain their command in his army, the guilt remains with him. After the commencement of the war, Baji Rao threw off the mask regarding the murder of Gangadhar Sastri, and avowed his participation in the crime by uniting his cause with that of the murderer. By these acts of perfidy and violence Baji Rao has compelled the British Government to drive him from his musnud, and to conquer his dominions. For this purpose a force is gone in pursuit of Baji Rao,

No. IV. which will allow him no rest; another is employed in taking his forts; a third has arrived by way of Ahmednagar, and a greater force than either is now entering Kandesh, under the personal command of his Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop; a force under General Munro is reducing the Carnatic, and a force from Bombay is taking the forts in the Konkan, and occupying that country, so that in a short time not a trace of Baji Rao will remain. The Raja of Sattara, who is now a prisoner in Baji Rao's hands, will be released, and placed at the head of an independent sovereignty of such an extent as may maintain the Raja and his family in comfort and dignity. With this view the fort of Sattara has been taken, the Raja's flag has been set up in it, and his former ministers have been called into employment. Whatever country is assigned to the Raja will be administered by him, and he will be bound to establish a system of justice and order; the rest of the country will be held by the Honourable Company. The revenue will be collected for the Government, but all property, real or personal, will be secured; all wuttun and enam (hereditary lands), warshásan (annual stipends), and all religious and charitable establishments will be protected, and all religious sects will be tolerated and their customs maintained, as far as is just and reasonable. The farming system is abolished; officers shall be forthwith appointed to collect a regular and moderate revenue on the part of the British Government, to administer justice, and to encourage the cultivators of the soil. They will be authorized to allow of remissions in consideration of the circumstances of the times. All persons are prohibited from paying revenue to Baji Rao or his adherents, or assisting them in any shape. No deduction will be made from the revenue on account of any such payments. Wuttundars, and other holders of land, are required to quit the standard of Baji Rao, and return to their villages within two months from this

time. The Zemindars will report the names of those who remain; and all who fail to appear at that time shall forfeit their lands, and shall be pursued without remission until they are entirely crushed. All persons, whether belonging to the enemy or otherwise, who may attempt to lay waste the country, or to plunder the roads, will be put to death wherever they are found.

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## V.

## PAGE 391.

## NOTES FOUND AT ASIR-GERH.

1. *From Dowlat Rao to Jeswant Rao Lar.*

I send you the news: the Company and the Sirkar are friends, and have joined to annihilate the Pindaris and secure the roads. The Company have required Hindia and Hurda from the Sirkar, who replied "take them," and has written the necessary papers, and has also written a chor-chiti (a note authorising the quitting of the fort) to you. I write you the information of what has passed; but do you be in readiness, and keep your people, so that your manhood may be known to all, and that no trick or deceit may be in your jurisdiction. Be careful: do not keep your family or children with you, but send them to your house, or to some place of safety, so that no person may be acquainted with their residence. Have no incumbrances about you. Be ready. What is decreed will take place. Keep your heart steady to me. There is no need to write much; you will understand everything from this.

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2. *(Written in Sindhia's own handwriting.)*

Obeey all orders that may come from Srimant (the Peshwa). Plead not that I have given no orders, but



No. V. do exactly as Srimant may require you. Should you  
 ——— not do so, I shall be perjured. The people have written  
 you from hence, so that you will know everything that  
 is going on. Consider this note as equal to a thousand  
 notes, and act accordingly.

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## VI.

### PAGE 397.

*Various properties and rights claimed by Raja Mulhar Rao  
 Holkar in parts of Kandesh and the Dekhin, subject to  
 the Peshwa as Desmukh, Head of a district, or as  
 Patel, Head of a village.*

#### 1.

#### No. VI. DESMUKH'S RIGHTS IN THE PERGANA OF CHANDORE, ETC.

——— A house in Chandore.

Several villages in Jagir.

Seven per cent. on the Government revenue of the vil-  
 lage of Mutád.

A certain quantity of grain from sundry villages.

One rupee per village for the Desmukh and for his Go-  
 mashta or agent.

Three and a half per cent. on all money coined in the  
 mint of Chandore.

The customs taken at the four towns of Chandore,  
 Devgaon, Raichur, and Búri, during two months in each  
 year.

A sum levied from each village for the maintenance of a  
 writer in attendance on the officers of the ruling power, on  
 the part of the Desmukh.

Fees on all deeds conveying real property or vested  
 rights, which require the Desmukh's signature.

A khelat, or dress of honour, by the revenue contractor  
 or the jagirdar, on the settlement of the year's revenue

accounts, also requiring the counter-signature of the No. VI.  
Desmukh.

Various gardens, mango groves, and tanks, rent-free, in different villages and towns.

A fee, or present, from certain villages on the determination of their assessment, and its annual payment. A present from the same at the festival of the Dashara; and a present of one rupee from each, if visited by the Desmukh; and a similar fee on the appointment of a new Gomashtha.

Right of free pasture in various places.

A present at marriages and births, where the villagers can afford it, however trifling.

Seven per cent. of the forage supplied by the village to the Government.

A full suit of clothes, value two hundred rupees, annually from the Customs of Chandore.

A certain quantity of sesamum and molasses from each village, on various occasions.

A portion of any fine imposed upon Brahmans, as an expiation of offence against Caste.

## 2.

### PATEL RIGHTS IN VARIOUS VILLAGES IN THE PERGANAS OF NASIK, DHER, SANGAMNER, ETC.

A certain proportion of all crops when gathered.

An allotment of rent-free land in each village.

A piece of cloth from each family on occasion of a marriage.

A piece of cloth annually from each weaver's shop.

A betel nut daily from each grocer.

A blanket annually from each shepherd.

A proportion of sugar from every quantity manufactured.

A pair of shoes annually from each chumar, or worker in leather.

No. VI. A handful of every sort of vegetables daily from the  
 ————— sellers.

A certain quantity of oil daily from the makers.

### 3.

#### DESMUKH'S RIGHTS IN VARIOUS VILLAGES IN THE PER- GANA OF GALNA.

Five per cent. per annum on the Government revenue.

Two rupees from the large, and one from the small villages per annum, for offerings to the Manes in the month Bhadon.

Two-thirds of a fourth of all customs and duties.

Money and food on occasion of marriages.

A share of the crops.

Half a seer of oil daily from every oil press.

A certain quantity of oil on the Desmukh's visiting a village.

Proportions of cane, molasses, and sugar from every field and mill.

Two seers of rice from every field.

A portion of the load of every Bunjara bullock that passes through the village.

A present of a rupee a-year from every village.

Two betel leaves from every load, and ten from each shop daily, and one betel nut daily from each grocer.

At fairs in the vicinity of a fort, a portion of every article—as a handful of grain from each load, or of vegetables from each basket: twenty-five mangoes from each cart-load, and twenty-five canes from a similar load of sugar-canes, &c.

A set of horse-shoes annually from every smithy.

Two bundles of straw annually from each village.

Shoes, blankets, cloth as before mentioned.

A cart-load of firewood annually from each village.

Five mango-trees in every hundred.

A tax of five rupees a-year on eunuchs, and on vagrants with bears or wild animals.

Portions of meat and spirits daily from butchers and venders of spirituous liquor, and a skin and a half annually from each village. No. VI.

Whatever platters (of leaves) or pots are required for devotional purposes must be supplied by the manufacturers, and free labour is expected from various castes, when required by the Desmukh.

Contributions, in money or kind, are also levied at the great Hindu festivals, the Dewali, Dasahara and Sankrânt.

The whole of these, and of similar rights in other places, which were formerly valued at more than three lakhs of rupees annually, were valued in 1819 at little more than one, and of that the greater part was intercepted by the officers appointed to make the collections.

## VII.

PAGE 560.

### A.—Comparative Statement of the Revenues and Charges of British India in the Years 1813-14 and 1822-23.

1813-14	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	No. VII.
Receipts	£11,172,000	5,297,000	759,000	17,228,000	
Charges	£ 7,135,000	4,893,000	1,589,000	13,617,000	
			Surplus Revenue	£3,611,000	
			Deduct Interest on Debt	£1,537,000	
			Supplies to England	116,000	
				£1,653,000	
			Surplus in 1813-14	£1,958,000	
1822-23.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	
Receipts	£14,168,000	5,585,000	3,372,000	23,120,000	
Charges	£ 8,746,000	5,072,000	4,264,000	18,082,000	
			Surplus Revenue	£5,038,000	
			Deduct Interest	1,694,000	
			Surplus in 1823-4	£3,444,000	



No. VII.

## ITEMS OF AUGMENTED RECEIPT.

	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.	
	1813-14.	1822-23.	1813-14.	1822-23.	1813-14.	1822-23.
Mint	£9,000	23,000	16,000	21,000	6,000	2,000
Post-Office	43,000	61,000	20,000	25,000	6,000	11,000
Stamps	16,000	150,000	31,000	62,000	„	17,000
Judicial	104,000	54,000	20,000	19,000	6,000	8 000
Customs	322,000	477,000	190,000	218,000	108,000	158,000
Land Reve.	3,928,000	4,488,000	893,000	877,000	37,000	130,000
Do. Ceded	2,271,000	2,411,000	„	„	206,000	360,000
Conquered	1,664,000	1,806,000	„	„	291,000	1,430,000
Nerbudda	„	609,000	„	„	„	„
Salt	1,779,000	2,553,000	155,000	148,000	„	„
Opium	964,000	1,493,000	„	„	„	1,158,000
Marine	31,000	33,724	9,000	8,000	40,000	21,000
Carnatic	„	„	1,131,000	1,464,000	„	„
Tanjore	„	„	436,000	459,000	„	„
Mysore	„	„	1,519,000	1,400,000	„	„
Nizam	„	„	685,000	669,000	„	„
Travancore	„	„	91,000	89,000	„	„
Cochin	„	„	32,000	23,000	„	„
Farms and Li- cences }	„	„	62,000	100,000	53,000	74,000
Dutch Settle- ments }	„	„	„	„	„	„

## TOTAL INCREASE OF REVENUE.

1822-23	.	.	.	.	£ 23,120,000
1813-14	.	.	.	.	17,228,000

Increase      £ 5,892,000

Of which the increase in Bengal was £2,991,000

Ditto      ditto      Madras      288,000

Ditto      ditto      Bombay      2,613,000

£ 5,892,000

Increase in Salt—Bengal      .      .      .      £ 774,000

Ditto      Opium—Bengal      .      .      .      529,000

1,303,000

Ditto      Ditto—Bombay      .      .      .      1,158,000

£ 2,461,000

Increase on Land in Bengal:—

Lower Provinces      .      .      £ 560,000

Ceded      Ditto      .      .      140,000

Conquered      Ditto      .      .      142,000

£ 842,000

Revenue from the territories on the Nerbudda	£ 609,000
Ditto from the Mahratta conquered territory	1,839,000

No. VII.

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 £2,448,000
 

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Report Lords, 1830. App. Revenues of India.

*B.—Comparison of Receipts with Charges and Interest  
from 1813-14 to 1822-23.*

	Revenue.	Charges and Interest.	Local Surplus.
1813-14 . . . . .	£ 17,228,000	£ 15,154,000	£ 1,958,000
1814-15 . . . . .	17,231,000	15,684,000	1,547,000
1815-16 . . . . .	17,168,000	16,665,000	503,814
1816-17 . . . . .	18,010,000	16,849,000	1,161,000
1817-18 . . . . .	18,305,000	17,597,000	708,000
1818-19 . . . . .	19,392,000	19,224,000	168,000
1819-20 . . . . .	19,172,000	18,981,000	191,000
1820-21 . . . . .	21,292,000	19,423,000	1,869,000
1821-22 . . . . .	21,753,000	19,488,000	2,265,000
1822-23 . . . . .	23,120,000	19,778,000	3,342,000

Comm. Comm. 1832. App. Finance, No. 4, Art. 1.

LONDON :  
Printed by S. & J. BENTLEY, WILSON, and FLEY,  
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.











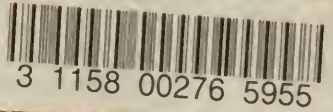
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